

**HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE  
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 5 — FOCUS ON THE MARIANA  
MISSION, 1670-1673**

Compiled and edited  
by  
**Rodrigue Lévesque**

**LES ÉDITIONS  
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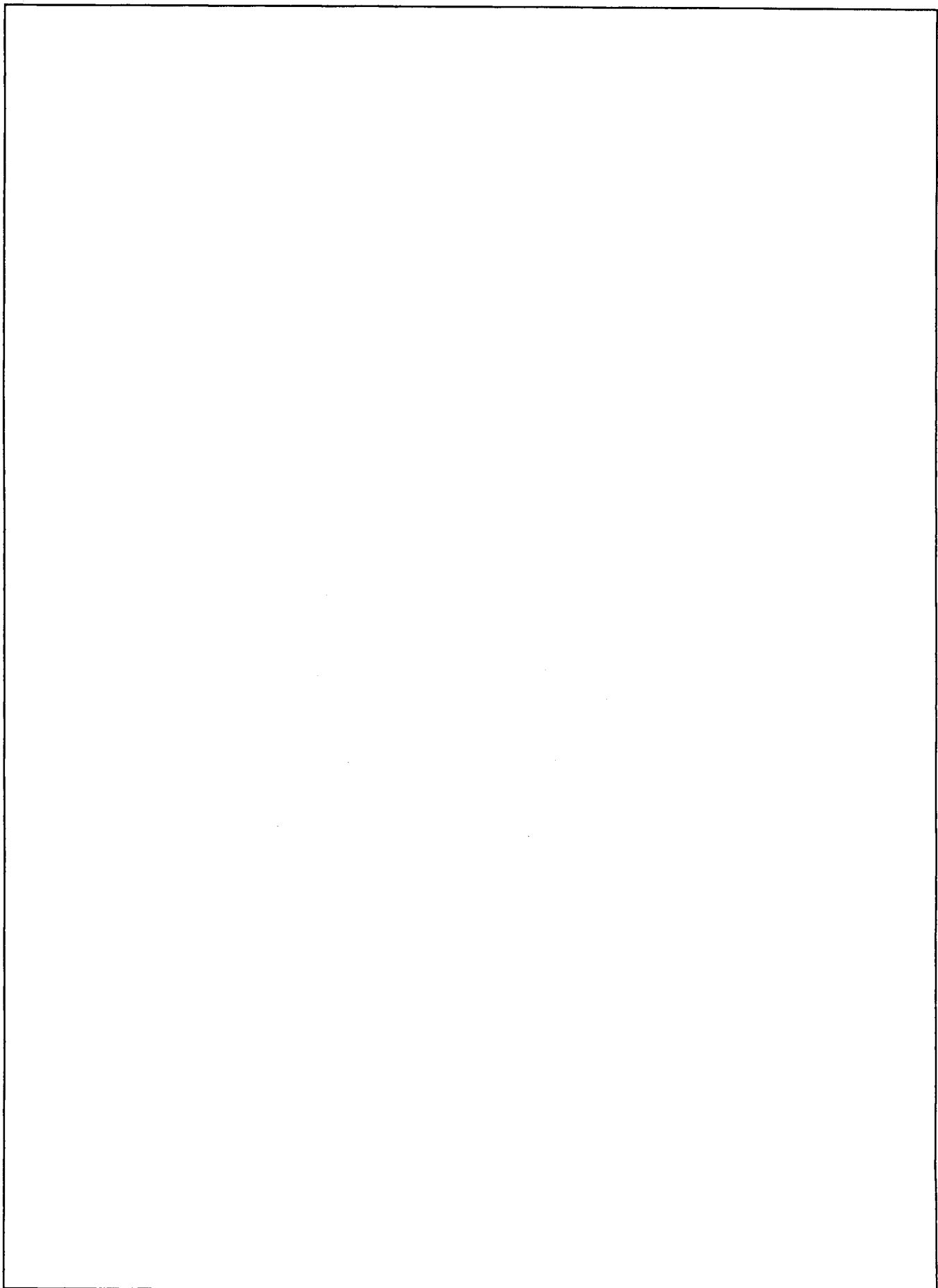
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## Abbreviations

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ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AGR	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CCSF	Cross-Cultural Survey Files, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FBG	Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
Laval	Laval University Library, Québec.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN).
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz (Mercedarian Sisters of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain).

MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago.
NSW	New South Wales, Australia.
NYK	Nihon Yusen Kaisha [Japan Shipping Line Co.]
NYPL	New York Public Library.
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscans).
OMCap	Ordo Minorum Capuchinorum (Capuchins).
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
OP	Ordo Prædicatorum (Dominicans).
ORSA	Ordo Recollectorum Sancti Augustini (Recollects).
OSA	Ordo Sancti Augustini (Augustinians).
OSF	Order of St. Francis.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PCCA	Palau Community Action Agency.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, ANU.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
PSIC	Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
RAN	Royal Australian Navy.
RN	Royal [British] Navy.
S&D	Streit & Dindinger (see Bibliography—Reference section)
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His Imperial [German] Majesty's Ship.
SS.CC.	Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).
STM	"Ships Through Micronesia" [a book in this series]
TNL	The National Library, Manila.
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).
UH	University of Hawaii (Hamilton Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UTK	University of Tokyo.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.

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## Foreword

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*“The quality of the future depends on what is kept from the past.”*

Pierre Berton, Canadian historian.

The year 1668 was the most important year in the history of the Chamorro people, as it marked the arrival of the missionaries. The influence of the Christian religion is one of the quality elements from the past that can be retained and will benefit the future of the Micronesian race. As can be seen from the documents in this volume, the first 3-5 years of the Mariana Island Mission were relatively important. Despite the martyrdom of a few Jesuits and their Filipino and Mexican assistants, this period was also relatively free of violence. In studying these documents, I have been constantly reminded that the first real contact could have been much more bloody. There was indeed an effort made on the part of the foreigners to pacify the natives as painlessly as possible, and on the part of the natives to put up with many newly-imposed customs. Those who bore the brunt of the violence were the Filipino and Mexican catechists and soldiers. About 20 of them were ambushed and killed in guerilla-like encounters, and they killed about as many natives, until a generation had passed, and the latter realized that their world had changed permanently...

### **The classical period in Europe**

The latter half of the 17th century in Europe belonged to France, and her king, Louis XIV [1638-1715]. It was a period of great intellectual revival that saw writers such as Racine, Molière and La Fontaine. In diplomacy, the French system of permanent embassies became a model for other countries, and the French language replaced Latin as a universal language.

The same period also witnessed a gradual change in personal firearms, from the musket to the flintlock. The clumsy **musket** had been operated as a matchlock: firstly, it had to be loaded with ball and powder, then fire set to a fuse by striking tinder; then the weapon was raised and finally it was fired by the lighted fuse moving the primer. As for the **flintlock**, its firing mechanism was greatly simplified, but this weapon was only gradually introduced among European armies. The barrel of the flintlock was fitted with a socket to hold a bayonet for the first time in 1687.

Up to about 1671, the Spanish had occupied the Low Countries, which corresponded roughly to Belgium and Luxembourg. Up to that time, Holland had been only one province out of seven provinces in the United Netherlands. By February 1672, William of Orange invaded the Spanish Netherlands. However, in May 1672, Louis XIV assembled an army of over 100,000 men at Charleroi, perhaps the largest army ever seen in

Europe. The French king ordered it forward against the Dutch without a formal declaration of war.

As of 1680, the French Protestants were persecuted and about 200,000 Huguenots (as they were called) were expelled. In 1684, France annexed Luxembourg. In 1685, Genoa was captured, and in June 1686 a French fleet appeared before Cadiz, to provide a weighty argument in a trade dispute; it was the beginning of gunboat diplomacy. In 1688, Louis XIV declared war against the Hapsburg Emperor. In the last decade of the 17th century, the French Navy held sway with hundreds of first-class men-of-war, the largest of which carried 120 guns. By 1701, Louis XIV indirectly governed Spain.

### **Belgian Jesuits**

The missionaries in Micronesia were not all Spanish. They came from the Universal Society, as they used to say, and from countries under the sway of the Spanish king. Two Jesuits who have left their mark on the Marianas were Belgian priests from Antwerp. Fathers Bouwens and Coomans arrived at Guam in 1672 and both died in Saipan, in 1685 and 1712 respectively. They wrote about 55 letters and reports, all in Latin, to their former superiors back home. This stash of primary-source documents had remained unknown until 1990, when I discovered them in the Royal Archives in Brussels. Altogether, these documents give us a fresh view of the early history of the Marianas, for the last 30 years of the 17th century. I hope the long months I spent re-learning Latin and translating these documents will be considered worthwhile. I simply had to, because half a dozen would-be translators had previously given up the task. Also, I have published the original texts so that the arduous task of transcription will not have to be repeated in future.

### **The importance of Latin in education**

The Jesuit-run schools in Europe at that time offered only arts courses. Most of the courses were taught in Latin. In Belgium schools, for instance, all textbooks were in Latin, teachers spoke only Latin, and students were punished if they spoke a language other than Latin, even during recreation... It is no wonder that during the first years of the college for boys in Agaña, Guam, an attempt was made to teach not only Spanish, but also Latin to some native boys who were being trained to sing hymns in church and serve as altar boys.

The religious education of live-in students was given great importance, both in Europe, and in Guam. Special devotions were encouraged through membership of the students, and soldiers too, in religious fraternities that are more properly called sodalities.

### **Summary of the events of the 1670-73 period**

The annual report for the year 1669-1670 did not leave Guam until 1671, because, much to the chagrin of the new colony, there was no galleon in 1670. The missionaries took time to reflect upon the geography, ethnology, history and legends of the natives of the Marianas. Geographically, their knowledge of Micronesia was no further ad-

vanced than in the time of Quirós (1595-1605); it was their belief that, if only they could get the right ships, and volunteers for an expedition, a vast archipelago of Pacific islands, ranging from Japan to the Austral Land, could be discovered and turned into new mission fields.

Much interesting information is given regarding the supposed origin of the Chamorros, their customs, dress, appearance, language, rites and legends; the climatic conditions and natural resources of the islands, specially a survey of possible anchorages for the galleons; the social work of the missionaries, etc.

The first martyrdom of a missionary, Father Luis de Medina, had occurred at Saipan in 1670. The Filipino Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, the true “conquistador” of the Marianas, was responsible for recovering the body under dangerous conditions, for bringing it to Tinian, and inflicting capital punishment on the two principal assassins, whose names were Poyo and Daon.

A list of 7-10 requests made by the missionaries and addressed to the Queen Regent was to lead to much administrative correspondence and the issuance of many decrees over the next few years. Basically, more missionaries were wanted and more donations of food and clothing, for the colony and for the natives. Document 1670J is an interesting catalog of things shipped to the Mission from Manila in 1670; for instance, much of the textile goods were made-in-China.

The local food resources were then meager, and consisted mostly of coconuts, breadfruit and some root crops; rice and fish were luxuries.

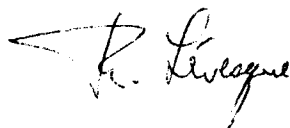
The second death of a missionary occurred in 1672. It was that of the founder of the Mariana Island Mission himself, Father Sanvitores. This volume presents most of the documents concerning this tragedy, the eulogies, the existing portraits of the man, etc. Upon receipt of this news in Spain, in 1674, more eulogies were written, as well as some composite reports on the early years of the Mission, by two procurators, Fr. Ledesma and Fr. García. This Apostle of the Marianas, as he has been called, was finally beatified by the Catholic Church in 1985. A Filipino catechist who died at the same time as Fr. Sanvitores was named Pedro Calonsor. There is a movement afoot in the Philippines to have him beatified also.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, by way of a conclusion, I would like to repeat that I was specially struck with one point during the research phase of the work I did for this volume: it is that the missionaries, who had direct control over their Filipino and Mexican assistants, did effectively restrain them quite well, the idea being that missionary work would best be done if peace was maintained. The natives were responsible for most of the assaults during this period, and brought the colony to the brink of extinction many times. The 10 or so muskets and the large blunderbuss owned by the “guirrago”, or foreigners, were seldom used and did little damage. The natives killed a few foreigners, and they in turn killed about the same number of natives. There was never any massacre as such,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fr. Juan de Ledesma, the man responsible for doing much of the modern paperwork that resulted in the beatification of Fr. Sanvitores, wrote to me from Manila earlier this year. He sent me the image of Pedro Calonsor, or Calungud, that is reproduced on the rear fly-leaf.

only sporadic episodes. In fact, the Tinian War of 1669-70 took place between two native factions, and the missionaries and their allies got involved only to restore peace, which they did successfully.



Rod Lévesque  
Gatineau, December 1995.

### **Acknowledgment**

The publication of this volume was supported in part by a grant from the Commonwealth Council for the Humanities, a Public Program of the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities.

### **Errors and corrections**

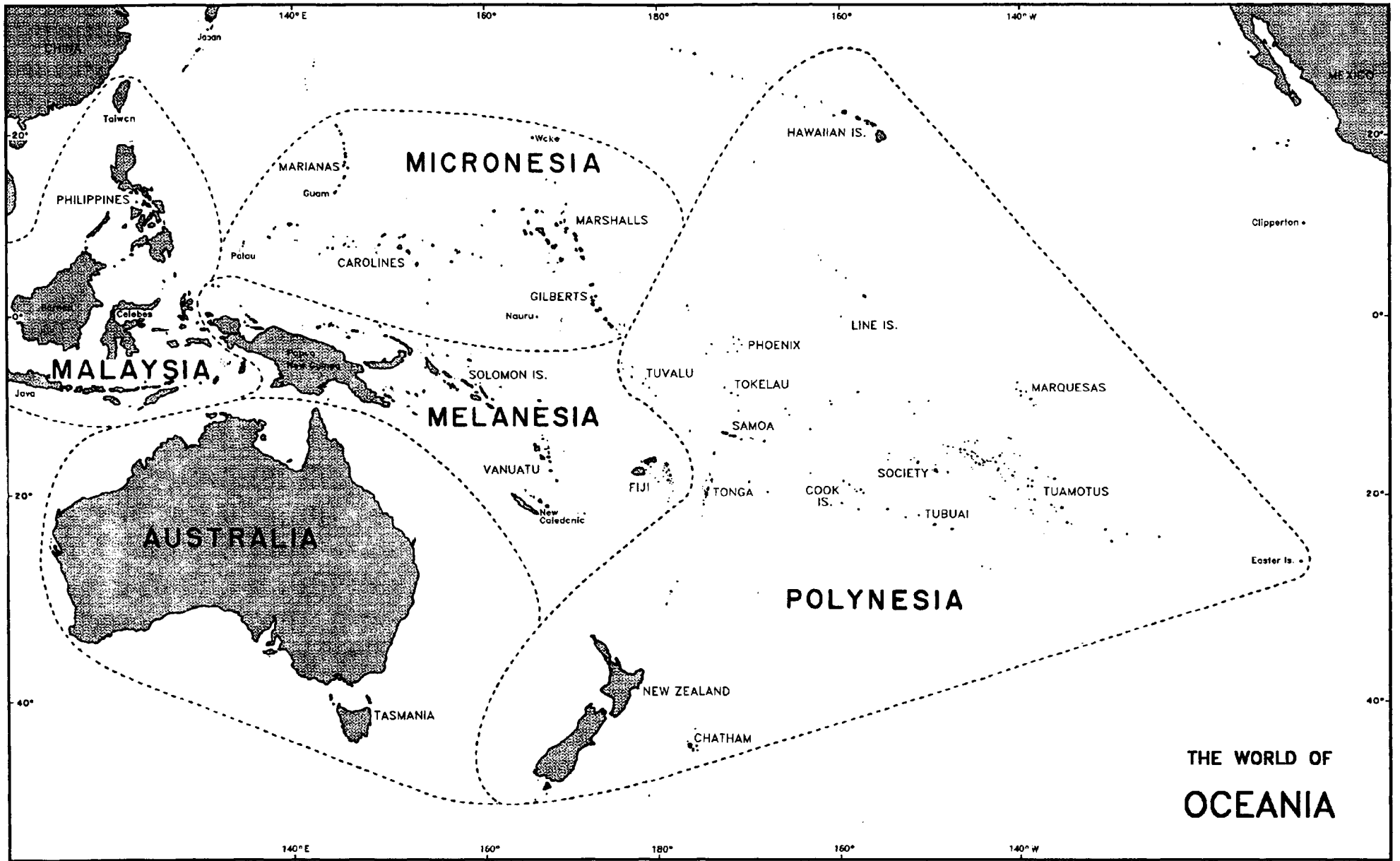
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

### **Note on sources**

The documents drawn from AGI are from the *Filipinas* bundles, unless otherwise indicated.

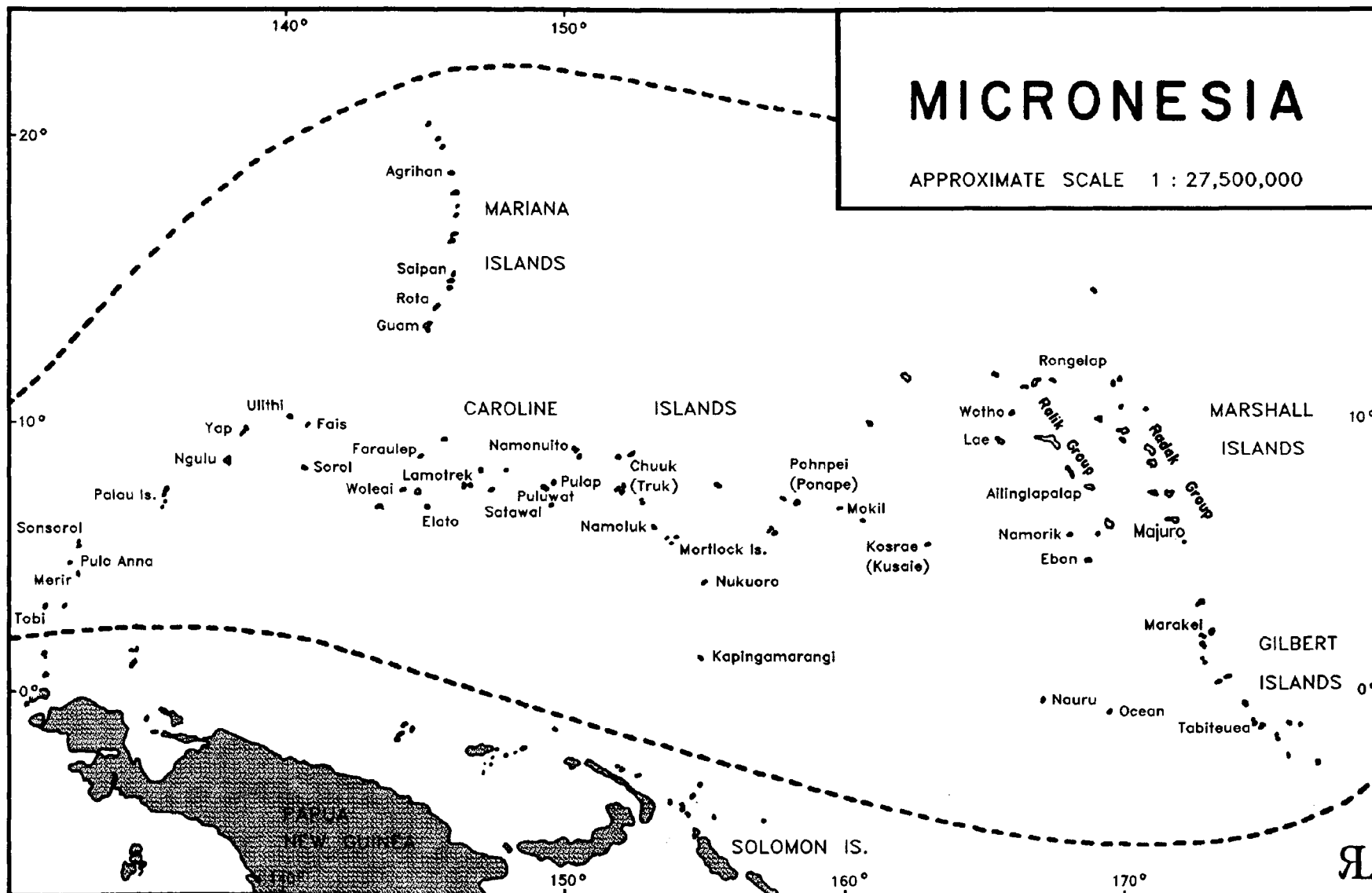
### **Note on place names**

Place names are given as they appear in the original documents, except that the more common or modern spelling is given in brackets, whenever necessary; the latter form is used in the index to refer to all equivalent forms.









**EXEMPLAR VIDA,  
Y GLORIOSA MVERTE  
POR CHRISTO  
DEL FERVOROSO  
P. LUIS DE MEDINA**

**DE LA COMPAÑIA DE IESVS;  
Que de la Religiosa Provincia de Andaluzia  
palsò a la conquista espiritual de las Islas de  
los Ladrones, que oy se llaman Marianas,  
el Año de 1667, y en ellas coronò su  
predicacion con su Martirio  
el Año de 1670.**

**SACADA DE LAS NOTICIAS,**  
*que el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Superior de las Mis-  
siones Marianas, diò al R. Padre Provincial  
de las Filipinas.*

Dala à la publica luz para comun edificacion el Padre  
Francisco de Florencia, Professo de la misma Com-  
pañia, y Procurador de las Provincias  
de Indias en Sevilla.

*Dedicada al Real Patrocinio de la Reina nuestra Señora  
Doña Mariana de Austria, Governadora de España,  
y Tutora del Rey nuestro señor D. Carlos II.  
su Augustissimo Hño.*

**CON LICENCIA.**

En Sevilla. Por Juan Francisco de Blas, Impressor mayor.  
Año 1673.

Title page of Fr. Medina's biography by Fr. Florencia, 1673.

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## Document 1670F

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# Second biography of Fr. Medina, edited by Fr. Francisco de Florencia

*Source: Book entitled: "Exemplar Vida Y Gloriosa Mverte Por Christo Del Fervoroso P. Lvis de Medina de la Compañia de Iesvs..." printed at Seville by Juan Francisco de Blas in 1673.*

## Exemplary life and glorious death for Christ of the zealous Fr. Luis de Medina, S.J.

...<sup>1</sup>

### Chapter 6. How God arranged for his entry into the new Mariana Mission, and his arrival there.

After he had arrived at Mexico and learned that Fr. Luis de Sanvitores had come aboard the ship that had anchored at Acapulco to negotiate with the Viceroy and the Audiencia about the expedition to the new enterprise of the Ladrone Islands,<sup>2</sup> he then understood the meaning of that remarkable premonition received when he was in Córdoba and God had spoken to his heart, saying: *You should go with him*, pointing at Fr. Sanvitores. Realizing that Divine Providence had arranged so wisely and sweetly, what had seemed so distant and impossible, for the said Father to come back from the Philippines to New Spain, in order to fulfill his prophecy to go with him to the Mariana Mission; up to that time, he did not understand how, if at all, he could have accompanied him. From that time on he was earmarked by Heaven to become a Mariana

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Medina was born in Málaga in 1636, although Fr. García (Doc. 1670D) says that it was in 1638. He died in Saipan in 1670 at the age of 33.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores had arrived at Acapulco at the beginning of January 1668. He went up to Mexico and, even though he had to win over the objections made by the royal officials, as a result of the piety of the Most Excellent Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain, he received 10,000 pesos from the royal treasury for his outfitting, and more than that sum in money in kind from the Sodality and the devotees of St. Francis Xavier in the city of Mexico who put up bonds and gave him alms for his despatch.

missionary. At first, there was not a slight difficulty to be overcome, because he had been made Superior of that mission [band]; it seems that he would not comply with his obligation to leave it half way, and that he should lead it as far as Manila, as he has been in charge of it since leaving Spain.

However, since there is nothing difficult or impossible before God, he exposed that difficulty about his expedition and it so happened that the Provincial of the Philippines, Fr. Domingo Ezquerro, had ordered Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores to choose, from among the missionaries who had come to Mexico from Spain, two priests as associates for the new Mission. The choice was then up to the Procurator, or the Superior who led them on his behalf. Given the order, Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Luis de Medina conferred and, of course, they agreed that he should be one of the priests, as such an event had been predetermined by Heaven. For greater security, they sought and obtained the approval of the Provincial of [the Philippines in] New Spain. Since God's wishes and those of humans coincided, it seemed that they should [not] hinder their realization.

Between Mexico and the Marianas, Father Luis continued showing his fervor, charity toward his neighbors, and his zeal for souls, by internal examples. If anyone should want to know what his untiring spirit did in Acapulco, and in the South Sea during those four months they spent to get to the Island of Guam where they disembarked, he repeated the works of the crossing from Spain to Mexico and what he did in Mexico, that is, the same exercises with the same fervor, at everyone's edification. I therefore omit to mention them, in order to pass with him to the Marianas, the field of his battles, and the theater of his glories.

After a little less than four months of navigation they sighted the islands of Guan and Zarpana on 15 June, the feast day of the Martyrs Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia, with the usual show of joy that follows the sight of land after such a long navigation. Above all, Fr. Luis and his companions showed more pleasure at discovering those islands, because of the very many souls that their arrival would give to Heaven. One thing happened that disturbed their joy at first, and which afterward increased their contentment: when a large number of barbarians came up in their canoes (that is what their craft are called), they kept at a distance, as if they were fearful of some harm; the more they were invited, the more they were afraid. The Fathers, interpreting this fear to be a sign of bad intentions, which they perhaps entertained, that this might be an impediment to their entry into the Island. They did not know what to do, or cause of action would be best to calm them down and attract them, until Fr. Luis that is, who, with his usual fervor, followed the effective way that solved the whole problem; he made the suggestion that they should sing the Litany of Our Lady aboard the ship, in order to get her favor. A remarkable thing happened: they had no sooner reached the middle of the litany, when, as if that devoted chant were a peace signal and a proof of safety, the canoes came alongside the galleon. They boarded her in complete trust and approached the Fathers, making their usual signs of endearment. They were then taken to the poop to salute the Most Holy Virgin before her miraculous image of Guadalupe that Father



**Portrait of Fr. Luis de Medina, killed in Saipan in 1670.** *The caption at the base of the portrait reads: "P. Aloisius Medina Soc. Jesu ex Prov<sup>a</sup> Bætica apud Marianas Insulas lanceis confusus pro Fide 29 Januarij Anno Salutis nrq. 1670 ætatis 33." [Fr. Luis Medina S.J., from the Province of Andalusia to the Marianas, was speared out of hate for the Faith on 29 January of the year of our salvation 1670 at the age of 33].*

Sanvitores had brought along from Mexico, as the special patroness of the Indians. At this sight, the reciprocal fears on both sides disappeared.

The next day they anchored, and that day, without any precautionary weapons, not even bodyguards for themselves other than the unbeatable shield of their Faith, and trust in God's providence, and the protection of the Virgin, he stepped ashore, in the company of the Fr. Superior of the Mission, and took possession of those islands and the souls therein, in the name of the Emperor of Heaven, King of Kings, by baptizing a few children, with the permission of their parents, and untold consolation of the Missionaries, that very same day.

Not less remarkable was a circumstance, that gave them cause for concern afterward, when there was discovered a bad seed sown against the Sacrament of Baptism, in the person of a Chinese, an idol worshipper named **Choco**. It happened thus: in a meeting held at sea, it had been determined to touch at a port at the southern side of the Island, but, not knowing how, against this decision, they disembarked on the northern coast instead, as if God had so decided, so that the Fathers would not encounter the perverse Chinese who lived at the port where they were due to arrive.<sup>1</sup> No doubt he would have put up many objections to their landing, and would have embarrassed the great progress made until he got news of their arrival. That is the way God disposes when man proposes.

We now find ourselves with Fr. Luis de Medina, and his fervent Companions in the Mariana Islands, setting up the foundation of a new Christian community out of them, for the glory of God, an increase of the Catholic Faith, and the eternal salvation of such a large number of souls they had baptized, and would baptize later on, God willing. It seems appropriate then to mention the condition of those Islands, and the opportunity given them to better themselves, thanks to God's grace, and the zeal of the first few Religious who made their entrance there.

[Chapter 7, describing the Mariana Islands, is omitted. So is Chapter 8.]

### **Chapter 9. Fr. Luis de Medina begins his apostolic preaching in the Mariana Islands.**

Having sighted the Island of Guan (which has been renamed San Juan, by only changing one letter)<sup>2</sup> on 15 June, on the very day chosen by the Venerable Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico to begin the devotion to honor the saint, in memory of the 10 years of his Apostolic pilgrimage in the Orient, for the happy event of the conversion of the Mariana Islands. This coincidence was observed by the curious piety of the New Preachers as a good omen.

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1 Ed. note: Choco lived at Paa, a village at some distance from Umatac, the intended landing point.

2 Ed. note: St. John the Baptist was chosen by Fr. Sanvitores as the patron saint of Guam, because the Royal decree authorizing his mission had been signed on his feast-day, 24 June 1665.

The next day, the two Fathers Luis de Sanvitores and Luis de Medina stepped ashore, with so much trust in God and [feeling] as safe as in any port in Spain. Having preached to them in their language, which Fr. Sanvitores already knew perfectly [well] and Fr. Luis de Medina a little, concerning the mysteries of our Holy Faith and the purpose of his coming to their land, they gathered the fruit of their preaching in the form of the baptisms of a few babies who were offered willingly by their parents, and began preparing some adults during the first two days (which was the time of the stopover of the galleon which was on the way to the Philippines, where the first news of them was carried) by giving Catechism lessons to more than 1,500 persons who begged for baptism.

Fr. Luis was now in his element and could lay his anxieties to rest, by exercising his fervor. His first task, which he tackled with vigor and resolution, was the study of the language, which is always the main problem for missionaries; they can be masters of such a high doctrine, but unable to find the words to teach it. However, his application was so great that, with the basic knowledge he had acquired at sea from the Interpreter, he improved so quickly that soon he reached a level sufficient for the ordinary exercise of the Gospel ministry. Within two years, he had mastered it with the success which we will see in his gospel preaching.

In the entrance into, and undertaking of the Mariana Islands, there were many things that could have appeared formidable to anyone tackling the enterprise with less drive than his. The land is completely sterile, with no greater signs of civilization that we said in Chapter 7. The inhabitants are without subordination, not subject to any chief. The young men follow the natural spirit of their lively years, something common to young men everywhere, but more so in those islands where they are reared in complete liberty, without the restraint of punishment, because there is not any, not even coming from their parents. These were difficulties very similar to those experienced by St. Francis Xavier in Japan, despite their civility. The lack of food, specially for one raised where there is food aplenty, as in Andalusia, is noteworthy. Meat as food is unknown there; fish can rarely be had, and rice, the bread of the Philippines, is even scarcer. The ordinary food consists of a few roots, not so good, although they look like potatoes in Spain. Bread is a fruit they call *Rimay*, and is available only a few months of the year. What supply of food they could get during the time of their preaching was some Spanish pumpkins which are found in those islands in greater abundance than other foods, because the islanders do not eat them; so, it seemed as if God's providence had reserved them in abundance for his servants. The land is partly uneven, partly inaccessible on account of woody hills; in other parts it is full of rivers and swamps. The roads are rough, strewn with stones as sharp as blades, without the relief that would be provided by horses in other places; to avoid the hardships of walking along the roads, they reduced their travel. Another difficulty is having to use very small craft to pass from one island to another. That is a risky business, even when the sea is calm, and more so in the straits, and wind gusts between islands where the winds are more impetuous, the seas more disturbed, the currents so great that they usually grab the canoes and push them out to the high sea, or leave them stranded as far as the Philippines.

All these difficulties, and hardships, made Fr. Luis stronger, with God's grace, so much so that he thought they were too few and too light, and he added to them with mortifications and penances. Since there was not much he could cut out from his food and not too many hardships he could add, he would have placed his life in the hands of the Barbarians, had not the Superior kept him in check. First of all, he abstained from the luxuries that our Lady, the Marchioness of Mancera, had liberally provided for the sea voyage, part of which had remained for life ashore. He was so determined in the vow that he had made to her that he convinced his Companions by his example to give up these leftovers for the relief of the Spanish soldiers who remained as a garrison, judging that, since they were less accustomed to mortification, they would not bear the lack of food supplies with the same tolerance as they. However, it did not happen that way, because, to follow the example of Fr. Luis, the rest of the Companions renounced them and they too gave them up voluntarily to the soldiers, some deciding to give them the sea biscuits that had remained from their sea voyage, and others giving them to the Mariana children to please them and attract them to love the Christian Doctrine, because they knew how true what the apostolic missionary to Mexico, Fr. Pedro Juan Castini, used to repeat, with no less truth, that the Faith enters the Indians not only through their ears but also through their mouths.

His nightly rest, after he had walked many leagues and spent the whole day catechizing, preaching and baptizing, was very little sleep upon some palm mat, with his clothes on; this was a custom he began, and kept observing from the time he entered those islands. The body disciplines, the hair shirts, the fasts upon fasts (because he even abstained from fasting food) and the other penances were such and so many that the Superior, to whom he confessed about them to follow the Rule, urged him to moderation, so that he would not imperil his life, and thus cause serious harm to those Missions.

This voluntary mistreatment of his body, with which he began and continued his apostolic ministry, showed how few the hardships seemed to him, that the harvest of those islands was driving his anxious spirit to suffer even death, and upon the Cross for Christ. He began his Mission by making an entrance into those villages, without any defence except that provided by God, without any food to sustain himself along the road except that provided by divine providence, with only his breviary, and instead of a cloak, some kind of reed robe (called mat there) that he used as a rain coat. This is a scheme devised by the Fathers of those Missions, so that they would not have to wear any cloaks, not overcoats; in effect, because of the heat, or the bother, they usually walk without any overcoat, or cloak; the Mariano people judge them to be superfluous luxuries, and they beg to have them to wear themselves, and to refuse their request would be to displease them, because they are like children, and much spoiled ones at that.

What he says in his relation about the business of his apostolic task, is for consideration, rather than mere telling. His greatest zeal, something his burning charity was committed to, was to benefit the children; he baptized all of them but the most needy first. This was an endeavor which he learned from the great Apostle of the Indies, who



used to say that what should concern a Missionary the most, and the most palpable fruits resulting from his labors, was the children; indeed, if they were to die before the age of reason—not a rare occurrence—they would go directly to Heaven, and there they act as intermediaries on behalf of those who did them so much good, and for their own people for whom they no doubt wish as much good as they themselves enjoy.

Upon arriving at the villages, he asked about the infants there, if any of them were sick, and without taking a rest, he would go to their parents' houses and baptize those whose life was at risk. The others were baptized in the church, or the inn that was used as a church. Regarding this, he had no small contradictions, specially after a perverse Chinese idol-worshipper introduced among those barbarians a diabolic thought, that is, that the water of baptism was poison for their children; the proof, he said, was that some of their children (who had been dying already) had died soon after being baptized. However, Fr. Luis was more cunning and efficient; no matter how their parents hid their children, or tried to prevent their being baptized, he would take them out or had them brought out. He would not stop until he had made them children of God through baptism, and thus assured them the eternal salvation, in case they died. They were numerous, and very remarkable cases of providence which God used toward the Father as well as toward the children; this was the result of his holy effort.

One night that he was sailing to a village, a savage northerly [wind] pushed him away from the island and to the high sea with such danger that he feared drowning and prepared himself and four other persons with him to die. Seeing himself without human recourse, he appealed to the divine; among the many saints he implored, he mentioned the children whom he had baptized and were now in Heaven, where they could help him. He had no sooner invoked them that, to use his own words, which he used in a letter to his Superior, because they are more forceful: *As soon as I invoked them, I heard some external voices clearly and distinctly, as if it were a baby girl very close to me who said those words in a very sweet voice: I am always here. Sometimes, I heard: Father. At other times, it seemed I heard a child crying. What is certain is that I was not dreaming, because how can one under such circumstances, &c.* End of quote of Fr. Luis.

He escaped that danger through the intercession, as can be piously believed, of the advocates he invoked.

The next day, when he reached a village of the island of Guan, called **Aputon**,<sup>1</sup> he learned that on the night of his danger a four-month-old baby girl whom he had baptized had died. That afternoon, when he inquired if there were any babies to baptize, he found a 20-day-old baby very skinny and sick, whose mother had died a few days earlier. He baptized it, and within a short time it died, and went to Heaven. It would be a pious thing to believe that the baby girl that had died that night and flown to Heaven was the one that had assured him of her help, and that the child that had been at risk and that he baptized, the one that, through his Guardian Angel had called him

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1 Ed. note: Also written Haputo, on the NW coast.

when at risk of losing his temporal life, so that he would save him from eternal damnation.

### **Chapter 10. Continuation of his Gospel preaching and its fruits.**

As these efforts made by the Father to baptize young children were so pleasing to God, he would save him from the dangers that he took toward that end. Having baptized in a village called **Triapsan**,<sup>1</sup> there was one child in particular whose parents were Christians. Two [men] from the same village, who had been present at the baptism, when informed that Fr. Luis was about to leave to go to another village, went ahead and waited for him along the road, intending to kill him. God, however, who then wished to preserve him for the good of many, decided that there suddenly appeared a craft going to the said village. As it was small, there was room in it only for the Father and one companion; the other companions went overland. When they arrived at a wooded area, the would-be assassins came out to kill them, but they ran faster than Fr. Luis would have run, and they escaped. Fr. Luis then thought that the boat had been a special intervention of God, which was so timely that he knew thereby that God was pleased with his efforts on behalf of those souls.

Accordingly, the Father was in a hurry to cover time and again the villages of the heathens, on account of the persecution of the Chinese that had affected all the Fathers, and more specially him, as we have said. Otherwise, the number of baptisms would have been greater, not only those of children, but adults too. A good proof of that was that in only one month, during which he criss-crossed the island of Guam without this problem, he alone baptized 3,000. This persecution was specially addressed to Fr. Luis on account of the baptisms of the babies, since the Chinese had persuaded the Indians that the Father was a magician, that he put poison in the water poured on the babies, and the holy oils on the sick adults. In the first case, he pointed out as proof the fact that some babies had died, soon after their baptism, as he said, as a result of it; in the second case, he said that he himself had witnessed in Manila many adults dying after getting the oils.

They also persecuted his companions because, in order to satisfy their needs, whenever there was no fish from the sea, they ate fish from the rivers which they themselves do not eat out of superstition.<sup>2</sup> Even if at first the Father had abstained from eating this type of fish, in his opinion to imitate St. Francis Xavier who had given up eating meat, and fish, when he entered Japan, so as not to scandalize the Bonzes<sup>3</sup> who ate neither meat nor fish, but, after the case was studied, it was recognized that the Bonzes did so out of abstinence; thus, St. Francis Xavier did the same, to avoid blame. However, the Ladrones abstained from eating river fish out of superstition, the same way

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for Inapsan, a village on the northern coast of Guam.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Luis and his companions ate some eels, which the natives considered taboo.

3 Ed. note: Meaning the Buddhist priests.

the Jews and Moslems abstain from bacon. Therefore, it was decided to do exactly the reverse, to undeceive them, not just from that superstition, but also from others. That gave one more opportunity for the Chinese to alienate him, and the Mariano people to persecute him. More than once they tried to spear him, because he purposely chose to preach in some places where they keep a superstitious silence, those they call **Atota(s)**.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, as the cause was God's cause, among these persecutions, the trouble put up by the Devil against the progress of the holy Faith, what affected the Father the most was the consolation that the providential mercy made evident in the tranquility of some villages of his ministry. Regarding one called **Fuuña**,<sup>2</sup> he wrote the following to Fr. Sanvitores:

*I write to Y.R. to give you an account of the happiness of my Mission, so that Y.R. will give thanks to the Most Holy Virgin Mary, who is the one who makes it so, because she not only moves everybody so that they will let themselves be taught willingly, but also the whole day, without any noise, or talking. Rather, the children wake me up before daybreak for me to teach them, saying in their language: "Father, it is now daylight, teach us." And not only these, but also those who are not baptized, she moved them to become Christians, and they bring Mariano people to me from other villages to the roads, or to the houses where I am, so that I may baptize them. I have already baptized 128, &c. End of quote of Fr. Luis de Medina.*

Here can be seen how God would counter-balance the contradictions received by him in some villages by peace and welcome in other villages. In the latter, although most of the people would withdraw and hide the babies, specially when they were sick and otherwise in danger, so that he would not kill them, because they were convinced that the water of baptism was poisonous. Nevertheless, there were fathers and mothers of such great Faith and valor who, breaking with this fear, would take out and deliver their babies to have them baptized by our people. Furthermore, there were children who, fleeing from their natural parents who had hidden them, would come to the spiritual fathers who were looking for them, in order to be reborn in Christ. Such demonstrations gave much credit to holy Baptism.

What happened at a village was no less comforting and an encouragement for the fervent Missionary. This village was renamed Santa Cruz, because it was entered the first time on the feast-day of the Triumph of the Cross, and it was triumphed over a good number of Idols, or superstitious figures of their ancestors, that were burned in a bonfire. In this village, a totally-deaf woman had been hidden by her relatives. She was so old that she was over 100 years old.<sup>3</sup> He finally heard about her, but as she was deaf,

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1 Ed. note: Meaning "taboo" in the local language (see Doc. 1673L).

2 Ed. note: Fuña was located near Agat, on the west coast of Guam.

3 Ed. note: A wrong impression made upon young missionaries. In Europe at that time, people over 60 were rare and appeared very old. The old Chamorro lady could not have been much older than that.

and as the Faith had to enter her through the ears, he tried to open them first; he applied to them a relic of the Holy Cross which he carried with him and, at the same time, he recited a prayer to the holy spouse of the Virgin Mary whose day it was.<sup>1</sup> Right away, she gave signs of hearing, so that she was able to respond to the instruction of baptism, which she willingly received, and she continued understanding other things they were telling her, at the great admiration of her family, and the others who learned of it.<sup>2</sup>

Even more remarkable was the following case. In another village of the island of Guam, he found a woman who had not been speaking for five days, and was on the point of death. She had previously resisted the holy Faith, and baptism, at the suggestion of the perverse Chinese. Father Luis was saddened by the loss of that soul. Seeing that human means had had no effect upon her, when healthy, and that she was now useless for being unconscious, he called upon the divine ones with a lively Faith. He applied to the sick woman a relic from the entrails of St. Francis Xavier, which he carried with others inside a cross. He recited a prayer to him, and to the Holy Name of Mary, and then, at everyone's amazement, she gave signs of consciousness; she recovered her voice and repeated the Act of Contrition which Fr. Luis said for her and asked for baptism, not just once, but twice in a clear voice. She responded as best she could to the instruction, and received baptism. After having used speech that whole afternoon, by morning she was without it once more.

I would willingly stop here for a while, in order to praise the treasures of God's mercy, but that would be to interrupt the thread of the story. She was one woman among thousands and thousands of others who died before having the opportunity of baptism, but this one had been kept alive for 100 years! And then she was miraculously brought back from death to life, only to gain Heaven. Besides, she had never heard of Heaven, was not placed to hear about it, and did not even merit to hear about it, save through the merits of Christ the Son! *Judicia Dei abyssus multa!*<sup>3</sup>

## Chapter 11. Other progress made in preaching the Faith, and some special favors from God regarding it.

The conversion of the village of Nisian<sup>4</sup> (which is now called St. Francis Xavier) is a remarkable one. The inhabitants had been infected by the perverse doctrine of the Chinese, and so they had resisted the Fathers three times, even refusing to hear them or let them enter [the village] to preach the Faith. On St. Francis Xavier's Day, Fr. Luis felt compelled to insist upon an entrance there, and commending it to the Most Holy Virgin through the holy Apostle, he promised to give it his name, if he succeeded in reducing it. He instituted a series of prayers, which lasted the full 8 days of its octave, with various devotions, and penances; at least twice a day, he would discipline [himself] with

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1 Ed. note: The event took place, therefore, on 19 March 1669.

2 Ed. note: With due respect for miracles, I think she was mute rather than deaf.

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "God's judgment is unfathomable."

4 Ed. note: Misprint for Nisihan, sometimes written Nisichan, a place on the NE coast of Guam.

a small iron chain twice, and some nights three times; he would go into the bush and do it among the trees, so that his companion would not be aware of it, but he was surprised once with a bloody whip in his hand. During these exercises he would continue to attend to the ministries of the Residence. The octave of the Saint arrived. On that day he said mass with this special intention and was left assured, as can be believed, of the eventual success. He arrived at the village and found the people there so changed that they seemed to be other people. Indeed, after listening intently to the explanation of the doctrine, they were suddenly moved by Heaven and said they wanted to become Christians. The result was so good that by the octave of the Immaculate Conception [i.e. December 1668] they were all catechized and baptized, at the incredible consolation of Fr. Luis.

One circumstance should not be omitted, that moved him to pray with such effort the Virgin Mary, and St. Francis Xavier, the remedy of these miserable ones, that was, the two wounds from two blows with sticks received from the villagers. One blow on the forehead caused the first wound. The second blow was made between the eyes on the nose, which broke a vein and made him bleed the whole day; extraordinary efforts had to be made to stop it. However, all these reverses were caused by the Father's hunger for choice dishes. The frank words used by the Servant of God at the end of the letter in which he gives an account of this case to his Superior are worth repeating:

*I was very glad to see that my blood was being spilled for Christ. In the afternoon I came to **Sacaran**<sup>1</sup> and was received very well by all, and they were very sorry that I was in such a state. Despite my pain and the Devil, late yesterday I baptized many children here, and as many as 32 adults. Today, God willing, I must do the same (although my eyes are swollen, and part of my face) so that the Devil will not come out on top. Here they have treated me with my own medicine, and I find myself not worse, although I had a little fever last night, and could not sleep, &c. After his signature (because some time must have passed before he despatched the letter) he adds: *I have made 130 Christians already, in spite of the impediments placed in my way by the Devil.* And, on another piece of paper: *I was in doubt about returning to the Residence, but having learned that it is God's will* (because he had received a letter to that effect from the Superior) *I will not go, but will continue to treat myself here, because, although I am that way, time will not be wasted. Indeed, yesterday I have catechized, and baptized 44 adults, and some children. Today I will do the same, even though it will cost me much hardship, as I cannot see much and have a bad headache.**

In order that it can be seen, not only what the Father was doing and suffering to gain souls for God, but that the Lord was assisting him, he then said, as if foreseeing what had to happen: *I was somewhat better when I got up this morning. With God's help, I will be very well within eight days.* His infinite mercy was to fulfill this wish, within the time mentioned, as the Father himself wrote to his Superior: *Thanks be to God our*

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for Sasayan, a village that appeared on maps of Guam as late as the 18th century. It was located south of Pagat on the NE coast.

*Lord, and to his Most Holy Mother, forever and ever, for the health that was given back to me so soon. Indeed, within eight days, without more medicine than a few herbs, my two wounds are now very well, and the flesh has grown back without the need of bandages. Rather, since the Most Holy Virgin was the Physician, few human remedies were necessary. Also our Father St. Ignatius showed himself to be a pious Father, because on his feast-day I woke up with the swelling totally gone from my eyes, forehead and nostrils. What is more, the vein was then welded and the flesh had begun to grow back. I mention this to Y.R. so that you will join me in giving thanks to God, and to his Most Holy Mother, and to our Fr. St. Ignatius. Dear Father, nothing has been lost, and the Devil did not get what he wanted, because within the eight days that I have spent here, our Lord has been served to be praised by and revealed to 216 whom I have baptized during this time. Tomorrow I will go to a place that is nearby, in order to finish baptizing those who have not come here.*

Although everything that has been written this far is full of particular favors from God, and with examples of his own of rare patience and God's charity toward his neighbors, with which he would make himself ready to work marvels for Him, as we have seen, and will see, the example he gave in the village of Sacayan [sic], with the one who hit him with a stick and wounded him badly, deserves a special place in his biography. He learned that his malefactor was hiding there, out of fear or out of shame for what he had done to a guest; he had him called and told on his behalf that he would do him no harm. He came. When he saw him, he embraced him and told him in front of all those of the village (who had rushed to see what show he would make with him) that he was forgiving him with all his heart. He took this opportunity to give them a speech in their language, pointing out to them the goodness of that Lord, whom he was announcing to them, since he had taught his disciples, not only not to take revenge against those who do them harm, but to return good for evil, and that they should imitate and follow them also. Although the doctrine made everyone happy, the malefactor was specially pleased and much satisfied with Fr. Luis; he confessed himself to him (because he was already baptized) and became reconciled with God as well.

Amid such contradictions, with which the Devil was trying to hinder the progress of our holy Faith in the Mariano people, he played such a dirty trick on the zealous minister that the light of Heaven which guided him became necessary to understand it, and undermine it. Let us say it with the words which the Father wrote to his Superior: *No one in Spain, and Manila, would believe what happened to me, not even I, although I was experiencing it, could convince myself that such was the case, until after many experiences finally convinced me of it. Dear Father, Y.R. should know that the Devil has taken, according to my understanding, a holy title so that our holy Faith will not be extended to the whole of this island; that is, that the Mariano people do not let me go from one place to another, but insist on my remaining in theirs, courting me to obtain this, by saying that they wish to become Christians, that their place comes first, and the other next. No matter how I tell them that I will return soon, they do not believe it, and say that there is no road to the other village overland, even when there is. When there*

*is access only by sea, no-one wants to take me, no matter how much I give them of what they esteem so much, that is, a few beads, and other trinkets, that it is really amazing. In order for Y.R. to be amazed as well, I will tell you what happened to me yesterday afternoon. Yesterday afternoon, as I said, when I wanted to leave, they all tried to persuade me that there was no road; as they saw that I was going, one of them went running ahead of me obstructing the road, by cutting trees, and throwing them in the way. No doubt this was the impulsion of the Devil, because, after I had walked and arrived at the place, I baptized 12 children, and some of them very sick.*

*From this place, they did not want me to leave either, saying that there was no road to the next, as indeed I have found out that there is none, but I had not walked more than half a league by another road when they came to me, saying that they would show me the way, and they took me by very bad trails back to their own village. No-one there wanted to take us by sea to the next village, where they said we would be killed. Finally, when I was with this predicament, there came one who said that he would take me. I very happily boarded his craft and he took me to **his** village and, no matter what I said, he did not want to take me where I wanted to go. Consequently, I am now two leagues further back, at a place called **Upugat**,<sup>1</sup> where they have much rejoiced at my coming, &c.*

*In another letter, he says: I did well in **Tupungan**, which has 300 men, and was much favored by God's providence, and our Lady, because on Tuesday I went to a place called **Oroaña**,<sup>2</sup> as big as it, distant one league. Making my way toward that place, as I wished to go by sea, because there is no way overland, until noon I could not find anyone to take me, because they were telling me that they were very much at odds with the said place, and that they would kill us all, if we went. As I did not wish the Devil to come out on top, I entrusted the matter to God, and to His Most Holy Mother. I then found a very good canoe, and went off in it. Upon arriving at the place, the sailors still refused to go near it, but the Mother of God arranged for the women, and their parents, to come out to the seashore with their children in their arms, and they were calling us, telling us to come to their houses, to baptize their children, the mothers placing their hands upon the heads of the children, and saying that water was to be spilled on them. This done, they went away contented. This pleased me, and their enemies, very much. Last night, I slept there, and they shared with me whatever they had; I have not experienced more contentment anywhere else. Thank God, who arranged it so. I have baptized over 50 children, among them many sick ones, &c.*

From all of this we can see how badly the Devil was doing with him, and what little headway he made with Fr. Luis. Indeed, he was trying to find ways, and looking for dirty tricks, to impede his zeal, and he would no longer show his face in the open, as the saying goes, since he made use of the mask of deceit in order to win the war.

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1 Ed. note: Also written Opagat (not to be confused with Pagat). This was located in the SE corner of Apra Harbor.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for Fuuña, or Fuña.

## Chapter 12. Of the progress he made due to his tolerance, and how God guided him extraordinarily in some special cases.

Apostolic men do not only make progress or preach with holy words, but rather, and better, with holy examples; Father Luis has given us some proof of that. Once he was preaching in one of those places that they superstitiously consider taboo, where it is forbidden to talk. An Indian hit him with a stick. Fr. Luis stumbled and fell on the ground. The man would have attacked him further, had not his wife stopped him, but he being furious that he could not wound the Father, discharged the force of his fury upon a neighboring tree, thus venting his anger. After some time had passed, and his fury also, the Father embraced him, and with his pleasant manner, patience, and calm turned an enemy into a friend.

Once he was in a village, named **Megga**<sup>1</sup> to baptize a sick child, there came an Indian with a spear, threatening him and saying that he would use it, if he baptized that child. As he was not paying attention to his threat, the man came up to him and violently upset the water that he had in his hands to baptize the child. However, Fr. Luis, who did not fear death but rather desired it to comply with his ministry, carried on, and finished his baptism, thus tying the hands of the Barbarian with his modesty and equanimity, and preventing him from pursuing his impudence. God repaid him in cash later for this insult, with the honor and reverence with which they received him at the village of **Pago**, half a league from there; indeed, after they gave him a famous welcome, they told him that they wished to become Christians, and so, he instructed and baptized many of them.

The same thing happened in the village of **Pan**<sup>2</sup> where he met with the Chinese, the perverter of the Mariano people. He showed him so much graciousness, and applied such good efforts, that he finally reconciled him, and reduced him so that he withdrew his bad doctrine, and asked for baptism, during which he was named Ignacio.<sup>3</sup> However, as the cure is seldom in the hands of he who gives the wounds, he was unable to uproot the weeds that he had sown, in spite of this retractation. From here he wrote a paper to the Superior, in which he shows how he knew how to turn evil into good, and love his enemies in order to make them friends, with the following words: *The bearer [of this letter] is the [adoptive] father of our friend Choco (so he referred to the Chinese) and his two daughters, who are going for trinkets and little bells, which have been promised to each one of them. As for Choco, he has asked for a suit of clothes, as the one he has is very much worn out. Y.R. may give them what you see fit. And in order to show that there is no means more powerful to gain souls than calmness and patience, he pursues: My Mission is going very well, thank God, and his Most Holy Mother, and giving much fruit; many have been baptized and I already have one Mary in Heaven, where she may pray God for us, and for His Mariano people; it seems as if the Most*

1 Ed. note: In the area where the University of Guam campus is now located.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for Paa, a place on the south coast.

3 Ed. note: This conversion of Choco has been ascribed to Fr. Sanvitores by other writers.



*Holy Virgin had kept her alive so that she might receive baptism. This girl was six years old, very sick, and very skinny, and I baptized her last Sunday. Yesterday, Monday, in the morning she died. About another marvel that happened, I will tell you about it once I am in Agaña, &c.*

Although we do not know what this marvel was about, because he reserved it for a verbal report to the Superior, it is no little marvel that the Father succeeded in planting Christian customs and rites so quickly among such a barbarous and uncivilized people, as will be seen in this letter of his: *Through God's mercy, he says, a form of Christianity is being established in this village, and in all its inhabitants. Many people come from other villages on Sundays to hear mass, and the Doctrine. And further down: Now they are becoming better, and have come from all the places in this Island to see the Nativity scene, which we have made. Before I let them see it, I impose one condition, which is that they are to say the Doctrine first; the result is that they all first recite the Creed, the Commandments, the Act of Contrition, and other things that I made them repeat. Consequently, with this Christmas, a large part of this Island has been acquainted with the Christian doctrine, and every day there is progress. I am very pleased with the fruit that has been gathered as a result of the Nativity scene.*

At about this time there died a leading man of the town of Agaña whose name was Quipuha, and Don Juan by baptism. He had been the first with whom Fr. Luis had spoken when he had stepped ashore at the Island of Guan, and he who had lodged him in his house, and given a site for a church. Because he had helped him so much during the first phases of his preaching, those who made much progress with the Faith in that Island owed him much. The Father took care of him during his illness, and assisted him at his death; he buried him honorably with a wake, and a high mass. First, having ordered that the burial procession be done with funeral splendor used by the Church, within the means of that poor site, not only for the purpose of undeceiving them from their superstitious burial rites, of which they are very fond, but also to show them that Christian thankfulness and charity do not end with the life of the do-gooder, but that they live even beyond the grave. Because the Mariano people (as is common with other Indians in other regions) are attracted to the love of Christian customs and ceremonies by the sound of any musical instrument, and the sight of any showy banner, he decided that on the way to the house of the deceased, and on the way back to church, the Standard of our Fr. St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier would lead the procession and that a clarion would be sounded, something the Mariano people like to hear very much. Fr. Luis had it as a rule that, as necessity renders all things common, so it was to the benefit of these Barbarians to get used to banners and festive instruments and to make the burials into happy events. Because one of the [Filipino] lay companions who knew how to play the clarion was reluctant to do it, perhaps because it was below his dignity, the servant of God began to sound it himself, teaching him and convincing him by his example that no office, which enhances the holy rites of the Church, and Christian customs, should be considered indecent, by one who is [Christian]. So, this pious action was so well received by those Islanders that, as a sign of appreciation they had of it,

they were asking the Father if he would, upon their own death, bury them that way. Humility is so efficiently powerful in persuading, and a good example has similar strength, when it is God who animates the zeal of such actions!

One event should not be forgotten here, as it shows no less brightly God's admirable providence. Since this chief had been the paramount chief, who gave lodging to our people, and the site for the church, he was also the first to be interred in the church. The resistance they had shown until then in burying the Christian deceased at places other than where they had buried their ancestors was thus defeated. It was he who, when alive, had lodged those of the Society in his house, and gave an entrance to the Faith in the Island of Guan. He was later to accredit the Faith further, once dead, because he appeared (as they reported) to one of his sons, and told him that he was in Heaven. As a result of this, many have been confirmed into the Christian religion, and showed their esteem for the truths and holy customs that it teaches.

### **Chapter 13. How Fr. Luis de Medina took charge of the conversion of other islands, where the news of Christ had not been brought on purpose.**

Although at the beginning they [i.e. missionaries] had fruitfully been busy with the conversion and teaching of the Island of Guan, which is the main and largest one, once it was reduced it seemed to the Superior, after consulting the rest, that it would be proper to extend them as well to the islands that are further north, which can be reached (not without risk) by canoes from Guan. In this way, as the Sun of Justice would rise over them by preaching there, they would also be lucky to come out of the shadow of death in which they had slumbered during so many centuries. The fervent Father not only agreed with this decision, but offered himself willingly to whatever mission, however difficult and dangerous. There were six missionaries, five priests and one brother-student.<sup>1</sup> They then decided to have two remain on the Island of Guan, the other four to be distributed among the other 12 islands. The Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian and Saipan were assigned to Fr. Luis [Medina]; they called them Santo Angel, Buenavista Mariana, and San Joseph [respectively]. They were full of heathens, and even more so of difficulties and dangers. This was not simply a human assignment to these Islands for the Father, because a few days before, according to what he told his superior, he had felt a special light from Heaven, which made him understand that in one of those Islands, there was specially waiting for him what he had come to seek in the Indies, that is, martyrdom.

He then embarked for the islands of his mission, but charity and the need of his neighbors obliged him to spend one month in Zarpana, which was the first stop of his voyage. He visited it in four days, baptizing all the children who had been born since the last visit by Fr. Pedro de Casanova, and he was welcomed in its villages with much

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1 Ed. note: Their names were: Fathers Sanvitores, Cardeñoso, Medina, Casanova, and Morales; and then-Brother Bustillo.

peace and demonstrations of joy, although in one, because he had not yet received his wages as an apostolic missionary, they stoned him. One Indian was running after him with a lance to kill him, and would have done it, if a good woman had not stopped him, long enough for him to escape.

It is not possible to mention all his work during this month in Zarpana (which is now called Santa Ana) nor all the steps that the souls that he reduced to the knowledge of Christ cost him. Fr. Diego de Sanvitores, an eyewitness to his glorious fatigues says: *I don't know where he got his feet from, if not from the strength that we have mentioned, to walk almost continuously, going up and down, from mountains to swamps, at all hours, in order not to miss a single soul of children, or of adults, sick or healthy.* However, it is true that his own strength, or that of anyone stronger, for the hardships that he endured for the enterprises that he undertook, would not have been enough, had not God, and the holy Virgin, under whose protection he lived, not given him the energy, and increased his spirit by the special favors made to him. The man of God, seeing that their help was so patent, saw every enterprise as an easy one, and every task a bearable one.

One thing in particular animated him here greatly to work for that Lady, who so decidedly showed herself as the Patroness of her Mariana Missions. He had a companion in the Island of Santa Ana, a Spanish youth named **Gregorio**, who had been in the service of their Excellencies the Marquis and Marchioness of Mancera, the viceroy and vicequeen of Mexico, and had joined Fr. Sanvitores to serve our Lord in these missions. He remained in charge of a village, while Fr. Luis roamed the others. Well, one afternoon some islanders made fun of him and mocked him. One of them threatened him, that he would spear him, by which he felt much sadness. That evening, when a leading Indian woman (who had lodged Fr. Luis and him in her house) was in the church, awake, she saw much decoration (so she explained herself in her language), and very clearly, that the Mother of God was on the ground next to the altar, with many children. She seemed very annoyed and said in her language: *Why do you take me from the place I was on the altar, and place me on the ground, and make a mockery of God, and of Gregorio? I will defend the house of God, and Gregorio.* The woman narrated this to the Father when he returned to the village, and the result, it seems, is that he credited the vision as true, because she was terrified by it and had told the whole village, and the next day, the mother of the one who had wished to spear the youth, came to speak to him, and have him reconciled with her son. This was no doubt the result of the patronage and assistance of the holy Virgin toward her affectionate devotee, Fr. Luis.

Although the next case does not affect Fr. Luis de Medina more than the others, I wish to place it here, because it is similar to the one just referred to, and because it is no less a proof of the special protection of this divine Lady toward those islands, and their apostolic workers, and because it no doubt served as an encouragement for Fr. Luis to work there lovingly on her behalf. There lived a lucky new Christian by the name of **Ignacio Ipapa**, in the village of Sunharon, now called Immaculate Conception in the Island of Buenavista [i.e. Tinian], at the time that the Chinese Choco waged a well-

known war against baptism. The most holy Virgin appeared to this man, either in dreams, or, as he himself said not once but twice under interrogation, awake, on the 17th of August [1669], which is in the octave of the glorious [feast of] Assumption. The form under which he saw her is that under which she is venerated, as the miraculous image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico, which appeared to another Indian, with the only difference being that the hands, which are joined together in the image of Mexico, as in images of the Conception, had them here in the manner shown in images of the [Lady of] Charity, busy with two children, who are feeding at her virginal breast. Before her, there were 8 more, bigger, children, and they were pulling a dog tied to a cord with 8 strands, to tie to the feet of the most holy Virgin, in spite of the resistance it made, and its barking. This apparition, besides representing the victory of the Mariano children over Cerberus<sup>1</sup> (that has swallowed so many millions of souls from those islands until then), by baptism at the intercession of the most pure Virgin, seems to mean that this Lady had to tie up, to the benefit of those innocent children, the perverse Chinese who had barked so much, to his own prejudice as it turned out. Indeed, three days later, he was reduced to our Faith and received baptism, to which the blessed Fr. Luis took no small part, as we have said earlier. It was a thing worthy of his devotion that this sovereign Mother responded with such prodigious signs.

Not only the most holy Daughter, but also her glorious Mother St. Ann, to whose name the Island [of Rota] had been dedicated, took pleasure in favoring and encouraging the lucky Father, as can be seen in what he wrote to his superior, as follows: *So that my Lady St. Ann be glorified, I will narrate to Y.R. a miracle that she did last night. The daughter of our landlady came here in tears, because her mother was dying in another house. I went there at once; she was unable to speak, senseless, and like dead, although she understood somewhat. So, she showed signs of contrition, and I absolved her. As she herself told me afterwards (in her own language), she had heard little of the loud words I had used. I applied my Cross containing relics to her, and intended to apply the relic of St. Ann, but the first prayer that I could think of was that to our Holy Father [St. Ignatius], mixed with that to St. Francis Xavier; I wished to repeat that to our Holy Father, but said that to St. Xavier. That being so, I applied the relic of this Saint, but it did not work. I recited the prayer to St. Ann, and at the moment of saying the last words "Ejus patrocinijs adjuvemur,"<sup>2</sup> she got up, and then spoke, taking the relics in her hand. She said in her language: "God is good, who has made my heart good, and has followed me to my house, which is now very good." May God be blessed, who has deigned to be glorified in his holy Grandmother.*

Whoever may read about these merciful demonstrations of God, for the encouragement of his servant, and to the credit of his preaching, should not forget the visible assistance which He has [also] given to the Preachers of His Church, who then as now has known how to work wonders, whenever, however, and with whomever He chooses. In

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1 Ed. note: The mythological dog guarding Hades, or the gates of Hell.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Help us with your patronage."

these poor islands, despised by human eyes, He has shown His power, no less than His mercifulness, through Fr. Luis, whom He has chosen as their apostle and proto-martyr, as will be seen by the events, to take place in the three islands that he took over as his own mission field, and where he worked ceaselessly until his death.

#### **Chapter 14. The fruit gathered in the three islands assigned to him.**

Fr. Luis took possession of his islands [in August 1669]. At the first visit he made to that of **Saipan**, which was [to be] that of his martyrdom, he baptized 607. In that of **Tinian**, he gathered some fruit, but not as much, because he used this first visit to bring remedy to the children, as the ones most at risk; as they do not know, nor are able to ask for it, therefore, their very need demands that they be first to receive it. In all the three islands, he was at first well received, and his ministries much esteemed. In five months, as he himself wrote, he had baptized almost 800 in all the three islands, having gained them over for God through acts of charity and mercy. He went so far, as they say, as to take food from his own mouth to give to them, distributing it among them; once, he even gave up his shoes, and accustomed himself to the roughness of the roads by wearing some palm sandals that the Indians use by way of shoes. Taught by experience, he held the opinion that, what miracles do to reduce other heathens with greater understanding and capacity, charity works better among Indians, and more for the Marianos, he distributed a few trifles from Spain, which they received gladly, asking for no interest, other than showing them the way to Heaven. Regarding these virtues, and the ensuing generosity toward the Indians, Fr. Luis was outstanding, and, if we were to count as miraculous his great charity and the zeal with which he worked it out, no-one else would have worked more miracles of this kind, than he; God did not fail to illustrate his preaching with some wonderful cases, which exceed, it seems, human forces.

Once he found himself at **Aguingan**, a village in the Island of Saipan, when the people there wished to go fishing. They began to make themselves ready for this task, by performing their superstitious practices, which they use in invoking the souls of their ancestors, to obtain good results at fishing. The Father scolded them for such an error, and exhorted them to pray to God instead, as He was the only one who could help them and give them the abundance of fish they desired. They obeyed him and, leaving the vain superstition, invoked God, and went fishing. The Devil did not take this incident lightly, and to revenge it, he took over the wife of one of the chiefs who was watching the fishing. She suddenly began to shout like a mad one, saying: *Why should the Father come to remove the customs of our people? Now they will be punished for having obeyed him. They will not come back with any fish.* The Father had her seized, as she had apparently gone crazy. He applied a relic of the Holy Cross, ordering the Devil to leave her, in the name of Jesus Christ, but he showed no signs of doing so. Although she calmed down for a while, she later began to make even louder and more frantic shouts. Then The Father, remembering that this Island was dedicated to St. Joseph, applied his relic, saying: *Dæmon, si hic es, tibi præcipio in nomine Jesu Christi Filij Dei vivi, &*

*in nomine Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, & in nomine Sancti Josephi, ut exeas ab hac creatura Dei*, [which means] “Demon, if you are there, I order you in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God incarnate, and in the name of the Blessed Mary Virgin Immaculate, and in the name of Saint Joseph, to get out of this creature of God.” What a wonderful thing! As soon as these words were finished, the woman returned to her old self, and taking in her hand the Cross containing the relic, said: *This Cross has changed my heart*, and she became good again.

To this, and other wonders, that we have seen in the course of his preaching, he accumulated the signs to accredit it, the same as the Preacher of the Peoples had done during his apostolic life, that is, by patiently bearing the hardships and adversities that he suffered for it. They are many, and great, those that have been mentioned so far regarding Fr. Luis, but they were much more numerous, and greater, those he suffered at the end of his life in the Island of **Tinian**. When the Devil saw the rough war that he servant of God was waging against him, he furiously converted the initial love that the people there had shown him into a mortal hate. The leaders at the Residence where he lived,<sup>1</sup> conjured among themselves to cause him serious prejudice; whereas he tried to gain them over with benefits, they in turn gave outrage. Even the children, into whom fear normally instils respect, once when they were playing and he called them to come and hear the doctrine, became angry against him, so much so that they began to throw sticks and stones at him. At another time, when he was talking with another Father, a boy dared come up, pulled his cassock from behind and threw him down by the neck. He took it in such gentle stride that the companion wanted to punish the boy for it, but Fr. Luis intervened, saying that he was just a boy, and did not know what he was doing. But all of this, and much more that is left untold, was little for such a generous spirit who had swallowed death already in Spain, pledged his life to the spears of the Marianos, and yearned for hardships while facing death for Christ.

### **Chapter 15. He arranges peace between two enemy villages, at the cost of many prayers, and insults.**

While Fr. Luis was busy pacifying the discords involving the people of Marpo and those of Sungharon, in prejudice of the new Christian community of Tinian, what he got in return were rejections, snubs, and insults, which he suffered jointly with very real dangers for his life, during the time he took to negotiate peace between the enemy villages. He would cross the territory of one side, and that of the enemy side; sometimes he was received with bad words, sometimes with bad deeds, with displeasures, disdain, threats. Once he was received with the points of spears against his chest. At another time, a barbarian threw a spear at him, but he escaped; he would not have escaped the second time, if a chief, who had listened to Fr. Luis' reasoning and had agreed with him, had not stopped him. In spite of all these obstacles put up by the Devil to prevent the peace that the Father was working at, moved as he was by a special instinct from

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1 Ed. note: That was Sungharon.

God, as he himself says in a letter, and by a pity at seeing so many children lack the benefit of baptism on account of the war, risking the loss of Heaven, should they die without it in the meantime, he faced the villagers alone, wherever hate was fiercest and the ill-will generated by the enmities strongest. He placed himself in the hands of those who had showed themselves to be his mortal enemies and the enemies of his Companions as well. Animated by, and trusting in the patronage and protection of the most holy Virgin, responsible for all his successes, he was able to gain their goodwill, so well that he got them to agree to reconcile themselves and make up amicably, and also to make a public recognition of God, and the holy Cross, for the sin they had committed, when they stoned it; they had thrown some stones at Fr. Sanvitores, when they wished to hurt him.

The case happened this way. The two barbarian camps had been facing one another and were about to engage in battle, when the said Father went out. He, with Fr. Luis de Medina, was taking care of the few Spaniards who had come from Guan to quiet them down, and make them friends. He advanced with a cross in his hands, and while in their midst, he asked them, begged them for the love of God, and exhorted them to make up their differences and re-establish peace between themselves. The response to his words and prayers were stones, which they threw at him, some of which hit the standard of God (that is how they call the holy Cross in their language). Fr. Luis explained to them that this insult to Jesus Christ on the Cross, and to his minister, was a grave sin. They recognized it as such, and they made a rare show of piety, a would-be example for long-established Christians.

On 22 January [1670], on the eve of St. Vincent's Day and six days before his martyrdom, they came out of the village of Marpo, that had been the more reluctant one toward peace, in a procession. Fr. Luis de Medina was leading it with the Standard of the most holy Virgin, and of our Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Behind him were the catechism children, then the youths, and finally the older ones, and the old men from 7 villages. They all carried some thing in their hands, be it a fruit, or rice. There was a big [turtle] shell which, according to their custom is a sure sign of what they call *Tarioyot*, which means "gratitude". Thus they were walking along, repeating the Act of Contrition, sung out by the fervent Fr. Luis, towards the village of Sungharon, the opposite side. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores who was there, came out to meet them with the same cross in the hands that was mentioned above. When he reached the area where the insult had been done him, they all kneeled down before it, striking their chests and adoring it with sincere signs of contrition, repeating the Act of Contrition, expressing grief at having insulted it. This demonstration gave much joy to the Fathers, and much pleasure in Heaven, because, if there is rejoicing there when a lone sinner repents, how much more it would be at seeing so many repent that day?

To commemorate this reconciliation with the Holy Cross on that spot, from that day on it was called the *Campo de Santa Cruz* [Holy Cross Field]. There, two days later, each Father came together with the people of their village; they came to terms and celebrated the peace for the glory of our Lord, who came to pacify the world, and

for the good of the the souls of those islanders. Indeed, with peace the Faith of Christ could come freely into their villages. Here was built a chapel to Our Lady of Peace, as a trophy, and a monument to the one who had brought it in through her intercession.

As for the [turtle] shell, which is, as we have said, their best sign of gratitude, it was placed as a permanent reminder of past discords at the feet of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, the patroness and protectress of the Island of Tinian. Far from underestimating the circumstance involving this shell, that made more solemn the act of their *Taryoyot*. On past occasions when they had had problems, and peace negotiations had followed, those from Marpo were excusing themselves by saying, either truthfully or as a lie, that they could not make peace, since they lacked the shell, which is their most important symbol of their acts of gratitude. However, as God did not wish that a peace of such an importance be frustrated by such a frivolous pretext, He arranged for a turtle to come into their hands, while fishing during those war days; it was one of those rare times when turtles exist in those seas, normally empty of them. By this occurrence, Providence was sort of accusing them of rebellion and urging them to obey Fr. Luis. Indeed, this took place with God's grace and the intercession of the Virgin, to whom the success [of the mission] of those Islands have been entrusted.

## Chapter 16. Lucky martyrdom of Fr. Luis de Medina.

The peace celebration was due in a large part to the zeal and the efforts of Fr. Luis, a most heroic deed, full of incidents of valor and Christian fortitude. Thus it was the last rehearsal for an even more generous deed, one that would show his Christian charity, that of giving up his life for his God, and his Lord. It happened five days later, on the 29th of January of the year 1670.

As he had so happily fulfilled this function, the role of Angel of Peace, charity, which was burning in his heart for the children, was recalling him to the Island of **Saypan** where he had left them under the care of divine Providence, hoping to have their lives preserved, while he was concluding the peace between Marpo and Sungharon. God had let it be understood through meditation of the following words: *Quærite primum Regnum Dei*,<sup>1</sup> and he had to seek this Kingdom of God before anything else among the children, whom the Saviour valued so much.

Therefore, he left Tinian on Monday 27 January. As he had refrained to exercise his zealous spirit for the space of two months, he began, just as a river bursting a dam, by releasing this zealous energy throughout his Island of Saypan (now called St. Joseph), beginning first with the villages most in need, meaning those that he had not visited in a longer time, in search of their heathen islanders, specially the children, the old people, and the sick, who were most in need of the waters of baptism. However, he found them to have been so impressed and under the power of the enchanting voice of the Chinese, that, although he worked hard to pull that weed and to sow the good seed of the Christian doctrine, he did hardly gather anything else besides the fruit of his glorious death,

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Seek first the Kingdom of God."



by which he showed himself to be a true disciple of his beloved Master Jesus; to those he had loved before leaving the Island, he loved them after he returned to it, until the end of his life, losing it while in search of them.

The case happened this way. Since the Saypan people were worried and disturbed by the false apprehension that the Father killed children with the water of holy baptism, they were persecuting the Servant of God from his very first step on Saypan; the ones and the others did not stop throwing insults at him, in words and in deeds. So, the Father was able to exercise his singular patience at every step, encouraging the two lay companions with him to be patient also. These two, although armed, followed his example and encouragements and did not use them in any way, not even to make a show. They were refrained by the Father, so as not to harm the steps of his ministry; to quiet them down and oblige them, he was telling them that the best weapons under the circumstances were patience, and to simply ignore the insults. Those barbarians no doubt responded to this great suffering and concealment of his, and of his companions, with greater insolence, in order to defile them and make fun of them, calling them in their language *Abbas*, which means “silly”, and men who knew little, not even how to handle their weapons, or turn around. Thus, all the steps taken by the good Father on the island, from the moment he stepped ashore, were a continuous passion, and martyrdom, and a continuous [exercise of] patience, and merit for him.

In **Arrayao**,<sup>1</sup> the first village he visited, while he was looking for a child that had been hidden, he found only very good stones thrown at him instead; he received the blows willingly for the love of God. In **Tatachu**<sup>2</sup> he found a better reception. He explained the Christian doctrine, made a few baptisms at the pleasure of the people, thus counter-balancing the unpleasantness of the other village with the welcome of this one. However, when he left it, he received from the people of the other villages along the way, only insults and calumnies, they calling him killer, and even children eater. He left the hilly area of **Sugrian**,<sup>3</sup> where he had been looking for children and been told that their mothers had taken them down to the sea-shore, to follow them there. Behind him came a few barbarians who made him hurry his step. When he arrived at **Tipo Beach**,<sup>4</sup> where the children of Sugrian supposedly were, he found one infant born a few days earlier and asked its parents permission to baptize it. The commotion and rage of those who had come down from the hill, and of those on the beach who were opposed to him, were so great, and their blasphemies against God and His holy Law, such that they said, that he came to kill their children, that what he was saying, about baptism being the

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1 Ed. note: This village was located where San Antonio is today.

2 Ed. note: Tatachu must have been located in the area of San Vicente today.

3 Ed. note: This hamlet was located inland, i.e. over the cliffs overlooking what was Tipo Beach (see below).

4 Ed. note: Tipo means a fountain or well in Chamorro. If archaeology could tell us where this beach village was located (near a well or spring), we would then be in a position to know where Sugrian was (see my map of Saipan in Doc. 1684B). Tipo Beach was a cove and/or stretch of beach within Raurau Bay. Fr. Medina spent the last days of his life in sight of this bay.

way to Heaven, was a lie, and that his God, and he, were liars, and bad ones. The blessed Father, in order to stop such words, tried to quiet them down with gentle words, telling them: That, although he wished to baptize that creature, for it to be able to go to Heaven, because without it no-one can enter Heaven, as Our Lord Jesus Christ has truly taught us; however, if its parents objected, they would then attract God's annoyance and He would ask them to answer for the harm done to their children. Right then he gave up making requests, postponing the remedy of that creature who then looked healthy, although he was more sorry about this, as he told his companions, than about all the hardships and insults that he had suffered. Withal, although it appeared that they had calmed down on account of the Father's gentleness, there was rancor in their hearts. Irritated as they were by only the threat of that baptism, they began right then to conspire against him, and to declare their intention openly. They would have finished him off right there, had not a few people from the village of **Raurau**,<sup>1</sup> who had not yet been perverted, arrived to invite them to go and spend the night in their village, which was nearby.

However, here another embarrassment was then encountered; in the house of the chief, their host, there was some superstitious figurines, that they place on their graves, and are marks of the invocation and the kind of veneration they have for their deceased, or better said, for the Devil, which they invoke through them, in order to get help. Here Fr. Luis, carried by the zeal of the honor of God, whom the Devil usurps by such superstitious ceremonies, scolded them, saying: that he could not stay in that house, unless such figurines were removed. To which they became upset, specially the wife of the chief, who said that those were their gods. That word, God, had never been heard from them before; they had only heard it since the entrance of our Holy Faith. Hence, this was an affront to the Holy Name of God (under comment here) which we ourselves reserve for the True God, and which they had heard the Fathers use, when referring to Christ our Lord.

However, as the Father was insisting that they take them out of that house, or he would leave it, they removed them so that he would not leave. They were made even more upset by this action, and felt resentment against him. They showed it the next day, which was **Wednesday 29 January [1670]**, when the Father left the said village [of Raurau] to pursue his mission among those living in the hills above, his companions noticed that they were followed by some youths, whom they call "free" in their language, because they are not married and they live in freedom, without any control, not even that of their parents, and are the ordinary assassins in those countries, as well as the perpetrators of damages, evils, and revenges in the villages. Such youths were then following them, even pursuing them, shouting insults, and repeating awful blasphemies against God our Lord, and calling the Father, as at other times, baby killer. But the

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1 Ed. note: Village located on the north side of Raurau Bay.

Father would not pay attention to their insults, although he was deeply sorry about those against God.

He went ahead to the village of **Cao**<sup>1</sup> where, to imitate St. Francis Xavier, he walked from house to house, visiting them all, to see if he could find some children that were in danger [of dying], and needed baptism. At one house, he thought he heard some baby crying and insisted in visiting it in spite of having been warned by his two companions that the mood of the people was agitated and that it would be better to stop visiting the rest of the houses in the village, but this warning was useless, because they suddenly found themselves surrounded by over 30 men with spears. They, besides throwing the same above-mentioned blasphemies and insults, threw spears at the Father, and against one of the two companions named **Hipolito de la Cruz**, a native of the Visayas; he had shared the Father's works and ministries, and also in the reward, and happiness of the crown [of martyrdom]. One of the spears hit the Father in the back next to the belt and, although it had transpierced him, he neither fell nor lost consciousness; rather, as the Indians themselves say, he told them in their language: "**This is what I was looking for.**" And with his usual serenity and quiet gait, transpierced as he was with the spear, he kept on going along the same road that he was following in search of more children to baptize, while repeating tenderly the most sweet Names of JESUS, and MARY, and striking his own chest, until a volley of spears brought him down to the ground, like dead.

What followed next was later narrated by the aggressors themselves (because the other companion, named **Agustin de la Cruz**, who was with him and later gave an eyewitness account of what we have narrated up to now, had fled, and escaped). He got up and sat up twice, talking with God, and with a cross which he carried upon his chest with the relics, and a holy Christ. He took this one out of his chest<sup>2</sup> in sight of the killers themselves, because they had forcibly taken from him the one he carried on [top of] his pilgrim's staff. The missionaries commonly use this staff as the special sign of their ministry. He had it in his hands when he received one last spear through the throat. He fell back to the ground, and committed his zealous spirit to the hands of that Lord, who had chosen him to announce His name and to be a witness to it with his blood in those Islands. It had not arrived there until then, nor the knowledge of God, or the news of the true Law.

Thus the Saipanese themselves narrate the martyrdom and its circumstances, as they heard it from those who were present, and partly from Agustin de la Cruz, the martyr's companion. The same people affirm that it was because of hate of the Holy Cross, a symbol contrary to the superstitious ones that they keep in their houses, and canoes, that they took from the hands of the Father the *Babaadios*, which means the Emblem of God, or Standard of God, and broke it into pieces, scattering them in the fields. Then they removed the cross with relics, that he carried with the holy crucifix engraved upon

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1 Ed. note: Cao was a village overlooking Raurau Bay.

2 Ed. note: He had it hanging from his neck, below his cassock.

it, with the image of the most holy Virgin, as we have said, from his chest. He began to speak with God with such affection and fervor that he gave fright to the killers. They got away from him, fearing, as they themselves confessed, that his voice was going to bring down God upon them. However, the Father had tried to allay their fear, exhorting them to repent for their sin and to return to God, so as to be forgiven, as he himself was forgiving them.

This action of such fortitude, and these words of such gentleness, moved some of those present, as they themselves divulged, to such a great respect and veneration for Fr. Luis that they called him in their language "with one voice", which really means "the wonderful one." They are so convinced that, after he died from the spear wounds, he resuscitated to talk with them, and talk with God. This does not mean that he did resuscitate, but, after having fallen down to the ground, and appearing dead, he got up again, against all expectations; hence, they were convinced that he had died, then life returning, become resuscitated. The witnesses themselves testified that, seeing him speak with such serenity and naturalness with the Holy Crucifix that he held in his hands, one of those barbarians became annoyed that he talked so much and that it lasted so long, and he gave him another blow of a spear in the throat, by which he gave up his voice as well as his lucky soul, and flew, as we piously believe, to receive the reward of his apostolic preaching.

The same man who gave him the last blow with a spear also declared that he had approached the Blessed Martyr as he was already about to expire, and asked him: if he wished to be given another blow. Upon which, as best as can be ascertained, he said that he heard him say: *This is what I was looking for*. He then, either to ridicule him or to be sure he heard right, repeated: if he wished to be given another blow; was it what he was looking for? In this, he was similar to the Lord, and King of the Martyrs, when He was about to expire on the Cross and his tormenters were scoffing at his words, pretending that they had not heard them clearly. After the Father had died, they carried out the same cruelty upon the catechist, and companion Hipolito de la Cruz, he who had been living as consort in his ministries, and so went on to share the prize of martyrdom.

**[Lorenzo from Malabar killed at Anatajan on 17 November 1669]**

A little less than two months before, there had also died on account of hate for Holy Baptism at the Island of **Anatajan** a long-time Christian born on the Malabar Coast [of India], named Gregorio [sic].<sup>1</sup> He was one of those who had survived the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepción** in the year 1638, and God had preserved him alive among these barbarians for 28 [rather 31] years, in order to have him serve as an interpreter to His own advantage, and to serve as teacher of the language to the Fathers, long enough to lose his life as a Martyr of Christ.

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1 Ed. note: Error for Lorenzo (see correct name used below).

While visiting the villages of the said Island, looking for some sick children to baptize, he had found the residents of one of them so relentlessly irritated, for having died there a few days earlier a newborn child, that they threw many spears at him, then pulled out his eyes, and after he was dead, they buried him in a public cesspool, as the tyrants of Rome used to do with the bodies of the Martyrs in persecution of the Church; hence, it can be seen that the same spirit incited them to persecute the Confessors of Christ.

These two precious victims joined the company of our Blessed Father in a bloody sacrifice, so that *in ore duorum vel trium testium*,<sup>1</sup> in the confession of three witnesses who signed the deed attesting to the truth of the Faith of Christ with their blood, as a proof to the Marianos.

### **Chapter 17. Signs that preceded his martyrdom, and premonitions the Father had.**

When extraordinary and unusual signs precede events that are worth them, although they do not exceed the limits of nature for occult reasons, it is not uncommon for Saints, and Writers [of the lives of saints] to impute them to signs from Heaven, with which God wishes to make them more plausible, and more appreciated. Such was the case two months before the death of Fr. Luis the Martyr, and of his lucky companion Hipolito, and 12 days after the death suffered by Lorenzo the Catechist. It happened in the three Islands that constituted the Father's mission field assigned to him. It was as follows. On 24 November [1669], when the Father was in one of them, Tinian, making ready to say one of the masses of the novena that he was making to the Family of the Virgin, a special devotion of his, a little before sunrise, there was seen a flash of light much bigger than a night-time lightning bolt, such as it dazzled those who witnessed it, because it turned night into day. It covered a great stretch from north to south, from the Island of Anatajan, where the martyrdom of Lorenzo the Malabar had taken place, as far as the Island of Saipan, where took place that of Fr. Luis and of his companion Hipolito. When its fireball hit the water, it made a fantastic sound, such as the detonation of pieces of artillery. The trace of heavy smoke lasted for more than one hour. The astonishment of the Fathers, and the yells of the Indians who had never seen such a prodigy in those islands, were proportional to such an extraordinary effect.

The circumstances surrounding this rare flash, plus the fireball from the Island of Anatajan, called St. Joachim, to that of Saipan whose name was St. Joseph, and the detonation heard in the Island of Tinian, dedicated to the most Holy Virgin, where the Blessed Martyr was at the time, celebrating the novena to those Saints of his sacred Family; and the fact that the martyrdom of the zealous Christian Lorenzo occurred in the Island of St. Joachim, and that of Fr. Luis and his companion Hipolito in that of St. Joseph, could be freely interpreted to mean that God had saluted his Martyrs with the artillery of Heaven, and, with such a noise, prepared the minds to expect an event

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase literally meaning: "In the mouth of two or three witnesses."

that would have such an echo, not only in those Islands where the prognostic happened, and the martyrdoms were to occur, but throughout the world.

The significance would not have escaped anyone who saw this travelling light source with such brightness and speed, traverse these three Islands, lighting them and making them bright, passing from the ones to the others, until ending up with violence at that of Saypan; in it, he might have recognized the brilliant shadow of the zealous spirit of Fr. Luis, who, with so many hurried steps and ardent zeal, had travelled those Islands for the past two years like a fiery flash, turning on them the light of the Faith, so that they would get to know their Creator and Redeemer; kindling them with the fervor of charity, so that they would love Him; scaring them with the thunder of his preaching, so that they would fear Him; encouraging them with the reward of Heaven, so that they would hope for it. A pilgrim in those Islands, not only because he was a foreigner, but also because he was rare by his virtues—a light vapor issued from the earth, but raised to the heavens, where it set fire to the sky, and fell back to die upon the earth, setting it ablaze. However, this is a pious consideration, the better to embellish his life, than to serve as a historical record of it.

Even if this unusual sign from heaven were not taken as a prediction for his glorious death, there would remain some advanced news to give it credit, some of which have already been mentioned in the course of this relation. Let me simply repeat what was said by his Superior, Fr. Pedro de Casanova, who had travelled from Spain with Fr. Luis de Medina, and who assisted him and knew him intimately in the missions.<sup>1</sup> Regarding his virtues, and his zeal, he concluded:

*Such were the eagerness, the courage, and the fervor with which His Majesty was invited him to the prize, and crown, that He had always predestined him. We were talking about new Missions together, a few days before his lucky death, and the hardships they require. He told me: "My dear Father, we [try and] persuade ourselves that such missions will not cost us the blood of Martyrs? That is hard [to believe]." By the sight of these visible signs, our Lord imparted to him some great desires; thus, in the time period preceding his lucky fate, he used to recite the prayer of the holy Father Carlos Espinola, in which he asked God to give him the crown of martyrdom. This prayer was found inside the breviary of the Venerable Father."*

This was how his companion, Fr. Casanova, felt, and so too Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Superior and Founder of those apostolic Missions. The latter, referring to the three Islands in the charge of Fr. Luis de Medina, said:

*In the partition of the islands [among the missionaries], there befell to Fr. Luis no doubt the ones with the greatest difficulties and hardships, that is, the three Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saypan, not without the special inspiration of the impulse that he felt, and communicated to the Superior, a few days before, to the effect that in the*

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Casanova was not his superior, only his senior, by 5 years. However, as he had known Fr. Medina most intimately, Fr. Sanvitores, the Superior, no doubt asked him to write his eulogy.

*said Islands was awaiting him in a singular manner what he had come to look for in the Indies. Elsewhere he says: His bravery, and discounting of the risks were such that I came to fear that, what the Father was hoping for the most, i.e. the opportunity to spill his blood for the love of God, and his neighbors, would soon happen. No matter how the Father would discount the fears, and risks, he did not stop from telling me about his impending fate.*

In the margin of a [written] opinion, which he had given to his confessor, in order to get the benefits of a spiritual lesson (such as we know was practiced by the Venerable Martyr Fr. Marcelo Mastrili)<sup>1</sup> in order to persuade himself, probably, that our Lord wished to let him know a few things; as a footnote on present need, he says: *As if I heard a voice saying: "Mors sibi persuadeat se brevi moriturum."*<sup>2</sup> *Given all the circumstances of his life, it is very possible to understand [by this] that he had succeeded in getting a superior inspiration, to the effect that his death was to happen at the hands of the barbarians, and in testimony of the truth, which he preached.*

### **Chapter 18. As his body was found and brought with honor, and the testimony of his death given by the barbarians themselves.**

The martyrdom of the Blessed Father, after it was learned in those Islands, caused among those living there, specially the Spaniards and the Fathers, various feelings of envy at his [good] luck, not only because to offer one's life for Christ is proof of a refined love of God, but also because the granting of that [good] luck to His servants is one of the most significant honors by which His liberality is exalted. They sorely missed him; he had been such a zealous worker, so sollicitous, so untiring, and so spiritual, that he alone gained in two years so many souls for God, and reduced to his Faith so many villages, as Fr. Sanvitores says, that many priests would be hard pressed to do as much, specially those who would come later to those Islands, to administer those he helped convert, and reduced, although they would be happy and count themselves lucky to have in Heaven (as it is piously believed) in such a high hierarchy, a brother and a companion of their labors, and one who had himself exercised his own ministry in the islands, where he had learned here to sympathize with them [from up there] in Glory.

Among the feelings in question, not the least was the desire to take out the body from under the power of those barbarians, in order to give it an honorary funeral. However, the Saipanese were so ferocious and so beyond themselves at the death of Fr. Luis, and that of his companion, and they were many, whereas the Spaniards were few. It seemed like a difficult task, if not an impossible one. Still, believing in the goodness of the case, which was a godly one, **Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz**, with no more than nine

1 Ed. note: Marcelo Francesco Mastrilli was born in Naples in September 1603 and joined the Jesuits in 1618. He left for Manila, via Macao, in 1635. After accompanying Governor Corcuera in his campaign against the Moros of Mindanao, he left for Japan, where he was almost immediately imprisoned and tortured, being finally beheaded at Nagasaki on 17 October 1637 (ref. B&R 27: 253).

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Death persuaded him that he would soon die."

Spaniards, and a few friendly islanders, embarked for Saypan. Before he arrived at Raurau, the news of his arrival had already forewarned and preoccupied the malefactors, as well as those who had in some way been their accomplices, with the fear of punishment. Hence, some friendly Indians were able to try and persuade them that the best means to placate the Captain was to come forward themselves, and bring to him the body of the holy martyr, and that of his good companion, Hipolito. So they did, and the Captain received the news that they were waiting for him with the bodies at a certain coast. He went where they were and, having arrived with lights blazing, as pre-arranged, the trumpet, and the singing of the Christian doctrine in their own language, with great piety and signs of veneration on their part, and on the part of the Saipanese, with their customary gratitude<sup>1</sup> and signs of repentance, or better said, born out of their fault, the bodies of the deceased were delivered. The accomplices confessed that, since they had learned that the Captain was to come to their village to get the bodies, they had not been able to rest, seeing in their dreams, and when awake (as they themselves affirmed) many foreign men, some dressed like the Fathers, others like the Captain and his soldiers. Such were the ideas that fear had formed in their distrustful minds, twisting them and multiplying the objects related to it; or else, God had so willed, to intimidate them, and tie their hands with fear, making them see many where there were but a few soldiers in those Islands. The truth was that if they had offered resistance, there would have been thousands of Indians for every Spaniard. One way or the other, it was the effect of God's providence, because not only they did deliver the bodies of the martyrs, but also they all gave themselves up as prisoners to the Captain, with their weapons.

The Captain received them with self-control, but although he told them to relax and calm down, in fact, he thought it best under the circumstances to give them a dressing down, scolding them for the deed they had done, saying: That on account of their humility, and repentance with which they came, and on account of the God-father they had brought in the Blessed Body of the Holy Martyr, he would not burn down their village, nor would he take their life as they deserved. The next day, he went to the village [of Cao] where they killed the Father and his companion. At the spots where they gave up their souls to God, he planted two crosses, and another two where the bodies had been buried, as trophies of the Faith, which they had defended there with their own blood.

Later he arrested those who had given the two [mortal] spear wounds—they were named Poyo and Laon [rather Daon]—he took them to Sungharon. The amazing thing was that none of the many Saipanese, who were present at the time of the arrest tried to defend them; this was taken as the work of God, because our people were so few, and they were excessively numerous. In Sungharon, their confession was heard, and before Fr. Pedro de Casanova, who acted on behalf of His Illustrious Lordship, Don Fray Juan Lopez, Bishop of Cebu, they declared that they had killed Fr. Luis de Medina,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A tortoise shell.



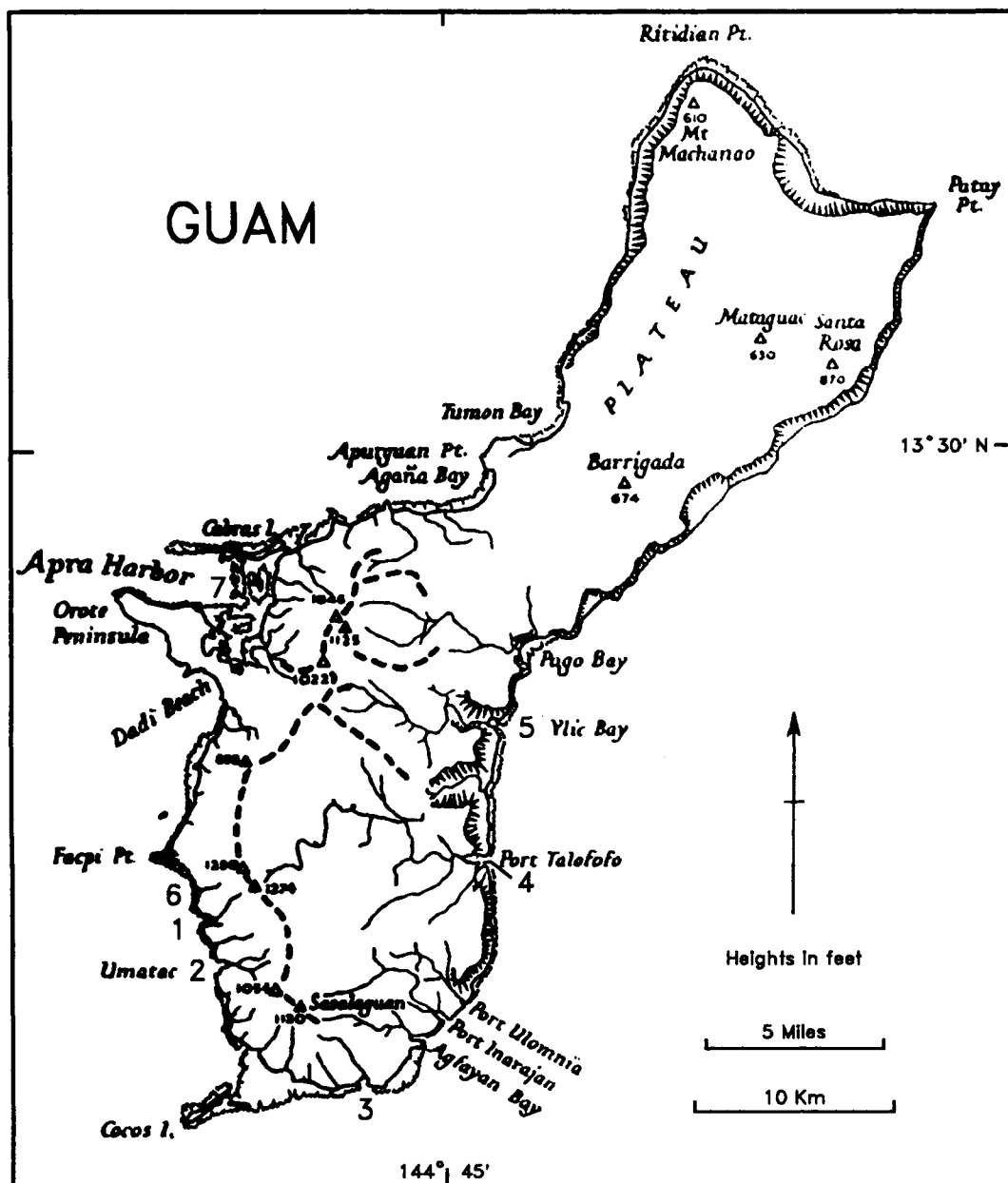
*because* (as they formally said) *he spread diseases with the water that he poured on the children*. They also said that those of the village of Sugrian had incited those of Raurau to kill him, because in a village along the beach called Tipo he had wished to baptize a child that afternoon, that they held a grudge against him, for wanting [them] to get rid of their skulls, and the invocation to their *Aniti* (that are [the spirits of] their ancestors) and other customs of theirs. Such a confession, when compared to that of others, being as it is from the killers themselves, who were the closest witnesses to his death, has all the circumstances of the truth. Since they implied so much to the credit of the holy Martyr, it seems obvious that their conversion was of his doing, because they asked for baptism and, after suitable instructions by our people, they received it, Poyo being named Luis, and Laon named Vidal, in order that the blood shed by the martyr would be seen to be more efficient than his words; indeed, it opened the eyes of his killers to the understanding that baptism, far from killing the body, as they were saying when they were mistaken, gave life to the soul.

Besides the testimonies of the killers, 13 corroborating witnesses gave their deposition also, that Fr. Luis de Medina had been killed with blows from spears, in hate of and contempt for Holy Baptism, which he administered in those Islands. The latter once again repeated their depositions and ratified their sayings before General Diego de Arévalo, and Pedro de Palomares, royal notary, aboard the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso**, on 11 June 1671.<sup>1</sup>

...  
[Rest omitted]

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1 Ed. note: A misprint. The correct name of the galleon was *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro*.



**Map of Guam showing the ports surveyed by Capt. Santa Cruz. In 1669, the Filipino Captain sounded 7 ports that appeared suitable to him (a non sailor) for the anchorage of galleons. The numbers correspond to the labels applied in Doc. 1670E1 and G1. The dotted lines on the map indicate the watersheds.**

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## Documents 1670G

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# First survey of the Mariana Islands by the Filipino Captain Juan de Santa Cruz

## G1. Letter from Captain Santa Cruz to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Guan 21 May 1670

*Source: RAH 9/2676, doc. n° 18.*

*Notes: He reports on the state of the reductions, the potential anchorages he has explored, and the ease of recovery of the cannon from the two shipwrecks that occurred some 30 years earlier. A copy of this letter was originally attached to Fr. Sanvitores' last memorial, presented by his father in 1673; it is not found with the Ultramar 562 papers, transcribed from some Simancas documents (see ref. Doc. 1673B2).*

### Original text in Spanish.

*[Endorsement in Fr. Sanvitores' handwriting:] Duplicado de carta que escribe al Señor Governador de Filipinas el Capitan de Islas Marianas acerca de los **puertos y piezas de Artilleria** que ay en dichas Islas Marianas.*

*Jhs*

*Por las cartas de el Padre Rector Diego Luis de Sanvitores y de los demas Reverendos Padres de esta Mission tendra V. Señoria cumplidas noticias del estado de estas Yslas. Y assi solamente apuntare aqui lo que V. Señoria se sirvio demandar y encargar a este su menor criado, que fue la Sonda de los Puertos, y aviso de las piezas de Artilleria.*

*En quanto a los puertos digo Señor que é sondado todas las ensenadas que podian ser a proposito para dar fondo las Naos en esta Ysla de Guan: y fuera del puerto que llamamos de San Antonio en que V. Señoria mando diese fondo el Galeon **S. Joseph** este año passado de 1669: el qual esta a la parte del Oeste de dicha Ysla frente de un pueblo que los naturales llaman Hati, y poco mas adelante de un farellon que le cae hacia a la parte del Norte, en el qual puerto ay la conveniència de los dos Rios buenos para haçer aguada como se hizo en dicho Galeon, y el abrigo, fondo, y señas, que ob-*

*servarian mejor los Pilotos tan plasticos que V. Señoria e sondado hacia una vanda y otra de dicho puerto los que aora dire.*

*El primero viniendo dicho puerto hacia la vanda del Sur menos de media legua despues de una punta que forma y divide la dicha ensenada de S. Antonio de esta segunda que digo, frente de un pueblo que llaman Humatag, esta el puerto donde años passados estuvo el Olandes cossa de tres meses dando carena a tres Naos que tubo alli surtas: el fondo es bueno de arena y con el mismo abrigo de vientos que el de S. Antonio tiene tambien muy buen rio donde hizo su aguada el Olandes.*

*El segundo prosiguiendo por dicha vanda del Sur, a tres leguas entre un farellon que mira al Sur, y una punta de tierra algunas al Leste, frente de un pueblo que llaman Habadyan, se halla tambien fondo de arena desde quarenta brazas hasta veynte, a distancia de tierra dos tiros de Mosquete; tiene algun abrigo del Oeste y mas del Norte y nordeste: no ay rio.*

*Caminando otras tres leguas hacia el Leste se hallan otras dos ensenadas con sus dos rios en frente la primera de un pueblo que le llaman Pigpug, y la segunda mas al Leste de un pueblo que se llama Yrig, las quales ensenadas se dividen con una punta de tierra que mira al Leste, y en ambos ay muy buen fondo de arena en treinta, veinte y çinco, veynte y una brazas, tienen buen abrigo principalmente del Oeste, y de los otros vientos no malo. Desde aqui por la banda del Oeste [rather Leste] y Norte no é hallado cosa a proposito.*

*Pero volviendo a salir del mismo puerto de S. Antonio donde mando dar fondo V. Señoria caminando hacia a la vanda del Norte a un tiro de mosquete, passada una punta que forma y parte las dos ensenadas frente de un pueblo que le llaman Taragrighan, se halla buen fondo de arena en veinte y dos brazas, distante de tierra un tiro de Alcabuz, y prosigue alargando mar afuera hasta çinquenta y ocho brazas a distancia de tierra dos tiros de mosquete tiene tambien buena agua de otros dos rios que salen a un lado y a otro y tiene el mismo abrigo de vientos que el de S. Antonio.*

*El septimo puerto es prosiguiendo mas al Norte bien serca ya deste pueblo de S. Ygnacio de Agadña donde esta la principal Iglessia y cassa de los Padres, que distará dos leguas del Pueblo de Agosan ya S. Joachin donde esta una ensenada en la qual frontero de un farellon que mira al Oesnorueste, a distancia de un tiro de Alcabuz de dicho farellon, se halla muy buen fondo de arena y tierra en dies y ocho brazas, y a dos tiros de mosquete de dicho farellon, se halla fondo de diez brazas, y entrando mas un tiro de Alcabuz de distancia a tierra se halla tambien buen fondo en veynte, y veinte y dos brazas, este es el puerto que me parece mas abrigado y a proposito en esta Isla, porque con un baxo que le cae cosa de çinquenta brazas mas al Norte se viene a abrigar de todos bientos: tiene tambien un buen rio que sale en medio de la ensenada.*

*En la Isla de la Zarpana, ya Santa Ana, que los Naturales llaman Rota, sonde el puerto donde dio fondo tambien el Olandes con las tres Naos arriba dichas y es una ensenada en frente de un pueblo que llaman Sosanrago, ya S. Pedro, y mira al Nornorueste, y en ella ay buen fondo de arena, y alguna piedra: en treinta y tres brazas a un tiro de Alcabuz de un farellon que mira al Sorueste, y acercandose mas al Norte ay*

*fondo en veinte, y dies y ocho y quinze brazas[.] saliendo mas al mar mirando al Norte ay fondo desde quinze brazas a distancia de tierra dos tiros de Alcabuz y ba alargando hasta treynta y cinco brazas a distancia de tierra dos tiros de Mosquete.*

*Halle tambien una legua mas al Sur, de dicha ensenada otra mayor cuya bocana mira derechamente al Sur, y dentro ay buen abrigo de todos los otros vientos con fondo de quinze brazas a distancia de tierra un tiro de Alcabuz y prosigue alargando a dies y ocho veynte y cinco treynta brazas a distancia de tierra dos tiros de Mosquete.*

*Fuy tambien a la Ysla de Zaypan, ya S. Joseph, que bulgarmente llaman el Zaypan grande con la ocaçion del rescate del cuerpo del Ven. Padre Luis de Medina muerto por la fee de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en el pueblo de Cao de dicha Isla en el qual rescate passaron los lanzes que la misericordia del Señor nos deparó en la manera que se dice en la Relacion, e Informaçion que hize cuyo traslado va inserta en los papeles que remite à V. Señoria el Padre Refc]tor.*

*En dicha Ysla de Zaypan halle un buen puerto cuya bocana mira a la parte del Leste del qual y mejor de los otros vientos defiende con una punta principal de la Isla que mira al Sueste y farellon de la otra parte del puerto hacia el Nordeste que es a modo de una Arca: dentro ay buen fondo de arena y piedra menuda en treyntra brazas a distancia de tierra un tiro de Mosquete frente de un pueblo que llaman Raurau.*

*En las Islas mas al Norte que llaman de Gani, y de los Bolcanes, a donde por las precissas ocupaciones de estas Islas al Sur no e podido aun pasar, escribe el Reverendo Padre Thomas Cardeñoso Ministro de ellas que ay algunos buenos puertos, y señaladamente uno que esta a la parte de el Oeste de la Isla de Agrigan ya S. Xavier, cosa de quinze leguas mas al Norte de la Isla de dos Bolcanes [i.e. Pagan], y el Padre Retor, y la gente que le acompaño que ven mas que su Reverençia, en la vizita que a hecho este año de aquellas Islas y el Padre Luis de Morales en la que hizo el año passado dicen ser muy aproposito para dar fondo las Naos quando bienen de Manila. Pero de esto, escriviran a V. Señoria con mas immediatas noticias los dichos Reverendos Padres.*

#### **[Descriptions of the sites of the shipwrecked galleons]**

*En quanto al punto de las Piezas digo que ademas de las que se ven en la Isla de la Zarpana que parece son de la Nao [Santa] **Margarita** que antiguamente se perdio en ella cerca del puerto arriba de S. Pedro de Sosanrago: de las quales piezas no sea hecho tanto casso, por no ser de la estimacion que tienen las de la Nao **Concepcion**: dichas Piezas pues de la Nao Concepcion que se perdio en la Isla de Zaypan año de 1638 se ven oy en dia en nueve brazas de fondo cossa de legua y media del dicho puerto de S. Joseph de Raurau frente de otro que llaman Aguiñgan, ya la Concepcion a un tiro de Mosquete de la tierra y a un tiro de Alcabuz se halla tambien fondo de siete brazas en el parage de dichas Piezas y en la playa correspondiente se ven quatro anclas de la dicha Nao.*

*Con que dando V. Señoria orden de que venga la gente necessaria para sacar dichas Piezas puede venir el Navio a dar fondo en dicho puerto de S. Joseph de Raurau, donde puede estar surto el tiempo que fuere menester por el buen abrigo que tiene, el qual*

*abrigo no ay en el parage dicho de Aguiñgan, pero como esta tan çerca de Raurau se puede muy facilmente con la lancha hazer los viajes que se quisieren cada día al Navio y a tierra donde se puede formar bastante habitacion para nuestra gente dentro o fuera de dichos pueblos.*

*No se ofrece que añadir a lo que los Padres escriviran a V. Señoria sobre lo qual y lo demas que fuere del servicio de su Magestad y de V. Señoria aguardo las ordenes que se sirviere de dar a este su menor criado.*

*De esta casa y fuerça de S. Ignacio de Agaña, Isla de Guan. A veinte y uno de Mayo de 1670.*

*B.L.M. de V. Señoria, su menor criado,*

*Don Juan de Santa Cruz.*

*[A] Señor Maestre de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de Philipinas Mi Señor.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement in Fr. Sanvitores' handwriting:] Copy of a letter written to the Governor of the Philippines by the Captain of the Mariana Islands regarding the **ports and cannon** that are found in the said Mariana Islands.

Jhs

Through the letters of Father Rector Diego Luis de Sanvitores and the other Reverend Fathers of this Mission, your Lordship will have received complete news of the state of these Islands. Therefore, I will only mention here what your Lordship was pleased to request from and entrust with this your lesser servant, that is, the sounding of the Ports, and notice about the cannon.

Sir, concerning the ports, I declare that I have sounded all the bays that could be suitable for the galleons to anchor in at this Island of Guan. Besides the port that we call San Antonio, where your Lordship ordered the galleon **San José** to anchor in last year, 1669, and is on the west side of the said Island before a town that the natives call **Hati**, and a little beyond a rock island that marks its northern limit, where there is the convenience of the two rivers that are good to take on water, as was done for the said galleon, and whose shelter, bottom and signs would have been better surveyed by the more practical pilots of your Lordship, I have sounded other ports on either side of the said port, as follows.

The first one, coming from the said port toward the South for less than half a league after a point that forms and divides the said bay of San Antonio from this second one, before a town that they call **Humatag**, is the port where years ago the Dutch stayed for about 3 months to careen three galleons that were anchored there. The bottom is a good sand bottom, and is sheltered from the same winds as that of San Antonio. It has a very good river where the Dutch took their water.

The second one, proceeding along to the south side for 3 leagues, between a rock island that faces south and a headland somewhat eastward, before a town they call **Habadyan**, there is also a sand bottom from 40 fathoms down to 20, at a distance of 2

musket shots from the shore. It has some shelter from the west, but more so from the north and northeast. There is no river.

Walking another 3 leagues toward the east, there are two other bays with their 2 rivers, the first one before a town they call **Pigpug**, and the second one further east before a town that is called **Yrig**. The said bays are separated by a headland that faces east. Both have a very good sand bottom in 30, 25, 21 fathoms. They have good shelter mostly from the west, and are not bad for other winds. From here on, toward the west [rather east] and north, I did not find anything suitable.

However, returning to the same port of San Antonio, where your Lordship ordered the anchorage, by walking toward the north for a musket shot, beyond a point that forms and divides the two bays, before a town they call **Taragrighan**, there is found a good sand bottom in 22 fathoms, at a distance of one arquebus shot from shore, which continues seaward down to 58 fathoms, at a distance of 2 arquebus shots from shore. It has also good water from two other rivers that come out on one side and the other, and it is sheltered from the same winds as that of San Antonio.

The seventh port is reached by proceeding further north, much closer now to this town of San Ignacio of Agaña, where are the main church and residence of the Fathers, which is about 2 leagues distant from the town of **Agosan**, now called San Joaquin, where there is a bay in which, in front of a rock island [rather cape] that faces west-northwest, at a distance of one arquebus shot from the said rock island, there is found a very good sand bottom and earth in 18 fathoms, and at 2 musket shots from the said rock island is bottom in 10 fathoms.<sup>1</sup> Going further in, at a distance of one arquebus shot from shore, there is also good bottom in 20, and 22 fathoms. This is the port that seems to me to be the best sheltered and suitable in this Island, because, with a shoal that comes out for about 50 fathoms further north, it turns out to be sheltered from all winds. It has also a good river that comes out in the middle of the bay.

In the Island of Zarpana, now Santa Ana, which the natives call **Rota**, I sounded the port where the Dutch also anchored with the three above-mentioned galleons. This bay is before a town they call **Sosanrigo**, now San Pedro, and it faces north-northwest. It has a good bottom of sand, and some stone in 33 fathoms at one arquebus shot from a rock island [rather cape] that faces southwest. By getting closer toward the north, there is bottom in 20, 18 and 15 fathoms. Going further out to sea, looking northward, there is bottom from 15 fathoms at a distance of 2 arquebus shots from shore, and it goes down to 35 fathoms at a distance of 2 musket shots.

I also found at one league further south from the said bay another larger one, whose mouth faces directly south, and within it there is a good shelter from all other winds, with bottom at 15 fathoms at a distance of a arquebus shot from shore, which increases to 18, 25 and 30 fathoms at a distance of 2 musket shots from shore.

I also went to the Island of **Zaypan**, now San José, which they commonly call Big Zaypan [rather Big Zarpana], on the occasion of the recovery of the body of Venerable

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1 Ed. note: The “farellon” in question was the Orote Peninsula.

Father Luis de Medina, killed for the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in the town of Cao in the said Island; during this recovery, there occurred the incidents that a merciful Lord arranged for us, in the manner described in the report of the Inquiry that I carried out, whose copy is enclosed in the papers that the Father Rector is remitting to your Lordship.

In the said Island of Zaypan, I found a good port whose mouth faces the east side. It offers protection from an easterly wind, but better shelter from other winds, with a main headland of the Island that faces southwest<sup>1</sup> and a rock island [rather cape] on the other side of the port toward the northeast which is shaped like a trunk.<sup>2</sup> Inside [this bay] there is good bottom of sand and small stone in 30 fathoms at a distance from shore of one musket shot before a town they call Raurau.

In the Islands further north, which they call the **Gani** Islands, and the Volcano Islands, which I have not had a chance to visit yet, on account of more urgent occupations in the southern Islands, Reverend Father Tomás Cardeñoso, their Minister, writes that there are some good ports. There is one in particular on the western side of the Island of Agrigan, now San [Francisco] Xavier, something like 15 leagues further north of the Island with two volcanoes [i.e. Pagan]. Father Rector, and the people who accompanied him, who have seen it more so than his Reverence, during the visit that he has made to those Islands this year, as well as Father Luis de Morales in the visit he made last year, all say that it would be suitable for the galleons that come from Manila to anchor in. However, about this, the said Reverend Fathers will write to your Lordship, giving you more precise notices.

#### [Descriptions of the sites of the shipwrecked galleons]

With reference to the cannon, I declare that, in addition to those that can be seen in the Island of Zarpana, which appear to be from the galleon [Santa] **Margarita**, which a long time ago was lost there, near the already-mentioned port of San Pedro of Sosan-rago—about which not much attention has been paid, as they are not thought to have as much value as those of the galleon **Concepción**—well, the cannon in question from the galleon **Concepción** that was lost at the Island of Zaypan in the year 1638 **can be seen today in 9 fathoms**, something like a league and a half from the said port of San José of Raurau, before a town they call **Aguñgan**, now Conception, at one musket shot from shore and at one arquebus shot can be found also bottom at 7 fathoms in the vicinity of the said cannon and on the beach corresponding to it **can be seen 4 anchors** from the said galleon.

Your Lordship would only need to give an order to have the necessary people come and recover the said cannon. The ship can come to anchor in the said port of San José

1 Ed. note: This is Naftan Point.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps he meant to use the word “arco” instead of “arca”. Kagman Peninsula may look like a trunk, or some kind of high crag, but Rauray Bay is definitely bow-shaped. Also, we have here proof positive that he meant “cape, headland, or peninsula, and not rocky island, when he used the word “farellon”.



of Raurau, where it can remain anchored as long as necessary, on account of the good shelter it offers, as there is no such protection in the said vicinity of Aguiñgan, but as it is so near Raurau, one can very easily make as many voyages as desired with the launch every day to the ship and ashore, where some housing can be built for our people, within or outside of the said towns.

I can think of nothing more to say to what the Fathers will write to your Lordship. I await the orders that you may be pleased to give to this your lesser servant.

From this house and fort of San Ignacio of Agaña, Island of Guan, on 21 May 1670.

Your lesser servant, who kisses the hands of your Lordship,  
Don Juan de Santa Cruz.

[To] Master-of-camp Don Manuel de León, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, my Lord.

## G2. Ports and anchorages in the Marianas, explored and surveyed in 1669-70

*Source: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 13; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 235-238.*

*Notes: The surveys were carried out by the Filipino Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, the first military leader (see also Doc. 1670E1 and 1673B2). It can be seen that the text by Captain Santa Cruz (in G1 above) contain more details than the summaries made of it by the missionaries.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Puertos y surgideros que se descubrieron y sondearon en las Islas Marianas para el abrigo de las Naos que van ó vienen de las Islas Filipinas, á la Nueva España, ó á estas Islas.***

#### *Isla de S. Juan de Guan.*

*1° En frente del Pueblo de Agofran [i.e. Agossan], ya de S. Joaquin, está una ensenada en la cual frontero de un farellon, que mira al Oes Norueste, á distancia de un tiro de arcabuz de dicho farellon, se halla muy buen fondo de arena, y tierra en diez y ocho brazas, y á dos tiros de mosquete de dho farellon, se halla fondo en diez brazas, y entrando mas un tiro de arcabuz de distancia de tierra, se halla tambien buen fondo en veinte y en veinte y dos brazas. Este Puerto parece el mas abrigado de toda la Isla, por que de su naturaleza lo es del bendabal, y con un baxo que le cae cosa de cincuenta brazas mas al Norte, se viene á abrigar de todos vientos. Tiene buen rio, que le sale en medio de la ensenada.*

*2° Frente de un Pueblo que llaman Taragríchan, la banda del Oeste de esta Isla está una ensenada junto á una punta que forma y parte dos ensenadas, y se halla en ella buen fondo de arena en veinte y dos brazas, distante de tierra un tiro de arcabuz, y prosigue alargando mas afuera hasta cincuenta y ocho brazas á distancia de tierra dos tiros de mosquete. Tiene buena agua de dos rios, que salen á un lado, y otro: tiene abrigo del*

*Norte[,] Nordeste[,] Este &c. Y este es el Puerto en que dió fondo el Galeon S. Diego año de 72; tiene por señas un mogote muy cerca de la tierra que llaman del Olandes.*

*3º Es el Puerto de S. Antonio en que dió fondo el Galeon San José año de 69: esta tambien á la parte del Oeste, frente de un Pueblo que llaman Ati, y poco mas adelante de un farellon que le cae á la banda del Norte, en el cual puerto hay conveniencia de dos rios buenos para hacer aguada abrigo fondo, y señas observaron los Pilotos practicos que este Galeon traia.*

*4º Viniendo de dho Puerto hacia la banda del Sur, menos de media legua, despues de una punta que forma y divide la dha ensenada de S. Antonio de esta segunda frente de un Pueblo que llaman Umatag, este es el Puerto donde años pasados estubo el Holandes cerca de tres meses, dando carena á tres Naos, que tubo alli surtas: el fondo es bueno de arena y con el mismo abrigo de vientos que el de S. Antonio, tiene tambien muy buen rio donde hizo su aguada el holandes.*

*5º Prosiguiendo por dha banda del Sur, y una punta de tierra algo mas al este frente de un Pueblo que llaman Adian [i.e. Abadian] se halla tambien fondo de arena desde cuarenta brazas, hasta veinte á distancia de tierra de un tiro de mosquete. Tiene algun abrigo del Oeste y mas del Norte y Nordeste: no hay rio.*

*6º Caminando otras tres leguas hacia el Leste, se hallan otras dos ensenadas, con sus dos rios bien grandes y caudalosos, la primera en frente de un Pueblo que llaman Pigpug.<sup>1</sup>*

*7º Y la segunda mas al Leste, enfrente de un Pueblo que llaman Irig, las cuales ensenadas se dividen con una punta de tierra que mira al Loeste [sic], y en ambas hay muy buen fondo de arena, en treinta, veinte y cinco, y veinte y una brazas. Tienen buen abrigo, principalmente del Oeste, y de los otros vientos no malo.*

### *Isla de Santa Ana dha la Zarpana ó Rota.*

*1º Hay una ensenada enfrente de un Pueblo que llaman Sosanrago y S. Pedro, y mira al Nornorueste en la cual dió fondo tambien el holandés, con las tres naos arriba dichas, y en ella hay buen fondo de arena, y alguna piedra, en treinta y tres brazas, saliendo mas al mar, mirando al Norte, hay fondo desde quince brazas á distancia de tierra, dos tiros de mosquete.*

*2º Una legua mas al Sur de dicha ensenada, hay otra mayor cuya bocana mira directamente al Sur, y dentro hay buen abrigo de todos los otros vientos, con fondo de quince brazas, á distancia de tierra un tiro de arcabuz y prosigue alargando á diez y ocho, veinte y cinco, treinta brazas, á distancia de tierra dos tiros de mosquete.*

### *Isla de S. José dha la Zarpana grande ó Zeipan.*

*Hay buen puerto, frente de un Pueblo que llaman Raurau, su bocana mira á la parte del Leste, del cual, y mejor de los otros vientos defiende una punta principal de la Isla que mira al sueste, y un farellon de la otra parte del Puerto, hacia el Nordeste, que es a*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Although it is unsaid, the second cove, and river, was the one that is deeper inside Talafofo Bay.

*modo de una carga [rather arca], dentro hay buen fondo de arena, y piedra menuda en treinta brazas, á distancia de tierra un tiro de mosquete.*

### *Isla de los Volcanes.*

*En las Islas mas al Norte que llaman de Gani, y de los Volcanes, hay algunos buenos Puertos, señaladamente uno que está á la parte del Oeste de la Isla de Agrigan, ya de S. Xavier: cosa quince leguas mas al Norte de la Isla de los Volcanes [i.e. Pagan], y es muy apropiado para dar fondo las naos surgir y abrigarse cuando vienen de Manila. Tiene buen fondo de arena y abrigo de los vientos.*

#### **Translation.**

**Ports and anchorages that were discovered and sounded in the Mariana Islands for the shelter of the galleons that come and go from the Philippine Islands, to New Spain, or to these Islands.**

### **Island of San Juan of Guan.**

[Basically the same text, already translated above, except that the order of presentation has been changed, the most important port [of Apra] being listed first, and except for the following additions:]

...

Before a town they call Taragríchan... This is the port where the galleon **San Diego** anchored in the year 1672. To mark it, there is a rock islet very close to shore which they call the Dutch Rock.<sup>1</sup>

...

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This rock is an extension of Facpi Point.



# NOTICIA DE LOS PROGRESSOS

DE NUESTRA SANTA FE, EN  
las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y de el fruto que han hecho en ellas el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus Compañeros, de la Compañia de Iesvs, desde 15. de Mayo de 1669. hasta 28. de Abril de 1670. sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus Compañeros.



EN la Relacion passada se diò noticia de las calidades de las Islas Marianas, de las costumbres de sus naturales, y de el fruto admirable, que se dignò obrar la mano poderosa de Dios, por medio de los Religiosos de la Compañia de Iesvs, en el primer año de su Mision, desde 16. de Junio de 1668. hasta 15. de Mayo de 1669. con algunos milagros, que obrò el Señor, para introducir la Fè en aquellas Regiones, donde aun no se auia oido el Evangelio. Ahora, prosiguiendo esta Relacion, darèmos noticia breve (no qual pedia la dignidad de la materia, que necesitana de mas dilatado estilo, sino qual se deue à la ocupaciõ, y grauissimos negocios de las altas personas, à quien esta Relacion se

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Title page of the printed report for 1669-70.

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## Documens 1670H

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# Jesuit annual report for 1669-1670

### Editorial note.

There is a summary, in Italian, entitled: “Relation of the fruit obtained by Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his five companions in the Mariana Islands from 15 June 1669 until 28 April 1670” in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 44-49. However, it is not reproduced here, as it is too similar to the published version below.

### Long version, edited by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, and entitled: News of the progress of our holy Faith in the Mariana Islands, etc.

*Source: A 28-page book printed at Madrid, circa 1673.*

*Notes: Since no galleon visited Guam in 1670, the year that this manuscript report was completed, it was not sent out until 1671 and could not have reached Madrid, to be printed there, until 1673. The report has recently been translated and published by the University of Minnesota Press, edited by Ward Barrett (see Bibliography, under 1669-1670). The last section of this book gives the text of a Petition addressed by the Mariana Island missionaries to the Queen Regent; the original of this petition is supposedly kept in the library of the Jesuit Residence at Madrid. A copy of this pamphlet was sold by Maggs Bros. in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 35).*

### Synopsis from the Maggs Catalog.

This rare publication is a continuation or companion report to the Memorial published in Mexico in 1669, in which the Apostle of the Marianas, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, pleaded for the establishment of a Mission in the Marianas, with a view to the development and conversion of the unknown austral lands.

In this report, extracts are given from letters received from San Vitores and his fellow-Jesuits, who had already established a mission in the Mariana or Ladrone Islands, and whose description of the islands and the primitive conditions which then prevailed—comparable “with the perils and trials enumerated by Saint Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians”—ranks in value with the reports of the earliest pioneers.

They touch upon the geography, ethnology, history and legends of the Mariano people; the early Christian martyrdoms; and the methods by which the Jesuits prepared the ground for a spiritual harvest throughout the Southern Continent.

Geographically, their knowledge was no further advanced than in the time of Quiros: it was their firm belief that, if only they could obtain the right vessels, and volunteers for the journey, a whole string of islands would be discovered in the Pacific which, they affirmed, "connected the Marianas with the great austral land to the south, and the islands of Japan to the north." They argued the need for these expeditions from the spiritual point of view: "other conquests have yielded gold and silver and precious stones, but we seek the glory of God"—but they, nevertheless, sought the incorporation of the southern continent in the realms of the Spanish Empire just as Quiros had done, while omitting his material ambitions.

Much interesting information is given regarding the origin of the Mariano people; their customs, costumes, personal appearance, language, rites and legends; the climatic conditions and natural resources of the islands; the social work of the Missionaries, and the martyrdom of Father Luis de Medina, the first Jesuit Martyr in those Islands.

The remainder of the tract consists of a commentary on the Missionaries' **petition** to the Queen of Spain, which is summed up in 8 numbered paragraphs: the crying need for workers, "to convert the many islands as yet in the shadows of heathenism and death, from the Austral land to Japan." lay helpers in various walks of life, too, were needed to train the Marianos; and a small garrison of Philippine Christian natives "to instill a little wholesome fear into the natives of the Marianas," and act as Christians whose example was worthy of being followed.

Regular supplies from the ships that passed the Islands on their way from Manila to Acapulco were earnestly solicited; but most of all, ships for the purpose of reconnoitering the many ports and islands which were as stepping-stones "from the Island of Guam to very near Peru [sic], as reported in the relation of Captain Pedro Fernández de Quiros' voyage, which was presented with the other papers a year ago." And in order to miss no opportunity "in a matter of so much importance as the redemption of these souls, it is proposed to Her Majesty to send pilots from the region of Peru towards the Austral land, which was previously unknown and reputed to comprise one-fifth of the earth's territory," and thus bring one vast Catholic community beneath the sway of the Catholic Crown.

**News of the progress of our Holy Faith, in the Mariana Islands, formerly called the Ladrones, and the fruit done there by Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his Companions of the Society of Jesus, from 15 May 1669 until 28 April 1670, taken from the letters that Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his Companions have written.**

*Notes: The rest of this chapter is quoted verbatim from the book entitled: "Mission in the Marianas", translated by Ward Barrett. Copyright 1975 by the University of Minnesota. Published by the University of Minnesota Press. Reprinted with permission. When a native word is given, the -s at the end comes from the Spanish way of indicating the plural form; it should therefore be removed to reveal the true form of the native word in question. Fr. Ledesma borrowed heavily from the 1670-71 report as well (see Doc. 1671A); these passages are printed in bold characters below.*

In the previous report we described the resources of the Mariana Islands, the customs of their natives, and the admirable achievement worked by the almighty hand of God through the members of the Society of Jesus in the first year of their mission, from the sixteenth of June of 1668 until the fifteenth of May of 1669, together with some miracles worked by the Lord to introduce the Faith into those lands, where the Gospel had never been heard. Now, continuing this account, we will give a brief description (not appropriate to the dignity of the subject, which requires a more leisurely style than that permitted by the burdens and most important preoccupations of the distinguished persons to whom this account is directed) of the accomplishments that the Faith has enjoyed in its second year there, including first both curious and necessary news about the resources of the land and the customs, errors, and superstitions of the people of the Marianas, recently found out and not included in the first account.

**The Mariana Islands, until now unfamiliar and unlit by the light of the Holy Gospel, are thirteen in number. There are two other islands, well populated and three days' journey to the south, besides those innumerable islands that continue to the Austral land, formerly unknown, and on the north side they continue as far as Japan which, according to early accounts and voyages, is about six days' journey from the island of San Lorenzo [i.e. Maug], the last that can be reached with the vessels of these parts; a prosperous and easy route, if there were larger ships to carry the Faith to those islands, consecrated by the Apostolic feet of Saint Francis Xavier and wetted by his sweat and blood, which is like seed under frost, only waiting for the sun to show itself there to fill the land with the flowers and fruits of Christianity. May God grant that it happens in the time of our Great Monarch Charles the Second, that he may boast that it was he who, in God's Glory, restored the Faith to the kingdom, wherefrom idolatry has banished it, and he who put Christ into possession of that far-flung empire that the Devil holds unjustly through usurpation. The thirteen islands, where until now the Gospel has been preached, lie between 13 and 22 degrees, a little more or less, of north latitude; beginning in the south-southeast [rather SSW], they end in the north-northeast [rather NNW], after forming the figure**

**of a half-moon, and so making a fitting pedestal for the feet of most Holy Mary, to whom they are dedicated. Some islands are very little distant from others, and the most distant is only a day's journey, so that their inhabitants traffic among themselves and speak a single tongue.**

There have been found in these islands some harbors suitable to provide berth for ships going to Mexico or returning from Mexico to the Philippines, owing to the search made by Don Juan de Santa Cruz, captain of these islands, by order of the governor of the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> The island of Guam, now San Juan, the first where the Faith entered and where the Fathers of the Society of Jesus disembarked in the year 1668, has seven harbors. The one of San Antonio being on the west side, in front of a village which the natives called Hati, at which harbor there are two good rivers for a watering stop. Another port, where the Hollander stayed in past years for about three months to beach and clean three ships, is about half a league from a point that divides the inlet of San Antonio, toward the south side and in front of a village that is called Humatag in their language; it has a very good river, from which the Hollander took on water. Continuing along this south side, one finds the third port, three leagues distant and in front of a village called Habadian, which has some shelter from the west and more from the north, but lacks a river. Continuing another three leagues toward the east, there are two coves separated by a point of land, with two rivers: the first in front of a village they call Pig-pug, and the second in front of another village called Irig, more to the east, they have good shelter from other winds. Leaving the harbor of San Antonio, which we spoke of before, and moving a musket shot away to the north side, there is another harbor in front of the village they call Taragrighan, with good water from two rivers alongside, and the same shelter from the winds as the harbor of San Antonio. Continuing more to the north, near the village of San Ignacio de Agaña and the site of the principal church and house of the Fathers of the Society, and in front of a rocky headland that faces west-northwest, there is a very good bottom of sand at a depth of 18 fathoms and only an arquebus shot from said headland; and two musket shots from the headland is bottom at 10 fathoms, and entering an arquebus shot further toward land, there is bottom at 22 fathoms. A very good river debouches in the middle of the cove; it is sheltered from all winds, and seems to be the best and most suitable harbor on this island of San Juan. In the island of Zarpana, now Santa Ana, which the natives call Rota, there is a harbor wherein the Hollander anchored with the three ships mentioned above; it is in front of a village that they call Soçanrago, now San Pedro, and faces northwest. One league to the south there is another anchorage with a good bottom and shelter from all winds. In the island of Saypan, now called Saint Joseph, and commonly the Great Zarpan, there is a good harbor whose mouth faces east, from which, and even more from other winds, it is protected by a principal headland of the island that faces southeast; the anchorage is in front of a village they call Raurau. In the isles farther north, which they call Isle[s] of Pani [sic] and Isle of the Volcanos, the Father of the So-

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1 Ed. note: See Captain Santa Cruz' letter (Doc. 1670G).



ciety and minister to those islands writes that there are some good harbors, especially one that is on the west side of the Isle of Agrigan, now Saint Francis Xavier, and about 15 leagues north of the Isle of the Volcanoes, which is very well able to provide berth for the galleons when they come from Manila. With so many harbors, the help needed by the ministers who work in these islands is easy to give.

**The people of the Marianas say, by tradition passed from father to son and without other history than their memory, that people came from the south to populate these islands, and that they have the same origin as the Tagalog; and their argument is supported not a little by the similarity in their tinting of their teeth, and by the similarity in their languages and mode of government. When, or for what reason, they came to these islands is unknown; some think that some tempest drove them here from the nearest islands of the Philippines, as has happened to others who have been driven from these islands to the islands of the Visayas. There are writers who trace the origin of the Marianos to the Egyptians, in accord with the idea that Gómara says (in his *General History of the Indies*, chapter 22) was set forth by Magellan, when he arrived in these islands in the year 1521. Others (as Father Colín says in his *India Sacra*, book 3, note 104) place their origin in Japan, and this origin is very plausible, at least for the people of the northernmost islands. But to detain ourselves in ascertaining the ancestry of some naked savages is to imitate those who commit to memory their genealogies, priding themselves as much on their nobility as if they were children of the sun.**

**These thirteen islands have a healthful clime and a temperate sky, lacking the excessive heat and cold and earthquakes that occur in other islands of this archipelago.<sup>1</sup> Their waters are healthful, and so abundant in the principal island of San Juan that in its 35 or 40 leagues of shoreline there are more than 30 rivers, some of copious flow and well stocked with fish, especially eels. These islands do not know snake, or cayman, or other venomous animal. There is a great abundance of coconut groves and goodly number of other trees, especially *palo maria*<sup>2</sup> of which they make their boats. They live in villages of 10, 20, 30, and some of 60, 80, and more than 100 houses, which they make of wood, with many on stone pillars, roofing them with coconut leaves, most curiously plaited. Especially do they take great pains in building their sleeping houses, or pavilions, which they hang with mats and with curtains of the same. The ordinary food of this people is fish, which they prize highly; for bread they use the fruit**

1 Translator's note: This is the first reference of several in the pamphlet to the conception of a vast archipelago of islands extending from at least Japan south to Australia...

2 Translator's note: Identified as *Callophyllum inophyllum* by William Safford in *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam...* [Ed. comment: Palo Maria was the name imported from the Philippines. The local name was "daog"].

of a tree, so delicious that even those recently arrived from Spain do not miss wheaten bread; and in the seasons when this fruit cannot be had, they serve some roots as bread, similar to those of the Philippines, called *gavis*, *vuis*, and *tuguis*.<sup>1</sup> In their most ceremonious gatherings and solemn feasts, they eat rice, of which there is goodly abundance.<sup>2</sup> At their meals, they are very moderate; and at the feasts there are no excesses in eating or drinking, nor do they use any liquor that causes drunkenness, a thing that has impeded the introduction of the Faith and Christian customs into so many lands. Their celebration on these occasions is nothing more than recounting their histories, wrestling, and throwing spears; and during these entertainments they pass about for refreshments some cakes of *morisqueta*, *tamales*,<sup>3</sup> fishes, coconuts, plantains, sugarcane, and, in place of chocolate, a drink made of *atole* [rice gruel] and grated coconut. The women have their special feasts, for which they adorn themselves with ornaments on their foreheads, some of flowers like jasmine, and some of valued trinkets and tortoise-shells, hung from a string of red shells that are prized among them as are pearls among us, and of which they make also some waistbands with which they gird themselves, hanging around them some small, well-formed coconuts on some string skirts made of tree roots, with which they finish their costume and adornment, and which seems more bird-cage than dress. Twelve or thirteen join together to form a circle, remaining in one place, singing in verses their histories and antiquities, with point and harmony of three voices, sopranos, contraltos, and falsettos, and with the tenor taken by one of the principal men, who attend these entertainments; and they accompany the singing by movements of the hands, with which they flourish some half-moons<sup>4</sup> on the right, and on the left some boxes with bells and shells which serve them as castanets, and all this so rhythmically, and with slapping, and with actions so well suited to words that it causes no little admiration to see how quickly they learn the things they apply themselves to. The women wear their hair very long and tint it with diverse rinses to make it white, and color their teeth with blacking, and this they consider the major adornment of their beauty. The men do not let their hair grow, but shave all the head, leaving only a tuft or crown on the top of the head, no more than a finger long.

The most ordinary exercise of this people is to fish, build boats, and cultivate their gardens. Their customs are better than their nudity and lack of culture and government suggested, of which some has been written already, and now more

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- 1 Ed. note: As the translator has pointed out, *gavis*, *vuis*, *tuguis* are best transcribed as “gabi, ubi, tugui,” which are taro, and some yams.
  - 2 Translator’s note: The growing and eating of rice is one feature that sets the culture of the Marianos apart from Micronesian culture and makes it closer to that of the Philippines.
  - 3 Ed. note: That is, some rice and corn cakes, respectively.
  - 4 Ed. note: “Media lunas” were Chinese halberds, purchased in Manila and brought to the Marianas. The natives of Agaña must have borrowed to use as percussion instruments.

shall be added. The people are generally pacific, as is seen in the small number of wars they have among themselves, and in spite of the absence of magistrates and the great independence some of them show toward others, and with no-one recognizing a common head, except only in families, where the right to family leadership is respected by the rest. This head of the family owns the principal house and the best land; and, as in India, the rights are not inherited by the son of the deceased but by his brother or his nephew, who on assuming it changes his name and takes that of the founder or principal ascendant of his family, with such respect for and such distinctions of lineages, high, low, and medium, that one cannot but marvel at such vanity or curiousness in poor, naked people; which shows, as we have said, their descent from some very civilized nation, much concerned with nobility. One of the highest class, called by them *Chamorris*, will not marry the daughter of a plebeian, be her father ever so rich and he ever so poor and needy, as is said of the Japanese; and formerly the noble who married the daughter of a plebeian was killed by his relatives. The *Chamorris* have such low esteem for those of low lineage that they will allow them neither food nor drink nor approach to the noble houses, but away from those houses they give them what they ask. They use great courtesies among themselves, and the usual custom, on meeting and passing ahead of another, is to say to him: "*Ati arimo*"<sup>1</sup> (which means "Permit me to kiss your feet"), and when one passes by another's house, betel is brought out to him and given to him if he wishes to chew it.

They hate murderers so much, and cruel persons, that they do not give them the honor that they had before; for this reason they do not honor, as had been the custom, some villages of the island of Saypan, because they committed some years ago cruel acts and are too much inclined to make spears, which are their principal arms, together with the sling and stones which they are accustomed to use with dexterity from a tender age. They form the spears from the bones of their fathers, with some points in two and three tiers in the form of fishhooks, so that in spite of their easy entry it is very difficult to take them out. The married men do not traffic with many women, or concubines, but the bachelors have some public houses, where they live with every freedom and no subjection whatever to their parents. In marriage, the jealousy of the wives is so great that if they feel some disloyalty on the part of their spouses, they punish them in various ways. Sometimes the injured woman gathers the other women of the village and, carrying hats and spears, they go to the house of the adulterer, and if he has a garden, they root it up and destroy it; and they threaten to spear him, and finally cast him from his house. At other times the injured woman punishes her husband by leaving him, and then the relatives of the woman gather at the house of the husband, and rake whatever possessions he has, leaving not even a spear

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for "Ati arinmo" (see Sanvitores' Grammar, Doc. 1668I, and Doc. 1671A).

or a mat on which to sleep; only the shell of the house is left, and even this at times they are accustomed to destroy and pull down; and this is an indispensable custom. For this reason the woman commands the house, nor can the husband arrange anything without her pleasure and approval; what is more, he cannot punish his children, for if a wife hears of this, she leaves the house and parts from him, and all the children follow her, without recognizing another father than he whom their mother next takes for a husband.

They have many erroneous beliefs about the creation of the earth, and other things, as if they were blind persons, lacking all light and doctrine, and without polity or any culture of letters. They were persuaded that they were the only men in the world, and that there was no other land in it beside their own; but later, with the experience of seeing our galleons pass, and the Hollander's ships, they rejected this error, and persuaded themselves that there were many other lands and men. They fell into another error, equal or greater, which they incorporated into their traditions: that all lands and men and all things had their origins in their land, and that all had first come forth from a part of the island of Guam, which was first a man, and then a stone, which gave birth to all men, and from there they scattered to Spain, and other parts. They add that when others parted from their people and origin they forgot their language, and thus persons of other nations know no language whatever and speak like lunatics, without understanding one another, not knowing what they speak; and thus the Marianos attribute to everyone else their own ignorance in not understanding the language of foreigners. They claim that our ships, passing by their islands, left them rats, flies, mosquitos, and all their sicknesses. And they are correct in the matter of sickness, because after the ships have been in their islands they find themselves with colds and other infirmities; and this is the reason why, in spite of their greediness for iron and other little things, while the ships are in the bay, they do not leave shore [rather the side (of the ship)] by day or night; exposed to sun, to the dew of night, and to other inclemencies of the sea, they continually cry out, so that most return hoarse and with other ailments to their houses.

Of the creation of the world, they say that Puntan (who must have been the first of men, and who was blown to these islands by some tempest) was a most ingenious man, who lived many years in some imaginary spaces that existed before heaven and earth were created. This good man, being about to die, and feeling pity for the men whom he was leaving without land to inhabit, or withal to sustain themselves, called a sister of his, who had been born like himself without father or mother, and, telling her of the benefit that he proposed to confer on mankind, gave her all his powers, so that when he died she might make from his chest and back heaven and earth; from his eyes sun and moon; the rainbow from his eyebrows, and likewise for the rest, keeping some correspondence of the lesser world to the greater, as the poets do every day: without this all would have remained as symbol, and Writ and Gospel would not have come to pass.

This they sing in some bad verses that they know by heart, and that cause more laughter than harmony; but with all this it does not happen that the said Puntan or his sister any worship of public ceremony or invocation or appeal which would acknowledge their Divinity. These and other antique fables and deeds of their ancestors are related and sung at their celebrations by those who pride themselves on being learned, competing to see who may speak most couplets, without there being in them any other evidence of religion or sect, priests or Bonzes,<sup>1</sup> apart from some tricksters called *Macanas*, who generally promise health, water, fish, and such good things by means of the invocation of the dead of Zazarraguan (for thus they call hell), whose skulls the Marianos keep in their houses, with no other altar, niche, or adornment than some little baskets in which they put the skulls around the house, without remembering them until it is time for the Macanas to ask the skulls for what they need. The Macanas, like all the Bonzes and priests of India, in praying to the dead, seek their own advantage through what the living give them, and not the advantage of the living. The Macanas and almost all others recognize that there is nothing to expect from the dead, and if perhaps they call upon the dead with great feelings, it is not so much because they might give them what they want as because the dead might thus not do them harm; because the Devil, in order to maintain by whatever means their respect and servile fear, generally appears to them in the form of their [dead] parents and ancestors to frighten and ill-treat them.

This is the most that the Devil has been able to obtain from these poor people—no temples, or sacrifices, or idols, or profession of any cult whatever—a fact that aids very much in introducing the Faith, if there are ministers to preach it, because it is easier to introduce a religion where there is none than to overthrow one to introduce a religion where there is none than to overthrow one to introduce another. This made the way much easier for the Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, in going to preach on the island of Macassar, and so he says in a letter: *“That land is very ready to receive Christ, because in it there are no temples of idols, nor ministers who compel the people to venerate false gods.”*

Nonetheless, these people have some superstitions, especially when fishing, when they keep complete silence and observe long fasts, through fear of the *Anitis*, the souls of their ancestors, or to flatter them, so that the Anitis will not punish them by taking away the fish or frightening them in dreams, to which they give much credit.

When someone dies, it is customary to put at his head a basket, thus inviting him to remain at home in that basket instead of the body he leaves, or so that he may have somewhere to rest when he comes from the other life to pay them a visit from the place of his abode, which they believe to be underground, where

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1 Ed. note: *Bonzos* was the name given to Buddhist priests of Japan by the Portuguese, and later Spaniards.

those generally rest who have died (from natural causes) and with some suffering for those who die unfortunately. Others are in the habit of carrying the corpse of their deceased one, after it is annointed with fragrant oils, to the houses of their relatives, either so that the soul may remain in the house where it wishes, or so that if it returns to this world it will alight where it most pleases. In burials, the demonstrations of grief that they make are very peculiar, with many tears, fasts, and noises of conches; the mourning continues by custom for six, eight, and more days, in accordance with the affection and duty they had toward the person who has died. they pass this time with melancholy songs, gathered round a catafalque that they set up on the grave, or alongside it, adorning it with flowers, palms, sea-shells, and other things much esteemed by them. The mother of the dead person customarily cuts a lock of his hair from his head, to keep as a remembrance of her sorrow, and notes the nights that follow his death by knots on a cord that she wears around her neck.

These touching demonstrations of grief are heightened on the death of a leader, or *Chamorri*, as they call a person of the highest class, and on the death of some famous matron; for besides their ordinary demonstrations, they strew the paths with some ropes of palm leaves, erect triumphal arches and other gloomy structures, destroy coconut trees, burn houses, pull boats to pieces, and raise their shredded sails before their houses as signs of their grief and suffering; and they add dirges to their songs that are as ingenious as they are deeply felt, and which show their sorrow even to the most rude and barbarous, saying with many tears: *"In the future, life will be a burden to you, backing him who was the life of everyone, lacking the sun of nobility, the moon that lighted you in the night of your ignorance, the star of all your achievements, the valor of your battles, the honor of your lineage, of your people, and of your land"* and in this way they continue until well into the night in praise of the deceased, whose grave they crown with oars, to show that he was a celebrated fisherman, or with spears, as signs of the brave, or with oars and spears if he was both brave and a fisherman. Leaving other errors and superstitions which would take too long to tell, we shall pass to the achievement that God has deigned to work in these islands, by means of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and their lay companions, who help them as much as they can.

With the blessing of God, and of the most Holy Virgin Mary, patroness of these islands, and with the help of the King our Lord, and the Queen our Lady (may God keep them many and happy years, for the increase of their Faith), the missions have continued with great success in the eleven islands that were in part reduced to Christianity the first year, and in the following year there have been added two islands further north, the special difficulty of having to go to them in the small boats of this land having been overcome. The Faith entered the 12th island, before called **Assonson** and now called Assumpción, the same day that the Queen of Angels entered heaven in her glorious Assumption, and entered the 13th on the day of the Octave of San Lorenzo, the 17th of

August. This island was called **Maug**, and now is called San Lorenzo, and is the farthest north one can go toward Japan with the small boats of those islands, until larger ships are sent, in which the Faith can sail those seas for the happiness of as many islands as need these fleets from which heaven hopes for the greatest benefits.

Counting adults and children, 30,000 persons have been baptized in these two first years in the 13 islands, by the mercy of the Lord and Lady of them, not counting a large number of catechumens, who are preparing to receive baptism. As many as 300 children of those baptized have died, taken by God to heaven, that they may pray for the conversion of their parents and relatives.

Five churches have been built according to plan and all dedicated with all solemnity to God, in honor and name of the most Holy Virgin Mary our Lady. In them the Holy Days and divine services are celebrated with the greatest solemnity possible, and with the Royal Chapel of Mary being filled with the music of the children of the Marianas, who with several parts make a very agreeable harmony to the ears of their teachers and much more to the ears of God, who takes pleasure in the praises of children, for they come from pure and innocent mouths. The services of Holy Week are conducted with altar, flagellation, confessions, and processions, and we are trying to make the Marianos devoted to our holy ceremonies and Christian customs. All the churches that may be built in the future are intended to be consecrated to Most Holy Mary, all distinguished by the titles of her festivities and images of special devotion that are found in various parts of the world; and because the Faith was born in these islands under Mary, the Star of the Sea, it cannot fail to grow much to the honor and glory of God; and since those of the Christian religion are an increase of the worship of this Queen, the Son will increase their numbers more, to honor his Mother more. Those devoted to Mary, help in the conversion of these souls with your prayers, if you cannot with your words by preaching of the Gospel, so that God may send to that vineyard the workers needed for its cultivation, since for lack of workers as many souls are lost as each day die in darkness, so that they may go to complain to the Court of God about those who, having knowledge, have no concern for the Glory of God and use the light of knowledge to seek honors and wealth, when they should employ it to light the way of those who stumble and fall in the shadow of death, and to help Christ in saving the soul that is redeemed with his Blood.

Of the zeal of the preachers who go about in those parts, of the hardships they suffer, of the dangers that surround them always, one may say almost what Saint Paul says of himself in the description of his toil and perils sent to the Corinthians, in Epistle 2, chapter 11, *“For they encounter perils of waters, perils of thieves (as the Marianos used to be called), perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils in the sea, perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness, beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.”* For what hunger and thirst will those men suffer who are accustomed ordinarily to nourish themselves with the roots of trees or some wild fruit, and by the gift of some little fish, drinking only water, never

eating bread, or meat, or drinking wine? What hardships do they suffer who journey endlessly from one town to the next, from one island to another on foot [sic], alone, poorly garbed, with little protection from cold and heat;<sup>1</sup> sleeping where night finds them, on bare ground, or on branches, teaching the Christian Doctrine to dull children or some barbarous men; hunting, like Saint Francis Xavier, in the houses for children or the sick in order to baptize them, for the dead to bury, controversies to settle, enmities to pacify, the needy to succor, doing the duties of Fathers, Teachers, and Apostles? What hardships will those preachers suffer who are so poor in all things, without even paper for writing, as they say in a letter left unfinished for lack of paper, and who could not say Mass for lack of bread and wine, were it not for the great providence and zeal of our Lady the Queen, who ordered sent with royal munificence what was needed, and through the care of her zealous officials, as happened in the year of 1669, when Field Marshall<sup>2</sup> Manuel de León, who went as governor to the Philippines, anchored on the 15th of June in the harbor of San Antonio of the island of Guam and gave them bread and wine for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and various other things suitable for the good and increase of Christianity there? While we await the special favor and assistance of royal charity, ordered but not yet received, bountiful help is supplied by the charity of others, by the pious officials of Her Majesty in those provinces, and by the Venerable Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in Mexico, and especially by their elder brothers, their Excellencies the Viceroy and Vicequeen, with their liberality and alms. And finally, what perils surround those who are always menaces by death from sling stones, spears, and poisons, for wanting to baptize creatures many of whom think baptism if fatal for them, and when all preachers have been badly treated, some injured, one dead, and those alive freed from death many times only by miraculous providence? We could say much, were it proper to praise the living, but, leaving until their times the particulars of each one (apart from those concerning the blessed martyr Father Luis de Medina, which will be told in his biography) we will tell now of one and another of the most important happenings of this past year.

#### [The Tinian War of 1669-70]

**It is worthwhile to know about the beginning and end of the war on the Island of Tinian, called the Buenavista Mariana. The Devil, jealous of the ease with which the Faith progressed in this island and of the peaceful possession whereby Jesus Christ reigned in it, inflamed the spirits of the natives, some against the others, in such a way that in a few days what had been a paradise burned in flaming quarrels, as much more difficult to smother as were the spirits of this island the most haughty, the most jealous of their honor, and the most insolent about their nobility to be found in all these islands. The war lasted four**

- 1 Ed. note: It is said elsewhere that the reason for such a condition was that the missionaries had taken to wear only native sandals and overcoats and hats, because the natives, specially the chiefs, would beg for their European clothes so forcefully that it became virtually impossible to refuse.
- 2 Ed. note: Master-of-Camp was a rank equivalent to that of Colonel.



months with its stonings and spearings, with many of the highest princes of one and another side dead, with burning of houses, destruction of their gardens, and great disturbance to the evangelical seedbed; nor were the many means of prayers, promises, and threats that were taken, nor the miracles worked by God before their eyes, sufficient to quiet them; for a Father of the Company put himself between the warring camps when they were stoning one another, and with a cross in his hand exhorted them to peace, receiving on his person many stones that, on hitting him, fell straight to his feet, and caused him no harm whatever, as those of the same island have admitted. It seemed that this conflagration must consume all the works produced through so much labor by the Faith in this island, unless some means were found to extinguish it; but as Divine Providence rules over all things human, and will not abandon its own, so it helped in the greatest need and gave power to a remedy as only its power could. Some few seculars, who had accompanied the Fathers, were encouraged to take into their charge this so difficult and risky task, accomplishing by force of arms what could not be done peaceably. They were ten, of whom only one was a Spaniard, called Juan de Santiago, a Biscayan and of very tender age, the rest being natives of the Philippines; and the captain of all was Don Juan de Santa Cruz.<sup>1</sup> They had three muskets and a small field-piece. The latter had been left (as if reserved by God for such occasions) on the celebrated wreck in these islands of the ship **Concepción** in the year of 1638; it had been salvaged and was found by chance in a house on the island of Saypan, during a search for the head of an image of Our Lady that some said was in it.

This small company, armed more by confidence in Divine Power than supported by the strength and power of their firearms, tried to impose order on two armed camps; they put themselves between two groups of warriors who were on the point of assailing one another, and sent emissaries to one and the other, pleading for peace and promising that the side first to start fighting would receive its just punishment. The two camps became calm for some time, owing to the natural fear that they have of firearms, and sent continuously emissaries of peace from one to the other.

In memory and thanks to the Most Holy Virgin for the gift of peace, a hermitage was raised between the two camps and named Our Lady of Peace; and this served our side as a garrison<sup>2</sup> to keep that peace. For the two months that they had earned, the sallies and sorties of one and the other party were prevented. But as the souls of these natives are most inconsistent and shifting, after two months of peace, fighting broke out because of one death off the battlefield caused by one side and the burning of a village by the other; men of the latter moved surreptitiously on a path distant from our force and the Hermitage of the Peace. For having started the fight in spite of the pacts that had been made, and for having attacked our defense with the intent of taking the firearms, which were all they feared, our soldiers gave this latter side a sprinkling from our arms as they had promised, although very light, for our soldiers intended more to

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1 Ed. note: He was a Filipino from Indan, in the Tagalog Region.

2 Translator's note: *Plaza de armas* in the original.

frighten them than to kill these warriors, it being necessary that the Marianos learn that our arms were not all thunderous noise and thunder without lightning, as they had said until then. Which they learned sufficiently well, for one was dead and another wounded, the latter being the principal force behind this war, speared by a Pampango boy, he being little more than twelve years and called Andrés de Santa Cruz. Another young Spaniard, a native of Mexico called Diego Bazán, wounded others with much valor, and Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, who discharged the duties of leader of said force, ordered and inspired all our soldiers, before which all the enemies were prostrate; they lacked both food and the will to make their hands fight or their feet flee, terrified by the thunderous noise of our arms, and even more by the death of their companions. This demonstration of the *Guirragos* (for so in that land do they call Spaniards and foreigners, by way of saying those from overseas) has been most convenient, for the fear that our arms have earned has been great, not only in this island but also in the neighboring islands, where the news arrived quickly and demonstrated that abuses committed against the laws of God and the rules of good behavior taught by the Fathers would not go unpunished, and that hostilities would be suppressed.

So great is the fear that our arms and soldiers have earned that when all the villages of the warring faction gathered together to attack Sung[h]aron, where the Fathers of the Society have a church and house, because they heard that all our soldiers had gone (on an absence of four days to the island of Saypan), upon hearing before their intended attack upon the village that there remained two of three *Guirragos*, and one *pequi*, which is the same as firearm, they retired to the point, without daring to attack. From which one sees how useful it is to have on each island, if not in every village, men and arms sufficient to introduce so healthy a fear, as well as justice and government, not only paternal but also coercive and military; necessary here, as everywhere, to repress the sins, insults, and fighting that impede the preaching of the Holy Gospel. Although the war ended, not all the spirit of it that had been lit was extinguished, for there were not lacking some sparks of conflict between the natives as well as against our people, whom, it is suspected, they have tried many times to poison; but God has freed them from this and many other dangers, through the favor of the most Holy Virgin and the intercession of the great Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, to whom this victory is primarily attributed.

**When the Devil saw undone his first plot in the island of Tinian, he began a second in two other adjacent islands, Saypan and Anaton (which are now called San José and San Joaquín), by spreading again in them the rumor that the Chinese Idolater (as I wrote in the first account) had earlier spread in these islands: that the holy baptism was fatal to man because the holy oil and water were mixed with poison, with which the Fathers intended to take the life of anyone they baptized, especially the children, who, being more delicate, could not resist its power.**

**Those who had given more credit to the calumny of the Chinese than to the preachers of the truth, awaited some suitable occasion to reveal the poison of**

**their infidelity to the ministers of the Gospel; and thus the most fervent and blessed Father Luis de Medina, going about the island of Saypan on one of his continuous missions, preaching to the natives and searching with great solicitude and zeal for children and the sick to baptize, found the merited and desired prize of his labors, the crown of martyrdom, together with a layman called Hipólito de la Cruz, a native of the Visayas, companion no less in his crowning than in his toil and zeal; for two villages of the said island did unite together and spear them to death, in hatred of our Faith and of the holy baptism; so it appears from the declarations of 17 witnesses and from the principal aggressor, a man named Poyo, who gave the deepest and mortal thrust to the blessed Father Luis de Medina; and the impious aggressors shouted as they thrust their spears, crying blasphemies against God and insults against the Father, excoriating him because he wanted to kill their children with baptismal water.**

**I do not intend here to foresee the judgment of the Apostolic See, to which I subject myself in all things and whose declaration I await, but rather to say only what one properly should.** This Father, born in Málaga, was a priest of our Society, a most fervent and zealous preacher who, at 33 years of age (with 14 in the Society and two years of preaching in the Marianas), and after achieving great works in these islands against innumerable hardships and the continuous threat of death, died for Christ in the village of Cao, in the island of Saypan. Of his life and death, with all the circumstances of his martyrdom, the discovery of his body, and his many and rare virtues, and the favors done him by the Lord and the Queen of Angels, Most Holy Mary, I shall write separately, for I cannot put them in this report without making too long; and it would be unjust to be silent or to speak to casually the praises of one who has so merited them with his useful life and most blessed death.

**Besides these two blessed martyrs who died in the second year of this mission, another, a native of Malabar named Lorenzo, died in the first year. He was one of the Christians who were left in these islands after the wreck of the ship Concepción in the year of 1638, and he joined the Fathers of the Society in tilling that land after they entered it. He visited one of the villages of the island of Anatagon to see if there was some child or sick person to baptize and found the prize of his great zeal; for some hated him, as if he were a murderer of children, because they had lost a few days before a child who had recently been baptized, and they killed him with such great cruelty—not content with wounding him many times, but also putting out his eyes and burying him in a public cesspool—as to give clear witness of the hatred they bore toward the holy baptism.**

If, as Saint Leo says, the blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christians, then the blood of three martyrs does promise a great harvest, for with their blood they have watered this land, already most blessed; thus may there be workers so fervent that they come to gather this harvest without fear of the deaths so glorious; instead all must be encouraged and covet so great a blessing in the knowledge that such precious crowns are given

free of cost. To those who leave their knowledge idle like the treasure of the misers, we can repeat sorrowfully what is written by Saint Francis Xavier—in a letter—from the depths of his heart: *“Woe unto you, when so great a number of souls cannot enter heaven, but must descend to hell, through your fault and sloth.”*

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**Requests made by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in the Marianas to Her Majesty the Queen, our Lady, for the growth of the new Christianity of the Mariana Islands.**<sup>1</sup>

1. They ask for more workers, both to indoctrinate the 13 islands that are converted to our Holy Faith and to proselytize the many others that remain in the darkness of death and heathenism in this range from the Austral land to Japan, for here it is, as Christ said to his disciples, that the harvest is great and the workers few; and we should cry tears of blood because so many descend to the inferno every day for want of anyone to show them the way to heaven, and because so many children lose their place in glory for want of preachers to baptize them. For this, Your Majesty is asked to give permission to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who may be foreigners, yet subjects of your Crown, to come to these islands; because the provinces of Spain, for lack of subjects, cannot give as many as are necessary for this work of such great glory to our Lord. And in said foreign realms there may be many who are called by the Lord to this mission, but who remain chained by the shackles of respect and obedience to the commands of Your Majesty. The expenses of said preachers will be no more than the costs of the voyage to the islands and the costs of divine worship in them; their sustenance may be trusted to Divine Providence which, as it does not forget the birds in the air, so it will also give sufficient of the fruits of the earth to those who would do its tilling with the true vocation of evangelical missionaries.

2. The second thing they request is a good number of secular companions, of various abilities and skills that they may teach to the Marianos; and especially good Christians, so that with their example they may teach Christian customs and serve as *Canacápoles* [lit. acolytes, i.e. catechists], thus making up for the lack of priests for baptisms of necessity and for teaching the children; and on the way introduce a Christian order and some form of government and justice, which are totally wanting in these lands and whose absence would be a very grave defect in any land of very old Christianity. It would be useful if these latter, in addition to the tools of their trades, were to carry firearms, which inspire special terror in those islands and are of great convenience because, although the Gospel entered unarmed into these islands, as a rule of peace and charity, in order to maintain itself in them and progress easily it needs to go surrounded by arms, as the Ark of the Testament of the Armies of God went, not so much to in-

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1 Ed. note: These requests to the Queen were channelled through her Austrian Jesuit confessor, Fr. Everardo Nithard (see Doc. 1669K & 1673C2).

jure as to excite fear; and because if they lack fear and a coercive form of government they will dare greater insults than until now have been experienced and will kill all the preachers, as they have attempted to do at times, and, although for the preachers it will be great happiness to find in death the true life and respite from such great toil, it will be a great misfortune for those islands to lose their preachers, when they need them so much.

And so that this may be done most smoothly and without great cost, as would be the case with a garrison of Spaniards, their lack may be made up, if your majesty is pleased to so order, by sending 200 men from Manila, or the largest number possible of Indians of the Philippines, of good character and old Christianity, like the Pampangos and Tagalogs, for, although they come without Spaniards, because of the scarcity of the latter in Manila and the greater expenses of their support in the Mariana Islands, these old Christians will be able to realize the said effect even without any other director than Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, who at present is head of the lay companions of the Fathers; and such could he be in any post of Your Majesty's, for his valor, Christianity, and the zeal with which he has served outstandingly in this mission, earning notable respect for the name of Christian and Spaniard among these natives, whose language and customs he knows well.<sup>1</sup> And without him, some of the [other] Pampango Indians could serve as captain during the time when Your Majesty might not wish to put a regular garrison in these islands. In exchange for the Indians who might have come from Manila, you could send there the same number of Marianos, who will go with pleasure, as they already began to go in the past year of 1668 [rather 1669?]; and it would be much easier, with this exchange and mixture of old and new Christians, to govern these lands; because in this way Christian customs will be introduced more easily and smoothly here, with the arrival at one and the same time of the words of the preachers and the examples of the old Christians. All of this is much easier to do in these islands than in others, because they are on the route of the Manila galleons.

3. They ask Your Majesty to give an urgent order that the galleons of regular support for the Philippines stop on their return from Acapulco in the harbor of San Antonio of the Island of Guam, or in another of the known ones if it is deemed more convenient; and on the return from Manila have them stop at the harbor of San León, on the west of the island of Agrigan, which is fifteen leagues north of the one they call the Isle of the Volcanos; and have them take account of the state of the Mariana Islands and carry out, when their offices are needed, punishment and remedy of whatever misfortunes might occur, bringing help to said people and whatever else Christian charity might suggest, especially clothing to dress our Lord Jesus Christ who is extremely naked in these poor Marianos, so that our Lord may say to them on the Day of Judgment: "*I was naked and you clothed me.*" For the galleons to stop at said harbors would

1 Ed. note: After this Filipino *conquistador* of the Marianas went back home and took his retirement, the Spanish government did not even give him a pension. Even the glory of his military prowess was not recognized by the civil authorities, who preferred to give the honor to Spaniards who followed him as military chief of the Marianas, e.g. Quiroga, Saravia, etc.

add no cost whatever, but rather, in addition to the convenience to the said ships of taking on water it might result in savings of the expenses for the small ship that it has been necessary to send specially to the aid of these islands, although the latter should go from time to time, for the purposes that we shall describe.

4. They ask what was asked for last year:<sup>1</sup> that a sufficient and suitable ship be sent from Manila without other charge than to reconnoiter the harbors that are said to be in these islands, some of which have been found by Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, as we said at the beginning, and especially to explore the islands that link the Marianas with the Philippines, as they say these continue to the south beyond the island of Mindanao; because if this route is found, it will be easier to govern and communicate with one and another island, for then it might be done in small vessels, without this route things are very difficult, because one cannot travel to the north [sic] except in high-sided [i.e. sea-going] and very strong ships, owing to the terribleness of the seas that lie between the Philippines and the Marianas. For this exploration, Captain Antonio de Acevedo seems very suitable; he came as principal pilot of the ship that brought the missionaries to the Mariana Islands and offered to undertake this exploration.

5. Because there can be no hesitation in matters of so great importance as the salvation of soul, redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ, we propose to Your Majesty with new urgency, greater than that which was held in the past because of the extreme necessity of so many souls being lost, that you be pleased to order that explorers go from Peru to the Austral land, previously unknown and the reputed fifth part of the world, and to the Solomon Islands and to the others in the South Sea that are mentioned in the voyage of Captain Pedro Fernández Quirós, and that continue from this island of Guam to very near Peru, as is mentioned in the account of that voyage that was referred to in the report of the previous year.<sup>2</sup>

6. To explore in particular the islands that link the Marianas with the islands of Japan, someone from New Spain could come with a ship brought from the ports of Guatemala, or brought from Peru to the port of Acapulco, as has occurred before in aid of the Philippines; there are not lacking people in Mexico who would make this voyage, as Don Antonio [rather Andrés] de Medina offered to do, and by their own means and wealth, or by the wealth of others whom Your Majesty might honor with some title or a grant in part of the land that they place under the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Catholic Crown of the King our Lord; with ministers of the Holy Gospel they could probably more easily and with less expense to the royal treasury obtain a great increase and extension of our Holy Catholic Faith and the salvation of so many who are now deprived totally of salvation, the Lord having entrusted the task of conversion by the current arrangement to the royal and Catholic zeal of Your Majesty and most heedful Council, in whose prompt resoluteness depends today the great import-

1 Ed. note: That request had been channelled through Fr. Sanvitores' father (see Doc. 1669A and 1671J, among others.).

2 Ed. note: Not in that of 1669, but in the memorial that Fr. Sanvitores sent from Acapulco (Doc. 1668A).

ance of cultivating said lands and introducing the Faith into them now, when it is most easy, because they are yet free of Mohammedans, heretics, and other pestilential sects.

7. We request Your Majesty be pleased to establish a seminary in the island of Guam for the good instruction of the boys of this land, orphans by nature or custom of this nation, in which sons are totally free from education and rule by their parents. This barbarity will make it easier to introduce our care and to gather them into said seminary houses, opposing this sacred and royal seminary to those public houses the Devil has founded in these islands, where *Urritaos*, or youths, live with unmarried women with no other control or direction than what the Devil or their appetite persuades them to, urged by the libertinage of their age. Until others are founded in the rest of the islands, we shall try to select for this seminary from all the islands the boys of greatest ability, best nature, and application to Christian doctrine, and they will be able later to serve as acolytes or teachers of the rest; and the most highly regarded can be ordained as priests, for the Marianos do not have drunkenness, which has been the principal impediment that those of other nations have had to receiving sacred orders. Saint Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, believed that the principal fruit of the Gospel was in the children, whose teaching and education he commended above all things to his companions; because Christianity, introduced in childhood, grows and grows as does age itself, and they become as good Christians as men and old men who were Christians since childhood. The same Francis Xavier, when the governor of the East Indies assigned 4,000 *pardãos* that were part of the marriage gift of Queen Catalina of Portugal from the tributes of the fishery, wrote to the queen and beseeched her to grant this gift, giving this reason: "*For these Christian children, sons and grandsons of Gentiles, are, My Lady, the best marriage gifts with which Your Highness can best and most certainly enter into heaven.*" And we can say of this seminary for boys, whose establishment we hope from the royal munificence and piety of the Queen our Lady, that these Christian boys, sons and grandsons of infidels and barbarians, will be the best guard of the King our Lord, and this house the best castle and fortress of all your kingdoms.

If there were means, it would be very worthwhile to found also a seminary for girls of the Marianas, where they might be gathered before the Devil takes them for their public houses where the *Urritaos*, or lads, live with maidens or unmarried girls, as we have said, whom they select and bring from one place to another with the obscene and infamous consent of their parents, who permit it by reason of their interest in the payment.

8. For the immediate administration and inspection of these islands, delayed so long and made so risky by reason of the frail craft of those islands, we need at least two boats in the form of launches that can be carried from the Philippines in the galleons, like others that the galleons often carry to Acapulco; and with these same ships it will be possible to leave people and aid that may be brought from the Philippines in aid of the Marianas with more ease and no hardship for the galleons, when there might be contrary winds, which they are accustomed to experiencing when coming from Manila.

[Postscript:] These things the preachers of the Gospel of the Mariana Islands ask for and request of Your Catholic Majesty for the propagation and increase there of our Holy Faith. This the most blessed martyr Luis de Medina asks from heaven, and he signed these chapters and requests with his hand and has since confirmed them with his blood, spilled for Christ.<sup>1</sup> We rest our hope in Divine and Royal Providence, that these so just desires will be fulfilled, addressed only to the greater glory of God and the good of His souls, for God and His Vicar have commended these islands to the King our Lord and the Queen our Lady that they may bring to them His Gospel; in which one sees how much the Lord loves them and desires their eternal happiness. It is well known how in the new spiritual conquest of the Mariana Islands, ordered by the King our Lord Philip IV (who is now in heaven) and carried on now by our King Charles II and the Queen our Lady, they surpassed the great zeal of all the kings before them, for whereas some in the East Indies and others in the West introduced the Gospel and carried the Faith to some lands where they might find gold, silver, precious stones, and other things of great value and esteem, our most Catholic kings have carried the Faith to some islands where there is nothing more than some souls redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ (more precious in His eyes than heaven and earth), without searching in them for more than the glory of God; although with this they will gain everything, for Jesus Christ says: *"Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and His justice, and you shall find all these things."* May our small<sup>2</sup> and great monarchs live many centuries, so that, opening many doors to the Gospel, he shall open as many more to the blessings of his far-flung empire. It is an auspicious horoscope of his blessings to have begun to preach the Faith in the Mariana Islands in his reign, during which heaven promises that our king shall be conqueror of many kingdoms, no less for Jesus Christ than for his royal crown. So be it. So be it.

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- 1 Ed. note: Therefore, the above requests had been prepared during the summer and fall of 1669, before Medina's death. What follows is a postscript added in the spring of either 1670 (there was no galleon that year), or of 1671.
  - 2 Ed. note: The Dauphin was 8 or 9 years old when this postscript was written.



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## Documents 1670I

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# Documents regarding Fr. Ledesma's mission band, 1670-73

*Sources: RAH 9/2668, documents n° 38, 39 & 41, unless otherwise mentioned.*

## II. Petition by Fr. Ledesma for a mission band of 38 members, including 10 foreigners

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora*

*Andres de Ledesma Procurador General de la Compañía de Jhs de las Yslas Philipinas.—*

*Diçe que habiendo representado a V. Magestad la mucha falta que ai de Religiosos de su orden en los combentos de España se hallaban en el Collegio de esta Corte 10 sujetos extranjeros todos sacerdotes y vasallos de V. Magestad y de la virtud[,] letras[,] meritos y partes combenientes y necesarias para poderse emplear en la Doctrina y enseñanza de los Yndios de Filipinas como a constado al Consejo por la zertificacion del Padre Phelipe de Osa y patentes que a presendado en cuya considerazion supplico a V. Magestad se sirba de mandar aprobarlos y darles licencia para que estos diez sujetos extranjeros entren en el numero de los 38 que le estan conçedidos pueda llebar a las misiones de Philipinas para que pasen con los demas sujetos que son naturales de estos Reynos de que tiene presentada memoria despensando con estos diez por esta vez, el no haber residido en la Provincia de Toledo el año que se dispone en la çedula de 10 de Diziembre de 664 en que les concedio su Magestad (que sea en gloria) pudiese llebar la quarta parte de extranjeros sea mandado se les apruebe teniendo las calidades que se disponen en dicha çedula de cuya resoluçion y ynfiere no se divio [=debio] de explicar bien en el memorial pasado y asi Diçe que lo que suplica es se dispense con estos diez sujetos extranjeros el no haber residido en la Provincia de Toledo el año entero que por dicha çedula se manda lo qual no se a podido disponer esta vez asi por ser de Provincias tan distantes de esta Corte como por no saberse los que se inclinan a pasar a tierras tan remotas hasta tanto que se les ba disponiendo para ello y que los Superiores de*

*los Collegios donde residen les dan lizenzia para hazer el viaje para todo lo qual es necesario el tiempo que se considera y hazer con ellos gastos mui crecidos en su Bestuario, sustento y viaje como se han hecho a costa de la Provincia de Philipinas y siendo esto asi y hallandose estos diez sujetos en el Collegio de esta Corte, ya se deja considerar el descredito que se seguira a su religion si se les negase la lizenzia que pide a que se añade el desconuelo grande que les causaria el estar detenidos dos o tres años. por lo menos primero que aya otra ocasion de Flota en que poder haçer el viaje y Procurador que los llebe y dinero de la Provincia de Filipinas con que costearlos y con que sustentarlos todo el tiempo que estubiesen en España aguardando la embarcazion ademas de otros muchos ynconvenientes que se pueden seguir no siendo el menor los que en tan largo tiempo podran enfermar y morirse y otros mudar de intento y no querer pasar a tieras tan lexas despues de haber consumido cantidades muy considerables en su Bestuario y sustento en cuya considerazion.—*

*Suplica de nuevo a V. Magestad se sirba de mandar se consideren los motibos referidos y que con atencion a ellas se dispense siquiera por esta vez con estos diez sujetos extranjeros el año que habian de haber residido en la Procinçia de Toledo y que se les de lizenzia para pasar a Philipinas con los demas sujetos naturales de estos Reynos que estan prebenidos de que tiene presentada nomina a los quales se les mando dar la aprobacion hordinaria y que se acostumbra que en todo espera rezivir de V. Magestad la merced que siempre ha hecho a su Religion.—*

[Endorsement:] *Señora*

*Andres de Ledesma Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jhs.—*

*Pide sujeots para Philippinas y que se dispense el año de la residencia en Toledo con lo por esta vez.*

*Esta copiado en el Libro.*

## **Translation.**

Madam:

Andrés de Ledesma, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Philippine Islands:—

Declares that, whereas he has represented to your Majesty the great lack of Religious of his Order in the convents of Spain, and the presence in the College of this Court of **10** foreign subjects, all priests and vassals of your Majesty, whose virtue, education, merits, appropriate and necessary directions to be able to employ themselves in the teaching of the doctrine to the Indians of the Philippines, as appears in the certificate presented to the Council by Father Felipe de Osa<sup>1</sup> and the patents that he has presented; in this wise, he begged your Majesty to please order that they be approved and to give permission for these 10 foreign subjects to be counted within the **38** whom he was granted to take to the Philippine missions, in order for them to pass with the other sub-

1 Ed. note: See Doc. I2 below.

jects who are natives of these Kingdoms. To this effect, a memorial has been presented, asking that a dispensation be approved for these 10 subjects for this one time, as they have not resided in the Province of Toledo for the [one] year that is made mandatory, in accordance with the decree of 10 December 1664, by which his Majesty (may he rest in peace) granted that a quarter be made up of foreigners. With regard to the qualifications mentioned in the decree, it may be that he has not provided sufficient explanations for a resolution to be made. Therefore, he declares that what he should have said was that a dispensation should be given for these 10 foreign subjects from the requirement of residing in the Province of Toledo for a full year, that it has not been possible to fulfill the requirement of the decree this time, not only because their provinces are so distant from this Court but also because it is not known which ones are inclined to pass to lands so remote, until such time as they are being prepared for it, and until the Superiors of the Colleges where they reside give them permission to make the voyage. To this effect, some time is necessary and some very important expenditures must be made for them, by way of clothing, food and the voyage, and they have been made at the expense of the Philippine Province. That being so, and since these 10 subjects are presently in the College of this Court, one can very well imagine the discredit that will ensue to their Order, if the permission is denied them, in addition to the great disconsolateness that would be caused them by detaining them 2 or 3 more years, at least, until another occasion presents itself of a fleet to make the voyage, and a Procurator to take them, plus money from the Philippine Province to account for the expenditures, and with which to feed them during the time of their stay in Spain, while awaiting the ship, in addition to many other disadvantages that may follow, not the least of which being that some may fall sick or die in the meantime, and others may change their mind and refuse to go to lands so remote, after having consumed very considerable sums for their clothing and food. In this wise:—

He begs your Majesty again to please order that the above motives be taken under consideration and that, on their account, for this once, a dispensation be given for these 10 foreign subjects from the year that they were to have resided in the Province of Toledo, and that they be given permission to pass to the Philippines with the other subjects who are native of these Kingdoms who are ready, in accordance with the enclosed roll. May it be ordered that they be given the customary authorization. In everything, he hopes to receive from your Majesty the grace that you have always given to his Order.

[Endorsement:] Madam.

Andrés de Ledesma, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus.—

He asks for subjects for the Philippines, and that the year of residence in Toledo be dispensed with this time around.

It has been copied in the Book.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Next to this petition is a copy of it with slightly different text.

## 12. List of foreign Jesuits presented by Fr. Osa of the Imperial College of Madrid

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora*

*Phelipe de Osa de la Compañía de Jhs Retor del Collegio Imperial desta Corte, y como quien en ausencia del Padre Ginez de la Puente, Provincial desta Provincia, Certifico a V. Magestad y a su Consejo Supremo de Indias que habiendo tenido por moradores en este Collegio a los Padres hernesto Kell muller engrecis(?) destiria(?) [=Styria?], y el Padre Carl Borangan [sic], natural de biena [=Vienna], en Austria, subditos erediarios de la Casa de Austria. Y el Padre Alphonso Stapleaux de Namurco y el Padre Cornelio Vanderstein, natural de Emontes, en Hannonia, y el Padre Pedro Coomans, y el Padre Gerardo Bauvens, naturales ambos de Anbers, y el Padre Domingo Bisconte, y Carlos Turcote, Milaneses, y Padre Antonio Tuzio [=Tucci], y Antonio Maria Sambasilio Sicilianos, todos subditos de V. Magestad Catholica, los quales empezaron a benir a este Collegio Imperial, desde el mes de octubre pasado con animo de ofrezzer sus vidas, en servicio de nuestro Señor en la conbersion de los naturales de Filipinas y asi ellos como los que han estado en el Collegio de Alcalá an procedido con mucha edificazion y exemplo cumpliendo con las obligaciones de sazerdotes, como todos Diez lo son, y de religiosos de nuestra Compañía y mostradose afectos a esta Corona de España, como subditos y basallos que son de V. Magestad Catholica, yendo con animo y ferbor de traer muchas almas a Dios, y desempeñar el patrocínio y Real conciençia de V. Magestad en lo que sus fuerzas alcanzaren en aquellas Barbaras Naciones, y traiendolas al conoçimiento de su Criador y de su Rey por lo qual me parece que, siendo V. Magestad servida, podra mandar se les de Lizencia para que pasen en Compañía del Padre Andres de Ledesma, de nuestra Compañía que ba por Procurador General de Filipinas supliendoles lo que les faltare del año que debian estar en esta Provincia en conformidad de lo que esta mandado, pues la virtud[,] çelo y ferbor, con que an vivido, el tiempo que en ella an estado, dan muestras de ser muy aproposito para la conbersion y enseñanza de los naturales de aquellas Islas, y dignos de que V. Magestad les permita se empleasen en obra tan del servicio de Dios y de V. Magestad a que su espiritu les lleba y mueba y de que puede resultar tanto fruto ganando ynumerables almas a su Divina Magestad y Vasallos a esta Corona como le espera de la Misericordia ynfinita, como tan ynteresada en que no se pierdan aquellas obejas, por falta de Ministros evangelicos. Pues deste modo se ocurre y da providenzia la nezesidad tan prezisa y V. Magestad descarga su Real Conzienzia, poniendo en medios nezesarios para su conbersion, como siempre lo a hecho.*

*V. Magestad mandara lo que mas fuere servido cuya Catholica y Real persona guarde Dios como la christiandad a menester, con aumento de mayores Reynos y Señorios.*

*Madrid a 3 de Mayo de 1670.*

*Phelipe de Osa.*

### **Translation.**

Madam:

I, Felipe de Osa of the Society of Jesus, Rector of the Imperial College of this Court, and on behalf of and in the absence of Father Ginez de la Puente, Provincial of this Province, do certify to your Majesty and your Supreme Council of the Indies that the following Fathers are being detained as residents of this College: Fr. Ernesto Kell Müller who came(?) from Styria, and **Fr. Carl Boranga**, born in Vienna, Austria, both subjects of the hereditary House of Austria. Also Fr. Alphonse Stapleaux from Namur and Fr. Cornelius Vanderstein, born in Emontes, in Hannonia, and **Fr. Pedro Coomans**, and **Fr. Gerardo Bauvens**, both natives of Antwerp, and Fr. Domingo Visconti, and Carlo Turcotti, Milanese, and Fr. Antonio Tucci, and **Antonio Maria San Basilio**, Sicilians, all subjects of your Catholic Majesty, who began to arrive at this Imperial College, as of the month of October of last year, with the intention of offering their lives, to the service of our Lord, in the conversion of the natives of the Philippines. They, as well as those who were in the College of Alcalá, have carried on with much edification and example, carrying out the obligations of priests, as all 10 of them are, and of religious of our Society, and they have shown themselves to be fond of this Spanish Crown, as the subjects and vassals of your Catholic Majesty that they are. They have the intention and fervor to bring many souls to God, and to discharge the patronage and royal conscience of your Majesty to the extent of their ability among those barbarian nations, and to bring them to the knowledge of their Creator and their King. That is why it seems to me that, should it please your Majesty, they should be given permission to pass in the company of Father Andrés de Ledesma, of our Society, who is going as Procurator General of the Philippines, by making up what they might miss of the year that they were to spend in this Province in accordance with what is ordered, since the virtue, zeal and fervor with which they have lived during the time they have been in it, give signs of being quite suitable for the conversion and teaching of the natives of those Islands, and deserving of having your Majesty's permission to employ themselves in an endeavor that is so much to the service of God and your Majesty, toward which their spirit is taking them and moving them, and one that may result in so much fruit by gaining numberless souls to his Divine Majesty and vassals for this Crown, as I hope from the infinite Mercy, so interested in not losing those sheep, for lack of Gospel Ministers. Indeed, this is an opportunity, and such a providential and necessary one, by which your Majesty may discharge your Royal Conscience, to dispose of the necessary means for their conversion, as you have done in the past.

Your Majesty will be pleased to order what you wish. May God keep the Royal person as Christendom needs, with an increase in Kingdoms and Dominions.

Madrid, 3 May 1670.

Felipe de Osa.

### 13. Royal decree of 14 June 1670

#### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la Ciudad de Mexico de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup>*

*A ynstançia de Andres de Ledesma, Procurador General de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs mande dar y di en veinte y çinco de Junio del año pasado de mill y seiscientos y sesenta y nueve la çedula cuyo tenor es como se sigue:*

*La Reyna Gobernadora.—*

*Presidentes y Juezes oficiales de la Casa de la Contratazion de la çiuudad de Sevilla.*

*Por otra mi çedula de la fecha desta he dado Lizencia à Andres de Ledesma de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, Procurador General por la Provincia de Filipinas para que pueda volver con su compañero, y llevar consigo treinta y quatro religiosos y quatro legos de su horden, y porque mi voluntad es que sean proveidos de lo neçesario al viaje, los dichos treinta y quatro religiosos y quatro legos, os mandaren reservar para pasajes de Religiosos a las Indias, les proveais de lo que fuere menester para su viaje y matalotaje desde esa çiuudad hasta llegar a la de la Veracruz, conforme a la disposiçion del tiempo de su partida y a cada uno de los dichos Religiosos les dareis un Bestuario, conforme al que acostumbran traer y un colchon, una fraçada y una almoadá para la mar y pagareis lo que costare llebar sus libros y Bestuarios desde sus Collegios y Casas à esa çiuudad y la lleba de todo ello desde ay à la de S. Lucar ó Cadiz en lo qual distribuyreis de la dicha Real Hazienda hasta en cantidad de un quento çiento y setenta y dos mill quinientos y treinta y seis maravedis de vellon en que ban ynclusos los diez Ducados que se dan demas a cada Religioso de los que ban por la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> veinte ducados de cada Religioso lego que conforme a la Razon que an hecho los Contadores de quantas que residen en el Consejo Real de las Indias se supone montar a el gasto que sea de hazer en lo sobre dicho esto sin el que han de hazer desde el dia que salieren de sus Collegios hasta llegar à esa çiuudad a razon de siete Reales cada dia por cada religioso contando à ocho leguas por dia, de que haveis de hazer la partida por las çertificaciones de los Superiores de los Collegios de donde cada el uno saliere sin los dos Reales de que haveris de proveher a cada uno de los dichos religiosos cada dia para su sustentazion desde que ay llegaren hasta que se embarquen, que con carta de pago del dicho Andres de Ledesma, ó de quien su poder ubiere, y esta mi çedula mando os sea recibido y pasado en quenta a Vos el dicho mi Thesorero lo que en ello se montare y dareis orden como bayan bien acomodados en los Navios en que ubieren de yr haziendoles dar una Camara entre quatro ó seis de ellos, y con los Maestros ó Dueños de los Navios hareis que se conziertes lo que por el pasaje y flete de los Treinta y quatro Religiosos y quatro legos, y de su matalotaje y de los libros y bestuarios que llevaron se les ubiere de pagar y el conçierto que se hiziere provehereis que se ponga a las espaldas de un traslado, signado de esta mi çedula que por ella mando a los oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la dicha çiuudad de la Veracruz, que de qualesquier mercedes y haciendas reales que fuere a su cargo, paguen*

*a los Maestros ó Dueños de los Navios, lo que ubieren de haver, por esta razon, y que para su descargo tomen traslado de esta mi çedula y el conçierto hecho con los Maestros y su Carta de pago con los quales recaudos, sin otro alguno mando les sea recibido y pasado en quenta lo que asi dieren y pagaren, y asi mismo les mando que de alli a la Ciudad de Mexico provean a estos Religiosos de lo nezessario para su sustento y de cabalgaduras en que bayan y lleven sus libros y bestuarios y que si en la dicha çuidad y Puerto de San Juan de Ulua, enfermase alguno de los Religiosos los hagan curas conforme a la orden que sobre esto esta dada que con traslado signado de esta mi çedula y carta de pago y testimonio de lo que se gastare mandoseles reçiva y pase en quenta lo que esto montare, y a los officiales Reales de la çuidad de Mexico que el tiempo que alli estubieren los provean de lo que ubieren menester para su sustentazion y mantenimiento, y de cabalgaduras en que bayan y lleven sus libros y bestuarios, desde aquella çuidad al Puerto de Acapulco, y asi mismo del Matalotaje y sustentazion de que ubieren nezessidad para desde la Ciudad de Mexico hasta el Puerto donde se ubieren desembarcar en las Islas Filipinas, y si alli enfermaren los dichos Religiosos los hagan curar en la forma referida tomando para el descargo de lo que en ello gastaren Testimonio signado de Es[criba]no pu[bli]co y carta de pago del dicho Andres de Ledesma ó de quien su poder ubiere y que demas de lo susodicho hagan acomodar à estos Religiosos en los Navios que del Puerto de Acapulco fueren a las Islas Filipinas y que se yguale el flete que por la lleva dellos y de sus libros y bestuarios se ubiere de pagar desde el dicho Puerto a las Islas Filipinas, y que pongan el conçierto a las espaldas del traslado signado de esta mi çedula por virtud de la qual mando a los ofiziales Reales de las dichas Yslas que luego como lleguen à ellas, estos Religiosos, paguen a los Maestros ó Dueños de los Navios en que fueren lo que se montare en el conçierto que con esta mi çedula ó traslado signado de Es[criba]no publico y carta de pago, de los tales Maestros ó Dueños de los Navios ó de quien por ellos lo ubiere de haver mandoseles recevida y pase en quenta lo que esto ymportare y los unos y los otros tendreis cuydado que no aya desorden en lo que en esto se gastare, sino toda moderazion y buena quenta y desta mi çedula tomaran la razon los contadores de quantas que residen en el Consejo Real de las Yndias.*

*Fecha en Madrid a veinte y çinco de Junio de mill y seis cientos y sesenta y nueve años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de Su Magestad, Don Gabriel Ber[nar]do de Quiros.*

*Y aora el dicho Andres de Ledesma me a representado que haviendo acudido a la Casa de la Contratazion de Sevilla con la çedula referida para que le acudiesen con lo que por ella se manda para el aviamiento de los treinta y quatro Religios[os] y quatro legos de su orden que lleva con lizencia mia à Filipinas no lo havian hecho, respecto de no tener dinero de lo destinado para pasajes de Religiosos a las Yndias, supplicome fuese servida de mandarse le libre en la Caxa Real de Vuestro cargo la Cantidad que en dicha çedula se contiene y tambien los siete Reales que se mandan dar al dia a cada*

*sujeto para el viaje y sustento hasta llegar a Sevilla y los dos Reales que se les dan para sustentarse el tiempo que estan esperando en aquella Ciudad para embarcarse en la forma que sea hecho de algunos años a esta parte con las demas Misiones de diferentes Religiosos que an ydo à esas Provincias para que a este credito puede hallar quien le socorra para los muchos gastos que prezisamente a de hazer para conduzir estos sujetos a partes tan remotas.—*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias con los papeles tocantes a esto, y lo que sobre ello dijo el fiscal del, y consultadoseme, he tenido por bien de dar la presente por la qual mando al Presidente y Juezes oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion de la dicha çiudad de Sevilla, que en conformidad de lo que tengo dispuesto por la çedula aqui ynsera hagan ajustar la quenta de lo que por esta razon hubiere de haver el dicho Andres de Ledesma, reduzcan de los dichos un q<sup>o</sup> ciento y setenta y dos mill quinientos y treinta y seis maravedis de Vellon a p[arti]da con el premio a como al presente corre por el gasto que se havia de hazer, en estos Reynos con los dichos treinta y quatro Religiosos y quatro legos y asi mismo de lo que montaren los siete Reales de Vellon que se dan cada dia a cada Religioso desde que salieren de sus Collegios hasta el en que llegaren a la çiudad de Sevilla ajustandolo por las çertificaciones de los Prelados de los Collegios de donde salieren como esta mandado y tambien los dos Reales de Vellon con que se les à de acudir desde el dia que llegaren à ellas asta el en que se embarcaren para seguir su viaje y de lo que montare el gasto de los **Diez y ocho Religiosos que à de llebar en la flota, que este presente año ba a la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup>** en que el y su compañero ban ynclusos reduçidos a plata (como queda dicho) le den certifiçacion para que, en virtud de ella, y desta mi çedula se lo pagueis al dicho Andres de Ledesma ó quien su poder tubiere como por la presente os mando lo hagais de qualesquier maravedis y hazienda Real que ubiere ó entrare en la Caxa de vuestro cargo sin embargo de las hordenes generales que estubieren dadas en contrario, que para este caso dispenso con ellas quedando en su fuerça y vigor, para lo demas adelante, por quanto queda rota y çançeda en la Secretaria del cargo del Secretario infrascripto, la çedula original, que en esta la ynsera de veinte y cinco de Junio del dicho año de seiscientos y sesenta y nueve para que en ningun tiempo se pueda usar de ella que con traslado authorizado de Escribano publico de esta mi çedula y la çertifiçacion referida de los dichos Presidentes y Juezes oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla y carta de pago del dicho Andres de Ledesma, ó de quien su poder tubiere, mandoseos reçivan y pasen en quenta los maravedis de p[arti]da que en su virtud lo dieredes y pagaredes, sin otro recaudo alguno y asi mismo mando à los ofiziales de la Real Hazienda de los Puertos donde llegare el dicho Andres de Ledesma con los dichos diez y ocho Religiosos de su horden cumplan y executen lo contenido en la çedula ariva ynsera, segun y en la forma que en ella se declara, sin ynobazion ni limitazion alguna y lo mismo hareis vosotros para lo qual la deço en su fuerça y vigor, que asi es mi voluntad, y que de la presente tomen la razon los Contadores de quantas que residen en el dicho Consejo de Indias y en la Contaduria de la dicha Casa de la contratacion que prebendran en esta mi çedula lo com-*



*beniente al buen cobro de la Real Hazienda y asimismo la tomareis vosotros por lo que os toca.*

*Fecha en Madrid a catorce de Junio de mill y seiscientos y setenta años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de Su Magestad Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal, y señalado de los del Consejo.*

[Endorsement:] *Fecha en Madrid à 14 de Junio de 1670.*

*A los oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la Ciudad de Mexico paquen à Andres de Ledesma, Procurador General de la Compañia de Jhs de Filipinas la cantidad que por Certificazion de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, les constare à de haver, por razon del aviamiento de los 18 Religiosos que lleva à aquellas Yslas, por cuentas de los 34 y 4 Legos de su orden para que tiene Lizencia de V. Magestad.*

*Sentada.*

### **Translation.**

[From] the Queen Regent.

[To] the officials of the Royal Treasury in the City of Mexico in New Spain.

At the request of Andrés de Ledesma, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus, I have ordered given and I gave, by means of the decree dated 25 June of last year 1669, whose tenor is as follows:

The Queen Regent.—

[To] the Presidents and official Judges of the House of Trade of the city of Seville.

By another decree of same date, I have given permission to Andrés de Ledesma of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, for him to be able to return with his companion, and take along 34 Religious and 4 lay brothers of his Order, and because my will is that they be provided with what is necessary for the voyage, the said 34 Religious and 4 lay brothers, I order you to reserve their passages as Religious bound to the Indies, and provide what they need for their voyage and the food supplies from that city until they arrive at that of Veracruz, in accordance with the arrangement made for the time of their departure, and to each one of the said Religious you are to give one set of vestments, according to the usual manner, and one mattress, one blanket, and one pillow for the sea voyage, and you are to pay what it will cost for their books and clothes from their Colleges and Houses to that city, as well as the transport of everything from there to that of Sanlúcar or Cádiz, in which you will distribute from the said Royal Treasury up to a sum of one million, 172 thousand and 36 maravedis of bullion, in which are included the 10 ducats that is also given to every Religious on their way to New Spain, 20 ducats to every lay religious, which in accordance with the detailed list made by the accountants who reside in the Royal Council of the Indies is the total of the expenditures that must be made in the above, excluding those that must be made to cover from the day that they left their Colleges until arriving at that city, at the rate of 7 reals per day for every Religious and figuring 8

leagues per day, and you are to make each entry based on the certificates from the Superiors of the Colleges from which each one came, not to forget the 2 reals that you must provide each one of the said religious every day for food from the time they get there until they embark, and record the amounts on the pay card of the said Andrés de Ledesma, or of whoever may hold his power of attorney, and I order you to receive this my decree and you, my Treasurer, you are to make an account of everything that it might amount to, and you shall give an order for them to be well accommodated aboard the ships that they are to travel in, placing from 4 to 6 of them per cabin, and with the Masters or Owners of the ships, you are to make sure that the fare and freight of the 34 Religious and 4 lay brothers and their food supplies, books and clothes they might take along be paid for and you are to record the agreement in question at the back of a notarized copy of this my decree, by which I order the officials of the Royal Treasury in the said city of Veracruz to pay the Masters or Owners of the ships, out of whatever funds and royal assets that may be in their care, whatever amount this agreement may come up to, and in order to discharge themselves of same, they are to make a copy of this my decree and of the agreement made with the Masters and their pay card; with the said provisions, and only them, I order be accepted, recorded and paid out. In addition, I order them to provide those Religious what is necessary for their food and mounts to pass from there to the City of Mexico, for themselves and their books and clothing, and that, if in the said city and Port of San Juan de Ulua, any of the Religious should become sick, they are to be cured, in accordance with the order that exists about this matter, and with a notarized copy of this my decree and the pay card and a report of what it will cost, they are ordered to accept it and record the amount. The royal officials of the city of Mexico, for the time that they will be there, are to provide them with what they will need for their food and maintenance, and with mounts to carry them and their books and clothing, from that city to the Port of Acapulco, and also with the food supplies they will need between the City of Mexico and the port where they will disembark in the Philippine Islands. If the said Religious should become sick there, they are to be cured in the above-mentioned manner, there being sufficient for the discharge a certificate signed by a notary public and the pay card of the said Andrés de Ledesma or whoever may hold his power of attorney. In addition to the above, they are to accomodate these Religious aboard the ships that are to take them from the Port of Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, and they are to cover the necessary expenses to transport them and their books and clothing from the said Port to the Philippine Islands, and they are to place the agreement at the back of a notarized copy of this my decree, by virtue of which I order the Royal officials of the said Islands to pay the Masters or Owners of the ships, as soon as these Religious arrive there, in the amount agreed in this my decree or a copy notarized by a Notary Public and the pay card of the said Masters or Owners of the ships or those holding their powers of attorney, such papers should be accepted and the amounts recorded. You, at either place, are to take care not to introduce any disorder in this computation; rather, all moderation and good account.

The accountants who reside in the Royal Council of the Indies are to take note of this my decree.

Made at Madrid on 25 June 1669.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quiros.

And now the said Andrés de Ledesma has represented to me that, having paid a visit to the House of Trade in Seville with the above-mentioned decree, in order to have it obeyed with respect to what is therein ordered for the outfitting of the 34 Religious and 4 lay brothers of his Order whom he is taking to the Philippines with my permission, they had not done so, reason being that there was no money in the account reserved for the passages of Religious to the Indies, he begged me to be pleased to order you to free up for him in the Royal Treasury under your care the sum that is contained in the said decree and also the 7 reals that are ordered be given to each subject for the voyage and food as far as their arrival at Seville, and the 2 reals that are given them for sustenance for the time period that they spend waiting in that city for embarkation, in the manner that it was done in some years on this side with the other mission bands of various Religious who have gone to those Provinces so that they may find someone to assist them with this credit made them, to cover the many expenses that they must necessarily make to take these subjects to such remote places.—

This having been seen in the Royal Council of the Indies, with the papers regarding this, and what its Fiscal said about it, and having consulted on the matter, I have decided to give the present, by which I order the President and official Judges of the House of Trade of the said city of Seville that, in accordance with what I have disposed in the enclosed decree, they shall adjust the account of what the said Andrés de Ledesma is to have in this matter, by taking it from the one million, 172 thousands and 6 maravedis in bullion, to the entry of the current account for the expense that must be made in these Kingdoms with the said 34 Religious and 4 lay brothers, and as well the sum resulting from paying the 4 reals in bullion that are to be given each day to each Religious from the time they leave their Colleges until they arrive at the city of Seville, justifying it with the certificates of the prelates of the Colleges from which they came, as ordered, and also the 2 reals in bullion with which they must be attended to as of the date they arrive there until they board ships to pursue their voyage, and of the amount of the expenditures for **the 18 Religious who are to go aboard this year's fleet to New Spain** in which he and his companion are included, reduced to silver (as was said), certification is to be given so that, by virtue of it, and this my decree, it be paid out to the said Andrés de Ledesma or whoever holds his power of attorney, as by the present I order you to do so, out of whatever maravedis and Royal funds there might be or might come into the cash in your charge, notwithstanding the general orders that might exist to the contrary, as in this case I dispense with them, and from now on replace them with the full force of the decree whose original remains on file in the secretariat care of the undersigned Secretary, that is, the one dated 25 June of the said year of 1669, so that

in no time it may be used in a manner other than through an authorized copy made by a Notary Public of this my decree and the above-mentioned certificate from the said Presidents and official Judges of the House of Trade in Seville and pay card of the said Andrés de Ledesma, or of whomever may hold his power of attorney, I order you to accept and pay out the maravedis of account that, by virtue of it, you are to give him, without any other provision, and as well I order the officials of the Royal Treasury in the ports where the said Andrés de Ledesma might go to with the said 18 Religious of his Order to obey and carry out the contents of the above-mentioned decree (enclosed), in accordance with and in the manner that is declared therein, without any innovation whatever, and the same with the rest of you, as I give it full force, and so is my will. The accountants who reside in the said Council of the Indies and in the accounting department of the House of Trade are to take note of the present for whatever appropriate measure is required for the good collection of the Royal treasury and the rest of you as well, regarding what may concern you.

Made at Madrid on 14 June 1670.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal, and subscribed to by those of the Council.

[Endorsement:] Made at Madrid on 14 June 1670.

To the officials of the Royal Treasury in the City of Mexico to pay to Andrés de Ledesma, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines the sum that, by a certificate from the House of Trade in Seville, will be stated as his due, for the outfitting of the 18 Religious that he takes to those Islands, out of the 34 and 4 lay brothers of his Order for whom he has permission from Her Majesty.

Recorded.

## **I4. Certificate issued for Fathers Bouwens and Coomans**

*Sources: AGI formerly 45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 30 et seq.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Certifico yo el Padre Phelipe de Osa, Rector deste Colegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus de esta Corte a los Señores Presidente y Juezes de la Casa Real de la Contratacion de Sevilla que oi dia de la fecha salen de este Collegio los Padres Pedro Comans, Gerardo Baubens y Alonso Estrapleaux, todos de la misma Compañia y Sacerdotes para la dicha Ciudad de Sevilla para embarcarse con licencia de Su Magestad en esta primera flota a la Provincia de Filipinas.*

*Y para que de ello conste doi este testimonio firmado de mi nombre y sellado con el sello de mi oficio en Madrid y siete de Abril de mill y seiscientos y setenta y uno años.  
+ Phelipe de Ossa.*

### Translation.

I, Father Felipe de Osa, Rector of this Imperial College of the Society of Jesus of this Court, do certify to the Gentlemen President and Judges of the Royal House of Trade in Seville that on this day Fathers Pedro Comans, Gerardo Baubens and Alonso Estrapleaux [rather Stapleaux], all of the same Society and priests, are leaving this College for the said City of Seville in order to embark with permission of Her Majesty in this first fleet to the Province of the Philippines.

And in faith whereof, I give this testimonial signed with my name and sealed with the seal of my office in Madrid on 7 April 1671.

+ Felipe de Osa.<sup>1</sup>

## 15. Certification of their arrival at Seville

Father Juan de Azevedo, Rector of the College of San Hermenegildo of the Society of Jesus in Seville, do certify to the Gentlemen President and Judges of the House of Trade that, according to the books of the Procure of the said College where were entered the [names of the] Religious of the said Society who came from various parts to go with permission of His Majesty to the Provinces of the Indies, it appears that there arrived at this City on their way to the Philippines the Religious whose names are given hereunder, on the specified dates, as follows:

+ Father Pedro **Comans**, priest, came from the Imperial College of Madrid and arrived at this college on Wednesday 6 May of this year.

+ Father Gerardo **Baubens** [sic], priest, came from the said College and arrived on the same day.

+ Father Cornelio Banderstein, priest, came from the said Imperial College and arrived at this College on Monday 18 May of this year.

+ Father Antonio Tuccio, priest, came from the said College and arrived on the same day.

+ Father Antonio Maria **San Basilio**, priest, came from the said College and arrived on the same day.

+ Father Domingo Visconti, priest, came from the said College and arrived on the said day.

+ Father Carlos Turcotti, priest, came from the said College and arrived at this one on the same day.

And in faith whereof, I gave the present certificate at the request of Father Juan de Rivadeneira, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies in Sevilla on 10 June 1671.

Juan de Azevedo.

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1 Ed. note: On 9 May 1671, he issued a similar certificate on behalf of Fathers Antonio Tuccio, Antonio Maria San Basilio, Domingo Visconti, Carlo Turcotti, and Cornelius Vanderstein.

## 16. Second group leaving Spain in 1673

*Source: AGI 45-2-7/10; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 16, folio 31 et seq.*

### Original text in Spanish.

#### [Declaration of the candidates leaving Spain in 1673]

*Manuel de Villabona, de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador General en esta Corte por las Provincias de las Yndias, a representado en el Consexo que en conformidad de las ordenes que se an dado a los Provinciales de la misma Compañía de las Provincias de estos Reynos para que procuren embiar algunos sugetos para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, estaban promptos nueve, los quales yban caminando para esa çiudad a embarcarse en la flota que se esta despachando para la Nueva España y por haver de preceder aprovazion del Consejo antes de hacer el viage a presentado la nomina de sus nombres y patrias que son los que se siguen:*

*1. Francisco Gayoso, natural de la Ciudad de Soria, Obispado de Osma, de hedad de 26 años, Theologo.*

*2. Jaçinto de Montenegro, natural de la çiudad y Obispado de Tuy, de 24 años de hedad, Theologo.*

*3. Agustin Garcia, natural de Murcia, de hedad de 19 años, Filosofo.*

*4. Joseph de Aguirre, natural de Velez, de hedad de 17 años, Filosofo.*

*5. Juan Correchano, natural de Talavera, de hedad de 27 años, Coadjutor.*

*6. Gregorio Bezarco, natural de Villa Urdel, de hedad de 37 años, Coadjutor.*

*7. Juan de Aumada [sic], Sacerdote, natural de la Villa de Caceres, de 39 años de hedad.*

*8. Sebastian de Monrroy, Diacono, natural de la Villa de Araal, de 20 años de hedad.*

*9. Bernave Gomez, natural de Villa Alvilla, de 20 años de hedad, Coadjutor.*

*Y a supplicado a Su Magestad mande aprovar los sugetos referidos y que se de el despacho que fuere menester para que los pueda llevar consigo Nicolas de Pueyo, de la Compañía de Jesus a cuyo cargo va la Mission, de la Provinçia de Mexico.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo se a hacordado, que V.S. y esos Señores den al dicho Nicolas de Pueyo el despacho necesario, en la forma que se acostumbra, y que le dejen hacer su viage y llevar consigo los dichos nueve sugetos, de la Compañía de Jesus a la çiudad de Mexico para que desde ella puedan pasar a las Yslas Filipinas y desde alli a las Marianas, para donde van destinados en conformidad de los despachos de Su Magestad que para ello se le an mandado dar.*

*Dios guarde a V.S. y esos Señores muchos años.*

*Madrid a 22 de Junio de 1673.*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

...

**1673.—Siete Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de los tocantes a una Mission del P. Andres de Ledesma que se concedio a las Islas Filipinas.—N<sup>o</sup> XXXIII.**

*El P. Francisco de Florencia de la Compañía de Jesus y su Procurador general de las Provincias de las Yndias — Digo que Su Magestad fue servida de conçeder a las Yslas Filipinas una Mision de quarenta sugetos y por superior de ella el P. Andres de Ledesma de que an pasado a aquella parte en la flota de Don Joseph de Centeño asta diez y seis y en la de Don Enrique Enriquez, por la quarta parte de estrangeros que toca a la dicha mission con que el numero que asta aora a pasado llega a veinte y quatro sugetos y restan diez cuios despachos no an llegado y los espero en el primer extrahordinario con toda çertidumbre por averse servido la Reyna Nra. Sra. de mandar a los Superiores de las Provincias de España envien sugetos a las dichas Yslas para que ayuden en las Marianas al P. Diego Luis de San Vitores, y porque el tiempo esta tan adelante como a V.S. es notorio, y en los libros de la Contaduria prinçipal consta de los religiosos que an pasado por quenta de esta Mision y de la cantidad que an de aver los que rrestan; por que:*

*Pido y supplico a V.S. se rreseñen los rreligiosos que de los destinados para esta Mision se allaron en esta çuudad y que de los restantes se cometa a Cadiz se aga el conçierto y libramientos en la forma hordinaria que protesto presentar las çedulas y aprovaçiones del Consejo en devida forma, pido justiçia &c.*

*Otro sí, digo que se neçesita de passar a Cadiz las caxas de ropa de uso de los dichos religiosos[,] sus libros, y bestuarios y lo demas neçesario para el matalotaje de esta Mission.—A V.S. pido y supplico mande se me de General para llevar todo lo referido y demas que fuere neçesario para el avio de dicha Mission en que reçivire merced &c.*

*Francisco de Florencia*

...

***Semanero el Sr. Tesorero Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.***

*Parecieron cinco religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus que el P. Francisco de Florencia Procurador General de las Provincias de Yndias presento ante mi por de los asignados para yr en la mission que dice estar concedida a las yslas Filipinas, cuyos despachos le estan mandados dar en la conformidad que parece por auto de veinte y uno deste mes, y los dichos cinco religiosos son de los nombres[,] patrias y señas siguientes:*

- 1. El P. Juan de Haumada [sic] sacerdote natural de la Villa de Caceres, de treinta y nueve años, alto, pelo negro, delgado.*
- 2. El P. Sebastian de Monroy, natural de la Villa del Harajal, de veinte y cinco años, alto, algo inclinado de cuerpo, nariz afilada.*
- 3. El Hermano Jacinto de Montenegro, Teologo, natural de la ciudad de Tuy, de veinte y quatro años, buen cuerpo, cerrado de frente, color claro.*
- 4. El Hermano Francisco Gayoso, teologo, natural de Soria, de veinte y seis años, pequeño de cuerpo, junto de cejas, nariz afilada.*
- 5. El Hermano Bernave Gomez Coadjutor, natural de Villadiego de veinte años, pequeño de cuerpo carirredondo, color palido.*

*Que son los dichos cinco religiosos los que se reseñaron en esta ciudad y los dos cumplimiento a los siete que el dicho Padre Francisco de Florencia refiere estar señalados por aora para dicha Mision se han de reseñar en Cadiz.*

*Sevilla XXIII de Junio de MDCLXXIII años.*

*Joseph de Veitia Linage.*

...

**[Both Gayoso and Montenegro were already assigned to the Marianas]**

*Certifico yo el P. Diego de la Fuente Hurtado Rector del Colegio Real de la Compañia de Jesus de Salamanca como oy dia de la fecha parten de este Real Colegio donde estaban estudiando como sugetos que son del, y de aquella provincia de Castilla los Hermanos Francisco Gayoso, y Jacinto de Montenegro para servir a Nuestro Señor en las Yslas Marianas y ayudar a la conversion de aquella gentilidad en execucion de un orden particular de la Reina Nuestra Señora que encarga a esta provincia socorra a las dichas Yslas con algun numero de sugetos de esta Provincia. En testimonio de verdad lo firme, y selle con el sello de mi oficio en Salamanca a siete de Junio de 1673.*

*Jhs.*

*Diego de la Fuente Hurtado*

**[11 subjects arrived at Cadiz on 29 June]**

*Certifico yo el P. Andres de Almaguer Rector del Colegio de la Compañia de Jhs. de esta Ciudad de Cadiz, que a veinte y nueve del mes de Junio de este presente año entraron en este Colegio para pasar a la Provincia de Philipinas y Islas Marianas onze sugetos de la misma Compañia a donde ban con liçençia de Su Magestad combiene a saver:*

*Padre Juan de Ahumada y Padre Sevastian de Monrroy, sacerdotes; los Hermanos Jacinto de Montenegro, Francisco Gayoso, Thomas Alvarez de la Fuente, Pedro Martin, Agustin Garcia, Joseph Aguirre, estudiantes[;] Juan Correchano, Gregorio Bezarco y Bernave Gomez Coadjutores y por ser verdad di esta firmada de mi nombre.*

*Fecha en Cadiz a diez de Julio de mil seiscientos y setenta y tres años.*

*Andres de Almaguer.*

**Auto.**

*En la ciudad de Cadiz a nueve dias del mes de Julio de mill y seiscientos y settenta y tres años...*

*Ante mi, Joseph de Quintana, escrivano*

*Ante el dicho Señor Contador mayor Don Juan Tello,*

*Parecieron seis religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus que a expensas de la Real Hacienda pasan a las Islas Filipinas para efecto de reseñarse los dos que estan incluidos en el despacho que presentaron de los Señores Presidente y Juezes oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion para la embarcacion de siete y los quatro que llegaron a esta ciudad y pidieron el que les faltava para la suya y todos onze ban a cargo del Padre Nicolas de Pueyo asta la ciudad de Mexico los quales son de los nombres, edades y señas siguientes:*



1. *El P. Agustin Garcia, filosofo, natural de Murcia, de veinte años, alto de cuerpo, blanco, cejas dilatadas.*

2. *El P. Joseph de Aguirre, Artista, natural de Velez, de diez y siete años poco mas y menos, alto, blanco y rubio, abultado de rostro.*

3. *El H<sup>o</sup> Juan Correchano, Coadjutor, natural de Talavera de la Reyna, de treinta y un años, moreno de cuerpo, moreno, oyoso de viruelas.*

4. *El Hermano Gregorio Besarco, Coadjutor, natural de la Villa de Ur, del Obispado de Cartagena, de veinte y siete años, pequeño de cuerpo, lampiño señal de herida sobre la ceja derecha.*

*Que son los quatro que se hallavan en esta ciudad para los quales se pide el nuevo despacho y los dos que siguen vienen inclusos en los siete del de la Cassa:*

5. *El P. Pedro Martin, Filosofo, natural de la Nava del Rey, de veinte y quatro años, buen cuerpo, blanco, ojos azules, grandes.*

6. *El P. Tomas Alvarez de la Fuente, Theologo, natural de Osma, de veinte y quatro años, mediano de cuerpo, señales de Viruelas, entradas grandes.*

*Con lo qual se acavo la dicha reseña.*

*Cadiz once de Julio de mil y seiscientos y setenta y tres años.*

## Translation.

### [Declaration of the candidates leaving Spain in 1673]

Manuel de Villabona, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General in this Court for the Provinces of the Indies, has represented to the Council that, in accordance with the orders that were given to the Provincials of the same Society of the Provinces of these Kingdoms for them to try and send a few subjects to the Missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, 9 were ready, and they were on their way to that city to embark aboard the fleet that is being despatched to New Spain and, given that the approval of the Council is necessary before they can make the voyage, he has presented the roll of their names and birthplaces, which are as follows:

1. Francisco **Gayoso**, born in the city of Soria, Diocese of Osma, 26 years old, theology student.

2. Jacinto de **Montenegro**, born in the city and Diocese of Tuy, 24 years old, theology student.

3. Agustin **García**, born in Murcia, 19 years old, philosophy student.

4. José de Aguirre, born in Velez, 17 years old, philosophy student.

5. Juan Correchano, born in Talavera, 27 years old, coadjutor.

6. Gregorio Besarco, born in Villa Urdel [sic], 37 years old, coadjutor.<sup>1</sup>

7. Juan de **Ahumada**, priest, born in the town of Cáceres, 39 years old.

8. Sebastian de **Monroy**, deacon, born in the town of Arahal, 20 [rather 24] years old.

9. Bernabe Gomez, born in Villa Alvilla, 20 years old, coadjutor.

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1 Ed. note: He is described below as from the town of Ur, and 27 years old.

And he has begged Her Majesty to order that the above-mentioned subjects be approved and that they be given the necessary despatch in order for Nicolas de Pueyo, of the same Society of Jesus and of the Province of Mexico, who goes as superior of the Mission, to take them along with him.

This having been seen in the Council, it has been granted that your Lordship and those Gentlemen give the said Nicolas de Pueyo the necessary despatch, in the usual form, and to let him make his voyage, taking along with him the said 9 subjects of the Society of Jesus to the city of Mexico, so that they may go on from there to the Philippine Islands, and from there to the Marianas for which they are destined, in accordance with the despatches of Her Majesty that have been ordered given to that effect.

May God keep your Lordship and those Gentlemen for many years.

Madrid, 22 June 1673.

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.<sup>1</sup>

...

**1673.—Seven Religious of the Society of Jesus who belong to a mission band of Fr. Andrés de Ledesma that was conceded to the Philippine Islands.—N<sup>o</sup> XXXIII.**

I, Fr. Francisco de Florencia of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, do declare that Her Majesty was pleased to concede to the Philippine Islands a mission of 40 subjects whose superior is Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, and that up to 16 of them have passed overthere aboard the fleet of Don José de Centeño [in 1670] and in that of Don Enrique Enriquez [in 1671], for the fourth part of foreigners that concerns the said mission, so that up to now the number of those who have passed reaches 24 subjects and there remain 10 whose despatches have not arrived, and I am waiting for them by the first mail with complete certainty, since the Queen our Lady has been pleased to order the Superiors of the Spanish Provinces to send subjects to the said Islands to help Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores in the Marianas, and because time is so short, as your Lordship knows, and in the books of the Main Accounting Department are recorded the religious who have passed on the account of this Mission and the sum that the rest should have; because:

I beg and beseech your Lordship to pass in review the religious who are destined for this Mission and were found in this city and that the review of the others be carried out in Cadiz, that the agreement and drafts be done in the usual way, as I fully intend to present the decrees and approvals of the Council in due form, I beg that justice be done, etc.

Furthermore, I declare that the crates of clothing for the use of the said religious, their books, and vestments and the other necessary goods for the sea supplies of this

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: As shown on the certificates signed by Fr. Villabona, two more subjects showed up later, Pedro Martin and Thomas Alvarez de la Fuente, and the authorizations and the accounts had to be revised. All the details have been preserved and are on file.

Mission must be transported to Cadiz.—I beg and beseech your Lordship to order that I be given a blanket approval for all the above and anything else that may be necessary for the outfit of the said Mission, by which I shall receive favor, etc.

Francisco de Florencia

...

**Duty officer, Treasurer Don José de Veitia Linage.**

Before me appeared five religious of the Society of Jesus presented by Fr. Francisco de Florencia, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, as part of those assigned to go in the mission which he says was granted to the Philippine Islands and whose despatches have been ordered given, in accordance with the certificate dated 21st of this month, and the said five religious are those whose names, birthplaces and appearances are as follows:

1. Fr. Juan de **Ahumada**, priest, born in the town of Caceres, 39 years old, tall, black hair, slim.

2. Fr. Sebastian de **Monroy**, born in the town of Arahall, 25 years old, tall, body somewhat bent, pointed nose.

3. Brother Jacinto de **Montenegro**, theology student, born in the city of Tuy, 24 years old, good body, narrow forehead, white complexion.

4. Brother Francisco **Gayoso**, theology student, born in Soria, 26 years old, small body, joined eyebrows, pointed nose.

5. Brother Bernabe Gomez, coadjutor, born in Villadiego, 20 years old, small body, round face, pale complexion.

Those are the said five religious who were reviewed in this city and there are two others who are said by the said Father Francisco Florencia to belong to the said mission band but they are to be passed in review in Cadiz.

Seville, 23 June 1673.

José de Veitia Linage.<sup>1</sup>

...

**[Both Gayoso and Montenegro were already assigned to the Marianas]**

I, Fr. Diego de la Fuente Hurtado, Rector of the Royal College of the Society of Jesus in Salamanca, do certify that on this date Brothers Francisco Gayoso and Jacinto de Montenegro are leaving this Royal College where they were studying as subjects belonging to it, and of that province of Castile, to go and serve our Lord in the Mariana Islands and to help with the conversion of those heathens, in consequence of a specific order from the Queen our Lady who entrusts this province to assist the said Islands

1 Ed. note: The five missionaries were then scheduled to sail to Veracruz aboard the ship *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro y San Miguel*, one of the ships of the fleet led by Pedro Corbete. Fr. Monroy had been staying at the Novitiate of San Luis in Seville since 9 May 1672 and was then supposed to be destined to stay in Mexico. Fr. Ahumada had been waiting at the same novitiate since 8 January 1673 and was already earmarked for the Mariana Mission. Gomez was headed for the Philippines. As for Gayoso and Montenegro, they had arrived at the College of San Hermenegildo in Seville from Salamanca on 22 June 1673.

with any number of subjects of this Province. In faith whereof, I have signed this certificate and sealed it with the seal of my office, in Salamanca on 7 June 1673.

Jhs.

Diego de la Fuente Hurtado.

**[11 subjects arrived at Cadiz on 29 June]**

I, Fr. Andrés de Almaguer, Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus in this city of Cadiz, do certify that on 29 June of the present year there entered this College 11 subjects of the same Society to pass to the Province of the Philippines and the Mariana Islands where they are going with the permission of Her Majesty, to wit:

Father Juan de Ahumada and Father Sebastian de Monroy, priests; Brothers Jacinto de Montenegro, Francisco Gayoso, Tomas Alvarez de la Fuente, Pedro Martín, Agustin García, students; Juan Correchano, Gregorio Bezarco and Bernabe Gomez, coadjutors, and in faith whereof I gave the present, signed with my name.

Made at Cadiz on 10 July 1673.

Andrés de Almaguer.

**Certification.**

In the city of Cadiz, on 9 July 1673...

Before me, José de Quintana, notary.

Before me, the said Accountant Major Don Juan Tello,

There appeared 6 religious of the Society of Jesus who are passing to the Philippine Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury, to carry out the review of the two who are included in the despatch presented by the Gentlemen President of official Judges of the House of Trade for the embarkation of 7, plus the 4 who arrived at this city and asked for their review, and all 11 of them are going in charge of Father Nicolas de Pueyo as far as Mexico City. Their names, ages and descriptions are as follows:

1. Fr. [sic] Agustin **García**, philosophy student, born in Murcia, 20 years old,<sup>1</sup> tall body, white, bushy eyebrows.

2. Fr. José de Aguirre, artist,<sup>2</sup> born in Velez, 17 years old more or less, tall, white and red,<sup>3</sup> bulky face.

3. Brother Juan Correchano, coadjutor, born in Talavera de la Reina, 31 years old, dark body, dark complexion, showing pockmarks.

4. Brother Gregorio Besarco, coadjutor, born in the town of Ur, in the Diocese of Cartagena, 27 years old, small body, beardless, scar above the right eyebrow.

These are the 4 who are found in this city, for whom the new despatch is requested, and the 2 below are included in the 7 mentioned in the despatch of the House:

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1 Ed. note: He was described a few days earlier as being 19 years old.

2 Ed. note: Artist means that he had just finished the arts courses, passed the year called rethorics; he was indeed already a philosophy student (see above).

3 Ed. note: Meaning white in complexion and having red hair.

5. Fr. Pedro Martín, philosophy student, born in Nava del Rey, 24 years old, good body, white, big blue eyes.

6. Fr. Tomas Alvarez de la Fuente, theology student, born in Osma, 24 years old, average body, pockmarked, wide temples.

Thus ends the said review.

Cadiz, 11 July 1673.

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## Document 1670J

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# Catalog of the things sent to the Marianas from Manila in 1670

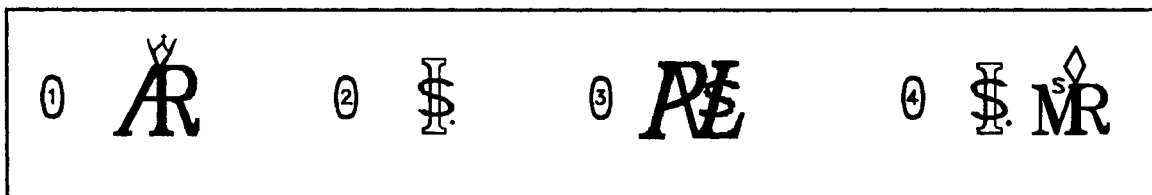
*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 94.*

*Notes: Fr. Pedro Espinar was born in Toledo in 1630, arrived at the Philippines in 1653. He ministered for 10 years in Samar, then served at Manila as local procurator for 8 years (1663-70) before being sent to Madrid and Rome, as procurator-general. He died at Madrid in 1695.*

### Original text in Spanish

*Memoria de lo que el Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus y su Procurador general en esta[s] Yslas embia a la mision de Ladrones en las naos Capitana y Almiranta que este año de 1670 hasen viaje a Nueva España a cargo de las Personas siguientes.—*

[Shipping marks:]



*1. Primeramente 12 Ysines de China que ban en una petaca con la marca del margen en registro. Yten 6 piezas de lienso Ynson blanco con 136 b[aras?] = 12 medias pinayusas coloradas = 4 maliñaques enteros que van en dicha petaca.—*

*2. Yten un fardillo enserado con la marca segunda del margen y en el 10 maliñaques blancos enteros fuera de la harpillera los 12 enbia el Padre Francisco Solano juntamente con las pinayusas de arriba.—*

*Yten un cajonsillo con la segunda marca y en el 50 Bolos con sus anillos de fiero = 12 Hachas grandes = 6 Asuelas = 6 Escoplos y fuera 4 Sieras.—Estas y el fardillo y*

*caxon lleva a su cargo el Capitan Antonio Nieto juntamente con el caxon n° 5 que se traxo por olvido el año de 68 de quenta del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores.—*

*3. Yten en la Capitana ban el fardo n° 27 con la marca tersera del margen que ba en registro 12 Ysines de China = 12 mantas crudas de Lanquin = 6 piasas de lienso ynson blanco con 157 b[aras].—*

*4. Yten en registro y con la marca quarta del marjen ban las piasas siguientes = Primeramente 7 campanas con sus lenguas que ban en la petaca n° 14 del Padre Solano.—*

*Yten un fardillo n° 1 y en el 101 maliñaques blancos = un pavellon colorado = 11 atados de ylo de acareto fuera de la camisa etc. el hilo, Pavellon, y 87 maliñaques son del Padre Solano lo demas enbio yo.—*

*Ytem otro fardo n° 2 en que ban 109 maliñaques blancos = 7 pinayusas = 20 candaquies de China = 9 piasas de ynson blanco con 168 b[aras] = 12 cuchillos de velduque = 4 atados de hilo blanco de oreja = 300 b. de sintas de colores = Las pinayusas son del Padre Solano por 20 Maliñaques y 20 mantas de Ylocos que le quede deviendo de resto de las 50 de Garsia, y 59 que enbia el Padre Joseph Lopez de Bisayas al Padre San Vitores todo lo demas enbio yo.—*

*Yten 2 petacas n°3 y 4 del Padre Solano. La quarta tiene una B por seña.—*

*Yten un caxon n° 5. Este y los demas no tienen enpaque porque mi compañero los dispuso en Cavite y no dejo memoria de lo que llevan[,] alla se vera[,] y todo es del Padre Solano.—*

*Yten otras 2 petacas n° 6 y 7, del Padre Solano.*

*Yten otros 2 caxones n° 8 y 9, y una petaca n° 14 del mismo Padre.—*

*Yten un San Francisco Xavier n° 15 del mismo.—*

*Yten fuera de registro a cargo del Capitan y Maestre Estevan de Melgar ban las piasas siguientes con la misma marca.—*

*Primeramente un tabor n° 1 con 20 cates de ynsienso.—*

*Yten otro n° 2 6 gantas y media de pimienta.—*

*Yten otros 2 n° 3 y 4, con 70 cates de clavason de todo genero.—*

*Yten otro n° 5 con cola, tinteros, salvaderas, y canpanillas del Padre Solano.—*

*Yten otro n° 6 con polvora del mismo.—*

*Yten otro n° 7 con 42 cates de Yeso.—*

*Yten 2 tinajas enbreadas n° 9 y 10—con 140 cates de trigo[,] los 100 del Padre Solano.—*

*Yten un enbolterio n° 11 con dos carahayes bajjones.—*

*Yten 2 dichos de una asa y 4 de tortilla todos de China.—*

*Yten otro n° 12 con basinicas del Japon del Padre Solano.—*

*Yten otro n° 13 con 2 sieras grandes y un serucho del mismo.—*

*Yten 3 sieras medianas sueltas y dos piedras vivas para moler trigo.—*

*Cavite y Junio 24 de 1670 años.—*

*Pedro de Espinar.*

[Fol. 94v, certification of copy:] *Concuenda con la Memoria original que con otros recaudos presente al Padre Provinsial de Mexico a 22 de febrero deste año de 1672.*  
*Manuel Duarte.*

## Translation

**Aide-mémoire of what Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator general in these Islands is sending to the Mission in the Ladrones aboard the flagship and almiranta galleons that are making the voyage to New Spain this year of 1670, care of the following persons:**

1. Firstly, 12 “Ysins” from China that go inside a leather trunk marked in the register with the shipping mark in margin. Also 6 pieces of white “Ynson” linen, with 136 yards(?) + 12 half “pinayusas”<sup>1</sup> colored + 4 complete “maliñaques”<sup>2</sup> that go inside the said leather trunk.—

2. Also one small bundle sealed with wax and bearing the second shipping mark in margin, and inside it 10 complete white “maliñaques”, outside of the burlap are the 12 sent by Father Francisco Solano jointly with the above-mentioned “pinayusas.”<sup>3</sup>

Also one small crate bearing the second mark and inside it 50 “bolos”<sup>4</sup> with their iron rings + 12 big axes + 6 hatchets + 6 chisels and outside 4 saws—These and the small bundle and crate are travelling care of Captain Antonio Nieto jointly with Crate N° 5 that was carried through in error in 1668 and belongs to Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.—

3. Also aboard the flagship there go Bundle N° 27 with the third mark in margin which goes registered: 12 “Ysins” from China + 12 rough Nanking blankets + 6 pieces of white “Ynson” linen with 157 yards(?).

4. Also registered and bearing the fourth mark in margin go the following pieces: firstly, 7 bells with their flappers that go inside Trunk N° 14 of Fr. Solano.

Idem one small bundle N° 1 and in it 101 white “maliñaques” + 1 colored flag<sup>5</sup> + 11 rolls of pack-thread outside of the shirt, etc. The thread, flag and 87 “maliñaques” are from Father Solano, the rest is from me.—

Idem another bundle N° 2 in which go 109 white “maliñaques” + 7 “pinayusas” + 20 Chinese “candaquis”<sup>6</sup> + 9 pieces of white “Ynson” with 168 yards(?) + 12 knives of

1 Ed. note: Textile made of abaca, i.e. Philippine hemp (ref. B&R 28: 90).

2 Ed. note: Should be written “madrinaque” instead. This was another type of cloth made from abaca (ref. B&R 28: 90). Some Filipinos paid their tribute with this product.

3 Ed. note: Fathers Solano and Ezquerria were also aboard one of these ships, on their way from Manila to Guam, via Acapulco.

4 Ed. note: Those were long machete-like knives.

5 Ed. note: That was the Spanish national flag.

6 Ed. note: Perhaps this is the same as “caniqui”, which is East Indian muslin (ref. B&R 4: 224).



“velduque” + 4 rolls of white “ear” thread + 300 balls(?) of colored ribbons. The “pinayusas” are from Father Solano for 20 “maliñaques” and 20 Ilocos blankets that he still owes out of 50 owed to García, and 59 sent by Father José Lopez from the Visayas to Father San Vitores; the rest is from me.

Idem 2 leather trunks, N° 3 & 4, from Father Solano. N° 4 bears the letter B as a mark.

Idem one Crate N° 5. This one and the others do not have a list of contents because my companion packed them in Cavite and did not leave a list of what they contain; you’ll see overthere, and everything is from Father Solano.

Idem another 2 leather trunks N° 6 & 7, from Father Solano.

Idem another 2 crates N° 8 & 9, and one trunk N° 14 from the same Father.

Idem one St. Francis Xavier N° 15 from idem.

Idem, outside of the register, care of Captain and Master Esteban de Melgar are the following pieces bearing the same mark:

Firstly, a large jar N° 1 with 20 “cates” of incense.

Idem another N° 2 with 6 “gantas” and a half [i.e. 16.25 Kg] of pepper.

Idem 2 more N° 3 & 4 with 70 “cates” of nails of various types.

Idem another N° 5 with glue, inkstands, sand-boxes for writing, and small bells from Father Solano.

Idem another N° 6 with powder from idem.

Idem another N° 7 with 42 “cates” of plaster.

Idem 2 jars sealed with tar N° 9 & 10, with **140** “cates” of wheat, **100** of which are from Father Solano.

Idem one “enbolterio” N° 11 with 2 “carabay” bassins.

Idem 2 more of those with one handle and 4 with “tortilla” [screw caps?], all from China.

Idem another N° 12 with bassinets from Japan from Father Solano.

Idem another N° 13 with 2 big saws and 1 handsaw from idem.

Idem 3 loose saws, average-size, and 2 mill-stones to grind wheat.

Cavite, 24 June 1770.

Pedro de Espinar.

[Certification:] Agrees with the original list which I presented to the Father Provincial of Mexico with other proofs on 22 February 1672.

Manuel Duarte.

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## Documents 1670K

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# The 10,000-peso fund for the Mariana Mission

*Note: These were the 10,000 pesos that Fr. Sanvitores had received from the Treasury in Mexico, when he posted some performance bonds provided by some supporters. He had also begged the Queen (Doc. 1668H) that those bonds should not be discounted. This matter reached the Council of the Indies on 4 March 1670.*

## K1. The Queen Regent criticizes the Marquis of Mancera for having loaned funds to Fr. Sanvitores

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, part of Jesuit doc. n° 10. AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. II, exp. 39, doc. 377, pp. 243-244; also in AGI Fil. 82-3-97 and 100, doc. 377; copy in the Jesuit archives at Loyola and in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 208-210; translation by Fr. Ledesma, from his edition of Fr. Risco's book.*

### Original in Spanish.

[De] *La Reyna Gobernadora*

[Al] *Marques de Mancera Pariente del Consejo de Guerra, Virey, Gobernador, y Capitan General de la Nueva España, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella, ó la persona ó personas á cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno, por parte de Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañía de Jesus, se me ha presentado que en virtud de cédula del Rey mi Señor (que santa gloria haya) de 24 de Junio de 1665 le habió el Gobernador de Filipinas, para que pasase á las Islas de los Ladrones que hoy llaman de las Marianas dexandole de dar la asistencia en dinero por no haber caudal en Manila y que habiendo llegado á esa Ciudad de Mexico, y pedido os confirmacion, y conferidose en diferentes juntas el servicio que se podria seguir á nuestro Señor, y a mí se le entregaron diez mil pesos de las arcas reales, dando fianzas (como las dió) de personas particulares de esa Ciudad de que los bolverian si dentro de tres años, no se presentase aprovacion mia, y respecto de haberse empleado esto en obra tan piadosa, y con la ayuda de Dios y este socorro entrado en las Islas dando principio por la de S. Juan, y admitido el Santo Evangelio y pedido el Bautismo mucho número de personas, me suplicaba fuese servida de man-*

*dar se aprovasen los diez mil reales de á ocho, que se sacaron de las arcas, y que se diesen por libres á los que le fiaron.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias, con los papeles antiguos, y modernos, de la materia, y lo que sobre ello dixo el fiscal; he tenido por bien de mandaros (como lo hago por cédula de la fha de esta) deis por libres á los fiadores que dió el dho Diego Luis de S. Vitores, de llevar aprovacion, de los diez mil pesos referidos con que le socorristeis, por ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios, y mio, y juntamente a parecido deciros se os extraña el modo que de este socorro, y que si os movió celo del aumento de la Religion, no os ajustasteis con el tomar fiadores, y que nunca debisteis sacar estos diez mil pesos de las caxas Reales contraviniendo á tantas órdenes que lo prohiben, mayormente habiendose de disminuir el embio de Filipinas, y sabiendo vos la cortedad con que se han hecho de muchos años á esta parte, y asi nunca puede aprovarse esta forma, ni se ha de entrar en el disponer del dinero de Caxas, sin proceder primero orden especial mia para ello, pues sabeis no podeis hacerlo y asi estareis advertido de ello, pues no ha de pensarse que para que se gaste ningun dinero en combersion es necesario fianza para la Real Hacienda.*

*Fecha en Madrid á 24 de Mayo de 1670 años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de S.M., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

[From] the Queen Regent,

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, Relative and of the Council of War, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, of the Royal Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be.

On behalf of Diego Luis de San Vitores, of the Society of Jesus, I have been asked that, in accordance with the Decree that the King my lord (may he be received in Glory) dated 24 June 1665, the Governor of the Philippines was to let him pass to the Ladrones Islands, that are now called Marianas, he having to let him have financial assistance, as there was no funds in Manila, and that having arrived at that city of Mexico and asked for confirmation of them, and it was discussed in various meetings. To render service to Our Lord and to me, 10,000 pesos were delivered to him out of the royal coffers, and a bond (which he gave) was pledged by private individuals from that community to the effect that if, within three years I were not to approve, and considering that this was to be used in pious works and with the help of God and this [financial] help, once at the islands, giving a start, at the one named San Juan, and the holy gospel having been accepted, as well as the baptism, a large number of persons, I was begged to deign to order the approval of the 10,000 [pesos] of 8 reals that were taken from the coffers, and that the bond be given back to those who backed it up.

This matter was seen by the royal Council of the Indies, along with old and new papers on the matter, and in view of what the fiscal said, I have decided to order you (and I do so by the present decree), to give the bond back to its backers who posted it,

which the said Diego Luis de San Vitores had presented, to give approval to the above-mentioned 10,000 pesos, with which to assist him, given that this work is for the service of God and mine. And also it was mentioned that the procedure that was followed for this financial help was unusual to say the least, and even in the name of the zeal to foster religion that moves you, it should not have been arranged, with or without a bond, and that you should never have taken those 10,000 pesos out of the royal coffers, in contravention of so many orders that prohibit it, specially in view of the fact that the Philippine subsidy should have been reduced, and since you know how short this has been over the last few years, it would never have been approved in this way, without first asking me for special permission. You are therefore warned about it, and one should not think it proper to expend money out of the royal treasury in exchange for a bond.

Made at Madrid, 24 May 1670.

I, the Queen.

Signed for Her Majesty,  
Francisco F. de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, chastising him for the assistance of 1,000 pesos which he gave from the coffers to Diego Luis de San Vitores, of the Society of Jesus, for the reduction of the Indians of the Ladrones in the Philippines.

**List of those who underwrote the bond posted by Fr. Sanvitores:**

Joseph de Villalobos;  
Francisco Sanchez de Miranda;  
Luis Martín Palomino;  
Don Lucas de Medaín;  
Joseph Martinez;  
Pedro Rosello;  
Francisco Flores;  
Claudio Francisco;  
Rodrigo Mexia;  
Licenciado Don Diego Franco;  
Diego Perez Maldonado;  
Pedro de Soto Salazar;  
Don Pedro Muñoz de Espinosa;  
Captain Nicolás de la Mata.

## **K2. Reaction of the Queen that led to the above decree**

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-30.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Consejo 16 de Abril 1670.*

*En el expediente del Padre S. Vitores [que] se escriba al Virrey que se le estraña el modo deste socorro que si le movio celo del aumento de la religion que no se ajusto con el tomar fiadores que nunca debio sacar los diez mil pesos de las caxas Reales mayormente havindose de disminuir el embio de Filipinas sabiendo el la cortedad con que se an hecho de muchos años a esta parte, y asi nunca puede aprovase esta forma ni se a de entrar en el disponer del divino de Caxas que sabe no puede hazerlo y assi este advertido dello, y a los fiadores de por libre luego que en ellos se conozio el buen celo, y de lo que tubiere de notizias del progreso del Padre Luis en su intento avise, que no a de pensarse que para que se gaste ningun dinero en conversion es necesario fianza para la hacienda.*

### **Translation.**

Council 16 April 1670.

In the file from Father San Vitores, a letter is to be sent to the Viceroy chastizing him for the manner of this succor, that although he was moved by zeal for the increase in religion, he should not have accepted a bond and should never have taken out the 10,000 pesos from the Royal coffers, specially by reducing the subsidy of the Philippines, as he knows about the shortage of funds sent overthere these past few years, and so this form can never be approved nor should divine matters be mixed up with funds, as he knew he could not do it and so, let him be warned about it, and those who posted bonds should be freed, as their good zeal is known, and he should pass whatever news of the progress of Father Luis in his enterprise, and he should not think that, when any money is spent in conversion, some bond is required for the Treasury.

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## Document 1670L

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# Objection to foreign Jesuits by the Bishop of Cebu

*Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 11, with copy as doc. 43.*

*Note: Although the form of the letter is for royal eyes only, it was in fact addressed to the Audiencia of Manila, and the Jesuits were able to get a copy.*

## Undated letter of Fray Juan [López] to the King

Original text in Spanish.

*M[uy] P[oderoso] S[eñor]*

*Vuestro Obispo de la Ciudad del Santissimo nombre de Jesus en estas Islas Philipinas dice: Que la santidad de Adriano VI en una Bulla su data en Zaragoza a dies de Maio del año de 1522 despachada à instancia del Emperador Carlos V, manda, que los Religiosos mendicantes, que huvieren de pasar a las Indias, e instruir en los mysterios de nuestra Santa Fee a los naturales de ellas, sean personas idoneas para tan santo mynisterio, y que de esta idoneidad jusge, y la apruebe su Magestad Cesarea, o los ministros de su Real Consejo: **Dum tamen sint talis sufficientiæ invicta, et doctrina, ut tuæ Cesareæ Maiestati, aut tuo regali Concilio sint grati, ac tanto operi idonei.** Y porque nuestros Reies Catolicos, y su Real Consejo de las Yndias (por causas justas) no tienen por sujetos idoneos para dicho mynisterio a los Religiosos estrangeros, y tienen mandado por sus reales sedulas no pasen a las Yndias sujetas a su Corona, y dado orden a sus Ministros de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, y a los Jueses, y oficiales reales de la Ciudad de Cadiz les impidan el passo. No obstante lo qual la sagrada Religion de la Compañia de Jesus, a quien con especialidad se le esta prohibido, persiste en traer Religiosos Estrangeros a estas Yslas Phylippinas, no solo para la encefiansa de los Yndios, sino es para ocupar las mejores casas, y prelacias; y para que reparen, y sepan Vuestras Reales ordenansas, y leies municipales, y se las expliquen, e interpreten a los Alcaldes Maiores y los gobiernen, y dirijan por ellas, y sepan lo que pasa en los rincones mas remotos de Vuestra dilatada Monarchia.—*

*Pues (fuera de los que vienen en el Arzobispado de Manila) en este Obispado de Zebu es Vice Provincial de la maior parte de la Provincia de dicha Religion el Reverendo Padre Bartolome Besco Saboiano, que Juntnamente es Rector de Dagami con otros Visitas. En Carigara, y sus Visitas es Retor el P. Francisco Odriscol [sic] Yrlandes. En Dapitan con sus Visitas el P. Joseph Sanches Aleman. En Ylog el P. Carlos de Lemur Ytaliano, el P. Juan Blas de Mura[,] subdito del Rectorado de Dagami[,] Ytaliano, el Padre Francisco Lado que oi es Rector de Cabite ha sido Rector en San Boangan [sic = Zamboanga], Zebu, y Yloilo, y como lengua Visaya esta siempre destinado para este Obispado y el año pasado de 69 vino a visitar esta Provincia el Reverendo Padre Nicolas Cani, y por su Compañero el Padre Juan Andres Palavicino, Consultor de la Provincia, y ambos Ytalianos. Yn todas estas Rectorias, puestos, y doctrinas no les provee el Gobierno, ni interviene el Obispo ni los Capítulos Provinciales de Religiosos Castellanos, como por comision de su Magestad se practica en estas Yslas; sino que bienen proveidas de Roma por el Reverendissimo Padre General de dicha Sagrada Religion, que siempre es extranjero. —*

*Y porque Vuestro Obispo de Zebu Jusga le con [sic] e presissa obligacion de ejecutar en su fuero lo dispuesto por dichas Vuestras Reales Sedulas conforme a la Bulla citada de Adriano VI, y quiere (dando antes parte a Vuestra Alteza para ob[vs]jar litigios prolijos, y escandalosos) quitarles a dichas Padres Etranjeros desde luego las lisencias para confessar y administrar los Santos Sacramentos en todo su obispado, por no ser sujetos idoneos para este exersicio segun la determina dicha Bulla. Por lo qual se presenta con este escrito en Vuestro Real Acuerdo para la execucion, y pide se le vuelba con lo a el provehido, o un tanto en forma publica de lo uno, y lo otro para en guardia de su derecho y para presentarse con el donde, y ante quien convenga.*

*Frai Juan Obispo del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus.*

## Translation.

### Almighty Sir:

Your Bishop in the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus in these Philippine Islands, declares:

That His Holiness Adrian VI in a bull dated Zaragoza 10 May 1522 issued at the request of the mendicant Orders, who were to pass to the Indies, and teach the misteries of our Holy Faith to the natives there, were to be persons suitable for such a holy ministry, and the judging and approbation of this suitability should be His Cesarean Majesty, or the ministers of his Royal Council: *Dum tamen sint talis sufficientiæ invicta, et doctrina, ut tuæ Cesareæ Maiestati, aut tuo regali Concilio sint grati, ac tanto operi idonei.*<sup>1</sup> And because our Catholic Kings, and their Royal Council of the Indies (for just reasons) have not considered foreign Religious as suitable subjects

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Notwithstanding the fact that they are invincible in such a sufficiency, and doctrine, they are nevertheless to be at the mercy of your Cesarean Majesty, or your Royal Council, and also suitable for such work."

for the said ministry, and they have ordered through their royal decrees that they were not to pass to the Indies under their Crown, and have given order to their Ministers in the House of Trade in Seville, and to the Judges, and royal officials in the city of Cadiz to impede their passage. In spite of this, the sacred Religion of the Society of Jesus, to whom it was specially forbidden, persists in bringing in Foreign Religious to these Philippine Islands, not only for the teaching of the Indians, but also to occupy the best houses and positions as prelates; and in order for them to obey and know of your Royal ordinances, and municipal laws, and for them to explain and interpret them to the Mayors and administer them, and direct them in accordance with them, and know what happens in the remotest corners of your extensive Dominions.—

Well then (besides those who come into the Archdiocese of Manila) in this Diocese of Cebu their Vice-Provincial of the greatest part of the Province of the said Order is the **Reverend Father Bartolomé Besco** from Savoy,<sup>1</sup> who is jointly Rector at Dagami with other dependencies. In Carigara, and its dependencies, the Rector is Fr. Francisco O'Driscoll, an Irishman. In Dapitan, and its dependencies, is Fr. José Sanchez, German. In Ilog, Fr. Carlos de Lemur, is an Italian. Fr. Juan Blas de Mura, a subject in the Rectorate of Dagami, is Italian. Fr. Francisco Lado who is today Rector of Cavite has been Rector in Zamboanga, Cebu and Iloilo, and as he speaks the Visayan language, he is always destined to this Diocese, and **last year 1669** there came to visit this Province Reverend Father Nicolas Cani, and he has as his companion Father Juan Andrés Palavicino, the Consultant of the Province, and both are Italian. In all of these Rectorates, posts, and missions, the Government does not test them, nor does the Bishop intervenes, not even the Provincial Chapters of the Spanish Religious, as is the practice in these Islands by commission of His Majesty. Rather, their appointments come from the Most Reverend Father General of the said sacred Order in Rome, who is always a foreigner.—<sup>2</sup>

And because your Bishop of Cebu judges that he has the specific obligation to carry out the said your Royal Decrees within his jurisdiction, in accordance with the above-mentioned Bull of Adrian VI, and wishes (by first giving a report to your Highness in order to prevent prolonged law suits, and scandals) to remove from the said foreign Fathers, of course, the permissions to hear confessions and to administer the Holy Sacraments all over his diocese, since they are not suitable subjects for this exercise, in accordance with the said Bull. Consequently, he presents this writ to your Royal pleasure for its execution, and requests that it be returned with the decision, or notarized copies thereof, as proof of his right and to present wherever and before whomever it may concern.

Fray Juan, Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Besco was from Sabandia, Italy. He was eventually transferred to the Marianas, where he arrived in 1677.

2 Ed. note: As of 1661, however, he was Fr. General Oliva, a Spaniard.



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## Documents 1670M

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# Salary budget to operate two galleons per year

*Source: AGI Fil. 10-1-6, pp. 1-2, 5, 30-31.*

## M1. Letter from Governor de León, dated Manila 15 June 1670

### Original text in Spanish.

*En otras tengo dado cuenta a V.M. de el estado en que hallé estas islas, y de la summa necesidad en que se hallan, y empeños, en que está la Real Hazienda ocasionados de la cortedad de los socorros, que vienen de Nueva España que cada dia se aumentan mas, pues cada año vienen mas minorados; Me parezio ordenar a los Ofiziales Reales sacasen la relacion que remitto a V.M. de lo que ymportta el socorro de un año de los Ofiziales mayores, y menores de sueldo y salario, eclesiasticos, gente de mar, y guerra, y otras personas, quienes actualmente sirven a V.M. en estas islas que ymporttan **445,530 pesos 5 tomins 2 [granos]** para que consta conziderazion V.M. se sirva de despachar sus ordenes al Virrey de Nueva España, para que adelante los socorros, quanto le sea possible, señalandole precisamente la cantidad de **200,000 pesos** pues aun con ellos no se podra satisfazer la mittad de lo que es necesario ni los continuados gastos, se recrezen con las fábricas, y adersos de naos, y esquipazan de embarcaciones y armadas, qual no es possible escusarse para la seguridad, y conservazion de estas Provinzias. Suplico a V.M. se sirva, de mandar, se tome en esta matteria el expediente ygual a las misserias, que oy quedan padeziendo; pues si se continuan como hasta aqui los imbios de Nueva España, no pareze possible pueden subsistir particularmente, no aviendo, como no ay otros efectos, ni recurssso, de donde poderse socorrer, como lo espero de V.M. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios, como la Cristiandad ha menester.*

*Manila y Junio 15 de 1670 años.*

*Manuel de Leon*

### Translation.

In previous letters I reported to Y.M. the state in which I found these Islands, and the extreme need in which they are found, and the debts which the Royal Treasury incurred for lack of succors from New Spain, and with every year this lack becomes worse, as the amounts keeps on decreasing. It occurred to me to order the Royal Officials to draw up the account that I submit to Y.M. of the succor required every year for the wages and salaries of Senior and Junior Officials, the clergy, seamen and soldiers, and other persons, who presently serve Y.M. in these Islands, and the total amount is **445,530 pesos 5 tomins 2 [grains]**, so that Y.M. may take it under consideration when despatching orders to the Viceroy of New Spain, so that in future the succors, whenever possible to him, be specified to be the exact sum of **200,000 pesos**, given that even then it will not be possible to satisfy half of what is necessary to cover the continuous expenses that keep increasing with the building and outfitting of galleons, and equipping of boats and fleets, such that it is impossible to avoid them for security reasons, and the preservation of these Provinces. I beg Y.M. to please order that due consideration of this file be given, commensurate with the miseries that are being suffered today, given that, if the despatches from New Spain continue as they have up to now, it does not seem possible for them to subsist, specially in view of the fact that there are no other sources of funds or revenues, from which to extract, as I hope from Y.M. whose Royal and Catholic person may God keep, as Christendom needs.

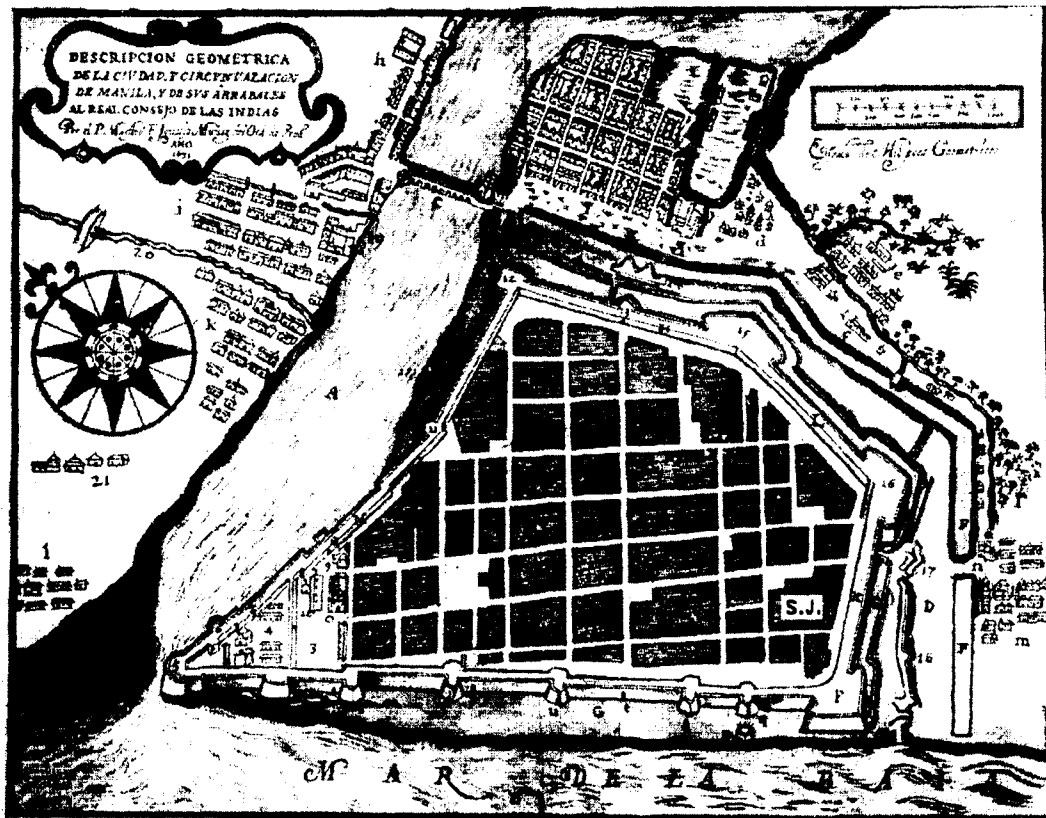
Manila, 15 June 1670. Manuel de León

## M2. Summary of the sub-accounts of this Account

—Royal Audiencia and its Ministers	26,210 p. 1 t. 1.
—Royal Accounting of the Treasury, and Accounts	11,871 p. 4 t.
—Ecclesiastics	12,679 p. 5 t.
—Royal hospitals	2,537 p. 4 t.
—Favors and cost-sharing	11,630 p. 3 t. 3
—Salaries of City and Provincial mayors of these Islands	3,600 p.
—Defence force in the Royal camp of the City of Manila	94,912 p. 3 t.3.
—Fort Santiago in this City	13,520 p.
—Defence force in the port of Cavite	54,798 p.
—Lieut. Capt.-Gen. of artillery, its Captain, and gunners	14,316 p.
—Garrison of Caraga	12,436 p.
—Garrison of Calamianes	11,322 p.
—Garrison of Oton	27,576 p.
—Garrison of Cagayan	21,428 p.
—Seamen and ship-building activities at the said port of Cavite	70,278 p.
—Garrison of Cebu	22,612 p.
—Officers and other seamen who sail aboard the two galleons of the run to New Spain [See breakdown below]	32,155 p.
—Captain and soldiers of the Guard of the Governor and Captain general of these Islands	1,548 p
	<hr/>
	445,530 p. 5 t. 2

**By order of Your Majesty, there is a permit for two galleons to make the voyage every year from these Islands to New Spain, aboard which is carried the property of the residents, and, on the return trip, the ordinary subsidy for the said Islands; the salaries and positions aboard are as follows:**

—One General, at 3,000 ducats of 11 reals/year, which makes	4,125 p.
—One Admiral at 2,000 ducats of 11 reals/year, which makes	2,750 p.
—Two Pilots Major at 600 pesos each, which makes	1,200 p.
—Two Pilot's Mates at 300 pesos each, which makes	600 p.
—Two Chaplains at 150 pesos each, which makes	300 p.
—Two Masters at 300 pesos each per year, which makes	600 p.
—Two Coxswain's at 300 pesos each, which makes	600 p.
—Two Coxwains's Mates at 200 pesos each, which makes	400 p.
—Two stewards at 200 pesos each, which makes	400 p.
—Two notaries at 200 pesos, which makes	400 p.
—Two Carpenters at 300 pesos each, wich makes	600 p.
—Two Caulkers at 300 pesos each, which makes	600 p.
—Two Divers at 200 pesos each, which makes	400 p.
—Two Water Stewards at 200 pesos each, which makes	400 p.
—90 Seamen, 60 of whom in the flagship, and 30 in the Almiranta, at 150 pesos each, which makes	13,500 p.
—110 Ship's Boys, Indians in personal service in both galleons, at 48 pesos each, which makes	5,280 p.
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	32,155 p.
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**Map of Manila in 1671, drawn by Fray Muñoz, O.P. The Walled City of Manila, or Intramuros, lies at the corner of the Pasig River on the left, that comes down from Laguna de Bay, and Manila Bay. Outside the walls and east of the bridge lies the Parian, or Chinatown. The Jesuit College and seminary was the largest city block (marked S.J.) near the lower right-hand corner of the walled city. This map was drawn by Father Master Fray Ignacio Muñoz, a Dominican (Source: AGI Mapas y Planos, Fil. 10).**

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## Document 1671A

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# Official mission report for the 1669-1671 period

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 56-57v; also in AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 14, and AGI Fil. 82 (old 68-1-40), says Astraín (p. 815); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 238-258.*

*Notes: The text transcribed is from AGI. Minor variations (additions) from ARSI are shown in square brackets, whereas excessive words in the AGI copy are placed within {such brackets}. This report is followed, in ARSI by the long report sent to the Provincial of the Philippines regarding the life and virtues of Ven. Fr. de Medina (folios 58-69v). Since there was no galleon in 1670, when the missionaries wrote this report, they placed emphasis on events that they had already described the previous year. Some passages appear verbatim in Doc. 1670H.*

## Report dated Agaña, Guam, 14 & 19 May 1671

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Noticias de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 y 1671.*

*Habiendo la Nao S. José dado vista á la Isla de Sta. Ana (antes la Zarpana) Jueves 13 de Junio del año pasado de 669, dió fondo el Sabado 15 en el Puerto de S. Antonio,<sup>1</sup> que está á la vanda del Oeste de esta Isla de Guan (ya S. Juan) de donde con favorable y bien merecido viento, salió el lunes siguiente 17 en prosecucion de su viage á Manila habiendo hecho su aguada el en rio de dho Puerto de S. Antonio de Guan, y dexados á nosotros el vino y trigo, para el Santo Sacrificio de la misa, y otros varios géneros bien a proposito para el bien y aumentos de esta Cristiandad, lograndose admirablemente en la sazón, y circunstancias con que llegaron el amoroso y efectivo [sic] cuidado de la Santissima Virgen Madre de Dios, y singular Señora de estas Islas, en la crianza de sus tiernos hijos, que al cumplirse puntualmente el primero año de sus primeros bautismos se sirvió disponer viniese el Señor Maestre de Campo D. Manuel de Leon, á dedicarlo las primicias de su Gobierno de Filipinas en el Socorro de estas Marianas [(con tan señaladas prendas de la felicidad, con que ha de continuar, lo que con tanto*

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1 Ed. note: According to the description of the ports of Guam (Doc. 1670G1) this port then corresponded to Ati, now called Cetti Bay, although the name was later applied to Umatac.

*celo del Divino y Real Servicio, y aumento de Nuestra Santa Fé empezó su antecesor el Señor Maestre de Campo D. Diego de Salcedo.[]]*

*El Socorro fué cuan cumplido podia desearse para no haber llegado [aun] el orden del especial favor, y aumentos que esperabamos de la real piedad, en orden al bien de estos Pobres, supliendo entre tanto asi la de los zelosos Ministros de su Magestad en estas Provincias como la de la Venerable Congregacion de S. Francisco Xavier de Mexico, y señaladamente de sus hermanos mayores, los Señores Vireyes con su liberalidad y limosnas.*

*Con el aliento y buenos efectos que se ocasionaron luego en estos naturales del dicho socorro, y el que cada dia se ha reconocido mayor del Divino auxilio y patrocinio de la Santisima Virgen en estas tierras, desde que se invocó sobre ellas su Santisimo nombre de Maria se han continuado con nueva felicidad las Misiones de las once Islas ya reducidas, á que se han añadido este año otras dos Islas mas al Norte, venciendo la dificultad especial que habia en pasar á ellas, con las leves embarcaciones de esta tierra, el dia de la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, en que entró nuestra Santa fé, en la duodecima Isla, que se llamaba Asonson, y ya se llama Asuncion, y en la decima tercia (y ultima á que se puede llegar, mientras no llegan las embarcaciones {de esta tierra} mayores que esperamos por dicha vanda del Norte, hacia el Japon) se llegó el dia de la Octava de S. Lorenzo 17 de Agosto, en que celebra la Congregacion de S. Xavier su principal fiesta y asi se llamó S. Lorenzo la que antes se llamaba Maug.*

#### **[Initial estimate of the population of the Marianas]**

*En las cuales trece Islas se hallan bautizados en estos dos años por la misericordia del Señor, y Señora de estas Islas, **cerca de treinta mil de estos pobres Marianos, entre adultos, y párbulos**, repartidos, en cuatro principales residencias con cinco iglesias edificadas ya de proposito y dedicadas solemnemente á Dios, en honrra todas, y titulo de la Santisima Virgen Maria, á cuyo nombre estan asi mismo destinadas las demas, que se fueron edificando, repartidas por los titulos de sus festividades é imagines de especial devocion en varias partes del mundo, que deseamos, y esperamos por su intercesion y ruegos de sus debotos, se comuniquen para mayores aumentos de Nuestra Santa Fé en estas, y las demas tierras, que se fueren agregando, y acogiendo al amparo de este Santisimo nombre.*

#### **[War and peace in Tinian]<sup>1</sup>**

*Entre los sucesos mas señalados de este año, es el de la guerra y paz de la Isla Buenavista Mariana, que los naturales llaman Tinian, donde el Demonio, tan á la vista siempre de semejantes felicidades, procuró embidioso alterar la pacifica posesion de esta nueva viña de la iglesia encendiendo los animos de sus naturales con tal viveza, que la que antes era un paraíso, ya en pocos dias ardia en vivas guerras, tanto mas difícil de*

1 Ed. note: This section was copied by Fr. Ledesma in both of his composite reports (Doc. 1670H and 1672L).

*apagarse, cuanto caian, en animos mas altivos, los mas pundonorosos y presumidos de mas noble sangre en estas Islas. Insistiose con todos los medios posibles de blanduras, promesas, y amenazas sin ser bastante ninguno de estos medios á bolver á pacificar los corazones; pero donde parece estabamos mas destituidos de tan necesario remedio, sacó la suabe eficacia de la divina providencia uno de los infinitos de su poder dando eficacia, á lo que con solo su asistencia pudiera tenerla, que fué alentar á los pocos compañeros, con que nos hallabamos para la empresa y pacificacion tan dificil. Juntaronse pues de nuestra gente hasta unos doce, con tan pocas armas, como tres mosquetes[,] y una pieza{uel}a de campaña que se habia rescatado de la perdida de la Nao Concepción. Con tan flacos cimientos, y tan pocas fuerzas no dudaron por la paz, arresgar sus vidas á pesar de millares de Bárbaros, que resistian á la paz instigados de el Demonio pesaroso de verse arrojado tan en breve de la Tirana posesion de tantos años.*

*Armore en medio de las dos campañas nuestro campo, desde donde se dió embaxada á los dos vandos enemigos, de que el primero que intentase la pelea, se le daria su merecido castigo. Sosegose con el natural miedo de estas gentes, á las bocas de fuego, por algun tiempo, haciendose repetidas embaxadas de paz, de una y otra parte, y quando parece que ya se habia dado dichoso fin, á tan larga, y reñida guerra: fue quando intento el demonio el esfuerzo ultimo, no solo contra los naturales, sino es contra los pocos de los nuestros que procuraban meter en paz á los discordes, por que el cabeza de uno de los vandos fiado mas de lo que debiera de sus brios, dió de repente el asalto con todos los suyos en ocasion que solo se hallaron de los nuestros ocho hombres con dos mosquetes, y la pieza de campaña. Fuese acercando á nuestras trincheras, con designio de coger las bocas de fuego, que eran las que unicamente les ponian horror, y al tiempo que descompuestos comenzaban á clamar victoria, dieron de nuestra gente fuego á la pieza, y muerte con ella, y las otras armas, á dos que mas atrevidamente se habian acertado, quedando entre otros muy mal herido el Caudillo, que al fin despues dió fin á la guerra con su muerte, y la de otros principales motores de las discordias á quienes hirio la poderosa mano del Señor, que peleaba por nuestra parte desde el Cielo, con no menos executivos, que improvisos accidentes. Al estruendo de la pieza dieron los mas de aquellos bárbaros en tierra, sin tener apenas animo, para ponerse en huida, ni haberse atrevido despues á hacer guerra declarada; si bien no han dexado de saltar algunas centellas, asi entre los naturales como contra los nuestros, á quienes se sospecha han pretendido dar varias veces veneno; pero sin efecto alguno, cosa bien reconocida de los contrarios, y atribuida de los nuestros á proteccion especial de la Santisima Virgen, y nuestro glorioso Apostol S. Francisco Xavier, cuya milagrosa imagen de Sanboangan ya acostumbrada á semejantes peleas, y victorias, no dexó nunca su puesto, y oficio en nuestra fuerza, y escuadrón.*

[Death of Fr. Medina and Hipolito de la Cruz in Saipan]<sup>1</sup>

*Viendo el Demonio frustrada su primer traza, dispuso la segunda en otras dos inmediatas Islas por nombre S. José, y S. Joaquin, antes Saypan, y Anatajan, avivando en ellas el fuego y fatal voz contra el Santo Bautismo, que escribimos ya el año pasado, habia esparcido el Sangley Idólatra, que intentó persuadir á estos pobres naturales, que en el agua del bautismo, y Olios Santos disimulabamos el veneno que traíamos, para consumir á todos los que se bautizasen, y mas eficazmente como en mas delicados á los niños. Los que habian dado pues mas oídos á tan impia calumnia, que á la verdad, y Santidad de la Ley de Dios, que se les predicaba aguardaban ocasion de vomitar mas eficazmente el verdadero veneno de su malicia, é infidelidad contra los ministros del Evangelio; y asi discurriendo por dicha Isla de Saypan el fervoroso Padre Luis de Medina en una de sus continuas Misiones, doctrinando, y buscando con especial sollicitud, los niños y enfermos, para bautizar los encontro el merecido premio de su infatigable celo, en compañía de otro fervoroso seglar digno compañero de su dicha por nombre Hipolito de la Cruz, natural de Bisayas, por que confederandose dos Pueblos de dicha Isla les dieron á lanzadas la muerte, y el Señor en ella la eterna vida, y corona de Martirio, como piadosamente creemos, aguardando la ultima é infalible determinacion de la Santa Sede Apostolica sobre lo que sumamente nos consta del hecho, y motivo declarado bien á voces de los impios executores en sus descompasados alaridos, y blasfemias, que á una con las lanzas arrojavan contra Dios y el Padre [fol. 56v ARSI] que les predicaba su Santa Ley, y les queria quitar los anitos y supersticiones, y matar, decian, sus niños, y enfermos con el agua de el Bautismo: sobre que se tomó declaracion de diez y siete testigos, y del mismo principal agresor que fue preso por nombre Poyo, que dió la mas penetrante y mortal lanzada al dichoso Padre Luis, con las circunstancias, pasos, y bien correspondientes méritos de la religiosa vida de este fervoroso Padre, y singularísimo hijo de la Beatísima Virgen, primer obrero, y fundador de esta su iglesia Mariana, que piden aun mas larga relacion que la que se remite aparte con este resumen.*

*El Tercero y primero en tiempo, que á costa de su vida, logró dichosamente la eterna en tan justa causa, fue uno de los Cristianos, que quedaron en estas Islas de la Nao **Concepción**, año de 638, llamado Lorenzo, de nacion Malabar, el cual agregado á los nuestros, y visitando uno de los Pueblos de la Isla de Anatajan, por si habia algun niño enfermo, que bautizar, halló el premio de su buen corazon por que irritados unos, á quienes pocos días antes se les habia muerto un niño, recién bautizado, le dieron tan cruelmente la muerte que no contentandose con repetidas heridas pasaron á sacarle los ojos, y enterrarle en una sentina pública, bien publico testimonio, de su ciego y obstinado odio al Santo Bautismo concebido de la voz arriba dicha del idolatra Chocó, y de la saña, y crueldad, con que el Demonio pretende aterrarnos de los medios que la bondad del Señor tenia preparados para la salvacion de estas pobres almas. Pero si por poco precio nuestro no quedá los terrores del Demonio, se nos convierten en incenti-*

1 Ed. note: This section was also copied twice by Fr. Ledesma.



*vos de mas constante caridad, que se van logrando ya en posesion las esperanzas, con que en otro tiempo avivaba los fervores de los suyos de Apostol de las Indias, para proseguir la empresa de aquellas sus Islas del Moro, viendo ya á nuestras Mauricas, ó Marianas Islas, islas de la suavidad[,] de la dulzura, de la esperanza, del Martirio, y Seminario de Mártires; titulos todos, con que parece nos sazona tambien ahora el Santo, los trabajos de estas almas redimidas con la misma costa, y sangre, preciosisima de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que las nuestras Islas Marianas.*

**[Description of the Mariana Islands. Native customs]<sup>1</sup>**

*[Las Islas Marianas] hasta hoy descubiertas y alumbradas con la luz del Santo evangelio son trece, sin otras dos bien pobladas mas al Sur, á distancia de tres jornadas, y las otras innumerables, que se continuan hasta al tierra Austral, antes incognita, y por la vanda del Norte, hasta el Japon, que dista segun parece por las cartas y viages antiguos cosa de seis jornadas desde la Isla de S. Lorenzo, ultima de las que podemos alcanzar con las embarcaciones de esta tierra. Las trece que en el dia de hoy está el Santo evangelio desde 12 hasta 22 grados poco mas ó menos hacia el Norte, son aun en su primera posicion tan Marianas, que comenzando desde el Sur Sudueste, van á rematar en el Nornordeste, formando la figura de una media luna divisa de la proteccion que hoy experimentan debajo de las plantas Marianas corren unas de otras á distancia la que mas de jornada de un dia con que todos se comercian entre si, y convienen en una misma lengua. La venida de esta gente á poblar estas trece Islas, segun la noticia que ellos conservan de memoria de sus historias, fue del Sur y Poniente, y tener **el mismo origen que los Tagalos y Bisayas**, los mas de ellos, á lo menos se muestra bien en la conbeniencia de las lenguas, en el color, en el teñir de los dientes, y en el modo de gobierno. El cuando, ó con que ocasion hayan venido no se sabe, y asi se sospecha que vendrian algunos arrojados de alguna tempestad desde las Islas mas cercanas de Filipinas (como les ha sucedido á otros que de estas Islas con semejante tempestad han aportado á las Bisayas: y algunos ó todos quizas tendran su mas alto origen de los egipcios segun la noticia que refiere Gomara en su Istorica general de las Indias Capitulo 22 haber hallado Magallanes cuando llegó á esta Isla año de 1521) la descendencia que nuestros les dan del Japon, como refiere el Padre Francisco Colin en su India Sacra libro 3º numº 104 es verosimil en las Islas que corren mas al Norte.*

*Gozan estas trece de saludable temple y cielo, sin los fuertes baguios, frios, calores, ni temblores, que en otras Islas de este archipelago se experementan: son sanas sus aguas, y esta mayor, y principal Isla de S. Juan (antes Guan) abundantisimas, pues en cosa de treinta y cinco, ó cuarenta leguas que tiene de Box, se cuentan mas de treinta rios, y algunos bien caudalosos, y con pesca en especial de anguilas. No se conoce ni culebra, ni caiman, ni otro algun animal ponzoñoso. Sus cocales son en mucha abundanzia, y en bastante la de otros árboles, en especial palo Maria, de que labran sus embarcaciones. El ordinario sustento de la tierra es el del mar, cuyo pescado estiman mas*

1 Ed. note: Ditto. This section copied by Fr. Ledesma.

*los naturales que gallinas: el pan suplen con un genero de fruta de palo, tan sazónada que aun los recién venidos de España no hechan menos con ella el pan de trigo y para el tiempo que falta esta fruta entran por pan unas raíces semejantes á las de Filipinas **Gabis[,] Ubis[,] Tuguis**. Cojese abundante arroz, con que se regalan en las fiestas. Su mas ordinario ejercicio es el de la pesca, labrar embarcaciones, y cultivar sus sembradas. Viven en Pueblos de á diez, quince[,] veinte, treinta y algunos de sesenta, ochenta, y mas de cien casas que fabrican á modo de jacales<sup>1</sup> y muchas sobre pilares de piedra, techandolas bien curiosamente con palmas de cocos texidas.*

*Su especial esmero es en los dormitorios, ó pavellones, que cuelgan de petates, ó estereras, con cortinas de lo mismo. La gente es comunmente pacifica como se dexa entender por las pocas guerras que entre si tienen, no obstante la falta de justicias, y suma independiencia de unos y otros sin reconocer cabeza comun, sino solo por familias, cuyo mayorazgo, ó primitiva y posesion en la principal Casa y tierras, á usanza de los Principes de la India Oriental, heredan no los hijos sino los hermanos y sobrinos, que mudan su nombre en heredando, y llevan adelante el del fundador, ó pariente mayor de su familia, con tal observacion y descripcion de linages, altos, y baxos, y medios, que es bien de admirar en gente de tan poca diversidad de trages ni menages de Casa, y muestran origen de alguna nacion bien política y preciada de nobleza, con la calidad que San Francisco Xavier pondera de los nobles del Japon, que por pobre que sea uno no se recabara del que se case con inferior mas rico, en tanto extremo, que antiguamente mataban al que se casase con sangre que no fuese noble, y tienen en tan baxa estima á los de baxo linage, que ni comer ni beber, ni aun llegar se les permite á las casas nobles: sino que retirados alla de las casas se les de lo que piden. Tienen grandes cortesias entre sí, y la ordinaria al encontrarse ó pasar por delante de sus casas es diciendo: **ati arinmo**: “dame licencia para que te labe los pies,” que acompañan con sacarle buyó, y ofrecerle si quiere de comer.*

*No usan vino ni licor alguno, ocasionado á borracheras, inconveniente que tanto ha estorvado en casi todas las nuevas conversiones en otras partes. En sus comidas son muy moderados; y en las fiestas, que parece se habian de hallar escesos las reducen todas á cantar sus historias, luchar y jugar lanzas, en medio de cuyos entretenimientos se van repartiendo unas como tortas de morisqueta,<sup>2</sup> tamales, pescados, cocos[,] plantanos[,] cañas dulces, y una mezcla de atole de arroz, y coco rayado por bebida, sin hallarse esceso que sea reprehensible. Las mugeres tienen tambien sus fiestas, para que se componen con arracadas puestas en la frente, ya de flores á modo de jazmines, ya de abalorios, y conchas de tortuga, pendientes de una sarta de conchillas coloradas preciosas entre ellos, de que hacen asi mismo unos cintillos, con que se ciñen pendientes alrededor unos cocos pequeños bien compuestos sobre unas sayas hechas de flecos, de raíces de arboles, con que rematan su adorno con alguna decencia; juntarase hasta unas doce, y pues-*

1 Ed. note: American word meaning a wigwam, or Indian hut (ref. Cuyás).

2 Ed. note: The word “morisqueta” was a word then in common usage among Spaniards in the Philippines.

*tas en rueda sin moverse de un puesto entonan en copla sus antigüedades bien al punto y consonancia de tres voces, triples, contra altos, y falsetes, á que suele acompañar llevando el tenor alguno de los principales que asisten á la fiesta, tan á compas las voces con las acciones de las manos, en que van jugando unas medias lunas en las derechas, y unas cajuelas de cascabeles y conchillas en la izquierda con tan graves meneos, y acciones tan significativas, que significan bien la acción con que aprenden, y toman las cosas á que se aplican. Tie- [fol. 57] -nen tambien todos por adorno teñirse los dientes de negro, y blanquen con varios baños los cabellos las mugeres, que se precian de tener muy largos; al contrario de los hombres que solo dexan un copetillo á modo de corona en la mollera del altor de un dedo, rapandose toda la demas de la cabeza.*

*Observan bien exactamente algunas supersticiones en especial en las pescas en que guardan gran silencio, y abstinencias algunos bien rigurosas por temor ó lisonja [=compliment] del Aniti, que así llaman á las almas de sus Abuelos, para que no les castigue, ó quitandoles la pesca, ó espantandoles entre sueños, á que dan facilmente credito. Al espirar sus difuntos, les ponen á veces una cestilla á la cabezera como ofreciendoles lugar, á donde en saliendo el alma se quede dentro de Casa supliendo las faltas del cuerpo muerto con su presencia ó reclamo para frecuentes visitas, desde el propio lugar de su morada (que creen ser debajo de tierra con descanso en lo comun, y alguna pena para los que pasaron de esta vida con desgraciadas muertes). Por la misma causa suelen otros pasear al difunto por las casas de sus parientes, despues de untados los lavios con buyo, y amortajado y ungido con aceite oloroso. En los entierros son singulares las demostraciones de sentimiento: lagrimas, ayunos, clamores de caracoles, llantos que suelen continuar por seis, ocho, ó mas días, segun el afecto, el cual tiempo gastan en cantos lugubres, combites alrededor de un túmulo que le cantan, sobre, ó junto al sepulcro adornado con flores, palmas, conchas, y otros adornos de las cosas de mas estimacion. La Madre del difunto suele cortar algunos cabellos, para memoria de su dolor, y apuntar las noches que ha que murió con nudos en un cordel que trae al cuello. Pero donde creen mas estas sentidas demostraciones es en la muerte de alguno de sus Principales, que llaman de primera clase, ó alguna Matrona celebre; pues no contentos con las demostraciones dhas enrraman las calles de varios lazos de palma texido ensortijados arcos triunfales destrozando cocos, quemando casas, quebrantando embarcaciones, cuyas velas hechas pedazos levantan delante de sus casas, por padron ó luto en su sentimiento. Añaden en sus cantos sentidas lágrimas, diciendo que ya les era de allí adelante molesta la vida, faltandoles el que la era de todos, faltando el ser de la nobleza, la luna que les alumbraba, en la noche de sus ignorancias, la estrella de todos sus aciertos, el valor de sus batallas, la honrra de su linage, de su Pueblo, de su tierra, y á este modo prosigue hasta muy entrada la noche en alabanzas de el difunto: cuyo sepulcro coronan con remos, en señal de pescador célebre, ó con lanzas divisas de valientes, ó con uno y otro si lo ha profesado todo.*

*Aborrecen en tanto extrema á los homicidos y crueles, que no les conservan la honrra que tenian á cuya causa no hacen las honrras que antes; algunos Pueblos de Zeipan por verles de unos años á esta parte crueles, y demasiado aplicados á labrar lanzas—*

*estas son sus armas mas ordinarias junto con la honda y piedras en que tienen desde niños bastante uso y destreza—labran lanzas de las canillas de sus Padres, con un genero de lenguetas en dos y tres carreras á modo de anzuelos, de suerte que entrando con gran facilidad es muy dificil de sacarlas: no tienen uso de muchas mugeres in concubinas los casados; mas los solteros tienen unas como casas publicas á donde viven los mancebos sin dependencia aun de sus Padres y toda libertad, para cuyo remedio deseamos grandemente establecer los seminarios de niños en las iglesias que tanto encomendaba el Apostol de las Indias. En los casados es de tal suerte el celo de las mugeres que en sintiendo la menor deslealtad en sus maridos le castigan de varias maneras, unas veces comvoca la agraviada á todas las demas de el Pueblo y cada una con su lanza y sombrero van á la Casa del adúltero y despues de arrancarle si tiene alguna sementera, hacen el ademan de quererle alancear y le arrojan de su casa: otras veces los castigan apartandose de sus maridos, á cuya demostracion concurren los parientes de la muger á la casa del marido, y le sacan cuanta hacienda tiene, sin dexarle ni una lanza, ni un petate, en que dormir, solo el casco de la Casa, y ansi esa á veces suelen destrozarla: y es esta una costumbre indispensable, á cuya causa las mugeres son las que mandan sin ser Señor el marido de disponer cosa sin su aprovacion, y lo que mas es, ni poder castigar á sus hijos; por que en sintiendo algo de esto la muger se descasa, y los hijos la siguen sin reconocer á otro Padre, que el que toma la Madre por marido.*

*Estaban antiguamente persuadidos que eran los unicos hombres, y su tierra la unica del mundo, y despues que por experiencia de ver pasar nuestras Naos, y las holandesas, conocieron habia otras muchas, pusieron entre sus tradiciones, que todas las tierras y hombres, habian tenido origen de esta su tierra, y que todos habian salido de una piedra de la Isla de Guan, la cual habia sido antes hombre, y convertido en piedra habia parido todos los demas hombres, de donde se habian esparcido por España, y otras tierras, y que como se havian apartado de su gente habian quedado sin saber lengua, á cuya causa hablaban los demas de otras naciones, como locos sin entenderse unos á otros, allá unas lenguas que ellos no entendian. Persuadianse que los ratones, moscas[,] mosquitos, y todas las enfermedades se las habian traido los navios, que por aqui pasaban, dando la prueba de esta verdad en los catarros, con que cada año despues de pasados los Navios, suelen quedar, y asi es, que como la codicia del hierro les hace estar voceando alrededor de los navios de dia y de noche[,] al Sol, al Sereno, y demas inclemencias de la mar, es forzoso buelban roncós, los mas y con otros males á sus casas.*

*Los yerros cerca de la creacion del mundo eran como de hombres á quienes faltaba la luz de la Fé, sin cultura de letras ni otra politica. Decian que Puntan, el primero por ventura de los hombres, que arrojados con alguna tempestad, vino á estas tierras habia sido un hombre muy ingenioso, cuya havitacion por muchos años habia sido en unos espacios imaginarios, que havia antes de criarse el Cielo, y la tierra, allá en los abismos, este hallandose á la hora de su muerte, y compadecido de sus sucesores, á quienes dexaba sin tierras, de que poder sustentarse, y sin las demas cosas tan necesarias para la vida humana, habia llamado á una hermana que tenia tan si Padre ni Madre como el, y ponderandole el beneficio que tenia trazado hacer á los hombres, la dió todos sus*

*poderes para que luego que espirase hiciese de su pecho, y espaldas, Cielo, y Tierra: Sol y luna de sus ojos: arco iris de sus cejas, y á este tono ajustase lo demas, con no del todo errado correspondiencia del mundo mayor al menor, si se quedase en solo simbolo y no hubiesen levantado su Puntan, ó sobre los puntos de Epicuro, ó principio material de los Japones, ó semejantes delirios, a los que mas politicas y cultivadas hallaron mas culpable acogida, y mas supersticiosa creencia; pues la de estos toda se viene á reducir á la simple repeticion de unos versos de mas risa, que asonancia, sin hallarse que den al dicho Puntan, ni á su hermana culto alguno de ceremonia exterior, adoracion, invocacion, ó recurso, en que indiguen reconocer divinidad, ni otra memoria, ó mo-numento mas que el de sus buenas cabezas en aprender, y retener de memoria esta, y otras fábulas antiguas, y sucesos de sus mayores, que suelen repasar en sus fiestas los que se precian de Doctos, yendo de apuesta, á quien mas coplas dicce, sin que se halle en ellos otro asomo de religion, ó secta, sacerdotes, ó Bonzos, fuera de unos que llaman **Macanas** ó embusteros que en ninguna tierra faltan, los cuales suelen prometer salud, agua y pescado, y semejantes bienes, por medio de la invocacion de algunos difuntos del **Sarraguan** (que asi llaman los lugares infernales) cuyas calaberas conservan en sus casas, sin otro altar, ó nicho que unas cestillas, en las cuales, ó sin ellas, suelen andar rodando dentro, ó debajo de las casas hasta la ocasion de pedir con ellas los **Macanas** mas sus propios intereses á los vivos, que engañan, que la conveniencia de los vivos á los muertos, en quienes reconocen comunmente unos y otros, que no tienen que esperar nada de bien, y si algunos les ruegan de corazon es para que no les hagan mal, como verdaderamente les suelen hacer los **De-** [fol. 57v] - **monios**, que para ganarles siquiera este respecto, ó temor suelen aparecerse á estos simples, y hablarles con el engañoso nombre de sus Padres: pero no les han podido sacar otro reconocimiento, ó muestra de adoracion, templos, leyes ó ministros, que impelan á culto de idolos, ó profesion de secta alguna fuera de lo dho: disposicion que combidaba tanto al Apostol de las Indias, para la conversion de los Macasares (no lexos en el sitio, y propiedades de estos nuestros) antes de haberse inficionado el Macasar con la peste de Mahoma, de que estos pobres por la misericordia de Dios estan totalmente intactos: **Mire illam Gentem** (decia el Sto. libro 1º epistª 3) **ad Cristi cultum aptam, atque idoneam esse nuntiant: nulla imbi esse deorum fana, nullos, qui populum impellant ad venerandum Deos.** Quien no reconvendrá pues el Santo Apostol de las Indias, y á sus celosos unitadores y devotos con los repetidos ruegos de sus cartas: **Nunc autem** (lib 1º epist. 8) **quid nos facere oportet cum harum Gentium animos tam paratos ad evangelii semen excipiendum videatis?** Y quien á los que abundan mas de Doctrina, que de Caridad, no despertara con los ecos de aquellos clamores. (libº 1º epist. 5) **Heu quam ingens animarum numerus vitio vestro exclusos cælo deturbatur ad Infernos [adinferos].** El Señor por su misericordia se sirva de dar la luz, y medios mas eficazes para llevar al fin de su mayor gloria, lo comenzado en la conversion de estos pobres, y de las otras innumerables almas de esta cordillera del Japon, hasta la tierra Austral extremadamente necesitadas de la caridad de los fieles, cuyas oraciones entre los demas me-*

*dios, que pudieren aplicar instantemente pedimos por el amor de N.S. Jesucristo y su Santisima Madre, á cuya misericordia y nombre se han acogido valde estos miserables.*

*Con estas noticias recogidas de las que han dado todos los Padres, y Compañeros de esta Mision, acompañabamos las cartas para nuestros Superiores, y bienhechores de España, y Filipinas, el año pasado de 670 en espera de la Nao, con cuya falta que llevamos por amor del Señor, como no faltemos nosotros al mismo amor, nos ha faltado tambien el papel para prevenir nuevo pliego: viniendo como esperamos este año, añadiremos de nuevo lo que el tiempo diere lugar, que no es lo que menos falta con la apretura mas crecida de la necesidad de estas almas, en que esfuerza que sintamos mas cada día la falta, que nos hace nuestro fervorosisimo Padre y Compañero, y dichosissimo Martir Padre Luis [de] Medina cuando en sola la conservacion y doctrina de los que el bautizó en las cinco primeras Islas tendran muy copioso empleo, muchos y fervorosos operarios, que vengan de nuevo á ensayarse para las nuevas conversiones de las Islas, y tierras á un intactas en una labor y cultura de sazón bien semejante á la que arrebató el espíritu de S. Francisco Xavier, cuando de los fructuosisimos empleos de Goa, voló á la Costa de la Pesqueria, y Cabo de Comorin, cuyos naturales; aunque muchos ya bautizados, tenian de Cristianos poco mas que el nombre: pues esfuerza suceda hoy esto á lo menos en las Islas, que por falta de tan fervoroso Ministro, y de los Compañeros seglares, que nos va llevando Dios, tambien á mejor compañía; sin la recompensa del socorro, y medios que esperabamos el año pasado, nos vemos obligados á desemparar del todo ó no asistir á lo mas con los medios extremadamente necesarios andando en continuo movimiento por tierra, y en forzosas interrupciones de las jornadas de mar. Por lo que esperamos pues que ha de ayudar al aumento de este numero, y espíritu de operarios Marianos, hemos empleado el papel que nos quedaba, en la carta que escribimos de las religiosas virtudes y evangelicos trabajos de nuestro fervoroso Padre Luis de Medina, por los cuales, y por los ruegos de nuestros buenos Patronos, y agentes de estos Pobres en el Cielo, y en la tierra, esperamos remediara el Señor la falta mas sensible que es la del espíritu, y fervor de los que al presente quedamos en estas Islas. Confiando asi mismo que á los fervorosos espíritus de Europa les servirán estas reliquias del espíritu de nuestro dichoso mártir, no menos que las de su bendito cuerpo é instrumentos de su martirio que juntamente embiamos de semejantes afectos, á los que ocasionaban en otros tiempos las nuevas de los mártires de la India. Mucho me holgararia (escribió el Padre Pedro Fabro, al Padre Simon Rodriguez, en carta que trae el Padre Lucena, lib 12 capº 22, hablando de los mártires de Manar, y Zeilan) que tubiesemos por aca las reliquias de sus cuerpos, y sangre, los que estamos viejos en la Fé, y mucho mas de ver reliquias de sus espíritus. Y escribiendo á los hermanos del Colegio de Coimbra añade: “Los mártires de la India nos predicán, y animan á cosas mas altas, reprenden y convencen la bajeza y negligencia del espíritu de aquellos á quienes ya sobra el tiempo para ser perfectos y falta en todo la perfeccion. Jesucristo nos encienda en el amor de sus honrras, y deshonrras de sus riquezas, y pobrezas, de su gloria y de su cruz, y de todo lo demas en que consiste su Santa agradable y perfecta voluntad, &” y concluye con aquella sentencia ó centellas de un tan hermano espíritu de S. Francisco Xavier, y pri-*

*mogénito de N.P.S. Ignacio: “Amad, dice Jesus, sin condicion, ni presupuesto alguno de vuestro gusto, de tal manera, que el sea contento, satisfecho, servido, glorificado; y nosotros contentos, ó descontentos, le sirvamos á el, donde, cuando, y como fuere su gusto y divino servicio, &” Y aun respecto de la suma obligacion en que nos hallamos todos al zelo y piedad de los Reyes Nuestros Señores, que reconocia bien entonces el Padre Fabro, ofreciendose á ser uno de los que los Reyes deseaban embiar en seguimiento de S. Francisco Xavier, esperamos se han de aceptar estas nuevas y reliquias por uno de los desquites de los gastos del Real haber, aunque tan considerables, como los diez mil pesos que en un dia se libraron, pesaron y entregaron para el habio de esta Mision en la Real Caxa de Mexico del Febrero del año pasado de 1668, sobre lo ya gastado antes en el Navio, y gente que venia de Filipinas, sino aun por mas estimable desempeño de las Reales ansias mayores incomparablemente que las expensas de acrecentar mas y mas la gloria de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en sus conquistas: que nos hacen persuadir bien presente y aumentado, lo que se refiere de aquel tiempo acerca del celo, y piedad con que fomentaban las Misiones antiguas de S. Francisco Xavier, y celebraban sus martires los Señores Reyes de Portugal D. Juan el Tercero, y D<sup>a</sup> Catalina de Austria. Al Reyno y á toda la Europa regozijó y alegró (se dice del Rey D. Juan en el lugar citado) con los Martires de Manar, y Zeilan, mostrando al mundo quanto mas estimaba el comercio y Señorío en parte de las mismas Islas por ser ya consagradas con aquella sangre, que por la canela, perlas, y rica pedreria (de Manar y Zeilan? Pues acá los dos extremos vienen á reducirse al uno) esto se dixo entonces y quien no dirá ahora que la demostracion del celo, fé, y real espíritu de nuestros reyes Católicos en la Conquista y socorros de nuestras Islas, hace tantas ventajas á las de Manar, y Zeilan, quanto mas á solas se dexa pesar, y estimar el interes de las almas, y aaprecio de los Martires, faltando del todo aora el otro extremo del peso no del todo desechado entonces de la Canela, perlas, y rica pedreria de Manar y Zeilan. Pues acá los dos extremos vienen á reducirse al uno solo, dexandonos bien claramente reconocer en tal fé, y puro celo de la gloria de Dios, que aun entre las necesidades, y apreturas de estos tiempos el uno necesario que solo pesaba en el corazon de nuestros Reyes, es el del Evangelio enseñado de Cristo N.S. en apoyo de la mejor eleccion, piedad y devocion de Maria bien acreditada por cierto, y defendida de la turbacion, duda, ó mezcla, de otros fines é intereses humanos en la empresa de estas Islas Marianas, dando los aromas, perlas, pedreria, y riquezas, son unicamente la pobreza, y materia fragantisima de las demas virtudes evangelicas que tan buen fruto, y olor de Cristo han dado, cortadas bien en flor en el fervoroso Padre Luis de Medina; y aun los trabajos, lanzas, piedras y oro de finissima Caridad, de que se labraron las Coronas de su martirio y de sus dichosos Compañeros engastandose en ellas las perlas riquisimas de los inocentes niños, que recien bautizados, blanqueados en la sangre del Cordero, y teñidos en la de sus Martires, y Ministros ban á lograr la Fé de la Santa Iglesia, y de sus padres, y Patrones los Reyes Católicos nuestros Señores, y a pedir en el Cielo los aumentos de su Real Corona, que tan á una van siempre con los de nuestra Santa Fé Católica.*





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## Documents 1671B

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# Official reports on the life and death of Fr. Medina

## B1. Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Provincial of Philippines, dated Agaña 14 May 1671

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, folios 58-69v; RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 13 (26 pages).*

### Citation.

*Jhs + Maria*

*Copia de una carta para el Padre Provincial de la Compañía de Jesus en Philipinas escrita de la Mission de Islas Marianas, acerca de la vida y religiosas virtudes del Padre Luis de Medina muerto en dicha Mission por la predicacion del Santo Evangelio A 29 de Henero de mill y seis cientos y setenta.*

*Pax Xpti &c<sup>a</sup>*

*Bien quisieramos acompañar...*

...

[Similar to story already contained in the documents of 1670, except for B2 below]

[Endorsement:] *Islas Marianas. Carta para el P. Pl. de Fil. de la vida y virtudes del P. Luis de Medina, Martir.*

## B2. Official inquiry into the death of Fr. Medina, made when the galleon Buen Socorro passed by Guam in 1671

*Sources: Jesuit archives of the Province of Aragon, San Cugat del Valle, Spain, E-I-c5-(p); second official copy in RAH 9/2676 following doc. n° 18.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Segundo Traslado de los Recaudos Ratificaciones y demas diligencias fechas por el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs.—***

***Sobre la muerte y martirio del Padre Luis de Medina Religioso de dicha Comp<sup>a</sup>.—Ante el Señor General Diego de Arebalo. Secretario: Pedro de Palomares.***

[There follows a copy of Doc. 1670B, then the following:]

*En la nao capitana **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** en onze diaz del mes de Junio de mill y seis cientos y setenta y un años, antemy el escrivano y testigos parecio el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus superior de la mision de las yslas Marianas a quien doy fee conosco y presento antemy los escriptos que estan en la plana antecedentes y reconocio la firma en ellos puestos y averse hecho con su Autoridad todo ello en virtud de la Consezion de Adriano Sexto, de la facultad asimismo que tienen los Padres de esta mision delegada del Illustrisimo Señor Don fray Juan Lopez obispo del Santissimo nombre de Jesus la qual exercio en dicha averiguacion el Padre Pedro de Casanova de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus.—*

*Yten parecio el dicho Padre Pedro de Casanova a quien doy fee conosco y Reconocio tambien ser suya la firma de su nombre puesta en dicho escripto y ser hecha con su asistencia y autoridad delegada del dicho Señor obispo.—*

*Yten parecio el Capitan Don Juan de Sancta Cruz a quien doy fee y conosco y dixo ser su firma la dicha que estan en dichos escriptos y averse hecho por su medio la dicha averiguacion como fiscal y Capitan de estas yslas Marianas.—*

*Yten parecio antemy Juan de Boso y Santiago natural de Vizcaya a quien doy fee conosco: Dixo que oyo desir a dibersos personas de que abian matado al Padre Diego [sic] Luis de Medina porque les bautisava a los muchachos que hacian que essa fue la caussa y no otra cossa y por verdad, lo firmo: Antemy Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la nao: Juan de Boso y Santiago.—*

*En dicho dia mes y año parecio antemy Gregorio Martines español natural de Galicia a quien doy fee conosco: Dixo que se hallo en la averiguacion de la muerte que fueron hazer de dicho Padre Diego [sic] Luis de Medina y que oyo desir a los mesmos yndios que lo mataron que lo avian muerto porque iba a bautisar los niños Resien nasidos y tambien a todos los demas yndios del pueblo oyo desir lo mesmo y por verdad lo firmo: Gregorio Martines: Antemy Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la nao.—*

### *Peticion [por el Padre Sanvitores].*

*El Padre Diego de San Vitores Superior de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus en la mision de yslas Marianas: Digo que a mi pedimiento se hizo ymformasion ante el Padre Pedro de Casanova de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> misionero en esta mision, a quien como a los demas Padres desta mision al Señor obispo de Zibu tiene delegada sus bezes en estas yslas de la muerte violenta que los naturales de la ysla de Seypan que es una de la mision dieron a el Padre*

*Luis de Medina Religioso sacerdote de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> por la administracion del Sancto Sacramento de el bautismo y predicacion del evangelio y de la que dieron a Hipolito de la Cruz natural de Vizaya[s] de las Yslas Philipinas a quien mataron por la misma Razon y atento a hallarse en este puerto de la ysla de Guan surta de passaje para Philipinas la nao capitana **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** que lleva el cituado de su Magestad y socorro de soldados y gente de mar a dichas yslas de que V. Merced es General combiene a mi derecho y de la Religion y Causa publica que los testigos examinados en veynte y dos de Mayo de mill y seis cientos y setenta cuyas firmas tienen Reconosidas ante Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la nao el dia onze de Junio de este año se rretifiquen ante V. Merced y Pedro de Palomares escrivano real que ba a dichas yslas Philipinas para presentarla ante qualquier tribunal eclesiastico, o secular que convenga y que assimismo se exsamine a Pedro Ximenes natural de Vizayas ynterprete y que dichas rratificaciones y nueva deposision se me entreguen para el dicho efecto.—*

*Suplico a V. Merced se provea y mande pido justicia.—*

*Diego Luis Sanbitores.*

#### *Presentazion.*

*En el puerto ysla de Guan en doze diaz del mes de Junio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y un años, el Padre Diego de San Vitores presento la petision susodicha estando dentro de la Capitana del Socorro ante el Señor General Diego de Arebalo y vista por su Merced: Dixo que estava presto de recibir la deposizion del testigo y rratificasion de los testigos y reconocimiento de la firma sin embargo de estar hechas ante Juan de las Ribotas [sic] escrivano de la nao y lo firmo de que doy fee: Diego de Arebalo: Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.—*

#### *Testigo.*

*En el dicho dia mes y año dichas estando abordo de la dicha nao el Señor General Diego de Arebalo que lo es actual della hizo parecer antessi a un hombre que se nombro Pedro Ximenes y ser natural de Vizaya del qual su Merced por antemy el presente escrivano recibio Juramento por Dios y la señal de la Cruz en forma de derecho lo hizo prometio desir verdad y preguntado por la petision y informasion y las demas diligencias fechas sobre la muerte y martirio del Padre Luis de Medina: Dixo que lo que paso es debajo del Juramento fecho que conosio a el Padre Luis de Medina Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus por aver confessado con el susodicho y save que fue muerto por los yndios Saypanes en el pueblo de Cao; y save que los dichos yndios mataron al dicho Padre porque los queria bautizar y instruyr a nuestra Sancta fee Catholica cuyo cuerpo enterraron dichos yndios junto a una cassa de uno de los mesmos Indios y assimismo save por haverse hallado presente a el sacar el cuerpo del dicho Padre en Comp<sup>a</sup> de otras diez personas de los cristianos que estan en comp<sup>a</sup> del dicho Padre Diego Luis de Sanbitores.—*

*Preguntado por mi el presente escrivano, quando sacaron el dicho cuerpo, oiga y declare el estado que tenia y donde lo trujeron: Dixo que como dicho tiene se hallo presente*

*a el desenterrallo, el qual esta corumpto por caussa de aver estado enterrado, a su parecer tiempo de tres meses poco mas o menos, y que este testigo en Comp<sup>a</sup> de las dichas diez personas mencionadas cargaron el dicho cuerpo de dicho Padre Luis de Medina y lo truxeron a la playa a un pueblo que llaman de Raurau desde donde lo pasaron a otra ysla nombrada Buena Vista, y la Sarpana de la qual lo trujeron a la Ysla donde esta el Padre Diego Luis de Sanbitores, que llaman de Guan, y al dicho Padre entregaron dicho cuerpo. Todo lo qual que dicho tiene: Dixo ser la verdad so cargo de su juramento y que lo save assi por las noticias que le an dado diferentes yndios que mataron a dicho Padre por querer instruyrlos en Nuestra Sancta fee Catholica y por averse hallado presente al desenterrar su cuerpo. Y que es de hedad este testigo de cinquenta años poco mas o menos y no firmo porque Dixo no saver. Firmo lo el Señor General: Diego de Arebalo: Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.—*

#### *Ratificacion del Padre Pedro de Casanova.*

*Y luego yncontinenti en este dicho dia doze de Junio de este dicho año: estando abordo de la dicha nao **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** a presencia del Señor General Diego de Arebalo parecio el Padre Pedro de Casanova Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus: Y Dixo que ssobre la muerte violenta y martirio del Padre Luis de Medina que fue muerto por los yndios sobre la ynstruzion de nuestra Santa fee Catholica tiene fecha su deposision y conprovasion firmada de su nombre y rreconosida esa firma ante Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la dicha nao y que agora ante dicho Señor General y por antemy el dicho escrivano aviendo le sido mostrada la dicha firma que dize: Pedro de Cassanoba: vista y refco]nosida por el dicho Padre: Dixo que es suya propia y la firmo de su mano y por tal la reconocia y rreconosio ymberbo sasserdotis [i.e. in verbo sacerdotis] puesta la mano en el pecho en forma de derecho y lo firmo de su nombre en que se afirma y rratifica y es de hedad de treynta años poco mas o menos y assimismo lo firmo dicho Señor General: Pedro de Casanova: Diego de Arebalo: Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.—*

#### *Ratificacion del Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores.*

*Estando abordo del Galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** surta en el puerto de Guan en doze diaz del mes de Junio de mill y seis y setenta y un años a presencia del Señor General Diego de Arebalo que lo es actual de la dicha nao Capitana parecio el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus y superior de la mision de las yslas Marianas a quien doy fee que conosco y hizo demostrasion de unos escritos ssobre las noticias de la muerte violenta del Padre Luis de Medina y su martirio que lo fue por los yndios de la ysla de Seypan en las quales dichos escritos tiene firmado su nombre por ante D. Juan de Santa Cruz a quien se elixio por notario y despues rratificada por ante Juan de la Ribota escrivano de dicha nao y agora para mayor validasion y firmessa aviendo visto el dicho Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores la dicha su firma: Dixo que es suya propia y que por tal la reconocia y reconocio y assi lo juro ymberbo sacerdotis puesta la mano en el pecho en forma de derecho y lo firmo*

*de su nombre y es de edad de quarenta y quatro años assimismo lo firmo el Señor General: Diego Luis de Sanbitores: Diego de Arebalo: Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.—*

#### *Ratificasion de Juan de Boso de Santiago.*

*En este dicho dia mes y año a presencia del dicho Señor General parecio un hombre que se nombro Juan de Boso y Sanctiago: Dixo que sobre los escriptos presentados por el Padre Diego Luis de Sanbitores tiene firmado su nombre por ante Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la nao sobre la muerte del Padre Luis de Medina en que tiene dicho su dicho en la qual se afirma y rratifica y agora de nuevo ante dicho Señor General y por antemy el presente escrivano: Dixo que la caussa porque los dichos yndios mataron y martirisaron a dicho Padre fue porque lo queria instruyr en nuestra Sancta fee Catholica y bautizar los niños enfermos[.] save lo porque los mismos yndios lo desian publicamente que avian muerto a dicho Padre por la razon referida y porque desian dichos yndios que el agua del sancto Bautismo les matava los niños, todo lo qual que echo tiene assi ante dicho Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la dicha nao como lo que el presente dixe a el Señor General y antemi el dicho escrivano es la verdad so cargo de su Juramento que juro a Dios y a la cruz en forma de derecho en que se afirma y rratifica y lo buelve a desir de nuevo y lo firmo de su nombre y es de edad de mas de veinte años poco mas o menos. Firmo lo el Señor general: Juan de Boso y Santiago: Diego de Arebalo: Pedro Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.—*

#### *Ratificasion de Gregorio Martinez español.*

*En este dicho dia mes y año dichos estando abordo de dicho galeon a presencia del Señor General Diego de Arevalo parecio un hombrè español que se nombro Gregorio Martinez natural de Galicia en los rreynos de España y Dixo que sobre la aberiguazion de la muerte del Padre Luis de Medina que fue muerto a lanzadas por los yndios naturales de la ysla de Seypan tiene fecho un dicho ante Juan de la Ribota escrivano de la dicha nao el qual pidio sea leydo y mostrado y de horden de dicho Señor General yo el presente escrivano le ley y mostre yn dicho que tiene fecho deberbo ad berbum con una firma que dize Gregorio Martines el qual aviendo lo oydo y entendido: Dixo que lo que lleva dicho lo dixo y declaro como en el se contiene y que la firma que le a ssido mostrada es suya propia y la hizo y firmo de su propia letra y mano y por tal la reconosia y reconocio en que se afirma y ratifica y agora de nuevo para mas validasion y firmesa de lo contenido en dicho su dicho en presencia del dicho Señor General y por ante my el presente escrivano lo buelve a desir de nuevo aviendo jurado a Dios y a la señal de la Cruz en forma de derecho por que es la verdad publico y notorio publica voz y fama sin aver cossa en contrario y que es de edad de mas de cinquenta años poco mas o menos y dando a firmar a dicho Gregorio Martines empresso su firma como se ref[er]enose y no la pudo acavar por desir le temblava la mano y que la otra que la avia firmado antesedente la avia firmado ayudado de persona que le tenia el brazo para el dicho efec-*

*to firmolo el dicho Señor General: Diego de Arebalo: Gregorio Martines: Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad.*

*Decreto.*

*Y fechas las dichas Ratificaciones en la manera que dicha son y vistas por el dicho Señor General Diego de Arebalo las aprovo y ubo por buenas y bien fechas en las cuales su Merced: Dixo que ynterponia e ynterpusso su Autoridad y decreto judicial para que balga y haga fee en juycio y fuera de el y lo firmo de su nombre en treze diaz del mes de Junio de mill y seis cientos y setenta y uno: Diego de Arebalo.—*

*Fize mi signo Pedro de Palomares escrivano de su Magestad, en mandado, y atestado, y propia, no bala.*

*Este es un traslado bien y fielmente sacado de los recaudos diligencias y rratificaciones fechas por el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores sobre lo contenido en ellas que entregue al Padre Pedro de Casanova Religioso de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus en siete foxas con esta en que ba mi signo las cuales hize sacar en papel comun por defecto de no aver lo sellado abordo de dicha nao de que doy fee en veynte y siete diaz del mes de Junio de mill seiscientos y setenta y un años.*

*Pedro de Palomares, escrivano de su Magestad.*

**Translation.**

**Second copy of the provisions, ratifications and other writs made by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus.—**

**Concerning the death and martyrdom of Father Luis de Medina, Religious of the said Society.—Before General Diego de Arévalo. Secretary: Pedro de Palomares.**

[There follows a copy of Doc. 1670B, then the following:]

Aboard the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** on 11 June 1671, before me the notary and witnesses, appeared Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus, Superior of the Mariana Island Mission, whom I know personally, and he presented before me the writs that are reproduced above and he acknowledged the signature placed thereon and declared that everything had been authorized by him, by virtue of the power granted by [Pope] Adrian VI, as well as that delegated to the Fathers of this Mission by his Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Fray Juan Lopez, Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus [of Cebu], which was exercised upon this occasion by Father Pedro de Casanova of the same Society of Jesus.—

Next appeared the said Father Pedro de Casanova, whom I know personally, and he also acknowledged his signature placed on the said writ and has taken part in it by the delegated authority from the said Lord Bishop.—

Next appeared Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, whom I know personally, and he acknowledged his signature in the said writs and said that the said inquiry was done by himself as Fiscal and Captain of these Mariana Islands.—

Next appeared before me Juan de Boso y Santiago, born in Biscay, whom I know personally. He said that he heard it said by various persons that Father Diego [sic] Luis de Medina had been killed because he was baptizing children, and that they asserted that to have been the cause and nothing else, and in witness whereof he signed it: Before me, Juan de la Ribota, notary of the galleon: Juan de Boso y Santiago.

On the said date appeared before me Gregorio Martinez, Spaniard, born in Galicia, whom I know personally. He said that he took part in the inquiry into the death they gave to the said Father Diego [sic] Luis de Medina and that he heard it said by the same Indians who killed him that they had killed him because he was going around baptizing recently-born children, and that he also heard the same thing said by all the other Indians of the town, and in witness whereof, he signed his name: Gregorio Martinez: Before me, Juan de la Ribota, notary of the galleon.—

### **Petition [by Fr. Sanvitores to General Arévalo].**

Father Diego de San Vitores, Superior of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Island Mission:

I declare that a judicial inquiry was held at my request before Father Pedro de Casanova of the same Society, missionary in this Mission, to whom, as well as to the other Fathers of this Mission, the Lord Bishop of Cebu has delegated his power in these Islands, into the violent death given to Father Luis de Medina, Religious and priest of the same Society, by the natives of the Island of Saipan, which is part of the Mission, for having administered the holy sacrament of baptism and preached the Gospel, and also into the death they gave to Hipolito de la Cruz, born in the Visayas in the Philippine Islands, whom they killed for the same reason.

Whereas the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** under your Grace's command, is on the way to the Philippines, where she is taking the subsidy of His Majesty and a reinforcement of soldiers and seamen, and is presently anchored in this port of the Island of Guan, I consider it proper for myself, for the religion and the public good for the witnesses who were examined on 22 May 1670, whose signatures were recognized before Juan de la Ribota, notary of the galleon, on 11 June of this year, be ratified before your Grace and Pedro de Palomares, royal notary, who is on his way to the Philippines to present it before any ecclesiastical or secular tribunal whatsoever, as required, and for the interpreter Pedro Ximenez, born in the Visayas, to be examined as well, and that the said ratifications and the new deposition be delivered to me for the said effect.—

I beg your Grace to so arrange and order, so I beg in the name of justice.—  
Diego Luis Sanvitores.

**Presentation.**

In the port, Island of Guan, on 12 June 1671, Father Diego de San Vitores presented the above-mentioned petition, while being in the flagship Socorro before General Diego de Arévalo and, his Grace having seen it: Declared that he was ready to receive the deposition of the witness and the ratification of the witnesses and the acknowledgment of the signature, notwithstanding the fact that it was done before Juan de las Ribotas [sic], notary of the galleon, and I sign it in witness whereof:

Diego de Arévalo

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

**Witness [i.e. Deposition of Pedro Ximenez].**

On the said date aboard the said galleon, General Diego de Arévalo who is her present General, had a man appeared before him, named Pedro Ximenez, a native of the Visayas, and his Grace had him sworn in before me, the present notary, before God and [with] the sign of the Cross in the legal manner, and had him promised to tell the truth. Interrogated according to the petition and inquiry and the other writs made concerning the death and martyrdom of Father Luis de Medina: He declared that he would say what happened under oath, that he knew Father Luis de Medina, Religious of the Society of Jesus, for having confessed [his sins] to him and he knows that he was killed by Indians from the town of Cao in Saipan; and he knows that the said Indians killed the said Father because he wanted to baptize them and teach our Holy Catholic Faith; his body was buried by the said Indians next to the house of one of the same Indians and he knows this for having been also present at the recovery of the body of the said Father, in the company of 10 other persons, from the Christians who are in the company of the said Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores.—

When asked by me, the present notary, when they recovered the said body, to hear me out and declare the state in which it was and where they brought it out: He declared that, as he said before, he was present at the disinternment; said body was decomposed for having been buried, it seemed to him, for the period of 3 months more or less, and that this witness in the company of the said 10 persons mentioned above loaded the said body of the said Father Luis de Medina and brought it to the beach to a town they call Raurau, from which they took it to another island named Buena Vista [i.e. Tinian], and to Sarpana [i.e. Rota] from which they brought it to the island where Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores resides, which they call Guan, and they delivered said body to said Father. Everything that he just said: He declared to be the truth under oath and that he also knows, from the news that various Indians have told him that they killed said Father for having tried to teach them our Holy Catholic Faith and for having been present at the disinternment of his body. And that this witness is 50 years old more or



less,<sup>1</sup> and he did not sign his name because he declares not to know how. General Diego de Arévalo signed on his behalf:

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

### **Ratification of Father Pedro de Casanova.**

Immediately after, on this same date, 11 June, being aboard the said galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** in the presence of General Diego de Arévalo appeared Father Pedro de Casanova, Religious of the Society of Jesus:

He declared that, regarding the violent death and martyrdom of Father Luis de Medina who was killed by Indians on account of teaching our holy Catholic Faith, he has already made a deposition and signed his name to the official report and has acknowledged his signature before Juan de la Ribota, notary of said galleon, and that now before said General and before me said notary, upon being shown the said signature, which reads: Pedro de Casanova: seen and acknowledged by said Father: He declared that it is his own and he signed it with his own hand and as such he acknowledged it *in verbo sacerdotis* [priest's honor] while he placed his hand on his chest in the legal manner, and he signed it with his name, thus affirming and ratifying it, and he is 30 years old more or less, and said General signed it also:

Pedro de Casanova

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

### **Ratification of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.**

Being aboard the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** anchored in the port of Guan on 12 June 1671, in the presence of General Diego de Arévalo who is presently in charge of said flagship, appeared Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus and Superior of the Mariana Island Mission, whom I do know personally, and he exhibited some writs regarding the news of the violent death of Father Luis de Medina and his martyrdom, which occurred at the hands of the Indians of the Island of Saipan, in which writs he has his name signed before Don Juan de Santa Cruz, who had been elected notary, and afterward was ratified before Juan de la Ribota, notary of said galleon, and now for greater validity and firmness, said Father Diego Luis de San Vitores having seen his said signature: Declared that it is his own and that as such he acknowledged it in the legal manner and he signed it with his name and he is 44 years old. The General signed it:

Diego Luis de Sanvitores

Diego de Arévalo

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

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1 Ed. note: This Filipino sailor was therefore about 17 years old when he was shipwrecked at Saipan in 1638.

### **Ratification of Juan de Boso de Santiago.**

On this same date in the presence of said General appeared a man whose name is Juan de Boso y Santiago: He declared that concerning the writs presented by Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, he has his name signed before Juan de la Ribota, notary of the galleon, about the death of Father Luis de Medina, he had said what he had said and as such he affirms and ratifies it and now once again before said General and before me, the present notary: He declared that the reason why the said Indians killed and martyred said Father was because he wished to teach our Holy Catholic Faith and baptized the sick children. He knows this because the Indians themselves were saying publicly that they had killed said Father for the above-mentioned reason and because said Indians were saying that the water of holy Baptism was killing the children. Every one of the above things he had said also before said Juan de la Ribota, notary of the galleon, the same way as I have just told the General, and before me said notary [he said] it is the truth under the oath that I have sworn before God and the Cross in the legal manner, by which it is affirmed and ratified and I say it again and sign it with my name, and he is over 20 years old more or less. The General signed it.

Juan de Boso y Santiago

Diego de Arévalo

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

### **Ratification of Gregorio Martinez, Spaniard.**

On this same date, being aboard said galleon in the presence of General Diego de Arévalo appeared a Spanish man whose name is Gregorio Martinez, a native of Galicia in the Kingdoms of Spain:

He declared that about the investigation into the death of Father Luis de Medina who was killed by spear thrusts by the native Indians of the Island of Saipan, he has already declared before Juan de la Ribota, notary of said galleon. He asked to have it read and exhibited, and by order of said General, I, the present notary read same word for word and showed him same, with one signature that reads: Gregorio Martinez. So, having heard it and understood:

He declared that he had said what was heard and declared that it is the same, and that the signature that he was shown is his own, and that he had done it, and he signed it with his own hand and as such he acknowledged it, by which it is affirmed and ratified and now once again, for more validity and firmness of the contents of the above-said declaration, in the presence of said General and before me, the present notary, he repeats, having sworn to God and the sign of the Cross in the legal manner, because it is a publicly-known truth and notorious, and nothing is said contrariwise, and that he is over 50 years old more or less, but when he was asked to sign, said Gregorio Martinez began to sign as can be seen, but could not complete it on account of his shaking

hand and that the other signature he had completed it with the help of another person holding his arm.<sup>1</sup> To this effect said General signed it:

Diego de Arévalo

Gregorio Martinez

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.—

### **Decree.**

Said ratifications having been made in the above manner and been reviewed by said General Diego de Arévalo, he approved them and accepted them in good faith as well made, and about them his Grace: Declared that he interposed his Authority and judicial decree so that they be given faith, within and outside any court of law, and he signed it with his name on 13 June 1671:

Diego de Arévalo.—

I have affixed my own signature: Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty, duly mandated, attested to, and proper. No enclosure.

This is a copy in due form and faithfully made from the provisions, writs, and ratifications made by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, concerning their contents which I delivered to Father Pedro de Casanova, Religious of the Society of Jesus, on 7 sheets of paper, including this one bearing my signature, which I had copied upon ordinary paper, for lack of official paper aboard said galleon, in witness whereof, on 27 June 1671:

Pedro de Palomares, notary of His Majesty.

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1 Ed. note: This Spaniard had been in the service of the Viceroy in Mexico when he volunteered to join Fr. Sanvitores' mission. He was therefore the oldest white man in the Marianas at the time.

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## Document 1671C

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# Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. José Vidal, dated Agaña 25 May 1671

*Sources: AGI 58-4-14 (Ref. Astráin VI, p. 815 note); Colección Pastells, Vol. XII, p. 168; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Note by Fr. Ledesma: These **two seminaries** had begun already to function in some way during the first year of the Mission, especially after the principal church of Guam was blessed and inaugurated. But they needed formal and regular help from the government for their stable and progressive operation. Such is the special reason for this letter.*

...

Let your Reverence know that I propose to Her Majesty that the Seminary of boys will not need the 3,000 gold "escudos" which the Apostle of the Indies asked for and obtained when he began his Mission at Cape Comorin through the piety of the most Serene Queen Doña Catalina de Austria. For such ministry she applied part of certain contributions which they called the "Chapin" [footwear] of the Queen. That royal mind was easily persuaded by the reason given to her by St. Francis Xavier with those grave and courtly words of his letter: "because those Christian boys, the Saint says, children and grandchildren of idolaters, are, Your Ladyship, the footwear with which Your Highness will better and more assuredly enter Heaven."

I have proposed this to Her Majesty and although I am not asking, as I said, for 3,000 gold "escudos", at least 3,000 **pesos** will always be necessary for the Seminary of boys, for the number is great of the small Mariana seminarians who will be brought up there; because we will not place in said Seminary only those born in this Island of San Juan, but we will also take in all those who in the 13 islands are already converted to our holy Faith.

Your Reverence will take special care to send us supplies, clothing and whatever can be useful for these little poor ones. And for the love of God let any amount of biscuit be sent us the way they are provided for the ships. They make the children rise early to come to the class of sacred doctrine and they encourage both the small and the big boys to stay all day learning with notable ease in the school, which is the church, and they help us to wage war against the Devil in this land, better than ten Spanish infantry companies.

It is also necessary that Your Reverence send us all kinds of musical instruments, harps, guitars, lyres, cornets and all those other instruments which belong to the musical art, together with some music books. Also an organ and organist so that these boys may acquire all these skills. Let also come spellers, catechisms, books that may teach them to read, pens, paper on which to write. Art books so that those who can already write may begin to study since they are free from the vice of drunkenness (as they really are). They will not only become teachers of the sacred doctrine, but they may also be ordained priests; because aside from the good skill that they have and sufficient docility to be instructed in all good letters and manners, they do not lack for curiosity and desire to learn our language and even the Latin which they had begun to like with enough satisfaction on our part, since they can pronounce it well.

The education also of the girls in a separate building is not less necessary to keep them away from the earliest age from the pernicious custom of this land which shelters them in the seminaries which we can say the Devil had for the teaching of all the bad manners. In these seminaries young bachelors called *Urritaos* and maidens called *Rajaos*, get together and live in community. And for our Seminary more than 2,000 pesos will always be necessary because all the Mariana girls of this and all the other converted islands will reside for their training; so that the number of girls in this house will be as numerous as the boys in their own,

And they will have to learn the skills and practices, not only those of the Christian Doctrine but also those that concern their civil life which is being built up in them. And so, my Father, we need a quantity of biscuit and other food supplies adequate for them, so that it may be easy for them to live apart and disengaged from the freedom in which they lived before. And may Your Reverence try to send clothing for more than 300 or 400 who will live in this house, to keep them as much from the harm of the cold weather, etc. as from that which modesty and Christian purity suffers. Besides this Your Reverence will send for the love of God what we have begged already in a detailed and long memorandum,<sup>1</sup> We will accept it all for the great love of God if it is sent to us for the love of the same Lord.

May Your Reverence send us again some images, which are great preachers of the divine mysteries. We will appreciate in the first place some way of explaining the mystery of the Holy Trinity. The image that is in the court-yard of the Professed house [in Mexico City] seems to be appropriate. In it three faces are represented in one. The image of the dove is not appropriate for explaining the person of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

We also beg for an image of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, with the difference that there be Angels at her feet supporting her with their shoulders, and that the

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1 Ed. note: See the end of Doc. 1669B3.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores does not give his reason for thinking that the dove is not an appropriate symbol for the Holy Ghost, but the dove was one rare animal native to the Marianas and it was often captured, kept in cages, and even taught to fight so that they could gamble on the outcome (see HM1: 440, 467). It is possible also that dove fighting was already giving way to cock fighting, something Fr. Sanvitores may have perceived as an evil.

Virgin carry along the way in her hands some little Marian angels with the tuft of hair in the middle of their head, the rest of which should be shaven. Another image we want is that of Saint Michael with his scales and sword of fire, and prostrate at his feet and emitting fire from his mouth the Devil, who should be very ugly. Another image is that of the Guardian Angel, or many angels presented as inviting to listen to the doctrine of the Fathers in contrast with the Devil who should be shown on the other side taking and dragging souls into the fire which will be painted below.

And finally I refer it all to the said memorandum and to what my Father Rector or Provincial of the Ladrones may think best to send along. For days now he goes about among these good people. He is the angel and a big brother in everything that concerns the Marianas. My Father Joseph keeps his images there.<sup>1</sup>

I send you there some sweet signs of affection from our most tender Father and Apostle, who zealously cares for the purity and honesty of the souls, etc. Deepen well my friend those foundations of devotion; let us not be so superficial, for deeds are signs of love and the Xaviers who want to imitate their holy Father and Apostle should be filled with the love for souls. My companions say that they have little spirit, what should I say? May the God of whom was said: "*Qui ferebatur super aquas*"<sup>2</sup> enkindle such fire of love "*quem aquæ multæ non possint extinguere. Fiat.*"<sup>3</sup> Let this fire burn and be ablaze, and let us all be aflame in such manner as to melt the ice of tepidity which is in our hearts.

San Ignacio de Agaña, Island of San Juan in the Marianas, 25 May 1671.

[Your] useless servant and brother in Jesus Christ and Mary.

Diego Luis de San Vitores

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1 Ed. note: He is referring to his correspondent, Fr. José Vidal, in such a way.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "He who was carried upon the water."

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Which cannot be extinguished by any amount of water. Let it be."

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## Documents 1671D

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# Accounts of the 1671 voyage, by three discalced Franciscans aboard the Buen Socorro

## D1. The account of Fr. Ibañez' second voyage via the Marianas

*Source: Fr. Buenaventura Ibañez, O.S.F. Relación de su viaje desde Macao, a Roma, Madrid, Me-  
jico, Filipinas y China. Unpublished manuscript, written ca. 1672, present whereabouts unknown (but  
see D2 below). Cited in B&R 53: 307.*

[Will be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found]

## D2. The account of Fray Jaime Tarín, O.F.M.

*Sources: Original ms. in File n° 11-2 of the archives of the Convent of Pastrana, Spain, entitled: "Re-  
lación breve de la entrada en el Reyno de China [de] la Mission que truxo de España N[uestro] H[ermano  
Comissario Fr. Buenaventura Ibañez escrita por Fray Jayme Tarin, Religioso Descalzo de N.P. S.  
Francisco y Compañero de la misma Mission. Año de 1689." This ms. was the official duplicate; the orig-  
inal copy is in the archives of the General Curia of the Franciscan Order in Rome. Published in the book  
entitled: "Misiones franceses en China—Cartas, informes y relaciones del P. Buenaventura Ibañez," pp.  
265-273.*

### Chapter 1—Of the voyage of this Mission from the Philippine Islands of Manila, entrada de algunos religiosos compañeros en el Reyno de China...

The Mission that our dearest brother Fr. Buenaventura Ibañez brought from Spain (bound for the empire of Great China), of which we intend to give a brief account in this history, consisted of eight discalced religious of Our Father St. Francis, all of them from the Province of St. John the Baptist in the Kingdom of Valencia. Of this number, two were actually readers in the said Province; one a reader in theology, named Fr. Blas Domingo, and the other, a reader in arts, named Fr. Juan Martí. Among the others,

five were preachers, and their names are as follows: Fr. Juan de Jesús, Fr. Ignacio Antonio Rosado, Fr. Francisco de la Concepción, Fr. Juan Martinez, Fr. Jayme Tarín; and also Fray Blas García, a lay brother. This makes a total of nine, if one adds our brother Commissioner for the Mission, Fr. Buenaventura Ibáñez.

Our brother Fr. Buenaventura put this Mission together at the cost of huge labors, from which he suffered; firstly, in order to obtain what he sought, by first going out of the empire of Great China, where he had resided for many years, busy with the conversion of that large number of gentiles in the company of our dearest brother Fr. Antonio de Sancta Maria, Apostolic Prefect of the Mission. They were only the two of them, and with the number of Christians growing every day, our brother Fr. Antonio being already very old, and our brother Fray Buenaventura also not so young, when they considered the need of the Mission, with specific business that our brother Fr. Antonio had to transact with the Apostolic See, in order to satisfy his obligation as Prefect to give news, by common consent, they tried to have Fr. Buenaventura leave China, to travel to Europe, to take care of that business and to bring back new ministers who may cultivate and increase the harvest of the Lord.

[Fr. Buenaventura went by Macao, India, Persia, the latter part in the company of the French Bishop François Palu who was going back to Rome. From there, he went on to Spain and, landing at Valencia, found all the volunteers he needed in that province. In Madrid, he received the approval of the Queen Regent, Doña Mariana de Austria, etc. When, in 1669, the group gathered at the port of Cádiz, they found out that there was no scheduled mercury fleet bound for Veracruz that year.<sup>1</sup> However, they were able to insinuate themselves aboard a ship going to Honduras. They then went overland to Mexico City, by way of Guatemala, where two of them died of fever: Fr. Juan de Jesús and Fr. Blas Domingo.]

**That year of '70 there was no galleon for the Phillippine Islands of Manila.** So, our Mission was unable to go there and it was necessary to spend one year more in the hospice of San Augustin de las Cuevas, busying ourselves with learning the Chinese language, with our Fr. Commissioner as teacher, and with other spiritual exercises. This being the first Mission to occupy that Hospice residence, all the people of San Augustin would seek them on account of the fame of their good example and the holy doctrine they administered, steering their souls for the service of God our Lord toward the frequency of the holy sacraments. The love with which they were esteemed was so great that, when they wished to say goodbye to that place, in order to make the voyage to the Philippines, men and women would shed very tender tears and go out of their houses to meet them in the streets, showing with sobs the feeling and pain that were in their hearts. A few of the men did not want to lose sight of them for a few days, by accompanying them a few days along the road.

[Two Mexican friars were chosen to replace the two who had died in Guatemala: Fr. Miguel Perez and Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela.]

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1 Ed. note: This fact is verified in Ternaux-Compans' Voyages, vol. 10.



This year of '70, during the month of December, there arrived at the port of Acapulco the expected Philippine galleon, and, ready and supplied with everything, the following year of '71, during the month of March, on the eve of the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, the religious embarked and the ship departed.

During the voyage, very near the islands called Marianas, there became gravely ill the brother preacher Fr. Ignacio Antonio Rosado, a religious with serious talents and obvious virtue, who had left a great example in New Spain, and had always been at the side of the Fr. Commissioner (as his companion), attending to all the affairs of the Mission. And, the illness becoming more serious, our Lord took him away from this life, leaving behind his companions with sorrow for this loss, and all those aboard the ship feeling sorry for his death; our Lord thus rewarded him very early for the merits and labors already suffered. A very solemn burial was made for him at sea, with a mass and a sermon in his honor, assisted by the members of three Missions that came there, the sermon being preached by [one of] the missionaries of our Father St. Dominic, who carried it out with the fraternal love and charity of real brothers.

The galleon finally arrived in sight of the Philippines and, finding contrary winds, it could not pass the entrance strait and so anchored at the port of Palapa.

[They could not proceed to China in 1671, but in March 1672, five of them proceeded aboard a Portuguese sampan bound for Macao.]

### D3. The account of Fray Juan Martí, O.F.M.

*Source: Ms. also in Pastrana, entitled: "Relación muy importante... de lo que hicieron los hijos de esta Apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas... en el reino de China." Cited in Archivo Ibero-Americano VII, pp. 224+*

[Will be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found]

#### **The first Chamorro tourists—Note about 3 Chamorro boys taken to Manila in 1671.**

Fr. García, in his biography of Fr. Sanvitores, mentions the names of three Chamorro boys whom Brother Bustillo took to Manila aboard the galleon **Buen Socorro** in 1671. They were:

1. Ignacio Osi, who returned to Guam in 1675, by way of Acapulco, with Fr. Bouwens;
2. Mathias Yay, who stayed behind at Manila until 1674 and returned to Guam in 1675, with Fr. Bouwens;
3. Pedro Guirán, who died off the coast of Mexico in 1674 as he was returning home, by way of Acapulco.

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## Document 1671E

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# Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Solano, dated Rota 5 July 1671

*Source: Original now in ARSI, formerly in 26 Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki (1 folio).*

*Note: The letter is in fact addressed not only to Fr. Solano, but to all Jesuits then in Guam. Also, it is mostly written by Fr. Ezquerro, with only part of the postscript, and the signature, by Fr. Sanvitores, but the whole of it appears to have been dictated by Fr. Sanvitores.*

## Original text in Spanish

Jhs

*Padres Francisco Solano, etc.*

*Llegamos gracias a Dios con buen tiempo y su poquito de purga sin votica en que el Padre Francisco [Ezquerro] a tenido su buena prueba de gracias a Dios.*

*Ya estara alle [sic] el voticario Jusepe, no ay sino que se aplique a darnos bueno al Padre Diego [Sanvitores], y embie los unguentos que a menester Vicente.*

*Venga tambifen] algun perro o perra para Rota segun escogiere el Cap[itán] Gregorio [Martinez], y alguna perra para Tinian. Una cruz que tiene el Hermano Ramirez de D. Luiz venga y del arco y flechas y carazes [sic = carcazas] de Vicente de que save Pedro Pablo.*

*Bungi la ha hecho bien de le VR<sup>a</sup> por medio de D. Juan medio arco [de hierro] aobado [sic = obrado] de los grandes, o uno entero pequeño, y a su chiquillo Ambrosio un pedasito; quiere volver con la vanca nuestra para ir a Tinian. D. Juan se conservará en su buena voluntad y hara que venga, o con el P. Thomas [Cardenoso] si no a salido, o con algunos trastos de D. Juan si se ubiesen acabado de traer los del Padre Th[omas]: pero por la poca esperanza que ay de pasar los Padres a Agaña pues ya Pepote y sus compañeros an pasado de esta isla. si D. Juan sale de Guahan en yendo yo a de [sic] Guahan, no a de ser para vivir en Tinian y asi no llebe D. Juan mas cosas que lo forzo-so para visitar a Zeipan y volver a Guahan, o quizas pasar a Gani, que todo a de ser bien a la lijera, y asi no benga la fragua ni cosa que embaraze, que bien sabe D. Juan dejarlo todo de todas maneras para estar mas desembaraçado en el bien de las almas: pero aun para esto no salga D. Juan como he dicho asta que yo baya.*

*Bengan unas sintas como unas quatro baras de las de color para calsones de los nuestros aqui en Rota. Si se halla otro hombres [sic], o mas que quieran ir a Tinian de los de la tierra encaminense con Bungi, para que se asegure el viage de los Padres, y no venga Pedro.*

*El Señor guarde a VRas en cuyos santos Sacrificios etc.*

*Rota, Domingo 5 de Julio de 1671*

*Siervo de VR<sup>a</sup>*

+

*+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +*

[P.S.] *Apliquese Nicolas a escribir todo el tiempo que pudiere vocabulario que quede a su cargo que comiensa por la lengua de esta tierra que puede ser se acabe a tiempo de imbiarse a los Padres.*

[P.P.S. written by Fr. Sanvitores himself]

*Bungi pide concha, si dice que quiere ir a Tinian se le puede dar en lugar del arco y por ser nuestro amigo, y que al fin a todos los principales de Agaña se les avra de dar aguardando algunas meritos. D. Juan y Pedro diran lo que basta para contentarle: por amor de Dios etc.*

*Siervo [de VR] S[.] V[itores]*

[Address:] *Padres Francisco Solano etc.*

*S. Ignacio de Agaña*

## Translation

### Jhs

[To] Fathers Francisco Solano, etc.

Thank God we made it with good weather and for the touch of purgation without medicine that Father Francisco [Ezquerria] experienced, may God be blessed.

The pharmacist Jusepe would have gotten there by now; there remains only for us to apply the same treatment to Father Diego [Sanvitores], and send the ointments that Vicente needs.

Have also some male dog or bitch sent to Rota, at the choice of Captain Gregorio [Martinez], and some bitch for Tinian. Send the cross that Brother Ramirez got from Don Luis, as well as the bow, arrows and quivers from Vicente; Pedro Pablo knows about them.

Bungi has done a good job. Through Don Juan,<sup>1</sup> Y.R. is to give him half [an iron] hoop from among the large ones that have been beaten [flat], or a complete one, small, and give a piece [of iron] to his small son Ambrosio. He [i.e. Bungi] wants to return with our canoe to go to Tinian. Don Juan should encourage him to keep this good inten-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He is referring to Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, if he had not already left for Manila that year; otherwise, this Juan would be Sergeant Bozo de Santiago.

tion. Have him take along either Fr. Thomas [Cardeñoso], if he has not left already, or some effects belonging to Don Juan, if those of Father Thomas have all been carried off already, given the little probability of taking the Fathers to Agaña, since Pepote and his companions have already left this island. If Don Juan leaves Guahan, I myself being on my way he is to [blank = leave] Guahan,<sup>1</sup> it is not to live in Tinian. So, Don Juan should not take any more things that he really needs just to visit Zeipan and return to Guahan, or perhaps go on to Gani. The whole thing will be a light operation; so, the forge should not come and neither anything that is cumbersome. In any case, Don Juan knows what to leave behind, in order to have more freedom of action, for the good of souls; still, that is the reason why Don Juan should not go out, as I have said, until I go myself.

Send some colored ribbons, say about four yards, for the pants of our people here at Rota. Should there be another local man, or more of them, who might want to go to Tinian, they should go with Bungi, in order to insure the voyage of the Fathers, and Pedro is to stay behind [in that case].

May the Lord keep your Reverences, in whose holy masses, etc.

Rota, Sunday 5 July 1671.<sup>2</sup>

Y.R.'s servant,

+

+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

[P.S.] Make sure Nicolas is fully employed at the task he was given, of producing the vocabulary, beginning with the local language;<sup>3</sup> perhaps he can finish it by the time the Fathers are ready to leave.

[P.P.S. written by Fr. Sanvitores himself]

Bungi is asking for a tortoise shell. If he promises to go to Tinian, he can be given one, instead of the hoop and, since he is our friend, and that eventually we may have to give one to all the chiefs of Agaña, keeping some for those who deserve them. Don Juan and Pedro will tell [you] what is sufficient to satisfy him; for the love of God, etc.

Servant, etc. S. V.

[Address:] Fathers Francisco Solano, etc.

San Ignacio de Agaña

1 Ed. note: From what is said below, this confused statement can be interpreted to mean that Don Juan was not to leave Guam for Tinian, until Fr. Sanvitores himself had left Rota for Tinian.

2 Ed. note: A perpetual calendar confirms that 5 July was indeed a Sunday.

3 Ed. note: In other words, this dictionary, rather lexicon, was to start with a Mariano-Spanish section, to be followed by a Spanish-Mariano section.

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## Documents 1671F

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# Royal decrees issued by the Queen Regent—First batch of 1671

*Note: Copies of those decrees reached Guam in June 1673 (see Doc. 1674I).*

## F1. The Queen to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 1 June 1671

*Sources: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 45, p. 247. [From] The Queen Regent,*

[To] The Marquis of Mancera, President of the War Council, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of New Spain and President of the royal Audiencia, that resides in the city of Mexico.

In a letter dated 16 January of this year you responded to one of my decrees in which **the 10,000 pesos** that you had taken out of the royal coffers for Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus for the reduction of the Mariana Islands, and you mentioned the reasons that you had judged adequate in the old royal decrees dealing with the question of the subsidies, for instance, that you had called a treasury meeting before passing it on to the fiscal, and the other reasons you give in your letter. This matter was seen in the Council of the Indies, along with the attached depositions; it has appeared that the satisfaction you give was adequate and we will leave it at that.

From Madrid, 1 June 1671.

I, the Queen.

Signed for Her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] Answer to the letter from the Viceroy of New Spain concerning the financial help given from the royal coffers to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus for the reduction of the Mariana Islands.

## F2. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 6 June 1671

*Sources: AGI old number 58-4-13 (ref. Astraín VI, p. 816 note); AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 256-257, pp. 603-606; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 53, fol. 203-204; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She refers to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines about the request from the Jesuits for an **armed escort** for the Mariana Island Mission.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Rey Gobernadora,*

*Marqués de Mancera, Presidente del Consejo de Guerra, Virey, Gob. y Cap. Gnl. de la N<sup>a</sup> España y Presidente de la Audiencia de México, o a la persona o personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*En carta que me escribió el Maestre de Campo Don Manuel de León, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas en 10 de Junio del año pasado de 1670, dió cuenta de haver pasado por las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones y que vió a los Religiosos Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que con licencia mía fueron el año de 668 a la conversión de sus naturales y le dieron noticia del copioso fruto de su Misión y del temor que tenían de que flaqueasen los Indios en la constancia, no teniendo algun freno que los sujetase, y que aunque le pidieron alguna gente y armas, no se determinó a hacerlo sin orden mío, aunque le parecía conveniente, habiendo de subsistir obra tan del servicio de Dios, como era la de esta Misión.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de la Indias, a parecido dar os noticia de lo referido y mandaros (como lo hago) que tomando muy individuales noticias de personas prácticas y inteligentes del estado de las reducciones de los naturales de la dhas Islas de los Ladrones, y de la necesidad que tienen los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en ellas, de que se les deren **soldados con armas**, para su resguardo, porque esto parece que mira a formarse Presidio en que se acrecentaría un gasto muy considerable, hallandose la Real Hacienda con tantos empeños, me informeis con noticia de todo muy particularmente de las conveniencias e inconvenientes, que podrán resultar de que haya en aquellas Islas gente de guerra, y en caso que sea necesario, que número sera menester y en que parte ha de residir, y de donde se les podrá pagar sus sueldos, que no se haga de la Real Hacienda ni se grave a los naturales, en lo que esta pudiere montar, remetiendo este informe con Vuestro parecer a manos del Gobierno infra escripto para que con Visto de él, se provea lo que fuere más conveniente.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 6 de Junio de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*[Endorsement:] Al Virrey de la N. España que informe en la primera ocasion sobre lo que escribe el Gobernador de Filipinas acerca de haver pedido los Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en las reducciones de los naturales de las Islas Ladrones, alguna gente y armas, que los resguarde.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent,

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, President of the War Council, Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of the Audiencia of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

In a letter written to me by Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands on 10 June of last year 1670, he reported that, upon passing by the Islands they call the Ladrões, that he saw the Religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who went there in 1668 with my permission to convert their natives, and that they told him about the copious fruit of their Mission and the fear they had that the Indians might weaken their constancy, as there is nothing to keep them under control, and that although they asked him for people and weapons, he decided not to do so without an order from me, although it seemed appropriate to him, as such good works done by this Mission for the service of God had to subsist.

This was examined by the Council of the Indies and it seems that you should be informed of it and ordered (as I do now) to take very particular notices from expert and intelligent persons regarding the reductions of the natives of the said Ladrone Islands, and the need of the Religious of the Society of Jesus who assist there, to see whether they should be given **soldiers with weapons** for their protection, because it appears that if a Garrison is created the expenses would be very considerable, the Royal Treasury having so many commitments already. You are to inform me about everything in detail, the advantages and disadvantages that could result from the presence of military forces in those Islands, and should they be necessary, what number would be adequate and where they should reside, and how they could be paid, given that it should not be with funds from the Royal Treasury nor from taxes on the natives, what the total expenses could amount to. You are to remit this report with your recommendation to the under-mentioned Government for approval, and appropriate decision.

Made at Madrid, 6 June 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain for him to report at the first opportunity about the letter from the Governor of the Philippines concerning the request made by the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who attend to the reductions of the natives of the Ladrone Islands for some people and weapons for their protection.

### F3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 6 June 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 255v-256, pp. 602- 603; also AGN Reales Cédulas.*

*Summary note: She enquires about the **bronze cannon** left by the galleons that were lost at Zarpana and Buenavista Islands. See also F11 below for another decree on the same subject-matter.<sup>1</sup>*

[From] The Queen Regent,

[To] The Marquis of Mancera, President of the War Council, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the royal Audiencia of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be.

In a letter which the Master-of-Camp, Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, wrote to me, dated 10 June of last year 1670, he reported (among other things) that he had passed by the islands called Ladrones, and that he saw the missionary religious of the Society of Jesus who went there in the year 1668 to convert their natives. They gave him news about the galleons that were lost over 30 years ago, one at the island of Big Zarpana [i.e. Saipan], and the other in Buenavista [sic]. **Most of the cannon from these were showing in 4 fathoms** and it would be easy to retrieve them, although it would be necessary, in order to do so, to send some people with weapons, because the Indians would not allow it otherwise. Since most of the cannon are made of bronze, it would always be useful to salvage them on account of their great value.

This was seen in the royal Council of the Indies and I should (as I do by the present) ask you to inform me very particularly of the manner in which these cannon should be salvaged, at no cost to the royal treasury, so that I may be able to order what is convenient.

Made in Madrid, 6 June 1671.

I, the Queen.

Signed for Her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain asking him to inform on the way to salvage the **bronze cannon** from the two galleons that the Governor of the Philippines advises were lost on the coasts of those islands.

### F4. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 268v-269, pp. 628-629, with copy in fol. 270v-271, pp. 632-633; AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 85 & 89.*

*Summary note: She tells him to avail himself of the Jesuit missionaries to have a survey made of the **local products** and to send a list of the **mineral products**, if there are any there.*

1 Ed. note: A reference to the shipwrecks of the **Santa Margarita** at Rota in 1601 and of the **Concepción** at Saipan in 1638.



### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, Presidente del Consejo de Guerra, Virey Gobernador y Cap.  
Genl. de la N. España y Pres. de la Audiencia Real de Mexico o a la persona o person-  
as a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*El Maestre de Campo, Don Manuel de León, Gov. y Cap. Gral. de las Islas Filipi-  
nas y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila, en carta de 7 de Julio  
del año pasado de 1669, dijo que los religiosos misioneros de la Comp. de Jesús que  
estan en la conversión de los naturales de la Isla de Guan [sic], una de los de los La-  
drones, que ya se llaman de las Marianas, en aquellas islas, quedaron encargados de  
reconocer los frutos, que havia en ellas y de si hay algunos minerales de que todavia  
dijeron no tenían noticia.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Concejo Real de las Indias, ha parecido daros aviso de ello  
y ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que valiendose de los dichos religiosos mis-  
ioneros de la Comp. de Jesús, pongais particular cuydado en que se reconozcan los fru-  
tos que ubiere en las dichas Islas Marianas y si hay en ellas algunos minerales, para lo  
qual correspondereis con ellos, y con el Gov. de Filipinas, encargandoles os envíen y  
de su calidad la qual remitireis al dho consejo para que con vista del, alla se provea lo  
que pareciere más conveniente.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,  
Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España, que valiendose de los religiosos misione-  
ros de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en la conversión de los naturales de las Islas  
Marianas en Filipinas, ponga particular cuydado en que se reconozcan con los frutos  
de ellas y si hay algunos minerales y que envíe relación de lo que ubiere.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, President of the War Council, Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, in a letter dated 7 July of this past year of 1669, said that the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are busy converting the natives of the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrone Islands, that are now called the Marianas, in those islands where they had been charged to study their **products** and determine the presence of any minerals, they said that they had not taken notice of any as yet.

This having been seen by the Royal Council of the Indies, it has been decided to inform you about it and to order you (as I do now) to avail yourself of the said religious

missionaries of the Society of Jesus and take special care to study the products that might be found in the said Mariana Islands and if there are any minerals there. You should therefore correspond with them and with the Governor of the Philippines, charging them to send you a report about their quality and to send the same to the said Council for approval, stating whatever is most convenient to be provided there.

Made at Madrid on 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to avail himself of the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who attend to the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, in order to take special care in determining their products and the presence of any minerals, and to send a report of what may be found.

## F5. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 268-268v, pp. 27-28; also in AGN Reales Cédulas, pp. 268-269; copy in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 76.*

*Summary note: She comments on the letter of 6 June concerning the armed escort.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Governadora*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*El Maestro de Campo, Don Manuel de León, Governador y Cap. Gen. de las Islas Filipinas y Pres. de la Audiencia de ellas, refiere (entre otras cosas) en carta de 7 de Julio del año pasado de 1669 que a 16 de Junio antecedente havia llegado a la Isla de Guan, una de las de los Ladrones que ya se llaman de las Marianas en aquellas islas, donde dió fondo y que los Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que estan entendiendo en la conversión de sus naturales, le dieron noticia del copioso fruto de su misión y que por la relación que enviaba se decía que pasavan de 13,000 almas las bautizadas y de 20,000 las que se quedavan disponiendo para recibir el Santo Bautismo y que aunque los Indios mostravan docilidad y poca contradición a la doctrina christiana, se podía temer flaqueasen, no habiendo quien asegurase a los religiosos, los quales vivían con esta desconfianza, para cuyo reparo le pidieron les enviase alguna gente, y armas, a que no se determinó sin orden mía, y que le parecía conveniente, las aya habiendo de pasar adelante obras tan del servicio de Dios como es la de esta misión.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Concejo Real de las Indias, y reconocidose que por cédula de 6 de Junio pasado de este año os mandame informasedes sobre este punto, ha parecido que sin embargo sea remita lo que a esto toca, para que tomando noticias individuales de la necesidad que tienen estos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús de que se les envíen alguna gente y armas, para su resguardo, dispongais en esto lo que os pareciere*

*más conveniente, informandome en la primera ocasión que se ofrezca de donde se podra pagar lo que importare el situado de la gente, que enviasedes a las dichas Islas Marianas sin gravar la Real Hacienda por lo mucho que importa al servicio de Dios y mío, que aquellas nuevas conversiones se hallen amparadas, y asistidas en quanto fuere posible, para su aumento y conservación.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Yo, la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N. Espana ordenandole que sin embargo del informe que se le pidio por cedula de 6 de Junio de este ano de 1671, sobre la gente y armas que los misioneros de la Compania de Jesus que se hallen en las Islas Marianas pidieron al Governador de Filipinas para su resguardo, disponga lo que le pareciere mas conveniente. Informando de donde se podra pagar el situado de esta gente.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of their Audiencia, in a letter dated 7 July of the past year 1669, mentions (among other things) that on the preceding 16 June he had arrived at the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrone Islands, that are now called the Marianas, in those Islands, where he anchored, the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are busy converting the natives gave him an account of the copious fruit of their mission and that the relation they were sending said that over 13,000 souls had been baptized and that 20,000 remained ready to receive the Holy Baptism, that although the Indians showed themselves docile and offered little resistance to the Christian doctrine, it was possible that they might relent, not having anyone to look after the safety of the religious who were living with this distrust, and that is why they had asked him to send some **people, with weapons**, and he had decided not to do it without my order, but that it seemed to him expedient to do so, since such good works for the service of God as those done in this mission should go ahead.

The Royal Council of the Indies having seen this, and determined in a decree dated 6 June of this year to order you to inform upon this point, it has been decided that, notwithstanding what is to be remitted with regard to this one, you are to take special notices of the need for these missionaries of the Society of Jesus to receive some people and weapons, for their protection. You are to decide whatever you may find expedient in this [matter] and let me know at the first opportunity given to you of the possible source of the funds required to pay the people, as they should be sent to the said Mariana Islands, without encumbering the Royal Treasury, as it is important for the service of God and mine that those new conversions be encouraged and assisted whenever possible, to increase and to preserve them.

Made at Madrid on 12 August 1671.

I, the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,  
Francisco Fernández de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain ordering him that, notwithstanding the report he was asked to submit by decree of 6 June of this year 1671, regarding the people and weapons requested of the Governor of the Philippines by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are in the Mariana Islands for their protection, he is to decide whatever be expedient and inform on the possible source of funds for the subsidy of these people.

## **F6. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1671, concerning Fr. Sanvitores' request**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 270-270v, pp. 31-32; AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 88, pp. 263-264, 266-267; copy without enclosure in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14; copy of enclosure also in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 74-75, and in RAH 9/2676, fol. 2.*

*Note: See Do. 1669B2 for the first version of this request.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*El Maestro de Campo, Don Manuel de León, Gov. y Cap. Gral. de las Islas Filipinas y Pres. de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila, remitió con carta de 7 de Julio del año pasado de 1669, un apuntamiento firmado de Diego Luís de S. Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús que se halla en la Isla de Guan, una de las de los Ladrones, que ya se llaman de las Marianas, en aquellas Islas con otros misioneros de su orden que estan entendiendo en la conversión de sus naturales, en el qual refiere las cosas de que más precisamente necesitan las Misiones de las dhas Islas Marianas y sus naturales, y pide se les provea de ellas con toda brevedad. Y habiendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias, he tenido por bien remitiros (como lo hago) copia del dicho apuntamiento firmado del Visto Bueno infra escripto, para que con vista del, dispongais con la mayor brevedad que fuere posible la provisión de los ornamentos y demás cosas que en el se expresan, para cuyo efecto dareis las ordenes que fueren necesarias y para que se remitan en la primera nao que saliere del puerto de Acapulco para Filipinas, dirigiendolo al dicho Diego Luís de S. Vitores con relación de los generos que le enviaredes y procurareis se compren a precios justos y moderados, atendiendo al mayor beneficio de la Real Hacienda, dando orden al General de la nao que al pasar por aquellas Islas entregue los dichos generos, pues según avisa el Gov. de Filipinas ha de haver su viage por ellas y de lo que así enviaredes, me dareis cuenta en la primera ocasión que se ofrezca relación de lo que en esto se gastare.*

*Fha en Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,  
Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España, remitiendole copia de un apuntamiento que vino firmado de Diego Luis de S. Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús de las cosas de que necesitan los Misioneros de las Islas Marianas en Philipinas, para que disponga la provisión de ellas...*

**[Enclosure:] Original request of Fr. Sanvitores.**

***Apuntamiento de lo que parece más necesario al presente estado destas Islas Marianas, según la Relación que va aparte, de los sucesos.***

*1º Lo primero, el mayor número que se pudiese de operarios, que mientras lleguan de España los que esperamos en el Sor. vendran en mas numero que antes para toda Nuestra Provincia con especial motivo desta nueva Misión, no podemos menos de pedir la limosna que los superiores juzgassen se podra hacer a estos pobres, según la necesidad de los otros Ministerios, computada con la de este que ya son de christianos, son once con más de 13,000 bautizados, y más de 20,000 cathecumenos, que se van disponiendo al bautismo, no somos al presente más de 5 sacerdotes y los dos se abran de trocar para que acaben sus estudios.*

*2º El número de compañeros seglares, deberian [tener] habilidades y oficios, especialmente de escribanos, cantores, herreros, carpinteros, y tejedores de algodón y abacá, que hay algo en estas Islas, y principalmente el oficio de buenos christianos, y que vengan con los instrumentos de sus oficios y las armas de fuego que se puidere, porque son aquí de especial temor y conveniencia que ya que la primera entrada del Santo Evangelio ha sido sin semejante temor, para su conservación y asiento, de las costumbres christianas, conviene algun miedo y forma de gobierno coactivo, el qual no tienen las cavezas, o principales, Indios de esta tierra con que a fuerza sólo de la bondad de sus naturales y protección del Sor. no han sido mayores los desmanes del vulgo y especialmente con la infección e instigaciones del Sangley Choco de que se habla en la Relación.*

*Y para que esto se hiciese con más suavidad y no tantos gastos, como los ubiere con Presidio de Españoles en forma, se podría suplir su falta, sirviendose el Sor. Gov. de enviarnos unos 200 hombres que se repartan por estas Islas, o el número que se puidere, de Indios de buen esfuerzo y christiandad antigua como son los Pampangos, que aunque vengan sin Españoles, por la falta que hay de gente española, y por la dificultad de sustentarse aquí, podrán servir para los efectos dichos, o traiedo un cabo español de la piedad y prudencia del Cap. Antonio Nieto que nos puso en estas Islas y se ofreció a acompañarnos en ellas, mientras no ubiere orden para semejante cabo español, podrán servir los dichos Indios que vi[n]ieren, sin mas caveza que la del Capitan Don Juan de Santa Cruz, Principal de Indan, y que ha servido a su Magestad muy señaladamente en esta misión y [ha] ganado notable respeto, al nombre christiano y español entre estos naturales (cuya lengua y costumbres tiene ya comprehendidas) y a falta suya, con alguno de los mismos Pampangos que vengan de nuevo se podrá pasar*

*bastante, a lo menos es fácil de experimentar y remediar si ubiere algún inconveniente en tierras tan al paso de las naos de Castilla.*

*3º Para lo qual conviene mucho el apretado orden que esperamos traerán de su Señoría las naos para que quando van de Manila a la Nª España (y asimismo quando vienen, si el viento diere lugar, pues ya tenemos también las Islas de los Volcanes, por donde suelen venir) reconozcan el estado destas Islas Marianas y hagan quando fuere menester las demostraciones de castigo y remedio en los desmanes que ubiere habido (que experimentamos y asi refrenan mucho estos naturales con sólo este temor de las naos)] y que traigan de camino el socorro de la gente dicha y lo demas que la charidad christiana añadiese especialmente de ropa, para vestir a Nuestro Señor Jesus Christo extremamente desnudo en estos pobres y qual llegan a estas Islas nos hagan señas con piezas para que acudamos luego.*

*4º Aunque lo que parece más conveniente, para el bien destas islas es la que ya tenemos también suplicado a su Señoría y esperamos de su actividad y zelo quanto antes que de Manila se despache nao suficiente y apropósito para descubrir puertos y llevar ministros por esta cordillera y especialmente por las islas que continuan estas con esas, como dicen se continuan por Mindanao con que se hará más fácil la comunicación y administración para el qual descubrimiento pedimos ya también el año pasado el que parecía más apropósito y se nos ofreció a ello que es el Cap. Antonio de Azevedo nuestro piloto mayor de **S. Diego**. El Jesús(?) por quien es y por su Santíssima Madre, dará a los que él gobierna y nos gobiernan la mejor elección en todo y execución para su mayor servicio.*

*5º El último y más principal punto, es que no se permitan venir Sangleyes a estas islas ni con ocasión de champanes ni de ninguna suerte, antes conviene en todo caso que quanto antes se nos saque de aquí (con apretado orden de su Señoría, en las primeras naos que vengán) el Sangley Choco, que está en esta Isla de Guan, ya hecho el daño que no es creible, a estos pobres, y hasta que se los quite de delante, no cesará asimismo que no venga personas inficionadas de secta de moros, idolatras, Indios o [h]erejes de que estan aora libres estas tierras, ni malos christianos rebeltosos y semejantes, aunque sea por vias de soldados porque no hagan más daño que provecho.*

*En estas Islas Marianas en la de San Juan, Pueblo de San Ignacio de Agaña, a 15 de Mayo de 1669.*

*Diego Luís S. Vitores.*

*Es copia del apuntamiento original de donde se sacó, para remitir al Sr. Marqués de Mancera, Virrey y Cap. Genl. de la Nª España, con una Real Cédula de su Magestad de 12 de este presente mes y año, sobre esta materia.*

*Madrid a 25 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila, remitted with a letter dated 7 July of the past year 1669, a list signed by Diego Luis de S. Vitores of the Society of Jesus who resides at the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrones, that are now called the Marianas, in those islands, with other missionaries of his order who are busy with the conversion of their natives, in which he refers to the things that the Missions in the said Mariana Islands and their natives are most in need, and he requests they be supplied as soon as possible.

This having been examined by the Royal Council of the Indies, I consider it well to remit to you (as I do now) a copy of the said list, with the under-mentioned seal of approval, so that you may examine it and arrange as soon as possible for the provision of the ornaments and other things expressed therein. To this effect, you are to issue whatever orders are necessary so that they may be remitted aboard the first galleon to sail from Acapulco for the Philippines, to the attention of the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores, enclosing a list of the goods being sent. You are to procure the goods to be sent at just and moderate prices, to the best advantage of the Royal Treasury, and to order the General of the galleon to make the delivery of the said goods upon passing by those Islands, since the Governor of the Philippines confirms that he has to make the voyage via them, and you are to give me a report in due course of what you sent and what has been carried out, at the first opportunity that presents itself.

Made at Madrid on 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, remitting him a copy of a list that came with the signature of Diego Luis de S. Vitores of the Society of Jesus with the things needed by the Missionaries of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, so that he may take care of their provision.

## **[Enclosure:] Original request of Fr. Sanvitores [1669].**

### **List of what appears most necessary under the present condition of these Mariana Islands, according to the enclosed Relation of the events.**

1° Firstly, as large a number of workers as possible. While waiting for those we hope to God will come from Spain, may the greatest number from those destined for this whole Province be earmarked for this new Mission. We cannot forget [to ask for] the alms that the superiors may judge adequate for these poor ones either, in accordance with the need of the other Ministries, taking into account that the ministry here is one of Christians now, as there are over 13,000 of them baptized, and over 20,000 catechu-

mens who are being prepared for baptism, and we are no more than 5 priests at present, and two of those will have to be replaced to let them finish their studies.

2° As to the number of secular companions, they should have skills and trades, specially those of notary clerks, singers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and cotton and abacá weavers—as some of these plants are to be found here—and above all the qualification of good Christians. They should bring along the tools of their trade and as many firearms as possible, because they are specially feared here and appropriate in view of the fact that they have not experienced such fear since the first entrance of the Holy Gospel was made, [that] for the preservation and maturation of the Christian customs, it is necessary to instill some fear and a form of coactive government, for which the local Indians do not have the [proper] chiefs or leaders. It is only thanks to the goodness of its natives and the protection of the Lord that there have not been greater mishaps from the common people, specially in view of the infectious instigations of Choco the San-gley referred to in the Relation.

In order for this to take place more smoothly and with fewer expenses, as would occur with a normal garrison made up of Spaniards, their shortage could be remedied by the Lord being pleased to send us **some 200 men** to be distributed over these Islands, or as many Indians as possible, those with energy and a solid Christian background like the Pampangos who, although they would come without Spaniards, on account of the shortage of Spanish people, and the difficulty of sustaining them here, they could serve the purpose intended, or else, by bringing a Spaniard officer with the piety and prudence of Captain Antonio Nieto who took us to these Islands and volunteered to accompany us, or, while waiting for an authorization for such a Spanish officer, the said Indians who might come would do fine without anyone other than Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, the chief from Indan,<sup>1</sup> who has served her Majesty very aptly in this mission and has gained remarkable respect for the Christian and Spanish name among these natives (whose language and customs he already understands), failing whom, with some from the same Pampango reinforcements to come, there should be enough to experiment with; otherwise, in case of inconvenience, the situation can be remedied at the passage of the galleons from Spain.

3° In this respect, it would be very proper, we think, for the galleons to carry an express order from your Lordship, so that when they go from Manila to New Spain (and also when they return, if the wind should permit, given that we now hold the Volcano Islands which lie on their usual route)<sup>2</sup> they should find out about the condition of these Mariana Islands and make a show of force if necessary to punish and remedy whatever mishaps that might have occurred (and so we could give it a try and thus control these

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1 Ed. note: This Filipino captain of the Pampango troops was himself a Tagalog, from the village of Indan, now in the province of Cavite, then part of the Jesuit residence of Silang which contained 3-5 villages in that area south of Manila.

2 Ed. note: By this remark, Fr. Sanvitores is referring to the northern Mariana Islands in the vicinity of Asunción Island, not to the Sulphur Islands that were called Volcano Islands later on (Iwo Jima, etc.).



natives for only the fear of the galleons). The galleons should also bring the subsidy for the said people and whatever else that Christian charity may add, specially clothing to cover Our Lord Jesus Christ who is extremely naked in these poor ones. Whenever a galleon arrives at these Islands, they should signal their presence by firing their cannon so that we might come to her.

4° Although what we have already asked your Lordship for what seems most appropriate for the good of these islands, we hope to receive from your energy and zeal as soon as possible from Manila a ship big enough and suitable to discover ports and take the ministers along this archipelago, specially to those islands that are contiguous with those—which are said to continue as far as Mindanao—thus enabling an easier communication and administration. We already asked for one [ship] for that expedition last year, one that would be most convenient, and Captain Antonio de Azevedo, our pilot-major aboard the **San Diego** had volunteered his services. May Jesus and his most Holy Mother see to it that those whom He governs and govern us choose the best course of actions, for His greater service.

5° The last and most important point is that Sangleys should not be permitted to come to these islands, not even via chartered champans or any other means. Rather, it would be proper in any case to take away from here Choco the Sangley as soon as possible (through an express order from your Lordship aboard the first galleons that may come); he is on this Island of Guan, and has already done an unbelievable harm to these poor ones, and meanwhile he remains in our sight, there should not, in any case, come any persons infected by the Moslem sect, any idol worshipper, Indians or heretics—of whom these lands are still free—nor any bad Christians, rebellious or the like, even in the shape of soldiers, because they would do more harm than good.

In these Mariana Islands, in that of San Juan, in the Town of San ignacio of Agaña, on **15 May 1669**.

Diego Luis S. Vitores.

This is a copy of the list of points taken from the original, in order to send it to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy and Captain-General of New Spain, along with a Royal Decree from her Majesty dated 12th of the present month and year, regarding that subject-matter.

Madrid 25 August 1671.

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## **F7. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1671**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 269-269v, pp. 29-30; and AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 86, pp. 257-258; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14, pp. 74v-75.*

*Notes: She tells him to avail himself of the Jesuits in the Marianas to make an exploration to discover a suitable port for the galleons. See 1670G for the list of the suitable ports that they found. The map of the Mariana Islands by Fr. Lopez was no doubt part of this report, and therefore dates from 1671 as well.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta que me escribió en 7 de Julio del año pasado de 1669, el Maestre de Campo Don Manuel de León, Gobernador y Cap. Gnl. de las Islas Philipinas y Pres. de la Audiencia de la Ciudad de Manila, dice (entre otras cosas) que los Religiosos Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que estan en la conversión de los naturales de la Isla de Guan [sic], una de las de los Ladrones, que ya se llaman de las Marianas, en aquellas Islas quedaron encargados de hacer diligencia de descubrir buen surgidero en alguna de las Islas de su Misión que corren al Norte, para que los navios que de Manila vienen al Puerto de Acapulco y vuelven por ellas tengan allá abrigo para los tiempos contrarios, que ordinariamente corrian en aquel paraje y les obligava a hacer arrivadas, lo qual podría cesar habiendo puerto a propósito en que esperar el buen tiempo y continuar su derrota, sin los daños de las arrivadas.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias, ha parecido daros esta noticia y ordenaros (como lo hago) que valiendo-os de estos religiosos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús, pongais particular cuydado en que se descubra algun surgidero en una de las Islas de su Misión en la parte que pareciere más a propósito y segura, para lo qual os correspondereis con ellos y con el Gov. de Filipinas encargandoles al cuydado y brevedad y que habiendole hallado os remitan Mapa, y relación ajustada del sitio donde se descubriere y de su calidad y fondo por lo mucho que importa tener algun puerto razonable y seguro para el abrigo de las naos de aquellas Islas y de las noticias que os emviasen me dareis cuenta, con Vuestro parecer, para que con Vista de ellos, se provea lo que convenia.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Yo la reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal*

*[Endorsement:] Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España que valiendose de los religiosos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que esten en la conversión de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, ponga particular cuydado de que se descubra un **surgidero** donde tengan las naos de aquellas Islas.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter that Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of the City of Manila, wrote to me on 7 July of the past year 1669, he says (among other things) that the Religious Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are working at the conversion of the natives of the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrones, which are now called Marianas, in those islands, had been charged with making efforts to discover a good anchorage in some

of the Islands of their Mission which run to the northward, so that when the ships that come from Manila to the Port of Acapulco and return there, they could find there some shelter against contrary weather. Such weather ordinarily occur in those seas and forced the ships to turn back, something which could stop if only there was a suitable port to wait out the bad weather and to continue their route [afterward], without the harm caused by the returns in distress.

This matter having been seen in the Royal Council of the Indies, it has been decided to send you this notice and to order you (as I do now) to avail yourself of these religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus in order to take special care to discover some anchorage at one of the Islands of their Mission, in the most convenient and safest place. Hence, you are to correspond with them and with the Governor of the Philippines making them responsible to find one as soon as possible and, after finding one, to send a Map, and a detailed Notice about its site where it was discovered and its quality and bottom, since it is extremely important to find some reasonable and safe port to shelter the galleons of those Islands, and you are to give me a report of the notices they might send, along with your opinion, so that appropriate decisions may be taken, after their review.

Made at Madrid on 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to avail himself of the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are working at the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, in order to discover an anchorage which the galleons of those Islands might use.

## **F8. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 August 1671**

*Sources: AGN Reales Cédulas ...; photocopy at MARC, pp. 260-261.*

*Summary note: She orders him to have the **bronze cannon** salvaged from two shipwreck sites.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta que me escribió el Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de León, Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Pres. de la Audiencia de la Ciudad de Manila en 7 de Julio del año pasado de 1669, dice (entre otras cosas) que los Religiosos Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que estan en la conversión de los naturales de Isla de Guan, una de las de los Ladrones que ya se llaman de las Marianas, en aquellas Islas le dieron noticia de que de los dos Galeones que se perdieron aora 30 años, el uno en la Isla de la Zarpana grande y el otro en la Buenavista, parecía la mayor parte de su artil-*

*lería en quatro brazas de fondo y que se podría sacar con poca dificultad, aunque para conseguirla sera preciso enviar alguna gente con armas, pues sin ella no lo permitirían los Indios ni querrían ayudar a sacarla, por ser gente dada poco al trabajo.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias, ha parecido diros que sin embargo del informe que sobre esto se os pidió por cédula de 6 de Junio pasado de este año, dispongais se saque esta artillería con la mayor brevedad y menos costa de la Real Hacienda que fuere posible y habiendose hecho me avisareis quantas piezas son y de que genero para que con vista de ello, se pueda ordenar, al Gobernador de Filipinas, lo que ubiere de hacer de ellos, y en el interín que se hasse, le prevendreis las haga poner a buen recaudo.*

*Fha en Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España, que sin embargo del informe que se le pidió por cédula de 6 de Junio de este año de 1671, disponga se saque la Artillería, que avise el Gobernador de Philipinas.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter written to me by Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of the City of Manila, on 7 July of the past year 1669, he says (among other things) that the Religious Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are busy at the conversion of the natives of the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrones which are now called Marianas, in those islands he was told that about the two galleons that were lost there 30 years ago, one at the Island of Big Zarpana and the other at Buenavista. It appears that most of their cannon lie in four fathoms and that they could be recovered with little difficulty, although, in order to do so, it would be necessary to send some people with weapons, since without them the Indians would not let them do it, nor would they help to take them out, because they are people who are not very fond of work.

And, the matter having been examined in the Royal Council of the Indies, it was decided to tell you that, notwithstanding the report that you were asked to produce on this matter in the decree of 6 June last, you are to arrange for the salvage of this artillery as soon as possible and with the least cost to the Royal Treasury as possible and, once done, you are to advise me how many pieces there were and of what kind, so that following review, the Governor of the Philippines can be given orders for their disposal and, until then, you are to provide for their storage in a safe place.

Made at Madrid 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, so that, notwithstanding the report requested of him by decree of 6 June last, he is to arrange for the recovery of the cannon, and so advise the Governor of the Philippines.

## F9. The Queen Regent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 12 August 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 271-272v, pp. 633-636; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She tells him to collaborate with the Viceroy in benefit of the Mariana Mission.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila ó la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su Gobierno.*

*En el Consejo Real de las Indias se a visto una carta de siete de Jullio del año pasado de mill y seiscientos y sesenta y nueve y de los puntos que continene se à tomado la resoluzion que se os dira en esta.*

*En primer lugar dizeis que yendo a gobernar esas Islas llegasteis a diez y seis del Junio del dho año à la de Guan una de las de los Ladrones que ya se llaman de las Marianas donde disteis fondo y que los misioneros de la Compania de Jhs que estan entendiendo en la combersion de los naturales os dieron noticia del copioso fructo de su mision pues como se beria por su relacion que embiaseis pasavan de trece mill los bautçados y de veinte mill los que se quedavan disponiendo para recibir el susedicho baptismo y que aunque los Indios mostravan docilidad y poca contradicion a la doctrina christiana se podia temia que en no teniendo quien asegure a los religiosos que alli se hallavan los quales visitan con esta desconfianca para cuyo reparo os pidieron les imbiasedes alguna gente y armas a que no les determinasteis asta tener orden mia para ello aunque siempre os parecia combeniente haviendo de pasar adelante obra tan del servicio de Dios como es la de esta mision. Y sobre este punto à pareçido remitir lo que propeneis al Virrey de N<sup>a</sup> España (como lo hago por çedula de la fha de esta) para que tomando notiçias yndividuales de la necesidad que tienen estos misioneros de gente y armas para su resguardo disponga lo que le pareceire mas combeniente informando de donde se podra pagar el situado de esta gente.*

*Asimismo decia que tambien os dieron notiçias los dhos religiosos misioneros de que de los dos galeones que se perdieron mas à de treinta años el uno en la Isla de la Çarpana grande y el otro en la Buena Vista parecia la mayor parte de su artilleria en quatro braças de fondo y que se podria sacar con poca dificultad aunque para conseguirlo os pareçia seria preçiso embiar alguna gente con armas pues sin ella no lo permitirian los Indios ni querrian ayudar a sacarla por ser gente dada poco al travajo. Y en quan-*

*to à este punto tambien à parecido remitirlo al Virrey encargandole disponga se saque esta artilleria con la brevedad que fuere posible y que da aviso de haverse hecho.*

*Tambien referis que los dhos religiosos misioneros quedaron encargados de hacer diligencia de descubrir buen surgidero en algunas de las Islas de su mission que corren al norte para que los navios que de esas Islas van à la N<sup>a</sup> Espa<sup>a</sup> y buelven por ellas tengan alli abrigo para los tiempos contrarios que ordinariamente corren en aquel parage y los obligava à haçer arrivadas lo qual podriasen [evitar] habiendo puerto a proposito en que esperar el buen tiempo y continuar su derota sin los daños de las arrivadas de que tambien se da notiçia al Virrey para que valiendose destes religiosos ponga particular cuydado en que se descubra este surgidero por lo mucho que importaria para que las naos de esas Islas tengan donde resguardarse.*

*Asimismo avisais que estos religiosos misioneros quedaron encargados de reconoçer los frutos que ay en las dhas Islas Marianas y de si ubiere en ellas algunos minerales de que todavia os dixeron no tenian notiçia la qual se participa al Virrey para que valiendose de los dhos religiosos ponga particular cuydado en que se reconoscan los frutos que tienen aquellas Islas y si ay en ellas algunos minerales y que de avisar de ello al Consejo embiando relacion con toda distincion y claridad de lo que ubiere.*

*Con una carta se recivio el **apuntamiento** que remitis firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de las cosas de que mas preçisamente neçesitan las misiones de las dhas Islas Marianas y sus naturales de las quales pide se les provea con toda brevedad y que lo que conviene asistir a estas misiones para que se vayan continuando y propagando la religion catholica he mandado remitir al Virrey copia del dho apuntamiento para que con vista del disponga la provision de los ornamentos y demas cosas de que nezesitaren.*

*De todo lo qual se os da aviso para que lo tengais entendido y os correspondais con el Virrey dandole las notiçias que os pareçieren neçesarias para la mejor execucion de lo que se le ordena.*

*De Madrid a 12 de Agosto de 1671 años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

*Respuesta a una carta del Governador de Filipinas sobre diferentes puntos tocantes a las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas y otras cosas, y ordenandole que se corresponda con el Virrey de la Nueva España para el mejor cumplimiento de la que se le ordena.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] Master-of-Camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

In the Royal Council of the Indies a letter dated 7 July of last year 1669 was seen, and the points contained in it were resolved, as follows.

Firstly, you said that, on the way to govern those Islands, you arrived on 16 June of the said year at the Island of Guan, one of the Islands of the Ladrones that they now call the Marianas, where you anchored and that the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who are busy converting the natives, informed you of the copious fruit of their mission, given, as could be seen from their written account that you were enclosing, over 13,000 had been baptized and 20,000 were being prepared to received the said baptism, and that, although the Indians showed docility and little opposition to the Christian doctrine, it could be feared, as long as no-one was available to protect the religious who are there and who make their rounds with this distrust, for which solution they requested you to send some men and weapons, but you chose not to decide this matter, until you had orders from me for that, though it seemed proper to you, since such a missionary enterprise in the service of God should proceed. Regarding this point, it was decided to remit what you proposed to the Viceroy of New Spain (as was done by decree of same date) so that, upon learning in detail of the needs of these missionaries for men and weapons for their protection, he may arrange what is more convenient, and report how the salaries of these men could be paid with.

In addition, you said that the said religious missionaries advised you that the greater part of the cannon of the two galleons that were lost over 30 years ago, one at the island of Big Sarpana and the other at Buena Vista, were in four fathoms of water, and that they could be salvaged with little difficulty, although to achieve it it seemed to you that it would be necessary to send some men with weapons, since without them the Indians would not allow it nor would they help to salvage them as they are people not used to work. With regards to this point also, it has been decided to remit it to the Viceroy, entrusting him to arrange for the salvage of these cannon as soon as possible and to report on what he has done.

Also you referred to the said religious missionaries having been entrusted with the task of discovering a good anchorage in some of the Islands of their mission that lay to the north, so that the ships of those Islands that go to New Spain and back by way of them would have shelter there when the weather is contrary, as usual in that neighborhood, thus forcing them to return in distres, something that they could avoid, if there were a suitable port in which to wait out the good weather and continue their run, without the damages caused by returns; of that also the Viceroy was advised, so that he could avail himself of these religious to take care and discover this anchorage, on account of the importance of a shelter where the galleons of those Islands could have safety.

In addition, you advised that these religious missionaries were entrusted with making a survey of the products of the said Mariana Islands and if some minerals can be found there, about which they told you they had not yet studied; the Viceroy is being told about this, so that he may avail himself of the said religious to take care and sur-

vey the products that exist in those Islands and if there are some minerals, and to advise the Council about it by sending a very detailed account of what could be had.

With a letter was received the **list of points** that you remit, which was signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, stating the things that the missions of the said Mariana Islands and their natives need most urgently, and which he asks to be provided with as soon as possible; given that it is convenient to assist these missions so that they may continue to propagate the Catholic religion, I have ordered the Viceroy, enclosing a copy of the said list of points, so that, having seen it, he may arrange the provision of the ornaments and other things that they might need.

You are being advised of all this, so that you may be kept informed and for you to correspond with the Viceroy, giving him any news of what might seem necessary to you for the best accomplishment of what he has been ordered.

From Madrid, 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines about different points relating to the missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands, and other matters, and ordering him to correspond with the Viceroy of New Spain for the better accomplishment of his orders.

## **F10. The Queen Regent to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Madrid 12 August 1671**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 272v-273, pp. 636-637; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She answers one of his letters concerning the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands and encourages him to carry on.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Respuesta a una carta de Diego Luis de Sanvitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs sobre las nuevas combersiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Philipinas, y encargandole continue en ellas, y en lo demas que arriva se refiere.*

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs.*

*En carta que me escrivisteis en quince de Junio del año pasado de mill y seis y sesenta y nuebe dezis que à un año que vos y vuestros compañeros disteis vista à esas Islas Marianas y el consuelo y socorro tan cumplido que tubisteis con haver llegado à ellas el Governador Don Manuel de Leon por el desamparo en que estavan hallandose al paso de las naos de la carrera de Filipinas frustandose el efecto de las cedula que se an despachado encargando su socorro y la doctrina de sus naturales, y asimismo referis que nuestra santa Fee ha en mucho augmento asi en las onze primeras Islas Marianas que estavan reducidas el dho año de seisçientos y sesenta y nueve a nuestra sagrada reli-*



*gion como en las demas que faltan en esa dilatadissima cordillera y el zelo y exemplo que à dejado el dho Governador para sus suçessos en la atencion a la salvazion de esos naturales.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consexo Real de las Indias, a parecido deçiros que se a estimado mucho esta notiçia y el çelo y atencion con que abeis obrado en la reduçion de los naturales de esas Islas y os encargo lo continueis con el cuydado y aplicaçion que fio de la devoçion y piedad con que os haveis dedicado a tan santo ministerio fomentando obra tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y del Rey mi hijo para que se logre el fructo espiritual que se puede esperar por el medio de la predicacion evangelica y los demas que con vuestra christiandad y prudencia ynterpondreis alentando a los demas religiosos para que os asistan a esta mision con el fervor que combiene en que me hareis muy agradable servicio y tambien os encargo procureis descubrir el surgidero de que a avisado el Governador de Filipinas en carta de siete de Jullio del mismo año quedasteis encargado para que las naos que ban y bienen à la N<sup>a</sup> España tengan donde abrigarse y repararse de los temporales que ordinariamente corren en esos parages y puedan seguir su viage sin los daños de las arrivadas y de lo que se fuere obrando y del estado que esas combersiones tomaren me yreis avisando en todas ocasiones para que con notiçia de ello se provea lo que mas combenga para su aumento y conservaçion.*

*De Madrid a doze de Agosto de mill y seisçientos y setenta y un años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus about the new conversions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, and entrusting him to continue with them, and in the other things that are mentioned above.

The Queen Regent.

[To] Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus.

In the letter which you wrote to me on 15 June of last year of 1669,<sup>1</sup> you said that it had been one year since you and your companions had arrived in sight of these Mariana Islands and that the arrival there of Governor Don Manuel de Leon gave you consolation and such a complete succor, given the abandon in which they were when the galleons of the Philippine run pass by there, not obeying the decrees that have been despatched, concerning their assistance and the catechizing of their natives. You also mention that our holy Faith has made much progress, not only in the first 11 Mariana Islands that have been reduced during the said year 1669 to our sacred religion, but also in the others that remain in that very extended island chain, and the zeal and example

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The letter in question is no longer extant, but its contents is effectively summarized by the Queen. The letter is not the same as the one dated 15 May 1669 (Doc. 1669B4).

that the said Governor has shown toward their successes with regards to the salvation of those natives.

This having been seen in the Royal Council of the Indies, it was decided to tell you that such news was indeed welcome, as well as the zeal and care that you have shown in the reduction of the natives of those Islands, and I entrust you to carry on with the care and application that I am sure your devotion and piety dedicates to such a holy ministry, by developing an enterprise that is so much to the service of God our Lord and of the King my son, in order to achieve the spiritual benefit that one can hope to get through preaching the Gospel and other means that your Christian prudence will make you interpose, by encouraging the other religious to assist you in this mission with the fervor that is proper, by which you will make me very happy, and also I entrust you to try and discover the anchorage that the Governor of the Philippines has advised me about in his letter of 7 July of the same year, as he entrusted you, so that the galleons that come and go to and from New Spain will have a place to find shelter from the storms that usually occur in that neighborhood and be able to continue their voyage without the harm caused by returns in distress. You are to keep me informed at every opportunity of your progress and of the on-going condition of those conversions, so that, once informed, appropriate decisions may be taken toward their advancement and conservation.

From Madrid, 12 August 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

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## Document 1671G

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# Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to the Brothers of the Holy Charity of Seville

*Source: Jesuit archives of the Province of Todelo (kept at Alcala); printed in Fr. Risco's book, pp. 169-171; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Note by Fr. Ledesma: This letter should give us an idea of the active correspondence of the Venerable Father with all parts of Spain, arousing their interest in favor of his little Mariana children. This is an autograph letter of gratitude, in particular to Sr. Don Miguel Mañara of the Holy Charity of Seville.<sup>1</sup>*

## Letter dated from the Marianas, 9 September 1671

My Brothers and Gentlemen: Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

Brief as these lines may be, I do not wish to leave them unwritten because of the consolation that I have in communicating with Your Graces, to all of you together and particularly to each one, whom I consider as my fathers. Among you the great and special part is that of Mister Miguel Mañara. To all in the name of God I give thanks for the great works of piety and mercy made for the sake of the bodies of the poor and of their souls through the alms given to them.

And because I am certain that the charity of Your Graces is not limited to that city only, albeit so populated, with trust in it I begged on another occasion that you rescue me from some commitment which, upon my request, our Procurator Fr. José Vidal made in Mexico. I made that request so that this enterprise of such a great service to God may not be closed and the Devil may take advantage of the lack of needed things in order to impede the many conversions and numberless baptisms which have been administered here and are still being administered every day.

Through this letter I renew this same plea and prayer to Your Graces and I beg you through the blood of Jesus Christ to ransom me as a captive with your piety and mercy, either with money or with other material goods to be remitted to Mexico, to our Pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fr. Risco says that this letter was found in the archives of the Santa Caridad by his good friend, Don José Sebastian y Bandaran, a priest and a member of the Royal Academy of Good Letters of Seville.

curator, the said Fr. José Vidal. And if you would like to take part in an enterprise which is carried out in Mexico through Fr. José Vidal, which enterprise consists in the collection of some alms by pious gentlemen for the support of poor women who, for lack of what is necessary for themselves neglected their souls, although with this care of our Procurator they have retired to a better life, trying with all sincerity to save their souls and others' with their good example; for all this I appeal to the piety of Your Graces.

And if you would cooperate with works of such great service to God, you will communicate with Fr. José Vidal in Mexico, to whom I trust all transactions concerning these our Mariana Islands, which through him and the grace of the Lord are presently doing such good progress.

May His [Divine] Majesty keep for me Your Graces, for the sake of my needs. I offer my prayers and will offer them for the salvation of Mr. Miguel Mañara and of all Your Graces. I beg you also the little alms of your prayers to our Lord to make me good.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands.

9 September 1671.

My gentlemen and brothers I kiss the hands of Your Graces.

Your Servant and Marian Chaplain,

Diego Luis de San Vitores

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## Documents 1671H

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# Correspondence regarding a petition presented by the Jesuits in 1671

## H1. Letter from the Viceroy to the Queen, dated 11 April 1671

*Summary note: He tells her about the brief in which the Jesuits want the Mariana Mission to get the same kind of financial help as the province of Sinaloa in New Spain. This letter is no longer extant, but its contents were made known by H2 below.*

## H2. Letter from the Council of the Indies to the Queen, dated Madrid 22 September 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 3-1-35; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 17-18; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 353-355.*

*Summary note: They offer her some advice concerning the Jesuit petition.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Conde de Medellin,  
Marques de Monte Alegre,  
Juan Bautista Navarrete,  
D. Tomas de Valdés,  
D. Juan de Santelices,  
D. Lorenzo Matheu,  
D. Antonio Sevil.  
Señora.*

*El Marques de Mancera, Virrey de la Nueva España: Da cuenta á V.M. en carta de 11 de Abril de este año de que por la parte de los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus Misioneros de las Islas de los Ladrones, llamadas Marianas se le habia presentado memorial refiriendo los trabajos y necesidades que padecian en ellas, y pidiendole informase á V.M. para que se sirviese de mandarlos socorros en la forma que se hace á los Misioneros que se ocupan en la Provincia de Sinaloa. Y que habiendo llevado el*

*memorial á la Audiencia, y consultadolo con los Ministros en Junta general se acordó lo representase á V.M. y remite el memorial que le dieron en el cual se refiere que mediante el socorro de diez mil pesos que se mandaron dar de la Caxa Real á Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus entró con otros religiosos en aquella nueva combersion, á la cual pasaron otros dos sugetos de la Compañia en la Nao que este año de 1671 fué á aquellas Islas, y que ya estaban bautizados 14,000 indios y que pasaban de 20,000 los catequizados y que en las dichas islas Marianas se hallan los religiosos faltos de todo lo necesario para la vida humana con que padecen trabajos escesivos. Y suplican á V.M. se sirva mandarseles socorro en la misma forma que se hace con los religiosos misioneros que se ocupan en Sinaloa en la Conversion y administracion de los Indios.*

*Viose esta carta en el Consejo y habiendose reconocido lo que está proveido en esta materia parece: Que habiendo dado cuenta el Gobernador de Filipinas, y Diego Luis de San Vitores del fruto que iba haciendo en aquellas nuevas conversiones y de el número de bautizados y catequizados que habia en ellas y que el año de 1669 estaban reducidas once islas y que faltavan otras muchas: Se ordenó al Virrey proveyese á estos religiosos de algunos ornamentos y otras cosas necesarias y se le encargó dispusiese lo que le pareciese mas conveniente sobre la gente y armas que habian pedido para su resguardo, informando de donde se podrian pagar el situado sin gravar la real Hacienda. Y al Gobernador de Filipinas tambien se le ordenó se correspondiese con el Virey, y con el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo todo lo referido á parecido que por ser de la obligacion de la real hacienda dar la congrua necesaria á los religiosos misioneros que se ocupan en la reduccion de las Indias y ser tan grande el fruto que ha resultado de la asistencia de Diego Luis de Sanvitores y de sus compañeros en las Islas Marianas, en que combiene vayan continuando.*

*Podrá V.M. servirse mandar al Virrey de Nueva España que ajustando lo que habran menester, segun lo que se dá á los Misioneros de Sinaloa, los provea de ello, supliendolo de la Caxa Real, y que se cuenta de lo que montare. V.M. mandará lo que fuere su real voluntad.*

*Madrid á veinte y dos de Setiembre de 1671.*

### **Translation.**

The Count of Medellin,  
Marquis of Monte Alegre,  
Juan Bautista Navarrete,  
Don Tomás de Valdés,  
Don Juan de Santelices,  
Don Lorenzo Matheu,  
Don Antonio Sevil.

Madam:

The Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain: Informs Y.M. in a letter dated 11 April of this year that, on behalf of the religious of the Society of Jesus, missionaries in the Islands of the Ladrones, called Marianas, he had been presented with a memorial referring to the hardships and necessities which they were suffering there, and requesting him to inform Y.M. so that you may be pleased to send them succors in the manner used for the Missionaries who work in the Province of Sinaloa. And that when this memorial arrived at the Audiencia, and a consultation held among the Ministers in a General meeting it was agreed to refer it to Y.M. and forward the request in which mention is made of the succor of 10,000 pesos that were ordered sent out of the royal coffers to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus who undertook that new conversion with other religious—to which Islands two more subjects of the Society went aboard the galleon of 1671—and where they had already baptized 14,000 Indians and where those catechized are over 20,000, and that in the said Mariana Islands the religious find themselves short of everything necessary to maintain human life, hence they suffer excessive hardships. And they beg Y.M. to please send them succor in the same manner used for the religious missionaries who are busy converting and administering the Indians in Sinaloa.

The Council having seen this letter and having recognized what is provided in this matter, it seems: That, given the report of the Governor of the Philippines and Diego de San Vitores about the fruit that he is getting in those new conversions and about the number of baptized and catechized that there was there, and that 11 islands had been reduced in the year 1669 and that many more remained: The Viceroy was ordered to provide those religious with some ornaments and other things necessary and he was entrusted to arrange what he thought most appropriate regarding the men and weapons whom they had asked for their protection, and he is to inform on the source of funds to pay the salaries without touching the Royal treasury. And the Governor of the Philippines was also ordered to correspond with the Viceroy, and with the said Diego Luis de San Vitores.

The Council having seen everything referred to above, has resolved that it is obligatory for the royal treasury to pay food allowances to religious missionaries who are occupied in reductions in the Indies and that the fruit obtained by the assistance of Diego Luis de Sanvitores and his companions in the Mariana Islands is so great that it is proper that they should continue.

Y.M. could be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain to adjust the accounts as necessary, in line with what is given to the Missionaries in Sinaloa, making up the shortfall from the royal treasury, and that he should report on the amounts involved. Y.M. will order what may please your royal will.

Madrid, 22 September 1671.

### H3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 10 October 1671

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 78; AGI Fil. 101-1; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 105 (ex-106), pp. 271-272. @SOURCE = Note: A copy of this decree reached the Marianas in June 1673. In ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 81, there is another similar letter, dated 24 October.*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Gobernadora.*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta de 11 April de este año decía que por parte de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús misioneros de las Islas de los Ladrones, llamadas Marianas, se había representado los trabajos y necesidades que padecían en ellas, y que mediante el socorro de 10,000 pesos que se dieron de la caja real a cuenta del situado que se enviaba a Philipinas a Diego Luís de San Vitores de la misma compañía, havia entrado con otros religiosos en aquella nueva conversión, a la qual pasarón otros dos sujetos de la misma orden en la nao que este año de 1671, había ido a aquellas islas, refiriendo el fruto que se había hecho en ellas, y que suplicaban se les socorriese en la misma forma que se hizo con los religiosos misioneros que se ocupan en la Provincia de Sinaloa en la conversión y administración de los Indios. Y que habiendo llevado el memorial a la Audiencia, y consultado con los ministros en junta general, se havia acordado me dieseis cuenta de ello.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias y reconocido que por cédulas de 12 de Agosto de este presente año (que recibireis con esta) os ordenó proveais a estos religiosos de algunos ornamentos, y otras cosas necesarias y que dispongais lo que os pareciere más conveniente sobre la gente y armas que ha pedido para su resguardo, y que me informeis de donde se podría sacar el situado, sin gravar la real hacienda, y consultadesme sobre todo. Considerando el grande fruto que ha resultado de la asistencia de Diego Luís de San Vitores, y de los demás religiosos, en las Islas Marianas, y lo que conviene que esto se haya continuando, he resuelto ordenaros y mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) que ajustando la cantidad que habrán menester (según la que se da a los misioneros de la Provincia de Sinaloa) les proveais de ello supliendolo de la caja real, y que deis cuenta de lo que esto montare ya sea de la obligación de la real hacienda dar la cóngrua necesaria, a los religiosos misioneros que se ocupan en la reducción de los Indios, y de el recibo de este despacho, y de su ejecución, me dareis cuenta en la primera ocasión que se ofrezca.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 10 de Octubre de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco F. de Madrigal.*



[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la Nueva España que provea de lo que huvieren menester a los religiosos de la Compañía que van a la Misión de las Islas Marianas, como se hace con los de Sinaloa.*

### **Translation.**

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In your letter of 11 April of this year, you said on behalf of the religious of the Society of Jesus who are missionaries in the Ladrones Islands, called Marianas, that they had suffered some hardships and experienced some necessities there, that thanks to the relief of 10,000 pesos that were given from the royal funds on the account of the subsidy being sent to the Philippines to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the same Society, he had entered that new conversion with other religious, and that two other subjects of the same order passed there aboard the galleon that went to those islands this year of 1671. You also mention the fruit that has been gathered in them, and that they solicited support in the same form given to the religious missionaries who work in the Province of Sinaloa at the conversion and administration of the Indians. This memorial having been seen by your Audiencia and having been discussed by the ministers in a general meeting, they had decided to give me an account of it.

Having been examined by the Council of the Indies and recognized by the decrees of 12 August of this year (copies enclosed), we order you to provide these religious with some [religious] ornaments and other necessary things, and that you should decide what is most expedient regarding people and weapons that were asked for their protection, and should inform me how the subsidy for this could be taken without encumbering the royal treasury, and consult with me about it all. Considering the great fruit that has resulted from the assistance to Diego Luis de San Vitores, and the other religious in the Mariana Islands, and the desirability of their continuing this, it has been decided to order you (as I do now) to adjust the amount as may be necessary (in accordance with what is given to the missionaries of the Province of Sinaloa) and provide it to them by taking it out of the royal coffers, to report what this would amount to already, for the royal treasury to give the necessary stipend to the religious missionaries employed in the reduction of the Indians, and to acknowledge receipt of this despatch and its execution. You are to give me a report at the first opportunity.

Made at Madrid on 10 October 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,  
Francisco F. de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain for him to provide what may be necessary to the religious of the Society who go to the Mariana Island Mission, the same as given to those of Sinaloa.

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## Documents 1671I

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# Fr. Sanvitores' father intercedes on behalf of the Mission

## I1. Transmittal note to the Queen on behalf of Gerónimo San Vitores

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-32.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora*

*Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla Cavallero del horden de Santiago del Consejo de Hazienda de V.Mgd: Dize que el Padre Diego Luis San Vitores su hijo que assiste en las Islas Marianas en virtud de despachos que el Rey nuestro Señor, que esta en el çielo, dio para que le aviasen à aquellas Islas y diese Principio à introducir el santo evangelio Remite Relaçion de los Puntos que ha de contener el memorial que se ha de dar a V.Mgd. Y porque tiene firmado de su nombre, y de los Padres que le asisten le pone en las Reales manos de V.Mgd con Zertificazion de que en el Primer año desta Mision an Rezivido el Baupntismo treze mill y quinientas Personas y estavan Para Rezivirle mas de veinte mill. Y por interçesos a San Francisco Xavier Suplica a V.Mgd se sirva de mandarle Ver, y que se tome la Resoluçion que mas conbenga para que tenga efecto el santo zelo del Rey nuestro Señor que esta en el çielo, y que se consiga en el feliz Reynado de V.Mgd. en que Rescibijra Merced.*

[Endorsement:] *Señora.—Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla, Cavallero de Santiago: P[rese]nta un papel de puntos tocantes á la conservacion y seguridad de las Islas Marianas nuevamente convertidas dado por parte de los Padres de la Compania a cuyo Mision pasaron, pidiendo mande V.Mgd se vea donde toca y se ejecute lo que en el se propone.*

### Translation.

Madam:

Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla, Knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Council of Finance of Y.M.: Declares that Father Diego Luis San Vitores, his son, who is assisting in the Mariana Islands by virtue of despatches that the King our Lord, who is in Heaven, gave for his outfitting for those Islands and for a start to be made in the introduction of the holy Gospel: Remits a list of points contained in the memorial to be given to Your Majesty. And because the memorial is signed with his name, and those of the Fathers who assist him, he places it in the royal hands of Y.M., along with the Certification that in the first year of this Mission 13,500 persons have received baptism and over 20,000 are about to receive it. And, through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, he begs Y.M. to please have it examined, and to have the most convenient decision be taken, so that the holy zeal of the King our Lord, who is in Heaven, will have its effect, and that it be achieved during the happy reign of Y.M., in which he expects mercy.

[Endorsement:] Madam:—Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla, Knight of Santiago: Present a paper with points regarding the preservation and security of the Mariana islands newly-converted, given on behalf of the Fathers of the Society to which Mission they went, asking Y.M. to order the matter seen and what is proposed be resolved.

## I2. Minute by the Queen, dated 22 October 1671

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-31. The documents passed on to the Queen are Doc. 1669B2, B3 and B4.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Don Geronimo de San Vitores de la Portilla del Consejo de Hazienda ha dado el papel adjunto que contiene diferentes puntos en orden à los buenos efectos que ha producido en las Islas Marianas la Mission de los Padres de la Compania que passaron à ellas, y lo que convendrá disponer para asegurarlas y aumentar el fruto del Evangelio: vease esa materia en el Consejo de Indias, y consulteseme lo que se ofreziere y pareziere.*

*En Madrid a 22 de octubre 1671.*

*Al Conde de Medellin.*

### Translation.

Don Geronimo de San Vitores de la Portilla of the Council of Finance has given the enclosed paper that contains various points concerning the good results obtained in the Mariana Islands by the Mission of the Fathers of the Society who went there, and what would be convenient to arrange in order to make them secure and to increase the fruit of the Gospel: that matter is to be seen in the Council of the Indies, and I am to be consulted on what should be done and proposed.

In Madrid, 22 October 1671.

To the Count of Medellin.

### 13. Royal decree of 22 October 1671

[Endorsement:] *Decreto de Su Mgd. de 22 de otte. de 1671.*

—*Con que remite un memorial y un papel de apuntamiento que ha dado Don Geronimo de San Vitores, del Consejo de Hazienda en orden à los buenos efectos, que ha producido en las Islas Marianas, la Mision de los Padres de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, que pasaron à ellas, y lo que combendra disponer para asegurarlas, y aumentar el santo Evangelio, y manda Su Magd. se bea en el Consejo y que se le consulte, lo que se ofreciere y pareçiere:*

—*En papel aparte se trae raçon de lo que esta proveido, sobre esta materia.*

[Decision of the Council:] *Consejo a 5 de Noviembre de 1671.*

*El decreto esta en papel aparte.*

*[Refrendado por los] Señores Conde, Ramirez, Montealegre, Miranda, Navarrete, Valdes, Castro, Santelizes, Matheu, Sevil.*

#### Translation.

[Endorsement:] Decree of Her Majesty dated 22 October 1671.

—With it she remits a memorial and a list of points given by Don Geronimo de San Vitores, of the Council of Finance, regarding the good results obtained in the Mariana Islands by the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who went there, and what would be appropriate to make them secure, and to increase the holy Gospel, and Her Majesty orders the Council to see them and to consult her about it, recommending what should be done.

—In a paper, attached, there is a list of what is being done about this matter.

[Decision of the Council:] The Council, 5 November 1671.

The decree is in a paper, attached.

[Subscribed to by:] Gentlemen the Count, Ramirez, Montealegre, Miranda, Navarrete, Valdes, Castro, Santelices, Matheu, and Sevil.<sup>1</sup>

### 14. Letter from Gerónimo San Vitores to the Procurator General of the Philippines in Mexico, dated Madrid 27 October 1671

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 70.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*[A] Padre Procurador general de las yslas Philipinas: en Mexico.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: On 23 October, Mr. San Vitores wrote to the Queen to have the tax removed from goods such as the wine, oil and flour used for masses.

*En otra carta que escribo a V[uestra] P[aternidad] con el aviso se le doy de que al Señor Virrey, va despacho para que socorra a los Misioneros de las Marianas de las Arcas de essa ciudad: separando en ellas la cantidad que se da a los demas PP. que estan en las misiones; y que se entregue a V.P. para que se lo remita desde Acapulco en las naos que fueren a Manila, y aora embio a V.P. otra cedula para que no se lleven derechos de todo lo que se embiare; y que los generales los res[er]vian; y al passar por las yslas Marianas lo dexen en la que asistieren los PP:*

*He querido adelantar esta diligencia para que en la primera nao no se ponga emba-raço: Y vuelvo a suplicar a V.P. que todo lo que se ofreçiese me lo participe que mientras yo viviere ofresco ser solicitador: Y de todo lo que V.Pd. me mandare de su servicio[.] a quien Gu[ar]d[e] Dios[.] Madrid y octubre 27 de 1671 años.*

*B.l. [m.] de V.P.*

*Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla.*

[Certification:] *Concuerta con la Carta original que queda en mi poder: el qual con otros recaudos mostre en 22 de febrero de 1672 en Mexico: al Padre Provincial; y el que me escrivio esta Carta que es Padre del Padre Diego Luis es quien mas a solicitado este negocio:*

*M. Duarte*

### **Translation.**

[To] Father Procurator General of the Philippine Islands in Mexico.

In another letter which I write to Your Paternity, I advise you that a despatch is being sent to the Viceroy, for him to send succor to the Missionaries of the Marianas from the funds of that City. He is to take out a sum from there, such as is given to the other Fathers who are in the missions, and to deliver it to Y.P. so that you may remit it from Acapulco aboard the galleons that might go to Manila.

Now I am sending Y.P. another decree so that no duties be taken from what might be sent, and the generals are to accept it and deliver it when they pass by the Mariana Islands where the Father work.

I had decided to expedite this action so that no hindrance would prevent it happening with the next galleon. And once again I beg Y.P. to please let me know everything that is happening, as I offer my services as sollicitor for as long as I live. And I stand ready to obey whatever Y.P. may order me to do. May God keep Y.P.

Madrid, 27 October 1671.

Kisses the hand of Your Paternity,

Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla.

[Certification:] This is an exact copy of the letter that remains in my power, which I showed to the Father Provincial, with other papers, on 22 February 1672 in Mexico; and the person who wrote this letter to me is the father of Father Diego Luis, and he is the one who requested me to do this business.

M[anuel] Duarte

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## Document 1671J

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# Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, dated 5 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 82-2-35 and Fil. 101-1.*

## Report on latest actions taken on outstanding matters contained in one of Fr. Sanvitores' papers

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Consejo a 5 de Noviembre de 1671*

*Señores Conde, Ramirez, Montealegre, Navarrete, Valdes, Castro, Santelizes, Sevil.*

*Haviendose visto los puntos que contiene el papel del Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores que vino con el decreto de su Mgd. de 22 de octubre pasado, se proveyo en los que no estan determinados lo siguiente:*

*En quanto a los doçientos Indios Panpangos que se pide se cambien por otros tantos de las Islas Marianas, se escriba al Virrey de la Nueva España remitiendole lo que a esto toca para que correspondiendose con el Governador de Philipinas, y con el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, y tomando notiçias de las conveniencias, o, inconvenientes que podran resultar de hazer este cambio, disponga lo que pareçiere de mayor utilidad para aquellas conversiones, teniendo entendido que el intento principal debe ser en esta materia atender al bien de las Almas que se van reduçiendo a nuestra Santa Fee catholica, procurando evitar lo que pudiere embaraçar a tan santo fin; y digase al Governador de Philipinas lo que se ordena al Virrey para que se corresponda con el.*

*Para tomar resoluçion en el punto de las Islas de Salomon, se reconozca lo que a pasado sobre esta materia, y traigase.*

*[Note in margin:] Ojo. En papel aparte se trae raçon de lo que sobre esto se a hallado. A--- A---*

*Sobre la instançia que haze el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores de que se embien ministros del Evangelio desde la Nueva España a la Isla de Guan, se escriba al Virrey que embie todos los mas que pueda para que vayan obrando en aquella reduçion con el*

*celo, y cuidado que conviene, y que para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual les dê todas las asistencias que hubieren menester.*

*En el ultimo punto de que para las Islas mas distantes se necesita de envarcacion mayor, se diga al Virrey, y al Governador de Philipinas que se comuniquen con el Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, para que con atencion a lo que representa dispongan lo que fuere necesario para que el dho Diego Luis, y los demas misioneros tengan la envarcacion que piden para pasar de unas Islas a otras, y que lo executen sin reparar en el gasto, por ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y al Governador se le advierta la orden que se da al Virrey, a quien se encargue la execucion de esto, y que si entendiere que el Virrey del Peru lo podra disponer con mayor comodidad y brevedad, le avise lo haga diciendole que tiene orden de su Mgd. para ello. Y que de quenta de lo que se executare.*

[Endorsement:] *Decreto del Consejo de 5 de Noviembre de 1671.*

## **Translation.**

### **The Council, 5 November 1671.**

Gentlemen the Count, Ramirez, Montealegre, Navarrete, Valdes, Castro, Santelices, and Sevil.

Having seen the points contained in the paper from Father Diego Luis de San Vitores that came with the decree of Her Majesty dated 22 October last, the points that were yet unresolved were resolved as follows:

Regarding the 200 Pampango Indians requested and to exchange for as many others from the Mariana Islands, a letter is to be sent to the Viceroy of New Spain, remitting what concerns this matter to him, for him to correspond with the Governor of the Philippines and with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and having learned about the advantages, or disadvantages, that may result from this exchange, he should arrange whatever might be of the greatest utility for those conversions, keeping in mind that the main purpose in this matter must be the good of the souls that are being reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith, and the avoidance of anything that might hinder this holy objective. Also the Governor of the Philippines is to be told what the Viceroy is being ordered to do, for him to correspond with him.

Regarding the point about the Solomon Islands, in order for this matter to be resolved, let us have what went on about this matter, and bring it forward.

[Note in margin:] Please note: A list of what has been found is in a paper, attached.  
A--- A---<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the request made by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores that Gospel ministers be sent from New Spain to the Island of Guan, a letter is to be sent to the Viceroy for him to send all those he can, so that they may go and work in that reduction

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1 Ed. note: The paper on the Solomon Islands by Fray Ignacio Muñoz, O.P. is the next document found in the file, but its date is 1674 (see Doc. 1675F).

with the zeal and care that is appropriate, and in order to get more spiritual fruit, he is to give them all the assistance required.

Regarding the last point about a larger boat being required to reach the more distant islands, tell the Viceroy and the Governor of the Philippines to correspond with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and tell them to provide what is necessary in view of what Father Diego Luis de San Vitores will propose to them, so that he, and the other missionaries, will have the boat they ask to go from one island to another, and they are to carry this out regardless of the cost, since such an enterprise is so much to the service of God our Lord. The Governor is to be forewarned of the order which is given to the Viceroy, to whom is entrusted the execution of this, and if he should hear that the Viceroy of Peru could arrange it more appropriately and more quickly, he is to advise him to do so, saying that he has an order from Her Majesty to that effect. And he is to report on the action taken.

[Endorsement:] Decree from the Council, dated 5 November 1671.



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## Documents 1671K

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# Royal decrees issued by the Queen Regent in October-November 1671

*Note: Copies of these decrees reached the Marianas in June 1673 (see Doc. 1674I and 1674K).*

## K1. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 10 October 1671

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 78; supposedly also in AGI Fil. 87-5-8 (formerly 58-2-1) but not seen there (wrong reference?)*

*Summary note: She discusses the stipends and alms to be given to the Mariana Island Mission.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Marques de Mancera Virrey: Presidente, etc<sup>a</sup>*

*En carta de 11 de Abril deste año deçeis que por parte de los Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs Misioneros de las Yslas de los Ladrones llamadas Marianas se havia representado los trabaxos, y neçesidades que padevan en ellas; y que mediante el socorro de diez mill pesos que se dieron de la caxa Real, a quenta del situado que se embiava a Philippinas a Diego Luis de San Vittores de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> havia entrado con otros Religiosos en aquella nueva conbercion a la qual passaron otros dos sugetos de la misma horden en la nao que este año de 671 havia ydo a aquellas yslas, Refiriendo el fruto que se havia hecho en ellas; Y que suplicavan se les socorriese en la misma forma que se havia hecho con los Religiosos Missioneros que se ocupan en la Provincia de Sinaloa en la conbercion y administracion de los yndios: Y que habiendo llegado el Memorial a la Audiencia; y consultado con los Ministros en Junta general se avia acordado me diessedes quenta de ello.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Yndias y rreconocido que por çedula de 12 de Agosto deste presente año, que Reçiveis con esta, os Hordeno probeais a estos Religiosos de algunos hornamentos; Y otras cossas neçessarias, y que dispongais lo que os pareciere mas conbeniente sobre la gente y armas que an pedido para su resguardo; y que me informeis de donde se podria sacar el situado sin grava[r] la Real Hazienda: y*

*consultadoseme sobre todo: Considerando el grande fruto que ha resultado de la Asistencia de Diego Luis de San Vitores, y de los demas religiosos en las yslas Marianas: y lo que conbiene que esto se vaya continuando, he rresuelto hordenaros y mandaros, como por la presente lo hago, que ajustando la cantidad que abran menester segun la que se dà a los Misioneros de la Prov<sup>a</sup> de Sinaloa les proveais de ello, supliendolo de la Caxa Real y que deis cuenta de lo que esto montare, por ser de la obligacion de la Real Hazienda dar la congrua neçessaria a los Religiosos Misioneros que se ocupan en la reduccion de los Indios; Y del recibo deste despacho; y de su execucion me dareis cuenta en la primera ocaçion que se ofrezca.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 10 de octubre de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magestad, D. Francisco Fernandes de Madrigal.*

*Señalada con çinco rubricas.—*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Marquis of Mancera, President, etc.

In a letter dated 11 April of this year you said that on behalf of the Religious of the Society of Jesus, Missionaries of the Islands of the Ladrones, called Marianas, the hardships and necessities which they suffer had been represented, and that by means of the succor of 10,000 pesos that were given from the royal coffers, on the account of the subsidy that was being sent to the Philippines, to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the same Society, he had made his entry into that new conversion with other Religious, and two more subjects of the same Order had gone there aboard the galleon that had gone to those Islands this year of 1671, and reference was made to the fruit that had been obtained there. And that they were begging to be assisted in the same manner as had been done for the Religious Missionaries who work in the Province of Sinaloa at the conversion and administracion of the Indians. And that the Memorial had reached the Audiencia, and a consultation held among the Ministers in a General Meeting, and a decisin been made to report to me about it.

The Council of the Indies having seen the matter and recognized that by decree of 12 August of the present year, which you receive with this one, I order you to provide these Religious with some ornaments, and other things necessary, and that you arrange what would seem most appropriate to you about the men and weapons being requested for their protection; and you are to inform me about the possible source of funds for the salaries, without encumbering the Royal Treasury; and consult with me about everything. Considering the great fruit that was obtained as a result of the assistance of Diego Luis de San Vitores, and of the other religious in the Mariana Islands, y that it is proper for this to continue, I have decided to order you, as I do now, to adjust the sum that will be necessary, in line with was is given to the Missionaries of the Province of Sinaloa, and provide it to them, and making up the difference from the Royal funds, and report on the amount in question, as it is the obligation of the Royal Treasury to give

the necessary allowance to the Religious Missionaries who work at the reduction of the Indians; and you are to acknowledge receipt of this despatch, and report on its execution at the first opportunity that will offer itself.

Made at Madrid, 10 October 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned with five signatures.—

## K2. The Queen to the Viceroy, dated 24 October 1671

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 81; copy in RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 20.*

*Note: Permission for duty-free transport of missionary supplies.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Governadora.*

*Marques de Mançera Presidente, etc<sup>a</sup>.*

*Don Geronimo de San Vitores Cavallero de la horden de Santiago del Consejo de Hazienda me a representado que Diego Luis de Sanvitores su hijo de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs assistente en las Islas Marianas en Philipinas y que de los generos de Vino y açeite y arina que se embarcavan en el Puerto de Acapulco y otras cosas que davan de limosna, para el sustento de los Religiosos y de las personas que les asisten, pretendian llevarles derechos en el dicho Puerto de Acapulco y asimismo a la salida de esa Ciudad de Mexico y que tambien le embarasavan el embarcarlos, en las Naos que yban a las Islas Philipinas habiendo de dexarlos en las dichas Islas Marianas: Supplicome que por el daño que de ello se seguiria fuese servida de mandar que no se cobrase ningun derecho en esa Ciudad ni en Acapulco ni en los demas partes a donde se le pidiese y que en las Naos que fuesen a Manila se resivan y embarcen todos los generos que se enbiaren para la Mision de las dichas Islas Marianas pues hera tan del servisio de Dios nuestro Señor.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo de las Yndias lo e tenido por bien y por la presente os mando deys la horden que fuere nesesaria para que de todos los generos que se enbiaren para las Misiones de las Islas Marianas y para el sustento de los Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus que estan entendiendo en la doctrina combersion y ensenanza de sus naturales y de las personas que los asisten no les deven derechos algunos asi en esa ciudad de Mexico como en las demas partes y lugares por donde pasaren hasta llegar al Puerto de Acapulco y que en el se la dexen embarcar los ofisiales de la Real Hazienda y demas Jueses y Justisias que alli asisten sin que por razon de los dichos generos se les pidan ni lleven derechos algunos y assimismo hordenareys al General[,] Almirante y demas Cavos de la nao ò naos que del dicho Puerto de Acapulco salieren para el de Cavite en Philipinas que los resivan y embarquen en ellas sin replica ni escusa alguna y sin pedir fletes, ni otros derechos por lo que toca a la embarcacion y encargareis al dicho general procure dexar los generos que llevare a los Religiosos que asisten en las dichas Islas Marianas al tiempo de pasar por ellas, para que de esta forma se hallen*

*socoridos y asistidos y se pueda lograr el fruto que tanto se desea que en ello me servireis.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 24 de octubre de 1671 años.—*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magestad, Don Francisco Fernandez Madrigal.*

*Señalada con cinco Rubricas.—*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Marquis of Mancera, President, etc.

Don Geronimo de San Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Council of Finance, has represented to me that Diego Luis de Sanvitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus, [is] working in the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, and that regarding the goods of wine, oil and flour that are loaded in the port of Acapulco and other things given as alms, for the sustenance of the Religious and the persons who assist them, some pretention was being made to charge duties in the said port of Acapulco, and also upon their leaving that City of Mexico and that some difficulty was also made upon their loading aboard the galleons that go to the Philippine Islands, having to leave them at the said Mariana Islands: He begged me to prevent this harm from being done by being pleased to order that no duty be collected in that City nor in Acapulco or in the other places where they might be asked to pay, and that they be accepted aboard the galleon that go to Manila and that all the goods being sent to the Mission of the said Mariana Islands be loaded, since it was so much to the service of God our Lord.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I have accepted the proposal and by the present I order you to give the necessary order for all the goods being sent to the Missions of the Mariana Islands and for the sustenance of the Religious of the Society of Jesus who are busy with the indoctrination, conversion and teaching of their natives, and of the persons who assist them, should not be charged duties, not only in that city of Mexico but also in the other places wherever they should pass on their way to the port of Acapulco and that, once there, the officials of the Royal Treasury and other Judges and Justices who work there should allow them to be loaded without charging any duty on the said goods, and in addition you are to order the General, Admiral and other officers of the galleon or galleons that might leave the port of Acapulco bound for the port of Cavite in the Philippines to accept them and load them without making any objection or giving any excuse, and without asking for any transport fees, or other duties, with respect to the ship, and you are to entrust the said General to try and leave the goods in question to the Religious who work in the said Mariana Islands upon passing by them, so that they may in this way find relief and assistance and may obtain the fruit that is so desired, and in this way you will serve me.

Made in Madrid, 24 October 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez Madrigal.

Countersigned with five signatures.

### K3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 16 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 291v-292, pp. 674-675; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 127, pp. 277-278; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She urges him to send as many Jesuits to Guam as he can, with proper assistance.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, Cavallero de la orden de S. Tiago, del Concejo de Hacienda ha presentado un papel de apuntamientos firmado de Diego Luís de S. Vitores, su hijo, de la Compañía de Jesús de las cosas que eran más necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas en que el y otros quatro religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo y entre ellas propone por lo más preciso que yo tuviese por bien de mandarseles envíe el **mayor número de ministros** del Evangelio que se pudiese desde esa ciudad de México a la Isla de Guan, que es una de las Marianas, en las naos que salen del Puerto de Acapulco con el socorro ordinario de aquellas islas, para que desde allá se repartan por las más cercanas con las embarcaciones de la misma tierra.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, he tenido por bien de mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) que, en las ocasiones de naos que se ofrecieren y se despacharen para las dichas Islas Filipinas, enviéis todos los más religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que pudieredes a la dicha Isla de Guan, para que vayan obrando en aquella reducción con el celo y cuidado que conviene y para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual, de que tanto necesitan los naturales de las dichas Islas Marianas, ordenareis que a los religiosos que fueren a ellas se les den todas las asistencias que hubieren menester en la forma que se acostumbrazen con los que pasan a emplearse en semejantes ministerios que así es mi voluntad, y de lo que en esto executaredes me dareis cuenta con toda individualidad, expresando el número de religiosos que pasaren, y lo que montare el avimiento que se les diere para que el Concejo se halle con noticia de todo.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 16 de Noviembre de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,  
Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*[Endorsement:] Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España que envíe a la Isla de Guan una de las Marianas en Philipinas todos los religiosos de la Compañía de Jhs que pueda para la conversión de los naturales de ellas, y que les de las asistencias que hubieren.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Member of the Treasury Council, has presented a paper with a list of points signed by Diego Luis de S. Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus about the things that are most necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, in which he and four other religious of his order are involved, and among them he proposes most desirable that I should be pleased to accept to send **the largest number of Gospel ministers** as possible from that city of Mexico to the Island of Guan, which is one of the Marianas, aboard the galleons that depart from the Port of Acapulco with the usual relief for those islands, so that they may from there be distributed among the neighboring islands aboard native boats.

This was seen in the Council of the Indies, and I think it well to order you (as I do now), at every opportunity that offers itself for the galleons to be despatched to the said Philippine Islands, to send the largest number of religious of the Society of Jesus that you can to the said Island of Guan, in order to pursue that reduction with the appropriate zeal and care and the better to obtain the spiritual fruit so necessary for the natives of the said Mariana Islands. You are to order that all the necessary help be given to the religious who are sent there, in the form that is usually employed in similar ministries, as such is my will. You are to give me a detailed account of what you will do in this regard, mentioning the number of religious who went there, and what the supplies given to them amounted to, so that the Council might be informed about everything.

Made at Madrid on 16 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to send to the Island of Guan, one of the Marianas in the Philippines, all the religious of the Society of Jesus that he can for the conversion of the natives there, and to give them all the possible help.

## K4. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 16 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 293v-294, pp. 677-679; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 128, pp. 280-281, 284-284v; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She orders him to correspond with the Governor of the Philippines and with Fr. Sanvitores, to have 200 Pampango soldiers sent to the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, cavallero de la orden de S. Tiago, del Consejo de Hacienda, ha presentado un papel de apuntamientos, firmado de Diego Luís de S. Vitores, su hijo, de la Compañía de Jesús de las cosas que eran más necesarias para las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, en que el y otros quatro religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo y, entre ellas, pide se envíen de la ciudad de Manila **200 Indios Pampangos** con un cabo español o a lo menos de dicha nación [i.e. Filipina] y que, entruéque de ellos remitiran a ella otros tantos Indios naturales de las dichas Islas Marianas [sic] los quales yrian de buena gana, como havian empezado a ir, el año pasado de 1668, y que esto se haría con facilidad, por estar las dichas islas tan al paso de las naos de Filipinas.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, a parecido remitiros copia de lo que sobre esta materia refiere, en su papel el dicho Diego Luís de S. Vitores, firmado del Gobierno infra escripto, para que correspondiendo os con el Governador de Filipinas y con este religioso, y tomando noticias de las conveniencias o inconvenientes que podran resultar de hacerse este cambio, dispongais lo que pareciere de mayor utilidad, para aquellas conversiones teniendo entendido que el interés principal deve ser en esta materia atender al bien de las almas que se van reduciendose a nuestra Santíssima fee cathólica en las dichas Islas Marianas, procurando por vuestro parecer (como lo os encargo) [evitar] todo lo que pudiere embarasar a tan santo fin como este, y de lo que se executare me dareis quenta en la primera ocasión que se ofrezca y por cédula fecha de esta envié a mandar al Governador de Filipinas que en razón de esto corresponda con Vos.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 16 de Noviembre de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España ordenandole que se corresponda con el Governador de Filipinas y con Diego Luís de San Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús para disponer se remitan desde Manila **200 Indios Pampangos** a las Islas Marianas en la forma y para el efecto que arriva se refiere.*

[Enclosure:] ***Copia de dos capítulos de los apuntamientos que estan firmados del Padre Diego Luís de S. Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús, sobre los 200 Indios Pampangos que pide se le envíen desde la ciudad de Manila, para la seguridad y defensa de los religiosos de su orden que con él asisten en la conversión de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas y que en trueque de ello, se enviarán a aquella ciudad otros tantos Indios naturales de las dichas Islas Marianas.***

*Y para que esto se hiciese con más suavidad, y no tantos gastos, como los ubiere con Presidio de españoles en forma, se podría suplir su falta, sirviendose el Señor Governador de enviarnos unos **200 hombres** que se repartan por estas Islas, o el número que se pudiere, de Indios de buen esfuerzo y christiandad antigua, como son los Pamngos, que aunque vengan sin españoles por la falta que hay de gente española y por la*

*dificultad de sustentarse aquí, podrán servir para los efectos dichos, ó traiedo un cabo español de la piedad y prudencia del Capitan Antonio Nieto, que nos pusó en estas Islas y se ofreció a acompañarnos en ellas, ó mientras no hubiere orden para semejante cabo español, podrán servir los dichos Indios que venieren sin más caveza que la del Capitan Don Juan de Santa Cruz, principal de Indan, y que a servido a su Magestad muy señaladamente en esta misión y ganado notable respecto al nombre christiano y español entre estos naturales (cuya lengua y costrumbres tiene ya comprehendidas) y a falta suya, con alguno de los mismos Pampangos que vengan de nuevo se podrá pasar bastante, a lo menos es fácil de experimentar y remediar, si hubiere algun inconveniente en tierras tan al paso de la naos de Castilla.*

*Y en trueque de los Indios que vinieren de Manila se podrán enviar allá otros tantos naturales de estas Islas que irán de buena gana como ya empezaron a ir el año pasado de 1668, y no sería de poca conveniencia si con este trueque de gente y mezcla de los antiguos y nuevos christianos Indios se pudiesen administrar estas nuevas tierras lo que es más fácil de experimentar en estas islas por estar tan al paso de las naos de Filipinas.*

[Endorsement:] *Sacaronse de los apuntamientos originales para remitir al Señor Marqués de Mancera, Virrey, Governador y Cap. Genl. de la N<sup>a</sup> España, con una cédula de su Magestad de 16 de este mes y año que se a despachado para que se corresponde con el Gov. de Filipinas y con el dicho Diego Luís de S. Vitores para disponer se remitan los dichos 200 Indios Pampangos en la forma y para el efecto que en las cédulas refiere.*

*Madrid a 13 de Noviembre de 1671.*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Member of the Treasury Council, has presented a paper with a list of points, signed by Diego Luis de S. Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus, with the things that are most necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, where he and four other religious of his order are employed and, among them, he asks for **200 Pampangos Indians** to be sent from Manila City with a Spanish officer or at least one of the said [Filipino] nationality, and that in exchange, they would send overthere as many native Indians from the said Mariana Islands, who would go voluntarily, the same way that they began to do, last year of 1668, and that this would take place with ease, since the said islands lie along the route of the Philippine galleons.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was decided to give you a copy of what touches upon this matter from the papel by the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores, made official by the under-mentioned Government, in order for you to enter into correspondence with the Governor of the Philippines and with this religious, and having



taken notices of the advisability or not of making this exchange, you are to decide what may seem most useful to you, for those conversions, not forgetting that the main interest in this matter should be the good of the souls that are being reduced to our Most Holy Catholic Faith in the said Mariana Islands, trying your best (as I now order you to do) to do everything possible [to avoid] to embarrass such a holy goal as this, and you are to give me a report of what was done by the first opportunity that offers itself and by a decree of same date I order the Governor of the Philippines to correspond with you on this matter.

Made at Madrid on 16 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain ordering him to correspond with the Governor of the Philippines and with Diego Luis de Sn. Vitores of the Society of Jesus for making arrangement to send from Manila **200 Pampango Indians** to the Mariana Islands in the form and for the purpose advised therein.

[Enclosure:] **Copy of two articles from the list of points that are signed by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, about 200 Pampango Indians whom he asks be sent from Manila City, for the security and defence of the religious of his order working with him at the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines and that in exchange, as many Indian natives of the said Mariana Islands be sent to that city.**

In order for this to take place more smoothly and with fewer expenses, as would occur with a normal garrison made up of Spaniards, their shortage could be remedied by having his Lordship the Governor send us some 200 men to be distributed over these Islands, or as many Indians as possible, those with energy and a solid Christian background like the Pampangos who, although they would come without Spaniards, on account of the shortage of Spanish people, and the difficulty of sustaining them here, they could serve the purpose intended, or else, by bringing a Spanish officer with the piety and prudence of Captain Antonio Nieto who brought us to these Islands and volunteered to accompany us, or, while waiting for an authorization for such a Spanish officer, the said Indians who might come would do fine without anyone other than Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, the chief from Indan who has served Her Majesty very aptly in this mission and has gained remarkable respect for the Christian and Spanish name among these natives (whose language and customs he already understands), failing whom, with someone from the same Pampango reinforcements to come, there should be enough to experiment with; otherwise, in case of convenience, the situation can be remedied at the passage of the galleons from [New] Spain.

And in exchange for the Indians who would come from Manila as many others, natives of these Islands, could be sent there on a voluntary basis as they have begun to do this past year of 1668, and it would be of no little convenience if this exchange and mixture of old and new Christian Indians would make the administration of these new lands

easier; this would be easy to experiment with, given that these islands lie on the route of the Philippine galleons.<sup>1</sup>

[Endorsement:] Extracts from the original list of points to be sent to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of New Spain, with a decree from Her Majesty dated 16th of this month and year that has been despatched to him, to have him correspond with the Governor of the Philippines and with the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores to decide on the sending of the said 200 Pampango Indians in the form and to the effect referred to in the decrees.

Madrid, 13 November 1671.

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## K5. The Queen Regent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 16 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-1; also AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 294-294v, pp. 679-680; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She advises him that she has ordered the Viceroy to send 200 Pampango soldiers to the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Al Governador de Filipinas avisandole lo que se ordena al Virrey de la Nueva España sobre que se remitan desde Manila 200 Indios Panpangos a las Islas Marianas en la forma y para el efecto que arriva se refiere.*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila ó a la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*Don Geronimo de S. Vitores Cavallero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de Hacienda ha presentado un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores su hijo de la Compañía de Jhs de las cosas que eran mas nezesarias para lass misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en esas Islas en que el y otros quatro religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo y entre ellas pide que le embieis desde esa ciudad de Manila duzientos Indios Pampangos con un cavo Español ó a lo menos de dha nazon, y que en trueque de ellos os remitira otros tantos Indios naturales de las dhas Islas Marianas los quales yrian de buena gana como havian empezado a yr el año pasado de mill y seisçientos y sesenta y ocho y que esto se haria con facilidad por estar aquellas Islas tan al paso de las naos que llevan el situado.*

*Y aviendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias embio a mandar al Marques de Manzera Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> por çedula de la fha de esta para que se corresponda con vos y con el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores y que tomando notiçias de las combeniencias ó*

1 Ed. note: This last paragraph was not extracted earlier for Doc. 1671F6.

*inconvenientes que podran resultar de hazerse este cambio disponga lo que le pareziere de mayor utilidad para aquellas combenienes teniendo entendido que el intento principal deve ser en esta materia el atender al bien de las almas que se ban reduziendo a nuestra Santa Fee Catholica en las dhas Islas Marianas procurando por su parte evitar todo lo que pudiere embarazar a tan santo fin como es este de que se os da noticia para que os correspondais con el dho Virrey y se disponga lo referido en la mejor forma que fuere posible dandome quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca de lo que en esto se executare.*

*Fha en Madrid a diez y seis de Noviembre de mill y seisçientos y setenta y un años.  
Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.  
Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] The Queen Regent.—To the Governor of the Philippines advising him about the order sent to the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the despatch from Manila of 200 Pampango Indians to the Mariana Islands in the manner and for the purpose referred to above.

Master-of-Camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

Don Geronimo de San Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Council of Finance, has presented a paper with a **list of points** signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus detailing the most necessary things for the missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in those Islands where he, with four religious of his order, is working, and among them he asks that 200 Pampango Indians be sent from that city of Manila with a Spanish officer or at least one of the said nationality, and that in exchange for them he would remit to you as many Indian natives of the said Mariana Islands, who would volunteer to go, as they had begun to go the past year of 1668, and that this would be easily done, given that those Islands lie on the route of the galleons that carry the subsidy.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I send an order to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain, by a decree of same date, for him to correspond with you and with the said Diego Luis de San Vitores and that, having been informed of the advantages or disadvantages that might result from this exchange, he arranges what is to be of maximum utility for those advantages, keeping in mind that the main intention in this matter is to remain the good of the souls that are being reduced to our Holy Catholic Fath in the said Mariana Islands, and he is to avoid everything possible that might hinder such a holy purpose, as this one is. You are informed of this, so that you will correspond with the said Viceroy in order to come to the best arrangement possible, and give me a report by the first occasion that may present itself regarding what actions you took in this respect.

Made at Madrid, 16 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

## K6. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 16 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 292v-293, pp. 676- 677; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, exp. 126, pp. 277- 278; 2 copies in RAH 9/2676 part of doc. n° 20; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She orders him to write to Fr. Sanvitores to ask him what kind of boat he needs for his mission, and to provide it to him.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*Don Gerónimo de San Vitores, cavallero de la orden de S. Tiago, del Consejo de Hacienda, ha presentado un papel de apuntamientos firmado de Diego Luís de San Vitores, su hijo, de la Compañía de Jesús de las cosas que eran más necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas en que él y otros quatro religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo y entre ellas dixé que para las Islas que estan más distantes a las dichas Marianas, se necesita de **embarcación** que sea mayor que las que en ellas hay, la qual podría yr desde Manila o desde esas provincias, o desde las del Perú, llevando orden el cavo de ella de detenerse en las dichas Islas Marianas el tiempo que fuere menester, pues havia bastante puerto para ello, especialmente en la Isla de Guan, y en la Zarpana, y que demás de ellos, se hallarían otros en las demás islas, si fuese nao que los reconociese.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido mandaros (como lo hago) que sobre lo referido, os comuniquéis con el dicho Diego Luís de S. Vitores, para que con atención a lo que representa, dispongais lo que fuere necesario para que este religioso y los demás misioneros que con el se hallan, tengan la **embarcación** que piden para pasar de unas islas a otras, lo qual executareis sin reparar en el gasto que para ello fuere preciso e inexcusable hacerse, respecto de ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, y asimismo os encargo cuideis mucho del cumplimiento de lo referido, y que si entendieredes que el Virrey del Perú lo podrá disponer con mayor comodidad y brevedad que vos, le aviséis lo haga, diciendo lo que teneis orden mía para ello, y de lo que en esto executaredes me dareis cuenta en la primera ocasión que se ofrezca.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 16 de Noviembre de 1671.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*[Endorsement:] Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España ordenandole que se comuniqué con Diego Luís de S. Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús que se halla en la Misión de los naturales*

*de las Islas Marianas y que con atención a lo que representa disponga lo que fuere necesario y que él y a sus compañeros tengan la **embarcación** que piden para pasar de una isla a otras.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Member of the Treasury Council, has presented a paper with a list of points signed by Diego Luis de S. Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus with the things that are most necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Marianas in the Philippines where he and four other religious of his order are involved and among others he says that for the Islands that are more distant from the said Marianas, a **boat** is necessary, as big as can be found there, one that could go from Manila or from those provinces, or from those of Peru, the commander of which should be ordered to make a stop at the said Mariana Islands as long as necessary, since there would be an adequate port for this purpose, specially in the Island of Guan, and in Zarpana, besides others they may yet discover in the other islands, if a ship were available to go and explore with.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was decided to order you (as I do now) to communicate about this matter with the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores, in order for you to provide what may be necessary for this religious and the other missionaries who are with him to have the **boat** he asks to pass from one island to another. You are to execute this without any regard for the expense that may be necessary and unavoidable for this, given that such a project is in the service of God our Lord, and I entrust you as well to take great care to have the said matter carried out, and should you think that the Viceroy of Peru might do it better and faster than yourself, you are to advise him of it, telling him that you have received an order from me to do so, and you are to give me an account of what you have done at the first opportunity that may offer itself.

Made at Madrid on 16 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain ordering him to communicate with Diego Luis de S. Vitores of the Society of Jesus who is found in the Mission of the natives of the Mariana Islands and that in accordance with what is written he is to decide what is necessary, and that he and his companions may have the **boat** they ask for inter-island transport.

## K7. The Queen Regent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 16 November 1671

*Sources: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 294v-295, pp. 680-681.*

*Summary note: She orders him to write to Fr. Sanvitores to ask him what kind of boat he needs for his mission, and to provide it to him.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Al Governador de Filipinas ordenandole que se comunice con Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que se halla en la mision de los naturales de las Islas Marianas y con atencion a lo que representa disponga lo que fuere necesario para que el y sus compañeros tengan la **embarcacion** que piden para pasar de unas Islas à otras.*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila ó a persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*Don Geronimo de San Vitores Cavallero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de Guerra Hazienda, ha presentado un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores su hijo de la Compañia de Jhs de las cosas que eran mas necesarias para las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en que el y otros quatro religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo y entre ellas dize que para las Islas que estan mas distantes a las dhas Marianas se nezesita de **embarcacion** que sea mayor que las que en ellas ay, la qual podria yr desde esa Ciudad de Manila ó desde la Nueva España ó del Peru llevando orden el cavo de ella de detenerse en las dhas Islas Marianas el tiempo que fuere menester pues havia bastante puerto por ello especialmente en la Isla de Guan y en la Zarpana y que ademas de ello se hallarian otros en las demas Islas si fuese nao que los reconoziese.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias ha parezido mandaros (como le hago) que sobre lo referido os comunice con el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores para que con atencion a lo que representa dispongais lo que fuere nezesario para que este religioso y los demas misioneros que con el se hallan con la embarcacion que piden para pasar de unas Islas a otras, lo qual executareis sin reparar en el gasto que para ello fuere posible preciso e ynescusable hazerse, respecto de ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, que por çedula de la fha de esta embio a mandar asimismo al Marques de Manzera Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España encargandole la execucion de lo referido y que si entendiose que el Virrey del Peru le pedia disponer la mayor comodidad y brevedad le avise lo haga diziendole que tiene orden nuestra para ello y de lo que en todo dispusieredes me dareis quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca.*

*Fha en Madrid diez y seis de Noviembre de mill y seis y setenta y un años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] The Queen Regent.—To the Governor of the Philippines ordering him to communicate with Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus who is presently in the mission of the natives of the Mariana Islands and, in line with his proposal, he is to arrange what may be necessary for him and his companions to have the **boat** they ask to pass from one island to another.

[To] Master-of-Camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Manila or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

Don Geronimo de San Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Council of War and Finance, has presented a paper with a **list of points** signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus detailing the things that are most necessary for the missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands where he and four other religious of his order are working, and among them, he says that for the Islands that lie most distant from the said Marianas a **boat** is necessary, which should be bigger than the local canoes, one that could go from that city of Manila or from New Spain or from Peru, and her commander should carry orders to stop over at the said Mariana Islands as long as necessary, given that there is a port large enough for this, specially in the Island of Guan, and in the Island of Zarpana, and that, in addition of this, other ports would be found if a galleon would reconnoiter them.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to communicate about this matter with the said Diego Luis de San Vitores so that in consequence of what he might represent you arrange what would be necessary for this religious and the other missionaries who work there to have the book that they ask to go from one island to another. You are to carry this out without regard for the expense that may be necessary and unavoidable for this, given that such a project is in the service of God our Lord. In a decree of same date I am ordering the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain, to carry this out, and, should he think that the Viceroy of Peru might do it better and faster, he is to tell him that he has an order from me to do the job. You are to keep me informed of everything you will do at the first opportunity that may present itself.

Made in Madrid, 16 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

## K8. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 24 November 1671

*Source: AGI Fil. 330, libro 6, fol. 296-296v, pp. 683-684.*

*Summary note: She tells him that she has arranged for some shipbuilders to be sent to the Philippines.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España avisanadole que se ordena a los Gobernadores de Santo Domingo, la Havana, Yucatan, y Cartagena, sobre que enbien à Mexico a los fabricadores de navios y que si fuere alguno le rremita a Filipinas que es de donde se a pedido.*

*Marques de Manzera Pariente del Consejo de Guerra, Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de Mexico ó la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*En carta que el Maestro de Campo D. Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas me escrivio, en diez de Junio del año de mil y seiscientos y setenta, da quenta de que es muy considerable la falta que ay en aquellas de Maestros de fabricas para los navios que se despachan a esa Provincia por el socorro ordinario de aquellas Islas, y me supplico mandesele embien algunos de estos Reynos, ofreçien doseles hara buen pasaje.*

*Y haviendose visto en la Junta de Guerra de Indias, se dio orden para que se buscasen en el señorío de Vizcaya, Provincia de Quipuzcoa y en los puertos de Cadiz y San Lucar, y por no haver hallado persona que se disponga a hazer el viage, ha perecido embiar a mandar (como se haze por çedula de la fha de esta al Presidente de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo, y a los Gobernadores de los puertos de la Havana, Yucatan, y Cartagena, que si huviere en ellos algunos fabricantes de navios, dispongan que pasen, a esa Ciudad de Mexico de que os doy aviso para que si fuere alguno le rremittais a las Islas Filipinas dandole para ello, el abio y despacho que huviere menester, y de lo que en esto executaredes me dareis quenta.*

*Fha en Madrid veinte y quatro de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y setenta y un años.  
Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada de la Junta de Guerra de Indias.*

*Id. Al Presidente de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo.*

*Id. Al Governador de Yucatan.*

*Id. Al Governador de Cartagena.*

*Id. Al Governador de la Havana.*



**Translation.**

[Endorsement:] The Queen Regent.—To the Viceroy of New Spain advising him that the Governors of Santo Domingo, Havana, and Cartagena have been ordered to send to Mexico the ship builders and that, should there be any, he is to forward them to the Philippines, where the request originated.

[To the] Marquis of Mancera, President of the War Council, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

Master-of-Camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, wrote to me, on 7 June of the year 1670, to inform me that the lack of Master ship-builders is extreme in those Islands for the building of the ships that are despatched to that Province for the ordinary subsidy of those Islands, and he begged me to order some to be sent from these Kingdoms, offering them free passage.

This having been seen by the War Committee of [the Council of] the Indies, an order was given for a search to be made in the dominion of Vizcaya, the Province of Quipuzcoa, and in the ports of Cadiz and Sanlúcar, and no-one was found ready to made the voyage, I have decided (as I did by decree of same date) to order the President of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and the Governors of the ports of Havana, Yucatan, and Cartagena, that should there be some ship-builders there, to arrange for them to go to that City of Mexico, and I am informing you of this, in case there should be some, for you to send them forward to the Philippine Islands, giving them for this the outfit and despatch necessary, and you are to inform me of the action taken.

Made at Madrid, on 24 November 1671.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the War Council of the Indies.

Idem, to the President of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo.

Idem, to the Governor of Yucatan.

Idem, to the Governor of Cartagena.

Idem, to the Governor of Havana.

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## Document 1671L

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# Check-list of royal decrees regarding the Marianas, by Br. Duarte, dated Mexico 12 February 1672

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 71-71v.*

## Original text in Spanish

### *Razon de los despachos Reales de officio sobre la Mision de la Yslas Marianas.*

—*En 12 de Agosto de 671 se respondió a la carta del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores sobre las nuevas conversiones de los naturales de las Yslas Marianas estimando le mucho las noticias que dio y el celo y atencion con que a obrado en dicha reducion y encargandole lo continue con el cuidado y aplicacion que se fia de la devocion y piedad con que se a dedicado a obra tan del servicio de Ambas Magestades y que aliente a los demas Religiosos que estan con el para que le asistan a esta Mision con el ferbor que conbiene: y que procure descubrir el **surgidero** que esta a su cargo para que las naos que ban a la Nueva España tengan donde poder surgir sin los daños de las arribadas, avisando de lo que en todo fuere obrando.—*

1—*El mismo dia se remitió al Virrey de la Nueva España copia del apuntamiento del dicho Diego Luis de San Vitores para que provea a los Misioneros de dichas Yslas Marianas con las cosas de que necesitaren, segun lo que contiene la **memoria**: que avise lo que ymbiare y su costa dirigido al dicho Padre.—*

2—*Dicha al mismo para que disponga se saque la **artilleria de bronce** de los navios que aora A 30 años se perdieron en dichas Yslas Marianas y que se lleve a Manila, donde este hasta que se ordene dicha cosa.—*

3—*Dicha al dicho para que disponga lo que le pareciere mas conbeniente sobre la **gente y armas** de que necesitan dichos Misioneros para su resguardo avisando de donde se podra pagar lo que fuere menester para su costa.—*

4—*Dicha para que valiendose el dicho Virrey de dichos Misioneros, procure con todo cuidado se descubra un **surgidero** donde puedan abrigarse las naos que ban y bienen por el socorro sin recibir los daños que asta aqui se an experimentado.*—

5—*Dicha encargando al Virrey se valga de dichos Misioneros para que se reconozca los **frutos** que ay en dichas Yslas Marianas y si ay tambien **minerales** enbiando razon de lo que ubiere.*—

6—*Dicho [rather dicha] dando notiçia de todo lo referido al Governador para que comunicandose con el Virrey y con dichos Misioneros disponga la execuçion de todo lo referido: en la mejor forma que se pueda, avisando en todas ocasiones de lo que se fuere o se provea, lo que fuere mas conveniente a su aumento y conservazion.*

*[Certification:] Esta es la misma original que me enbio en este avisso el P. Procurador de Madrid.*

*Mexico y febrero 10 de 1672 años.*

*M. Duarte.*

## Translation

### List of the official royal despatches concerning the Mariana Island Mission.

—On 12 August 1671, an answer was given to the letter of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores about the new conversions of the natives of the Mariana Islands, thanking him very much for the news he gave and the zeal and care with which he has worked in the said reduction and entrusting him to continue with the care and application that can be expected from the devotion and piety with which he has dedicated himself to an enterprise that is so much to the service of Both Majesties and that he is to encourage the other Religious who are with him to assist him with this Mission with the proper fervor; and that he should try and discover the **anchorage** which is in his care so that the galleons that go to New Spain will have a place to anchor without the damages of the returns in distress, reporting on all actions taken.

1—On the same day a copy of the list of points from the said Diego Luis de San Vitores was sent to the Viceroy, so that he would provide the Missionaries of the said Mariana Islands with the things they might need, in accordance with the contents of the **memorial**; he is to advise on what he will send and their cost, addressed to the said Father.—

2—This one to the same addressee, so that he will arrange for the salvage of the **bronze cannon** from the galleons that, 30 years ago, were lost in the said Mariana Islands, and that they be taken to Manila, where they are to remain until further orders.

3—This one to the same addressee, for him to arrange what he thinks more appropriate about the **men and weapons** that the said Missionaries need for their protection, advising the possible source of funds to pay for this expenditure.—

4—This one, so that the said Viceroy may avail himself of the said Missionaries to try and discover with all care an **anchorage** where the galleons that come and go for

the succor may find shelter, without receiving the damages that they have experienced so far.—

5—This one entrusts the Viceroy to avail himself of the said Missionaries to have a survey of the local **products** that exist in the said Mariana Islands and if there are also **minerals**, sending the list of what there is.—

6—This one informs the Governor about everything above, so that he may communicate with the Viceroy and with said Missionaries, to arrange the execution of everything above the best way he can, advising at every opportunity what he has done or provided, in order to achieve what is best for their progress and preservation.

[Certification:] The present is the same as the original sent to me by the Fr. Procurator in Madrid in this mailing.

Mexico, 10 February 1672.

M[anuel] Duarte.

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## Document 1671M

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# Geographical note on the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Luis Morales

*Sources: (1) Charles de Brosse's Histoire des navigations aux terres australes (Paris, 1756), tome II, pp. 512- 513; (2) translated in John Callander's Terra Australis Cognita (London, 1766+), vol. III, pp. 55-56. The text below is from Callander, except for the editorial notes; also the list was turned upside down to show the northern islands at the top.*

*Note: The real author of this note may have been Fr. Lopez; Fr. Morales may only have edited it.*

### Note of the Longitude and Latitude of these Islands

Magellan, who first discovered these islands, called them Ladrones. Miguel Lopez de Legaspé, in his course from Mexico to the Philippines, first took possession of them for the crown of Spain, anno 1563 [rather 1565], and called them *de las Velas*,<sup>1</sup> from the number of barks he saw under sail hereabouts. They were afterwards called Marianas, in honor of Mary Ann of Austria, consort to Philip IV.

They consist of 14 islands, lying nearly in a line from south to north, in the direction of the 161th meridian [E. of Paris], a proof that they are the summits of a large chain of mountains under water.<sup>2</sup> The widest canal lies betwixt Saypan and Anatajan.<sup>3</sup> Nine of the 14 to the north of this canal, are distinguished by the general name of **Gani**.<sup>4</sup> They are also called *de los Volcanes*, on account of three flaming mountains, two in the isle of Pagon, and a third in Assonson. The whole 14 lie between the 13th and 21st degree of north latitude. Here follows an account of the size of the several islands, with the dimensions of each, and their latitude.

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- 1 Ed. note: One thing for sure, it was not Magellan who called them after their sails.
  - 2 Ed. note: A smart observation on the part of Fr. Morales, which was technically correct.
  - 3 Ed. note: I have corrected the typographical errors introduced by Callander, when they are not found in de Brosse.
  - 4 Ed. note: The spelling Gani is correct, of course, as one would expect from an author who personally visited the islands in question. It was Fr. García who overlooked the typographical that he himself introduced in his book, i.e. Pani, instead of Gani.

Names	Circuit leagues	Lat. N	Distance to previous island, in leagues <sup>1</sup>
Urac, a desert isle.....	4	20°55'	---
Maug, Tunas, St. Lawrence (These are 3 rocks).....	3	20°35'	5
Assonson, or Assumption.....	6	20°15'	5
Agrigan, or St. [Francis] Xavier.....	16	19°4'	20
Pagon, or St. Ignatius.....	14	19°30'	10
Alamagan, or Conception.....	6	18°10'	10
Guguan, or St. Philip.....	3	17°45'	3-1/2
Sarigan, or St. Charles.....	4	17°35'	6
Anatajan, or St. Joachim.....	10	17°20'	3
Saypan, or St. Joseph.....	25	15°20'	35
Tinian, or Buena Vista [Mariana].....	15	14°50'	3
Aguiguan, [St. Angel].....	3	14°43'	1
Zarpana, or Rota [St. Ann].....	15	14°0'	13
Guam, <sup>2</sup> or St. John.....	40	13°25'	7

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1 Ed. note: This last column is in De Broses, but not in Callander.

2 Ed. note: De Broses says Guaham, Guan, instead.

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## Document 1671N

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# Fathers Bouwens and Coomans are assigned to the Mariana Mission

Source: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 25.

## Certification issued by Fr. Cobian, Provincial of Mexico, dated Mexico 21 November 1671

### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Nombramiento hecho por el Preposito General [sic] de la Compañía de Jesus en Mejico a 21 de Noviembre de 1671 de los Religiosos Bouvens, Comano, Tuccio, y Maximiliano Wandentin [sic] para la mision de Marianas.*

*Andres de Cobian Preposito Provincial de la Compañía de Jesus en esta Provincia de Nueva España.*

*Certifico y hago fee à todos los que las presentes letras vieren, que de la Mission de Religiosos de nuestra Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, que passan aora, à las Yslas Philipinas à cargo del P. Alonso Stapleaux he nombrado y consignado por especial orden, y commission que para ello tengo de nuestro Reverendo Padre Joan Paulo de Oliva Preposito General de nuestra Compañía, al P. Gerardo Bovvens [sic], P. Pedro Coomano [sic], P. Antonio Tuccio, P. Cornelio Maximiliano Vandestin para las Yslas Marianas, que primero llamaban Ladrones à predicar el Santo Evangelio, y reducir à nuestra Santa fee catholica a los naturales de ellas[.] como sabemos por verdaderas y ciertas noticias, que à este mismo fin, y Apostolico ministerio han ido à dichas Islas y al presente residen en ellas los Religiosos siguientes: P. Diego Ruiz [sic] de S. Vitores, P. Pedro Cardefioso, P. Francisco Solano, P. Francisco de Esquerria, P. Alonso Lopez Rico, todos sacerdotes de nuestra Comp<sup>a</sup> que segun dichas noticias al presente estan ocupados en dicha conversion del gentilizimo de dichas Islas Marianas.—*

*Y para que conste donde quiera que convenga, y especialmente en el Real y Supremo Consejo de las Yndias à pedimiento del H<sup>o</sup> Manuel Duarte de nuestra Compañía de Jesus Procurador de la Prov<sup>a</sup> de Philippinas de la misma Compañía, dimos las presen-*

*tes letras firmadas de nuestro nombre, selladas con el sello de nuestro officio, y refrendadas de nuestro secretario.*

*En Mexico à veinte y uno de Noviembre de mil seiscientos y setenta y un años.—*

*Andres de Cobian*

[A seal, which contains the letters IHS in the center and reads "Provincialis Nova Hisp. Societatis Jesu" all around]

+

*Diego de Medina,*

*Secretario.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] Assignment made by the Father General [sic] of the Society of Jesus in Mexico on 21 November 1671 of the Religious Bouwens, Coomans, Tucci, and Maximilian Vanderstein to the Mariana Mission.

I, Andres de Cobian, Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus in this Province of New Spain:

Do certify and declare to all those who may see the present, that out of the mission band of Religious of our Society of Jesus who are now on their way to the Philippine Islands, in charge of Fr. Alphonse Stapleaux, I have named and assigned, by a special order and commission given to me by our Reverend Father Juan Pablo de Oliva, General of our Society, **Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, Fr. Pedro Coomans, Fr. Antonio Tuccio, Fr. Cornelius Maximilian Vanderstein** to the Mariana Islands, which were first called Ladrones, to preach the holy Gospel, and to reduce their natives to our Holy Catholic Faith, as we have learned through truthful and certain accounts that the following Religious reside at present in the said Islands for the same purpose: **Fr. Diego Ruiz [sic] de San Vitores, Fr. Pedro Cardeñoso, Fr. Francisco Solano, Fr. Francisco de Ezquerra, Fr. Alonso Lopez Rico**, all of them priests of our Society who are presently busy with said conversion of the heathens of said Mariana Islands, according to said news.—

And in witness whereof, whenever it may be, but specially in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, at the request of Br. Manuel Duarte of our Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Province of the Philippines of the same Society, we have given the present writ signed with our name, sealed with the seal of our office, and countersigned by our secretary.

In Mexico, on 21 November 1671.

Andres de Cobian.



[A seal, which contains the letters IHS in the center and reads “Provincialis Nova  
Hisp. Societatis Jesu” all around]

+

Diego de Medina,  
Secretary.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: There is no further mention of Father Cornelius Maximilian Vanderstein, in connection with the Marianas. In fact, he was found to be mentally incompetent and went on to spend a life of seclusion in the Jesuit College at Manila, as we learn from an anonymous news report from Manila for 1681-82 (see Doc. 1681O). As for Fr. Tucci, or Tuccio, he served in the Philippines and later became Provincial.



**Father Gerard Bouwens preaching in Saipan in 1697.** *Although this sketch is that of a Jesuit missionary in China, it could very well represent the man who spent 40 years of his life in the Marianas. (From C. Hazart's Kerckelycke Historie van de gheheel Werelt, Antwerp, 1682).*

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## Documents 16710 — Introduction

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# Belgian Jesuits in the Marianas—The early years of Fathers Bouwens and Coomans in Belgium

### **Bio-sketches of Fathers Bouwens and Coomans.**

Gerard Bouwens was born in Antwerp, a port of the Flemish part of Belgium, on 23 September 1634. He died of old age in Saipan, on 24 January 1712 (see Appendix B). After completing his basic humanities studies, he joined the Society of Jesus at Malines (Mechelen), on 20 September 1655. Inspired to become a missionary among the heathens of the Indies (as the European colonies in America and Asia were then called), he applied to the Jesuit General in Rome for permission to go, and it was granted.

Peter Coomans was also born in Antwerp, on 30 January 1638. He too died in Saipan, but of a violent death at the hands of native rebels, in July 1685. He too, had joined the Jesuit novitiate of Malines, one year after Bouwens (19 September 1656). Born in the same city, they were destined to travel together to the Marianas, arriving there in June 1672, two months after the death of Fr. Sanvitores, the founder of the Mission.

Fate, rather Providence, had also arranged for them to die on the same island, at the same village. Indeed, when Fr. Bouwens was buried at Fatiguan (today Chalan Kanoa), it was in sight of the beach where Fr. Coomans had been speared and stoned to death and summarily buried 27 years earlier. Fr. Bouwens had just come back from yet another unsuccessful attempt at opening a mission in the Caroline Islands. The old man, who had always suffered from seasickness, survived the disappointing voyage by eating a few sea biscuits dipped in mass wine, only to return to Guam exhausted. He wished to return to his parish in Saipan, to die “in his little nest”, as he said. He no sooner had begun to eat again, when he was struck with a severe diarrhea, from which he did not recover.

### **Antwerp at the end of the 17th century.**

In the Flemish part of Belgium, where their inhabitants still speak a Dutch-like language, they say that Antwerpen, a port on the lower reaches of the Schelde River, got

its name from the words “handt” and “werpen”, which means “hand, to throw”. The words come from a legend in which Salvius Brabant cut off the hand of the giant Antiquette, and threw it in the Schelde River.

Antwerp is located 17 leagues from the North Sea. Its port is still located on the river. It then had eight canals for the transport of goods through the inner city. There was then a canal system for communication with Brussels, and passenger barges running twice a day. Until the separation of the Low Countries, and the rise to prominence of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Antwerp was a foremost trade center where goods from as far away as the Moluccas were sold. Charles I of Spain, who was Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, lived here as a boy. Philip II of Spain, in January 1555, had called a meeting here of the Order of the Golden Fleece; the kings of France, England, Rome, Denmark, Bohemia, Poland, Portugal, with many princes, both religious and secular, came to Antwerp for the occasion.

The Protestants took control of the city for a time, and chased the Spaniards out, but they returned with a vengeance, sacked the city in 1576, and retook it in 1585. The Catholic religion re-established itself and its main defenders were the Jesuits, a religious order founded by a former Spanish soldier, Saint Ignatius of Loyola. Peace did not return for good until the Treaty of Munster in 1648, and this event must have marked the childhood of our two heroes, then 10 and 14 years of age, and attending the Jesuit school. In fact, the event marked the beginning of the end for Antwerp’s predominance, as large ships were prohibited from going up the Schelde River from then on.

In 1659, when Bouwens and Coomans were already studying at the Jesuit novitiate at Malines, there was a street mutiny in Antwerp, followed by an epidemic, that emptied the city. By 1678, when our friends were well established in the faraway Mariana Islands, Antwerp had 1,200 empty houses... In January 1684, the year that Fathers Bouwens and Coomans were to become cooped up in the garrison fort of Agaña on account of the native rebellion, their hometown was hit by an unusual phenomenon; the Schelde River froze solid, so much so that coaches and people turned its surface into a carnivalesque trade-mart. By 1698, Antwerp was reduced to only 65,000 inhabitants.

Antwerp has produced a great number of famous men. For example, it was the birthplace of the map-maker Abraham Ortelius, the printers Christoph Plantin and Balthazar Moretus, the painters Paul Rubens and John Baptist Van Dyck. The Jesuit Daniel van Papebroch, a famous bollandist,<sup>1</sup> was also an Antwerp man and a correspondent of some missionaries who served in the Marianas, notably Fr. Xaramillo.

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1 Ed. note: The Bollandist organization still exists (it is now in Brussels). It was founded by Fr. John Bolland (died 1665) and is dedicated to hagiography, i.e. the writing and debunking of the lives of the saints, sorting out what are true facts in their biographies and removing the fanciful legends and miracles; they do this through proper historical research.

### **A short history of the Flandro-Belgian Province of the Jesuits.**

Only two years after the approval of the Jesuit Order by Pope Paul III (on 27 September 1540), the first Spanish Jesuits arrived at Louvain. They had been chased out of France, with other Spaniards, by King François I. The Order made rapid progress in the Low Countries, so much so that 100 years later, they reached their largest number and an all-time zenith (when Bouwens and Coomans were children). The second century, until the abolition of the Order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, was a steady decline by contrast.

The daily work of the Belgian Jesuits had to do mostly with teaching young men in colleges and universities. In the early years of the Order, the students lived in “seminaries” but had to follow courses in schools established in the vicinity. Soon, however, the Fathers themselves began to teach academic subjects to the young members of the Order. A short time later, the doors were open to young men from outside as well. In Belgium, humanities colleges taught by Jesuits became numerous and flourishing. There were no fewer than 16 of them in the two Belgian provinces, a density never accomplished in any other European area.<sup>1</sup> The colleges in those days contained no excess in the number of teaching staff. There were generally 5 or 6 professors, plus a prefect in charge of discipline and class management. Boarding schools were then the exception, not the rule. Students from outside the town, lived with local families, or together in a commercially-run residence, called a “convict”. Only in Antwerp was the convict managed by the Jesuits themselves; this might explain why there were more vocations there. The College of Antwerp was almost aristocratic and certainly international in outlook, in that it contained students from Holland, Germany, France, and Spain, in addition to Belgium. As of 1651, the convict of Antwerp was housed in the mansion of Anthony Van Straelen, on St. James Market, near Prince Street on which the college was located.

Jesuit-run classes were then everywhere given for free, in accordance with their Constitutions. Money came from foundations, the bulk of which established with grants from civil governments. The school program was classical, in that it was limited to a few humanities, always taught in Latin exclusively, and meant to prepare the student for a profession in the liberal arts. Learning was mostly from reading books, and getting explanations from the professors. Mathematics was only taught at the higher levels of the universities. History and geography were not added to this program until the 18th century.

Latin was the only language of learning then. It was a living language, taught in such a way that all graduates of Jesuit colleges could speak and write it fluently. Books were in Latin, teachers spoke only Latin, and students had to speak Latin within the confines

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1 Ed. note: Their names could be mentioned here, as they appear throughout the letters of Fathers Bouwens and Coomans. They were established in the following cities: Alost, Antwerp, Audenarde, Bailleul, Bergh St. Winoc, Bruges, Brussels, Cassel, Courtrai, Dunkirk, Ghent, Hal, Maestricht, Malines, Ruremond, and Ypres.

of the college, even during recreation... The Jesuits were even responsible for having revived the use of ancient Greek in their advanced studies. Strange as it may seem, in the old countries, most of the teaching was done by young Jesuit students (future priests), not by professed priests, whose time was mostly devoted to internal and foreign missions, including the fight against the heretics, by preaching, writing, etc. In general, the college teachers had completed their humanities (i.e. the year called rhetorics) and were well trained. They had a book entitled *Ratio studiorum*, or Studies Handbook, to guide them in their teaching. Everything they needed was in this constantly-revised book: the lecture plans, the reference books, assignments, time distribution, reward system, etc. It is therefore no wonder that Fr. Sanvitores planned to establish a public-funded "college" in the Marianas, even before he arrived at the islands. Naturally, reality was such that it was impossible to establish a European-type school there. In the 1670s, many missionaries were hoping to re-organize it into a trade school, but the terms of the foundation did not allow it. Finally, the Jesuits in Europe created some religious fraternities, called sodalities, for the religious education of their college students.

At the university level, future Jesuits learned philosophy and moral theology as their main subjects, the scriptures and controversial oratory being minor subjects. After full graduation, they were ready to make their first vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to superiors, as in any other religious order. What was special to the Jesuits, as still is, is a fourth vow, made much later in life, that of obedience to the Pope; it was the latter custom that led to later trouble with church hierarchies and political governments, and the eventual suppression of the Jesuits worldwide.

The Belgian Jesuits of the 17th century has **three basic missions**: 1) chaplaincy services in the Army; 2) chaplaincy services in the Navy; and 3) mission work among the Protestants in the Netherlands. The Jesuits pioneered the risky business of serving soldiers and seamen, but the third mission was one entrusted to them by the Pope.

### **Overseas missions of the Belgian Jesuits.**

Beyond their regular missions among European catholics, the Jesuits were from the start interested in missions among the heathens of the Indies, meaning Asia and the Americas. St. Francis Xavier had been sent by St. Ignatius himself to Asia, where he died (on the China coast). The overseas missions were also organized in various provinces, but their personnel were recruited in the entire order, irrespective of country; however, sometimes, the civilian authorities objected to the immigration of "foreigners" to their colonies. The staunch Belgians were very much appreciated as foreign missionaries, so much so that St. Francis Xavier himself is said to have written: "Send me some Flemings." They were as sturdy as the well-known Belgian horses, able to sustain hardships and fatigue, and used to function under harsh climates. It was thought that their germanic language was not too suitable for the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, but would present no problem of accomodation in places where the languages of the administrations were not European, for instance, in China and Japan. Belgian Jesuits of the old regime ended up serving in at least 25 different countries. Some of

those who went to China, went there via Mexico and the Manila galleon, and so visited Guam; one of these was Fr. Peter van Hamme (died 1727) who met Fr. Bouwens there in 1689 and later exchanged letters with him.<sup>1</sup>

### The old Jesuit archives in Belgium.

After the suppression of the Order in 1773, the property of the Jesuits in Belgium was confiscated by the government and the priests retired with a small pension. The bulk of their archives was preserved, even when the subject matter was of no interest to lay people; however, some of those were later destroyed through fire, war, and theft. The surviving documents were eventually dispersed, and never properly organized, no matter where they ended up. Most of the old Jesuit manuscripts in Belgium are preserved today either in the Royal Archives or in the Royal Library, both in Brussels. A few papers, of no interest to students of Micronesian history, may be found elsewhere, mostly in modern Jesuit facilities.

The source documents in question fall into many categories: death announcements; full obituaries; brief eulogies, or *summaria vitæ* [i.e. bio-sketches]; necrologies and catalogs of the deceased; annual lists of personnel of the provinces, etc. not the least important of which being letters to and from superiors. The latter category is one of real interest to modern non-Jesuit historians, not only on account of the human interest contained therein, but also the tidbits by which the history of the mission fields can be reconstructed. The official biographies of the 4,000 Belgian Jesuits are mostly inadequate; they are usually incomplete, or they contain many small errors due to the inadequacies of the old systems of record-keeping. They are all written, of course, in Latin.

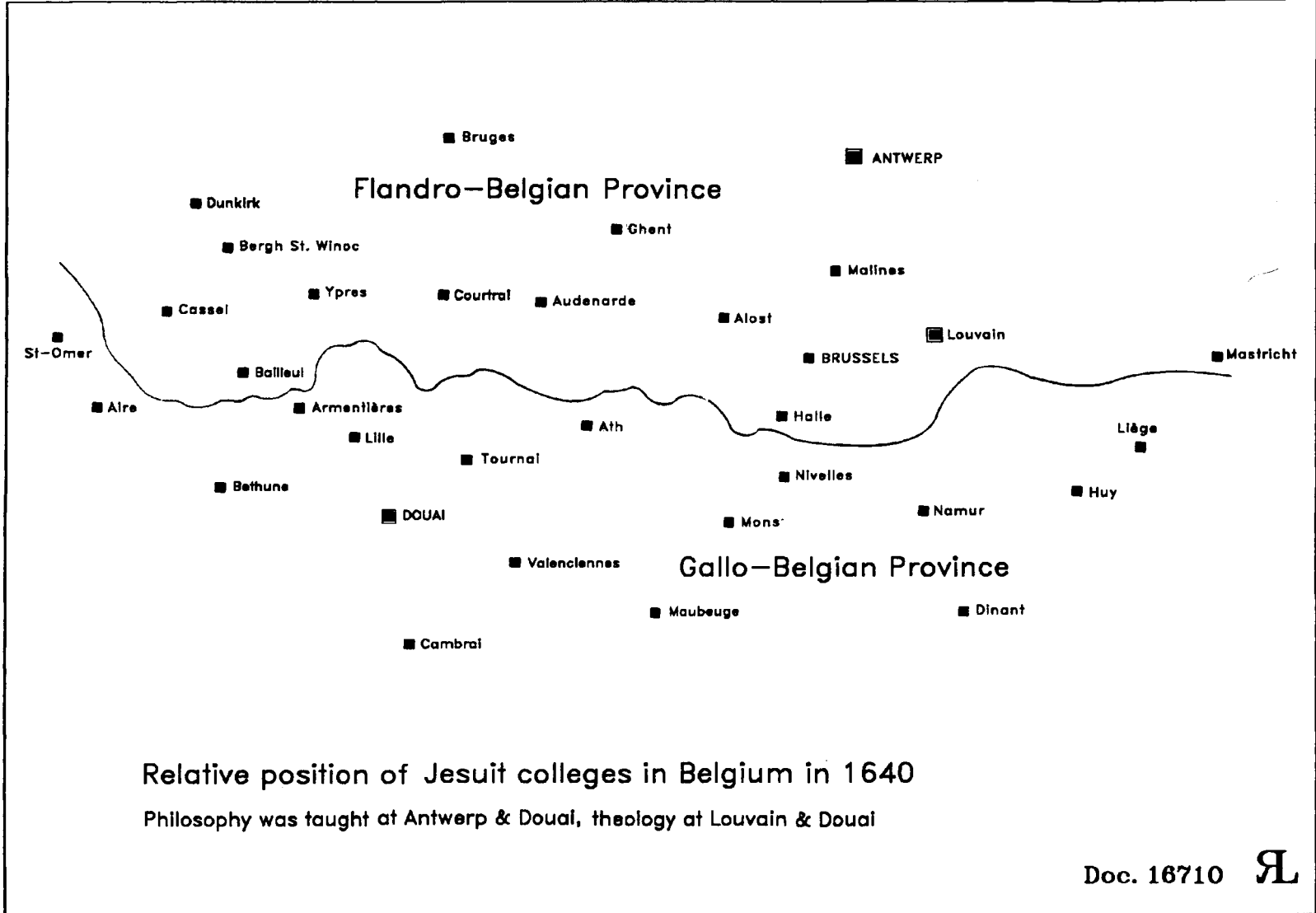
One other category of historical documents was **the annual reports** submitted by the provincials to Rome—through the procurators, if the province was an overseas mission. The Jesuit relations from the Americas are well-known sources for the history of the New World. Such official reports are generally well preserved in the archives, because they had been carefully written, on a better grade of paper, when available, and appreciated at their just value; sometimes, even the Pope got to read them.

This volume (and those that follow) contain translations of some of these letters and reports written by the Belgian Jesuits in the Marianas. Sometimes, the original copies of the reports were sent to Rome (when they were in good condition) and the Belgian archives were left with copies made by Jesuit novices.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: These letters were in Latin, of course, as the procedures demanded (see my *History of Micronesia*, vol. 4, Doc. 1689A, etc.).

2 Ed. note: The copies sometimes have introduced errors which the originals do not have (and could not have, as in the case of distorted place names). The originals in question are now preserved at ARSI, the Jesuit archives in Rome, located at No. 4 Borgo Santo Spirito, near the Vatican.





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## Documents 1671OA

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# First batch of letters from Fathers Bouwens & Coomans, Belgian missionaries on the way to the Marianas, 1662-1671

*Sources: Either in AGR Archives Jésuitiques, Province Flandro-Belgique, #872-915 (all in Latin), volumes 1 & 2, unless otherwise indicated, or in ARSI, Rome, as indicated.*

## O1. Letter from Fr. General Oliva to Fr. Coomans, dated Rome 7 January 1662

*Source: ARSI Flandro-Belgique, vol. 6, fol. 843-843v.*

*Note: On 6 December 1661, Fr. Coomans had written to Fr. General to ask for permission to go to the Missions. This was his first request. The letter appears to have been lost [unless it is fol. 842 of above].*

### Original in Latin.

*Aldernadum.*<sup>1</sup>

*Duo sunt quae petis in tuis 8 dec. datis alterum ut relictis tibi ab avia 800 florenis possis inopiam Aldenardensis Collegii sublevare, id quod concedo et vicissim tibi a divine largitate precor praemium immortale; alterum ut in messem orientalem ire possis ad ferendum pondus orientis illic diei et aestus. Hoc ut concedam nunc, mihi integrum necdum est. Adsciscere tamen et tu in Xaverii tui commilitonem ubi se dederit opportuna occasio, si te hoc ipsum eo penetrandi desiderium ad magnae virtutis decus ita hortetur ut etiam incitet. Erit grata Deo anticipatio illa virtutis transmarinis illis ærumnis praeparandæ. Hoc dum facis etiam pro me ora.*

*Romæ, 7 ian. 1662.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The town of Audenarde is in Eastern Flanders.

### English translation.

[To] Audenarde.

There are two things that you are asking in your letter dated 8 December. One is that you be permitted to alleviate the financial crisis of the College of Audenarde with the 800 florins bequeathed to you by your grandmother; I am granting you that [request] and in turn I pray that through the divine generosity you may have an immortal reward. The other, that you be permitted to go to the harvest in the Orient at that place during the hot season; I am not yet at liberty to grant you this entirely. Nevertheless, where a suitable opportunity should present itself indeed to admit you into the company of your own Xavier, if this very desire of entering there into that very place urges you towards the honor of great power in such a way as to suscite your interest. The anticipation of that possibility to prepare for the needs overseas will be pleasing to God. While you are doing this, pray for me also.

Rome, 7 January 1662.

## O2. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. General, dated Bergh St. Winoc, 1 July 1664

*Source: ARSI Fondo Gesuitico presso la Curia 753, fol. 52, Indipetae n° 22, Coomans.*

### Original of the second request in Latin.

*Rde Admodum in Christo Pater,*

*Ausus sum ante annos circiter tres offerre me Rde Admodum Paternitatis Vestræ ad Indicam missionem; quod tum respondebat, sibi integrum non esse, gratam fore Deo virtutis anticipationem, interim adscribendum et me in Xaverii sodalitiū: iam cum intelligam Patres ex India Orientali Romam appulisse ut operarios in messem illam comparent, ecce me, licet indignissimum, fretum tamen pietate ac misericordia Dei infinita. Liceat etiam mihi cohortem illam, sanctam comitari et illi me totum impendere, qui totum se mihi illisque barbaris impendit.*

*Bergis s. Winoc 1<sup>a</sup> Iul. 1664*

*Rde admodum Paternitatis Vestræ*

*Filius in Christo,*

*Petrus Coomans*

[Address:] *Rdo Admodum in Christo Patri Patri Joanni Paulo Olivæ Societatis Jesu Vicario Generali. Romæ.*

### Translation.

Most Reverend Father in Christ.

I dared to offer myself about three years ago to your most Reverend Paternity for the mission of the Indies, to which you responded that you were not at liberty then to accept it, that the anticipation of the possibility would be pleasing to God, that in the meantime I was to join the Sodality of Xavier. As I understand rightly that the Fathers

from the East Indies have arrived at Rome at this very moment to recruit workers for their harvest. Here I am. Although unworthy, I am relying on God's infinite love and mercy. Permit me yet to join this holy band as a helper and devote myself totally to Him who has devoted Himself totally to me and to those people in the foreign land.

Bergh St. Winoc, 1 July 1664.

Your Most Reverend Father's son in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To Most Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Juan Pablo Oliva, Vicar General of the Society of Jesus, Rome.

### **O3. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Coukerken, dated Ostend 7 February 1670**

*Source: AGR #1437.*

#### **Original in Latin.**

*Reverende in Xro. Pater*

*P. E.*

*Ne me mei et promissorum meorum oblitum existimet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ecce discessurus in mare sto meis verbis. R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> quando rescribet in Hispaniam unde et meas expectabit dignabitur scribere Gades et suas destinare P. Francisco Taisme Brugis. Iter itaque nostrum, Deo bene aspirante sic ordiemur: postquam quarta jam vice Ostendam reversi sumus, commisuri nos classi mercatoriæ hic paratæ ut Gadas solvat in qua locum habemus in prætoria peu bellica ductrice vulgo Convoyer cum omni suppellecti sacra quo possimus nautis et epistatis auxilio esse, dubium adhuc est an illa mare sit ingressura æstu propter ventorum iniquitatem non satis affluentef.] Itaque in omnem eventum, cum tempus nobis præfinitum quo Madritri [sic] adesse debeamus omnino expiret, et periculum sit ne inde tota nostra expeditio detrimentum patiat, celocem hic arripimus Adriani Coots et Gasparis Verstel Capitanei utriusque, quæ favente Deo, vectura nos est in portum Corogniam. Inde terrestri itinere pergemus Madritum postquam S. Jacobum Compostellæ salutaverimus. Hæc de itinere.*

*Contigit hic Ostendæ triste infortunium 29 Jan. circa 7 am vespertinam[.] Appulerat Celox regis Angliæ, vectura S. Ignate. Hanc comitaturi, Capitanei præcipui deduxerunt ultra promontoria vulgo de Horsden, imo ulterius quam vocant de platte forme. Inde dicto vale reversuri in portum adversante vento ita incubuere ut fractis remorum aliquibus retrogredi fuerint coactif.] Itaque ad littus sive S. Albertii appellere animus fuit, sed pero et nimis infeliciter[.] Nam intumescente mari primum undis obruti, deinde everso lembo omnes numero tredecim in mare precipitati. Artem omnes inter natandi maxime gnaros impedivit frigus e mare nimium exestuans. Submersi ergo sunt 12 uno solo cum lembo quem manibus prehenderat, cui jam præfectus est, evadente.*

*Capitaneorum nomina sunt: Abraham Faes, longiori vita et feliciore morte dignus prætorix simul et nostræ Capitaneus; huic suffectus Paschasius de Moor et in ejus*

*locum, nam vecturus erat una ex mercatoriis vul de Hoose van Antwerpen filius ipsius natu major. Reliquorum vero Matheus Schot, Franciscus Bijl et Roet Reus. Hæc sunt quæ in presentia occurrunt[.] Ubi Hispaniam tenuerimus, plura...*

*Interim R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> quæso hæc communicet cum P. de Pape et Mro. du Fossé ut si ad illos ex Hispania scripsero habeant et parent aliquid quod reponant. Commendo me SSimis.*

*Ræ Væ S[acri]ficiis.*

*Ostendæ 7 feb 1670*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

*[Address:] R[everen]do P. Patri Norberto van Coukerken Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Lovanii.*

### Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

Lest your Reverence thing that I have forgotten my promises, you see, I am adhering to my word that I would set sail. Your Reverence, when you write back to me in Spain from where you will be expecting my letter, will you deign to write to Cadiz and address your letter care of Father Francisco Taisme from Bruges. We are therefore, with God's good favor, undertaking our journey in this manner: after we returned to Ostend on our fourth trip, we would be boarding a merchant fleet outfitted here to set sail from Cadiz in which a berth in an armed flagship, generally known as the escort, with all the liturgical supplies we could gather with the help of the sailors and commander. Until now, there is doubt that that ship could reach the sea, the tide not being high enough on account of the roughness of the wind. Thus in any event, when the predetermined time period for us to be present at Madrid is expired, and to avoid the risk of jeopardizing our entire expedition, we secured here the boat of Adrian Coots and Gaspar Verstel, both captains, which [boat] would convey us, God willing, to the port of Coruña. From there we [will] go to Madrid overland, after we have paid our respects to St. James of Compostelle. These are the details concerning the [planned] journey.

A sad misfortune happened here in Ostend on 29 January at about 7 p.m. The launch of the English king, bound for St. Ignate, while approaching the land, the pilots took it beyond the headlands known as Horsden, rather farther than what they call the platform. From that place, after bidding farewell, they were returning to the port when they met with a contrary wind that, after some of the oars had been broken, forced them to turn back. Therefore, they intended to make a landing at St. Albert, but they were most unfortunate. For, after the sea rose, they were engulfed by the waves, then, after the boat capsized, all hands, numbering thirteen, were thrown into the sea. The cold and excessively foaming sea opposed them all, except those very skilful in the art of swimming. Therefore, twelve drowned, with only one survivor who seized the boat, to which he had already been appointed to command, with his hands and thus escaped death.

The names of the pilots are: Abraham Faes, worthy of a longer life and a more fortunate death, the [would-be] captain of the escort, which is also our flagship; Paschalius de Moor, substituted for him and indeed acted in his place, because he was one of those carried off; he was the older son of one of the merchants called the Hoose of Antwerp. Some of the others were Matthew Schot, Frank Bijl and Roet Reus. These are the things which are occurring at present. When we reach Spain, many...

Meanwhile, I am asking your Reverence to communicate these things to Fr. de Pape and Mr. du Fossé so that whenever I write to them from Spain, they may have it and give something to bring back. I commend myself to the most holy Sacrifices of your Reverence.

Ostend, 7 February 1670.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To Reverend Father Norbert van Coukerken, priest of the Society of Jesus, Louvain.

## O4. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Provincial, dated Madrid 19 March 1670

Source: AGR #872-915, vol. 2, fol. 203-203v.

Note: The letter is countersigned by Fr. Coomans.

### Letter to Fr. Thomas Dekens in Brussels.

*Reverende in Christo Pater,*

*Pax Ejusdem*

*Quas R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> expectarat, forsán aliquanto citius, et mitius certe potuisset accipere, si innotuisset nobis, quæ fuit hic postridie adventus nostri oportunitas deferendi, eas facultatem nacti singularem nunc transmittimus uti testes valetudinis, qua etiamnum utimur prospera, ita et indices gratissimi animi, quem Ræ Væ imprimis ac Provinciæ deinde universæ, cui maximis ego certe obstrictus vivo beneficiis, cum aliud referre non liceat, consecramus Præpotentem, ubicumque vixerimus precaturi, ut et Provincia quam diutissime servet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, et ista multiplici quod speramus augeat incremento. Ceterum ut Ræ Væ constet de successu itineris nostri, brevem diarii, quod rogatu R. P. Rectoris Iprensis aliquanto prolixius ego mitto Ipras, uti et Antverpiam P. Coomans, synopsis subnecto.*

*Septima præteriti sub 2am pomeridianam conscensa navicula solvimus e portu Ostendano animæ non plures universim quam septem numero. Ventis usi secundis tenuimus Oceanum, 10<sup>a</sup> ejusdem, nocte quæ eam præcedit canalem emensi: hinc gestire lætitia, hanc si non luctus saltem metus excepit ob periculum quod præsentissimum nobis imminuit a Galliota quadem 20 circiter tormentis instructa, quæ, sub septimam matutinam nobis in conspectum venit, contractisque velis uno excepto anteriore plusquam per horam inermes incautosque expectabat, donec tandem distans ad jactum tor-*

*menti deprehenditur. Piratica vel Turcica vel Maurica: imperat eminus vela dimitti, sed Naucleri nostri et vento nobis omnino faventi et velocitati naviculæ confisi recta perrexere hostili sed frustra insequente quæ tandem spe sua frustrata, cursum alio direrxit. Nos interim periculo perfuncti hymnum cecinimus Augustino-Ambrosianum.*

*Postridie 11 præter auræ mutationes varias nihil occurrit singulare præterquam fulmina et tonitrua insolita nobis ea tempestate anni.*

*12. Sub octavam matutinam deteximus Cabo Ortegal promontorium illud est Gallicia circiter 15 leucis dissitum Corona; verum vento validiore prohibiti ab eo promontorio sub vesperam tenuimus stationem inter preruptas rupes in flumine Vivero media circiter leuca ab ipso opidulo Viveres quod fluvio adjacet.*

*Die Jovis 13 sublata anchora egressique statione ventum habuimus tandem validiorum eoque sub tenebras relicto ad dexteram portu et urbe Corognie ingressi sumus Rio Feral fluvium a præfata urbe et portu distantem 3 circiter leucas. Hic ad dominicam quinquagesimam detinere nos venti tempestuosissimi quibus subsidentibus ea die in continentem devecti sacrum fecimus in urbe quam vocant Puente Deume, atque ita sub prandium cymba ibi conducta ad navim nostram sumus revecti.*

*Postridie quæ dies erat Lunæ cymba idem conducta mari ad 3 circiter leucas trajecto appulimus **Corognam** inventis istic in portu binis navibus Dunckerkana altera, altera Ostendana. Fuisset hic aliqua scribendi oportunitas, si naves istæ recta flandriem cogitassent; quare visum fuit scriptionem differre usque dum Compostellam advenissemus.*

*Die 19 **Compostellam** advenimus sesqui die in itinere quod sane fuit perdifficile præsertim ob densam nivem quæ recibat ea nocte, ac die eam subsequente. 19 Benevole Compostellæ excepti a R. P. Rectore totoque Collegio.*

*20 celebravimus ad sepulchrum S. Jacobi lustratis deinde omnibus quæ parantur in Mausolæum, quod eidem glorioso Apostolo exstruitur. Regia sane magnificentia: opus assurgit ad ipsam templi fornicem 36 columnis deauratis innixum. Inde deducti ad Theauraria, vidimus contrectabimusque inter alia aurea argenteaque anathemata plurima Regium Philippi IV donum, numisma illud et ex solido auro 25 librarum sive pondo. Denique venerati sumus inter reliquias alias caput S. Jacobi Minoris. Diebus Veneris et Sabbathi deducti per civitatem templa lustravimus aliaque ædificia, inter quæ eminent hospitali Regium et Conventus PP. Augustinianorum; huic similem in Belgio non vidi.*

*Dominica Quadragesimæ relicta Compostella iter ingressi sumus terrestre mulis usi ipsius Collegii, quos R. P. Rector una cum famulo conductitio ac reliquis itineri necessariis perbenevole nobis concessit. Ad sex ferme dies itinera habuimus ultra quam scribi potest difficilia ob altissimos montes rupesque asperrimas ac tantum non perpetuas, altissimaque nive jumentis: in vias, per nivem illam non semel ultra genua incedendum fuit mulis per famulos speciatum ad id conductos attractis: accessere pluviae ventique nimborum pene quotidiani donec tandem die Veneris 27 attigimus **Villamfrancam**, ibidemque a nostris non minori quam Compostellæ, charitate excepti perreximus dominica 2<sup>a</sup> quadragesimæ **Villa Garciam** itinere longe commodiori. Eo advenimus 5 hujus,*

*eaque ac postero die ibi detenti discessemus 7<sup>a</sup> Valisoletum<sup>1</sup> septem istius milliaribus dissitum. Hic a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> salutavimus R. P. Provinciam Castilliae qui ultro ea jumenta nobis obtulit eo t[an]tum usque concessa a R. P. Rectore Compostellano; adjecit R. P. Rector—reliqua quibus opus erat **Madritum** usque, quo discessimus 9 hujus, pervenimusque incolumes qua[rum?] Dei est gratia festo S. Gregorii, qua die primum hic in Collegio Imperiali ad aram fecimus in gratiarum actionem pro confirmata eo festo Societate. Ex destinatis nobiscum Philippinas nec invenimus ullos, nec vidimus hactenus: etiamnum morantur in via 20 ut audio universim ex quibus Siculi duo per annum studiverunt Alcalae, unde exspectantur indies; unus dicitur adventurus ex Provincia Castellana; duos secum adducit P. Andreas Ledesma Mediolano: expectatur P. Andreas indies cum scripserit ipse ad P. Bonavilla (Procurator hic est Indiarum Generalis) se Genua discessurum 10 precedentis: jusi ipse advenerit de itinere nostro certi perscribi nihil potest. Obiit hic unidius(?) tertius Excell. D. Marchio de Aytona, heri sepultus apud S. Mariam de Mercede. In hujus locum adlectus est Comes-stabilis Gubernator Belgii ut cum reliquis quatuor moderetur monarchiam. Major domo in locum praedicti Marchionis defuncti creatus est Dux de Infantada: cetera hic silent. Nos hodie approbati sumus ad excipiendas confessiones. Hisce SS. Ræ Væ Sacrificiis nos commendamus.*

*Madriti 19 Martii 1670.*

*R. V. Servi in Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens*

*Petrus Coomans*

[verso, Address:] *Reverendo Patri in Christo P. Thomæ Dekens Soctis. JESU per Provinciam Flandro-Belgicam Præposito Provinciali. Bruxellas.*

### **Translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

The letter which your Reverence had expected, you could have certainly received somewhat more expeditiously, had we learned of the chance to report which existed here the day after our arrival, but we, finding an extraordinary means, are now sending it [the letter] as a testimonial of the good health which we have enjoyed until now, in this manner it is also an indicator of the very dear affection which we devote in the first place to your Reverence and then to the entire province, to which [affection] I remain bound as long as I live on account of the very great favors [received]. Since we may not be allowed to repay anything, while still alive, we would be praying that Y. R. will serve the province for a very long time and we hope that it will continue to grow. As for the rest, so that your Reverence may learn about the success of our journey, I am sending to Ypres a short [version] of the journal which I made somewhat more

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1 Ed. note: This is Valladolid.

comprehensive at the request of the Reverend Fr. Rector of Ypres, as I am also adding a synopsis to Fr. Coomans at Antwerp.<sup>1</sup>

On the **7th** day of the past [month of February] at 2 p.m., after boarding the small ship we set sail from the port of **Ostend**, altogether not more than seven souls in number. On the **10th**, we reached the open sea, using the secondary winds, having left the canal the preceding night. Hence, joy would have followed, had not distress followed, on account of the very present danger which threatened us from a certain galliot equipped with about 20 guns, which came within sight at 7 a.m., and which, with sails furled, except for her foresail, was on the lookout for any unarmed and careless vessel for more than one hour, until it came within gun range, and was finally overtaken. In the pirate or Turkish ship, orders are given to unfurl the sails, but our seamen, relying both on an altogether favorable wind and on the speed of our little ship, proceeded straight downwind from the hostile ship which, after pursuing us in vain, was finally frustrated in its design, and directed its course to another place. We, getting rid of the danger meantime, sang the Augustinian-Ambrosian hymn.<sup>2</sup>

The next day, **11th**, except for the various changes in the wind, nothing extraordinary occurred except for lightning and thunder unusual for us during that time of the year.

**12th.** At 8 a.m. we sighted Cape Ortegal; that promontory belongs to Galicia and lies about 15 leagues from Coruña. Indeed, toward the evening, prevented by a stronger wind from [rounding] that headland, we took our station between the rugged shores of the Vivero River, about half a league from that small town of Vivero which is on the bank of the river.

On Thursday, **13th**, after weighing anchor and going out of the station we eventually had a stronger wind and after leaving that place, by nightfall we had the port and city of Coruña on the right and we entered the Feral River, which lies about 3 leagues from the above-mentioned city and port. Very tempestuous winds held us back here until the Fiftieth Sunday.<sup>3</sup> The said winds having subsided, we landed and celebrated mass in the city which they call Puentedume. Toward lunch-time, we were taken back to our ship by a launch.

The next day, which was Monday, we were taken by the same launch to Coruña which is a crossing of about 3 leagues. We found there two ships in port, one from Dunkirk, and one from Ostend. There would have been a chance to write here, had those ships intended to go back directly to Flanders; that is why it seemed advisable to differ writing until we reached Compostelle.

On the **19th** we arrived at **Compostelle** after more than half a day on the journey, which was of course very difficult on account of the heavy snow that fell that night, and

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1 Ed. note: Another Fr. Coomans.

2 Ed. note: Probably the Te Deum, or thanksgiving hymn.

3 Ed. note: This was the old system of counting up to the first Sunday of Advent.



the day following. On the 19th, we were received at Compostelle by the Rev. Fr. Rector and the entire College.

On the **20th** we made our way to the sepulchre of St. James and after seeing everything that is in the Mausoleum, which was erected for the said glorious Apostle. Of course, [it was] royally magnificent: the structure, supported by 36 gilded columns, rises toward the dome of the temple. From there, we were led toward the Treasure House, we saw and examined among other things the many gold and silver offerings, the royal gift of King Philip IV, that famous medallion of solid gold, 25 pounds in weight. And then, we venerated among the other relics, the head of St. James the Less. In Friday and Saturday, we were guided through the city, we looked over the churches and other buildings, among which stood out the guesthouses of the King, and the convent of the Augustinian Fathers, to which I have not seen anything similar in Belgium.

On the Fortieth Sunday, after having left Compostelle, we began a land journey using the mules of the same College which the Rev. Fr. Rector generously provided us, together with a hired servant and all the other things necessary for the journey. After about the sixth day, we had a very rough journey, almost undescribable, on account of the very high mountains and the very difficult terrain, so broken up and with snow at high altitude for the animals; along the way, the mules went through that snow up to their knees many times, preceded and led through it by the servants. Stormy winds and the rain came upon us almost every day, until finally on Friday **27th** we reached **Villafranca**,<sup>1</sup> where we were received by our people with a charity not inferior to that of Compostelle. We proceeded to Villa Garcia<sup>2</sup> on the second Sunday after the Fortieth, a more comfortable journey. We got there on the fifth of this month, and were detained there until the 7th when we departed for **Valladolid**, 7 miles further. Here we extended the greeting of Y.R. to the Rev. Fr. Provincial of Castile who offered us as many mounts as had been given to us by the Fr. Rector of Compostelle to proceed beyond that place. The Rev. Fr. Rector added many other things needed to make it as far as **Madrid**, for which we departed on the 9th and arrived safely, thank God, on the feast-day of St. Gregory. On the first day at the Imperial College, we offered a mass of thanksgiving, the more so because it was a special day for the Society. Out of those destined to go to the Philippines with us, we did not find or see any up to now. Until now 20 of them are delayed on the way. I hear that out of this number there were two Sicilians who studied at Alcalá<sup>3</sup> and are expected any day. One is said to be coming from the Castilian province; two were brought by Fr. Andrés Ledesma from Milan; Fr. Andrés is expected any day, since he himself has written to Fr. Bonavilla [i.e. Villabona] (the Procurator General of Indies here) that he would leaving Genoa on the 10th of the preceding [month]. Nothing can be said with certainty regarding our voyage. Here died three days

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- 1 Ed. note: Most likely the town now called Villafranca del Bierzo, just west of the mountain range of León.
  - 2 Ed. note: This Villa García is no longer to be seen on a modern map. It was probably in the vicinity of Astorga.
  - 3 Ed. note: This is Alcalá de Henares, due east of Madrid.

ago His Excellency the Marquis of Aytona, and he was buried yesterday in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced. He was replaced by the Count who is Governor of Belgium, so that with the other four, he is to advise the monarchy. To replace the above-mentioned defunct Marquis, the Majordomo was made Duke of Infantada. There is no other news. Today we have been given the faculty of hearing confession. We commend ourselves to the most holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Madrid 19 March 1670.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Gerard Bouwens

Peter Coomans

[verso, Address:] To the Reverend Father in Christ Fr. Thomas Dekens of the Society of JESUS, care of the Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province, Brussels.

## O5. Letter from Fr. Bouwens, possibly to Fr. Dekens, dated Madrid 14 May 1670

Source: AGR 2, fol. 159.

Note: The addressee cannot be known for sure, because the verso of the single folio is blank. The extra sheet that served as an envelope must have been discarded.

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*Pax Ejusdem*

*Suppressis ob rerum nostrarum mutationem inopinatam, quas a biduo Ræ Væ inscripserat P. Coomans, iam alias substituit et indices mora per Senatam Indicam nobis injectæ; ita festis communis unicum mæroris, quem utinam meliori fato tandem abstergat in cujus manu sunt corda Principum. Lætiora R. Væ perscripseram ego iam a septimanis plus quam sex inferto illis, ut eram jussus, cumpendioso itineris nostri diario; verum cum neque ad has, neque ad alias, datas una cum prolixiore descriptione itineris ad R. P. Rectorem Bruxellensem; neque ad illas, quas R. P. Rectori Eprensi inscripseram, receperim responsi quidpiam; suspicio est nos[bi]s levis eas litteras, quod certe nolim, intercidisse: quare ne inhumanus? Videas R. V<sup>a</sup>, aut pars gratus pro beneficijs, quibus tum Ræ Væ tum universæ Provinciæ teneor devinctus, hisce iterum gratias illis agere volui quas possum maximas, cum quas debeo non valeam rependere, Deum dum vipro [nuper?] rogatus, ut cumulatissimæ; qui solus potest, suppleat meum hac in parte defectum. Abstineo, ne actum agam ab ijs, quæ scripsit P. Petrus ex quæ ipse omisit, supplebo ego.*

*Quivis hic in domo Professa P. Fresneida qui uti casuite hinc nostro multum indoluit, ita ut spondit omnem operam: spondere et Patres alii graviores omnes faxit Deus ut illorum affectui respondeat effectus ita vovemus ita speramus. Rumores, qui hic circumferuntur de Gallis non perscribo, quia incerti. Senatam omnemque nobilitatem habuit ab aliquot septimanis hic valde sollicitus Joannes Austriacus graviter apud*

*Aulam conquestus de veneno sibi parato clanculum: incusabat hujus criminis Comitem de Ar[r]anda: Sed iam res utrumque deferbuit. Evocatus iam est huc in Hispaniam Comes Stabilis de cujus successore non comes est sermo: alij in Belgij Gubernationem illi substitutum colunt Ducem de Veraguas, alij Comitem de MonteRey, alij alior; sed communos opinio est et satis constans de Principe Orangiaco, et Imperatrice vidua.*

*Valent Regina et Rex noster quam optime, laudaturque et super modum ab animis et ingenij acumine. Dabat ipse unidius(?) tertius militibus ordines ex suo solario citra ullum timorem imperterritus ad frequentissimam scloperum explosionem delectatus exercitus militaribus supra modum ubi et cursu et velitationibus: Impegerat nuper alampam alicui ex [et?] suis Minimus, et hic vicem retulisset nisi vix obstinuit increpitis, et Rege dein accumbente arcatura conspectu quod ubi advertit Rex conspectum se negat nisi compareat ille more solito quod et illico factum redintegrata inter illas familiaritate christina. Iam a biduo innotuit hic novus Pontifex magna omnium lætitia sed aulæ imprimis ac Legati Pontificij qui eodem die sub noctem agendi. Curavit festivos ignes, uti postridie et biduo dem sequenti Rex in area ante Palatium et ante curiam Magistratus, sed sumptu majori, ita habet mos Hispanicus, quam apparatu. A Regina Romam destinatur qui illius nomine pedes Pontifici osculetur, Prorex quantum primum Neapolitanus Dom Pedro de Arrayoz. Hodie in capella Reginae dicantatus est hymnus Augustino-Ambrosianus. Communis istius lætitiæ. Participes sumus etiam nos sed moderatius, ob dubium expeditionis nostræ successum, quem SS. R. V. uti et aliozem in Provincia sacrificijs ac precibus quam possum maxime commendo.*

**[Original text of a letter written by one of Fr. Sanvitores' companion, upon their arrival at Guam]**

*Subjicio brevem narrationem eam de expeditione nova quam ex Philippinis in Insulas Latronum non p[r]ætendo successu fecit non nemo ex nostris[.]*

*“15 Julij anno 1670 [sic]<sup>1</sup> attigimus Insulas Latronum in quarum primaria jecimus anchoras. E vestigio injunxerunt sese 50 Canoæ (navicularum id genus est[.]) quarum singulæ vogabant personas 4 vel 5 partim viros partim fæminas qui omnes sua lingua nobis acclamabant **Mauri, Mauri**; quod latine sonat: **amici amici**. Nudi incedunt illarum insularum incolæ fæminis exceptis quas arborum folijs honeste se docuit obtegere ingenitus pudor. Conscenderint navim nostram turmatim quotquot illa capere poterat: illi post multos amplexus offerebant nobis Regionis suæ fructus aliquos. Nos in foro navis exposuimus iconem Deiparentis. Non minori nostra lætitia quam admiratione gentilium. P. San Vitores lingua illos vernacula petebat, quinam essent **Papahuos** ita vocantur qui inter ipsos sunt primarij: usque responderunt se esse[.] reddedit illis adventus sui rationem tum explicuit Sanctæ fidei nostræ mysteria. Tanto fervore ac spiritu ut videretur Deus alterum in illo excitasse Xaverium quoad zelum animarum et linguarum donum: hinc factum ut eo die navi expelli non potuerint Barbari, qui postridie mane nos prævertere. Et extractis in terra casis apposuerunt præsidium piscibus*

1 Ed. note: This is an obvious error for June 1668.

*aliquot, quos ceperant in domum oblatis. Nos humeris illorum in terram delati affectus et gratitudinis ergo illos imprimus primis [sic] fidei nostræ rudimentis ut potuimus optime et intra parvulas horas 36 abluimus sacris undis ulteriori instructioni reservatis alijs ad 1,500. Ego (secularis quispiam qui hæc perscripsit) de sacro fonte lavavi quatuor: primæ quæ erat filia primarij cujusdam inter illos, imposui nomen Mariam atque ita primitias illas Sanctas sacravi Deiparæ cum hæ insulæ sunt dedicatas. Secundus vocatus e nomine S. Ignatij; ubi et S. Xaverij tertius, quarto inditus est nomen S. Francisci de Assisia. Datam singuli imaginem sui Patroni acceperere tanto affectu, ut præ gaudio vix essent sin compotes, nec cominus lætabam ego quod viderem Regionem hanc verbo Dei recipiendo adeo dispositam.”*

*Cum P. San Vitores veniam secum istic Patres 3 alij et Fr. unus eo quod insula sit omnino magna et ex insulis illi vicinis advenerint qui et ipsi Patres accendant. Hactenus ille quorum et ego finis si spem nostram, (Gentilium illorum salutem, nam eo destinantur ex nobis aliqui).*

*SS. R. V<sup>a</sup> ac suorum sacrificijs et precibus a Deum iterumque commendo vero.*

*Madritij 14 Maij 1670*

*R. V. Servus in Xro.*

*Gerfardujs Bouwens*

### **Translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

Due to an unexpected change in our affairs, the letter which Fr. Coomans had written to Your Reverence was suppressed, and another letter has already been substituted, and the list taken possession of by us by means of the Council of the Indies. Thus there was only one sorrowful thing amid the general merriment; if only that would be wiped away by means of a better fate by Him in whose hand are the hearts of princes. I have already written some happier news to Y.R. this past week more than six [days] ago, in which was enclosed, as I had been ordered, a condensed narrative of our voyage. Indeed since I had not given, in either letter, a longer description of the voyage such as I sent to the Rev. Fr. Rector at Brussels; nor in the one sent to the Rev. Fr. Rector at Ypres, I would have received some answer; I have a light suspicion that that letter it has been lost: would it not be barbarous? As Y.R. may see, I was otherwise duty bound by the favors I owe to Y.R. and the whole province, I wished to give thanks once more for this as much as I can, since I may not be able to repay my debts. While lately I have prayed God, He who can do it all, to make up for my failing in this matter. I am abstaining, lest I might repeat, the same things that Fr. Peter has already written, except that I will provide those he has omitted.

Those in the Profess House, e.g. Fr. Fresneda, who was overcome by our bad luck, in such a way that he has pledged himself for the entire endeavor; the other Fathers, all burdended already, have pledged themselves[.] May God see to it that he responds effectively to the goodwill of the others, so we vow and so we hope. I do not write about

the rumors which are being circulated to us about the French people, because they are uncertain. Juan de Austria,<sup>1</sup> very worried on this occasion, held the Council and the whole nobility for some weeks now. There were complaints before the Court concerning the poison which he secretly prepared for himself, accusing the Count of Aranda of this crime. But either of two things has become clear. The Count “Stabilis” has already been recalled to Spain and there is talk concerning his successor, who is not a count. Those in the government of Belgium are rooting for the Duke of Veraguas as the substitute, others for the Count of Monterrey, others still others, but the common opinion is sufficiently in favor of the Prince of Orange, and the widowed Empress.

Our Queen and King enjoy the best of health. The King is praised beyond measure for his courage and acute talents. Undaunted, he was issuing orders three days ago to the soldiers from his mansion without any fear amid the constant gunfire from the muskets; the army [was] delighted beyond measure with the military operations and the skirmishes. Recently, one of his servants gave a slap to someone, and the latter would have given one back, scarcely admitting the reproach, while the King was leaning against a guide-post; when the King turned his attention, he ignored it according to his usual custom, once the Christian familiarity among them was re-established. Two days ago already the [news about the] new Pope became known here, with a great joy of all, but specially of the court and of the Papal Legate who announced it that day in the evening. He took care of the festivities, so that the next day and two days later the King responded in kind before the Palace and before the Court House, but with greater expenses than had been budgetted for, as is the Spanish custom. The Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Arrayoz, has been appointed by the Queen to [go to] Rome as soon as possible and kiss the feet of the [new] Pope. Today the Augustinian-Ambrosian hymn was sung in the Queen’s chapel. That joy belonged to all. We were participants also but with more moderation, on account of the doubtful success of our expedition, which I commend most readily to the most holy Sacrifices and prayers of Y.R. and the others in the Province.

**[Original text of a letter written by one of Fr. Sanvitores’ companion, upon their arrival at Guam]<sup>2</sup>**

I am supplying that short account about the new expedition from the Philippines to the Ladrone Islands which nobody from among our people has undertaken without counting on success.

“On 15 July 1670 [rather June 1668] we reached the Ladrone Islands and dropped anchor at the main island of the group. At that moment some 50 canoes (that is, very small boats) joined themselves to us, each one of which sailed with 4 to 5 persons, partly men, partly women, who were shouting to us in their own tongue **Mauri, Mauri**, which in Latin [i.e. in English] means: **friends, friends**. The inhabitants of those islands

1 Ed. note: Juan de Austria was the illegitimate brother of King Charles II.

2 Ed. note: This was written by Fr. Cardeñoso (see remark made by Fr. Sanvitores in Doc. 1668J4).

came forward naked, with the exception of the women whose inborn shame taught them to cover themselves decently with tree leaves. They would have boarded our ship in droves to steal whatever they could grab. After so many embraces, they offered us some local fruits. We, from the deck of the ship, exposed the image of Our Lady, with no less joy on our part at watching the gentiles. Fr. San Victores asked them in their native language which ones were **Papahur[aj]os**, which means the leaders among them, until they answered that they were. He declared the reason for his coming, then he explained the mysteries of our holy Faith. With such fervor and spirit that it seemed as if God had brought out another Xavier in him with respect to the zeal for souls and a gift of tongues. From this point, the Barbarians could not be driven out of the ship that day; early the next morning, they reappeared before us. And after having built huts ashore, they served some fishes to the garrison; they kept some for their house guests. We were brought ashore upon their shoulders; out of affection and gratitude, we therefore pressed upon them the rudiments of our faith the best way we could, and within hours we baptized 36 infants, after reserving further instructions for up to 1,500 others. I (a certain layman who has written about this more fully) have baptized four myself: the first of whom was the daughter of a certain chief among them; I gave [her] the name of Maria and thus I consecrated those first holy fruits to the Mother of God since these islands have been dedicated [to her]. The second was called after St. Ignatius; and as soon as there was a third, after St. Xavier. The name of St. Francis of Assissi was given to the fourth. And I was instantly delighted because I could see this region, so much disposed to receiving the word of God, accept the given image of its own extraordinary Patron with so much affection, so that they could hardly refrain from participating, on account of their joy.”

I may join Fr. San Victores and three other Fathers and one Brother, because the island is rather big, and from the neighboring [Philippine?] islands the Fathers may add themselves to him. Up to now, he, others, and myself hope for the salvation of the Gentiles, because some of our people have been assigned there.

I truly commend myself to the most holy Sacrifices of your Reverence and your prayers to God.

Madrid, 14 May 1670.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,  
Gerard Bouwens

## O6. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Dekens, dated Madrid 14 May 1670

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 206-206v.*

### Original text.

[fol. 206]

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Scriptimus, ut puto, 26 Martii, ad Ram. Vam., et significavimus felicem successum itineris nostri Madritum usque: ubi quæ usque per duos menses hæsimus, inter spem et netum dubii de nostra Missione: quod enim rescriptus fuerat in Belgium res hic esse compositas, et veniam obtentam, a vero abest tantum, ut ne ad hilum quidem discedere decreverint Consilarii Indiæ ab indulto quod jam pæne ab anno a Rege emanavit: cujus prima est clausula, ut mittendi exteri in Indias ante integro anno Madriti habitent, æcunda ut non excedant quartam partem Hispanorum in Indias discedentium. In utraque parte movetur nobis difficultas. Annum non exegimus: et cum R. P. Andreae Ledesma concessi essent a Consilio socii quadraginta, convocavit quartam partem exterorum, id est decem, qui hic omnes adfuimus, regis Hispaniæ subditi, austriis exceptis, qui sunt ex provinciis hereditariis. Verum P. Ledesma qui putaverat 50 Hispanos invenire, vix invenit octo: adeoque, ut æquennis quartam partem, vix duo, aut tres ex nobis decem essent admittendi, etiam si integram annum hic complentissiret:*

*Accepto hoc responso turbati sumus, sed vel maxime P. Ledesma. Accesit ille amicos omnes qui mollirent animos consiliariorum, et decrevit idem libellum supplicem consilio offerre: cui si idem responsum denuo opponatur, non habet nisi recursum ad reginam. Quæ res plena periculi at omnibus æstimatur, propter potentiam ministrorum. Adeoque vel manendum nobis erit ad tres pæne annos in Hispania, cum singulis bienniis vix classis discedat, et ante hujus discessum, jam medium annum hic exegerimus, vel redeundum in Provinciam, oblata Deo bona voluntate. Hæc spectant negotium missionis nostræ.*

*Alia occurrit necessitas recurrendi ad Ram. Vam. litteras quas attuleramus a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ad R. P. Provinciam hujus Provinciæ, in ejus absentia tradidimus R. P. Rectori Collegii Imperialis, apud quem hospitamus, et cui secundo loco erant inscriptæ; has jam requirit P. Ledesma, ut testimonio Ræ Væ de gradu nostro, cæterisque de quibus pro sua humanitate dignata et nos Ræ Væ commendare, certior fiat: verum illas R. P. Rector, nescio quo infortunio, perdidit. Quare enixe rogavit nos P. Ledesma rescriberemus ad Ram. Vam. ut dignetur harum similes ad nos vel ad illum Hispalim transmittere, ne nobis a superioribus Provinciæ Philippinarum illis non exhibitis, negotium fiat in emitenda professione; si forte litteræ Romanæ ante discessum nostrum non advenerint. Quare obsecramus Ram. Vam. dignetur illud beneficii reliquis in nos immerentes tam liberaliter collatis, addere. Hærebimus (si negotia nostra ex voto in hac aula succedant) adhuc per duos menses, aut amplius in Hispania, et commode per cursorem poterunt*

*ad nos Hispalim destinari: publicata enim est classis in festum S. Jo[ann]is Baptistæ, sed ante 10 vel 12 Julii non discedet. Deinde cum careamus responso a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ad primas nostras, dubitamus an forte ad Ram. Vam. non sint destinatæ: illis ego adjunxeram testimoniales vitæ meæ authenticas ad Ram. Vam. vel ad matrem meam quæ si forte cum litteris interiissent, opus esset aliis; quas ego transmitterem Hispali, si innotesceret nobis a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> an primas nostras acceperit. Quod spectat viaticum nostrum præter illud quod accepimus a R. P. Rectore Brugensi et expendimus tum ante discessum nostrum e Belgio Ostendæ,<sup>1</sup> tum in Naulum vectoribus nostris et in iter Coroniam Compostellam<sup>2</sup> (solvimus autem Ostenda Coroniam 22 Patacones) reliquum viatici accepimus a pratribus nostris Hispanis, Compostelæ, et Valisoleti; quibus illud refudit, hic apud P. Procuratorem Provinciæ illius, P. Ledesma, adeoque non est quod de illo sollicita sit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>. Pro reliquo, dixit nobis P. Ledesma, se Romæ pecunias reliquisse, inde ad Ram. Vam., ubi summa innotuerit, destinandas.*

*Hisce adjungit R. P. Bouwens, ad Ram. Vam. mecum omne obsequium, et de tot, ac tantis a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> obtentis beneficiis, æternum futuri memores, gratias agimus: ac nos SSmis. sacrificiis ac precibus enixissime commendamus.*

*Madrito 14 Maii 1670.*

*Ræ Væ filius in Christo*

*Petrus Coomans*

*[P.S.] Liceat bona Ræ Væ venia salutem adscribere amantissimam R. P. Mander-scheyt totique Provinciæ.*

*[206v, Address:]*

*Rdo. in Christo P. Patri Thomæ Dekens Soctis. Jesu per Flandro-Belgium Præposito Provinciali. Bruxellis.*

## Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

We wrote your Reverence, as I reckon, on the 26th of March<sup>3</sup> and we notified you of the successful outcome of our trip to Madrid, right up to the point when for two months we hesitated between hope and doubtful anxiety concerning our mission for what he [i.e. Fr. Ledesma] had written back to Belgium that the affairs here have been smooth and that permission has been obtained, is very far from the truth, because the members of the Council of the Indies have decreed that there should not be any deviation at all from the permission which emanated from the king's decree of already almost a year ago, whose first section stipulated that foreigners who were to be sent to the Indies, must stay first in Madrid for an entire year; secondly, that they may not ex-

1 Ed. note: Bruges and Ostend are cities in Belgium located together near the sea.

2 Ed. note: From Ostend, the two Belgian Jesuits had come to Madrid by way of Compostelle in Spain, where a so-called colony of German-speaking priests sometimes were delayed to attend to German-speaking pilgrims.

3 Ed. note: This letter was dated 19 March (see O4).



ceed the fourth part of the Spaniards departing for the Indies. In both parts trouble is produced for us. We have not fulfilled a year; and, although 40 companions had been granted by the Council to Fr. Andrés Ledesma, he assembled the fourth part involving foreigners, that is 10; we, who have shown up here, are subjects of the king of Spain with the exception of the Austrians, who are from the hereditary provinces [of the Hapsburgs]. Truly Fr. Ledesma who had thought of finding 50 Spaniards, hardly found 8, and, so as to make up the fourth part, hardly two, or three out of the 10 of us, were to be admitted, but only if they would spend one full year here.

After receiving this response we were disturbed, but most of all, Fr. Ledesma. He approached all the friends here who could soften up the spirit of the Councillors, and he decided that the humble petitioner offer the same petition to the Council: to which if the same answer may be brought forward again, there is no other recourse except to the Queen. That affair is full of danger but it is being evaluated by everyone, on account of the power of the ministers. And so far, either we must remain in Spain for almost three years, since the fleet hardly leaves every two years, and before its departure, we would spend half a year here already, or return to [our] Province, leaving it to God's pleasure. These things pertain to the business of our mission.

Another need to resort to Y.R. has come up. The letter which we brought from Y.R. to the Rev. Fr. Provincial of this Province, in his absence, we handed it over to the Rev. Fr. Rector of the Imperial College, where we were lodged, who was named therein as the second addressee. Fr. Ledesma was searching for it; he was informed of Y.R.'s certification of our status, and of the other things which were worthy of his kind attention and to recommend us to Y.R. It is true that the Rev. Fr. Rector lost it by what misfortune, I do not know. That is why Fr. Ledesma asked us earnestly to write to Y.R. again to deign to send a duplicate to us or to him in Seville, lest after those things have not been shown to us by the superiors of the Philippine Islands, the business may be done by [sending certificates of] profession, if perhaps the letter from Rome might not arrive before our departure. That is why we beseech Y.R. to deign to add this particular favor to the sum of the other favors, so liberally given to us unworthy ones. We shall stick around here for two months (if our affairs in this court succeed due to our prayer), or longer in Spain, and they could be conveniently mailed to us in Seville, for the fleet has been announced for the feast-day of St. John the Baptist, but it may not set sail before the 10 or 12 July. Afterwards, since we lack an answer to our first letter from Y.R., we doubt whether it has been received by Y.R. or not. I have added to that letter to Y.R. an authentic record of my career, or there would be a need for another letter to my mother, in case perhaps it has been lost with the letter; which I would send to Seville, if it is made known to us by Y.R. if you have received our first letter. Regarding our travelling expenses, beyond those we have received from the Rev. Fr. Rector of Bruges, we have spent then before our departure at Ostend in Belgium, and also for our passenger fare and in the journey between Coruña and Compostelle (we sailed however from Ostend to Coruña for 22 pesos). The rest of the provisions we received from our Spanish Fathers at Compostelle and Valladolid, to whom Fr. Ledesma has refunded

to the house of the Procurator of that Province. As far as this matter is concerned, Y.R. needs not worry about it any more. As for the rest, Fr. Ledesma told us that he would leave some money in Rome, from where it must be sent to Y.R., where the accounts will be reviewed.

Rev. Fr. Bouwens has annexed to this letter to Y.R., with my entire consent, words about the so many favors received from Y.R. We will be eternally grateful, and we commend ourselves earnestly to your most holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Madrid, 14 May 1670.

Your Reverence's son in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[P.S.] With the kind permission of Y.R., may we be permitted to extend our most loving greeting to Rev. Fr. Manderscheyt and to the whole Province.

[206v, Address:] To the Reverend Father Superior, Fr. Thomas Dekens, of the Society of Jesus, care of the Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province, Brussels.

## **07. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Dekens, dated Madrid 28 May 1670**

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 207-207v.*

### **Original text.**

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Cogit nos continua rerum nostrarum vicissitudo etiam sæpius ad Ram. Vam. tanquam ad Patrem recurrere nam qui indubitanter putabamus hinc Hispalim discedere, jam, desperato negotio pro hoc anno, Madriti hæere jubemur. Obtulit secundum libellum supplicem P. Andreas Ledesma consilio Indiæ quo petebat pro hac vice dispensari in mora unius anni hic Madriti omnibus exteris facienda uti et in numero quo superamus exteri quartam partem Hispanorum in Philipinas discedentium: verum aliud responsi non tulit, quam: servetur decretum regium quare desperato negotio Hispalim ille profectus est 26 Maii cum 4or sociis hispanis philosophis Soctis duobus, novicio uno, sæculari admissio uno; relicta cura P. Procuratori Generali Indiarum, ut, si quid immediate per reginam perfici possit, de quo tamen omnes desperant, iste perficiat. Præmonuit interim, præsagus futurorum, R. Adm. P. Nostrum, ut, quid de personis nostris fieri cupiat, dignetur rescribere, cujus responsum nos hic Madriti omnes expectamus. Ante tamen exit nobiscum P. Ledesma, et exquisivit, quid animi nobis futurum sit, si forte arbitrio nostro moram hujus anni relinquat P. Noster Generalis; an illam æquo animo simus laturi. Nos, re prius cum Deo communicata, respondimus si certos ipsi nos reddere possit et velit post hujus anni moram obtinendæ expeditionis non tantum uno anno sed vel septem hanc Rachelem nos æstimare. Reposuit ille certos nos fore hoc modo: explebimus annum a consilio requisitum, et si octoderim ex nostris hispanis obtinere non possit, se admissurum novitios donec numerus perfecte expleatur et sic ad*

*implendam condicionem secundam a consilio requisitam: Nobis enim duobus et quatuor Patribus Italis hanc tantum conditionem proposuit, Patres Gallobelgas, et Germanos, quia in illis est major difficultas, in provincias remittit: has condiciones si ipse non posuerit, liberum nobis fore in Belgium reversi. His auditis, resolvimus satius fore tantam promovendæ divinæ gloriæ spem pro tantilla mora non esse rejiciendam.*

*Interim, ne otiosa nobis sit expectatio hæc, et ut sublevemus Provinciam Philippinam, ab illa enim hoc anno alendi hic essemus obtulit se P. Gerardus R.P. Rectori Compostellano ut peregrinis eo excurrentibus sese impendat. Ergo precor a R.P. Rectore ut hic Madriti Rheroticam doceam, quod quidem difficulter pro Deo tamen admisi. Spem certam discedendi sequenti anno præbent Galleones discessuræ imo etiam naves aliæ regiæ quas vocant assogues[.] dux itineris futurus esset P. Florentia Mexicanus Procurator qui absolutis Romæ negotiis sequenti anno in Provinciam revertetur. Hunc rerum nostrarum statum voluimus Ræ Væ quamprimum innotescere, ut si quid in eo displiaceat, emendari auctoritate, si placeat approbari possit. Rex noster qui jam viribus aliquot laboravit febricula tertiana melius habet imo jam dicitur illa liberatus: Fuit ille publice nostrorum precibus commendatus ne malum vires sumeret bis ille secta fuit vena. Deus sanguinem tam carum servet hostibus fidei et monarchiæ, festo Pentecostes præterito in templo nostro Imperialis Collegii Baptizati sunt publice a nostris conversi mori decem ab Episcopo suffragando Cardinalis Tolletani, splendore magno et fructu tali ut ex solo aspectu sanctarum Cœrimoniarum tres alii in fidem instrui petierint et baptizandi sint Dominica SS. Trinitatis. Taurilia magno apparatu parabantur hic regi in 2dam. Julii id est postridie SS. Trinitatis verum ob ipsius ægritudinem aliquantulum dilata sunt[.] interim pro festo Corporis Christi fiunt theatra ex [causa] honoris.*

*De galleonibus quæ necdum appulerint in Cadix nova bona multum hic omnes exhilarant. Cartas habet P. Lavaya Peruensis agens Comitum de Lemos Viceregis Peruani ex Porto Vedo [sic] datas 8º Octobris 1669 quibus nuntiatur Galleones appulisse in Ca-faax [sic] 24 Julii et hæserint ibi 40 diebus inde discedentes 5 Septembris pervenerint in Portovedo 16 ubi et invenerint alios septem Milliones. Scribebatur hæc epistola necdum absoluta feria galleonum. Recentiora nova de illis sunt ex navi aliqua quæ appulit Gadibus ex insulis de Barloviento qua nuntiatur illas solvisse ex Portovedo 20 Jan. 1670 et ex Havana ad reditum in Hispaniam 20 Martii. Ex tanta mora quæ fuit 4or mensum et quatuor dierum in Portovedo infertur summam esse Argenti et auri copiam illis imponendam tam ex hac terra quam ex navibus Peruanis.*

*Cæterum omnes expectant illas in festo aut circa festum Corporis Christi. Alia non sunt quæ modo occurrant nisi ut se optimi Patris SS. Sacrificiis et precibus enixissime commendemus quod etsi hac vice non scribat iterum iterumque pro suo in Ram. Vam. et omnes affectu facit P. Gerardus.*

*Madrito 28 Maii 1670.*

*Ræ Væ filius in Christo*

*Petrus Coomans*

[Address:] *Reverendo in Chro. P. Patri Thomæ Dekens Soctis. Jesu per Flandro-belgium Provinciali. Bruxellis.*

### **Translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

The continuous viscissitude of our affair has forced us to recur even more often to Y.R. as to a father. We were thinking, we who were intending to depart for Seville, without doubt, having abandoned our business for this year, have already been ordered to remain in Madrid. Fr. Andrés Ledesma has offered us a second petition to the Council of the Indies in which he sought a dispensation for all the foreigners from the usual delay of one year in Madrid, in which we, the foreigners, exceed the fourth part of the Spaniards departing for the Philippines. He did not bring any other answer that the decree must be observed, whereby after having abandoned the business in Seville, and has left on 26 May with four Spanish companions: two philosophers of the Society, one novice and one lay brother. After having left the worry with the Fr. Procurator of the Indies, if anything can be done immediately through the Queen, concerning which no-one is very hopeful about, let him do it. Meanwhile, he, who can tell the future, has cautioned our Most Rev. Fr. [General] that, if there is anything to be done regarding our personnel, he should write back. All of us here in Madrid are awaiting his answer. Before Fr. Ledesma left with us, he made an inquiry concerning what was the intended future for us, whether our Father General would perhaps leave the delay of one year to our own decision; or else we would have to endure it with the same disposition. We, after having consulted this previously with God, we answered, if he can himself assure us and may wish, after the delay of one year to secure the voyage, to consider us not only for one year but for seven years like Rachel. He has re-assured us this way: we are to complete the year required by the Council, and if he cannot obtain eight out of our Spanish [provinces], he would accept novices until the number is attained, and thus fulfill the number asked for by the Council. He has proposed only this condition to the two of us and to the two Italian Fathers; he sent the Gallo-Belgian Fathers and the Germans back to their provinces, because there is a major difficulty with them. [Even] if he himself would not have imposed these conditions, they might have returned freely to us in Belgium. After hearing these things, we decided that it would not be right that such a hope of promoting the glory of God would be rejected on account of such a small delay.

Meanwhile, lest we have this idle period of waiting, and for us to support the Philippine Province, hence during the coming year we should be maintained by this [province]; Fr. Gerardo has offered himself to the Rev. Fr. Rector of Compostelle to devote himself to the pilgrims visiting the place. Therefore, I am being asked by the Rev. Fr. Rector to teach rhetorics here in Madrid, which nevertheless I have received with difficulty for God's sake. The galleons which will be sailing the next year are offering us a certain assurance of passage; there are also other royal ships which they call the quick-

silver [fleet].<sup>1</sup> The future mission band leader would be Fr. Florencia, the Mexican Procurator, who, after having finished the business in Rome, would be returning to his province that year. We wish to make this status of our affairs as known as possible to Y.R., so that, if there is anything which may be displeasing, it can be amended by the Superiors, if they be pleased to approve. Our king, who has already labored through a tertian fever with all his strength, is already improving, and they even say that he is free from it. He was the subject of our public prayers, lest he would take it badly, upon being bled twice. May God preserve a blood so precious in the interest of those still strangers to the faith and monarchy. On the past Pentecost Day, ten Moors converted by our people have been publicly baptized in our temple of the Imperial College by the Bishop standing for the Cardinal of Toledo with such great splendor and effect that just by watching the spectacle of the holy Ceremony three others sought to be instructed in the faith and they may be baptized on Trinity Sunday. The bull-fights are being prepared for the king with great magnificence for about the 2nd of July, which is the day after Trinity Sunday. Indeed, they have been delayed on account of some small sickness. Meanwhile, for the feast of Corpus Christi they are going to have a theater in his honor.

The good news regarding the galleons which would not have arrived at Cadiz yet have gladdened everyone very much. Fr. Lavaya, the Peruvian agent of the the Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Peru, had letters sent from the port of Portobello,<sup>2</sup> dated 8 October 1669, in which the news is conveyed that the galleons would arrive at Cafaax [rather Havana] on 24 July and would be staying there for 40 days, sailing away on 5 September, arriving in Portobello on the 16th where they would find 7 other millions. This letter was being written [when] the galleon fair had not yet ended. The more recent news from a certain ship which arrived at Cadiz from the Windward Islands are that those ships will sail from Portobello on 20 January 1670 and from Havana bound for Spain on 20 March. From such a delay, which lasted 4 months and 4 days in Portobello, it is implied that there is a sum of silver and a supply of gold which must be taken on board [those ships], coming from those from that land as well as from ships coming from Peru.

As for the rest, all are expecting those ships on or about the feast of Corpus Christi. There is nothing more to say except that we most earnestly commend ourselves to the most holy Sacrifices and prayers of the excellent Fathers, although Fr. Gerardo does not often write himself to Y.R., he sends his regards to everyone.

Madrid 28 May 1670.

Y.R.'s son in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To the Reverend Father Superior, Fr. Thomas Dekens of the Society of Jesus, care of the Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province, Brussels.

1 Ed. note: The "asogue" fleets were those transporting quicksilver to the mines of the New World.

2 Ed. note: That is Portobello, a former terminal port on the Caribbean coast of Panama.

## O8. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Dekens, dated Madrid 8 July 1670

Source: AGR 2, fol. 208-209v.

Note: This letter is mostly extracts from a letter sent to Fr. Ledesma from Manila in 1666.

### Original text.

[fol. 208]

*Reverende in Christo Pater,*

*P. E.*

*Accepit P. Gerardus litteras Ræ Væ datas Sungers(?) 17 Maii et ego Bruxellæ 17 Junii profectus scripsi ad R. P. Ledesma Gadibus necdum enim discessit Classis Regia quin imo pritant plurimi hæsuravi [hæsuri?] adhuc illam, licet cum evidenti periculo apellendi suo tempore in Indias, usque ad festum S. Jacobi. Interim cum nihil singulare de rebus nostris occurreret putaveram differre responsum usque ad sequentem cursorem, nondum enim attulerunt litteras R. Ad. Patris nostri. Sed cægit me oportuna humanitas Pris. Fresneda qui hic fasciculo includi nostras omnino desiderat. Transmitto itaque quæ ex variis litteris Pris. Ledesma et ex annuis ab ipso Romam allatis, ego de illis partibus collegeram. Spero non futura rigorata. Ita ergo habent annuæ translatae ex Hispanico.*

*Tantum in Indiis dependet a politico et sæculari regimen regulare et ecclesiasticum ut hæc sibi invicem in omni mutatione respondeant. Itaque hæ duæ rest consonant ut morbis unius etiam altera laboret. Necessaria est ergo, quo fiat transitus ad illa quæ nos præstant, narratio aliqua eorum quæ ad nos non pertinent.*

*Anno itaque 1658 festo S. Bernardi die justa Dei manus tanto terræ motu afflixit hanc urbem Manilam ut, brevi illo spatio quo duravit, reliquum hujus civitatis (alius 1645 civitatem multum afflixerat) pæne extinxerit. Etenim ædificium templi PP. Recolectorum Augustinianorum, venustum sane, totali ruina oppressum est. A domo Societatis Jesu fortissima, tria cubicula auvesa [adversa?] mortui sub ruina sunt aliqui, non tamen multi quia hora 5 vespertina necdum erat quieti nostrorum designata. Indemnes tandem evadere hujus civitatis incolæ domos ex ligno construentes: nam harum insularum solum, parum firmum ædificia ex latere, præsertim arenoso, qualis hic est, non patitur. Sequentibus annis continui fuere terræmotus verum non ita vehementes: etiam si anno 1664 mense Jan. unus duraverit diutius quamquo Credo suum aliquis recitet. Verum jam etiam fortes parum damni inferint: licet domus nostra latericea et alta imo et multis partibus dissoluta periculum nondum evaserit, nisi securos nos reddat paternam in suos Dri. Nri. pietas et affectus.*

*Anno 1661, mense junio rebellavit Provincia Papangan vicina huic civitati quæ ad septentrionem ab illa procurrit ad spatium 16 leucarum in longitudinem, et paulo minus in latitudinem. Verum spatio tam angusto fertiles sane campos et generosos homines complectitur. Caput rebellionis primum erat dilata solutio lignorum galeonibus fabricandis ibi succisorum: quæ quidem solutio per regem facta hærebat in manibus mag-*

*natum; unde multum afflicta misera plebs, licet alias satispatiens, jugum hispanorum violenter excussit: spem addiderant animi satis vivaces, et armorum hispanorum satis expertes: adeo ut et fidem catholicam et rempublicam suis se sumptibus et ministris sustinere posse enane [inane? vane?] sibi pollicerentur. Nec a temeritate abfuit audacia Manilam obsidere et sibi omnium dominium adsciscere cogitabant. At machinatione detecta principiis occursum fuit bello intentato: cui impares, errorem agnovere; et præcipui supplicio affecti.*

*Erat huic nationi vicina alia, magis Manila distans Provincia Pa[n]gasinan, quæ quidem concors in infidelitate, discordabat tamen tempore executionis. Hi ubi sensere priores minus potentes et subjugatu faciles, prodierunt in campum ad 6 vel 8 millia occiso primum locum tenente gubernatoris, aliquot hispanis, et duobus religiosis uno Augustiano altero Dominicano. In partem malæ suæ fidei traxerant populos aliquos Provinciæ Ilocos, magna rerum sacrarum et templorum strage utrobique facta [frustra?] perplexem, licet conjurationis capita non in fidem Catholicam sed in Hispanum regimen conjurassent. Capsum abduxere harum Provinciarum ubi et Cagayan episcopum D. Fr. Rodericum de Cardenas ordinis S. Dominici (quid enim aliud a multitudine incondita male firma in fide expectes?) civitatem diripere, Cathedralē incendere in qua et ipsum episcopum: qui sponsam suam deserere nescius licet flammās intentarent, et egredi juberent, plurimum ab illis patiebatur. Cum ecce ad sonitum armorum hispanorum, relicto tam atroci sacrilegio, induiti insequente jam hispano qua data via dilabuntur. Ita illorum manus evasit episcopus non absque miraculo, et rebelles indid hispanis armis et justitia castigati pacem obtinere sub initium 1662.*

*Plus timoris et angustiarum attulit huic civitati legatus cujusdam præpotentis Chinæ qui 5 Maii 1662 huc appulit. Erat ille Religiosus S. Dominici Fer. Victorius Riccius natione florentinus in qualitate Mandarinum. Verum ut rei recte seriem clarius quisque perficiat opus erit notitia aliqua Chinæ illius ejus que originis et vitæ.*

*Erat Ciprian (id ei nominis lingua chinica et Philippinensi Punprian idem sonat quod mavis generalis) filius cujusdem Chinæ nomine Icoan matre patronica. Natus erat in Macau [sfeu] Macai, paupere patre et humili: quare transierat in has insulas de Luzon ut victum sibi inter suos quæreret, quem lucrabatur officio nuncii in Parian. Verum hic genii inquieti in crimina incidit capitis reus, quæ et solvisset, nisi chinica natio intercessionem et donis extremum exitium depulisset. Quare in patriam redux omnia suorum successibus barbaris invenit. Itaque per fraudem sibi in turcda [turba?] ratus com[m]orant provinciam Chingbo et per victorias obicem se barbaro propitium procittit [proicit?]. Nomen "protectoris" assumit et "magni ducis imperii". Partes omnium maritimas et mare occupat ubi imbecillior barbarus cujus præcipua vix equitum erat. Facile fuit ad dulce nomen restaurandæ libertatis et imperii, innumerabiles copias sibi conjungere. Diversis vicibus cum barbaro confligens evasit victor obtentis viribus et auctoritate in tantum, ut totius imperii Chinici regimen s[is]te jam devoraret. Sed violentum cursum stitit Deus mutato imperio in captivitatem tartaricam, in cujus potestate honorifice habitus obiit non multis abhinc annis.*

*Punprian capti filius, libertatem patriæ animo voluens juncto copioso exercitu novem civitates interceptit quarum unaquæque alebat ad 200 millia animarum imo et ipsam Chinici imperii cunctam(?) Nanquin obsedit. Cingitur hæc triplici muro duarum leucarum spatio a se invicem distante; primus circulus ad 30 leucas complectitur. Hanc jam jam occupabat Punprian quando in angustiis vires et animos colligens Tartarus in sui defensionem cum impetuoso exercitu advolat in campum educens ad 400 millia equitem opposuit et exercitum Punprian verum tantum equitem multitudini compar, campo cessit et obsidionem solvit relinquens impressionibus barbari ad 40 millia mortuorum; qui eo usque eum est insecutus, ut cœgerit in insulas sese recipere: imo et inde ejicere eum tentans classem parabat Tartarus, Vayolos vocant. Ubi ita sese opposuit Deprian, parata etiam classe fuit, inito certamine maritimo, maximo quidem quod unquam viderint hæc maria, Tartarum fuderit ad interneconem omnium tam militum quam navium. Cui inopinata hæc ruina adeo stomachum movit ut ad sex milliarum integra civitates Arborea et quidquid uspiam fuit pænitus excindi imperaverit vastitatem hosti suo vel tanto impendio tartarus.*

*Gens omnis sedibus suis pulsa ad Pu[n]prian se contulit adeo ut exercitus ipsius ad plures milliones excresceret (multitudinem hanc mirabitur nemo qui Chinam noverit) qui gravari se tanta multitudine sentiens quærebat ubi colonias poneret. Convertit itaque oculos ad insulam Chinis proximam [fol. 208v] nec nisi 24 leucis mari ab illa dissitam, nomini Tayguan per nome Europeo insula Formosa fuit hæc Hispanorum quondam verum ab A[n]jo 1640 perdita ab Hollandis tenebatur. Ut itaque tetrellum(?) armis suis quærat, fingit non soluta debita aliqua, et capta navigia suorum aliqua in Japoniam commercii causa navigantia. De quibus antequam purgarent se Hollandi; ecce, venit in illos tempestas nunquam expectata, plus quam 600 navium, Champanes vocant, et in illos plus quam decem millia hominum. Reliquum sui exercitus sibi servaverat ut si quos Hollandos osorderet [exiveret?] illorum locum implerent. Et v- [hole] novem mensium spatio usque ad Aprili 1660 ad Februarum sequentis plus quam decem millia ex-artarint Hollandi. Tandem omni conatu irrita dedit se insula, et egressi sunt Hollandi festo Virginis Purificatæ 1661 præter personas suas et naves nihil offerent. Bataviam novam petieri(?), in potestate Punprian valore, tam in tocuma [locaria?] quam aliis divitiis, usque ad 5 milliorum.*

*Hic victoriis elatus Barbarus terrorem circumferre et in nostras insulas ostendere cupiebat. Legationem itaque adornat, quæ nostrorum animos in tantum turbavit, erant enim angusto loco res nostræ, et nihil minus quam detensionem spirabant, ut cogitatu taciler non sit. Scribit itaque ad gubernatorum nostrum epistolam ut sequitur:*

**“Ordo Amicæ Admonitionis Cogcong Capitanei Generalis Regni Chinensis ad Gubernatorem Manilæ D. Sabianum Manrique de Lara.”**

*“Dictat æquitas et ratio, cognita tam antiquis quam modo imperantibus, ut quævis natio exera tributis et Reverentia agnoscat favor principes a Cælo electos. Cæli Mandata nec agnoscentes nec intelligentes stupidi Hollandi sine metu et reverentia perrexerint intentare et tyrannice habere subditos meos, imo et ausi sunt rapere et destruere*



naves meas mercatorius. Quare a multo tempore in animo tuit formare exercitum quo illorum culpas castigarem. Verum dedit mihi Cœlum et terra patientiam raram et cor amplum mittebam itaque admonitiones et exhortationes tanquam amicus, exspectans quo culpas suas solerent et peccata sua emendarent: verum illi indurati magis, præpos-tero consilio et perverso noluerunt hæc intelligere, ego itaque iras in me meas colligens Anno Sinti V Luna 4 (fuit annus Sinti 1661, quarta una mensis Aprilis) assumpta iræ meæ fortitudine exercitum paravi quo delicta ipsorum castigarem, et adveniens cœpi illos, ocidi, destruxi sine numero ita ut nec haberent quo fugerent, aut ubi se reciperent, et nudi humiliter peterent subjicerentur nobis ipsi portalia, lacus, civitates, armamentaria et quidquid per tributa multis annis congregaverant. Denique parvo spatio venit in meam potestatem, quod forte seriassent ipsi, nec tantum laboris sustinuissent, si scientes et agnoscentes culpas suas, humiliter venissent ad me fronte terram percutientes.”

“Vestrum parvum regnum in easdem culpas incurrit lædendo et opprimendo nostras Champanes mercatorias, occasionem præbendo rixis et discordiis. Jam res, quæ mihi erant cum insula Formosa absolutæ sunt. Exercitati milites quos habeo sunt centenarum millia etiam ab insula Formosa usque ad vestrum parvum regnum parum itineris est, adeo ut nocte egrediens, mane possim atollere. Cogitabam ego ipse ducere meum exercitum ad castigandos vestros errores: verum recordabar quod etiamsi vestrum parvum regnum discordiarum semina primo jecisset, annis tamen sequentibus aliquis doloris sensus in nobis recognosceretur. In præsentiarum itaque collatis omnibus negotii hujus mementis [momenti?], decrevi in comparationem Hollandorum ignoscere vobis, et exercitum in insula Formosa detinere.”

“Præmitto itaque solum Patrem legatum meum et consiliarium quo parvum regnum vestrum cœlo obœdiat, et errores propios emendet, atque terra fronte percussa in hac regia civitate, annis singulis vectigal offerat. Hoc si feceritis, redeat ad me Pater legatus, et fidem vobis habebō in posterum, et plane mihi satisfiet. Remittam vobis culpas preteritas, concedam regium locum et dignitatem: imo etiam jubebo ut ad vos mei mercatores excurrant. Sin vero decepti nolueritis: veniam ad vos cum exercitu qui portalia vestra, portus, civitates, armamentaria imo et lapides ipsos simul abradat, et destruat. Et etiamsi voluerint tributum tumolvere, non poterunt. Exemplum ante oculos sit vobis Hollandus. Et illo casu opus non est ut redeat ad me Pater. Mali et boni damna et lucra eodem loco tunc erunt. Cogitet hoc vestrum parvum regnum, quamprimum, sine mora, nec differat, ne postea sit peius.”

“Amice vos tantum moneo et doceo.”

“16 regis Cuglei Coyenyz 7 luna 3 (Annis e 1662 21 Aprili).”

*Hæc erat epistola quam 5 Maii 1662 gubernatori nostro prædebat religionis legatus pro dignitate sua a nobis habitus. Ad responsum propositionis tam inexpectatæ convenere ex vepralis(?) præcipui Gubernator, Archiepiscopus, regalis Audiencia, civitatis magistratus, religiosorum provinciales, et capitanei rerum expertes in domo Soctis Jesu; et inclinari videbatur Gubernator ut aliquid favoris pro tempore barbaro indulgeretur:*

*verum pro auctoritate et animose barbaro respondendum resolvere et nihil timoris, sed contemptum stupidæ arrogantiae præferendum. Interim non minus solliciti de adventu et tempestate, quam in aliorum caput offendere minabatur, imo nec de remediis, quibus venienti resisterent. Primum itaque in Chinam auehi missi sunt quotquot ex hac natione insulas nostras incolebant, purgato rumore qui tantum nobis morbum promittebat, gentiles tamen non christiani: nam et pauciores hi erant et minus mali, et officiis quæ in republica soli ipsi exercent magis necesarii.*

*Nec difficile erat illis se expedire ubi procedere Punprian videretur. Permittebatur omnibus sua secum efferre. Imo resolutionis hujus publicatio ad aliquot dico postea dilata. Nec latuit illos nostrum consilium, quin et capitibus suis metuebant suspicabantur enim decretam nobis ipsorum ruinam, et jugulandos se omnes una nocte arbitrabantur. Jun[x]ere suspicioni ex intima plebe aliqui qui quasi jam condemnati, mortuos sese lamentabatur. His suspicionum suavi stimulis, quas timor evidenter effecerat, agitati discurrebant desperabundi, imo posita sententiæ suæ veritate incunctanter afferebant, non dubitare se fretos vitæ bene actæ conscientia, prævenire aggressores et in hispanos insurgere: erant tamen suspiciorum harum nimis cito creditarum quibus conscientiam totius malam quam consilium nostrum pertabantur, auctores ex Chinis inquietioribus et infidelioribus pauci, at sufficientes qui reliquam turbam suspensam tenerent et ad omnem sortis aleam intentam. Erupit tandem diffidentiae cuniculus.*

*Comu[n]i caverat Gubernator Chineses aliquos navium capitaneos in Chinam destinatos. Hi ubi civitatem intravere inquieti Chinæ ad supplicium vocari se rati obstitere in ipsa porta ductoribus facile 20 aut 30 dimissi suos postulantes. Locus etiam suspicionem augebat nam erat ad portam regia cohors et portalia pluribus frequentata, adeo ut personaret undique clamor rebellare Sangleyes (Chinæ sunt) et ipsum Cavite Castellanum (provincia)] rescripsisse gubernatori ad 25 Maii in armis omnes fore. Restitere nostri in porta et paucis occisis reliqui in fugam se dedere. Sunt habitatores Pharian [Parian], mercatores sunt et artium mechanicarum Chinæ. Clamores fugientium et tormentorum sonitum audientes, nam duo tormenta parvo damno in eos fuerant exonerata periculum suum jam plane affirmabant, idque effugere satagebant. Unde primum ad flumen descendentes plures se submersere: verum reliqui vanum metum a religiosis edocti, nec tamen sibi fidentes, receperunt sese ad præruptos montes Antipolitanos unde postea nec precibus imo nec minis, nam Gubernator ad illos misit 300 Pa[n]jpangos cum arcubus et sagittis, deduci potuerint donec tandem pacem iniit P. Franciscus Messina Soctis Jesu.*

[fol. 209]

*Jussi itaque sunt Sangleyes dispergi per Provincias cum necdum offerret se occasio illos ablegandi donec navibus paratio in quibus plurimum nobis damni poterat esse si bellum in horas expectatum ingrueret, in quas, post aliquorum supplicium impositi sunt.*

*In isto tumultu mactarunt Chinæ Hispanos duos vel tres, aliquot mores, imo et Religiosum Dominicanum 1. Multum animos nostrorum in illos irritabat. Dispositis jam*

*navibus impositi in illas Chinæ plusquam ad 2000 una cum P. Legato et vela fecerunt in Chinam cum responso D. Gubernatoris, imo et accensi stimulis rebellionis quam in odium nostrorum multum exagerabant nisi Deus aliter disposuisset, eodem quo vela fecerant die Deus Misericordiarum Patre consolari dignatus est insulas has non solum tristes inopinato hoc successu, sed vel maxime quod nullum jam a biennio subsidium ex Nova Hispania advenerat, una enim navis in mari defecerat, altera huc destinata tardius in Novam Hispaniam appulerat, adventu navis unius, non illius quæ expectabatur, sed alterius quam Vicerex Comes de Llaños cum imperio etiam harum insularum, ignarum se harum partim sentiens, præcedere jusserat cum sufficienti milite, pecunia, subsidio, et cum 16 harum insularum missionariis Soctis Jesu. Circumstantias ponderantibus felix hoc præsagium rebus nostris videbatur. Vigebantur animi spe felicissimi successus, tum vel maxime quando intellectum est quantum thesaurum PP. adveherent in duobus corporibus Martyrum Jucundi et Marcialis, quibus et Gubernatoris pietas et reipublicæ consensus et Patrum zelus omnia officia detulere, hos belli duces, hos reit(?) tutelares designantes.*

*Attollere itaque animos universi, nec tantum bello necessaria curare, civitati de præsidio providere, novas cohortes conscribere, arma munimenta, cætera construere, sed inprimis quod priorum Hispanorum est Deum sibi propitium accedere: sincero dolore, precibus et pœnitentia peccata castigare, novenariam solemnitatem Michaeli Archangelo multa cum solemnitatem instituere, hanc frequentare omnes sacro se epulo reficere [retirere?], concionibus interesse, pœnas de se disciplinis publicis sumere. Discurrebant per plateas PP. Soctis Jesu manu crucifixum inter luminaria circumferentes et constitutis locis contritionis actus præcidebant, more per Hispaniam introducto a P. Hyeronimo Lopez, tum vero ad concionem in templo nostro summo cum fructu deducebant. Hoc tam pietatis quam politicæ et militaribus exercitus.*

*Uno circiter anno exacto appulit 6 Aprili 1663 et sub initium hujus portum tenuit Manilensem P. fr. Victorius Riccius a legatione sua redux. Excepere illum nostri sicut inimicos solent tormentis in naves acriter explosis: Verum ille puores [priorem?] tesseram malo imponi jussit et octava ejusdem terram tenuit. Deductus recta ad Palatium Gubernatoris magna cum ostentatione et fastu utpote legatus et Mandarinus supremæ dignitatis; ibique legationis suæ capita deposuit, non a Punprian sed ejus filio successore: obierat enim parens ejus ravidus plane et digitos sibi præ furore abrodens. Causabant hunc spectra terrificæ jugulatorum hominum, illorum forte quos injuste interfecerat. Tyrannus sane crudelissimis de quo non dubitant afferre, quod tres miliones superent, quos ipse vel violenter imperiis, vel acinaze [sic] suo interfecit. Vitium ipsi naturæ tam abominandum ut merito vel fortunæ inconstantia vel Deus hoc punivisse nobis videatur. Asserit vero P. Mandarinus innumerabiles copias et arma in nostram vicinam parata jam habuisse, imo si responsum nostrum ipsi inotivisset, mortuum enim invenit Pater, infallibilem futurum ipsius adventum. Paratas jam habebat 150 naves et 600 millia hominum, ex quibus veteranam militiam in nostrum interitum designabat. Passus ipsi incidit Deus et substituit(?) filium qui contrariæ indolis et turbarum osor P. Victorum benigne excepit, et nobis remisit ut de preteritis satisfaceret, et*

*pacis, amicitiae et commercii fœdera afferret. Ita in vanum abiere pericula et temer, et nobis stimulus additus sperandi in Deum, et amplectendi legum suarum semitas harum enim ut transgressio in discrimina inducit, harum amor his eximit.*

*Reversus in Chinam 1663 P. Victorius (ut constat ex ipsius epistola 1664) omnia turbatissima invenit, filium Punprian in imperio suo multum afflictum, civitates multas a barbaro interceptas, qui in vindictam damnorum sibi illatorum dormit nunquam, nunquam cessat terroribus conflictibus illum aggredi semper ultor. Qui ad calcem abrasit civitatem ipsius, unde filii hujus vires multum imminutæ, tartari vero confirmatæ.*

*Hic alienæ terræ incola superstitiones ipsius non ita observat, et illis quæ magis fidei christianæ exercitus adversabantur non ita inhæret, quin multum indulgeat (scribit P. Antonius Govea litteris datis 25 Jan. 1664 in Fouchien) quo multum efflorescit fides Christiana. Solum deplorat defectum operariorum et ponderat penuriam quam patiuntur necessariorum præsertim vini Europæi, adeo ut ad extremum redacta sit civitas Macau totius missionis r-ti et religionis caput unde in reliquum corpus operarii tanquam spiritus mittebantur, ibi jam miseri Lusitani finem et interitum operiuntur. Tantum chinicæ revolutiones, et angustissimus status indiarum orientalium illos afflixere, ut vix spiritus nobilissimæ civitati et emporeo supersit. Et vero sacrimabiles sunt voces quæ audiuntur in dies de Indra cui et heretica hollandorum invasio et domestica discordia imprestantium ictus infligit mortiferos, et lacrimis dignos tam diu quam deplorari possunt, antequam totalis interitus lacrimis siccat. Non permittat pia Dei benignitas inpenis est matrum, et magnus ejus Aptus Xaverius hæreditatem suam non deserat cum dedecore armorum catholicorum et fidei, et incremento inimicorum ejus. Hactenus [Litteræ] Annuæ Philippinæ.*

*Cæterum litteris 1666 ex Philippinis ad R. P. Ledesma hæc habebantur. Civitatem Macau a tartaris funditus deletam ita ut ne vestigium quidem hujus supersit, impositis in varias naves Lusitanis, tam mercatoribus quam Religiosis et in varias partes dimissis causa ferebatur hujus excidii tartaro fuisse quod fama esset ingentem argenti vim in hac civitate recondi cui cum tartarus avidissime inhiaret omnem furorem suum in illam effudit. Monachus quidam franciscanus in Philipinas insulas appulsus multum erat sollicitus de monialibus S. Francisci quæ in illa civitate Deo serviebant. Rogatus ille a Patre nostros cum transmittere illas in Philippinas non cuperet quare non transveheret Goam verum aliud responsi pater non tulit quam Goæ res priori etiam loco esse quam Macai adeo hereticorum Hollandorum perversitas partes illas omnes infestat.*

*Eadem litteræ habebant commercium stabilitum Chinas inter et Philipinenses: nam cum Tartarus Chinarum dominus deberet novem milliones Argenti Tartaro Superiori Septentrionali qui illum in debellanda China adjuverat multis centenis equitum millibus et ad solutionem ab illo multum premeretur nec haberet unde solveret coactus est pacem inere cum sinis in maritima ora et vicinis insulis ad huc imperantibus his conditionibus ut reædificaret ipsis omnia loca ad sex amplius milliaria ab ipso ante destructa et Chinis liceret libere commercium habere cum Insulis Philippinis et cum Nova Hispania ex quo ipsi Tartaro quotannis solverent in vectigal tres Milliones. Quare adhortabatur ille quamplurimum P. Ledesma ut quam plurimo socios ex Europa adeat*

*cum totum jam onus Ecclesiæ Chinicæ deficientibus Lusitanis, incumbat Hispanis et insulis Philippinis. Hæc ego ex litteris collegeram.*

*Exspectamus hic in horas P. Procuratorem novi Regni ex America quidquid novi ille attulerit colligam deligenter, et ubi nactus fuero oportunitatem includendi chartas alicujus fasciculo transmittam Ræ Væ. Nobis aliud quod scriptu dignum sit hic plane non occurrit quare enixissime Ræ Væ SSmis Sacrificiis et Precibus ego et P. Gerardus qui adhuc moratur Madriti, nos commendamus.*

*Madrito 8 julii 1670.*

*Ræ Væ Filius in Xro,*

*Petrus Coomans*

[P. S.] *Audeo bona Ræ Væ venia salutare R. P. Manderscheyt et Ptrem. van Scrieck.<sup>1</sup> [229v, Address:] Reverendo in Chro P. Patri Thomæ Dekens Soctis Jesu per Flan-drobeltium preposito provinciali. Bruxellis.*

[Additional note in Spanish:] Por manos de mi P. C. Stappart.

### Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

Father Gerard received the letter of your Reverence, dated Sungers(?) 17 May, and I one dated Brussels 17 June. And I wrote to Rev. Fr. Ledesma in Cadiz, and although the royal fleet has not yet departed, but not very many would rather have remained in that place, although with evident danger of arriving in the [West] Indies at their own time, as late as the feast of St. James [i.e. 25 July]. Meanwhile, when I had intended to postpone my answer until the second courier when nothing singular would be occurring concerning our affairs, indeed they have not yet brought the letter of our very Reverend Father. But the opportune kindness of Fr. Fresneda who desires that our letter be altogether included here in the pouch, has compelled me [to respond sooner]. Thus I am conveying many things that were taken from the various letters of Fr. Ledesma and from the annual report done by him in Rome. I am hoping that future things will not be inflexible. Thus, the annual reports have to be translated from the Spanish.

In the Indies so much depends on politics, and the administration of the religious orders and churches depends on the civilian government, and these must correspond regarding every change. Therefore, these two must remain in agreement, in order that the sickness of one may not affect the other.

It is necessary, therefore, where a passage is quoted regarding matters that concern us, that there be a certain narration of those things which do not pertain to us.

Thus in the year 1658, exactly on the feast-day of St. Bernard, the hand of God hit the city of Manila, in such a way that in the short time that it lasted, the rest of this city

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1 Ed. note: Either Brother Andrew, born in Wesemael (Brabant Province) and died at Louvain in 1714, or Brother Anthony, born Ypres, died Bailleul 1670. This postscript was crossed out by a different person, the same one who re-directed the letter through Fr. Stappart.

was almost demolished (another earthquake had hit the city in 1645). And indeed the structure of the beautiful church of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers crumbled into total ruins. In three rooms across from the very strong house of the Society of Jesus, some dead people were found under the ruins. Not very many people died, because 5 p.m. was too early for bed time. Finally, the native houses in the city escaped damage, because they were made of wood. The only thing in these islands not strong enough were the buildings on the sandy side, which is here; they did not suffer [damage]. During the following years, there have been continuous earthquakes, not as strong, although in the month of January 1664, one lasted longer than the time it takes to recite the Creed. Indeed, they were not strong enough to inflict damage; although our high house annex would not have avoided cracks in many places, had not the piety and affection of our Lord for his own made us safe.

In the year **1661**, in the month of June, the province of Pampanga, which begins near this city and extends over a space of 16 leagues in length and a little less in width, rebelled. Truly with a space so narrow, it encompasses very fertile fields and generous people. The chief cause of the rebellion was the delayed payment to the cutters of the wood for building the galleons; the said payment done by the king remains in the hands of the mighty, whence the miserable common people were much afflicted, although suffering sufficiently from other things, they violently shook off the yoke of the Spaniards; the passions vigorous enough added hope, and pretty well devoid of Spanish arms; to such a degree that they were vainly promising for themselves that they can support the Catholic faith and the republic with their own expense and assistants. And boldness was not far from foolhardiness to besiege Manila. And they were thinking of appropriating all the powers to themselves. But the design having been uncovered, it has been anticipated from the beginning with a directed war; they, not being a match to it, acknowledged their error, and were brought down with a special punishment.

There was another province near these people, the province of Pangasinan, more distant from Manila, which even if it were in agreement with the unfaithfulness, was nevertheless disagreeing about the time of its execution. When they perceived that the previous ones were not that strong and were easily subjugated, they, after killing in the first place the lieutenant governor, some Spaniards, and two religious—one Augustinian, the other Dominican—proceeded to a field at a distance of 6 to 8 miles. They pulled to the side of their bad faith some people in the province of Ilocos, with a great destruction of many sacred objects and churches by the people on both sides has been done, although the heads of the conspiracy had formed the plot not against the Catholic faith but against the Spanish government. They have taken away the “wagon” of these provinces when they indeed kidnapped the Bishop of Cagayan, Don Fray Rodrigo de Cárdenas of the Order of St. Dominic (from what may you expect from a rude mob erroneously steadfast in conviction), they plundered the city, they stretched out the flames threatening to burn the Cathedral in which they would order the bishop, who unknowingly allows [himself] to abandon his own bride, to get out, he suffers much from them. When, after leaving so horrible a sacrilege, here comes the sound of the

Spanish arms, they, assuming that the Spanish were already in pursuit, moved away in different directions in any available route. Thus the bishop miraculously escaped from their hands and the Indian rebels, punished by the Spanish arms and justice, obtained peace at the beginning of 1662.<sup>1</sup>

The ambassador of a very powerful Chinese, who landed here on 5 May 1662, brought more fear and anxiety to this city. He was that famous religious of St. Dominic, Fray Vittorio Ricci,<sup>2</sup> a Florentine by nationality, in the status of a Mandarin. Truly, in order that everybody may properly and more clearly complete the chain of events, a certain knowledge of that Chinese, of both his origin and career would be necessary.

Ciprian (that is his name in the Chinese language and Punprian his name in the Philippine language sounds the same whatever you generally prefer) was the son of a certain Chinese, Icoan by name, through the patronymic on his mother's side. He was born in Macau or Macai, from a poor and humble father for which reason he had gone over into these islands of Luzon in order to look for his own sustenance among his own kind, which he got through employment as a messenger in the Parian. It is true that this man of restless inclination fell into crimes worthy of capital punishment, which he would have indeed received, had not the Chinese people shunted this possibility asides through intercession and gifts. That is why he returned to his own country, and learned everything about his own people through barbaric exploits. Thus by fraud, reckoning himself to be part of the crowd he remained in the province of Chingbo, and by victories he threw himself as a timely obstacle in the way of the barbarian. He assumed the name of "Protector" and "Great Leader of the Empire". He seized all the coast-lines and the sea where there was a weaker barbarian whose points of superiority would hardly belong to the cavalry. It was easy to unite innumerable troops to himself in the sweet name of the restoration of freedom and of the empire. At different times the victor fighting with the barbarian got away after obtaining troops and authority in such a measure that that man would have already destroyed the rule of the whole Chinese empire. But God stopped the violent course in a change of power into the Tartaric captivity, he, kept in his honorific power, died not many years afterward.

Punprian, the son of the captive, wishing freedom for the country, after uniting a well-equipped army, took away nine cities, each one of which was supporting almost 200,000 people, by all means he indeed laid siege against the entire city of Nanking of the Chinese empire. This city is enclosed by a triple wall with a space of two leagues distant from one another; the first circle surround almost 30 leagues. This wall was seized by Punprian at that very time when the Tartar, in the course of the trouble, was gathering troops and courage, ran with an impetuous army into the camp for his own defence, at the head of up to 400,000 horsemen, he opposed [the enemy]. Punprian, with an equal

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1 Ed. note: The insurrections by Filipinos in Pampanga and Pangasinan, in 1660- 61, is synopsised from various histories, by Blair & Robertson, in B&R 38: 139-215. The two Dominicans who were killed by the rebels of the Ilocos Province were named father Fray José Santa María and father Fray José Arias. Bishop Cárdenas died at Manila early in May 1661.

2 Ed. note: Vittorio Riccio, in Spanish. See his biographical sketch in B&R 36:218.

multitude of horsemen, got the army out the camp, and loosened the siege leaving up to 40,000 dead with his attacks upon the barbarian, who pursued him, so that he had to retire to the islands. Rather, the Tartar, whom they called Vayolos, was preparing to eject him from there with a fleet. There Deprian [Punprian?] thus set himself against, and he was even with a prepared fleet, after having entered a naval battle, indeed the biggest that these seas would see. He overthrew the Tartar at the utter destruction of everything, such as the soldiers and ships. For whom this unexpected destruction has produced a displeasure to such a degree that he would have ordered the devastation of up to 6,000 complete cities and towns and the Tartar ordered that whatever else existed anywhere be destroyed, and the devastation of his enemy at any cost.

The entire city population driven from their dwellings went over to Punprian in such a way that his army was growing forth to many millions (no-one who knows China will doubt this number) who, feeling that he would be burdened by such a multitude, was looking for a place where he would put his colonies. Thus he turned his eyes to an island near China not far from it, except for a distance of 24 leagues by sea, Tayguan [i.e. Taiwan], which is called Formosa by the Europeans,<sup>1</sup> this island which the Spaniards have really lost since the year 1640 to the Dutch, who then held it, so that he may look for a "tetrellum" [retreat?] for his army, he saw to it that certain debt not be paid, and certain ships of his had been seized in Japan while going there to trade. From whom before the Dutch would free themselves, there came a completely-unexpected typhoon upon them and upon more than 600 of their ships, Champan by name, and upon the more than 10,000 men aboard them. He kept for himself the rest of his army so that if he could expel those Dutch, he would fill the place with his own people. And over the next 9 months, from the end of April 1660 until the following February the Dutch evacuated over 10,000. Finally, he has made himself master of the island, after all attempt [to resist him] proved futile, and the Dutch went out on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin in 1660, leaving for New Batavia with only their people and their ships, and abandoning to the power of Punprian a [location?] and a large booty estimated at up to 5 millions.

Elated by this victory, the Barbarian wished to expand and bring terror to our islands. Thus he prepared an embassy, which has disturbed the spirits of our men to a great extent, for our affairs were in a tight situation, and they favored nothing less than a delaying action, such as may not be easily detected. Thus he writes to our Governor the following letter:

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1 Ed. note: We learn that even as far back as 1660, Taiwan was so called by the Chinese.



**Text of the Friendly Warning from Cogcong<sup>1</sup> the Captain General of the Chinese Kingdom to the Governor of Manila Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.”**

“Fairness and reason, known from such antiquities as ruling, dictates that any foreign nation whatever acknowledge through tributes and reverence the emperors chosen by a favor from Heaven. Neither acknowledging the orders from heaven nor understanding the stupid Dutch [who] without fear or reverence would have continued to threaten and act tyrannically my subjects, or rather dared to seize and destroy my merchant ships.”

“Whereas for a long time in a design it [Heaven] took care to form an army with which I would punish the faults of those people. Truly Heaven and earth gave me a rare patience and a big heart. Thus I sent warnings and exhortations as a friend, waiting for such a time that they would recognize their own faults and would correct their own sins. Instead, they became more hardened, through an absurd and perverted warlike design they did not want to understand these things. I, therefore, heaping together the anger that has gone within me, in the year of Sinti V fourth month (the year of Sinti was 1661, the fourth month was April) with a firmness of my wrath taken up, I prepared an army with which I would punish their crimes, and arriving [at Formosa] I captured, killed and destroyed them without counting in such a way that they have nowhere to escape, or where they would withdraw, and defenceless, they humbly begged for [to keep] their own selves, their personal belongings, lakes(?), cities(?), weaponry, and whatever they had collected by way of tributes over many years. Finally, in a short period of time, that fort which they had established came under my power, and they would not have endured so much punishment, if only they had acknowledged their faults, had they humbly come to me striking the ground with their forehead.”

“Your little kingdom has committed the same faults by attacking and sinking our Champans, or merchant vessels, by supplying a pretext for quarrels and dissensions. The business which I had in Formosa, has already been finished. The disciplined soldiers which I have are hundred of thousands, besides there is a very short journey from the island of Formosa to your little kingdom, in such a way that going out at night, I may be able to land by morning. I was thinking that I myself would lead my army to punish your mistakes. Indeed I was remembering that, although your little kingdom had in the first place sown the seeds of dissensions, nevertheless during the following years a certain sense of sorrow towards us was being recognized. For the time being, therefore, after having considered the whole of this business in comparison with the

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1 Ed. note: His official name can best be transliterated Kue-sing; in fact, it is an adopted name which means “son of a king”. His aliases are Punpuan, Cogsen, Koxinga, etc. He was a Chinese pirate who invaded Formosa, demanded tribute from the Spaniards and threatened Manila, and finally instigated a revolt in the Manila Chinese community. The Spanish version of the 1662 letter of Kue-sing, and the governor’s reply, may be found in Diaz’ *Conquistas*, pp. 625-626, 629-631, and in Murillo Velarde’s *Historia de Philipinas*, fol. 271, 274.

Dutch, I decreed to overlook you and to hold back the army in the island of Formosa.”

“Thus I am sending ahead the Father alone as my envoy and my adviser through whom your little kingdom may render obedience to heaven, and likewise correct its own errors, and after surrendering [lit. after striking the forehead on the ground] in this royal city, offer tribute every single year. If you would do this, let the Father envoy return to me, and indeed I will have trust in you in future, then it will clearly satisfy me. I will forgive you your past sins, I will grant you a royal place and dignity: yes, indeed I will also command that my merchants hasten forward to you. If on the contrary, you, deceived, will not be willing [to accept these terms], I will come to you with an army to seize and at the same time destroy your personal effects, ports, cities, weaponry: yes indeed, the very stones themselves. Then, although they would wish to consider [paying] the tribute at that time, they would not be able to. Let the Dutch be the example before your eyes. And in that case it is not necessary that the Father return to me. The good and the bad people, the losses and the profits will then be in the same position. Let your little kingdom think about this, as soon as possible, without delay, and let it not be put off, lest it may be worse afterward.”

“Friend, I am only warning and informing you.”

“16th year of the king Cuglei<sup>1</sup> day(?) 7, month 3 (year of 1662, 21st of April).”

This was the letter which the religious envoy, entertained by us on account of his own dignity, was taking to our governor on the 5th of May 1662. The leaders of the community—the Governor, the Archbishop, the Royal Audiencia, the magistrate of the city, the religious Provincials, and the captains expert in such things—gathered to give an answer to such an unexpected proposal at the House of the Society of Jesus (which was not privy to the business). The Governor seemed to be inclined then to concede some favor to the barbarian for the time being; truly on behalf of the authority but they decided to respond courageously to the barbarian and nothing out of fear but that contempt must be shown to the stupid arrogance. Meanwhile they were not troubled so much concerning the coming and the calamity which he was threatening to strike against the head of others, rather concerning the remedies with which to resist the one coming. Thus in the first place whatever number from this nation who were living in our islands, have been sent to be taken away to China (after clearing away the rumor which was causing us to expect so much distress), the gentiles, but not the Christians, because these were both few and not so bad, likewise they were more indispensable for the duties which they were the only ones in the republic who were busily engaged in business.

And it was not difficult for them to proceed where Punprian would seem to advance. It was permitted to all to bring out their belongings with them. Rather, the public announcement of this solution, I say, was put off for several [days] afterwards. And our

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1 Ed. note: The name of this legitimate Chinese emperor is written Junglie in B&R 41:86.

plan was not unknown to them, they were fearing for their lives, for they were conjecturing that our decree would mean their destruction. And they were all thinking that they ought to kill themselves in one night. Some from deep within the community, united by the suspicion, as if they were already condemned, were lamenting that they were already dead men. Their suspicions were a sweet stimulus, which fear had obviously produced; troubled, they were running about in despair. Indeed, having assumed that their opinion was the truth, they immediately took the necessary steps to prevent aggression, not doubting for one moment the common feeling that life was pretty well over, and to rise against the Spaniards. Nevertheless, there were instigators of these suspicions too quickly believed, which distorted the consciousness of the whole community, more so than our advice. The instigators among the restless and disloyal Chinese were few but they were sufficient to hold the rest of the crowd dependent [on them] and towards an entire venture intent on chance. The rabbit of mistrust finally broke out.

The Governor had consulted some Chinese captains of the ships destined for China. These, where the restless Chinese have entered the city, stood here and there in the very gate asking that their men, easily 20 or 30 of them, be sent to the leaders. The place also was increasing the suspicion for the royal division of the army and the personal belongings much used by many were there at the gate, in such a way that a shout was resounding everywhere that the Sangleys (that is the Chinese) revolt and at the fort of Cavite (a province) it would be that all be re-enlisted for the Governor in the defences towards the 25th of May. Our men resisted at the gate and after a few were killed, the rest fled. They were inhabitants of the Parian, either merchants or experts in the mechanical trades of China. They, hearing the cries of the people fleeing and the sound of the cannon, for two cannon had been discharged against them with little damage, were already clearly confirming their own danger, and they were having enough to do to flee from it. Whence at first many going down into the river to drown themselves; certainly the rest was informed by the religious that the fear was groundless, but they, not trusting themselves, withdrew into the rugged mountains of Antipolo from which place they could not be brought down, not by our entreaties and certainly not by threats, for the Governor sent them 300 Pampango soldiers with bows and arrows, until Fr. Francisco Messina of the Society of Jesus made peace.

[fol. 209]

Thus the Sangleys were ordered to disperse throughout the provinces when the chance of sending them away was not yet offering itself, until enough ships could be procured, in which there could be much damage for us, if the expected war should break out within hours against which they have been imposed after the supplication of some people.

During this uprising the Chinese killed two or three Spaniards, some Moors likewise, even one Dominican religious. It was inciting our passions against them very much. After setting in order the ships at this time, the Chinese, more than 2,000 of them together with the Father envoy, boarded them and set sail for China with the response of the Governor. Rather inflamed by the incitements of rebellion than by hate against

us, they were exaggerating very much unless God would have otherwise disposed; on the same day in which they had set sail, the God of mercies has deemed worthy to console these islands, not only sad with this unexpected threat [of the Chinese] but especially because no support had arrived from New Spain for two years already. Indeed, one ship had disappeared at sea, another ship destined to this place later made land in New Spain; a single ship arrived, not the one that was expected, but one sent by the Count of Llanos, the Viceroy with authority also over these islands. Feeling that he was in part unaware of the events in these islands, he had commanded it to precede the other with a sufficient number of soldiers, money, assistance, and with 16 missionaries of the Society of Jesus for these islands. All things considered, the prognosis of our affairs was appearing to be propitious. The spirits were flourishing with hope for a successful outcome, then most especially when it is understood how much treasure the [Jesuit] Fathers were bringing in the two bodies of the Martyrs Jucundus and Marcial, upon whom likewise the piety of the Governor and the unanimity of the republic and the zeal of the Fathers have conferred all offices, that these are [to be] the leaders of the war, these are the designated patron saints of the republic.<sup>1</sup>

Thus these [patrons] sustained the spirits, not only in the making of the necessary provisions for war, the preparations for reinforcing the city's defences, the conscription of new companies of soldiers, but especially that which belongs to the Spanish forefathers, they approached a God propitious to themselves: to correct the sins through sincere sorrow, prayers, and penance; they began a religious novena to Michael the Archangel with so much solemnity, to celebrate this that all refresh themselves with a sacred feast, to take part in assemblies, to take up expiations for themselves with public disciplines. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were running about through the streets carrying in the hand a crucifix among the lamps and they were cutting short the acts of contrition in the constituted places, as is the custom introduced throughout Spain by Fr. Jerónimo Lopez, they then indeed very fruitfully brought [the people] to an assembly held in our principal church. The army has demanded this thing for the soldiers so much for religious as well as political reasons.

On the 6th of April 1663, almost exactly one year later, Fr. fray Victorio Riccio returned from his embassy and reached the port of Manila at the beginning of this year. Our men received him in the same way they use to receive enemies with cannon sharply exploding against ships. He did erroneously command that the previous signal be placed on board ship and he landed on the 8th. He was led straightaway to the palace of the Governor with great ostentation and scornful contempt since he was an envoy and mandarin of very great dignity; and in that capacity he entrusted the heads of his embassy, not on behalf of Punprian but of his son, the successor: for his parent died clearly raving and biting off his own finger because of madness. The frightful images of murderers of men, of those whom he unjustly killed, caused this. Such was the most cruel tyrant; he

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The relics of these Roman martyrs had been brought by the patache San Damian, the same that brought Fr. Sanvitores to Manila in 1662 (see B&R 36: 246).

did not hesitate to order that three million people who would survive him, should be killed violently, even his own [son].

He had such an abominable defect of nature that it seems to us that either God or the fickleness of fortune had punished this [man] justly. Indeed, the Father Mandarin has declared that innumerable troops and arms have already been prepared against our neighboring country [Macau?], by all means if our answer is made known to him, for the Father found out [that he would be] dead, that his arrival would be without fail. He was making ready 150 ships and 600,000 men from whom he was choosing a veteran army for our annihilation. God interrupted that very step and substituted [him] with [his] son who had a different character and a hater of crowds; he kindly called out Fr. Victorio, and despatched [him] to us so as to apologize for the past, and to offer a treaty of peace, friendship, and trade. Thus the dangers and fear vanished, inciting us to place our hope in God and to embrace the narrow paths of these His own laws, such as a transgression of them would bring [us] close to those dangers, [whereas] the love of them would save us.

Father Victorio returning to China in 1663 (as it is well known from his 1664 letter) he found everything very troubled, the son of Punprian very much distressed in his government, many cities cut off by the barbarian who never sleeps in the vengeance for the damages inflicted on him, the avenger never ceases to always attack him with dreadful fights, who snatches away his cities whence the military forces of this son is very much weakened, the forces of the Tartar are indeed truly strengthened. This inhabitant of a foreign land has not thus observed the superstitions of this man, and thus he is not closely connected with those things which [elements] of the Christian faith the armies were opposed, that he did not indulge in much (Father Antonio Govea writes in a letter dated 25 January 1664 in Fookien) through which the Christian faith flourishes much. He only deplors the lack of workers and considers the scarcity which they endure of the necessities especially of European wine, in the same degree that the city of Macau, the headquarters of the whole mission and religion, has been brought to the very extreme, [Macau] from where the workers were being sent to the rest of the community as if they were the spirit, there the unfortunate Lusitanians are concealing death and destruction. The Chinese revolutions and the very critical condition of the East Indians have disheartened them so much that the spirit has hardly remained for the very noble city and market place. And truly there are drunk voices of revelry which are heard during the day from Indra<sup>1</sup> to which the heretical invasion of the Dutch and the domestic discord of those who were ruling have inflicted mortal blows, and they can be deplored as worthy of tears as long as total annihilation may render [them] tearless beforehand [lit. may dry their tears beforehand]. A loving God may not permit this to remain unpunished and his most fitting Xavier would not abandon his own inheritance with such a condition as the disgrace of the Catholic arms of the faith, and the increase of his enemies. Here end the quotes taken from the Annual Reports from the Philippines.

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1 Ed. note: The name of a god of the early Hindu religion.

In other respects, these were contained in the **1666** letter sent from the Philippines to Rev. Fr. Ledesma. It was being reported that Macau has been completely destroyed by the Tartars in such a way that not even a trace of it remains, after the Lusitanians have been loaded into various ships, be they merchants or religious, and sent away into various destinations. It was also being reported that the motive behind its overthrow by the Tartar had been because there had been a common talk among the people that a huge quantity of silver had been hoarded in this city which the Tartar had very voraciously regarded with longing. He then unleashed all his fury against the city. A certain Franciscan priest brought into the Philippine Islands was very much worried concerning the monasteries of St. Francis which were serving God in the city. He was asked by our Father when he desired to send that [letter] to the Philippines by which means he would not have to carry [it] over to Goa. Indeed, the Father did not bear another thing as a response than that the affairs of Goa come first before those of Macau as far as the perversity of the heretical Dutch has infested all those parts.

The same letter was considering that commerce has been established between the Chinese and the Filipinos, for when the Tartar, the master of the Chinese, swept away nine million of silver to the Superior Northern Tartar who had aided him with hundreds of thousand horses in order to finish the war in China and he is greatly importuned for payment by him and he would not have the means [to do so] from which he could release [himself], he is compelled to make peace with the Chinese in the coastal area and the neighboring islands as yet ruling under these terms so that he would rebuild with these all the places up to more than six thousands destroyed by himself before and he would allow the Chinese to trade freely with the Philippine Islands and with New Spain from which [source] they themselves would pay the Tartar three million yearly in tribute. That is why he was urging Fr. Ledesma very much to approach friends from Europe in the greatest number as possible since after the Lusitanians have failed, the burden of the Chinese Church is already incumbent upon the Spaniards and the Philippine Islands. I have gathered these [notes] from the letter.

We are here waiting for the Fr. Procurator of the new Kingdom from America [i.e. New Spain] whatever piece of news he would bring, I will gather diligently, and whenever I find the chance of enclosing maps through somebody's pouch I will send them to your Reverence. Anything new that might be worth writing about, simply does not happen here. That is why I, and Fr. Gerardo who is now staying in Madrid, do strongly commend ourselves to the holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverence.

Madrid, 8 July 1670.

Your Reverence's son in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[P.S.] I dare with the kind permission of your Reverence say hello to Rev. Fr. Manderscheyt and Fr. van Scrieck.

[229v, Address:] To Rev. Father Superior in Christ Thomas Dekens of the Society of Jesus, Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province, Brussels.

[Additional note in Spanish:] Care of my Fr. C. Stappart.

## O9. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Libert de Pape, dated Madrid 25 November 1670

*Sources: AGR 2, fol. 215-215v; extract perhaps in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 322+ also.*

### Original text.

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Gratissimæ mihi, uti et P. Gerardo accidere Ræ Væ manu gratissima mihi traditæ; in quibus nihil magis admirandum occurrit, quam tam parum innotuisse Ræ Væ cœterisque in Provincia de Personis nostris. Injecta profectioni nostræ mora prædam ut aiunt, neuter Madrito extulit. Rogobatur quidem P. Gerardus ut Compostelæ assisteret pro confessione Peregrinis, eo pietatis ergo constuentibus; verum elapsa est occasio, quod hic incerti essemus, an Revocandi a P. N. in Provinciam, an in Hispania detinendi. Et quidem ab illo nos hic detineri judicavimus omni fere cursore: nova misimus de C[h]jinis, et Philippinis, aliaque quæ hic ex Procuratoribus Americanis Romam petentibus intelleximus. Octanas aut nonas ego jam do. [=ditto] ad P. Coukerken et non nisi unas ab illo accepi. Scribendo tamen non fatigamur, jam præsertim, nasti occasionem mittendi gratis in Belgium litteras nostras, per fasciculum legati Cæsarei easque vicissim recipiendi gratis, quæ e Provincia mittuntur ad nos, si solum mittantur Bruxellas ad P. Branssen, qui illas ibi fasciculo includit, et prædicti legati secretario inscribit.*

*Verum has ego mitto per eosdem, per quos illas accepi. Dignabitur modo R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> etiam ex 3<sup>a</sup> Probatione hac opportunitate spiritale aliquod fructum ad nos transmittere, quo coloretur in nobis spiritus ille robustus quo missiones arduæ a nobis suscipiendæ. Nova quæ perscribo uti prima, ita gratissima sunt, felicissimus successus totius itineris tam longinqui, qui toti familiæ fuit ille, quo feliciorum optare non potuissent. Appulit utraque familia Madritum 19 Novembris sub vesperam, 20<sup>a</sup> hos [=hujus] illud intelleximus a D. de Gryspere,<sup>1</sup> qui Ram. Vam. ex animo salubat, 23<sup>a</sup> salutatum accessimus Dominum Parentem (citius non licuit, nam ego alligatus hic sum docendæ Rethoricæ, uti gladio suo miles ignarus.) quem detinebat audientia suarum Majestatum, itaque salutavimus Dominam Matrem, et fratrem; eisque, si quid a pauperibus nobis expectare possunt, obsequia nostra, quæ potuimus, liberaliter obtuimus. Promissis dives, etc. fixere domicilium, magno nostro infortunio, plane in adversa parte civitatis: non oberit tamen illud, qui pedibus laus Deo adhuc bonis sumus, quo minus quoties licuerit ad illos excurramus, etiam celebraturi. Nam domi est sacellum privatum seu altare portatice.*

*Vicinior nobis est D. Marmol, quem etiam hodie cum sua familia salutamus. Filius ipsius natu major futurus est hic discipulus meus, saltu facto e Syntaxi ad Rethoricam;*

1 Ed. note: Probably De Gryspere, which was the name of a noble family established both in Spain and Belgium.

*et quidem toto poterit adhuc ibi docendis reliquis proponi, ita versati sunt Hispani. Alia nova hic nulla.*

*Taurilia indicta erant in 24 Novembris uti et ludus arundineus, cannas vocant; verum utrumque impedivit expectata hic diu aliquorum dierum pluvia, et festum illud in 27am dilatatum est. Interim prælusere tauri, hominem ex itinere sibi non satis caute prospicientem occidendo. Alia quæ de Missione habemus uti magis grata Ræ Væ, ita loco et tempore erunt magis accommodata. Desperatæ hic nobis judicantur ab omnibus Philippinæ, sed non desperata missio Indica. Appulit Olissiponem e Sinis P. Procuratur Italus, e Sicilia oriundus; petit ille 40 aut amplius socios, speramus nos futuros inter illos: quare P. Gerardus, nactus hic Professore, totum hic se dedit Mathematicæ, ego quantum temporis successivis horis suffurari laboribus possum, eidem tribuo.*

*Et P. Carolus de Noyelles ita ad me Roma 25 Octob. per orientales Indias, quarum mentionem feci in prioribus meis, intelligo provincias Goanam, Sinensem, Japonicam et alias cum quibus commercium havent Lusitani, et ad quas submittunt Ministro[s] Evangelii: non excludunt illi ab istis suis Provinciis, et Missionibus extraneos, imo ultro expetunt, ac nominatim Belgas. In Japoniam nondum patet nobis aditus, sed Provincia, quam appellamus Japonicam, complectitur alias vastas regiones, in quibus sunt florentes missiones. In Sinis cessat persecutio et subjungit alia quæ jam ibi nota sunt, ac nominatim quod acceperit ipse litteras a P. Rougemont et P. Couplet. Tum subjungit: quod se R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> aut vestrum aliquis desideraverit mitti, ad aliquam istarum orientalium Provinciarum, facilem in vota sua inveniet Pem. Nostrum. Ora P. Liberte [de Pape] ora pro nobis ut alterutrum saltem succedat. Ego Ræ Væ nullo unquam die nec sum nec ero immemor. Alia hic nos tenet occupatio procurandæ solutionis Patribus nostris Navalibus, et quidem res hactenus successit ex sententia. Solutionem sex mensium jam obtinimus a Regina: Jussi accepto eo reliquum quod illis debetur postulare, et obtinebimus ut spero. Restat jam ut assignata illis pecunia extorquatur quasi a Præsidente regii hic ærarii, qui est difficilis ut plurimum solutionis: verum viam nobis faciliorem fecit Deus subjiciendo mihi Nepotem ipsius in Rethorica, per quem mollia fandi et accipiendi tempora speramus non fere difficilia.*

*Salutat Ram. Vam. ex animo P. Gerardus et ambo nos enixissime SSmis Sacrificiis et tertiæ probationis fervoribus uti et reliquorum Patrum commendamus.*

*Madriti 25 Novembris 1670.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

*[P.S.] Salutem Amantissimam bona ejus venia adscriptum ambo R.P. Directori, R. P. Rectori si in loco sit, nam illum ignoramus. P. A Burgundia si sit cum R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> P. Vander Beque cæterisque RRdis. PPibus. omnibus et singulis nam eorum nomina non facile conjiciamus.*

### **Translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.



Your very pleasant letter has been delivered to me as indeed it has reached Fr. Gerardo through your Reverence's hand very dear to me; in which nothing appears more astonishing than that your Reverence and the rest of the Province had known very little concerning our personnel. As they say, neither of the two has produced a gain with the delay put into our departure. Fr. Gerardo was even asked to help with the pilgrims, stationing [themselves] there because of piety, for their confession at Compostelle. The favorable moment has truly slipped away because we were uncertain here, whether we have to be recalled to the Province by our Father, or be detained in Spain. And indeed we have decided almost entirely through letters that we are going to be detained here by him. We sent news about China and from the Philippines and other things of which we have an accurate knowledge from the American procurators going to Rome. I am writing the eighth or ninth letter to Fr. Coukerken and have received only one letter from him. Nevertheless, we are not tired of writing, especially now that we have already found an opportunity of sending our letters to Belgium free of charge by imperial pouch, and again free of charge receive those which are sent to us from the Province, if only they are sent through Brussels care of Fr. Branssen, who encloses them in the pouch there and assigns them to a secret compartment of the above-mentioned pouch.

Truly I am sending them through the same men through whom I received them. Your Reverence will just once again deign to send to us some result from the third probation with regards to this spiritual fitness through which our robust spirit is given color in us, through which the arduous missions must be undertaken by us. The news which I write in full, they are the most excellent as they are the most pleasing, the very fortunate outcome of the entire distant journey, that [outcome] which belongs to the whole family, through which they could have desired a more fortunate one. Either family arrived in Madrid on the 19th of November shortly before evening. On the 20th of this month, we have understood that thing from Mr. de Grysperre, who extends heartfelt greetings to your Reverence. On the 23rd day we greeted the Queen Mother (it could not be done earlier, because I have been obliged to teach Rethorics, as a soldier unaware of his sword) which had delayed an audience with both Majesties. Thus we have extended our greetings to the Queen Mother, and the brother; and to them, if they can expect something from us, poor little people, the acts of compliance will be ours. We have graciously obtained the things we could, with the promises the rich, etc. have fixed the dwelling, to our great misfortune, simply in the opposite part of the city. Nevertheless, that will not be prejudicial to [us] who with good feet until now, are a praise to God where we would be at liberty less often to run forth to them, yet we will be celebrating [mass] at home for there is a little sanctuary or a portable altar.

Mr. Marmol is nearer to us. We greeted him again today, together with his family. His older son is to be my student here, after making a leap from Syntax to Rethorics; and indeed he could be suggested entirely at this point then for teaching the rest, the Spaniards have been considered in this manner. There is no other news from here.

The bull-fights have been announced on 24 November, as indeed a game of reeds, which they call flutes; truly the rain of several days expected here long since, has

hindered both, and that celebration has been postponed to the 27th. Meanwhile the bulls played beforehand by goring down to death a man watching and not cautious enough for himself along the route. Other news which we have about the mission, as they are more pleasing to your Reverence, will therefore be more fully given at the right place and time. The Philippine missions are practically out of reach for us, but not so that of the Indies.

The Italian Fr. Procurator [i.e. Intorcetta], a Sicilian by birth, landed at Lisbon, coming from China; he is seeking 40 companions or more, we are hoping to be among them. That is why Fr. Gerardo, found himself a Professor here, and devoted himself totally to [the study of] Mathematics. As for me, inasmuch as I can secretly steal some consecutive hours for hard work, I make time for him.

And Fr. Charles de Noyelle wrote to me from Rome on 25 October regarding the East Indies whose mention I have made in my previous letter. I have an accurate knowledge of the provinces of Goa, China, Japan and the others with which the Lusitanians have trade and to which they send ministers of the Gospel secretly. And they do not exclude foreigners from those provinces and missions of theirs; rather, they seek them too, expressly Belgians. The admittance into Japan for us is not yet possible, but the province we call Japan includes some other vast territory, where there are flourishing missions. Among the Chinese the persecution stops and substitutes other [matters] which already came to be known there and expressly because he himself would receive letters there from Fathers Rougemont and Couplet. While it substituted [these things], because your Reverence or someone from your own men had desired that he himself be sent, may he find our Father ready in his own promises to a certain [part] of those oriental provinces. Dear Fr. Libert [de Pape], pray for us that at least one or the other may succeed. I neither am nor will ever be forgetful of your Reverence, not even for a single day. Another occupation holds us here, that is, trying to get the payment [of the salaries] of our Naval Fathers,<sup>1</sup> and indeed up to now the business has prospered according to the purpose intended. We have already obtained from the Queen the payment for six months. I am receiving the order for the rest which remains to be effected, and we will be getting these, I hope. There now remains the [possibility that the] money allotted to them may be taken away by the chief of the Treasury who is usually stingy in making payments. Indeed, God has made the way easier for us by putting his own nephew under me, in Rethorics, and, by speaking and dealing [through him] favorably, we are hoping that there will be almost no difficult conditions.

Fr. Gerardo sends heartfelt greeting to your Reverence and both of us very earnestly commend ourselves to the most holy Sacrifices and to the devotions of the third probation just as to those of the rest of the Fathers.

Madrid, 25 November 1670.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

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1 Ed. note: They were Belgian Jesuits serving as military chaplains aboard Spanish naval ships.

[P.S.] It may be written as a postscript through your kind leave [that] I am extending a most affectionate greeting to both the Rev. Fr. Director, the Rev. Fr. Rector (we do not know if he is present there), to Fr. A. Burgundia (if he is with Y.R.), to Fr. Vander Beck and to the rest of the Reverend Fathers, to one and all, whose names we may not easily put together.

## O10. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 4 January 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 216-216v.*

### Original text.

[fol. 216]

*Rde. in Chro. Pater,*

*P. E.*

*Pauca vicissim occurrunt ator(?) tamen, quam diu licet communicatione litterarum tam feliciter incæpta. Vere pristif[ni]ssimus accidit casus Pris. Bonæii. Deus nos conseruet in sua sancta societate. Animam omnino agit missio nostra Philippinarum. Jussus a P. Generali ineuntis anni principio acceppi P. Procuratorem rogaturus an hoc anno spes sit transmittendi in Philippinas aut certæ obtinendæ licentiæ a consilio indico. Verum ad utrumque nihil mihi aliud reposuit, quam rem Deo offerendam. Quare, ut jussus fueram, monui R. P. Generalem, et obtuli me ad Sinensem missionem, et si nec illa obtingat, quamprimum petii redire in Provinciam. Demonstratio enim paupertatis tantæ, quam uni ex Patribus Gallo-belgis fecit P. Procurator Sinarum, suspicionem nobis movet, ne forte ad faciendos sumptus itineris, pecunias necessarias ille requirat, quæ nobis omnino non suppetunt. Deus, uti confido, optime omnia disponet.*

*Interim pergimus nos optime valere uti et omnis familia R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> et Domini Marmol. Discesserat, uti ultimis scripsi, Alcalam seu Complutum frater Ræ Væ verum cum ibi non starent conditionibus antea promissis de cubiculo clauso et separato, illi concedendo, quin imo socium ipsi hispanum in eodem lecto vellent jungere, coactus est Madritum reverti, ubi hærebit hac æstate, donec inchætur cursus anno proximo Salmanticæ. Præcedenti septimana uxorem hic duxit Comes Stabilis ducissam de Cordova viduus viduam res peracta est magno apparatu. Multum turbavit aulam universam primo intuitu morbus regis nostri, adeo ut heri in refectorio nostro, idem credo factum apud omnes religiosos, jussi simus sacrum pro ipsius salute hodie offerre, reliquasque orationes omnes pro tam raro capite ad Deum dirigere. Verum omnis timor statim evanuit quando compertum est, rubicundam aliquam inflammationem, in apostema aliquod seu butonem desusse (bloot sweer).<sup>1</sup> Alii papulas putabant, alii varos, quibus morbis sollicitior cura in pueris adhiberi debet. Regina etiam non bene habet sed ex morbo ordinario quem hemicraniam dicunt. Varius hic rumor de bello a Gallis iterum Belgis in-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Which means "blood swelling" in Dutch.

*ferendo, sed illa certiora apud vos. Aliqui Patres hic hodie dicebant legatum Galliā jam regināe discessum suum ab hac aula indicasse vel proxime indicaturum. Non credo: nam cum id ipsum rogarem Patrem Fresneda reposuit nihil istis rumoribus subesse. Faxit Deus ut longa in pace quiescat aliquando Belgium. Alia non occurrunt.*

*P. Gerardus [Bouwens] pergīt esse Mathematicus. Ego hic parum incumbō celebrando S. Francisco de Borja versibus latinis in fut[ur]am ejus canonizationem. Jam p̄ne paravi drama aliquod de sancto. Verum cum nudius tertius de pecuniis agerem ad sumptus pro theatro faciendos, visus sum mortui ostium pulsare. Quare manum ab opere retraxi donec in illo certi aliquid statuatur.*

*Bona ejus venia salutem adscribo R. P. Rectori reliquisque omnibus Patribus tertīe Probationis ac Domesticis, uti et facultati Magistrorum, quod intime mecum facit P. Gerardus ac in primis R̄æ V̄æ Smis. sacrificiis et precibus apud Divam nos ex animo commendamus.*

*Madriti 4 Jan 1670 [rather 1671].*

*R̄æ V̄æ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[216v, Address:] *Rdo. in Christo P. Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis. Jesu Sacerdoti. Hal-lis Deipar̄æ.*

### Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

Few things are happening, but, as long as it is possible to exchange correspondence... Truly the case of Fr. Bonaert<sup>1</sup> happened just previously. May God preserve us in his holy Society. Our Mission in the Philippines pursues only the business of souls. At the beginning of the coming year, an order I received from the Fr. General, was asking the Fr. Procurator as to whether there may be hope to go over to the Philippines or of obtaining a certain freedom to do so from the Council of the Indies. Certainly, in relation to both, nothing has kept me from doing anything other than referring the matter to God. That is why, as I was ordered, I informed the Rev. Fr. General, and he offered me to the Mission in China, and if that may not fall to my lot, I asked to return to the province as soon as possible. A description of so much poverty which the Procurator did of the Chinese people, produces a suggestion for us that perhaps with regard to preparing the cost of the journey, he may need a necessary amount which we do not have at hand altogether. God as I believe, will arrange things very well.

Meanwhile we remain vigorous and healthy, both your Reverence's household and Mr. Marmol's. The brother of your Reverence, as I wrote in my last letter, had indeed left Alcalá, i.e. Compluto, since they would not abide with the conditions previously promised concerning a closed door and a separate room that must be given to him, that

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1 Ed. note: This appears to be the name of a priest, Father Bonaert, summarily dismissed from the Society.

they would not wish indeed that a Spanish friend join him in the same bed, he was forced to return to Madrid; he will sit fast there during this summer until the course begins there this coming year at Salamanca. On the preceding week, the Count, a widower, married here the Duchess of Cordoba, a widow; the affair was accomplished with great magnificence. The sickness of our King, at first look, has very greatly disturbed the entire court to such a degree that yesterday in the refectory, I think the same thing was done among all the religious; we have been ordered to immediately offer mass for his health and to direct all the rest of the prayers to God for such an extraordinary leader. But in truth all the fear has immediately disappeared when it was ascertained that the certain red inflammation has been confirmed as a certain abscess or blood swelling. Some people were thinking that they were pimples, others that they were blotches to which, in children, a more solicitous care ought to be applied. The Queen also considers it badly but in fact as something of an ordinary sickness which they call headache. There were various unconfirmed reports concerning a war being inflicted once more by the French on the Belgians; those things are more certain among you. Some Fathers were saying here today that the French ambassador has already mentioned his departure from this court to the Queen or would be mentioning it soon. I do not believe it because when I asked Fr. Fresneda about that very thing, he replied that there was nothing to those [rumors]. May God see to it that Belgium may ever rest in a long period of peace. There is no other news.

Fr. Gerardo is going to be a mathematician. I am devoting myself to celebrating here the praise of St. Francis Borgia in Latin verses for his future canonization. I have almost made ready a certain drama concerning the saint. It is true that, three days ago, when I was discussing the cost of preparing the theater, it seemed that I was knocking at the door of the dead. Because of this, I withdrew my hand from the project until such a time as something certain turns up about this matter.

Through your good favor, I am adding a greeting to Rev. Fr. Rector and to the rest of all the Fathers of the third probation and to the resident Fathers, as indeed also to the faculty of teachers, because Fr. Gerardo has dealt most cordially with me. Above all, we are commending ourselves to the most holy sacrifices of your Reverence and also to your prayers to our Lady.

Madrid, 4 January 1670 [rather 1671].

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,  
Peter Coomans

[216v, Address:] To the Rev. Superior in Christ Fr. Libert de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus, Our Lady of Halle.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Halle is a city in Belgium. Its Jesuit college was dedicated to the God-bearing Virgin.

## O11. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 6 January 1671

Source: AGR 2, fol. 217-217y.

### Original text.

*Rde in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Acceptis gratissimis Ræ Væ litteris, non potui non continuo stabilitam jam commercii litterarii opportunitatem, et Ræ Væ omnibusque Domesticis lætissimum anni auspiciū apprecari. Non fuit, mi Pater, avaritia Patris Norberti Coukerken, sed aut cursorum retardatio, aut litteras deferentium incuria, quæ nos tam diu optato commercio privavit. Jam, Deo sit laus, feliciores sumus, et gratissimæ litteræ, unicum inter absentes solatium, satis liberaliter ultro citroque comitant. Pergimus nos valere Deo juvante, et inani jam quasi spe missionem Philippinarum animum adhuc nostrum sustentare. Sed bene habet quod Deus prospexerit, ut avulso uno non defiat alter. Heri ego egi cum P. Emanuele Villabona Procuratore hic generali Indiarum orientalium. Monebam illum tempus adesse, ut alterutrum nobis significetur a Consilio Indico aut adeundam a nobis Missionem Philippinarum aut non: in mandatis nos Roma habere, ut si vergente ad finem anno commorationis nobis hic præscriptæ, spes non affulgeat proxima adeundi Philippinas, moneamus tempori, ut ibi commode possint de nobis disponere: elabi jam annum: sub initium Martii illum expleri: opus esse duobus mensibus ad obtinendum responsum. Adhuc tergiversari ille, et nihil recti respondere, omnia in Providentiam divinam refundere.*

*Interim non obscure hic omnes significant negotium esse desperatissimum. Quare in Sinas nos accingimus animis quidem magnis sed viribus non æquis. Opus quidem et ibi erit mora longiori, sed vincenda et fortuna ferenda. Quod spectat familiam Ræ Væ valet illa, laus Deo, uti et familia D. Marmol[?] omnes aeri madritensi paulatim assuefiunt. Nos, quantum in nobis est, officio nostro non desumus. Illud solum dolendum quod tam angusta domi fit res, ut nihil talibus personis dignum e penu nostro promatur. Hodie discedit D. Frater Complutum, ut illic inceptum juris curriculum perficiat: sotanam induit more hic studentium, et dicas eum, si videris, medium Jesuitam, sed hæc ille melius ad Ram. Vam. Ego illi litteras dedi ad amicos illic meos; sunt enim ibi quatuor Itali socii missionis qui theologiæ cursum illic perficiunt, dum necesse est in Hispania morari. Ab illis poterit ille et mores et idioma hispanorum facilius addiscere, utpote latini sermonis magis peritis. Jam hispani nova quæ prescripserat Ræ Væ jam ante intellexeram, gratissimum tamen faciet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> si quæ Domestica sunt semper addiderit; nam rector occasio mittendi litteras nostras in fasciculo legati Cæsarii elapsa est, et ideo timemus ne circa quadragesimam jejuna iterum cogamur. Verum siluit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> quid sibi muneris etiam in 3<sup>a</sup> probatione commissum sit. Gratulor.*

*Nova nos accepimus aliqua ex Indiis sane perquam faventia. Appulit in portu Coroniarum, ut grassantes circa angustias freti herculei moros effugeret, navis ex Indiis oc-*

*cidentalibus (avisum vocant) confecto feliciter itinere octo mensium spatio, per utrumque Mare Pacificum et nostrum Septentrionale. Cum Capitaneo hujus navis egit P. Gerardus qui refert[:] 1°) rumori illi qui sparsus fuerat de excensione Gallorum in Provinciam Nicaraguæ, aut occupata insula S. Dominici, nihil subesse, visavi quidem circa illas partes classem hostilem, et ad defendendam patriam armatos omnes confluisse, verum deflexisse alio cursum; 2°) classem hispanorum, quæ hinc soluit anno præterito, tenuisse portum Havanæ, sed post horribiles tempestates, quibus una navis mercatoria perierit, salvis solum hominibus, duæ vel tres aliæ misere quassate et lacerate amissis malis portum tamen tenuere; 3°) Comitem de Lemos viceregem Peruanum (abnepos is eot S. P. Francisci de Borja) detexisse in eo regni copiosissimas venas Mercurii, tanto omnium gaudio, ut festo campanarum sonu, novemdiali festo Deo ipsi gratias egerint. Item detexisse minas auri et argenti copiosissimas, quales hactenus eo in regno non sint inventæ. Item detexisse thesauros ingentes quos barbari quondam reges (Ingas vocabant) defoderant, ne hispanorum vires illis obtentis in tantum excrescerent, ut oppressis illis, quod tamen accidit, soli dominarentur. Dicuntur illi thesauri tanti esse ut pluribus regnis possint sufficere. Faxit Deus ut integri in manus regis nostri perveniant.*

*Nova domestica sunt pauca: obiit 24 decembris Comes de Castrillo, primarius hujus regni minister. Quidam vicerex Neapolitanus tertium Præses Consilii Indici, postea Castiliæ qua ille se dignitate abdicaverat cum videret res in hoc regno moveri a Jo[ann]e Austriaco præsertim contra Patrem Nithardi cujus erat amicus uti et bonorum omnium. Pauper adeo obiit ut, quo satisfaceret servuis suis, advocaverit ad se ultimo suo morbo Comitem de Pigneranda aliumque hujus aulæ Magnatum commendans illis supplere possent inopiam suam: sed cælo dives, ut confidere licet, interrogant: de statu suo medicos in ultima infirmitate, respondebant periculum præsens necdum adesse: at ille de Sacramentis sibi prospici jussit dicens, eo se triennium ante dimisisse status omnes, ut paratus ad hanc horam accederet. Statutus hic erat P. M. Philippi IV testamento regis nostri gubernator. Celebravit sub finem Decembris diem natalem suum regina. Rex ipse cum junioribus suis Principibus tripudium vesperi ipse exhibuit: duo curabat 1°) ne quis colore vestium suarum inter exhibendum uteretur. 2°) ne matri suæ innotesceret res antequam fieret. Et cum forte ipso natali die veniam postularet a matre, reponit illa: et ego sola harum rerum ignara esse debui. At ille: mater, inquit; gratiora sunt hæc si solum postquam facta fuerint, innotescant. Et tamen facile 14 diebus ante Palatium palam turbaverat omnibus parandis.*

*Gades appulit classis Hollandorum salva et incolumis: et inde a R. P. Provinciali revocatur in Provinciam P. Jo[ann]es de la Porte Superior: sed lente festinat, uti inde rescribunt: Zelus virum a dilecta sparta avelli non patitur. Indictum est iter Galeonibus regiis in Augustum proximum. Utinam illi Mexicum peterent; non deesset certe navigandi opportunitas, si facultas obtineretur. Sed magna timeo vota. Hæc modo occurrunt: quibus alia non addo quam iterum iterumque repetere.*

*Amantissimam salutem etiam a P. Gerardo R. P. Rectori, bona ejus venia, PP. Bonæ<sup>1</sup> ceterisque nominatim PP. Tertie Probationis ac MMris. oibus ac nominatim van Torre: ab illique unum momemto apud divam illic et matrem vestram ac nostram pro felici successu rerum nostrarum exorare. Comendo me SSmis Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus.*

*Madriti 6 Jan 1671*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[Address:] *Rdo in Chro P. Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Hallis Dei-paræ.*

### **Translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

After receiving the very pleasant letter of Y.R., I could not miss the regular opportunity to exchange letters, and to wish a very happy new year to Y.R. and to all the residents of your House. Dear Father, the stinginess did not belong to Fr. Norbert Coukerken, but either due to the delay in the post, or due to the carelessness of the letter carrier, that has deprived us of the desired correspondence for a long time. Praise be to God, we are happier now, and very pleasant letters, the only solace between absent [friends], are more frequently interchanged. We continue to be well, God helping, and it is already with vain hope that we sustain our spirit about a mission to the Philippines. But he may well cherish that God will provide that, after one has been taken away, another may not be removed. Yesterday, I dealt with Fr. Manuel Villabona, Procurator General of the Indies. I was reminding [him] that the time was ripe for the Council of the Indies to let either of us know, whether the Philippine Mission should be undertaken by us, or not. In the orders from Rome concerning us, given that the prescribed delay of one year is drawing to a close, the hope of leaving for the Philippines is fading. We talked about [the fact] that it was time to dispose of us properly; a year has already elapsed; by the beginning of March, it will be completed. It is tough to have to wait two months to get an answer. So far he has vacillated; he has not given a straight answer; he leaves it all to God.

Meanwhile everyone here is saying in clear terms that the business is very urgent. That is why we are preparing ourselves for China even with great spirit but not with the same vigor. Even a longer delay would be necessary at this point, but this lot must be borne and overcome. Everything regarding the family of Y.R. is OK, thank God, also the family of Mr. Marmol; everyone is gradually becoming used to the air in Madrid. As much as it is in our power, we are not failing in our duty. There is only one thing that must be regretted, because the situation at home is such in dire strait that nothing worthwhile may be given to such persons from our food provisions. Today

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1 Ed. note: One of the Fathers Bonaert: Ignatius, Luis, or Oliver.



[your] Brother left for Alcalá to finish the law course that he has begun there. He put on the cassock here according to the custom of the students, and you consecrate him as a postulant Jesuit, if it seems proper to you, but the better if he [should] bring these matters up with Y.R. I gave him a letter to my friends there, for there are four Italian companions of the mission who are completing their philosophy course there, while it is necessary to live in Spain. From them he could learn the customs and language of the Spaniards, as well as improving his Latin speech. I understand that he would have already added news of the Spaniard, and that Y.R. may yet have done [him] an agreeable favor, if you elaborated on [your] domestic affairs. But, we missed the proper opportunity of sending our letter in the pouch of the Imperial Ambassador, and therefore we fear that we may be compelled to “fast” again until about the Fortieth Sunday. Truly Y.R. has also kept silent about your making the grade of the third probation. Congratulations.

We have received other news from the Indies which are exceedingly favorable. There arrived at the port of Coruña, to avoid the Moors who were prowling around the Strait of Gibraltar, a ship from the West Indies (which they call advice boat) after having successfully completed a journey of eight months, through both the Pacific and the north Atlantic. Fr. Gerardo dealt with the captain of the ship, who reported that: 1) the rumor to the effect that the French had gone up to the Province of Nicaragua, and had occupied the island of Santo Domingo, is not true; he had not met with any enemy fleet in those parts, and they [must] have all gone to defend their motherland, by taking some other course; 2) the Spanish fleet, which had been accustomed to roam around there last year, has sought shelter in Havana, but after the terrible hurricanes, one merchant ship sank, with only the men being saved, two or three others, battered and damaged, managed to reach port; 3) the Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Peru (the son of the grand nephew of our Holy Fr. Francis of Borgia) had discovered in that kingdom very abundant veins of mercury [ore], to the great joy of all, with a festive ringing of bells, they gave thanks to God with a novena. Also he discovered very abundant mines of gold and silver, which until now had not yet been found in that kingdom. Also he has discovered enormous treasures which certain Barbarian kings (whom they call Incas) had buried, to prevent the Spanish forces from benefitting so much that they would oppress them, which nevertheless happened, and dominate them. They are said to have had so much treasure as to provide enough for many kingdoms. May God see to it that it [the gold] may find its way safely into the hands of our King.

There are few domestic news. The Count of Castrillo, the first minister of this kingdom, died on 24 December. A certain viceroy of Naples, and the third President of the Council of the Indies, afterwards of Castile, which title he relinquished when the affair in this kingdom seemed to move in the direction of Juan de Austria, particularly against Father Nithard, who was a friend of his and of everybody's welfare. In the end he died so poor that he did not have the means to pay his servants, and, during his last illness, called upon the Count of Peñaranda and another important man in this court, so that they could make up for his lack of resources, but these rich ones prayed that he would

be allowed to take his place in heaven. Regarding his condition during his last illness, they agreed with the physicians that the dangerous phase had not yet arrived. However, he ordered that he be administered the [last] sacraments, saying that he would get all the benefits of the three-year jubilee, and be ready at this hour [of death]. He had been appointed governor by a decree of H.M. King Philip IV. The Queen celebrated her birthday toward the end of December. The King himself with the younger Princes sponsored an evening ball. He took care of two things: 1) he made sure that no-one would use the color of his own robes during the ball; 2) he made sure that his mother would not hear about the event before it took place. And when he would casually ask the favor from his mother on the very birthday itself, she herself answered: Indeed, I alone ought to be unaware of these matters. But he: Mother, says he, these things are more pleasant if they are made known only after they would have happened. And indeed he had openly disturbed the palace 14 days before with all the necessary preparations.

The fleet of the Dutch has landed at Cadiz safe and sound; and from there Fr. Jean de la Porte,<sup>1</sup> the Superior, is recalled by the Rev. Fr. Provincial back to the province but he may make haste slowly, as they reply in writing from there; zeal does not allow that a man be removed from the beloved Sparta.<sup>2</sup> The royal galleons are to make an unspeakable journey at about August next. Would that they head for Mexico; certainly the opportunity of having to sail is not lacking, if the means would be obtained. But I fear to raise my hopes too high. These things just happen; I am not adding those things which would only be repetitions.

With your kind permission, I am extending a most loving greeting from Fr. Gerardo to the Rev. Fr. Rector, to Fr. Bonaert and expressly to the Fathers of the third probation and to the teachers and specially to [Mr.] de la Torre; and from that moment that to pray singlemindedly to our Lady there, both your mother and ours, for the happy outcome of our affairs. I am commending myself to the most holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverence.

Madrid, 6 January 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To the Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ Libert de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Our Lady of Halle.

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1 Ed. note: Jean-Baptiste de la Porte of the Naval Mission.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the Greek city and to the Father's military vocation, and his latest assignment as a naval chaplain.

## O12. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 18 February 1671

*Sources: AGR 2, fol. 218-218v; extract perhaps in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 322+ also.*

### Original text.

*Reverendo in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Gratissimas Ræ Væ datas 27 Jan. accepi in quibus nihil profecto gratius accidit quam videre stabilitum tam firmiter utroque optatum tot votis scribendi commercium. Valemus hic nos et jejunamus strenue, nam ingens hic Madriti piscium penuria interim Deo et fame condimentum, danti onera omnia convertuntur in salutem, ex quo enim hic sum nec catharri nec asthmatis, quæ Deo sit laus, quidquam sensi. Valet itidem rex noster cum regina. Pro illius recuperata salute publice hic gratiarum actiones primo et 2do die Bacchanalium pro pulpito indictæ.*

*Nova hic etiam aliqua habemus ex Sinis. Transmisi illa ego, prout ad nos transmisit P. Prosper Intorcetta Procurator Sinensis, Lovanium ad P. Koukerken [sic]. Utetur ille spero eadem humanitate qua R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> erga illum. Synopsis hæc est: egit ille Gadibus cum Patribus nostris Navalibus valde familiariter per biduum quo navis sua illo in portu substitit qua ipse Seniam petebat inde Romam perrecturus. Multa illic de sua missione præclara sed vobis jam ante ex litteris audita, multa de PP. Flandro belgis illic strenuis operariis, perhonorifica. Quare se a Rdo. Ad. P. N. decem ut minimum socios missioni suæ postulaturum, et sperare se impetraturum. Erimus nos inter illos minimi uti speramus, si non succedat missio nostra Philippinarum, de qua ultimam et decretoriam resolutionem necdum potuimus extorquere.*

*Interim satagunt Romæ procuratores Indiarum occidentalium ut ex naufragio missionis Philippinensis, tabulam sibi quisque aliquam Provinciis suis obtineat. Sunt illi Peruanus, novi regni de Granada, Mexicanus et hic quidem facultatem obtinuit a P. N., uti nobis Roma scribitur, adjungendi nos Provinciæ suæ, verum non nisi nobis consentientibus, sed nos magis vocant exempla et vestigia Xaveriana, ut illum post Deum sequamur in Sinus aut Japonas. Qui dedit incipere, perficere etiam dabit uti speramus.*

*13 hujus supplicio hic publice affectus inforo, præciso per carnificem gutture, D. Antonius de Cordoba pro Joanne Austriaco Capitaneus equitum. Fuerat ille inceptor magnus turbarum illarum quas in hac aula excitavit Joannes Austriacus contra Patrem Nithardi, ac deinde auctor imposturæ præcipuus hujus aulæ aliquot Principibus impartæ, de veneno præparato aut propinato eidem Austriaco. Quæ res multum aliquandiu hanc aulam turbaverat: tandem captus, convictus et confessus pœnas dedit dignas turbatore publicæ tranquillitatis, confluyente spectaculum ingenti multitudine. Plurimum per aliquot dies, nam hic tribus ut minimum diebus ante executionem sententiæ nostri assistunt, laborarunt nostri ut illum ad mortem christiane obeundam componerent. Inclamabat sententiam innuctam et alia his similia: sed hic cantus veniam solum spectabat. Ubi vidit nullam illius spem affulgere composuit sese et christiane mortem*

*perpessus est: simili supplicio jam dicitur adjudicatus ipsius frater, ob mortem marito sororis suæ per assassimum illatam cum quo supplicium patietur quidam famosus dutor Bannitorus cui Jaime nomen: serviverat ille captivitati prioris supplicio affecti, postea et ipsi in manus delapsus meritis suis supplicia exiget.*

*Ante aliquot dies appulit huc legatus Hollandiæ postquam quinque amplius septimanis in mari tempestatibus est agitatus, jam quartana laborat, adeoque publicam audientiam suam tam cito apud suas majestates non habevit. Qui rumor hic fuit, et ibi est, de bello a Gallis Belgio imminente, hic plane evanuit, postquam residentibus anglo et sueco a suis regibus rescriptum est indultum sibi a gallo annum integrum, quo deliberent de lite cujus arbitri objecti sunt, Hispaniam inter et Galliam de limitibus. Idem rescriptum esse a suo rege legato Gallico retulit nobis P. Fresneda qui ei est amicissimus. Quare ille jussu sui regis, jussit Reginam securam esse et nihil anno proximo in Belgio timere. Repetet tamen ille vere proximo Galliam, et successorem residentem seu agentem exspectat. Discedit etiam hinc legatus Burgundiæ, non exiguo tempore in hac aula versatus. Appulit ante aliquot dies legatus Hollandiæ, quinque minimum septimanis tempestatibus in mari jactatus, et jam sive ex labore continuo seu agitatione febris laborat quartana, quæ impedimento est quo minus publicam suam apud suas majestates audientiam, habeat tam cito quam ille cupiebat.*

*Parat etiam hinc iter suum ad vos Haro de Sweck(?) cum Gryspere, aut confectis aut Domini Parenti ejusque Collegæ relictis negotiis. Iis hic agitur celebris, impressis u[el]tro citroque libellis seu memorialibus ut vocant, calceatum Carmelitam inter, nomine Lorribas, prædicatorem egregium, ut aiunt et regium et superiorem suum, conventus Priorem, negotium palliatur zelo strictioris alicujus observantiæ. Interim prædictus Lorribas conventum deseruit, et latet hic sub alis Magnatum aliquorum in domo sæculari. Confugerat primo ad umbram Archiepiscopi Toletani, Cardinalis verum ille, ad instantiam Prioris, omnem illi spem subtraxit. Hab[eb]at etiam hac quadragesima ad varia concilia erat sermones varios, et quidem in templo nostro Domus Professæ singulis Dominicis ad Concilium Italiæ, verum inspecta rei gravitate, revocarunt illos Prædides, et aliis Religiosis detulerunt; quem res habitura sit exitum ignoratur, certe sine scandalo et dato et dando non facile finietur.*

*Paraveram hic ego rogatu P. Provincialis, in scenam dandum in sua Canonizatione S. Franciscum de Borja: verum ubi pro expensis mecenatem rogavi, retraxere manum, et verbis conati sunt satisfacere, quibus hic ego parum possum comparare, quare et manum ego a tabula retraxi.*

*Hæc habui R. Pater quæ hac vice potui gratissimis Ræ Væ reponere, ubi plura aut rariora nactus fuero transmittam. Jam me SSimis Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus apud Divam Matrem cum P. Gerardo ex animo com[m]endo.*

*Madriti 18 feb. 1671*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[P.S.] *Salutem amantissimam addit mecum bona ejus venia P. Gerardus R. P. Rec-tori, P. Nobelaer, P. Cosyn, P. de Backer omnibusque et singulis amantissimis Patri-bus 3i anni ac magistris ac M. van Torre nominatim.*

[218v, address:] *Rdo in X<sup>o</sup> Patri P. Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Hallis Dei-paræ.*

### Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

I received Y.R.'s most beloved letter dated 27 January in which there is nothing indeed more pleasing than to see that an exchange of correspondence so long desired will be so firmly established. Right now, we are well and actively fasting, for the temporary great scarcity of fish here in Madrid is a spice for God and hunger, to the one who gives, all burdens are transformed into salvation, for because of it I have neither cold nor as-thma here, which, thank God, is something I have noticed. Our King and Queen are also in good health. For the recovery of his health acts of thanksgiving have been pub-licly declared before the pulpit here on the first and second day of the Bacchanalia.<sup>1</sup>

We now have other news from China. I transmitted them to Fr. Coukerken at Lou-vain, as Fr. Prosper Intorcetta, the Procurator of China, has transmitted them to us. I hope he employed the same kindness that Y.R. has done toward him. This is the sy-nopsis: he conferred in very friendly terms at Cadiz with our Fathers from the Naval [Mission] for two days during which his ship, on which he was going to Sienna [in Italy] and then would be travelling to Rome, remained in that port. Many things there were very clear concerning his mission but they were already told to you before through let-ters; many things have been very honorable concerning the Belgian Fathers from Flan-ders, very energetic workers there. That is why he will ask from our Very Rev. Father 10 companions as the minimum number, if our mission in the Philippines does not come through, concerning which we could not yet wrest away a last and definitive resolution.

Meanwhile, the procurators of the West Indies bustle about in Rome so that from the "shipwreck" of [Fr. Ledesma's] Philippine mission each one [of them] may acquire for himself a "plank" for his own province.<sup>2</sup> They [the procurators] are: the Peruvian of the new Kingdom of Granada, the Mexican, and indeed this one even obtained from our Father the power, as it is communicated to us in Rome, of annexing us to his prov-ince, certainly not without our consent, they yet invoke upon us more completely the examples and footsteps of Xavier so that we may follow him after God into the Chinese or Japanese [missions]. He who gives [permission] to begin may also give [permission] to carry it out, we hope.

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1 Ed. note: I think he means the carnival days of Shrove Tuesday and the day preceding it.

2 Translator's note: Double meaning of tabula, a play of words: a plank from the shipwreck meaning personnel from the failed mission.

On the 13th of this month, there was a public execution carried out here against Don Antonio de Cordoba, having his throat slashed by Juan de Austria, captain of cavalry. He [i.e. the former] was the instigator of those troubles in this court, in which Juan de Austria was excited against Fr. Nithard, and then was the first author of the imposture imparted by some leaders of the said court, about some poison prepared or offered by the said Austria. This affair had perturbed this court for quite a long time; he was finally captured and convicted. Having confessed, he was given the punishment fit for a disturber of the public peace, in front of a crowd that had gathered to watch the spectacle. Our people assisted him during the many days previous to the execution of the sentence, for they wait three days here; our people worked so as to provide him with a Christian death. He was claiming that the sentence was invalid and other such things, but he was expected to receive a pardon. When he saw that there was no hope coming, he composed himself and prepared himself for a Christian death. His own brother had received a similar punishment, on account of the death of his sister's husband by assassination, the said execution being shared with a certain famous dowry giver Bannitor, first name Jaime; this man had suffered captivity prior to being executed, after he had himself insisted on the execution which [he said] he deserved.

A few days before, the Dutch envoy arrived here, after he had spent five full weeks sailing on a stormy sea. He was already suffering from a mild fever, so that he could not be so quickly received in audience by their Majesties. The rumor that was circulating, to the effect that a war was imminent between France and Belgium, has promptly evaporated, after the English and Swedish residents wrote to their kings that one full year had been conceded to them by the French [king]. They were referring to the dispute in which they are the arbiters, regarding boundaries between Spain and France.<sup>1</sup> The French envoy has also received a letter from his king, we were told by Fr. Fresneda who is a very good friend of his. That is why he has been ordered by his king to assure the Queen, and that nothing can be feared by Belgium until next year. Finally, he repeated that he himself is about to return to France, and that a successor, resident or agent, is being expected. The Burgundy envoy has also left; his tour of duty at this court was a short one. A few days ago, the Dutch envoy arrived, after he had spent at least five weeks in storms at sea, and already, either out of continuous work or out of bother caused by a quartenary fever, he has been prevented from having a public audience with Their Majesties, although he could have had it as quickly as it suited him.

Haro de Sweck(?) is making a stopover here during his trip to Belgium, with Grypperre, either to finish off his business or leave it with Mr. Parent and his partner. These two have become famous here, with their respective suits, or memorials, as they call them, with a calced Carmelite, named Lorribas, an excellent preacher, they say, and their rector and superior, or Prior of the convent; business has suffered from the zeal of their stricter observance. Meanwhile, the said Lorribas has left the convent, and is found here under the wing of the some Grandee in the house of the laymen. He had fled

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1 Ed. note: Between northern France and Spanish-controlled Belgium.

at first to the shadow of the Archbishop of Toledo, who is really a Cardinal, [but] at the request of the Prior, he removed all hope. He had also preached various sermons on Quadragesime,<sup>1</sup> attended various councils, and in any case even attended the Italian Council in the church of our Profess House every single Sunday; in view of the gravity of the situation, they withdrew their sponsorship and the other religious deferred [their decision?]. What the outcome of this affair will be, is not known; certainly, it will not end without some scandal or give and take.

I will refer here to the request of the Fr. Provincial, for giving [i.e. writing] a stage play in honor of the canonization of St. Francis Borgia; well, I have made a request for funds to pay expenses from a [potential] donor, but they withdrew their hand and prepared to satisfy [me] with words. I cannot buy enough with those. That is why I withdraw my hand from the writing table.

So now, Rev. Father, I have been able to replace the fondest letter from Y.R., by sending news about many rare events from outside. Now I strongly commend myself and Fr. Gerardus to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Y.R. before the Blessed Virgin.

Madrid, 18 February 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

[P.S.] Fr. Gerard joins me in presenting very fond regards and wishing good luck to the Rev. Fr. Rector, Fr. Nobelaer,<sup>2</sup> Fr. Cosyn,<sup>3</sup> Fr. de Backer,<sup>4</sup> and everyone of the most beloved Fathers in the third year and the teachers, specially M[aster] de Torre.

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus, College of Halle.

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps corresponding to the first Sunday in Lent.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Daniel Nobelaer, born at The Hague, died Brussels 1 July 1675.

3 Ed. note: Either Fr. Adrian Cosyns, born Antwerp, died Courtrai 1711, or Fr. John, born Antwerp, died Bruges 1619.

4 Ed. note: Either Fr. Dominick, born Antwerp, died Malines 1688, or Fr. Charles, born Brussels, died Ghent 1709.

1671OB

## O13. News from the China Mission, by Fr. Bouwens, dated Madrid 18 February 1671

Source: AGR 2, fol. 120-123v.

### Original text in Latin.

*Authenticas harum copias una cum statutis ipsis ab octidie ego Gadibus accepi a P. Schweitzer qui scribebat navalibus nostris Prosperum Intorcetta Siculum missionis sinicæ procuratorem hic cum e Sinis discessit adhinc exiles erant Sinarum missionarii excepto Patre Verbiest cum socio de gente in urbe regiæ Pekinensi. Exulibus ipse P. Prosper favente vice rege extinxit domum et suum cuique cubiculum. Erant vero 19 e Stis., quatuor dominicani, unus franciscanus iam res meliori loco est: ducentes millones hominum numerat solum regnum Sinarum: ex illis centum et 50000 Christianorum. Videtur sane missio undequaque appetenda (quod et scripsit R. P. Assistens noster): utinam de nostra in Philippinas expeditione certi aliquid in alterutram partem impleto iam anno noviciatus nostri castellani, decernant tardi gradi Hispani, quo liberius ablatam hanc spartam amplectamur? 40 socios secum pater P[rosp]er abduxit, nullos ita ut Flandro belgas appetit Gadibus cum navalibus nostris assidue sunt Patribus Hispanis subinde cubiculo suo exesse modestie jussis cuy(?) suis flandris sibi esse quod tractaret asserebat, illis non obscure amice tamen invidentibus. Illum nostri e nave sua, conducta scapha ad Collegium, atque hinc rursus ad navim, post bidium deduxere nullo hispanorum illi tantillum obsequij offerent, cum tamen ex navi priusquam in terram descenderet, humanissimas ad P. isthic rectorem dedisset. Denique 28 hujus istinc Genuam unde Romam presturus discessit non nisi frequenti anno in Sinas reversurus. Videbatur secum sed Deo alite visum abducturus P. H. Deprinæ, cui uti magno cum dolore intelligo ex R. V. iam defuncto suffragia illi debita persolvi. Iam scripserat ad illum P. Intorcetta, illumque Sinenses socij, iam pridem esse in itinere putabam. Faxit Deus ut præbuo illo mathematicarum peritissimo multi succedant ex ijs quas ea arte ipse imbuit: nam si obtineat, 10 e nostra provincia aut etiam plures optat. [H]avemus hic intelligere prestantissimæ istius missionis candidatos: quos melius nobis instructos scientijs instrumentisque [121v] mathematicis etiam absentis amicissime amplectimur. occentalib[us] hisce novis submittam per veredarium proximum que de rebus Peruanis fiam sum nactus: quæ nuper scripsi de duabus argent- -odinis(?) repertus, error fuit cum non missionam illi detex--- -tamque ut hinc se ipsi artissimam(?) reliqua(m) sibi constant.*

*Madridentia hæc sunt, convaluit Rex a morbo suo robustior. 13<sup>a</sup> in publico foro præcise fauces isti D. Antonio de Cordoba y Montemayor. Quatriduo ante intimata illi fuerat feralis sententia ut tempestive ad mortem se disponeret: sed ille ut ducebatur spe venit ad intra tuduum(?) adlucina[m] potuit ut confiteretur donec tandem pridie quam supplicio afficeretur sub vesperam (eo usque a meridie ego cum alio Patre ei adfui) præ*



*se disposuit, et fortissime jugulo cultum infixum sustinuit, prostendæ magna omnium admiratione. causa mortis secuntior [secundior?] salutatis, calumniæ, etc. ab eo confutæ de veneno, quo ante triennium se attrebi(?) conquerebatur Austriacus, qui ex eo capiti varios magnates poscebatur(?) ad sibi et institutæ satisfaciendum.*

*Ab octiduo huc advenit legatus hollandicus: gallicus cogitat abitum, sed substituetur illi nescio quare homo militaris nomine residentis. Dicitur Rex Christianissimus ad instantiam regam Angliæ et Sueciæ (qui dicuntur esse mediatores) Belgium non invasurus hoc anno id est suæ Magestati hic nomine Regis. Sui Sancte asseverat legatus gallicus, Archiepiscopus Salizolazannes(?) vir non uno nomine omnibus charus. Gubernator Burgundiæ nescio an is sit Comes Grimberganus successor designatus est. Hispanis excidit uni nomen alias item promissiones duas quarum altera est Principis de Monte Sarisio(?) proxime transmittam nunc SS. R. V. Sacrificiis me commendasse contentus, 18 feb. 1671 Madriti.*

*R. V. servus in Christo  
Gerardus Bouwens.*

### **Original letters of Fr. Domingo de San Pedro, O.P.**

*Note: Little is known about the author of the letter immediately quoted below. Father Domingo Carpetio, in religion Fr. Domingo de San Pedro, was a Dominican who arrived at Manila in 1658 with the mission band led by Fr. Polanco. He came from the convent of Santa Zita in Palermo, Sicily, where he had been a reader in the humanities (see B&R 37: 113). We know from his letter that he worked as a missionary in China in the decade of the 1660s.*

*[“]Fr. Dominicus Carpetius alias de Sancto Petro Siculus Ordinis Predicatorum olim in India y Generali Pri. Dominici de Panama per susceptionem tituli lectoratus ad lectionem S[anctæ] Theologiæ aprobatu et in conventu S. Zitte ejusdem Generalis Panormi lector actualis philosophiæ, fidem facio omnibus et singulis præsentis litteras inspecturis: [”]*

*[“]Quod cum ex mandato superiorum meorum provinciæ SSmi. Rosarij Philippinarum ejusdem ordinis iam ad hoc regnum Sinarum Evangelicus predicator missus venissem, et ex nono [=novo] iterum superiorum mandato quam votui diligentiam per 8 annorum spatium adhibuissem ut de Sinarum sectarum superstitionibus certior fierem: Indico praxim, quam PP. missionarij Stis. Jesu in hoc regno Sinarum se fatentur sequi circa permissionem seu tolerantiam quarumdam ceremoniarum quibus Sinæ Christiani philosophum confuteum et progenitores defunctorij venerantur. Esse non solum tutam utpote a S. Congregatione universalis inquisitionis approbatam, sed etiam si principia præcipuarum sectarum expendamus esse apposita sententia probabiliorem, et ad apperendam [=apprehendam] Ethnicis Evangelii Januam maxime utilem ne dicam necessariam, probaliorem quidem, quia qui profitentur 3 sectas Sinarum præcipuas alij si litterati ex Magistri sui Confutij decreto de rebus mirabilibus non disputare nec bona præsentis vitæ querere edocti sunt et aliquid ab alio sperari quam a Coelo vivente (quidquid illud sit) vel cum eodem cælo in omnibus sine in prosperis sine in adversis non se conformare nefas putant. Alij siquis ex duabus sectis TE et TAO et Idolatricus alterutram profitentur defunctorum animas vel voluti quemdam ærem disserari*

*[dissereri] vel in inferno ad tempus detineri vel transmigracione quadam pyth[agorica] denuo renascif.] indicant paucis tamen exceptis animalis quas in TE XIII SIEN converti dicunt et in Deorum quasi numerum vel immortalium hominum adscribi adeoque tantum abest ut ab illis se adivinari: credant quod e contrario ipsos idolorum sacriscantus ad Sinarum defunctorum animas invadas sæpe vocent, ut per eorum scilicet suffragia citius faciliusque renascantur; consulto dixi si principia præcipuarum sectarum expendamus sine earum primariam institutionem nam si profuntur temporis status consideretur nihil sane certi determinari potere, quippe tantum infidelium cæcitas invaluit, ut nec inscribas [=ipse scripsas?] intelligant adeoque recte hac nostra cæcitate de sinencibus dici potest quot capita tot sententiæ.["]*

*["]Utilem vero: quia cum omnes sine predictas dæmonias ad cultum obedientiæ filialis(?) reducunt si omnino de ipsis interdicanur male sentient de nostra S. lege quasi hæc prohibet filius honorare parentes, quod erit in maximum missionis sinicæ detrimentum et fidei propagationi obstaculum, eo vel maximo, quia sinenses quamvis sint varijs superstitionibus involuti tamen si ipso prope natis non deberi defunctus aliquid numinis tribui, vel ab ipsis bene petereant sperare vel gratis concedunt vel ad credendum facile inducuntur maxime si ex ipsis sectarum piarum principiis rationes ad hominem desumantur. E contrario si ipsos dicamus nequaquam [120v] illis licitum esse quidquid afferre defunctis eo modo (ut ipsi dicunt) ac filium essent ingrati animi signum ut filium alis obsequij, cum maxima difficultate induci possint(?) ad hoc credendum, etsi credunt tamen experiuntur quam plurimas difficultates non sine magno submersionis periculo quod eventus probavit non semel aut raro id contigisse.["]*

*["]Finem facio quod Patres Stis. Jesu in hoc regno Sinarum Christum crucifixum non solum verbo sed etiam multorum librorum voluminibus ethnicis annunciant et de sacre passionis mysteriis suis neophytis diligenter instruant et in aliquibus JHS residentijs adsunt sacre profanis confraternitates erectæ, et novissime presentur S. legis. Quamquam Sien dictus hoc potissimum contra evangelij præcones opposuit, quod scilicet hominem crucifixum pro Domino Cæli et terræ venerantur. Quod quidem a Patrum Stis. libris comprobavit.["]*

*["]Finem facio hactenus opus est juramento confirmo, quod ad Domino prædicta testimonia proficenda sicut et ad aliud quod anno preterito 9 Maii protuli, circa librum venerabilis P. Mathei Ricci Stis. Jesus "Tien Chu X<sup>o</sup>" dictum non alterius precibus vel suasu sed solo ventatis amore impulsus fui. Considerans enim quod dubia quæ supra dictas materias ve(c)tuntur non sunt curis sed facti ut S. Congregatio innuit et facti constantia in rebus moralibus ad arbitrium pii et docti viri dijudicandæ sunt, durissimum mihi visum est actus illos quos tot tantique Stis. missionarij quas ego per trium annorum curricula cum ipsos degens familie rites tractans charitatem expertus doctrinam pietatem fidem zelum amorem probitatem medicam sanctitatem optime novi, ipsorumque tot alij non primi nominis prædecessores ac venerabiter sinicæ missionis Patres, quas inquam actus tot tantique viri indicarunt vel indicunt esse politicas, eas superstisiosos esse tenaciter affirmare.["]*

[“]Sciens ergo propter quidam dubiam quis supra predictas materias P. F. Joes. Bapta. Morales eisdem ordinis et provinciæ SSmi. Rosarij Philippinarum vir plane apostolicis zelo fidei doctus proposuit S. Congregationi universalis inquisitionis anno 1646: [“]Quidam minus præ erga Societatem affecti tum in Europea tum in Indiis promulgarint, missionarios Societatis in regno Sinarum non predicare Christus crucifixium insuper permittere Christianos suos idolatras: ne ut ipse tacens conjecture videre in illis et ut tantorum Patrum fame(s) eo quo prosum modo satis facerem presens Judicium protuli.[”] Illud tamen subjiciens S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ Judicia certiori. In cujus fidem has litteras dedi et manu propria subscripsi in hac domo cantoniensi in qua loco carceris vel exilij pro causa fidei detinemur 4 Augusto 1668.[”]

[“]Legi superius transcriptum et est omnino conforme cum meos litteris originalibus quas manu propria scripsi.[”]

[“]F. Dominicus Maria Carpetius alias de S. Petro, qui supra.[”]

[“]Testor ut supra Felicianus Patricius [rather Pacheco] Vice-Provinciæ Sinicæ Præpositus vice-provincialis.[”]

[“]Testor idem Joes. Fra. Ferarnes(?)[”]

[Loco sigilli vice provincialis scribit]

[“]Supra testimonij in comendationes libri cujusdam a Patre Matheo Riccio conscripti.[”]

[“]Ego infra scriptus Fr. Dominicus Maria Carpetius Ordinis Predicatorum lector cum sæpius atque attente legerim librum P. Matthei Riccij e Stis. Jesu quem is Sinicæ conscripsit, **cælorum Domini vera ratio**, quo quidem libro potissimum de Deo agit: testor quod dictus Pater materias, quas ibi tractandas suscepit adeo directe simul ac feliciter exhaustit ut missionarijs qui post illum: deinde in hac sinensi vinis laborarunt parum vel etiam nihil relictum fuerit circa materias quod dictus Pater partim explicite susque partim implicite et compendio non sit complexus.[”]

[“]Testor item mihi cerebro venisse in mentem quod dictus liber opus est et ejusmodi ut sine revelatione divina aut speciale Dei auxilio non potuerit ab auctore perfici: in quorum fidem hasce manu mea subscripsi.[”]

[“]Ex **Quam Chu** metropolitani Provinciæ Sinarum **Quantum**, dicto 9 Maij 1667.[”]

[Other enclosure]

Praxes quædam discusse in pleno coetu in PP. missionariorum statutæ et directæ ad servandam inter se sinica missione uniformitatem.

1<sup>o</sup> Formula baptizandi in Sinica missione (pretor latinam qua PP. utuntur) est:

NGO SI ULS (vel) NI IN FU KIE CUKIE XIM XIN MIM CHE AMEN.

Altera: NGO ULH IN PATELE KIE FIHO KIE SUPILITO SANTO MIM CHE AMEN.

Utralibet uti sinantur pro diversitate locorum et Idiomatum sinici Imperij. Tantum abrogetur (per desilionem potius quam per motum declarationem) formula illa, que pro his vocibus MIM CHE habebat “nomen”, non ex eo quide audicetur cunalida sed qua magis obnoxia errori.

2° Suos Christianos ministra diligenter edoceant hæc formulas baptizandi, ut per eas tam viri quam mulieres præsertim obstetrices pueris infantibus alijsque de vita et salute pene litanibus, in sacerdotus absentia prompte subvenire.

3° Cum sæpius mulieres apud Sinas præ coeteris orientalibus nationibus singularem præ se ferat predieitæ sueciem cui ab omni vel levi umbra metuere videtur ne ejus rei causa a Christiana religione suscipienda terreantur ipse mulieres, vel earum consanguinei illas ab ejus susceptione prohibeat. Iam ab ipso sinice [122] missionis initio usum fuit patribus in usu SS. ceremoniarum aliquam adhibere circumspectum moderationem, quorum vestigiis insistenter, quorum vestigiis in S. baptismo conferendo pro ellas tantummodo infantes, non vero mulieres adultas abeo(?) catechumenorum inuagimus.

4° Eadem de causa a S. Salive ritu abstinemus ne Sinis ab infidelitate convectis aut convertendis horrorem nauseamque pariat.

5° S. Chrisma etiam mulieribus adultis impertiendum censemus parte vertici propinquiore argenteos penicillo utenter, qui penicillis ex altro capite ad forcipens modum factus gassiprimum contineat, quo obeum abstergatior, non vero immedicto per manum ipsius sacerdotis.

6° Non admittantur sine jejunantes ad se baptismus non fracto jejuniu nisi in aliqui extraordinario casu in quo non sit scandalum et aliqui constet de cemnandi recta intentione maneantur tum serio Christiani ne tales jejunantes teneant ab audiendo Catechismo impredientis illis suum germanium extrobrando, sed suamtes(?) vos ad patrem perducant ab ipso utique blandiuscule se sua obligatione producendas.

7° In conferendo mulieribus baptismo habentur ratio decentis aquas ita infundendo, ut excurrat quantim satis est ad partes vulnis discoopertas non tamen ad solvendum vel aperiendum capilitum ipse mulieres adigantur.

8° Nullo modo permittandum esse simul et semel in eodem loco viri et mulieres promiscuis ad recipienda SS. Sacramenta baptismis, pænitentis, Eucharistus, vel ad audiendum catechismum, concionem cine(?) missam, maxime in ijs lucis, ubi residemus. Si vero in proprio et ruralibus audet ut viri et mulieres loco et tempore separati non possint, curet omnino minister, ut in eodem loco aliqua illos intercapedo distinguat ab manem nec permittat illas confuso et promiscus dicta munera obere.

9° Semel lapsus neophitos atque utram celapsas insencorditer ut benigne semper excipiat menester quotiescumque, illos ex corde preemptore(?) intelliget habitu tamen ratione culpes si forte publica sunt aut secutum scandalum, illos inducere conetur ut publicam etiam in templo coram Christianis Deus proportionam satisfactiones ab illos veniam petendo; et emendationem in posterum promittendo; in quo casu valde ministro cavendum est ne ullam personarum exceptiones pro se ferat alites v. g. cum haustionibus et divitibus, aliter cum pauperibus et plebeis agenda, ex qua se vossent scandala sequi, et conveusco(?) peccatorum valde retardari.

10° Catechismus puerorum zelo ex prudentia missionarum comitatur ut facient in hac re tanti momenti quod ad majorem Dei gloriam et animarum salutem expiere undebatur: curando præsertim ut ad hunc finem sodalitates [122v] Angelorum instituan-

*tur et magistri Christiani veneras simul cum litteris sinicis etiam misteria sacræ sedæ: daceunt.*

*11° Serio curent PP. ut cathechiste (si quando illorum opera uti necesse est) ita Cathechumenos instruant in Divina lege ut non arritent ethnicos nimia fervore et amore prudentia insertando ipsorum idola, et malo de illis laquiendo sed prius et osticatus statuunt nostra quam impugnant aliena ut aut S. Hieronimus.*

*12° SS. Eucharistiæ sacramentum cum sit inter omnia Christianæ Religionis mysteria gravissimum maximum et suprema veneratione colendum propter valem, et corporalem Christi Domini presentiam: necesse est ut neophitis cum summa circumspectione ad numstretur adeoque diligentissime cavendum ut non nisi digne, qui simul recte collegunt ad quid acciperunt ad illud admitantur loci et personarum apud quas administratur aliarumque circumstantiarum summis habendus est delectus, ne inde ornatur(?) aliqua in Divinum irreverentiam.*

*13° Non sit nimia facultas in illo administrando ne apud parum queras dignitatis tanti misterij ipsius aliquo modo vilesiat.*

*14° Ubi dubitatur an qui SS. Eucharistiam sibi dari posuit, sufficientem intelligat id quod agit. Videtur debere sacerdos in Reverentiam S. Sacramenti propendere illud in aliud tempus differendo, dum neophitus melius instinatur.*

*15° Paschuali tempore propter preceptum et in mortis articulo propter instantem necessitates non sunt exigendæ cum rigore annus dispositiones minus necessaris sed sufficit consinentæ puritas per pænitiæ Sacramentum acquisita: at ut discernat neophytum cibum spirituales a corporali agnoscendo et credendo in S. hostiam Christi Domini presentiam.*

*16° Summo studio ac diligentia curent PP. missionerij ut per scriptus (quantum fidei potest) doceant suis neophitas eaque parca huc altissimum misterium scire ac credere debeat hoc minus non omnino cathechistis committendo, simulque illis Ecclesiasticum preceptum sæpe declarent quo ad semel in anno circa tempus paschale et in articulo mortis obligantur.*

*17° Quod attinet ad statuendum tempus neophytis post baptismum ad S[anctam] mensam admittendi non videtur coctum aliquid posse discecui; sed prudentiæ et zelo missionarij esse relinquendum qui prout quisque suas oves sunt(?), consideratur personarum, loci, alijsque circumstatijs id faciat quod magis ad Dei gloriam et animarum salutem convenire in domus videbitur.*

*18° Intelligent tamen omnes missionarij in administrando hoc altissimo et præ-excellentissimo mysterio divini honoris et salutis animarum ab ipso æquie simul rationem exigendam: proinde diligentissime caveant ne altercutum ex his propter eorum incuriam detrimentum patiatur.*

*19° In mulierum confessionibus audiendis interponatur velum seu aliquid aliud inter sacerdotem et pœnitentem.*

*20° Cum apud Sinas pileum et capite deponere nulla sit Reverentia: quinimo omnis externa veneratio tam homini quam vero aut putato numine(?) tecto capite semper a divis exhibeatur: Christiana autem mysteria summam exigant Reverentiam quæ*

*propentibus etiam ethnicus probatur [123] Neophyti sive S. Sacrificii assistentes sive sacerdoti sacris operanti, sive etiam ad S. Communiones accedentes ortanti mysterij Reverentiam semper caput puleo tectum gerant.*

*21° In misse autem ministerio non abroretur usus superpolicei.*

*22° Suaviter et prudenter admoneantur Christiani in aliquo cœtu ut ad sacra mysteria decentes quantum fueri potest, induti accedant.*

*23° Non facile PP. nec sine gravi necessitate vehebant S. sacrificium in privatis domibus Christianorum, nec facile in iis domibus in quibus ex necessitate celebrarint prandium admitant, nisi ille fit alicuius ex Sodalitij domus, vel nisi loci distantis vel hospit invitanter excolentia id omnino exigit.*

*24° Nocturni coactus tam vivorum quam mulierem in Ecclesia non permittantur.*

*25° Extrema Unctio non negotus mulieribus adultis nisi sit aliquod grave inconveniens, sed non ungantur mulieres in pedibus.*

*26° Insignia nominis Jesu Mariæ etc. quæ Sinicæ XIM HAO dicuntur declarent PP. Sinis Christianos non esse ex aliquo præcepto domorum portis affigenda id eo que non affigere non esse peccatum: non tamen positive prohibentalem afflictione.*

*27° Agnus Dei non prohibentur Christiani habere et secum ferre sed caute, tamen ne ab ethnicis aliquam irreverentiam patiantur.*

*28° Idola areventer baptizatos vel baptizandis, quantum fueri potest disserantur ad Ecclesiam urbanam vel ruralem, ubi sine strepitu et irritatione ethnicorum consburantur ac consumantur.*

*29° In Calendario sinico omittatur illa declaratio festorum et jejunorum a quibus Sinenses similiter ut omnes Indiarum Neophyti excusantur, omittentur etiam stellulæ \* in quarum locum succedant parvi circuli O (Sinis enim omnes novitates suspecto sunt: quia itaque circulis, pro notis, non antem stellulis utuntur ideo circulus nos etiam utimur. Titulus autem Calendarii sinici sit HEN CHIN XIM NA.*

*30° In Calendario sinico nulla extroductantur festa sive jejunia præter illa quæ ab universali Ecclesia ex precepto obtinantur: quia tamen festa Conceptionis B. V., SS Innocentium et commeratio fidelium de sanctorum iam ab antiquo usu admissa sunt, ea festa non abolentur.*

*31° Aliarum regionum peculiare consuetudines in sinicam missionem introducere non convenit.*

*32° Non expedit Sinenses Neophytos obligare ab abstinentiam ab ovis, et lactuineis tempore quadragesimali: cum in Indiis tam orientalibus quam occidentalibus sit amplum circa esto privigelium.*

*33° Ad sepulturam Christianorum hortandi sunt neophyti ut frequentes assistant et christianam pompam quantum possunt (funus comitantes) decenter exhibeant minister vero in templo ad præsentem sarcophagi precie cum funereo apparatu consueta responsorie recitet et ad altare operatur: ut autem ipse in domum defuncti ad benedicendum sarcophagum et ad sepulturæ locum pergat ad ipsum sepulendum etc. non potest dari certa lex: sed ejus prudentiæ habita loci temporis et personarum ratione quid expediet judicare.*

*34° Neophyti nullo audeant in auctoritate propria arrigere vel mutare quidquam in libris a Patribus impressis: multa omnibus permittantur per se aut scribere ceu a se impressos aut scriptos vulgare libros sive tractatus de rebus ad S. religionem prestantibus nisi prius approbati fuerint ab aliis Patribus quos R. V. Provincialis ad eos cernendos elegerit.*

*35° Non audiamus a Christianis multaque minus ab ethnicis adversas ac perniciosas narrationes ceu oblocutiones, quin illas prio corrigamus honorifice semper de omnibus loquendo ut S. charitatem inter nos illibatam pruemus.*

*36° Alterius residentu famulos nemo in suam domum admitentur sine priore domino, nec sine ejus beneplacito.*

*37° Diligenter excitent PP. suis Christianis indissolubilitatem vinculi matrimonialis, doceantque eos dispositiones necessarias ad sacramentum et ad sacramenti gratiam recipiendam. Justis autem de causis (pro interim) matrimonii instituendis PP. non assistant usque ad novam superiorem dispositionem.*

*38° Matrimonium inter Sinenses infideles ut olim antiqui hujus missionis PP. ita etiam nunc PP. Cantonensis vero et legitima esse confuerunt, non obstantibus aliquorum abusibus: eaque dissolubilem ex pontifica tantum modo dispensatione in favorem fidei in casibus ab ipsis summis Pontificibus expressis ut videre est in bulla Gregorii XIII 25 Januarii 1585 quæ incipit "Romani Pontificis æqua, etc.*

*39.° Prohibeantur Christiani (vi hactenus in praxi privatum conficere et erendere papyraceas monetas idolorum cultui dicatas quas KIN YIN TIM et sive vocant.*

*40° Ciria ceremonias quibus sine magistum suum Confutium et mortuos venerentur sequenda omnino sunt reponsa S. Congregatione de SSmo. D. N. Alexandro VII approbata 1656 qua fundantur in valde probabili opinione cui nulle contraria evidentia opponi potest: qua profita probabilitate non est occludenda Janua salutis innumerabilibus sinis qui arcerentur a Christiana religioni si prohiberentur in facere quæ licite ac bona fide facere profane et non sine gravissimis incommodis præterminere cogentur.*

(Next page) **Title page of Pope Alexander VII's Answer to the Jesuits, which he issued regarding the China Mission, on 23 March 1656. (From a copy in AGR, Brussels; Jesuits Flandro-B. Box #1431-1437).**

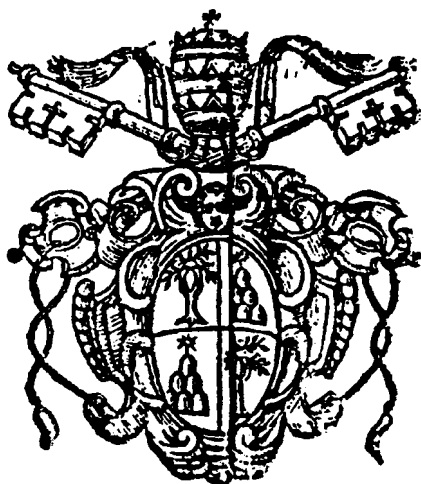
*41° Ultima consultatione, habita 26 Januarij 1668 rogati Pater a P. noster viceprovinciali ut ex sanctis aliquem eligerent in missionis sinicæ singulare patronum ac præsidem tutelarem, quem per P. Procuratorem a summo Pontifice approbari ac confirmari postularent: uno omnes consensu (ne uno quidem discrepante) S. Josephim delegerunt qui consultationibus nostris coronidis imposuit Constitit coetus ex viginti tribus Patribus ex quibus tres fuere ex de Dominici familia: nimicim P. F. Dominicus [Carpetius alias de S. Petro?] [crease in ms.] preser et cui a suo P[at]ribus Vicario Provinciali a coloris missionarijs absentibus per littera data fuit facultas, ut quidquid ipse cum patribus Stis. ad plura suffragia in coetu statueret ab ipsis omnibus statutum esse*

RESPONSA  
Sac. Congregationis Vniuersalis  
Inquisitionis  
A SS. D. N. ALEXANDRO VII.  
approbata.

AD QVÆSITA

*Missionariorum Soc. IESV apud Sinas*

Anno Domini 1656.



ROMÆ, Ex Typographia Reu. Cam. Apost. 1656.

*Superiorum permissu.*



*cenpretur(?) P. F. Dominicus a S. Petro vel Carpetius. P. F. Philippeus Leonardus. Ex Seraphico ordine unus P. F. Antonius a S. Mariæ. Reliqui ex nostra minima Stis. Jesu:*

1. *P. Felicianus Pacheco, Vice provincialis*
2. *P. Antonius De Gouvea, Superior domus*
3. *P. Franciscus Canevari*
4. *P. Franciscus Brancate*
5. *P. Franciscus Ferrari, Socius P. Vice provincialis plus ----- secretarius.*
6. *P. Jacobus Lefebvre*
7. *P. Andreas Lubelli*
8. *P. Simeonus(?) Gcentre(?)*
9. *P. Joannes Valat*
10. *P. Emanuel Georgius*
11. *P. Humbertus Arigeci*
12. *P. Claudius Motel*
13. *P. Joes Domini Sabeani*
14. *P. Philippus Couplet*
15. *P. Franciscus Rougemont*
16. *P. Christianus Enrique vel Hendrix(?)*
17. *P. Adrianus Grelon*
18. *P. Prosper Intorcetta, electus romanus procurator.*

### **Loose translation of Fr. Bouwens' letter.**

Eight days ago, when I was in Cadiz, I received authentic copies of letters, one being from Fr. Schweitzer care of the naval chaplains. [The others] were from Fr. Prosper Intorcetta,<sup>1</sup> the procurator of the China who just arrived from China. The missionaries in China have been exiled from the royal city of Peking, except Fr. Verbiest and his companion. Fr. Prosper [Intorcetta] himself was favored by the viceroy who annulled his exile and offered him a room in his house. Really, there were 19 from the Society, 4 Dominicans, 1 Franciscan, but there is room for improvement. There are 200 million men only in the Kingdom of China; out of that, 150,000 are Christians. It can be seen that a mission is in demand everywhere (this is what our Rev. Father Assistant wrote). Therefore, from our mission band to the Philippines some will certainly go there, perhaps those from the novitiate of the Castillan Provinces, the Spanish would grant them late degrees, the more freely to be embraced by this Sparta. Fr. P[rosp]er is to lead a band of 40 associates, none of them from the Flandro- Belgians who arrived at Cadiz with our naval chaplains. Their cabins are visited regularly by the Spanish Fathers to modestly check on their Flemish orders and try to have themselves attached [to the Naval Mission]; nevertheless, they do not hide their friendly envy. He and our people

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1 Ed. note: Prospero Intorcetta was born in 1625 in Piazza Armerina in Sicily. He sailed to China in 1657. He returned to Europe in 1671 to go to Rome and present the problems of the China Mission.

took a launch from their ship and went to the College, and when they were taken back to the ship after two days none of the Spaniards offered so much as a good-bye; however, when they first stepped ashore the Father who is Rector here welcomed them very humanly. In short, on the 28th [January?], he left for Genoa and then for Rome, and is not to return to China until next year. He was to take Fr. H. Deprin along with him, but God decided otherwise; I understand from Y.R. that he died already, since I am to acquit my prayer duty to him. He would already have written to Fr. Intorcetta, and his Chinese companions, and his letters must be on the way. I hope that God will replace him with many who are very expert in mathematics, out of those who are imbued with this subject, for if he should succeed, he could choose 10 from our province or even more. We were made to understand here that this mission will be looking very soon for candidates who are better than us in the sciences and the mathematical tools, whom even when absent we embrace. I submit this news that by next spring I hope to get about affairs in Peru; what I wrote about earlier concerning the discovery of two silver [mines?] was an error, when they did not discover a mission and here they count the very artistic(?) remains(?) for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The affairs at Madrid are such that the King has recuperated from his small illness and is stronger. On the 13th in the public square this Don Antonio de Cordoba y Montemayor had his throat cut.<sup>2</sup> They had passed the death sentence upon him four days before, but he was given enough time to prepare himself to die. However, being drawn out by hope he came to within a doubtful delusion that he could be believed until finally yesterday the punishment was carried out just before nightfall (I myself went there with another Father until noon). Beforehand, he disposed himself and very courageously sustained the knife thrust in the throat, at the great admiration of the spectators. The reason for his death, rather salvation, were calumnies, etc. concocted about poison, which three years ago he was complaining had been administered to him by [Juan de Austria, who had appealed to various grandees for his head and obtained satisfaction.

Eight days ago, the Dutch ambassador arrived here. The French ambassador is thinking about leaving, but I do not know which military man will be named to replace him. It is said that the Most Christian [i.e. French] King at the request of the kings of England and Sweden (whom they say are mediators) will not invade Belgium this year, that is His Majesty, King in name here. His Holiness has despatched as legate the French Archbishop Saliz Olazannes(?), a man whose name is dear to all. As Governor of Burgundy, I do not know who it will be; Count Grimberger has been designated. The Spanish have put up one name among two other promising ones, that is the Prince of Monte Sarisio(?). I will tell Y.R. in my next letter. Now I am content to commend myself to your holy sacrifices.

Madrid, 18 February 1671.

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1 Ed. note: Truncated translation because of transcription difficulty.

2 Ed. note: A Spanish noble could choose the mode of his execution, while garrotting was used for the common criminal.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Gerardus Bouwens

### **Loose translation of Fr. Domingo San Pedro's letters.**

"I, Fr. Domingo Carpetio, alias de San Pedro, Sicilian, of the Order of Preachers, formerly in the Indies as Father General of the Dominicans in Panama,<sup>1</sup> through the pretension of the title of reader in reading sacred Theology (to be approved) and General of the same convent of Santa Zitta of Palermo, presently reader in Philosophy, do state to one and all that I am to examine the present letters:"

"So it is that, at the order of my superiors in the province of Santo Rosario in the Philippines of the same order, I have already come to this Kingdom of China to preach the Gospel, and at a second order of the superiors that I were to apply diligence over the space of 8 years to study the superstitions of the sects in China: I indicate the practice that the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus in this Kingdom of China admit as permissible or tolerable regarding certain rites in which the Christian Chinese venerate the philosopher Confucius and their deceased ancestors. Naturally, this not only is to be totally approved by the universal inquisition of the Sacred Congregation, but also, if we expand the principles of the first sects, to be added is the opinion of the more probable, and to be embraced is the very useful entrance of the Gospel in Chinese—not to say necessary—in any case more probable, because the first 3 of the Chinese sects that would benefit, if the other lettered men among their Confucian masters do not dispute the dogma concerning miracles and are taught not to want the present good things in life and something desired by some, i.e. living from Heaven (whatever that is)<sup>2</sup> or with the same heaven at all [times], they regard it as sacrilegous not to conform themselves both in prosperous and adversary [times]. If the others from two sects TE and TAO, both made up of idolaters, openly declare that the souls of the deceased, either are kept flying about in the air, or are detained in hell for some time, or else are reborn in a Pythagoric sort of transmigration; nevertheless, they indicate that few, except animals, which in TE XIII SIEN are conveyed they say and are numbered among the demi-gods or immortal men. I wrote that the matter is so excessive that they deify themselves; on the contrary, they believe that the souls of the deceased Chinese invade, they often say, the sacred idols themselves, so that naturally by praying to them they can be reborn faster. I asked in consultation how the dogma of the first sects we spend without the basics, for if the present time is to be considered nothing, they could be determined as certain; in fact, blindness invalidates so much uncertainty, so that they do not understand the writings themselves, to such an extent that out of our blindness of Chinese things, I certainly said, it is possible to have as many opinions as there are heads."

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- 1 Ed. note: What the Dominicans called Fr. General was only an administrative post similar to Fr. Minister for the Jesuits.
  - 2 Ed. note: Perhaps the author is referring to the Emperor's claim to be descended from Heaven, hence the epithet of celestial applied to the Chinese.

“Truly useful, because when they all returned without the said devilish things towards the cult of filial obedience if they were forbidden entirely by themselves to feel badly about our holy law, this would almost prohibit the son to honor his parents, which would be in most of the Chinese mission to the detriment of and an obstacle to the propagation of the faith. This is either a big [detriment] because the Chinese, although they are involved in various superstitions, nevertheless if they are to be reborn as a divinity as some deceased member of the tribe, or else they would seek well by themselves and hope that it will be either granted freely or be greatly induced to believe easily if the principles are accepted as reasons by the pious sects themselves for man. On the contrary, if we ourselves say that it is in no way permitted to admit that whatever deceased in this manner (as they themselves say) and the souls of the ungrateful sons are a sign for the other sons to condescend to, they could be induced with great difficulty to believe this, even if they nevertheless believe they have experienced that many difficulties not without great danger of submersion which the event had proved to be not as rare as can be achieved.”

“I conclude that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in this Kingdom of China preach the crucified Christ not only by word but also in many volumes of books in Chinese, and they diligently teach the mysteries of the sacred passion to their neophytes and in other residences of the Society where they have erected sodalities, and the holy law was presented very recently. Although the said Sien here is opposed mainly to the preaching of the Gospel, in which, of course, the man crucified is to be venerated as the Lord of Heaven and Earth. That in any case was proven by the books of the Fathers of the Society.”

“I conclude and solemnly swear that the above-said testimonials proffered up to now are that I presented on 9 May of last year, concerning the book of the Venerable Fr. Mateo Ricci of the Society of Jesus entitled “Tien Chu X<sup>o</sup>”<sup>1</sup> not at the requests or advice of others but only because I was pushed by love of boasting(?).<sup>2</sup> Considering, therefore, that the doubts brought in by the above-said subject matters are not [just] the business of but facts for the Sacred Congregation to point out, and circumstantial facts about moral matters for the decision of the pious and learned men to adjudicate upon. It seems very hard for me to judge those missionaries of the Society who have done so much and so well, as I have learned from their curriculum during the three years spent becoming familiar with the rites, becoming aware of the charity, doctrine, piety, faith, zeal, love, probity, treatment, holiness in the extreme, and so many of them whose names figure prominently as [our] predecessors among the venerable Fathers of the China mission; I say again, such great men have shown or show things to be political, and they tenaciously assert them to be superstitious.”

“Knowing, therefore, that in any case doubt exists in the above-mentioned matters, e.g. Fr. Fray Juan Bautista Morales of the same order and province of the Holy Ros-

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1 Ed. note: The title of Fr. Ricci's book, in Chinese, was: Tien Chu Kristo.

2 Ed. note: The word “ventatis” is not Latin; it appears to be derived from Spanish.

ary of the Philippines, a man of quite apostolic zeal for the faith and learned, proposed to the universal inquisition of the Sacred Congregation in the year 1646: *“Somewhat before it became known that the Society, in Europe as well as in the Indies, was promulgating that the missionaries of the Society in the Kingdom of China were not preaching Christ crucified, instead allowing their Christians to remain idolaters; so as not to remain silent, it can be conjectured that it is a rumor spread by so many of their Fathers and I bring it forward for judgment.”* Nevertheless, attached if the definite judgment of the holy Church of Rome. In faith whereof I have written this letter with my own hand, at this house in Canton where we are being detained as in a jail or exile on behalf of the faith, 4 August 1668.”

“I have read the above transcript and it is an exact copy of my original letter which I wrote with my own hand.”

“Fr. Domingo Maria Carpetio, alias de San Pedro, as above.”

“Witness of the above, Felix Pacheco, in charge of the Vice-Province of China.”

“Idem witness, Juan Fra[nçisco] Ferarnes [Fernandez?].”

+ Place of the seal of the Vice Provincial.

“In commendation of the book written by Father Mateo Ricci mentioned in the above testimony:”

“I, the undersigned, Fr. Domingo Maria Carpetio, of the Order of Preachers, have often and attentively read the book of Fr. Mateo Ricci of the Society of Jesus who wrote on China [entitled] **The true account of the Lord of Heaven**, which book talks mainly about God. I testify that the said Father has exhausted the subject matters that he broached therein, to such an extent that the missionaries who after him will then work in the Chinese vineyard will copy directly and happily his work, as it is sufficient or there is nothing left to add concerning the matters which the said Father has, perhaps explicitly, perhaps implicitly, left out of his summary work.”

“I also certify that what came to my mind is that the said book is anyway a work not inspired by divine revelation and that the author could not have written it without the special assistance of God.”

“In faith whereof, I have written this with my own hand.”

“From **Quam Chu**, the metropolis of the Chinese Province of **Quamtum**, on the said 9 May 1667.”

### Summary of the other enclosure.

[Fr. Bouwens appended a list of 41 practices adopted by mostly-Jesuit missionaries in China, in 1668. They are entitled: “Practices that have been discussed in a meeting of the missionary Fathers, drawn up to be used as guidelines to ensure uniformity among them in the China mission.” They include the proper formulas to be used for Christian baptism, burials, and the sacraments in general. Specially interesting are the practices regarding women, in which certain concessions are made to respect Chinese customs, for instance, not to use the oils of extreme unction on their feet (which were

probably bound). Also the men could wear their hats inside the church buildings, etc. If Fr. Bouwens copied this list, it was for two reasons: to help the future Belgian missionaries to China, and for his own use, should he be selected for that mission; his appointment to the Mariana mission did not happen until he had reached Mexico.]

## O14. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 18 Ma[rch] 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 219-219v.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Scripseram ad Ram Vam litteras satis amplas, et gradidebam(?) juniem(?) alicui deferendas domum Amplissimi D[omin]i Patris verum ille has in via perdidit: quare mittit ad me Dominus Parens famulum suum significans infortunium. Rogo Ram Vam dignetur pro hac vice ignoscere mihi et petere meas quas dedi ad P. Coukerken, aut quas P. Gerardus ad Patrem Bransoen: emendabo me in posterum et tam amicum commercium alienis manibus non committam. Forte punivit me Deus quod amicissimam familiam illa occasione non inviserim. Facimus tamen hoc quoties licet per occupationes. Et gaudemus quod omnes optimo valeant in familia D. Marmol tentantur aliqui D<sup>a</sup> Uxor Catarro vehementi laborat, febricula discipulus meus Andreas, qua etiam laboravit paulo ante filia Minorrennis. Una ex ancillis periculose laboravit ex gutture. Domi vestrae laus Deo hactenus valent omnes. Iterum iterumque rogo Ram Vam ut infortunio ignoscat et me SSimis Sacrificiis ex animo com[m]endo cum P. Gerardo ac me una precor felicissimum Pascha omnibus Domesticis.*

*Madriti 18 Ma[r]tij? 1671*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

*[219v, address:] Rdo in Chro Patri P. Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Hallis Deiparæ.*

### Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

I had written a rather-long letter to Y.R., and [gradidebam(?) juniem(?) = had entrusted it?] to someone to take it to the house of the most beloved Mr. Parent, but he really did lose it along the way. Whereby Mr. Parent sent his servant to me to tell me about the bad luck. I am asking Y.R. to deign to forgive me for this, and to seek the letter which I sent to Fr. Coukerken, or that which Fr. Gerardus sent to Fr. Bransoen. I will correct myself in the future and I will not have friendly dealings with foreign hands. Perhaps God has punished me because I would not visit a most friendly family on that

occasion. We are doing this nevertheless as often as it is allowed by our occupations. We are rejoicing because all the people in the household of Mr. Marmol are doing well, [but] some people think that the Mrs. [Marmol] may be suffering from a strong cold. Andrew, my student, is afflicted with a slight fever, from which the youngest daughter has suffered before. One of the housemaids was dangerously afflicted with an ailment of the throat. Praise be to God that all the people at your House are well until now. Again and again I am asking Y.R. to forgive [me] for the misfortune and I heartily commend myself to the most holy Sacrifices while for both Fr. Gerardus and myself I am wishing all the members of the House a very happy Easter.

Madrid, 18 Ma[rch] 1671.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[219v, Address:] To the Reverend Fr. Superior, Fr. Libert de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus, Our Lady of Halle.

## O15. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Provincial Laurentius van Schoonen, dated Madrid 15 March 1671

Source: AGR 2, fol. 204-204v. Note: The letter is penned and countersigned by Fr. Coomans.

### Original text.

[fol. 204]

*Reverende in Xto. Pater*

*P. E.*

*Non possumus non communicare cum R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> lætissimum nuncium quo recreati fuimus 13 hujus concessa nobis a consilio Indico facultate transmittendi in missionem nostram Philippinarum uti etiam sex aliis Patribus exteris regi subditis, exclusis solum nationis vitio duobus Patribus Germanis, quorum junior revertetur in Provinciam, alter adherebit Legato hic Cæsareus(?) Confessarius. Quare paternam Ræ Væ benedictionem cum totius Provinciæ precibus enixe exposcimus, ut in quascumque orbis partes nos Deus vocavit, cedat in Majores ipsius gloriam, Societatis honorem et Provinciæ Nostræ cui ego uti Ræ Væ pro collatis in indignum filium tantis beneficiis, quas numquam rependam gratias refero nomine utriusque. Facturus id fuerat, uti decet, P. Gerardus, verum ab alio Patre in opere Charitatis toto tempore distractus, tantum otii nancisci non potuit ignoscat illi et mihi R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> et nos in SSmis. Sacrificiis Deo dignetur commendare. Ubi quid particularius circa iter nostrum et discessum decretum fuerit, audebimus Ram. Vam. tanquam in Patrem de omnibus informare.*

*Madriti 15 Mart(?) 1671*

*Ræ Væ Filij in Xro.*

*Gerardus Bouwens*

*Petrus Coomans*

[204v, Address:]

*Rdo. in Chro. Patri P[at]ri Laurentio van Schoonen, Soctis Jesu in Provincia Flandro-belgica Præposito Provinciali. Bruxellis.*

### Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

We cannot but communicate to Y.R. the latest news that on the 13th last we were happily granted by the Council of the Indies permission to go to our mission in the Philippines, even including six foreign Fathers who are the King's subjects, but excluding only two German Fathers by reason of nationality; the junior one is to go back to his Province, the other might stay as the confessor to the Cesarean ambassador. That is why we strongly solicit the paternal blessing of Y.R. and the prayers of the whole Province, so that in whatever parts of the earth God may call us to, it will be for His greater glory, the honor of the Society and our Province, to which I, your unworthy son, owe thanks for the many benefits, specifically for the teachings of Y.R. So, what remains to be done, as is only fair, is for Y.R. to forgive Fr. Gerardus, the other Father who has been busy all the time with charity work and cannot get as much leisure, and to commend us to God in your holy sacrifices. Should something particular be decreed about our voyage and departure, we take it upon ourselves to inform Y.R. as well as all the Fathers about it.

Madrid, 15 March 1671.

Gerardus Bouwens

Petrus Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Fr. Lawrence van Schoonen, Provincial in charge of the Flandro-Belgian Province. Brussels.

## O16. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Coukerken, dated Madrid 19 March 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 228-228v.*

### Original text.

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Gratissimas Ræ Væ datas 24 feb. accepi 16 Martii quibus repono illa quæ scriptu digna videntur occurrere. De negotio nostro nihil quidquam adhuc nos intelleximus Roma. Responsum acceperere PPes. Gallo-belgæ, sed illud votis nostris non satis convenit. Respondit P. Noster concessisse se illos petenti P. Procuratori Mexicano pro suis missionibus: nimirum si illi consenserint. Quod omnino tutum non videtur, nec pro illa Provincia facilius licentia videtur impetranda quam pro Philippinis quod Hispani non ignorant [sic] et tamen nescio quo modo intricant illa negotia; interim exitus brevi*



*docebit nam in 25 Junii decreta est classis mercatoria in regnum Mexicanum unde debent brevi aliquid resolvere, si cum illa discedere nobis in Philippinas non licuerit, non ha[be]t difficultatem Romæ, ut opinor, missio nostra Sinensis. Domini sumus divinis e---- tuventis(?) in Indiis res est explorata et certa uter(?) hic ego impressa omnia in libello supplici ab uno nostrorum nomine vice regis reginæ oblato; et credo jam impressa in gazetis flandricis. Item appulit ex India Capitaneus quidam referens classem appulisse jam in portum Veræ Crucis. Item piratas Anglos seu Gallos diripuisse locum quemdam cui nomen [Nueva] Granada, verum audito subsidio quod submittebat, Prorex Peruanus recepit sese, occisis quia solvendo lytro pares non erant, ducentis circiter tam hispanis quam indis. Collata(?) declamatio mea præparata in honorem Sti Borgiæ nescio quibus ambagibus alterius cujusdam præparantis [etiam hispanice. Alio enim idiomate hic non declamant, quod quidem etiam est rarissimum. Me gaudente id factum; liberatus enim sic labore et cura. P. Petrus Cant sub finem mensis superioris expeditionem suscepit in Africam cum suo [4-cm blot, classis?] -is suppetias laturus Mamorræ civitati Hispanæ, cui imminet rex [4-cm blot, of Tesipete?] nomine cum centum et 50 millibus hominum.*

*Ita mihi scribit P. de Witte: [3-cm blot] sententia judicis ablegatus est hic quidam Gassion, dicit se ex celebri illa familia gallica, accusabatur ille adulteratæ monetæ, et aliquot indicia et instrumenta penes illum inventa erant, sed intercedente legato Galliæ sententia capitis in hoc exilium perpetuum est commutata.*

*Mediolano scribitur excitasse illic tragædias Ducem de Ossuna Gubernatorem. Familiarius ille, quam parerat, tractarat sororem Cardinalis Viscondæ, imo forte vim minabatur, sed importunum amatorem fortis virago bombardæ ictu repulit a se, et fallente illo ceminialis aliis schlopetorum palatio suo ejecit. Quare ille coactu[s] in castrum sese recipere concurrente nobilitate. Querelas hic deposuere ablegati Commissarii. Dicitur ille Madritum revocatus, alii dicunt captivum huc perducendum.*

*Regimen [regni] Neapolitani prorogatum ad triennium Don Petro de Aragon, fratri Archiepiscopi Toletani. Hinc discedit futurus pro rege Comitatus Burgundiæ Gubernator Don Jeronimus de Quiñones in Belgio olim diu versatus. Item Don Emanuel de Lyra quondam Convictus Antverpiensis alumnus legatus pro rege apud Status Hollandiæ. Ab octiduo discessit Comes de Cartanageta filius Cardinalis de Montalto futurus in Belgio legionis Hispanæ tribunus. Obiit 3<sup>a</sup> vel 4<sup>a</sup> Martii in Portu Sæ [M]jariæ prope Gades Dux Medina Celi, ipsius status devoluti omnes ad Ducem de Alcala. In locum de mortuti Cressii subrogatus vice cancellarius Aragoniæ Don Melchior de Navarra ante fiscalis Consilii Italici hic, e mediocri fortuna inopinato ad supremam erectus, quippe quem ex Su Merced uti hic loquuntur, subito salutaruunt Excellentiam, Membreum Juntæ, et post Castiliæ primariam hujus status personam. Cæsar augustus scribitur Joannem Austriacum decrevisse status deserere, et ad Prioratum suum sese recipere. Ipsi asseclæ in hac aula varios rumores spargunt et libellos famosos de supplicio et morte illius civis mentionem feci in superioribus meis. Sed contemnuntur canes qui morderi non possunt. Legatus Hollandiæ, quod me latebat [lætebat?] nuper, ante 14 dies habuit audientiam suam apud suas majestates sed clanculum; nec illa splendore quo*

*solent hic legati extraordinarii. Prætendebat ille, urgere sua negotia, adeoque non posse præparare illa quæ ad promebam illam videbantur necessaria; vereor ne plus illum moverit genius Hollandicus ad expendendum non facilis. Illo die Rex noster qui ab illo tempore valebat opipare, uti et jam valet, Magistro suo commendabat, ne se lectionibus ordinariis gravaret agendum enim sibi cum legato extraordinario subdito quondam suo Belga.*

*Ab octiduo excitati hic per triduum ignes triumphales et cantatum per diem in gratiarum actionem pro Beatificatione Ferdinandi Sancti Castellæ regis. Eodem die, quæ erat dominicus Reginæ Juntæ interfuit creditus negotia tractasse legati Hollandiæ et status Mediolanensis de quo [3-cm blot] alia(?) iam non occurrunt: quare felicissium Pasca Ræ Væ ex animo precor [2-cm blot] domesticis et amicis cum P. Gerardo et me SSmis Sacrificiis ex animo commendo. [3-cm blot] -rt 1671*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

*P. S. Accipio sequentia Indica 6 Martii Gades [3-cm blot] -ca Ferdinandus, auctus ex Indiæ illis partibus quas Honduras vocant, bene onusta [2-cm blot] -o vineæ(?) et Cacao, nomina sunt fructuum. Nunciat sub finem 7bris appulisse classem uti antea, ferias futuras valde divites propter copiam Argenti quam conflarunt adjuvantibus tribus millibus quintalium (pondus est 100 librarum) mercurii submissi a Prorege Peruano. Mense Augusti intrasse Gallos in Granadum in Provincia Nicaraguæ sed præda non inventa et conspecta multitudine e munitis locis sibi occurrentis occidisse pueros juvenes penes ad ducentus ac demum fugisse.*

[228v, address:] *Rdo in Chro P. Patri Norberto Coukerken Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Lovanii.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

Most grateful for the letter from Y.R. dated 24 February, which I received on 16 March, to which I respond by writing about newsworthy events. We have received nothing whatever from Rome regarding our affairs. The Gallo-Belgian Fathers have received an answer, but that is not enough in agreement with our wishes. Our Father [General] answered that they have been conceded to the Fr. Procurator of Mexico for his missions; no doubt, only if they should consent. What does not appear at all sure, is why that Province appears to get permission more easily than that of the Philippines, something Spaniards do not ignore. Nevertheless, I do not know the intricacies of this business. Meanwhile, our end will appear soon, for the departure date of the merchant fleet for the Kingdom of Mexico has been decreed to be 25 June. Hence, something will have to be resolved soon. If we are not permitted to leave for the Philippines, there will not be a difficulty in Rome, I think, for our China mission. We are in God's hands. What is certain is that we are going to the Indies, and I have seen both our names printed in the orders despatched by the Queen to the Viceroy; I believe that it has already been

printed in the Flemish gazette. Also a certain Captain has arrived from the Indies reporting that the fleet has already left the port of Vera Cruz. Also English or French pirates have sacked a place called [Nueva] Granada, and it was learned that the subsidy which the Viceroy of Peru was submitting was seized by them, and that about 200 people, Spanish as well as Indians, were killed because they were not as good in fighting(?). I have turned over the declamation that I had prepared in honor of Saint [Francis de] Borgia; I do not know what other difficulties they will have in preparing it in Spanish. They do not make declamations here in any other language; in any case, it is very rare when they do so.<sup>1</sup> I am glad that it is done; for I am now free of this project and worry. Fr. Peter Cant left on an expedition to Africa at the end of last month with his fleet(?) to the assistance of the Spanish city of Mamorra, which the King named Tesispete(?) threatens with 150,000 men.

Thus wrote Fr. de Witte to me: [3-cm hole, the death?] sentence has been passed upon a certain Gassion here; he said that he is from that famous French family,<sup>2</sup> and was accused of adulteration of money, and that some signs and tools were found in his home, but, at the intercession of the French ambassador, his capital sentence was commuted to his being permanently exiled here.

From Milan they write about tragedies there that have affected the Duke of Osuna, the Governor. One of his intimate friends, it would appear, would have had dealings with the sister of Cardinal Visconti; she may even have been threatened with force, but this strong virago repelled the unwelcome lover with a heavy musket shot, but she missed. Alerted by some other musketeers, he threw him out of the palace. That is why they have been forced to seek shelter in the castle by a gathering of the nobility. Quarrels have been deposited here before the overseas Commissioners. It is said that he has been recalled to Madrid. Others say that he is being brought here as a prisoner.

The government of the Kingdom of Naples has been prorogued at the end of the three-year period of Don Pedro de Aragon, the brother of the Archbishop of Toledo. The retinue of the future Viceroy of Burgundy, Governor Don Jerónimo de Quiñones, has departed from here; he used to work in Belgium. Also, Don Manuel de Lyra, who used to be a student in the convict [i.e. boarding school] of Antwerp, is sent as a viceregal ambassador to the Dutch Estates. Eight days ago, Count Cartanageta, the son of Cardinal Montalto, has left as the new general of Spanish troops in Belgium. On 3 or 4 March, the Duke of Medinaceli died at the port of Santa Maria, near Cadiz; his state functions have all been turned over to the Duke of Alcala. Don Melchor de Navarra, formerly the Vice Chancellor of Aragon and fiscal of the Council of Italy here, has been named to replace the deceased Cressio. From a mediocre fortune, he was suddenly raised to supreme fortune; in fact, those who had addressed him before as Your Grace,

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans's contribution was probably in Latin. Writing poems in Latin was then part of the curriculum in the Jesuit colleges of Belgium.

2 Ed. note: The most famous Gassion was Jean de Gassion (1608-1647), who was Marshall of France.

suddenly address him as Your Excellency, member of the privy Council, and from then on the first person from Castile with this status. Juan de Austria has written to Cesar August that he had decided to leave his position<sup>1</sup> and to retire to his former position. Various rumors circulate in this court about him and the famous letters regarding the execution and death of that civilian that I made mention of to my superiors. But dogs that cannot bite back are always blamed. The Dutch ambassador, who was entertaining me recently, had his audience with their Majesties 14 days ago, but in secret, and not with that splendor usually given to extraordinary ambassadors here. He was pretending to expedite his business, to such an extent that those in charge of making preparations for it had no time for it. I fear that the Dutch genius might have moved him to realize that it is not easy to expedite things. On that day, our King, who by that time was recuperating very well, but already in good health, was being advised by his teacher not to burden himself with ordinary lessons, for he was busy with the extraordinary envoy, a subject of his from Belgium.

Eight days ago, there was excitement here with triumphal fireworks over three days and a day of signing in thanksgiving for the beatification of Ferdinand, the holy King of Castile. On that day, which was Sunday, the Queen's Council was busy discussing business with the Dutch ambassador and with the position of Milan about which [3-cm blot, nothing new?] has yet occurred; that is why I heartily wish Y.R. Happy Easter [2-cm blot, to all?] the residents and friends of ours, Fr. Gerardus and I heartily commend ourselves to your holy sacrifices.

[3-cm blot, Madrid, 19] March 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Petrus Coomans

P.S. I received the following news from the Indies on 6 March in Cadiz. [3-cm blot] Ferdinand ..., raised in those parts of the Indies they call Honduras, well loaded with [2-cm blot] vines(?) of ... and Cacao, the names of the products. He announced that the fleet arrived by the end of September [1670], as before, with plenty of wealth for future fairs on account of the supply of silver that they consumed with the help of 3,000 quintals (weighing 100 pounds each) of mercury sent by the Viceroy of Peru. During the month of August [1670], Frenchmen entered [New] Granada in the Province of Nicaragua, but found no booty and in sight of a crowd looking from fortified places they killed children, youths, destroyed up to 200 houses and then fled.

[Address:] To Rev. Father in Christ, Fr. Norbertus Coukerken, priest of the Society of Jesus, Louvain.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He had been captain of cavalry at court (see Doc. 1671O12).

## O17. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Madrid 1 April 1671

Source: AGR 2, fol. 210-210v.

Note: The text of Fr. General's letter, which is copied here, is repeated more fully in the next document of same date (O18).

### Original text.

*Rdo in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Dum nos hic rerum omnium incerti, votorum nostrorum terminum exspectamus, intelleximus Ræ Væ uti totius Provinciæ, ita et de nobis curam esse demandatam, cujus nutibus nos humillime subijcimus et amantissimum Patrem, quondam eram Præfectum, de longe venerabundi amplectimur. Hæremus hic nos dubii adhuc rerum nostrarum, et quamvis annum jam in Hispania expleverimus, et classis in Indias sub initium Junii mittenda sit, non videmur tamen adhuc ab Hispanis ad Missionem nostram Philippinarum admittendi. Quare scribit ad me R. P. Carolus de Noyelle ex humanitate qua omnes, et præsertim Provinciam nostram prosequitur, 28 feb. Roma.*

“Per cursorem hodiernum scribit P. N[ost]er de R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> et de cæteris Patribus, qui istic estis ex nostra assistentia, ut quoniam præclusa est spes transmittendi in Philippinas, ad vestras singuli Provincias remittamini; exceptis iis, qui voluerint applicari Provinciæ Mexicanæ: ut omnes velit, optat R. Pr. de Florentia, Procurator Mexicanus, exceptis item his, qui desideraverint ire in Sinas. Volentibus repetere suas Provincias, statim supeditabit R. P. Villabona, Procurator Generalis Indiarum, ac similiter abituris in Sinas, his nempe, ut possint pervenire Ulissipponem.”

“Et post pauca. P. S. credideram P. N. G., ut dixi, scripturum per hodiernum cursorem. Ac nunc intelligo expectandum adventum proximi cursoris, iterato hinc scribam, has interim præmitto, ne Ræ Væ diutius desideret responsum ad suas datas 14 Jan. Sciat autem Patris Nostri mentem esse eam quam in hisce explicavi.” Hactenus P. Carolus de Noyelle.

*Itaque nos tam consilii quam imperii causa recurrimus ut debemus ad Ram. Vam. Trahit nos ut non difficulter opero, judicabit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> magis sinica missio quam etiam sperata nobis missio Philippinarum: Sed tantæ moræ erit negotium (quamquam nec moram ullam subterfugimus, cupientes votis nostris vel immorari vel commori) ut humanitus nobis impossibile videatur illam religiose posse perferre. Rdus. P. Intorcetta Procurator Vice-Provinciæ Sinensis, Romæ necdum comparuerat cum prædicta mihi scribebat. P. de Noyelle et ille Patribus Missionis Navalis discedens in Italiam significaverat, se, non nisi visitata Flandria illisque partibus septentrionalibus, provinciam suam non esse revisurum. Manet itaque nos facile annorum duorum spatium antequam prædictus Pater in Missionem suam sit profecturus. Ipsi autem de sumptibus faciendis non ardetur esse prospectum. Ex ipsa enim captivitate in Europam fuit ablegatus, ut etsi suspicari quid licet eleemosynis Europeis missionem suam restauret. Nec, quod pri-*

*mus in Lusitania reliquit ille (nam Gallobelgarum Patrum aliquis ad illum in Lusitaniam scripsit) quo nobis eo tempore prospiciatur. Et, ut conjiciet facile R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, deficit nos suppellex omnis linea et lanea itineribus partim, partim malo tractandi modo commiulsa(?) [=contusa? contuta?] magis quam detrita. Hujus autem quidquam in his partibus a nostris obtinere frustramen; est, quisque hic sibi ab amicis suis, quod potest prospicit. Nobis ea res difficilis hic est, et porro magis erit in Lusitania uti rem illam, pro nationis indole, difficillioem esse certo hic comperimus. Accedit quod otiemur, id est nullis sortis nostræ muneribus distineamur, et forte eo temporis spatio utiles R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> esse possimus. Dignetur R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> in bivio hoc mentem suam nobis aperire an judicet utilius fore nobis et Provinciæ nostræ ut conferamus nos in Lusitaniam, quidlibet facile passuri, accedente Ræ Væ nutu, an vero in Provinciam; illi aut subsidio, si non oneri futuri, donec res suas componat P. Intorcetta, aut nos illi, donec vita suppetet applicaturi, eodem ut spero fervore quo Philippinas nostras quondam petebamus. Ignoscat R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> religioso candori: rem ante cum Deo sæpius communicavimus: nec videmur illam posse decidere nisi prudentiorum, sed maxime superiorum consilio. Dignetur R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> responsum suum mittere vel ad P. Libertum de Pape, aut ad fratrem ejus Consiliarium Bruxellas. Si enim accepto Roma responso conferamus nos aut Gades aut Bilbaum vel Stum. Sebastianum, communicabimus illud cum Amplissimo D[omin]o Parente, et ille litteras, ne aberrent, Madrito destinabit ad nos.*

*Hiscæ mecum SSmi Ræ Væ Sacrificiis ac precibus commendat RR. [PP]. Gerardus Bouwens ac Houdiens et R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> felicissimus festa Pascalia apprecamus, ac rogamus; nisi molestum fieret Ræ Væ, quamprimum per cursorem licuerit, responsum uno verbo nobis submittere.*

*Madrito 1<sup>a</sup> Aprilis 1671.*

*Ræ Væ filius in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

*[210v, Address:] Rdo in Chro Patri Patri Laurentio Van Schoonen Soctis Jesu in Provincia Flandro-belgica Preposito Provinciali. Bruxellas.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

While we, uncertain of all the affairs here, are awaiting our remaining vows, we understood that attention to Y.R. as well as to the whole province has thus indeed been demanded from us, to whose commands we humbly submit ourselves and we, revering from afar, embrace the much-beloved Father Prefect. Here we are just now clinging to a doubt concerning our affairs, and although we would have already completed a year in Spain, and the fleet ought to be sent to the Indies by the beginning of June, nevertheless we do not seem until now to have been granted admittance by the Spaniards to our mission in the Philippines. Therefore, Rev. Fr. Charles de Noyelle writes to me from Rome, on 28 February, with a politeness with which he honors all and especially our Province:



**Father Charles de Noyelle, S.J.**  
*This Belgian Jesuit succeeded Fr. Oliva as General in 1682. At the time he wrote this letter, he was Assistant for Germany, a jurisdiction that included Belgium. He died on 12 December 1686 (Source: Bollandist Library, St. Michael's College, Brussels).*

*"Through today's post our Father writes, concerning your Reverence and the rest of the Fathers who belong to our Assistance, that, since the hope of sending anyone to the Philippines has been closed, are individually being sent back to your provinces, with the exception of those who wish to apply to join the Mexican Province. Rev. Fr. de Florencia, the Procurator of Mexico, is choosing as many as may wish [to go there], except those who have decided to go to China. Rev. Fr. Villabona, the Procurator General of the Indies, will be immediately at hand for those wishing to return to their own provinces, and similarly for those who would be going to China, without doubt for them, so that they may be able to get to Lisbon."*

*"P.S. A few notes follow. Our Father General, as I have said, was to write by today's post. As I now understand, the arrival of the next post must be awaited, I will write again from here, should he again delay giving an answer to your Reverence's letter, dated 14 January. Let it be known, however, that the mind of our Father is that which I have stated in the present letter."* Here ends Fr. Charles de Noyelle.

Thus we have recourse as we ought, to Y.R. both for counsel as well as direction. Y.R. will determine whether the Chinese mission is attracting us more, not with difficulty to the work, than the Philippine mission hoped for by us. But there will be some trouble caused by delay (and yet we, hoping either to remain or to die at the same time with our vows, are not avoiding any delay) that it seems humanly impossible for us to be able to religiously carry that out. Rev. Fr. Intorcetta, the Procurator of the Chinese Vice-Province was not yet present in Rome when Fr. de Noyelle was writing his admonitions to me. The latter is indeed leaving the Fathers of the Naval Mission to [go to] Italy, indicating that he will not again be seeing his own province, not until after Flanders and those territories in the North have been visited. Thus an interval of two

years is easily facing us, before the above-mentioned Father would set out for his own mission. He may not, however, be very eager to take care of preparing the expenses. For he has been sent away from captivity itself to Europe so that he may rebuild his own mission with European alms, although it is possible to expect something. Nor did he return to Portugal first (for someone from the Gallo-Belgian Fathers wrote to him in Portugal); this is to be considered by us at that time. And, as Y.R. will easily conclude, all flax and woolen goods are lacking, partly for the voyage, partly by dealing badly in crushed [goods] more than worn-out. Nevertheless, we have all nothing but trickery in obtaining any quantity of them in these parts; the thing is, anyone here takes care of himself and his friends, whenever he can. That business is difficult for us here, as it will be more so in the future in Portugal as we have learned here that the business will certainly be more difficult on account of the natural quality of the stock. It happens that we may be at leisure, that is, we may be kept back with no tasks belonging to our lot, and perhaps we may be useful to Y.R. in that period of time. May Y.R. deign to open your mind to us as to whether you may decide that it would be more useful to us and to our Province that we go to Portugal, where it would be easy to go, or else, with a mere nod from Y.R., to simply return to the Province. One way we would not be a future burden on the subsidy that Fr. Intorcetta is trying to collect; the other way we would be at hand while they make application, as I fervently hope, for us to sail sometime for our Philippines.

May Y.R. excuse the religious frankness; we have more often consulted the matter with God before; and we do not seem to be able to decide it except through the advice of more prudent men, but very especially that of our superiors. May Y.R. deign to send your answer either to Fr. Libertus de Pape, or to his brother in the Council at Brussels. If, however, after receiving the answer from Rome, we go to Cadiz or Bilbao or San Sebastian, we will inform our beloved Mr. Parent, and he will address a letter to us in Madrid, lest it get diverted to some other place.

With this letter Rev. Fathers Gerardus Bouwens and Houdiens, as well as myself, commend ourselves to the holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverence. We hope that Y.R. will have a very happy Easter, and we pray that unless it would be very inconvenient, Y.R. will send us a word soon.

Madrid, 1 April 1671.

Your Reverence's son in Christ,  
Peter Coomans

[Address:] To the Reverend Father Superior in Christ, Father Laurence Van Schoonen, Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Flandro-Belgian Province, Brussels.

## **O18. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 1 April 1671**

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 222-223v.*



**Original text.***Rde in Chro Pater**P.E.*

*Emendo infortunium meum, maxime acceptis amantissimis Ræ Væ datis 11 Martii et rogo Ram. Vam., ut meas dignetur hac vice communicare cum P. Coukerken ad quem nullis acceptis, nullas do, ne crambem recogitam. Quod igitur spectat responsum.*

*Meditationes B[featus] Borgiae, quas promiserat P. Eusebius, ut mihi hic referunt necdum viderunt lucem, latinæ redditæ missæ sunt in Belgium cum vita ut illic typis dentur Plantinianis et melioribus Belgicis. Habet illas, ut ego quidem ex ipsius litteris certa conjectura assequor, P. Carolus de Breuil cui typi istius cura a sancti consanguineis cura demandata est: poterit illas P. de Haze ab illo commode obtinere ut eadem opera et Flandrice et latine lucem videant. Certe nemo hic est qui illarum indicium noverit. The-sauros indicos jam præcedentibus meis confirmavi ad Prem. Coukerken et iterum continua res est evidens et omnium litteris ex illis partibus commendatur.*

*De P. Nithardo frequens quidem est sermo, et quidem a rerum peritis verum res ille tantis ambagibus aguntur in hac aula ut facile non sit labyrinthum retexere. Illud agi, quod vovet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ante duos dies secure afferebat nobis sociis coadjutor Rdi. Pris. Provincialis qui se id habere affirmabat ex non infirmis testimoniis. Oleum est innocentia semper supernabat. Jam de negotiis nostris quæ avidæ sequirit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> P. Carolus Noyelle mihi Roma 28 feb. in hæc verba.*

“Per cursorem hodiernum scribit P. Ner. de R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> et de ceteris Patribus, qui istic actis ex nostra assistentia, ut quoniam præclusa est spes transmittendi in Philippinas, ad vestras singuli Provincias remittamiri; exceptis iis, qui voluerint applicari Provinciæ Mexicanæ. Ut omnes velitis, optat R. P. de Florentia, exceptis item iis, qui desideraverint ire in Sinas, his nempe ut possint pervenire Ulissiponem. Nullum est in Lusitania decretum, quo rogantur nostri Missionarii, destinati ad Indias orientales anni unius moram facere in Lusitania. Ita mihi confirmant Patres nostri Lusitani; et scio vel non estare, vel non fuisse antehac observatum ejusmodi decretum. Verum tamen annus integer facile elabetur, antequam R. P. Intorcetta (qui nondum hic comparet) confectis negotiis suæ vice-provinciæ sinensis potuerit ad illam remeare, et socios secum ducere: quamquam possent fortasse socii aliqui præire. Quando scrivero, quæ sit voluntas vestra, procurabo quæ in rem vestram erunt. Si aliqui elegerint Sinas, aut indifferenter Indias orientales, curabo ut littere a P. N<sup>o</sup> expediantur in Lusitaniam. Redituri in Provincias suas, faciam ut commendentur suis Provincialibus. Volentes applicari Provinciæ Mexicanæ commendabuntur Patri de Florentia.”

*P. S. credideram P. Num. scriptum, ut dixi, per hodiernum cursorem. Ac nunc intelligo expectatum adventum proximi cursoris; iterato tunc scribam, has interim præmitto, ne R. V<sup>a</sup> diutius exspectet responsum ad suas datas 14 Jan. Sciat autem P. N<sup>o</sup> mentem esse eam quam in hisce explicavi. Ecce mi P[ate]r rerum nostrarum statim satis dubium. An hærendum altero anno aut forte biennio in his partibus? Consilium exspecto Ræ Væ an revertendum in Provinciam? Non patientior latens sub pectore qualiscumque lucrandarum animarum zelus. Necdum resolvi, resolutioni proximum videtur illud*

*incepto operi aut immorari aut immori. Itaque commodatam meam curam docendæ hic rethoricæ apud Patrem Provinciale suspendi et accingo me cum P. Gerardo accepto Roma responso, ad iter Gaditanum, hæsurus illic, tantisper donec primus(?) Roma vel ex Provincia informer [sic] an me in Lusitaniam transferam an arrepta prima nacti in Provinciam.*

*Interim perget R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ad D. Parentem (qui nuduus(?)) tertius præter meritum nos sua mensa humanissime exceptit) solitas suas mittere, ille ulterius destinabit ad nos aut Gadem aut in Lusitaniam. Id enim ipsi ante discessum accurate indicavimus. Id ipsum rogo cum hisce Rdum P. Provinciale ut non gravetur suas aut ad Ram. Vam. aut ad D. Fratrem Bransbius(?) mittere, ut certa hac via a nobis non aberrent.*

*Addo his nova Gaditana sane tristia et extremo iudicio apta magis quam festis Paschalis 15 Martii sub medium quartæ matutinæ post pluviam aliquot horarum audita sunt aliquot tonitrua ut videbatur aliquantum distantia, comitantibus procellis a parte meridionali, quæ ubi meridiem inter et occidentem conversæ auditus est thyphon (bolcan nostrates nautæ vocant, Hispani uracan) tam vehemens ut videretur domos omnes et quidquid Gadibus extat verrere per auras: aderant fulgura, figuræ ante hac incognitæ, maricæ, instar oblongæ. Thyphon ille intactis nobis aliquot compitis per medium civitatis vim primam effudit in conventum PP. Capucinatorum, ubi murum omnem solo affixit, plumbeos tubos et quidquid erat materiæ durioris per aera avexit in loca incognita, terræ allisit omnes cellularum parietes, in apertum sese provitientibus religiosi. Unius tamen conservata cum ipso cadentibus ex utroque latere ceteris, præ timore portam ille occupare non potuerat. Cecidit etiam infirmaria et culina. Mirum illud; quod claustrum ingressum per foramen felibus apertum in portico, oclusis portis reliquarum partium in pariete sesquipedis crassitudine foramen aperuit quod globo tormenti bellici impressum diceret. Inde ad templum delapsus fenestram unam cum suis vitris in partes comminuit, vicina altera illæsa. Crucem autem ante fores, ut Capucinis in more, trabem ingentem in centum partes confregit: basim vero saxeam mediam divisit. Inde, facta in itinere aliqua in domibus ruina, ad excalceatos Carmilitas delapsus, murum pene omnem prostravit, sternens plateam vicinam dejecto pariete, abstulit etiam unam e cellulis nemine tamen læso. Tum ad plateam imperatoriam conversus tres domos omnino obrivit in una illarum etiam nepotem, Matrem et filiam, altera in vivis relicta cum tamen omnes eodem tecto decumberent. In alia domo oppressit filium natum majorem signiferi Ochoa, et ipsius uxorem. Inde per transennam dejecit campanile D. N. de Candelaria. Campana ex illo disjecta in diversum locum: et ex juncta illic domo septem trabes avulsit sibi que mutus imposuit. Etiam in domo Societatis ædificatis undequaque parietibus tantum damni fecit, ut Patres non tabulæ sex millibus Pataconum damnum resarcient, uti nec Patres Capucini.*

*Postea etiam ad domum quam de Catena vocant, factis hinc inde reliquis domibus fortem parietem et novum defecit, alio veteri et ruinam minutatæ illæso relicto. Mox ad plateam [222v] quam a chirotheca nominant, et de St<sup>o</sup> Francisco eodem impetu omnia turbavit: dejiciendo speculas, balcones, fenestras, parietes, stabula, lares, caminos, etc. Deinde ad templum Sæ Mariæ del populo ubi ex cupula globum aeneum de-*

*jicerit ducentis ut minimum libris gravem et abstulit illum usque ad militum excubiarum domum. Denique ad portam maritimam et promontorium Stæ(?) opuorum(?) murum omnem radicitus excidit, ventillando in partes crucem marmoream portæ isti superpositam; ubi vero devenit ad portum, naves omnes tam onustas quam vacuas momento evertit, et aquis submersit, uti et omnes cymbas, schuphas [=scapha], celoces, et cetera minorum, nominum navigia. Ex septem navibus onerariis sex fundo allisit, aliarum trium malos omnes in frustra comminuit, inter illas duæ ex majoribus quarum una Genuensis instar corticis avellanæ sine ulla armatura, momento apparuit. Illibatæ illius memorant incidisse quasi illic, ubi tamen ante malacia fuerat in mari, montes igneos, cum tam præcipiti turbine, ut minus quam unius Credo spatio, quasi excisam malorum suorum silvarum(?) invenerint: ex eadem navi abstulit tormentum bellicum unum et duo mortaria. In alia velum medium res mira, omnino abstulit. Aliam sursum deorsum avertit. Et in Weslica Roterdamensi lector pensiles omnium epibatarum discerpsit in frustra: nemine ipsorum læso: item tormentum aliquod bellicum loco suo emacuit, et cistis onerariis imposuit, extracto tormento ex suo in navi armamentario. Omnes affirmant fætorem in portum fuisse sulphurem, et rerum omnium confusionem tantam ut extremi iudicii imaginem præ se ferret. Periere omnes qui in prædictis navibus reperiabantur.*

*Domi secretarii Joannis de Cena inventum schlopetum et duæ trabes ac undique stragis tanta ac singulares ruinæ istius noctis aut temporis matutini, ut volumen seu manus papyracea singulis describendis non sufficeret. Hactenus impressum Civilæ ita festinanti calamo in h[is]panice versum. Alii habent periisse in illa strage tam mari quam terram plusquam mille quingentos homines, naves tam majores, quam minores ultra quadrigentas. Obvios sibi quotque in civitate, tanquam a mortuis reduces amplexus et congratulationes dedisse. Et, quod maxime mirere, omnia hæc medii quadrantis spatio. Hæc sunt præcipua quæ de illa tempestate intelleximus. Non minora illis scribit nobis P. Petrus Cant salvus tamen et incolumis ex Africa cum sua navi in Hispaniam redux hisce verbis:*

“Mamorram vidimus eminus, suppetias celeriter submissimus et brevi huc denuo rediimus (nempe octidua spatio) salvi quidem sed (quo magis eniteat divina Providentia) per præsentissima naufragandi pericula. Medii per occurrentia naufragia portum ingressi sumus, quæ in ipso portu plurimæ naves sunt passæ duabus ante horis quam eum ingrederemur.”

*Hactenus ille promittens se singularia proximis perscripturum: non carebit illis R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>. Ex duce de Veraguas habet P. Fresne[ij]da navem ejusdem Patris Cant item destinandum in alium Americæ portum cum similibus suppetiis. Imminet enim plane omnibus illis portibus rex Maroccanus. Utinam eodem successu! Reliquæ navis bellicæ ex Belgicæ in navale deductæ sunt ut reficiantur ut illic auctumant nostri Patres navales, et deinde succurrant Belgio, si quidem periclitetur. Nos ipsorum causam item resumimus ante discessum et libellum supplicem pro solutione ipsorum offeremus Regina. P[at]er Fresneda, absolutus consiliorum feriæ, id est Dominica in albis [smudge = --apsa?]; sed in nihil de Rege nostro Carolo? Imo vero. Viderat ipse tempore hoc Sanctæ*

*Septimanæ Hispano more disciplinantes, res ipsa visa acta ad comediam. Itaque ipso Pascalis die unum ex Pigmeis ejus, quem nuper ipsi e Belgio obtulit Comes stabilis, Pœnitentem meum (id honoris causa dixi) more hispanorum vestiri jussit albis ad terram usque, turritum in capite et disciplina armatum circuire: verum ad tergum papy[r]orum rubeo colore pictam vulneris instar affigi: ille aut sequebatur suppetias pœnitenti laturus, aut præcedebat viam obviantis turbæ aperturus. Hem iterum vivuam(?) indolem et supra vulgus aerum æstimatricem.*

*Aliud jam non occurrit mi P. Liberte nisi ut bivium nostrum in quo hic sumus Ræ Væ ceterisque domesticis ac per illo Divæ Væ ex animo commendam uti mecum facit Rduſ P. Gerardus qui iterum iterumque mecum omnibus ac præſenti Rdo Patri Recitori festa Paschalia felicissima apprecatur.*

*Madrito 1 April 1671.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[fol. 223, P. S.] *Alia particularia de tempestate illa Gaditana particularia nostris habent litteræ aliorum et 1º quos Patrem Rectorem sacris operantem ab altari translulerit ad sacristiam typhon ille abrupto sacrificio: alium sacerdotem in suo cubiculo excipiendis confessionibus vacantem e cubiculo in smbulacrum seu claustrum quod hic habent, protraxit. Aliud pro timore e cubiculo ad templum descendentem subita vi terræ allisit. Nec miretur tam cito Missas dici ex confessionibus vacari. Dies ille erat ultimus missionum (celebres hæc sunt in Hispania, hic etiam Madriti concursu celebrato) quo ad 40 millia hominem; hæc ex toruis(?) constat sacram sunaxim frequentarunt. Inter damna notabilia periis facile ac medium missionem Pauci Anglici quæ Gadibus Hispalim erant destinatos plurimum etiam saccari Lusitanici.*

*Duobus horis post hanc tempestatem ingressus est portum P. Cant cum sua bellica perdita una ex minoribus navigiis, non alioque miraculo ut scribunt. Refert admirantius Hiacintus Lopez quod plusquam 1000 mauri bombardis suis oblongis sategerint impedire ingressum Bellicæ et aliarum in portum Mammoræ, verum frustra: omnium ipsorum impetum dissipantibus bellicæ tormentis uti et ipsius civitates: admirabant quadringenti Bombardarii qui ex navibus nostris vim vi strenue repellebant. Ibi itaque præliantes in terram desiluire, et formantes agmen, meliori quo potuerunt ordine locum cum paucorum ruina ingressi sunt. Hic judicabat admirantius mare ulterius sustinere non posse suas naves, quare sine litteris Gubernatoris ad ducem de Veraguas reversus est. Multum timet ne perierit navis qua vehebantur plusquam 30.000 militum rationes [stipendia] ad loci defensionem et sustentationem propter temporis tantam iniquitatem et ventorum procellas. Cum enim hæc navis cum reliquis portum subire potuisse nescio qua de causa hæsit. Quare præparantur nova alimenta cum omni festinatione ne prædicta hac navi maximus loci hostis sit sanus. Rex Tesipete cum ducentis millibus maurorum tam peditum quam equitum civitate tantum abest 5 leucas ut locum hunc occupet, ut et alium dictum Larache, alium Ceuta et Tanger. Quorum unumquemque locum promisit victori suo in proprietatem. Secum ducit primarium Capitaneum Germanum apostatam seu renegado, alios gallos, alios Anglos cum omnibus necessariis*

*ad cuniculos effodiendos instructus et fascibus pluribus et saccis laneis ad fossas implendas, item bellicio instrumentis ad mœnia quatienda. Speram tamen non defecturum Deum in nostrum auxilium ut pauci contra multos canes illos inimicos Ecclesiæ, et se strenue defendant, et vicant. Ita litteræ Gadibus datæ 18 Martii.*

[223v, address:] *Rdo. in Chro Patri P. Liberto de Pape Soc[ie]tatis Jesu Sacerdoti. Hallis.*

### Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

My bad luck is over, and I was pleased to receive a beloved letter from Y.R. dated 11 March, and I beg Y.R. to please check with Fr. Coukerken for mine, as I received none from him, I give none, so as not to repeat the same stuff.<sup>1</sup> So, here is the expected answer.

The meditations of the Blessed [Francis] Borgia, which Fr. Eusebius had promised to send to me here, have not yet been brought to light; the Latin version has been sent to Belgium with the biography to be printed by Plantin, the best in Belgium.<sup>2</sup> Fr. Charles de Breuil has them,<sup>3</sup> as I have been assured by his own letter; the care of [paying for] the printing was entrusted to the care of the brother of the saint. Fr. de Haze<sup>4</sup> could easily get them from him, in order to have them appear at the same time in both Flemish and Latin. Certainly there is no-one here who would know of their whereabouts. About the stores of the Indies that I have already mentioned in my previous letter to Fr. Coukerken, the business is obviously on-going and everything is to be entrusted to letters from these parts.

Conversation with Fr. Nithard is frequent, and in any case he is expert in business and he has helped with so many difficulties in that court by untying the red tape. I have done what Y.R. wished; two days ago the assistant of the Rev. Fr. Provincial slowly brought us some companions, and he affirmed to have it from solid sources. Innocence is like oil; it always floats on top. I pass on to Y.R. the news we had been avidly awaiting from Fr. Charles Noyelle, who wrote to me from Rome on 28 February in these terms:

*“By today’s post, Our Fr. [General] wrote about Y.R. and the other Fathers who are dependent of our assistance, given that there is no hope of being sent to the Philip-*

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- 1 Ed. note: Literally, “so as not to regurgitate cabbage.” Brussels sprouts? He had already written to him two weeks earlier (Doc. 1671O14).
  - 2 Ed. note: The Plantin Publishing firm was located in Antwerp.
  - 3 Ed. note: Charles De Breuil, born in Brussels, died there on 6 May 1672. Was chaplain of the fleet for 3 years, then military chaplain for 10 years, Procurator of the Province, rector of the colleges of Ruremond (Holland), Brussels and Bruges. Was confessor of the Governor General Don Juan de Zuñiga, Count of Monterrey (ref. Poncet, p. 95).
  - 4 Ed. note: Most probably Fr. Gaspar de Haze, born Antwerp, died Antwerp 1674, after 43 years as administrator of the Antwerp College.

*piners, you are to be sent back to your respective provinces, except those who volunteer to apply for the Province of Mexico. Rev. Fr. de Florencia will choose from among those volunteers, again except those wishing to go to China, who must necessarily go on to Lisbon. There is no decree published in Portugal and asking for our missionaries for the East Indies that requires a stay of one year in Portugal. Our Portuguese Fathers confirm this to me. And I know that either there was no such decree granted, or that it was never done that way until now. However, one whole year can easily elapse before Rev. Fr. Intorcetta (who has not yet appeared here) might be able to conclude the business for his Vice Province of China and return to it at the head of a mission band, although it might be possible for some companions to precede him. Next time I write, knowing what your will is, I will try to advance your cause. Should you choose China, or indifferently the East Indies, I will take care to get a letter from our Father to expedite things in Portugal. Otherwise, should you wish to return to your provinces, I will see that you are recommended to your provincials. The volunteers who wish to go to the Province of Mexico will be recommended to Father de Florencia.”*

*“P.S. I was confiding what our Father wrote, as I said, by today’s post. But now I understand that the next post is about to arrive. I will write again at that time; meanwhile, I send this letter so that Y.R. will not have to wait any longer for an answer to your letter dated 14 January. However, the mind of our Father is known to be as I have explained above. Here you have it, dear Father, enough doubt remaining about our affairs.”*

Should I perhaps stay put for another year, or even two years, in these parts? I expect the advice of Y.R. Should I return to the Province? It is an open secret that below your chest beats the zeal for the salvation of souls. I have not decided yet what decision will be taken next to get the ball rolling, either to remain with it, or let it die.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, turning my duties teaching rhetorics back to the Fr. Provincial, I am ready to make the trip to Cadiz with Fr. Gerardus, to await there the answer from Rome, for as long as it takes for Rome to inform me to go, either to the Province or to make the transfer to Portugal first and then be taken back to the Province.

Meanwhile, Y.R. should continue to contact us care of Mr. Parent (who has welcomed us very humanly at his table beyond what we deserved) as usual; he will then forward it to us either in Cadiz or in Portugal. For we will give our exact forwarding address to him before our departure. I beg Y.R. to tell Rev. Fr. Provincial about this arrangement so that he will send his letters care of Y.R. or care of Brother Branssius(?), so that they will not get lost on their way to us.

### **[The tornado that hit Cadiz in March 1671]**

I add the news concerning a really sad and extreme event that happened in Cadiz during the Easter holidays. On 15 March just before the middle of the fourth morning prayer, after a few hours of rain, some thunder claps were heard that appeared to be in

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1 Ed. note: A play on words is evident here: “aut immorari aut immori.”

the distance, mixed with squalls from the southern quarter. Then coming from the southwest a typhoon (which our sailors call “bolcan” and Spanish sailors call a hurricane)<sup>1</sup> was seen so strong that all the houses over which it passed in Cadiz were swept away by the winds. There appeared lightning phenomena, marine creatures never before seen, rather long ones. This typhoon left some of our crossroads intact in the middle of the city, the first blast hitting the convent of the Capuchin Fathers where only the wall remains; all the lead pipes and whatever material was tougher was carried off to places unknown, all the walls of the cells were blown over, the religious having providentially betaken themselves to the open. Nevertheless, one was preserved while the walls fell down all around him; fear had prevented him from leaving the gate. The infirmary and kitchen also fell down. This is wonderful: a hole was made through the portico as if to let the cats enter the cloister; a hole in the closed doors in other parts of the 1-1/2 foot thick wall, as if a cannon ball had done it, they say. Then, in the collapsed church, it broke to pieces one window with its glass panes, but left the next one intact. Moreover, it broke into 100 pieces the cross that the Capuchins have before their gate by custom; it even slit the stone foundation in half. Then, continuing its path of destruction through some houses, it tore down most of the wall of the disalced Carmelites, spreading the pieces of the wall over the nearby square. It also carried off one of the cells, but left everyone safe. Then it moved towards the imperial plaza and wrecked three houses completely. In one of them was a grand-child, mother and daughter. In another they were all left alive but the roof fell down. In the last, the roof crushed the first-born son of the Ochoa family, and his wife. Then it flung the bell tower of Our Lady of Candelaria [church] through the grating; the pieces of the bell were found in various places. It tore off seven beams from the house next door and rendered the people mute. It also did much damage everywhere to the walls of the buildings of the Society, so that the Fathers will have to spend 6,000 pesos in boards to repair them, but not as much as the Capuchin Fathers.

Afterwards, it headed for the house they call the Chain House, then it toppled the strong new wall of this and other houses, ruined another old one in little pieces, and left the rest intact. Presently, it moved towards the square they call the Glove Square and the San Francisco Square which it disturbed with the same force, tearing down the signs, balconies, windows, walls, inns, homes, chimneys, etc. Then to the Church of Santa Maria of the People, where it toppled the copper globe weighing at least 200 pounds off the dome and carried it as far as the soldiers' guard-house. After that, it headed toward the sea port and the Promontory of Saint(?) ... where it undermined the whole wall, flinging in the air the marble cross that had been placed on top of the gate. When it did hit the port itself, in a moment it pushed over all ships, loaded or empty ones, and submerged them, so that all the canoes, boats, launches, skiffs, and other so-

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1 Ed. note: “Typhon” is a Greek word, used in Latin. This word is not of Chinese origin, as some English dictionaries have suggested; it is a mere coincidence that the Chinese word “tai-fung” or “ti-fú” sounds almost the same.

called minor ships. Out of seven transport ships, six went to the bottom. It broke three others to pieces, among them two of the bigger ones, one of which from Genoa was rid of its upper works and looks like a hulk. They recall how it happened in its entirety: beforehand, the sea had been calm, then suddenly foaming mountains rose up so rapidly that in the time it takes to recite one Creed, it had been cleared of most of its bad masts; it carried off one war cannon and two mortars from the same ship. Another had half of its sails carried off. Another was capsized. Aboard the *Weslica* from Rotterdam it tore to pieces the hammocks of the marines, but none of them were hurt; also some of the war cannon were moved about, freight crates piled on top, and a gun pulled out from its moorings. Everyone asserts that there had been a smell of sulphur around the port, and that so much confusion reigned in all things that it is hard to imagine. Everyone who was caught aboard the above-mentioned ships perished.

At the home of the secretary Juan de Cena was found a musket and two beams, and everywhere so much of a disaster. The individual ruins of that night or morning weather were so many that a volume or a single ream of paper would not suffice to describe them. So far the civilian press has printed a Spanish version [of events] in Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Other sources say that over 1,500 men have perished in that disaster, at sea and on land, as well as over 400 ships, big and small. When people meet in the city, they embrace and congratulate themselves, as if they have returned from the dead. And, what is most wonderful, all of this happened in the space of 8 minutes.<sup>2</sup> The above are the details which we have understood concerning that storm. Not least were the news that Fr. Peter Cant wrote to us; however, he was safe and sound aboard his ship off Africa, and has now returned to Spain. Here are his words:

*“We saw Mamorra from a distance, we quickly gave assistance and promptly returned here (in just 8 days), in any case safe, although (Divine Providence was more than evident) we passed through an imminent danger of a shipwreck. We were in the center of the occurring shipwrecks when we entered the port. In the port itself many ships opened up, two within hours of our arrival.”*

Unquote. He promises to write more particulars soon; he does miss Y.R. Fr. Fresneida has it from the Duke of Veraguas that the ship of Father Cant is also bound to some port of America with similar assistance. For the King of Morocco clearly threatens all those ports. May he have success! The rest of the warships have come down from Belgium to refit; our naval chaplains will board them, and then go to the assistance of Belgium, if it should truly be in danger. We also resumed their cause also before departure and we presented a memorial to the Queen for their solution. Fr. Fresneida, free from council business on holidays, that is on Sunday in white<sup>3</sup> [smudge

1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans must have used this broadsheet as a source for his detailed account.

2 Ed. note: Literally “half of a quadrant/fourth part”. A quadrant of what? of a sun-dial? Although the context indicates a longer period, the passage of the tornado probably did not take more than half of a quarter *of an hour*, rather than half of a quarter *of a day*.

3 Ed. note: The first Sunday after Easter.



= gave a sermon?], but said nothing about our King Charles? True, however. During the time of Holy Week, he was seen to flagellate himself, as per Spanish custom; the act itself being seen as a comedy. Thus, on Easter Sunday itself, one of his pigmies,<sup>1</sup> whom the Count governor had brought from Belgium with him earlier, was my penitent (this I said was on an honorary basis) was ordered to dress himself, in accordance with the Spanish custom, in a long white robe, with a cone on the head and equipped with a whip to make the rounds. He had pieces of paper affixed to the back and painted red to simulate wounds. He was either following or at the side of the penitents to assist them, or preceding them to open the way through the crowd. Well, again he displayed his lively disposition and super vulgar mannerisms(?).

Nothing else happened, my dear Father Libertus, except the fork in the road to which we have come. Through the Blessed Virgin, I strongly commend that to Y.R. and the other residents. Fr. Gerardus and I again and again do hope that the Rev. Fr. Rector is spending very happy Easter holidays.

Madrid, 1 April 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

[P.S.] Other details about that storm that hit Cadiz. The details come from letters received from our Fathers. The Fr. Rector was saying mass when the typhoon forced him to put an end to it and seek shelter in the sacristy. Another Father was in the his confessional hearing confessions; he vacated the confessional and betook himself to the promenade or cloister that they have there. Another one left his cell out of fear to go down to the church; he was thrown down upon the ground by the sudden force. No wonder masses were said so quickly and confessions interrupted. That day was the last day of missions (they are famous in Spain, also here in Madrid, and are celebrated concurrently) which were attended by up to 40,000 men, that is the number attending the holy office. Among the noteworthy damages, a good number of Englishmen who had left in the middle of the Mission to go from Cadiz to Seville, to which some Portuguese porters were also bound.

Two hours after that storm, Fr. Cant came into the port with his war fleet from which [only] one of the minor ships was lost, not a minor miracle, as they wrote. He reports that Admiral Jacinto Lopez with his warships and other ships have been prevented from entering the port of Mammora by the Moors who did their best with over 1,000 balls from their long-range cannon, a real frustration. The warships concentrated their whole attack in firing their guns on the city itself. The 400 gunners aboard our ship did an admirable job by strenuously meeting force with force. Therefore, they landed combatants there, and forming a column, but the best they could do was enter the place and cause the ruin of a few. Here the admiral was judging that his ships could not be sustained at sea much farther, because he had to return for lack of a letter of instruction

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1 Ed. note: A dwarf clown.

to the Duke of Veraguas.<sup>1</sup> It is much feared that the ship that was carrying over 30,000 military rations [stipends] might have perished in the defence and sustenance of the place on account of the weather that was so bad and the gusts of wind, for when these ships with the others left port, that one stayed behind for I do not know what reason. That is why they are preparing new food supplies with all haste so as to maintain healthy the above-said ship at the enemy place. King Tesipete with 200,000 Moor soldiers, infantry and cavalry, has left the city to go 5 leagues to occupy a place called Larache, then Ceuta and Tangier.<sup>2</sup> He promised a victory for himself at each of these places. With him he has as first Captain an apostate or renegade German, some Frenchmen, some Englishmen with all the necessary tools to block underground tunnels, many reed ties and woolen bags to fill the trenches<sup>3</sup> also the instruments of war to shake fortifications. However, I hope that God will not fail to help us so that the few will be able to defend themselves against those many dogs, enemies of the Church, and win.

This is what came in a letter dated Cadiz 18 March.

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus, Halle.

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1 Ed. note: It appears that the Duke was the General of the fleet.

2 Ed. note: The last two places at least appear to have been walled towns in the possession of the Spanish already.

3 Ed. note: I imagine that the bags would be filled with earth, placed inside wicker baskets, which would then be piled across the gap to make a sort of narrow bridge.

1671OC

## O19. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 15 April 1671

*Sources: AGR 2, fol. 220; perhaps extracted in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 322+.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Chro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Ultimas mitto ad quas ut spero a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> habebō responsum in hoc hemispherio: stu-  
puisti mi Pater? Sic est: vera scribo. 13 hujus annuente ejus Præsīde a Consilio Indico  
facultas nobis facta est transmittendi in spartam nostram Philippinarum. O dii boni!  
quanto utriusque gaudio! R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> illud compleverit, si divæ suæ, sed an apud divam com-  
moraris? Nam intellexi P. Van Laer post musicam suam seu triumphos in luctu domini-  
co ad 3am. probationem pergere interim ubivis locorum Deo ejusque Matri et Magno  
Xaverio iter nostrum enixe commendaverit. Octo Patres exteri, regis subditi gaudemus  
illo privilegio, exclusi sunt duo Germani vitio nationis, nam non nisi subditos regis cu-  
piunt admittere, quorum unus adhærebit legato Cæsareo Confessarius, alter ad propria  
revertetur. Parantur jam omnia itineri necessaria. Ad has, si dignabitur, respondebit R<sup>a</sup>  
V<sup>a</sup> via ordinaria per fasciculum Di. Parentis, ille si Madrito nos discesserimus litteras  
nobis transmittet.*

*Pro novis habet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> adjunctum in dorso diarium P. Candt in Africam. Aliud ele-  
gantius latine ad nos transmissum ab ipso mittit P. Gerardus Bruxellas et ibi jubet Ræ  
Væ, si ibi non sit, nam ita auguror, describi. Ego hoc meum transtuleram ex hispanico  
alio quod ille ad nos transmiserat, sed meo modo rudi et inculto. Obversam paginam  
sumpsit sibi P. Gerardus ut cartæ parceret. Ignoscat R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ab illo habebit, si quid no-  
vorum Madriti sit, et habebit a me, nam in meis.*

*Comendo me SSimis Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus.*

*Madriti 15 Aprilis 1671.*

*Salutem amantissimam, bona ejus venia, R. P. Rectori cæterisque omnibus et sin-  
gulis domesticis.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

### Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

I am sending to Y.R. my last answer from this hemisphere, I hope; are you astounded, dear Father? So it is; let me write the truth. On the 13th of this month, with the approbation of the President of the Council of the Indies we were given permission to move to our Sparta in the Philippines. God is good! What a joy for both of us! Wouldn't Y.R.

have been filled [with the same feeling], if God had allowed you to visit heaven? For I learned that Fr. van Laer, after his music or triumphs, in mourning of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> went on to his third probation. Meanwhile, everywhere, our people would have commended our voyage to God, His Mother and the Great Xavier. Eight foreign Fathers, subjects of the King, rejoice at this privilege. Two Germans are excluded, on account of their nationality, for, not being subjects of the King, they did not wish to admit them. One of them might stay as the confessor of the Cesarean ambassador, the other is to return to his own [province]. Already the necessities for the voyage are being prepared. Should Y.R. wish to respond to this letter, you can do so by ordinary mail through the pouch of Mr. Parent. If we leave Madrid, he will know how to forward our letters.

For the news, Y.R. is referred to the back of this letter for the journal of Fr. Candt in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Fr. Gerardus has sent to Brussels another [version], in a more elegant Latin, which he had sent to us; Y.R. might order it from there, but in case it is not there, I have given you a preview. I would have sent the translation from Spanish that I made here, but in my opinion it is rough and unpolished. Fr. Gerardus has used the reverse side of the page for himself, to save on the mail.<sup>3</sup> May Y.R. forgive us, as that is all the Madrid news from him, and from me.

I commend myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Y.R.

Madrid, 15 April 1671.

Most beloved greeting, and good luck, to Rev. Fr. Rector and to one and all in the residence.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

## O20. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 17 April 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 220v.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverendo in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Inhumanus sum si ab amico provocatus sileam diutius silentium, quod hactenus tenui, non tam mathesis (hanc vix a limine salutavi), quam officiosa P. Petri charitas imposuit, qui dum omnes expleret amici partes nihil mihi præter salutem verbo adjiciendam fecit reliquuum: quam cum et ipse daret a me, uti semper eum rogavi, estimati supervacua potius esse suprimenda quam ut iis importunus implem alienum fascicu-*

1 Ed. note: Strange construction. Does he refer to Good Friday?

2 Ed. note: This war diary of a military chaplain does appear on folio 221, but is not reproduced here.

3 Ed. note: See next document below.

*Jum. Nec velim inde videri R. Væ minus memor: Sanctæ enim affirmo etsi humanitate me vicerit P. Petrus non permissurum me, ut animo in R. Vram. et affectu usquam me superet. Vale mi Pater Liberte: 1° ut ego tui quotidie in Sacrificio sum memor, ita rogo R. V<sup>a</sup> ut in suo mei non obliviscatur jam ad Philippinas admissi, quorum scribat P. Petrus, ego non memoro [sic] uti nec alia quæ ipse dedit: solum adjicio metum huc non vulgarem attulisse, quæ de Panama (portus est Americanus ad Mare[m] Pacificum) ab Anglis occupata ad hanc aulam dederat Comes de Molina ex litteris quas in Angliam ex Insula Jamaica ad filium dedit loci istius Gubernator Anglus: 32 navigiis imposuerat ultra bis mille milites etc ut superato annue, quem Chagres dicunt, urbem expugnarent. Res innotuit Hispanis, quibus a pecunia et tempestive prospexit Pro Rex Peruanus: cæterum nescitur etiamnum successus. Rumor item hic fuit de Anglo ab Hispanis et Hollandis defecturo ad Gallos, quid de ea abetis vos Regiæ, Comes de Molina e Britannia transmit ad Regem Christianissimum illi in aula Britannica successum et D° de Gamarra in aula Hollandica D Emanuel de Lira, qui habitum hinc meditatur propediem.*

*Alia non occurrunt nisi ut actis Deiparæ pro tam singulari beneficis gratiis. Meos mihi defectivus etc., quod humillime peto, cum R. V. ignoscant PP. reliqui etc. quorum SS. Sacrificiis ac precibus enixissime me commendo.*

*Madriti 17 Aprilis 1671*

*R. V. Servus in Xro*

*Gerardus Bouwens*

*[P.S.] Salutem et obsequium R. P. Rectori et quotquot istic sunt amici veteris nominatim Mro. van Torre cui gratias habeo quod mei dignatus fuerit memmisse [sic].*

*[221v, address:] Rdo in Chro P. Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Hallis Deiparæ.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

I would be inhumane, when urged by a friend, if I were to keep for a longer time the silence that I have kept so far, not so much to inform myself (I had stopped by his doorstep just to say hello) when the obliging charity of Fr. Petrus [Coomans] imposed upon me; as long as he was writing to all our friends, perhaps I should add a greeting on the parts that remained blank; then he handed it over to me, as I have always begged to do, to suppress what would otherwise remain superfluous, so that it would not be necessary to implore another spot in the pouch. Besides, I do not want to be seen as not remembering Y.R., whose holy memory I affirm; even if the kindness of Fr. Petrus had not won me over, my inclination and affection for Y.R. would have suffice. Good health to you, dear Father Libertus. Firstly, every day at mass I remember you. So, I beg Y.R. not to forget me in his, now that I am leaving for the Philippines, which Fr. Petrus was writing about. I will not recall what he has already mentioned. I will only mention the uncommon fear caused here by what happened in Panama (an American port on the

Pacific Ocean); it has been occupied by the English.<sup>1</sup> The news comes from a letter written by the Count of Molina, enclosed in a letter sent to England by the English Governor of the Island of Jamaica to his son at court. Some 32 ships manned by 2,000 soldiers, etc. added to every year, seized the city called Chagres.<sup>2</sup> The affair became known to the Spanish, who warned the Viceroy of Peru in time to keep the money, etc. away. Even now, the outcome of the follow-up events is not known. Rumor has it that an Englishman defected from the Spanish and Dutch to the French; eventually the news reached the Queen, from the letter sent by the Count of Molina to the Most Christian King. Don de Gomara heard of the outcome in the British court and it was also heard in the Dutch court<sup>3</sup> by Don Manuel de Lira, to whom they think of giving a habit in the near future.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing else happened, except that I wish to give thanks to all those at Halle. I most humbly beg to be forgiven my defects, etc. by Y.R. and the other Fathers, etc. to whose most holy sacrifices and prayers I strongly commend myself.

Madrid, 17 April 1671.

Gerardus Bouwens

[P.S.] Greeting and regard to Rev. Fr. Rector and to all my old friends there, specially Master van Torre to whom I owe thanks for having remembered my unworthy self.

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Father Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Our Lady of Halle.

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1 Ed. note: The English buccaneers, led by the notorious pirate, Henry Morgan, set out from the mouth of the Chagres River (on the Caribbean) on 9 January 1671 with 1,400 men and attacked Panama on the 19th. All Spanish prisoners taken on the first day of the battle, including friars were executed with pistols by Morgan's men. The next day, the city itself was taken after a 3-hour battle. The city was set on fire and burned for 4 weeks. Many of the riches which the citizens had hidden were discovered by the pirates. Most of the women were raped. Morgan left Panama on 24 February with 175 mules laden with gold, silver and other treasures. Hundreds of Spanish prisoners were taken to Jamaica. Upon arriving back at Chagres on 9 March, the loot was divided and yielded about \$200 to each surviving pirate. Morgan made off with most of the loot, leaving his former comrades ashore without food or ship. For this, he was knighted by the English King and made Governor of Jamaica. For further details, see Chapter 6 of George Wycherley's *Buccaneers of the Pacific*.

2 Ed. note: This happened in 1668, according to Wycherley.

3 Ed. note: One of the pirates present at the sack of Panama was the Dutchman Esquemeling, whose narrative was later published, in 1678.

4 Ed. note: Probably that of Knight of Santiago, or of some other military order.

## O21. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Madrid 26 April 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 224-224v.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Rde in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Ultimas Madrito habet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> sed non ultimas ex Hispania ut spero. Cras cum Dei gratia Hispalim proficiscimur, et inde Gadez tres e sociis octo, inuxit [innexuit?] se nobis unus ex Patribus Gallobelgis. Alius operam suam locavit diutius P. Provincia]lli exornando suis versibus Sto. Francisco de Borgia cujus canonizationis nuntium hic in horas exspectant. Lampadem ipsi argenteam insignem cum dote olei dicavit ipsi Sti. abnepos Franciscus de Borja. R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> his meis etiam dignabitur respondere per D. Parentem nam suas in Hispania, si Deus volet, accipiam. Ita conventum cum D. Fratrem ut ad nos illas Gadez inscribat. Nova hic habemus læta et tristia. Conversus est ad fidem Catholicam legatus sive envoio Angliæ per unum ex nostris Primario P[atr]jem Elizalde Confessarium Comitis de Pignaranda. Depositus is erat a medicis, sed jam melius habet, et constanter fidem nostram profitetur etiam cum evidenti periculo amittendæ dignitatis. Res hæc malo satis habet Hollandicum qui securus huc advenerat, sed ubi videt viros suo iudicio se prudentiores veritatem agnoscere, stupet. Ita nobis D[omin]us Galliarum.*

*Hodie triste infortunium accidit legato Gallico: deferebatur solemniter, ut hic mores, Venerabile ad tussiculas quibus integrum non fuit ad celebrandum Pascha accedere. Transibat supplicatio domum prædicti legati, mittit ille ephæbos cum facibus qui illud excipiant et deducant. Petunt illi debitum sibi locum ab ephæbis ducis de Albuquerque: illi negant Pastor Venerabile deserens jubet primo ephæbos gallis locum aperiri, pernegant alii: tum ille aut utrosque jubet discedere, aut gallis locum dari: revocat suos legatus Gallicus, restitant illi, postea obeduunt. Verum domo egreditur primus Cubicularius Sacerdos, et proxime ad Venerabile, sub ipso dicunt Baldequino, accedens et caput obtegens, quinam inquit nobulenos ephæbos meos rejiciunt, et expedito fuste invadit ephæbos Ducis. Turbant se Hispani: cum ecce unus ephæborum schlopetum exonerat et unum ex Albuquerqueianis in humero lædit. Stringit gladium Hispanus quidam e vulgo et ephæbum illum in loco transfodit: alii tres quatuor bombardarum ictus e domo legati exploduntur: concurrunt multitudo, læduntur varii e familia legati: tres vel quatuor dicuntur occisi; alii vulnerati. Defertur Venerabile ad templum Novitiatus nostri quod est e regione fere ejusdem legati: at vero concurrente tanta multitudine ad rei famam perficitur Processio, ne inflammatis animis in omnes gallos hoc Procella se effundat. Accurrunt statim magnates Hispani Don Emanuel de Lyra in equo: domique toto hoc tempore post meridiano aliud nihil actum quam quo modo res tanta possit componi. Utinam hæc scintilla majoris incendii materiam non præbeat.*

*Nova etiam appulere ex regno Peruano Missionem ibi barbarorum apertam tam copiosam in gente docili ut avenæ maris comparetur. Appulit etiam ex portu Buenos Aires*

*Procurator Provinciæ Paraguayæ cum duabus navibus magnis divitiis refertis. Particularia necdum intelleximus. Hic aliud non addo nisi ut R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> cum tota domo (nam omnes et singulos ambo ex animo salutamus) Deo et Divæ matri dignentur enixe commendare.*

*Madriti 26 April 1671.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[verso, Address:] *Rdo in Chro Patri P. Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdote. Hal-lis.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

This is my last letter to Y.R. from Madrid but not the last from Spain, I hope. Tomorrow, thank God, three of our band of 8 companions will leave for Seville, and from there to Cadiz; one of the Gallo-Belgian Fathers has joined us. Another needs more time to deposit his work with Rev. Fr. Provincial, in order to embellish his verses to Saint Francis Borgia, the news of whose canonization they expect shortly. Should Y.R. deign to answer me, God willing, while I am in Spain I will receive mail through Mr. Parent. So it is arranged with Mr. Fratre who will forward it to Cadiz. The news from here are happy and sad ones. The English ambassador or envoy has been converted to the Catholic faith by one of our leading members, Fr. Elizalde, confessor to the Count of Peñaranda. He had been abandoned by physicians, but he is already better, and continues firm in our faith even at the obvious risk of losing his position. As this was not bad enough, the Dutch [envoy] who would have come here quietly, but when he saw men who in their judgment more prudent to learn the truth, he was astounded. Such is Mr. Gallart.

Today some bad luck sadly happened to the French ambassador. He was being presently solemnly, according to the custom here, by the Venerable<sup>1</sup> who had been prevented by a cough to celebrate at Easter. The request was passing to the house of the above-mentioned ambassador; he sent young men [i.e. pages] with torches to welcome him and lead him. The young men found their place occupied by the young men of the Duke of Albuquerque; they deny that the Venerable Pastor had ordered them to be before the French place [in the procession]; the others refused. When he or some others, either ordered them to stop it, or be given the French place, the French ambassador called for his people; they resisted, afterwards they obeyed. Finally they left the house with the Priest of the Chamber in first place, followed by the Venerable, under what is called a Baldaquin [i.e. portable dais]; coming up and covering his head, one of them said to expel my young men, and pulling a stick out he attacked the Duke's young men. The

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1 Ed. note: The context indicates that the Venerable Pastor in question could have been Fr. Nithard, the Queen's confessor.



Spaniards became upset. One of the young men pulls out a musket and fires a shot at one of the Albuquerqueans, wounding him in the shoulder. A certain Spaniard from the crowd pulled out his sword and transpierced that young man on the spot. The blow brought three or four of the musketeers from the house of the ambassador. A crowd ran up and various members of the ambassador's family were wounded; three or four were said to have been killed, the others wounded. The Venerable went off to the church of our Novitiate which is almost in the area of the ambassador's [residence]. Really such a large crowd had gathered at the news that a procession was taking place, that a storm spread and inflamed attitudes toward all Frenchmen here. A Spanish grandee came up immediately, Don Manuel de Lyra on horseback; in all this time until after noon, nothing took place in the House that did not have to do with trying to arrange the affair as much as possible. Hence these sparks of a major fire was not being provided any material to catch on.

Also news has arrived from the mission in the Kingdom of Peru where such a copious number of barbarians have been converted into docile people, that they are comparable to sea oats.<sup>1</sup> Also, the Procurator of the Province of Paraguay arrived from the port of Buenos Aires with two ships loaded with riches. We do not have specific news yet. I am not adding anything else here except to say that Y.R. together with the whole House (for we are greeting both, each and everyone from the heart) may deign to especially commend [us] to God and to His holy Mother.

Madrid, 26 April 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To the Reverend Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Our Lady of Halle.

## O22. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Seville 23 June 1671

*Sources: AGR 2, fol. 211-211v.*

*Notes: Hispalis is the Latin word for Seville; Fr. Coomans was on his way to the port of Cádiz. There is supposedly an extract of a letter dated 10 June 1671 in ARSI Phil. 20.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Gratissimas Ræ Væ accepimus 16 Junii Hispalim reduces ab itinere Gaditano quo excurrere licuit ad amantissimos illic PP. Navales ad communicandum cum illis negotium solutionis ulterioris quod quoad licuit Madriti curavimus. Sed vereor sane ut ex*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Literal meaning whose real meaning can only be guessed; perhaps an allusion to sea weeds that the waves move back and forth as they wish.

*sententia succedat, nam hodie scribit mihi P. Fresneda se tertio jam accepisse amicum illic nobis addictum cui nos discedentem rem commiseramus, verum respondere illum libellum supplicem quem P. Fresneda Suae Majestati obtulerat nusquam comparere qua in cassum cecidisse suos labores. Nos hic interim strenue nos itineri accingimus expeditis omnibus itineri necessariis. Cras cum Dei gratia revertemur Gadez illic cum sociis navem conscensuri in qua nobis serviet medium Capitanei cubiculum, alteram partem obtinebunt PP. Minoritæ, sed asseribus interjectis, quo utrisque sua constet libertas.*

*Non omittemus Ræ Væ inde ultimum valedicere gratiasque agere simul toti provinciæ quod me recte tam ingratum tanto semper amore et benevolentia fuerit prosecuta utinam aliquando vel sanguine detur elucere quod tam graviter, et tam frequenter a me aliquando ibi fuit peccatum! Illud solum exorto Ram Vam dignetur cum suis impetrare a Deo hunc favorem ut salutem delicta mea obicem non ponant fructui quem a vilissimo instrumento alias expectabat divina bonitas, et me SSimis Ræ Væ Sacrificiis ex animo commendo.*

*Hispali 23 Jun[ii] 1671.*

*Salutem humillimam adscribit Ræ Væ totique Provinciæ P. Gerardus.*

*Ræ Væ filius in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[verso, Address:] *Rdo in Chro P. Pri Laurentio van Schoonen Soctis Jesu per Flandro-belgium Provinciali. Bruxellis.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

We received the letter of Y.R. on 16 June in Seville, after a trip to Cadiz which allowed us to contact our beloved Naval Chaplains there to discuss with them the future solutions to our affair, since we were allowed to take care of it in Madrid. But I much fear that it will happen as I wish, for today Fr. Fresneida wrote to me that he has been visited by a very good friend of ours there for the third time already, whom we deplore is to abandon our affair; indeed, they answered to that memorial that Fr. Fresneida had presented to Her Majesty is not arranged anywhere and that his efforts may have been defeated without a reason. Meanwhile here we are vigorously putting together all the necessities for the voyage. Tomorrow, God helping, we will return to Cadiz to arrange there for the use of half a cabin aboard the flagship for ourselves and companions, the other part was obtained by the Minor Fathers, but since there are bunk sideboards in between, either side can count on their freedom [i.e. privacy].

We do not omit then to wish Y.R. a last good-bye and to say thank you, as well as to the whole province, for having correctly followed my ungrateful person always with so much love and goodwill, that whenever it was given to manifest itself to me with blood, so seriously and so frequently, whenever there was a sin! I beg Y.R. for only one thing, to deign to intercede with God for this favor, that my faults will not become an

obstacle for my salvation and the fruit that divine goodness is entitled to expect from a vile instrument, and I heartily commend myself to the holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Seville, 23 June 1671.

Fr. Gerardus sends his most humble greeting to Y.R. and the whole province.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Lawrence van Schoonen of the Society of Jesus, through the Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province. Brussels.

## O23. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Cádiz 11 July 1671

Source: AGR 2, fol. 212-212v.

### Original text in Latin.

[folio 212]

*Reverende in Xro. Pater,*

*P. E.*

*Promissi memor, ultimum ex Hispania Ræ Væ valedico, et ago gratias quod immerentem me tantis semper beneficiis prosequi fuerit dignata. Nos hodie jubemur navem conscendere, sed tamen moras intervenire solitas æquo animo feremus, modo liceat optatam tam diu spartam adipisci.*

*Judicant hic omnes exponi nos evidenti periculo propter tempestates tam sero navigantibus illud mare impendentes; sed nos tutelares sanctos, Deumque nobis propitium sperantes ipsius nos Providentiæ commisimus, futuri ipsius victimæ, si instrumenta incapacia etiam in eo probare dignabitur. Lunæ itaque, Martis aut Mercurii navem conscendemus, in qua habemus 12 socios Franciscanos in media parte cubiculi Capitanei 7; in tota vero classe plus habemus quam 100. Navi nostræ inditum nomen a Sancto Michael[e] [i.e. San Miguel] et animabus purgantibus; Capitaneus vocatur Leonardus de Lara. De necessariis nobis est ita abunde prospectum a P. Ribadineira Procuratore Generali Indiarum, ut etiam ad dilitias aliquis videatur posse huic se itineri accingere.*

*Superior designatus nobis est Per. Alfonsus Stapleaux Namurcentis Gallo-belga senior missionis nostræ et professionem, obtentis ad illud Roma Patentibus, festo Purificationis emissurus. Ego his ad Ram. Vam. adjunxi unas ad optimam meam matrem valedictorias: ignoscat R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> quod etiam loci intervallo non disjungatur pius quoad licet affectus denique cum post Deum non habemus alia enixe nos Ræ Væ sacrificiis et precibus ex animo commendamus, donec itineris nostri diarium ex America, uti confidimus, transmittamus.*

*Gadibus 11 Julii 1671.*

*Ræ Væ filius in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[212v, Address:] *Rdo. in Chro. P. Patri Laurentio van Schoonen Soctis. Jesu per Flandro-Belgium Præposito Prov[incia]li. Bruxellis.*

### Translation by Fr. Arana.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

Mindful of my promise, I am at last bidding Y.R. goodbye from Spain. I thank your worthy Reverence for having always showered my unworthy self with so many favors. Today we have been ordered to board the ship, but we have to patiently put up with the usual delays, although we have been allowed in the meantime to secure a desired spartan corner for ourselves.

All of us here are of the opinion that we would be exposing ourselves to a clear danger so cruel to sailors because of the tempests threatening that sea; but we, counting on our patron saints and the propitiousness of God, have entrusted ourselves to Providence itself, we would be at its mercy if it shall find it fit to put to the test unsuitability of its provisions in such a situation; thus by the light of the Moon, Mars and Mercury, we are boarding a merchant vessel in which we have 12 Franciscan companions, 7 in the middle of the flagship's cabin, if indeed we are having more than 100 people in the entire vessel. Our ship has been named **San Miguel**, after St. Michael and the souls in purgatory. Leonardo de Lara is designated Captain. Thus, Fr. Ribadeneira, the Procurator General of the Indies has amply taken care of the necessary provisions for us in such a way that one may even seem to be able to indulge oneself in luxuries in this voyage.

Fr. Alphonse Stapleaux, from Namur in the Gallo-Belgian Province, the most senior in our mission [band], has been appointed our superior and after obtaining his patents from Rome, he would make his profession on the feast of the Purification of our Lady.

I have enclosed with these letters to Y.R. some letters of farewell to my very good mother. May Y.R. excuse that in this same letter I may include my filial affection with your permission, from this moment on when we do not have other things after God, may we from our heart eagerly commend ourselves to the sacrifices and prayers of Y.R. until we, as we have confidence, will send you from America the logbook of our voyage.

Cádiz 11 July 1671.

Y.R.'s son in Christ,  
Peter Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Father Superior Lawrence van Schoonen, of the Society of Jesus, through the Provincial Flandro-Belgian Province. Brussels.

## O24. Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated from the Island of León, 13 [July] 1671

*AGR 2, fol. 225-225v.*

*Note: In the letter, he says that the Island of León [i.e. Lion Island] is a good 4 leagues (20 km.) from Cádiz. It is now the tip of the man-made peninsula extending seaward from the town of Cádiz. The month is missing, but it had to be either June or July, but the next letter makes it clear that it was July.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Accusabit me R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> quod oblitus plane videtur commercii litterarii cum neque Hispalensia, nec Gaditana a me R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> acceperit, ignoscet tamen ubi considerabit quid soleat homini accidere domicilia toties mutandi. Binas a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ad me datas intellexi quidem me per circulos quærere ultimas datas 6 Maii accepi tandem 10 Junii pro quibus R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ac vel maxime Rdo P[at]ri Rectori qui dignatus est etiam illis syngrapham auro carioriem apponere, gratias rependimus immortales, ac totidem singuli singulis sacrificia præter intimam in laboribus, si quos pro sua gloria exhaustare nos voluerit Deus; communicationem. Perge mi Pater languidum me et vix in cepto itinere pro repente excitare aliquando suavissimis stimulis ne languor meus et peccata divinis favoribus obicem ponant. Faciet id R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> se dederit suas ad D. Fratrem Madritii illi[c] commendans ut illas tradat Pri Procuratori Generali Indiarum et hanc inscriptionem apponat: "Al P. Pedro Comano de la Compania de Jesus, missionero de Philippinas", et infra "Manila". Sin autem D. Parens revertetur in Belgium, ad eundem Patrem Procuratorem semper tutissime destinabuntur uti etiam pro via secunda ad D. Petrum Verbiest, mercatorem Gaditanum notissimum qui suam in eo operam nobis cumpatriotis suis liberalissime addixit. Tempus scribendi aptum solet esse in Aprili ut afferantur in Hispania donec Classis aut naves nunciatoriæ discedant. Hispalensis quæ habuimus misi ego ad Patrem Coukerken et P. Gerardus ad Patrem Branssen spero Ram Vam factam participem nos jam hospitamur in Residentia flandro belgica Navali quæ distat Gadibus in insula a Leone dista 40r ferme leucis verum in dies expeditum nobis est iter per Classarios qui schaphis suis accurrunt, et quaquaversum devehunt. Facilis erit conjectura quanto affectu nos exceperint in sua paupertate amantissimi Patres. Ab illis hodie revertimur Gadez et inde rursus Hispalim ubi necessaria est presentia nostra ad faciendam resignationem personarum in camera contractationis. Jam jam habemus reducem P. Gerardum e Pretoria regia, qui mihi narrat mirabilia verum hæc minuta describere non est operæ pretium.*

*Nova huc appulere sane tristia quæ attulit navis nunciatoria furcis [Turcis?] elapsa et Ulissiponem devenit. Nunciat illa Anglos expeditionem fecisse in Indias occidentales missis per fluvium Chagres plusquam 40 navibus cum tribus circiter millibus militum qui saltantes in terram expugnarrunt præcipuum loci portalitium dictum Chagres ubi etiamnum hærent nec facile apparent media quibus illo possint expelli. Deinde progressi sunt in civitatem Panamensem quam tribus locis incenderunt ita ut e tota civitate nihil*

*remanserit nisi solum collegium nostrum. Recepere se Hispani in asperiora montium et scripsere Carthagenam pro suppetiis. Utinam tam sero non adveniant ut solent Hispani.*

*Sequentibus meis habebit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> particularitates omnes itineris nostri, Classis et reliquorum. Non permittit enim hospitalitas Patrum navalium litteris incumbere. Habeat ergo ipsorum amantissimam salutem uti et Patris Gerardi qui mecum Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus se ex animo commendat apud Divam Matrem nostram.*

*Ex insula de Leone 13 [blank] 1671*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro*

*Petrus Coomans*

[verso, Address:] Rdo in Chro Patri Pri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Bruxelles.

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

Y.R. would have accused me of plainly forgetting our exchange of letters when Y.R. received none from me from either Seville or Cadiz. Nevertheless, he would have ignored it, upon considering what usually happens among men who are on the move. In any case, I understood that two letters were sent to me by Y.R. through roundabout ways. The last one was dated 6 May and I finally received it on 10 June. For it we owe Y.R., as well as the most Rev. Fr. Rector who deigned to affix his dearest note in gold, a debt of eternal gratitude, and just as much for each and every mass, except that [I will repay you] by giving you intimate information about the good works, if only God wishes to exhaust us in them for his glory. Dear Father, forget my laziness; no sooner the voyage begun, as penance, [I will write] whenever excited by very sweet desires, so that my laziness and sins will not place an obstacle for divine favors. May Y.R. send your own letters through Mr. Fratre in Madrid, and he will forward them to Fr. Procurator General of the Indies, but please add the following to the address: "To Fr. Pedro Coomans of the Society of Jesus, missionary in the Philippines", and underneath "Manila". However, if Mr. Parens should return to Belgium, the Father Procurator would always send them through him for greater security; even by the alternate route, care of Mr. Petrus Verbiest, a well-known merchant of Cadiz, who, being a countryman of ours has helped us most generously. The usual time [for you] to write is in April, so that the letters will be brought to Spain by the fleet or advice boats. When we were in Seville I sent a letter to Fr. Coukerken and Fr. Gerardus wrote to Fr. Branssen.<sup>1</sup> I hope Y.R. has learned from them that we are already lodged in the residence of the Naval Chaplains from the Flandro-Belgian Province, which is at the Island of León distant a good 4 leagues from Cadiz. Indeed, within days the sailors of the fleet will come for us

1 Ed. note: The only letter sent from Seville to be found in the archives is one sent by Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen (Doc. 1671O22 above).

with their launches, that are now sailing back and forth in all directions. It is easy to conjecture how affectionately the dearest Fathers have made us welcome amid their poverty. We will leave them today to return to Cadiz and then to Seville, where it is necessary to present ourselves in person at the House of Trade to make our resignation to the people there.<sup>1</sup> Fr. Gerardus has just returned from a visit to the royal Castle,<sup>2</sup> and he described to me in detail how wonderful it is and how valuable the works must be.

A really sad news has just been brought here. An advice boat has arrived at Lisbon after avoiding the Turks [i.e. pirates]. It announced that the English have made an expedition to the West Indies, sending over 40 ships to the Chagres River [i.e. Panama] with about 3,000 soldiers who stepped ashore and began by capturing the fortified place called Chagres, where they may still be, or where they hardly had the means to repulse them. Then they proceeded to the city of Panama and set fire to it in three places, so that nothing remained of the old city, except our own College. The Spanish sought refuge in the rough interior and they wrote to Cartagena for assistance. They arrived too late, as the Spanish are wont to do.

In my next letter, Y.R. will receive all the particulars of our voyage, with the fleet, and the rest. As the hospitality of the [naval] Fathers does not permit them to have time for letter writing, I therefore sent their beloved regards, whereas Fr. Gerardus and I heartily commend ourselves to Y.R.'s sacrifices and prayers to our Blessed Mother.

From the Island of León, 13 [blank] 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Brussels.

## O25. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Seville 25 July 1671

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 205-205v.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*Pax Ejusdem*

*Quas 10 Maii Bergis S[ancti] Winoci utrique nostrum inscripsit R. V<sup>a</sup> intercidisse namque (quod sane perquam doleo) videntur priores, quarum illæ meminerunt Hispani nos accepimus 22 Julii; Solatione majori ob affectum quo plusquam paterno absentes abeuntesque prosequitur R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, cum rubore ob benevolam humanissimamque, qua*

1 Ed. note: Thus he calls what was called "entrega" in Spanish (see next letter). They had to sign registers, get their passports, not to forget letters to draw money on the royal treasury at Veracruz.

2 Ed. note: This nearby fort still guards the harbor of Cadiz.

*nos complectitur, charitatem non facile dixerō: Unum dico, ut de me loquar, quod citra ingratitude[m] citraque arrogantiā tacere non possum, dolere me et quidem non mediocriter, quod neque habeam quibus respondere possim tam pio R. V. in me animo, neque habuerim quæ Provinciæ mihi charissimæ potuissem reponere pro beneficiis, quæ et plurima et maxima illi accepta refero educationem, convictum inter homines tam eximios, subventionem, omnia: ita est, mi Pater, omnia debeo isti Provinciæ, omnia illi refero accepta: habeat illa proinde non partem aliquam, sed omnino totum id, quod infinita Dei bonitas vel agere fortiter me voluerit, vineam suam excolendo, vel eandem sudore et sanguine rigando gloriose pati; quam ego interim Dei bonitatem quotidianis precibus ac Sacrificiis, quoad licuerit, enixe precabor ut et R. Vam suis quam diutissime conservet, et laboranti Provinciæ meum hac in parte supplendo defectum, cumulatissime subveniat.*

*Ad expeditionem nostram omnia jam sunt expedita, etiam "la entrega" ut vocant, sive relatio nomine nostrorum in tabulas Regias, quod hic Hispali auctoritate publica factum est 17 hujus. Hodie 25 sub vesperam prono flumine devehemus Gades eo nos comitante P. Joanne de Ribadineira 1500 circiter imperiales eleemosynam nobis Regina assignati sunt ad sumptus in itinere præstandos. Velim tantumdem assignasset Patribus nostris Navalibus quorum nomine nobis adstantibus libellum supplicem suæ Majestati obtulit P. Fresne[i]da a bimestri: ille a Regina ad Consilium Bellicum remissus nusquam, ut scribit nobis idem ille P. Fresneida, comparuit, quod recte doleo ob rem apposite suæ Majestati propositam, nec gravate ab eadem acceptam. Discensus Classis Americanæ urgetur hic strenue, ut illa e portu Gaditano videatur solutura sub 10am vel 12am sequentis. Rumor aliquis est de classe flandrica mittenda contra Anglos in Panama; sed nihil existimo rumori subesse. Major fuit metus ne classis nostra eum in finem fuisset detenta. Sed metum sustulit, qui in disponenda expeditione nostra Philippinensi spem nostram falli non voluit providus Deus, cui æquo perfectius feliciusque obsecundemus rogo R. Vam supplex dein Provinciam universam, ut ignoscat mihi pro amore Dei et Xri Domini defectus meos gravissimos et peccata, quibus scio quam sæpe fuerim aliis malo exemplo: deinde ceteris beneficiis de quibus iterum ac sæpius gratias habeo omnibus et singulis, easque habere nunquam desistam, unum hoc adjiciant quo mei memores in ferventissimis suis precibus et SS. Sacrificiis Deum mihi propitium exorant, ut vel aliena virtute precibusque adjutus spicas legam istius messis, quam illi inter suos copiosissimam colligunt. Hisce me commendo SS. R. V. Sacrificiis.*

*Hispali 25 Julii 1671.*

*R. V. Servus Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens*

*[P. S.] Indico R. Væ scrupulum aliquem qui mihi inhæret ex eo quod domi ubi studiosus sæcularis habitavi, reliquorum libros humanisticos, capsam unam et pulpitem q[ui]bus tum fui usus: Libros si memini, ante Soctem susceptam dedi ei qui ex libris suis applicaret si studiis; quaæse R. V. donationem istarum secularum habeat ratam, plura enim meruit cura quam illa di me educando habuerunt.*



[verso, Address:] *Reverendo Patri in Christo P. Laurentio van Schoone [sic] per provinciam Flandro Belgicam Soctis Jesu Præposito Provinciali.*

### Loose translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

The letter written by Y.R. and dated Bergh St. Winoc 10 May has reached us in a roundabout way [i.e. late] (for which I am really sorry) given the priority that they give to it here in Seville, but we received it on 22 July. We derive much comfort on account of the more than fatherly affection with which Y.R. pursue the absent ones and the transients, with delicacy on account of very humane goodwill with which you embrace us, and a charity that I cannot describe. But I can say one thing; as far as I am concerned, I cannot keep quiet about my previous ingratitude and previous arrogance. It pains me, in any case a great deal, that I will not be able, either to respond to Y.R. so piously as I wish, or be able to repay the Province so dear to me for the numerous and great benefits that were given to me, for instance, the education, the convict [i.e. boarding school] among such extraordinary men, the subsistence, everything. In other words, dear Father, I owe everything to that Province, everything I have mentioned, not just some part of it, but every single thing that the infinite goodness of God, either has granted me to do strongly, choosing me for his vineyard, or in suffering and spilling his glorious sweat and blood. So, meanwhile, I will strongly pray, in my daily masses and prayers, for this goodness of God to continue, and keep Y.R. as long as possible, and working in my Province, in part to make up for my absence, and to assist to the fullest.

Everything concerning our expedition has been dispatched, even “la entrega” as they call it, that is, the registering of our names in the royal records, which was done here in Seville by public authority on the 17th. Today 25th, just before nightfall, we sail down the river to Cadiz, bringing with us about 1,500 pesos granted to us in alms by the Queen through the kindness of Fr. Juan de Ribadeneira, to look after our travelling expenses. I wish so much that our Naval Fathers would be granted the same, as we have affixed our names [as witnesses?] to a similar request presented to Her Majesty by Fr. Fresneida every two months; it was to have been forwarded by the Queen to the War Council, as the same Fr. Fresneida wrote to us, but has surfaced nowhere, I am sorry to say on account of the affair being proposed by Her Majesty, and regretfully not accepted by her.

The despatch of a fleet to America was strenuously debated here; it would be sent from the port of Cadiz either on the 10th or 12th of next month. There is a rumor about a Flemish fleet being sent against the English at Panama, but I think that there is nothing to this rumor. There is a greater fear lest our fleet will be detained for that purpose. But this fear has helped those preparing our Philippine expedition, providential God not wishing that they failed us. We readily trust in Him who is equally perfect and happy, and beg Y.R. to implore the universal province to forgive me for the love of God and Christ our Lord for my very serious defects and sins, which often gave the

occasion of a bad example to others, I know. Therefore, for the other benefits, for which I again say thank you more often to each and everyone, and will never desist from saying thanks, one of which goes to those who will remember me in their very fervent prayers and holy sacrifices, begging God to help me, so that by the virtue and prayers of others I may bring in some of the sheaves from the harvest which they are so copiously gathering. So, I commend myself to the holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Seville, 25 July 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Gerardus Bouwens

[P.S.] I mention to Y.R. some scruple which has stayed with me, from the time I was living at the house studying with lay people; I then made use of their books on humanities, one book case and a writing desk. If I recall, I presented a list of the books to the Society, including those that were applicable to my studies. I was thinking that Y.R. could make a donation to those lay people, for they deserve to be rewarded for the help they provided in having me educated.

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Lawrence van Schoonen, through the Provincial in charge of the Flandro-Belgian Province.

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## Document 1671P1

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Mexico 22 November 1671

*Source: AGR 1, fol. 39-39v.*

### Original text

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Emenso feliciter non parvo hujus orbis circuitu, resumo calamum, et interruptum litterarum commercium data oportunitate stabilio. Quid ni? si universo a Europæ feliciter Indiarum commercio stabilitur. Confecimus itaque maritimum iter 70 dierum spatio sane feliciter ut intelliget R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ex **diario** quod transmisi ad P. Coukerken ex pacto sed ex eodem transmittendum ad Ram Vam. Et terrestre Mexicum usque 10 aut 14 omnes salvi et incolumes Deo sit laus. Hic summam votorum, navem invenimus jam paratam ad iter in Philippinas. Exsultavimus et novo itineri unanimiter nos accinximus. Ego inter cæteros qui hodie moneor a P. Superiore ad maturandum iter. Acapulcum versus, ut cum illo necessaria longo itineri perveniam. Auspicabimur iter favente Deo 25 Novembris 1671 et discessum speramus ex hoc portu sub finem decembris. Sed quo? Nescio profecto an in Insulas Latronum seu Marianas, quod tamen maxime vero accedere videtur, an in Philippinas. Fiat in me SSma Dei et Superiorum voluntas. Indicaverat quidem suam mentem Pr. Nr. ad Prem. Provinciam hujus provinciæ, sed ille maluit rem totam deferre ad Prem. San Victores, ejusdem missionis Superiorem. Mihi sufficit in divino beneplacito acquiescere.*

*Sed an novi his partibus nihil? Omnia. Quæ forma Societatis nostræ? Optima Religiosa sancta ædificia omnibus locis splendida, foundationes bonæ, templa frequentata. Exteri habentur in amoribus, sed nominatim flandri, quos tanquam viros apostolicos venerantur. O quoties quando amplexabantur, amplexabantur autem fraterne, illud repetebant Rectores et Patrum præcipui utinam liceret nobis esse tam beatis! Quam pulchræ missiones talibus operariis indigent. Et vero de se patentur ingenue, non ita se passim illis ministeriis aptos? Perseverant enim etiam hic plurimæ partes ad quas Evangelii lux necdum penetravit inter quas non minima est insula in Mari Australi Americæ adjecta*

quam Californiam vocant. Destinatus ad illam erat quidam P. Ægidius natione Leodiensis Provinciæ Gallo-belgicæ, et alter Italus, sed uterque jam cælo maturus obiit; nec facile invenitur qui suppleat vires. Terra omnis maxime fertilis, sed præcipue argenti. Nos minas nostro itinere non vidimus. Hic Mexici alios præter argenteos nummos non habent, et illorum minor est medius solidus. Si reculas aliquas comparere quis velit, grana aliqua et Cacaum commutat. Est illud subjectum præcipuum Indici potus seu Chocolate. Rari illud vidimus haud procul a Civitate Mexicana in pago dicto Cututete(?) ubi in monte farala(?) ad [words undecipherable due to crease in paper] Indorum plumis solis in capite et circumquaque Phætontis instar aut Phœbi insignia. Figuram quidem deformaverant Hispani ut culturam abolerent: non ita tamen quin statis vicibus aliqui secreto munera sua illis deferrent præcipua dicebantur esse gallinam aut gallum indicum bene præparatum. Cæterum Indi quos hic obvios habemus habitum non mutant, vestiti eo plane mos quo apud nos depinguntur colore suffri [sic] omnino, et facie plurimi eorum tam simili quam ovum ovo. Habiles plane in quocumque genere officiorum manualium. Fabrilem illi hic potissimum exercent, nec tantum in rudioribus et grandioribus machinis, sed in instrumentis etiam musicis et similibus politioribus periti. Musicam addiscunt, instrumenta ludunt, pictoriam exercent si non excellenti illa Europea, certe magna elegantia. Regio hæc duos præ cæteris montes habet altissimos quos et vidimus, ipsi volcanes vocant, fumum continuum ad cælum evomentes. Afferunt ignem sæpius et cineris ex illis erupisse. Illis adhærent alii humiliores quidem, non tamen ita quin copiosas nives etiam media æstate conservent. Et quidem calor hic Mexici aut nullus aut plane temperatus. Duo anni tempora invenire se putes in qualibet platea. Si soli te exposueris, ferit; si ad umbram secesseris, jam veris aliquid aspirat Dies noctibus fere semper æquales: hæc dum scribo ad horam 6am vespertinam dies est.

Novorum etiam illud habemus, quod Missioni nostræ Marianæ in Insulis Latronum petente sua Majestate assignati sunt a consilio Milites 18 qui resideant in præcipua Insula dicta San Juan ad defendendum Missionarios contra omnem aut recens conversorum aut gentilium inconstantiam. Haberit illa res periculi aliquid ab insolentia et petulencia militum, sed plus utilitatis uti speramus. Illud item: quod hic publica Sacræ Inquisitionis sententia absolutus omnino est et innocens plane declaratus Don Diego de Salcedo, quondam Philippinarum gubernator. Qui capturus inde abductus in itinere obiit: sed per hanc sententiam bonis antea confiscatis, et famæ potius familiæ consultum est. Copiam illius penes me habeo, illamque in Hispaniam ad D. Parentem et fratrem D. Petrum transmitto.

Alia jam non occurrunt nisi ut me et PP. Socios ac nominatim P. Gerardum Ræ Væ SSimis Sacrificiis ac precibus itemque nostrum et Apostolicos labores ex animo commendem, futuro eorumdem ex pacto participi. Has item commendo vicissim P. Coukerken et amicis.

Mexici 22 Novembris 1671

R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> Servus in Xro

Petrus Coomans

[39v, Address:] *Rdo in Chro P. Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Bruxellis.*

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace be with you.

After successfully traversing the not-so-small globe of the earth, I am taking up the pen once more and am re-establishing the interrupted literary correspondence with the given opportunity. Why not? if it is successfully established for the whole of Europe by means of communication of the Indies. Thus we very luckily completed the sea journey of 70 days, as Y.R. may understand from the **journal** that I have sent to Fr. Coukerken out of an agreement but which is to be forwarded to Y.R. Praise be to God, for up to 10 or 14 are all safe and sound all the way to the Mexican shore.<sup>1</sup> Here we found what we wished for, a ship already equipped for the journey to the Philippines. We rejoiced and unanimously prepared ourselves for the new trip. I, among the rest, is the one who is advised today by Father Superior to make the preparations for the trip. So that I may anticipate with him the necessary things for the long journey, we will begin the journey, God willing, towards Acapulco on 25 November 1671 and we hope to depart from this port at about the end of December. But going where? I do not know really whether [I am going] to the Ladrone or Mariana Islands, because it nevertheless seems indeed to be the case, or instead to the Philippines. Let the very holy will of God and of the Superiors be done to me. In any case, our Father [General] would have indeed given an idea to the Fr. Provincial of this province, but he did not wish to let the whole matter rest with Father San Victores, the Superior of the said mission. As for me, I am satisfied to accept whatever the divine pleasure will decide for me.

Yet, is there anything new in these parts? Everything. What kind of Society do we have? We have the best religious and splendid sacred buildings everywhere, good foundations, full churches. The foreigners are regarded as well loved people, but in fact especially the ones from Flanders, whom they revere as apostolic men. O how many times when we were embracing, but embracing fraternally, the Rectors and Fathers were repeating that above anything else in order to make us so happy! What beautiful missions lack such workers. Truly, they sincerely suffer this lack, and are they not fit for those ministries everywhere? For they persevere even here in the many parts where the light of the Gospel has not yet penetrated; among others, not the least of them is an island [sic] in the South Sea along America which they call California. A certain Fr. Ægidius, originally from Liège, [but] from the Gallo-Belgian Province, was on the way there with another, an Italian, but he has already died somewhere, being ripe for Heaven; and it was not easy to find some [companion] soldiers. The entire country is extremely fertile,

1 Ed. note: He probably means the 4 Jesuits aboard his caravel, and the rest Franciscans.

but mainly in silver. We did not see any mines during our trip. Here in Mexico there are some, except that they have no silver coins, and some of them are half solid.<sup>1</sup> If anyone wished to evaluate the few meager resources, he might trade some seed,<sup>2</sup> called Cacao. It is used mainly in the Indies to make a drink called Chocolate. We saw that here and there, by no means far from Mexico City in a village called Cututete(?), where in a hill [1/2 line undecipherable due to crease in paper] the Indians with a single feather on the head and surrounded by the symbol of a Phæton, similar to a Phœbe.<sup>3</sup> In any case, the Spanish have deformed the figure so as to abolish the culture. Nevertheless, those with alternative positions who would bring their functions to them by some secret were said to be mainly a well prepared chicken or rooster of the Indies. The rest of the Indians whom we have met here do not change their dress; their usual dress can best be described by us as everything of a sulphur<sup>4</sup> color, and the face of many of them is as oval as that of an egg. They are fully skilled in whatever type of manual trade. They practice mainly that of textile making here, not so much with rougher and larger machines, but they are also expert [in making] musical instruments and similar polished things. They are addicted to music, they play instruments, and paint pictures, if not as excellently as in Europe, certainly with great elegance. The region here is dominated by two mountains in particular that appear to be very high; they are called volcanos, and continually emit smoke toward the sky.<sup>5</sup> They often emit fire and ashes. In any case, they make people feel more humble; nevertheless, they remain covered with plenty of snow in the middle of the summer. Even so the heat here in Mexico is either non-existent or fully temperate. Two years ago the weather would have brought one out into any public square. If one was exposed to the sun, he could bear it; if he sought the shade, he was already able to breathe somewhat. The days and nights are almost always equal here; I am now writing at 6 p.m. and there is daylight.

Also, we have had some news, one concerns our Mariana Mission in the Ladrone Islands; at the request of Her Majesty, the Council has assigned 18 soldiers to reside mainly in the Island called San Juan [i.e. Guam] to defend the missionaries against the inconstancy of everyone, either newly converted, or gentile. There might be some danger caused by the insolence and petulance of the soldiers, but more usefulness, we hope. Another news is the publication here of the absolute sentence by the Holy Inquisition. The former Governor of the Philippines, Don Diego de Salcedo has been declared completely innocent. He had been arrested and died during the voyage from there; but, by the terms of this sentence, the property formerly confiscated, and his reputation, rather, the name of his family, have been restored. I have mentioned this in depth, overthere in Spain in a letter sent to your father and brother Peter.

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps they were almost pure gold coins, and they could be bent easily.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans used the Spanish word "grana", instead of the Latin word "granum".

3 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans appears to be describing the label of a cocoa producer and/or chocolate company, including a sun or moon symbol.

4 Ed. note: By the word "sufri", Fr. Coomans could mean "sulphurei".

5 Ed. note: The twin volcanos called Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl were then active.

Nothing else happened worth saying, except for me and companion Fathers, specially Fr. Gerardus, to heartily commend ourselves to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Y.R., as well as our apostolic works, in future as I agreed to in the pact. I also commend them in turn to Fr. Coukerken and friends.

Mexico, 22 November 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

[Address:] To Rev. Fr. in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Brussels.



**The Jesuit College of St. Peter and St. Paul in Mexico.** *The church on the left now houses the Hemeroteca Nacional de Mexico. The main building is still used as a school. The church on the right was then called College and Church of St. Gregory. There was also a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin on the upper floor of the main building, next to a library. (From Fr. Gérard Decorme's book: *La obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos*, vol. 1, Mexico, 1941).*

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## Document 1671P2

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans, probably to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Mexico 25 November 1671

*Source: AGR 1, fol. 40-42v.*

*Notes: Ternaux-Compans confirms that the fleet of General Enrique Enriquez de Guzman arrived at Veracruz on 22 September 1671. The missionaries reached Mexico City on 10 October. Listed under "Missionaires d'Amérique".*

## Journal kept by Fr. Coomans aboard ship between Cádiz and Veracruz, 15 July to 22 September 1671

### Original text in Latin.

[Note in margin:] *P. Petrus Coomans ad Pr[ovin]cialem Flandrobelg. Mexico 1671, nov. 25.*

*Reverende in Xro Pater*

*P. E.*

*Memini cum post discessum e Belgio ex Hispania ad amicos misissem aliquod itineris nostri **diarium** monitum me & R. P. Thoma Dekens Ræ Væ decessore ad se illud imprimis suosque successores esse mittendum. Quare memor religiosæ observantiæ, et singularis Ræ Væ in me affectus, quo ab ipsis humanioribus studiis semper est prosecutus, testimonium aliquod daturus cum respondere non valeam, significo me et P. Gerardum, ac reliquos PP. Socios salvos et incolumes Mexicum appulisse: et addo itineris nostri diarium ut vocant, si prius navigandi et vivendi modum, hispanis missionibus passim usitatum, quod non ingratum fore existimo paucis explicavero.*

*13<sup>a</sup> igitur julii, deducentibus nos Gaditani Collegii Patribus universis, post repetitos in littore religiosos amplexus, vectoria cymba ad navem nostram devecti. Junxere sese pro suo affectu PP. Navales, ac aliqui ex PP. Hispanis. Ubi iterum iterumque dicto vale, compositis utrumque maxime necessariis, noctem illam quievimus.*



*14<sup>a</sup> St<sup>o</sup> Bonaventuræ sacra, quæ dies profectio*n*i erat destinata, item in anchoris hæsimus, vento contrario omnem exitum e portu impedi*e*nte. Quare locus relictus repetitæ PP. Navalium humanitati, iterato nos invisentium, et cura conversa ad cubiculi partem, qua reliquo itinere commoraturi eramus, ita componendam, ut saltem, iis loci angustiis, quam minimam cunctis molestiam crearet: quare unam e lecticis, quæ supere*r*at in loco, propter absentiam unius de Patribus, quem Admirantius Socti nostræ plurimum addictus, navi suæ Sacellanum regaverat, disjectis asseribus amoliri curavimus, eiusque spatio altare nostrum portatile ereximus, quod missioni quidem Marianæ, in Insulis Latronum, sed usibus nostris in itinere, donaverat nobis P. Andreas de Rada, Hispanus e Provinciis Indiæ australis, seu Peruanis, cum P. Procuratore provinciæ Paraguariæ, redux visitator. Liberale sane munus, nam præter suppelectilem lineam et sericam vestiendo tam altari quam sacerdoti, vasa reliqua non tantum necessaria, sed etiam commoda habebat argentea: crucem, Ampullas, Patinam, Candelabra, ad nolulam usque; crucem item aliam auream, et numisma prægrande Dæ Vis deauratum. Et credi vix potest, quanto id omnibus toto itinere fuerit solatio: nam in illo bini ut minimum in dies diximus, reliqui, si dispositio et valetudo corporis ferret, quotidie sacro epulo recreati. Nec nostro tantum, sed et PP. Franciscanorum solatio sæpius inservivit; dum vel ad aram facere, vel communionem sacra refici quasi inter domesticos parietes, privata pietas suaderet. Ne defuit interim occasio, in superiori Capitanei sacello aliquoties, satis vicibus, celebrandi; adeo ut alternis fere diebus, aut certe tertio in Septimana divinis mysteriis licuerit operari. Nec minor fuit Capitanei nostri cura in suppeditanda refectio*n*e corporali: nam excepto, quod primo die, ut moris est, de penu nostro vivimus, cui abunde prospexerat P. Ribadineira, reliquo itinere non tantum abundanter, sed plane liberaliter, non modo necessaria, verum etiam commoda subministravit. Veres vivos 15, porcellos (quos in insula Puerto-Rico dicta sibi et nobis comparaverat) facile 30, gallinas vivos plusquam 400, in India advenimus tantum abfuit a rei alicujus indigentia. Vinum sine mensura, quantum ferret cujusque gustus, in utraque refectio*n*e omnibus propinatum. Ipso itineris initio, quæsitum a nobis misit an secum in communi mensa, an in cubiculi nostri parte, aut navigii exteriori ambulacro sane amplo (quo in suis navibus magno itinerantium solatio utuntur Hispani) privatim cibum sumere liberet. Et vero dubium omne facile removet tum loci commoditas, utpote quibus superiori tempore serviret commodissime cubiculi pars, dispositio circumquaque sedilium instar cistis nostris, et sereno exterior navis recessus, aperti cæli, et aspirantis auræ commoditatem præberet; tum libertas quæ vel tantilla in libera hac nostra captivitate omnes invitabat. Eo usque ut medio quasi itinere eadem allecti PP. Franciscani omnes relicta Capitanei mensa, et sæcularium sociorum consortio, nobis socii advenerint, et mensam quoque privatim in sua ambulacri parte (Corredor vocant) straverint. Refectio*n*es autem non nisi binas, more apud Hispanos passim usitato, apponunt: primam, quam jentaculum vocant, circa nonam fere matutinam; in qua post fructus aliquot aut recentes aut sole exsiccatos, aut saccaro conditos, sequebatur offa e pane recenti, quam diu fuit, post biscocto triticeo albo, quo tota navigatione usi fuimus, aut jusculo macerata, aut in sartagine elixa, plerumque alliis, quibus in omni condimento mirum in modum*

*delectantur Hispani, undequaque reperta: deauratam vocabant, qualis veniebat ut plurimum, quando prægrandibus petasonum segmentis, etiam elixis erat circumquaque instrata. Post hæc ferebatur caro recens aut uruecina, aut gallinacea, aut porcina, condimento in dies vario ad orexim habili loci industria præparata. Claudebat, ut solet, Caseus, aut ejus loco fructrum aliquis. Tertiam inter et quartam post meridianam Campanæ sonitu (ne non religiose quis habitos existimet) uti etiam ad jentaculum mane, ad prandium monebamur. Eadem omnia, pro temporis opportunitate et loci industria variata, nisi quod reliquis accederet, indubitatum Hispanorum ferculum, Holla [=olla] podrida, e carne salsa bovina, saltem vaccina, lardo, feraminibus, pisis hispanicis (garbanzos dictis) mixtura cum sinapi admirabilis. Atque hæc juit ordinaria, dum carne vesci per ecclesiam licuit, pœnitentia. Dum vero iis interdicebatur, suppetebant ova toto fere itinere, piscis item recens a piscatione tum aleo elixus (in adobo) salsus item et siccatus: imo et singulis diebus in prandio ferculum aliquod bellarii loco, aut ex oryza aut amygdaliis, aut denique placentarium aliquod.*

*Ad solis occasum ære campano vocabamur ad orationem (eadem statio a religione temporibus indubitanter facta) in superiorem navis partem, ubi præeunte navis sacellano, ab omnibus alternatim sive per choros dicebatur Corona Dæ Vis., postea cant[abatur] Salve Regina, diebus Sabbatinis etiam litanix Lauretanæ, ac denique ter Salutatio Angelica. Tum si quid sibi quisque prospexisset, sumebat aliquid e proprio penu ad somnum conciliandum. Nobis abundanter fuit prospectum tum de uvis passis, saccaro, biscoccto dulci, tum de vino quod in capsis (caveas vocant) cum vitreis lagænis, aliisque testaceis, nobis ante procuraverat P. Ribadineira. Aqua item cujus penuria inter navigandum maxime timeri solet, abundavit in tantum, ut semper patuerit nobis vas testaceum grande, 100 et amplius poculorum capax, quod usibus nostris ex conducto serâ apposita, cujus claves penes nos erant, in ambulacro navis, plenum semper exposuerit Capitaneus.*

*Minutiora libens prætereo ne longio justo fine, et ad diarium accedam.*

*15<sup>a</sup> igitur Julii, nauseantibus jam e nostris nonnullis, e PP. Franciscanis pene omnibus, ante ipsum crepusculum, anchoræ levare cœptæ, occinentibus inter hæc in Prætoria amœne tibiis. Præerat illi Capitaneus Generalis Don Enrique Enriquez de Guzman, Comitibus de Alba filius naturalis. Amœnitatem omnem pene et lætitiâ eripuit nobis densa e mari nebula, quæ non civitatis Gaditano tantum, sed et mutuum pene navibus conspectum impedivit: verum altiore jam die, sole victa jucundissimum reliquis omnibus aspectum. Quare naves ultro citroque invicem salutandi gratia commeari faustissima omnia sibi mutuo (repetitis ter, aut quiniis, si Capitaneam, ejusque Admirantiam salutarent, ab omni gente nautica his vocibus felix iter) apprecari, remos e cymbis, quo velocius pergerent, impellere, præire Capitanea, subsequi Admirantia; tum demum omnes reliquæ numeros ommino 17. Ex quibus tamen non nisi 8 portum Veræ Crucis tenere: aliæ ad varios Indiæ portus, prout instructæ erant, deflexere jam pervenerant ad capita portus (quæ Puercas vocant), quando e medio arbore explicavit Capitanea regium vexillum (nec enim id illi fas in portu facere, ubi adeo Prætoria regalis). Idem ex antenna fecit Admirantia; ac cœpere deinde omnes ex puppi et prora reliquisque ar-*

*boribus quidquid laborum fuit absolvere. Ubi deventum e regione Castrī Gaditani, Prætorīa 7, Admirantīa 5, cæteræ tribus tormentorum ictibus illud salutavere. Inde progressi in apertum mare, primum cursum tenuimus ad templum Dæ Vis., quam a reglā appellant; postea per flexus et reflexus ventum captavimus. Sequebantur pone naviculæ vectoriæ diversæ, quæ mercibus onustæ, quasi sero advenissent, re vera ne debitum regi vectigal Gadibus solverent, utpote quanto leviores tanto velociores nostris, suam quæque prius cognitam facile assequebantur, et tum merces, tum personas, quæ clandestinè sine licentia Indias petebant navibus imponebant. Sub vesperam afflante jam vento expetito boream inter et orientem qui quidem illo in mari hoc tempore vocatur generalis, cursum tenuimus ad superandas Canarias, meridiem inter et occidentem; inde, quem nec postea mutavimus, occidentem versus, media quarta ad meridiem.*

*16<sup>a</sup> quæ fuit Jovis, invaluit, magis tamen ad boream ventus, et provexit nos felici itinere, durans item 17<sup>a</sup> et 18<sup>a</sup>, quibus junctæ omnes feliciter navigavimus. Fortior tamen his diebus fuit, quam vellent plures, aut naveum aut maris agitatio: nam illis diebus strenue jus suum pisces exegere. Jovis autem fuit pene omnibus decretorius. Capitaneus, Navarcha, nautarum multi debitum mari solvere. Mihi vero pepercit hac vice: ita ut solus fuerim, qui hoc die celebravi. Nec reliquo por[r]o itinere sensi quidquam. Pauci ex nostris sequenti die iterum sibi restituti; alii diutius cum mari, et nausea conflixere. Pem. Gerardum non quidem vomitus, sed a cibis aversio ex stomachi indispositione, tenuis suos 10 aut 12 dies. Et tamen inter omnes fortiores præ cæteris fuimus. Franciscanis Patribus plerisque septimanis pluribus duravit hoc malum: nec unquam plene sibi restituti. Vix mare aliquantum intumuerat, quin et plures eorum continuo veterem molestiam paterentur.*

*19<sup>a</sup> quæ fuit Dominica, vento item fortiori, et magis prospero progressu sed non omnes; nam una ex navibus, quæ cum sua celoce (Patache vocant) petebat portum Honduras; cursum reliquarum non assequebatur: unde jussa morari Admirantia, ceteræque velis paucioribus provectæ, donec periculum quod hic a mauris timetur, superatis Canariis evasissimus ubi illam, multo reliquis in cursu tardiolem, deservimus.*

*20<sup>a</sup> vento eodem forti et prospero provecti, et sole in meridie observato invenimus altitudinem soli seu latitudinem gradium 31 et unius quadranti. Vento usi tam vehementi, ut sola antenna proveheremus. Quin imo metus gravior cunctos incesserat; admirantiam nempe arborem amississe: sed metus evanuit, ut conspeximus navigium minus (carabelam vocant) quod una nobiscum Canarias petebat, cum resistendo non esset, vela omnia contraxisse. Cæterum solet hic maris tractus agitari ventis acrioribus, dictus “golfo de las yeguas”, forte quia olim Classis equas ex Hispania in Indias devehens, in illo ventorum rabie periit.*

*21<sup>a</sup> item et 22<sup>a</sup> vento secundo celerrime provecti: quando sub 7am matutinam ad dextram, seu septentrionem terram deteximus, unam ex insulis Canariis, illarumque maximam dictam Canaria grandis. Illamque toto hoc die usque ad 4am vespertinam adnavigavimus, itinere 18 leucarum, quas longitudine amplectitur. Sub meridiem ventus ita invaluit, ut cægerit vela omnia, uno excepto contrahere. Et majus aliunde, quam a vento, periculum. Clavus non audiebat gubernatorem suum: inclamat e puppi Na-*

*varcha in occidentem flectat. Molitur alter, sudat, nihil agit. Turbatum est statim. Accurrunt undique peritiores quique faber, Guardianus, constabilis, susque deque omnia lustrant: quando inveniunt defecisse ferrum illud, quo tenebatur tubus, in quo circumaguntur clavi manubria; ac expeditum statim adhibitum remedium. Illud omnes afferebant, si vel de nocte, vel magis improviso tempore infortunium accidisset, evidens naufragii periculum omnes incururos; cum haud procul a terra distaremus et ventus vehemens nos in illam impelleret. Sub 4am vespertinam transvecti insulam, illam ante noctem e conspectu amisimus, remittente se primum vento, postea in malaciam desinente: quæ tamen non nisi unius horæ spatium tenuit, et afflavit iterum boreas tota hac nocte, et sequens die, quæ fuit*

*23<sup>ta</sup> tam favens, ut qui decies iter confecerant, afferebant se tempus affabilius nunquam nactos. Sub meridiem vi undarum excussus e carina clavu aquam admittebat, sed diligentia nautarum malo occurrit, impactis statim aliis fortioribus. Hodie deservere nos 7 e navibus, quæ varios Indiæ portus australiores Carthagenam et Honduras, petebant.*

*24<sup>a</sup> ventus idem, sed mitior: utpote jam ingressis mitius mare, superatis Canariis, quod nautæ vocant, "Golfo de las Damas". Apparere spectaculo satis jucundo et mirabili, hodie primum complures pisces volatiles, qui et reliquo itinere continuo sese obtulere. Genus est Haleci non absimile, ut conjecturari licuit ex uno qui in navem nostram devolvit, turmatim item procedens, vidensque se piscium majorum ora voracia nando magis effugere non posse, primis sese prorupit ex undis, et quasi ad unius schlopeti jactum per æra fertur.*

*25<sup>a</sup> celebravimus festum Sti. Jacobi: et alii quidem [fol. 41] explosione tormentorum, nos illa solemnitate abstinemus, quod lectos pensiles haberent PP. Franciscani, quos non capiebat cubiculi pars illis assignata, in loco ubi exonerare tormenta bellica optebat. Ventus borea orientalis provexit nos ad latitudinem gradus 24. Afferebant nautæ huc usque gradum quemlibet absolvi leucis 40; non ita tamen reliquo itinere, quod 90 aut 100 leucas unusquisque gradus latitudinis amplectitur. Ratio est quod in longitudinem ab ortu ad occasum, rursus magis dirigitur.*

*26<sup>a</sup> et 27<sup>a</sup> nihil occurrit singulare. Observato sole invenimus gradum 23. Illud tamen satis mirum, vix diem elapsam quin continuo aves navim prætervolarent quod et toto deinde itinere contigit. Adeo ut sponsionem obtulerit Navarchæ socius, dictus navis contra-magister se in singulos dies toto itinere soluturum duplicem realem si illo die avem prætervolantem non monstrasset, solverent sibi unicum pro illo die quo monstrasset.*

*28<sup>a</sup> ventus idem generalis. Sub tempus matutinum detectum aliud vitium in dextro latere navis, quo aquam admittebat, unde madefactæ plurimæ merces, magno Capitanei dolore et detrimento, cui incumbit simile damnum ex suo resarcire, et supplere quidquid in mercibus detrimenti factum. Et quidem ut 2<sup>o</sup> res se obtulit, videbatur damnum futurum ingens: quidquid enim onerum 1<sup>o</sup> extractum, linteamina, papyrus, etc., mare vehementer fœdaverat; compertum tamen postea damnum non ultra 100 plus minus Patacones excrevisse. Laboratum toto hoc die ut vitium emendaretur, et occasio data,*

*ut totam deinde navim examinarent; et si qua in parte quid simile timerent, mature prospicerent.*

**29<sup>a</sup>** *ventus item favens. Habita sub vesperam a nostris concio ad nautas, uti et reliquis deinde dominicis diebus onus susceperere Itali Patres, utpote nobis Hispani sermonis multo peritiores. Et hoc quidem die excitati omnes ad lucrandas Indulgentias Portiunculæ, eo fructu, quem docebit 2<sup>a</sup> Augusti.*

**30<sup>a</sup>** *vento aspirante provecti, invenimus nos in gr. 21<sup>o</sup>. Jejunavimus hoc die vigiliam Sti. Ptris. Nri. Ignatij, et ad celebrandum festum tam concione quam sacro solemni, invitavimus PP. Franciscanos. Adjuvit plurimum pietas divitis Mercatoris Hispani, dicti Don Lope de León y Mendoza; qui sub vesperam Pri. Superiori submisit bellarium munus sane liberale, et reliquum sequentis diei festum suum esse, et suorum sumptuum voluit.*

**31<sup>a</sup>** *itaque vento favorabiliter aspirante, celebravimus festum SSmi Patris. Et omnes quidem ad aram diximus: nec tantum nos, sed sacellanus quoque, et plures ex Patribus Franciscanis. Expansa primo mane labora omnia, et navis circumquaque festalibus limbis ex levidensa rubra vestita. Pro jentaculo excepit omnes in navi, etiam nautas, eorumque pedis equos, prædictus mercator Indico potu, dicto Chocolate. Festum conspicata, una ex navibus, quæ petebat portum Campeche, visitatum nos venit et festive salutabit. Postea cantatum sacrum solemne a P. Custodio Superiore PP. Franciscanorum, jam objecto Provinciali hujus Mexicanæ Provinciæ: sub sacro habita concio, ab uno ex iisdem Patribus Theologiæ lectore, sane elegans, et pro temporis angustiis. Nam non nisi pridie sub vesperam ipse sese ad id obtulerat, et librorum penuria apposita. Tum nos accinximus ad salutandam Admirantiam, quæ item, ob præsentiam unius ex nostris, idem festum celebrabat; illamque festivo more salutavimus. Inde secutum prandium sane splendidum. Invitati sumus e nostra solitudine ad mensam superiorem, et in illius capite jussi assidere. Tum secuti ludi varii sane, et lebidi [libiti?] more Indico ludrica supplicatio instituta, habita taurilia, etc. Sub his oblata omnibus honoraria refectio, fructus saccaro conditi, etc. nuces avellanæ in vulgus nauticum sparsæ, et dispertitæ, vinum item in præcipuos. Omnia sumptibus præfati mercatoris. Sub vesperam excepimus merfijenda, ut vocant, Patres et præcipuos e navi: ac sic denu magno omnium applausu finis festo impositus.*

**1<sup>a</sup> Augusti** *duravit item ventus secundus. Sub vesperam incepere ad confitendum accedere, uti commoniti fuerant, varii e nautis; quod et continuarunt*

**2<sup>a</sup>:** *adeo ut illo die vix ullus fuerit, quin sacro epulo sit refectus Rara in mari pietas! Dies fuit clara (nam nubili, et pluvii fuerant antecedentes) et ventus favens. Observato in meridie sole concludere Pilotæ confecisse nos itineris leucas 700. Latitudo inventa gradium 19 minut. 45.*

**3<sup>a</sup> Augusti** *ventus idem. Arma omnia in navi examinata, et purgata a schoria, eademque omnibus distributa: si forte inimicus quispiam in hac insularum vicinitate occurreret.*

**4<sup>a</sup>** *cælo nubilo provecti. Hodie instituta gentis lustratio, displodentibus singulis quibus bombardarum depensio erat commissa. Fuere circiter numero 30. Sed, miserum*

*me! (si paucissimos excipias) quam remoti omnes ab armis tractandis. Immensum defendit Hispanos suum nomen: nam vix scio, an tota hæc classis (et ita de sua Admirantia et Capitanea indicat P. Dominicus Visconte, ocularis testis) resistendo fuerit tribus, cuio duobus bellicis more Hollandico, aut Anglicano armatis.*

*5<sup>a</sup> vix quodquam profecimus, cælo pluvio ventum impediante. Mane avicula apparuit, quæ dicebatur vix 100 leucis volatum a terra audere: iris item vesperi, indicium terræ ut dicebatur. 6<sup>a</sup> levis item ventus, et continuæ pluvix: at sub vesperam invaluit, et tenuit noctem totam: diem item*

*7am, 8am et nonam hujus: quando indicium præbuit terræ proximæ herba copiosa, undis supernatans: sed præcisiores nautæ afferebant, illas etiam longe in mare procedere.*

*10<sup>a</sup> in latitudine graduum 18 celebratum festum Sti. Laurentii, habita concione et solemnī sacro. Post meridiem a septrione navis apparuit: quæquum putaretur esse inimica, et aliarum prodroma, ictu tormenti a Prætoria convocatæ naves: una item, quæ 1° detexerat, et alia, quam patache vocant, recognitam iniere ex more. Verum puppim et vela obvertens, fugit altera. Quare alio tormenti ictu nostræ regredi jussæ.*

*11<sup>a</sup> ventus secundior afflavit. Primo mane valedixit nobis, et petiit portum Havanæ, una ex navibus, quæ huc usque nona nobis adhæsert. Sub tertiam aut 4am vesperinam illusit nobis, e specula superiori arboris majoris, nautarum quispiam, qui positus jam mensis terram inclamans, inopinato gaudio omnes implevit: sed brevi evanuit, cum innotuit fictio.*

*12<sup>a</sup> ventus favens et fortis in puppi. Cælum serenum. Ex calculo meridiano, et computu navarchæ et Capitanei; a terra propiori iter nobis erat 120 leucarum; ex calculo Constabilis, non nisi 60. Sub vesperam orta ingens procella, pluviis fœta, interlucentibus fulgetris, quæ non nisi spatium unius horæ tenuit: datura plus periculi, si duraret. [fol. 47v] Contracta vela omnia, uno excepto. Disjectum vi vento unum ex fulcris, quo nitebatur velum tegens exterius ambulacrum, ad excludendum solem.*

*13<sup>a</sup> ventus item vehemens et procellosus: mitior tamen hesterno: adeo ut locum dederit sacrificio et communioni nostræ. Sub duodecimo ictu tormenti, et vexillo appenso ad velum secundarium in arbore majori, convocavit omnes Capitanea, ut indicaret pensum suum, et vicissim nostrum exquireret, de distantia a terra. Sumere punctum appellant. Accessere omnes: et nos, utpote maxime distant ultimo loco. Tum, salutatione ut moris est, præmissa, per repetitas voces: felix iter, petita et data tesera SSmum Sacramentum; mox petitum iudicium Capitanei nostri, qui respondit invenire se distantiam 100 leucarum via insulæ Barbados: gradus 18 minuta 20: ac vicissim exquisivit iudicium Capitaneæ: ubi responsum: inveniri distantiam 90 leucarum via insulæ Sti. Martini. Tum, dicto vale, cursum perreximus occurrentibus passim et circumvolitantibus avibus: ubi etiam*

*14<sup>a</sup> vento favente, et stimulante spe terræ videndæ sub vesperam inchoata solemnitas Dæ Vis; quam, navi titularem, celebravit Capitaneus; non minori apparatu, quam festo Sti. Ignatii; quare, ut a primis vesperis daretur initium exhibita mascara, more In-*

*dico, tam lepida ut nec vestis, nec apparatus scœnicus dec--- videretur: tripudia, gestu tam vario; tam ridiculo, ut aliquos ex commedio videre reputares.*

*15<sup>a</sup> perreximus celebrare festum: ad aram diximus pene omnes sacerdotes. Habita concio et solemne sacrum, fultus Hispano more, ludi item; explosa tormenta, potus indicus omnibus datus, vinum item post prandium. Sub noctem putabatur avis fatigata se navi velle committere, sed mox patuit carnivoram esse, et solum quærere veruecem recenter occisum, in latere navi appensum.*

*16<sup>a</sup> sub octavam Matutinam terram deteximus ad lævam, in distantia octo circiter leucarum, insulam **Anguillam** dictam, qua tegebatur illa Sti. Martini et Barbados, quam quærebamus; illamque superavimus, deflectentes magis ad boream, insulam quæsituri, quam tileum vocant.*

*17<sup>a</sup> item ad lævam deteximus sub meridiem insulas 4or Virginis dictas, quas sub 5am vespertinam adnavigavimus. Illud mirere: homines in hoc mari tam versatos, hæsitasse plurimum antequam illas recognoscerent, et putasse se devio itinere aberrare. Verum narrabat nobis Hollandus quidam in navi unus ex nautis, se terram omnem perlustrasse: coli ab Hollandis et Flandris, qui fructus præcipuos illic collegant gossipium et tabacum. Circa sextam in insula Puerto-Rico deteximus Caput Sti. Jofann̄lis.*

*18<sup>a</sup> toto die adnavigamus insulam Puerto-Rico. Sub solis ortum clare distinximus Castrum e vivo lapide exstructum, domos item vicimus, et portum, sed navibus vacuum Civitatem non vidimus: potest enim in declivi montis nobis adversi. Auræ iniquitas et inconstantia non permisit hoc die, uti nec superiore celebrare. Post meridiem, frequentes cum pluvia turbidijnes inducere malaciam, quam secutæ sunt procellæ tam vehementes, ut cægerint contractis omnibus velis, non ultra progredi: quare in conspectu insulæ noctem totam hæsimus.*

*19<sup>a</sup> sub 2am nocturnam afflavit ventus, et plenis velis progressi sumus itinere 12 leucarum: sub 10am matutinam ad sinum appulimus, quem, quod eo ad duos rivos aquatum soleant excurrere Aguadam dixere. Conspectus insulæ, uti reliquarum omnium amenissimus; quem exhibent, procerissimæ arbores, altissimus littoribus eminentes. Omnibus eadem erat mens, vix sumpto prandio, in terram saltare: sed impedivit aliquantulum salutans nos procella, fulminibus, et tonitruis tam horrendis reboans, ut ipsos montes devolvi in mare putares. Verum hæc vota nostra distulit solum; compensante tantillum moræ æris ex recenti pluvia temperamento. Ubi advenit Prætoria incolas sui adventus ictu tormenti admonuit. Nos, quamprimum licuit, terram Indicam, votorum nostrorum initium, salutavimus. Omnia nova, arbores ordinariæ lauris silvestris mixtis undequaque citreis et aureis aves in arboribus vix aliæ quam psittaci: adeo ut venales illos tanquam passeress adferrent. Incolæ, non Indi quidem, quos detexere, nec hispani, sed mixtura quædam, si paucos excipias, ex Hispanis et mauris, mulatos vocant, gens animosa, et Hispano nomini perquam devota: adeo ut exterrum nullus in illam insulam aquatum, aut lignatum exscendere audeat: si faxit, evidenti se periculo exponat. Fructus terræ præcipui saccarum et tabacum, et triticum turcicum, (ipsi maiz vocant) quo solo victitant. Quondam, ut aiebant, ferebat terra etiam Cacaum, præcipuum subjectum Indici potus, seu Chocolate; verum illud emarcuit. Alii fructus mi-*

nores numero, et differentia infiniti: omnes a nostratibus distincti. Plantani, pinyæ, Coci, Mameyias, chapotes, chico chapotes, chile et similes infiniti: gustosi quidem omnes; nisi silvestre quid sapiant. Verum attulere, præparatis jam ante ex arundine Cas[s]is in littore, gallinas, porcellos, tabacum, præter fructus. Nec pecunias tantum expetebant, quam suppellectilis lineæ aliquid, biscoctum panem, fructusque hispanicos. Mirum, quantum jam tum rerum pretia immutata. Nautarum unus jam rerum conscius, allia attulerat, quantum fere caperet modius tritici. Incredibile, quantum ille commutandis aliis sibi rerum comparaverit: gallinas 100 ut minimum, porcellos 20, libras tabaci facile 100, fructuum denique tantum, ut integram cymbam, Canoam vocant, solus ipse oneraverit. Ipsi argento appendere alia videbantur. Hæsimus hoc in littore etiam sequentem diem, exscendente omni gente ad lavanda linteamina, et comparandum aliquid, quo reliquum navigationis teniret. Sub noctem iterum tormenti ictu datum signum receptui.

Unde 21<sup>a</sup> orto jam sole anchoras levavimus et vento leviter aspirante provecti. Post meridiem, cum Capitaneo Generali visitatum venire a rege deputati. Comparere jussi imprimis Religiosi omnes, et exhibere licentiam a rege, qua Indias petebant; aliis sese passim abscondentibus non absque dissimulatione ministrorum, qui sine licentia navem conscenderant. Eodem die secuta malacia, quæ detinuit nos in conspectu, et e regione insulæ Sacheus dictæ, forte a similitudine arboris aut hominis: erigitur enim sola in medio mari rupis instar. Eadem detinuit nos 22<sup>a</sup> tota die, cum calore intolerabile qui ab insula Puerto Rico mirum nos fatigabat.

23<sup>a</sup> sub mediam noctem afflavit ventus, levis quidem, sed commodus et devexit nos ad insulam, quam a Simiis, illam, ut aiunt, incolentibus, Monitam dixerunt. Hic ingressi sumus Oceanum Mexicanum, relicta ad sinistram insula Puerto Rico, ad dextram Sachæ seu Monita; ex quibus passus seu Canales efficitur; afflante tenui eodem [fol. 42] vento, etiam 24<sup>a</sup>: in latitudine gradus 18 et 40 minutorum.

25<sup>a</sup> mane deteximus clare ad septentrionem insulam Sti. Dominici cujus latus adnavigamus. Dicto jam sacro at meridie orta procella satis vehemens, quæ tenuit diem fere totum, feliciter tamen nobis procedentibus.

Successit 26<sup>a</sup> malacies, conjuncta calori vehementi, quæ detinuit nos immobiles in conspectu insulæ St. Dominici.

27<sup>a</sup> sub octavam matutinam aer afflavit commodus, qui et crevit sub meridiem, et sub noctem desiit in fœdissimam procellam, tonitruis et fulminibus terribilibus horrendam. Illam prævidentes ex cijmeriis tenebris nautæ, mature vela contraxerant, imo et proram obverterant, exposito in puppi ab omnibus Pharo ad dignoscendas naves. Illam secuta Malacies, sed brevis.

Nam 28<sup>a</sup> orto jam sole ventus afflavit secundus, qui devexit nos ad extremitatem insulæ Sti. Dominici, dictam Cabo de Tiburon ad dextram, inter et insulam parvam, Navassam dictam, ad sinistram.

Verum 29<sup>a</sup> nocte iterum rediit malacia, quæ revexit nos, fluxu maris inter insulas vehementi, ad conspectum insulæ Sti. Dominicii et Navassæ: sed damnum reparavit subsequens boreas, qui sub noctem crevit, et provexit nos 30<sup>a</sup> in conspectum insulæ Cubæ.



*Conspectum insulæ Jamaicæ eripuerunt nobis nubes: et pluvium cælum. Invaluit his diebus per totam navim Catharrus [rather catarrhus] vehemens, ex fatigatione et sudore in terra, comestione item fructuum insolitorum, qui, succedentibus postea ventis, omnibus pæne raucedinem induxit, et unum nautarum, accedente febris, deduxit ad extrema.*

*31<sup>a</sup> ventus favens sed procellosus, et advehens aquas continuas; quibus succedentibus sub medium diem tonitruorum et fulminum turbinibus adversis, cœgere vela contrahere, et proram obvertere.*

*1<sup>a</sup> Septembris, nautam, da quo supra, assistentibus nostris ad cælum transmisimus. Tenuit totum hunc diem Malacies cum calore intolerabili. Tœdium leniit piscatio: nam cepimus pisces tres prægrandes, vitulorum instar, dictos Tiburones, Carnivoros, et anthropophagos.*

*2<sup>a</sup> item malacies, et calor. Sub noctem tamen afflavit ventus procellosus quidem, sed favens: ita ut 3<sup>a</sup> mane, ad dextram viderimus insulam Cuba proximam, et adversam, a planitie, et forma, Caïman id est Crocodilum dictam: et sub meridiem Caïman grandem: in cujus littore deteximus Clintandam(?), ut vocant, Anglicam, testudinibus, ut solent, piscandis occupatam. Sub noctem afflavit ventus et pluvia adfuit, tonitrua item et fulmina. Ad 2dam. vigiliam, id est sub mediam noctem, terruit nos Capitanea ictu tormenti, quo jussit proram obvertere. Aliquid inimicum temebant nostri: sed Admirantia, multum vento a nobis separata, assequi non poterat, et cursum perdidit. Quare illam jussi expectare.*

*4<sup>a</sup> ad vigiliam matutinam, altero tormenti ictu jussi iterum progredi; quod, vento favente, fecimus toto hoc die, in latitudine vix gradus vigesimi. Hinc, usque ad 10am aut tenuit malacia aut afflavit ventus valde tenuis: illa invenere se in latitudine gradus 21° cum minutis 20, in distantia, ut putabant, 150 leucarum a portu Veræ Crucis: quare incepere fundum tentare: circa hunc enim tractum brevia occurrunt, Ensenadam ipsi vocant, sed, jactis 180 ulnis, nullum invenere. Sub vesperam tardans Admirantia, jussit iterum proram obvertere ictu tormenti a Capitanea dato. 11am et 12am tenuit malacies, cum ingenti calore.*

*13<sup>a</sup> mane afflavit tenuis ventus, et provexit nos usque dum sub meridiem, observata latitudine graduum 22 min. 20, fundum, præeunte Capitanea, rursus tentavimus et invenimus ad ulnas 54; quare revixere omnes, qui antea in incertum quasi errantes, nesciebant quo itinere pergerent. Post horas quasi 3, tentavere rursus, et invenere ad ulnas 35: sub vespere iterum ad 32. Tenuit hunc diem piscatio jucunda sane et mirabilis. Hamum appendunt funi be[ne] longo, cui, ut fundum petat, alligant plumbum: escam apponunt laridi, aut piscis recentis partem: tum dimittunt. Vix fundum tetigit quando devorant illum pisces ejusdem generis permagni, Meros ipsi vocant. Vix horæ mediæ spatio, quo solet sistere navis, obvertente se prora, ad fundum tentandum, attraxere singulis vicibus facile 25. Verum rediit sub noctem Malacia: quare 14<sup>a</sup> invocavimus solemniter divinam spem, ad impetrandum ventum decantatis litaniis omnium S[anct]orum, et venerationi expositis reliquiis Stae Crucis: nam dies apud hispanos ejusdem triumpho est sacer. Et quidem affuit sub decinam ventus. Deteximus item duas*

*naves nos sequentes, incerti an amicæ, an inimicæ. Cepimus pisces, Tiburones dictos, boves ipsos magnitudine excedentes.*

*15<sup>a</sup> Malacies rediit, sane molesta, nisi piscatio aliquantulum levaret. Observato sole, invenimus gradum 22, et distantiam a portu 140 leucarum. Sub vesperam afflavit ventus, et tenuit 16am sequentem diem. Sub 4am vespertinam, distinximus clare ad meridiem ictus tormentarios frequentes. Suspocabantur nostri, naves a nobis antea visas sibi invicem inimicas confligere. Nihil certi 17<sup>a</sup> et 18<sup>a</sup> vento jam prospero provecti, quando sub octavam vespertinam supercrevit tempestas valida, quam nisi prævidissent seduli nautæ contrahentes vela, periculum forte dedisset.*

*19<sup>a</sup>, favente jam vento, tentavere fundum, nec invenere: unde se portui proximos rati 20<sup>a</sup>, vento item prosperiore, medio die invenimus distantiam non plusquam 30 leucarum.*

*21<sup>a</sup> Sto. Matheo sacra, usi tota nocte vento faventi, terram deteximus: sed ventus nos destituit sub 10am matutinam: quare frustrati ulteriori spe, eo die portum intrandi.*

*22<sup>a</sup>, afflante jam vento, deteximus sub auroram portum **Veræ Crucis**, quem feliciter ingressi, sub decimam matutinam, summa modestia: nemine ex nostris Castrum tormentis salutante. Causa suberat, quod ultimo itinere Capitanei Generalis, cum e portu Hispaniam peteret, valedixisset ille quidem, sed ex Castro non respondissent ex ipsius voto. Mansit hoc alta mente repostum. Interim dum jaciendis anchoris occupantur in navi, P. Superior cum socio ingressus Collegium sub 12am: inde cymbam nobis submitit; qua secuti nos sub 3am vel 4am vespertinam, sumpto prius apud Capitaneum prandio. Recepti ibidem extraordinaria charitate Soctis, et tractati toto deinde tempore, quo subsistimus. Locus aliam munitionem non habet, quam Castrum; quod in insula vicina, quæ portum efficit, e vivo lapide exstructum, mari imminet; et portum defendit, sed præcipue ejus fauces, tam angustas ut vix binis navibus junctim adytus detur. Cæterum ædibus optimis et bene ordinatis, eximius: plateæ omnes ad amussim directæ. Sed, quod in tota hac India præcipuum locum extimet, sunt monasteria, templa, cultusque divinus; in quibus aut ad magnificentiam, aut ad cultum, aut ad ornatum, desideratur nihil omnino. Utinam exterioribus his responderent mores! In ministris item regiis insolitam invenimus humanitatem; qui, assignatam nobis a Rege pecuniam, statim exhibere: imo, ut jussi fuerant, conficiendo reliquo itineri necessaria. Substitimus hic 5 integros dies.*

*28<sup>a</sup> ingressi iter Mexicum versus sub vesperam; et confecimus 5 leucas, usque ad locum dictum Vera-Cruz vetus. In itinere inundavit nos magis quam madefecit pluvia. Mox item, quæ cælo nubilo et stagnantibus viis, opinato citius adfuit [fol. 42v] per opacas silvas haud exiguam attulit molestiam. Tum et illud, quod absoluto jam itinere transmittendus esset in Canoa seu trunco arboris excavato, fluvius largus. Crocodilis, ut aiebant, maxime infestus: ac denique, quod infestarent nos undique muscarum agmina tam fera, ut ictu quolibet sanguinem sugerent. Interim, sumpta cæna, illa nocte dormivit, qui potuit. Mane, divo Michaeli sacra, id est 29<sup>a</sup> dicto vel audito Sacro aliud infortunium intelleximus: mulas, dum in transmittendo fluvio illis negligentius invigi-*

*bant famuli, hinc inde dilapsas, pinguiora pascua quæsivisse. Emissi circumquaque ad conquirendum varii. Medius dies elapsus antequam omnes comparuere. Quare sumpto ibidem prandio, sub medium diem perreximus itinere 8 leucarum, in hospitium, pro advenientibus ex Classe hospitibus ex arundine constructum, dictum la Rinconada: persequentibus nos, et vexantibus muscis, etiam tota hac nocte. Tota hac vesperi, æer omnis tam respersus fuit luce clara circumvolitantium Candelarum, ut cælum in terras descendisse, et stellas mutato loco rursus in ære habere existimares. Iter omne Mexicum usque amœnissimum, per acclivia et declivia, non tamen aspera; montibus circumquaque proceris arboribus vestitis. Aves in illis diversissimi coloris, quales ad nos ex Indiis afferuntur, rubri, cœrulei, virides. Terra ad spatium 40 leucarum nusquam culta, nisi quod prata ad pastum, mire luxurient. Communis hic erat inter omnes verno, nusquam alibi terram belgicæ similem magis quam Hispania asperrima passim et a nobis inventam. Idem afferebant Itali Patres respectu Lombardiæ. Nec defuere toto itinere necessaria ad victum: caro et panis passim inveniebantur.*

*30<sup>a</sup> confecimus iter 11 leucarum in pagum sane celebrem, Galapa dictum. Conventum hic habent PP. Franciscani.*

*1<sup>a</sup> Octobris item 12 leucas confecimus in hospitium Perope dictum: postridie 12, et pernoctavimus in villa PP. nostrorum sane ampla. Locus dicebatur Ossuma. In illa 50 et amplius aratris terram colebant. Porcorum grex ascendebat ad 5 millia 500, præter mulas, equos, vaccas. Eodem die post meridiem ad aliam villam divertimus, in qua numerabantur, præter alia 120,000 [sic] ovium. Sunt hæc, his in partibus communia, adeo ut solum Collegium SSos. Petri et Pauli Mexicanum in pascuis alat ad centum quinquaginta millia ovium. Hinc conjectura facilis erit de reliquis. Sed pretia Europeis non respondent.*

*3<sup>a</sup> itinere 10 leucarum pervenimus in Civitatem Angelopolitanam, et divertimus ad Collegium Spiritus Sti.: Nam Soctas ibidem tribus locis habitat: in St. Ildefonso ubi studia Theologiæ moralis, et Philosophiæ; et St. Hyeronimo, ubi studiosi seculares sub disciplina nostra victitant. Excepti enimvero charitate plusquam fraterna. Locus hic, a Mexico Metropoli, toto hoc regno novæ Hispaniæ primarius: apertus quidem, sed spendidis ædificiis et incolis frequens. Plateæ omnes in crucem transcussatæ, et ad amussim rectæ. Tempia omnia, maxime religiosorum, et structura magna et ornatu splendida. Alteria omnia, florido opere, deauratæ picturæ et multæ, et magna arte elaboratæ. Collegii nostri, fornicem habet deauratum, tam eleganti opere, quam nusquam viderim in Europa. Vel inde conjicias magnificentiam templi Cathedralis, quod juxta altare summum marmori insculptum, reliquit, dum illud consecraret, D. Jo[ann]es de Palafox, jam inde impensa in illius structuram et ornatum qui dominum decem --?--<sup>1</sup> centum millia nummorum Indicorum, id est Pataconum. Et tamen illo multo augustius, majus et elegantius est mexicanum. Structura utrobique Italica, tribus navibus in crucem amplissimam desinens: cui imposita elegans cupula lucem copiosam quoquoversum diffundit. Huic subjectum est altare summum, quattuor lateribus splendide conspicuum. Verbo*

1 Ed. note: Illegible word(s) due to erasure in manuscript.

*ut absolvam conceptum non facile formabit, quantum tantillo tempore, res divina his locis increverit, nisi præsens intueatur. Substitimus hic 4or integros dies. Inde 8<sup>a</sup> progressi Mexicum versus, itinere 6 tum leucarum. Prandium sumpsimus in villula dicta a Sta. Anna: quievimus in pago celebri a Sto. Martino appellato. Conventum hic item habent satis splendidum PP. Franciscani reformati, et nudipedes, dicti a S. Diego. Unde itinere 12 leucarum pervenimus 9<sup>a</sup> in locum Cherco dictum; superato monte utrumque aspero ex quo in civitatem Mexicanam datur prospectus. Intra illum et reliquos ei adhærentes, quibus et ipsa Mexico undequaque clauditur, lacuna interjacet, quæ uti totum hunc tractum, ita et ipsam civitatem mexicano circumnata: adeo ut ad illam Indi cymbis suis, Canoas vocant, ex omni parte commodissime navigent.*

*10<sup>a</sup> id est Sabbati 6 iterum leucarum itinere, Mexicum pervenimus, sub medium diem; et divertimus ad Collegium SSos Petri et Pauli in quo nos expectabat Philippinarum procurator Fr. Emanuel Duarte: a quo, uti et a toto Collegio humanissime excepti, et octo vel 10 continuos dies hospitaliter habiti. 4<sup>a</sup> domicilia habet in hac urbe Societas, 1um [=primum] Collegium in quo studia Theologiæ Scholasticæ Philosophiæ item, et litterarum humaniorum. Qui illud e nostris habitant, vix 100 enumerantur. Structura tam templi quam domus splendida, porticibus amplis, quas sustinente secto lapide columnæ, duplici quadratura innixa: Deinde domus Professa, eodem opere, sed magis elegantiori et splendido. Præerat illi Præpositus P. J[oa]nnes Ximenes, natione Burgundus. Proregi ejusque familiæ a confessionibus: qui omnes nos, tanquam Patriotas, excepit affectu singulari. Aliud item Collegium educationi Indorum erectum: ubi illi legere, et scribere, musicam item, et instrumentis ludere addiscunt. Invenimus hic piam memoriam Pris. Cornelii Beudin, qui quondam eidem P. Rectori, qui jam præerat, socius fuerat datus ad addiscendam Indorum linguam. Affirmabat ille Superiori classe missas in Belgium ejus SS reliquias. Aliud denique seminarium fundatione regia exstructum ubi sæculares alumni tam humanioribus litteris quam altioribus vacant. Civitas vix ulli in Hispania 2da. Archiepiscopatu, nobilitate, commercio, ac omnium religiosorum cætibus bene ac splendide fundatis, et ædificatis insignis. Monialium claustra numerantur 18, omnia nullo inferiore perquam venusta. Intelleximus hic quod omnibus in votis unice erat, navem Philippinas versus, quæ ab anno superiore hæserat, jam jam expediri. Imo ipse Prorex, visitatum accedens P. Provinciam, ab gravi infirmitate huc devecutum, nova detulit: decretam a se, et consilio, diem profectioni 8am decembris, Virgini immaculatæ Conceptæ sacram. Quare profectioni ulteriori necessaria jussi sumus quamprimum expedire. Quod et unanimiter factum, præmissis jam Acapulcum versus impedimentis gravioribus, quæ ob viarum in illis tractibus difficultatem, subsequi nos equis itineribus non possent.*

### Literal translation.

[Note in margin:] Fr. Petrus Coomans to the Flandro-Belgian Province. Mexico, 25 November 1671.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

After my departure from Belgium for Spain, I remembered the advice given me by Rev. Fr. Thomas Dekens, Y.R.'s successor, to send some **journal** of our voyage to friends, and above all to your successors. That is why I remember the religious observances, and particularly those placed in me by Y.R., that is, by the studies in the humanities themselves that I am still pursuing, some proof of which I am to give when I am not healthy enough to answer. I let Y.R. know that Fr. Gerardus and I, and the other companion Fathers, arrived safe and sound at Mexico. I add that the so-called journal of our voyage, if rather dealing with the mode of navigation and living, it is a long-established practice in the Spanish missions, which I estimate that the few things I will explain will be gratefully received. So, on

**13 July**, we left the Cadiz College of the universal Fathers,<sup>1</sup> after repeated embraces among the religious on the shore, the transport launches took us to our ship. Out of affection, the Naval Chaplains and some of the Spanish Fathers joined themselves to us. There, I say, again and again we [stowed and re-]arranged the necessary things everywhere, and spent that night quietly.

### [Life aboard a 17th-century Spanish ship]

**14.** The day assigned for our departure was that of the feast-day of Saint Bonaventure.<sup>2</sup> We remained at anchor, the wind being contrary and preventing us from leaving port. That is why there was room left for the repeated generosity of the Naval Chaplains, to make a return visit, reserving part of the cabin for us, where we were to be detained during the rest of the voyage, then arranging it, within its narrow confines, to at least reduce the bother to a minimum. That is why one of the bunks, the upper bunk, on account of the absence of one of the Fathers, who had been asked by the Admiral, a close friend of many in our Society, to be chaplain aboard his ship, was cleared of its sideboard and the space used to set up our portable altar, which was meant for use in the Mariana Mission, in the Ladrone Islands, but used by us during the voyage. Fr. Andrés de Rada, a Spaniard from the southern Province of the Indies, or Peru, had given it to us, when he returned from a tour as visitor, along with the Fr. Procurator of the Province of Paraguay. A liberal gift indeed, for, besides the linen and silk vestments for

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1 Ed. note: A Jesuit expression, to denote the universal hospitality among their member organizations.

2 Ed. note: This is an Italian saint, a Franciscan who became Cardinal in 1273. Spanish sailors had a special devotion to him, because the saint's name itself means good luck.

both the altar and the priest, there were in addition not only the basic vases, but also the useful silver items: crucifix, vials, paten, candle-stick, even such things as another gold crucifix, and a huge gold-plated medal of the Virgin Mary.<sup>1</sup> I could hardly believe, but this was to provide all of us with consolation during the whole voyage, for there at least two of us would say [mass]; the others, if they had the inclination and the physical health to do so, were refreshing ourselves daily with the sacred meal. Not just us, but the Franciscans would accommodate their solace often. While they were either at the altar, or receiving sacred communion, as if within domestic walls, it was supportive of private piety. There was no lack of opportunity either, by taking turn at celebrating at the larger shrine in the Captain's cabin, so much so that almost every other day, or certainly three times a week, it was possible to operate the divine mystery. Our Captain was supplying our bodily needs no worse either, for, except for the first day, when we lived off our larder, which Fr. Ribadeneira had abundantly provided, the rest of the voyage not so abundantly, but quite generously, not only with the necessities, but also provided with advantageous items: 15 live pigs, easily 30 piglets (which in the Island called Puerto Rico we were able to pair of with theirs, and vice versa), over 400 live chickens, and we were out of everything when we arrived in the Indies. Wine without measure, as much as one wished to have, and offered to all at either meal. At the beginning of the voyage itself, he sent what we wanted, either sharing a common table with him, or by ourselves inside our cabin, or outside on the open deck of the ship (which the Spanish make use of aboard their ships for recreation during long voyages) where one is free to eat in private. The comfort of the place easily removed all doubts, given that part of the cabin would be used very comfortably during bad weather, where our baskets serve as the seating arrangement all around, and retreating to the outside of the ship, under the open sky, and offering the comfort of breathing the breeze; then also there is the freedom that invited us all to break out of our captivity as much as possible. That is where all the Franciscan Fathers up to almost the middle of the voyage when they joined us at the Captain's table, and the community of their lay companions joined our own companions, at a private table which they spread out in part of their corner of the deck (called gallery). Nevertheless, not more than two meals were served, in accordance with the long-established custom of the Spanish. The first meal, which they call breakfast, takes place around 9 a.m.; in it, after some fruits, either fresh or sun-dried, or sweet preserves, comes a piece of fresh bread, as long as white wheat flour lasts, and after that, for the rest of the voyage, we used biscuit, either crushed in water, or boiled [sic] in a frying pan, and with as much of a universal condiment which the

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1 Ed. note: I cannot help thinking that some of these items may still lie buried in the soil of Guam, given that all churches were pillaged and burned down in the rebellion of 1684, and the objects were not all salvaged.

Spanish loved to use, to be found everywhere: they call it “golden”, and there came as much as anyone wanted with some huge pieces of ham, where it was diluted and spread all around.<sup>1</sup> After this the meat was brought in, either fresh or roasted, either chicken, or pork, with various seasonings according to daily appetite and what local industry could prepare. The dessert was, as usual, cheese, or some local fruit. Between 3 and 4 p.m., at the sound of a bell (to which one is not used to hearing for non religious affairs), the same as for the morning breakfast, we were called to dinner. Everything was the same, and variety according to the opportunity given by season and local industry, unless something else was available, such as the very Spanish dish, “holla podrida”,<sup>2</sup> a mixture made of salt beef, salt veal, lard, vegetables, Spanish peas (called chick-peas) with the wonderful mustard seeds. Although this was the regular fare, we abstained from meat as a penance, even when it was permitted by the Church.<sup>3</sup> When meat was forbidden, it was replaced with eggs during most of the voyage, also with fish, freshly-caught and boiled with garlic (stewed),<sup>4</sup> or salt or dried fish. Better said, every day at dinner some dish would be presented by way of dessert, either made of rice or nuts, in short, some pastry.

At sunset we would sing in the open air the prayer (that which was undoubtedly required by the religious timetable) on the upper part of the ship, where the chaplain of the ship would lead, and then all together would alternate with him in reciting the Rosary of the Virgin Mary, afterwards the Salve Regina would be sung, and also, on Sabbath days, the litanies of Loreto,<sup>5</sup> and finally the Angelus three times. Then, if one had something to look forward to, he would eat something from his own larder before turning in. As far as we were concerned, we had the following to look forward to: either raisins, sugar, sweet biscuits, or wine which we kept in “crates” (called “cañas”),<sup>6</sup> within glass jars and other earthenware ones, and which had been procured for us by Fr. Ribadeneira. [Drinking] water, the lack of which is usually highly feared during the voyage, was so abundant, that we always had a large earthenware jar full of it available, whose capacity was over 100 cups; this jar was brought up on deck for our use at night, and the keys to it given to us in permanence by the Captain.

- 1 Ed. note: What the Spanish call “caldo español” is a broth made with chunks of bread (often stale), dry shavings of smoked ham, and whatever else available or according to individual taste, e.g. chunks of hard-boiled eggs, etc. The golden seasoning Fr. Coomans refers to was mustard (see below).
- 2 Ed. note: Actually “olla podrida”, which means “rotten pot”, a sarcastic way to describe the contents.
- 3 Ed. note: The rotten condition of the meat is better described by Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1671P4); under such conditions, it must have been easy to abstain from the so-called salt meat. The Catholic Church then forbid the use of meat during Lent and on Friday of all other weeks.
- 4 Ed. note: He uses the Spanish word “adobo”, which implies that it had been marinated in vinegar beforehand.
- 5 Ed. note: In other words, the litanies of the Virgin Mary, as opposed to those of the saints, or of the Holy Name of Jesus.
- 6 Ed. note: Either the Latin word “caveas” which means cages, or the Spanish word “cañas”, which would indicate that the crates would be made with cane. The latter is the most likely possibility.

I set asides the minutia, so as not to lengthen this report, and turn my attention to the journal.

**15 July.** None of our people yet suffered from seasickness. Out of the Franciscan Fathers almost everyone did. Before sunset today, they had begun to raise the anchors, at the beautiful tunes played with fifes aboard the flagship. The Captain General who led the fleet was Don Enrique Enriquez de Guzman, the natural son of the Count of Alba. A dense fog from the sea, which hid the view not only of the city of Cadiz but almost the mutual view of the ships, took away the pleasantness and the happiness of almost everyone. Yet, earlier in the day, the sun had made everything a very pleasant sight. That is why the ships here and there would take turn saluting one another to bid bon voyage to one another (repeated three times, even five times, if the flagship, and its almiranta would salute, by all the seamen shouting bon voyage). They would pull on the oars of the launches to see which was going faster, led by [that of] the flagship, followed by [that of] the almiranta. All in all, the number of ships was 17. From those, not more than 8 were headed for the port of Vera Cruz; the others, were going to various ports in the Indies, in accordance with their instructions. Already they were to tack upon arriving [abeam] of the main port which they call Puerca(?), when the flagship raised the royal standard on the mizzen-mast (as it had been preset that they were not to leave port, when the royal flagship was still there). Similarly, from the yard-arm of the almiranta; and then all the others began to unfasten whatever flags they had from their poops and bows and the rest of the masts. When they were passing by the Fort of Cadiz, the flagship saluted it by firing 7 guns, the almiranta 5, and the others 3. Then proceeding to the high sea, we first held a course towards the church of the Virgin, which they call of the Order; afterwards, we tacked back and forth to catch the wind. There followed behind various transport launches which were loaded with merchandise, as if they had come up late, but in truth it was so as not to pay the duties of the port of Cadiz to the King, because no matter how light or fast were ours, theirs were known to be able to follow easily, and they were looking for ships aboard which to put either merchandise or persons, clandestinally and without a licence. By nightfall, the prevailing wind had already shifted northeast, the one they call general wind at this time for that sea, and we held a southwest heading bound for the Canary Islands. Then, afterwards we changed the heading to west-by-south.

**16.** This was a Thursday, the wind was blowing strongly towards [rather from] the north, and it was favorable to our voyage. It lasted on **17th** and **18th**, during which time we all sailed together. Nevertheless, these last few days, as some people wished, the movement of the ship and the sea was also stronger, for during those days, even the fish would have thought it exaggerated. Moreover, Thursday was hardly decisive for everyone. The Captain, the seamen and many sailors paid their due to the sea. I was really spared by it, so much so that I was the only one to celebrate [mass] on that day. Nor did I feel anything during the remainder of the voyage. A few of our people were again themselves the next day; the others had to contend with the sea, and seasickness, a while longer. Fr. Gerardus did not vomit anyhow, but had an aversion for food from



an upset stomach, that lasted from 10 to 12 days. Even then, we were stronger than all the rest. Most of the Franciscan Fathers suffered from that ailment for over a week, and they were not all recovered by then. The force of the waves would amplify to some degree, whatever old chronic ailment anyone had.

**19.** This was a Sunday. The same strong wind, and greater progress, but not for all, for one of the ships, which with its boat they call a *Patache*, was headed for Honduras, did not follow the course of the others; so, the almiranta was ordered to remain [with them], and the others proceeded under reduced canvas, while the danger of the Moors existed here, until we had escaped it by reaching the Canaries, the others arriving later.

**20.** Same strong wind and favorable sailing. The sun was observed at noon and, by the sun's elevation, the latitude was found to be 31 degrees and one quarter [i.e. 15 minutes]. The wind was so strong that we sailed with only one yard. Well, a more serious fear took hold of everyone, that is, that the mast of the almiranta would be lost,<sup>1</sup> but the fear vanished, so that we looked at one fewer ship (one they call a *caravel*) which was headed for the Canary Islands with us, when it could not resist and all her sails were furled. The others were used to the rough winds that agitate this sea, called the "gulf of the mares" [i.e. horse latitudes], perhaps because a long time ago a fleet sailing to the Indies lost mares to the madness of the winds in it.

**21** and also **22.** On the second day the wind was pushing very fast, when at about 7 a.m. on starboard side, that is to the north, land was sighted; it was one of the Canary Islands, and the largest of them which they call *Gran Canaria*. We sailed by it during the whole of this day, up to 4 p.m., covering 18 leagues, which embraces its length. At noon, the wind abated, so that all sails were unfurled, except for one that was kept furled. And greater still, than the wind, was the danger. The rudder was not answering to the man at the bar; the seamen at the poop shouted to veer west. The other tried, sweated, but nothing happened. Soon there was confusion. The expert seamen ran up from everywhere, the carpenter, the boatswain, the constable; they tried everything, to no avail. Then they discovered that the iron [i.e. socket] that held the tube [i.e. pintle] around which the rudder turns, had given way, and a speedy remedy had to be applied soon. Everyone was bringing that. If the bad luck had happened in the middle of the night, it would have been worse, everyone would have faced an obvious risk of shipwreck; when the distance from land, by no means far, and the strong wind would have pushed us on it. By 4 p.m. the island was passed and before nightfall we lost sight of it, the wind returned at first, then ended up with calm weather; nevertheless, not one hour had passed when it again blew as a northerly that whole night, and the next day, which was

**23rd**, it was so favorable that those who were making the voyage for the tenth time, claimed that the weather was the best they had ever seen. At noon, the rudder pulled off the hull by the force of the waves admitted water, but nothing bad happened due to the diligence of the sailors, who soon had pushed in some other stronger ones. Today,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: By becoming unstepped, I think.

7 of the ships left us, as they were bound for more southern ports, Cartagena and Honduras.

24. Same wind, but milder, since we were already entering a milder sea, past the Canary Islands, which the sailors called "Gulf of the Ladies". Today for the first time, there appeared in a rather pleasing and wonderful spectacle, many flying-fishes which exhibited themselves during the rest of the voyage. Their type is not too different from that of the herring, if one may be permitted to make a conjecture from one sample that landed on our ship. They proceed in bands, and when they see themselves at the mouth of bigger voracious fishes and cannot swim faster, they fling themselves out of the waves, and are borne by the air almost as far as one musquet shot.

25. We celebrated the feast-day of St. James and the others did so by firing guns, but we abstained from that solemnity, because the Franciscan Fathers had moved their hammocks<sup>1</sup> that did not fit in the part of the cabin assigned to them from there and chosen the place where the war guns were discharged. A northeasterly wind pushed us to the latitude of 24 degrees. The sailors asserted that they were 40 leagues off, and that some 90 or 100 leagues embraced by this latitude would be saved for the rest of the voyage. The reason is because a rather greater longitude is covered between sunrise to sunset.<sup>2</sup>

26 and 27. Nothing particular happened. The sun's elevation was observed at 23 degrees. As if that was astonishing enough, hardly had the day gone by that birds continually flew about the ship, and then followed it for the duration the voyage, so much so that the master's mate, called the boatswain, offered the following odds: for every single day of the voyage that the birds did not appear about the ship, he would pay two reals, and they would pay one real for each day that they did appear.

28. Same general wind. Early in the morning, there was some problem detected on the right side of the ship; water was coming in and had soaked many merchandises, much to the sorrow and detriment of the Captain, who was responsible for similar damage that might result from this, and had to make up for the damage to the goods.<sup>3</sup> In any case, he had offered twice the value of any future damage, for whatever thing, such as clothing, paper, etc. was first taken out of the bundles, it would have been made worthless by the sea [water]. Nevertheless, after the damage was assessed, it did not exceed 100 pesos more or less, so that they would then inspect the whole ship, as they feared something similar elsewhere, and would take timely action.

29. Wind still favorable. Before sunset, we requested the sailors to have the Italian Fathers take charge of the rest of the Sundays from then on, because they were more expert than us with sermons in Spanish. In any case, on this day they were all excited by the offer of the small portions of indulgences, whose fruit would come due on the 2nd of August.

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1 Ed. note: "Lectos pensiles", or suspended beds, in Latin.

2 Ed. note: There is a shorter distance between meridians as one gets away from the equator.

3 Ed. note: In this case, he must have already collected insurance fees from the merchants.

**30.** Pushed by the wind, we found we were in 21 degrees. We fasted today the eve of our holy Father St. Ignatius, and in order to celebrate the feast with a gathering as well as sacred solemnity, we invited the Franciscan Fathers. The piety of the rich Spanish merchant, named Don Lope de León y Mendoza, helped a lot; in the afternoon he generously gave Fr. Superior a load of sweets and the like, the next day was his own birthday, and he wished it to be at his expense.

**31.** Therefore, with the wind blowing favorably, we celebrated the feast of our very holy Father. In any case, we all said mass together, and not just us, but with the chaplain, and many of the Franciscan Fathers. Early in the morning, much work was done to decorate the ship all around with festive fringes made of thin red cloth. For breakfast, everyone aboard the ship, even the sailors, and those on equal footing, received from the merchant the Indian drink called chocolate. Once the feast was over, one of the ships which was bound for Campeche, visited us and saluted us. Afterwards, the sacred mass was sung by the Fr. Custodian or Superior of the Franciscan Fathers, already the Provincial-elect of his Mexican Province. Once mass was over, a sermon was given by one of those Fathers who was reader in Theology, very elegant and suitable for the occasion. For not only had he in the evening of the previous day prepared himself for it, and in spite of the lack of books. Then we prepared ourselves to salute the almiranta, which was also celebrating the same feast, on account of the presence of one of our people; and we saluted it with a festive custom. This was followed with a truly splendid meal. We were invited at our request to the upper table, and were seated at the head of the table. There followed various games, fantastic and ludicrous thanksgiving in the style of the Indies, [make-believe] bullfights, etc. After this a snack was offered to all: some fruit preserves, etc. nuts and hazel-nuts were divided among the common sailors and distributed, and above all, wine. Everything was offered by the said merchant. Before nightfall, the officers and the Fathers welcomed a so-called “merienda” [snack]. And so ended the feast at the great contentment of everyone.

**1 August.** The poop wind lasted. Before nightfall, many of the sailors began to be admitted to confession, in order to receive communion; this continued on the

**2nd**, so that there was hardly anyone on that day who did not receive the sacred meal, a rare piety at sea! The day was clear (for the clouds and the rain happened earlier) and the wind was favorable. The Pilot observed the sun at noon and concluded that we had accomplished 700 leagues. The latitude was found to be 19 degrees 45 minutes.

**3 August.** Same wind. All the weapons aboard ship were inspected, and cleaned with scoria, and then they were distributed among everyone, in case something might happen in the vicinity of these islands.

**4.** We proceeded under a cloudy sky. Today the [armed] people were passed in review, and each one of them asked to fire his bombard [i.e. musket]. There were about 30. But, miserable me! (with very few exceptions) what lack of knowledge in the handling of fire-arms! The Spanish name took a back step something awful, for I hardly know anyone in this whole fleet (so says of his almiranta and flagship Fr. Domingo

Visconti, an eyewitness) except three who were used to managing weapons, two Dutch and one Englishman.

5. We hardly made progress, under a rainy sky, the wind being contrary. Small birds appeared in the morning; they are said to venture hardly farther than 100 leagues from land. Also a rainbow in the afternoon, a sign of land, they said.

6. Wind still light, and continuous rains. Before nightfall, it abated, and stayed that way all night. The same on the following days

7, 8, and 9 when a sign of land nearby presented itself: many grasses floating on top of the waves, but as the sailors asserted more precisely, they are also found far out at sea.

10. In the latitude of 18 degrees, the feast of St. Lawrence was celebrated, with the usual gathering and solemn mass. After noon, a ship appeared to the north; it was thought to be an enemy ship, and precursor of others. A gun was fired by the flagship to gather the ships. Also one of those they call a patache, was sent ahead, to reconnoiter according to custom. The other one turned poop and fled with full sails. That is why another gun was fired to order it [i.e. the patache] to return.

11. The wind blew more favorable. Early morning, one of the ships bound for the port of Havana said good-bye to us; it remained next to us until 9 a.m. Between 3 and 4 p.m., to play games with us, some of the sailors who had been stationed at the top of the main-mast for a month already, started shouting land ho! Everyone was filled with unexpected joy, but it soon disappeared, when they let it be known that it was a false alarm.

12. Wind favorable, blowing strong from the poop. Sky serene. From the noon estimates, and the calculation of the master and captain, the closest land to us was 120 leagues away; the constable estimated it at only 60. Just before sunset, a squall arose, bearing rains, with intermittent lightning, which lasted for the space of one hour; it would have brought more danger, if it had lasted [longer]. All sails were furled, except one. One of the supports that held a sail providing shade to the deck was carried off by the force of the wind.

13. Wind still strong and gusty, but milder than yesterday, so that it was possible for us to say mass and take communion. Just before 12 o'clock, by firing one gun, and showing a flag at the second sail on the main-mast, the flagship gathered all [ships], in order to give their opinion, and ask for ours in turn concerning the distance to land. They call this fixing the position. They all came, and we in last place, since we had been farthest away. Then, the customary salutation was made, by repeatedly shouting: "Bon voyage! At your orders Most Holy Sacrament." Presently, our captain was asked for his opinion, which was answered, by saying that we were at a distance of 100 leagues from the Island of Barbados, latitude of 18 degrees 10 minutes; and in turn the opinion of the flagship was inquired about. Their response was that we had come within a distance of 90 leagues from the Island of San Martin. This was thought to be OK, we proceeded on our course with birds coming from everywhere and flying around.

14. Same favorable wind, and with the hope of seeing land by this evening, we began the preparations for the feast of the Holy Virgin, who was the patron saint of the ship,<sup>1</sup> and celebrated by the captain with no less formality than the feast of St. Ignatius. That is why, by early afternoon, a beginning was given to a mask show, in accordance with the custom of the Indies, as charming as the lack of disguises or scenic apparatus could make it: dancing steps, gestures so various and so ridiculous, as those reputedly seen in some comedies.

15. We continued to celebrate the feast: almost all the priests said mass. There was the usual gathering and solemn ceremony supported, in accordance with Spanish custom, with games, guns being fired, the Indian drink [i.e. chocolate] given to all, wine also after the meal. Just before nightfall, it was thought that a tired bird wished to land on the ship, but soon it was found to be a carnivorous bird, and upon touching the ground it was killed with a dart and hung on the side of the ship.

16. At 8 a.m. land was sighted on the left hand side [i.e. south], at a distance of about 8 leagues, said to be the Island of **Anguilla**, which hid that of San Martin and Barbados, which we sought.<sup>2</sup> Once that island was passed, they deflected towards the north, in search of an island called Pileum [sic].<sup>3</sup>

17. Same. On the left we sighted at noon the islands called **Four Virgins**.<sup>4</sup> By 5 p.m., we had sailed by them. Look at that: men so experienced in this sea still hesitate before they would recognize them, and they might make mistakes in their navigation. For instance, there was a certain Dutch sailor aboard our ship saying that he had visited all these islands, that they were inhabited by Dutch and Flemish people, who had cultivated the first products from them, cotton and tobacco.<sup>5</sup> At about 6 p.m., we sighted Cape San Juan in the Island of **Puerto Rico**.

18. The whole day we sailed along the Island of Puerto Rico. At sunrise, we could clearly detect the fort built on top of bare rock. We also saw the houses, and the port, but no ships by the city; they could be behind the hill on the side opposite to us. The breeze was contrary and not constant, so that it did not allow us on this day to celebrate mass on deck. After noon, the frequent showers induced calm weather, which was followed by such strong gusts that all sails were taken down, and we were stalled; that is why we remained in sight of the island all night.

1 Ed. note: The name of the ship used by the Jesuits is not clearly given. It was "Nuestra Señora de" (something), perhaps "de la Asunción."

2 Ed. note: Error of interpretation by Fr. Coomans. The seamen knew their latitude very accurately, and were therefore able to identify this island without any problem. They might have been seeking San Martin, but not Barbados.

3 Ed. note: What could that be? A "pileum" is a conical hat. They seem headed for the island called today Virgin Gorda in the Virgin Islands. It is dominated by a peak of over 400 meters.

4 Ed. note: They are: Virgin Gorda, Tortola, St. John, and St. Thomas.

5 Ed. note: The Dutch had been expelled, at least from Tortola, by the English in 1666, but remained in St. Thomas, which they had occupied in 1643 (the Danes were to chase the Dutch out, the following year, 1672). The French were occupying St. Croix, south of the above group.

19. At 2 a.m. the wind blew and with full sails we pursued our voyage for 12 leagues. At 10 a.m. we entered the strait; from there they usually go in between two shores to what they call the Watering Place. The look of the island, what we saw of it, is very pleasing; very tall trees, on top of the very high shores. Right after the meal, all those who wished to, stepped ashore, but some small gust saluted us, with such horrendous lightning and thunder that the mountains themselves returned the echoes back to the sea. Truly, this [storm] forced us to postpone what we wished to do; a small compensation was that the air was somewhat tempered by the recent rain. When the flagship came in, it warned the inhabitants of its arrival by firing one gun. As for us, as soon as it was permitted, we saluted the land of the Indies, the beginning of our wishes.<sup>1</sup> Everything is new. The trees include the ordinary and the wild laurel mixed on all sides with the lemon and golden [i.e. orange] trees. The birds in the trees are of hardly any kind other than parrots, so that those hunters bring out as many sparrows.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants whom we saw were not of the Indian kind, nor Spanish, but a mixture of both, with the exception of a few, from Spanish and Moors [i.e. negroes], whom they call mulattoes, impetuous people and completely fond of the name Spanish, so much so that no-one else but them in that island would dare bring up water and wood; if he did, he would obviously expose himself to danger. The local products are sugar and tobacco, and Turkish wheat [i.e. Indian corn] (called maize by them) which they use only as food. A long time ago, as they claim, the island also produced cacao, the main ingredient of the Indian drink, or chocolate; that has now withered. There are a number of minor products, of infinite variety; all are distinct from our own kinds: bananas, pineapples, coconuts, papayas,<sup>3</sup> chayotes, small chayotes,<sup>4</sup> [hot] peppers, and so on, and on. In any case, they are all tasty, except the wild kind which are tangy. So, they were bringing in what had already been rounded up on the shore from the reed enclosure/net: chickens, piglets, tobacco, except the fruits. And they did not claim as much money as some provisions of the line, Spanish biscuits, and fruits. It was surprising that the prices were fixed, no matter what the values of the articles were. One of the sailors who was already conscious of this situation, took out garlics, as many as would fit in a bushel of wheat. It is incredible that he exchanged them with the others for their articles: at least 100 chickens, 20 piglets, easily 100 pounds of tobacco, in short, as many products as would fill a whole boat, which they call a canoe, just by himself. With money itself, they were seen to weigh the other things.

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1 Ed. note: Meaning that their first step in the New World brought them closer to their mission field.

2 Ed. note: Original sentence seems to have a faulty construction. Perhaps, the author means that were hardly enough birds of the kind that can be hunted, such as pigeons, etc.

3 Ed. note: "Mamayas" in the original, which is the word used today in Amazonia. It is strange that the word papaya (papaw as the English say) was not used, as it is of Carib origin. I do not think that they were mamme apples.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans writes "chalote, chapote" in error. The scientific name of chayote is "sechium edule". It is a climbing plant of the melon family, whose pear-shape fruit is actually a vegetable. It is now called christophene in the English-speaking West Indies.

[20.] We remained along this shore the next day also. All the people disembarked to wash their clothes, and to buy something to have for the rest of the voyage. Just before nightfall, another gun was fired as a signal to return. Then on the

21st, after sunrise we raised the anchors and proceeded with a light wind blowing. After noon, when the Captain General came to visit with the royal officials. They specially inspected the orders of all the Religious headed for the Indies, and were shown the permission from the King; in the past, some had hidden themselves after boarding the ship without permission. That same day, following a calm period which detained us in sight and off the vicinity of the island called **Sacheus**, perhaps because of its similarity to a tree or a man, for it rises alone in the middle of the sea like a rock.<sup>1</sup> We were detained at the same place on the

22 for the whole day, with an intolerable heat that made us tired of looking at the island of Puerto Rico.

23. In the middle of the night, the wind arose, although light, but good enough to propel us towards that island which they say is inhabited by monkeys, and called Monita.<sup>2</sup> Here we entered the Mexican Sea, leaving on the left the Island of Puerto Rico, and on the right Sacha or Monita. We passed between them as if in a channel, blown by the same wind.

24. Same wind also. Latitude 18 degrees 40 minutes [at noon].

25. In the morning we clearly sighted to the north the Island of **Santo Domingo** which we were coasting. After mass had already been said, by noon a rather strong gust which lasted the whole day. Finally we happily were able to proceed.

26. Calm weather returned, together with an intense heat which kept us immobile in sight of the Island of Santo Domingo.

27. Just before 8 a.m., the air blew favorable and by noon it increased, but by nightfall it degraded into a most horrible squall, with the horror of terrible thunder and lightning. Having foreseen it from the intense(?) darkness, the sailors had furled the sails in time, and they had turned the bow [towards it], and all ships showed a light at their poop to mark their position. A calm period followed that, but it was brief.

28. By daybreak, a favorable wind blew, which took us to the end of the Island of Santo Domingo, called the Cape of Tiburon, on our right, while on the left was the small Island of **Navassa**.<sup>3</sup>

29. Before the night was out, the calm weather had returned and a strong sea current brought us back between the islands, in sight of the Islands of Santo Domingo and Navassa, but the damage was repaired by the northerly that followed, which increased by nightfall, and pushed us on the

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1 Ed. note: Allusion not clear, although he equates it with Monita (or Little Monkey) Island below, the name it bears today. Fr. Bouwens (next document) wrote it Sachenum.

2 Ed. note: The channel east of the Dominican Republic is still called Canal de la Mona [She-monkey Channel], or simply Mona Passage, because of the small Mona Island.

3 Ed. note: The fleet was at the southwest corner of today's Haïti. The cape is still called Tiburon [Shark] and the islet is still called Navassa.

**30th** in sight of the Island of **Cuba**. The view of the Island of Jamaica was hidden from us by an overcast and rainy sky. These days there was a strong catarrh [i.e. cold] from the fatigue and sweating ashore, also the consumption of unusual fruits, which, added to the winds that followed, induced a hoarseness in almost everyone. One of the sailors, overcome by a fever, was brought to the last extremity.

**31.** Wind favorable but gusty, and waters running high. This was followed at mid-day by contrary squalls with thunder and lightning, forcing them to furl the sails and turn the bow.

**1 September.** The above-mentioned sailor was assisted by us and made ready for heaven. The whole day was taken up by calm weather, jointly with an intolerable heat. The tediousness was relieved by fishing, for we caught three huge fishes, similar to seals [sic], which are called [in Spanish] Tiburones [i.e. sharks]; they are carnivorous, and man-eaters.

**2.** Same calm, and heat. Towards evening, the wind finally arose, somewhat gusty, but favorable.

**3.** In the morning we saw the Island of Cuba nearby, and on the opposite side, a flat shape, the Island of [Little] **Cayman**, which means Crocodile. And by noon Grand Cayman, on whose shore we sighted Clintontown, as they call it, English, whose business is fishing for turtles, as usual.<sup>1</sup> In the evening the wind arose and the rains approached with thunder and lightning. During the second watch, that is, at about midnight, the flagship scared us by firing a gun, to make us stall. Our men feared some enemy, but the almiranta had separated from us by a long distance and could not follow. That is why we were ordered to wait for her.

**4.** Towards the morning watch, we were ordered to proceed by another gun, which we did, the wind remaining favorable the whole day, our latitude being almost 20 degrees. Here, until 10 [p.m.], either we had calm, or the wind blew weakly for the most part. When we reached the latitude of 21 degrees 20 minutes, they estimated that the distance to the port of Vera Cruz was 150 leagues. That is why they began to use the sounding line. There are shallows in this area, which they call Ensenada,<sup>2</sup> but the 180-fathom line did not touch bottom. Just before nightfall, as the almiranta was lagging behind, again the flagship ordered us to stall by firing a gun.

**11 & 12.** The calm weather, and great heat, continued.

**13.** In the morning the wind was light and it pushed us until then, at noon, the latitude was observed to be 22 degrees 20 minutes, bottom at 20 [fathoms], the flagship going first. When we came up, we sounded and found 50 fathoms; that is why all those who, beforehand had been almost wandering unsure of themselves and not knowing

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1 Ed. note: The name of its capital is presently Georgetown. Turtle and shark fishing are still an important business.

2 Ed. note: Which means Inlet or Cove, in Spanish. They were in the gap between the head of Cuba and the Yucatan Peninsula.



which way to turn, regained courage. After about 3 p.m., they sounded and found 35 fathoms; again, before nightfall, down to 32. Today there was fishing, with plain and wonderful fun. They tied a hook at the end of a long cord, to which they fastened a lead weight, in order to reach the bottom. They baited it with lard or a piece of recently-caught fish, then let it go. Hardly has it touched the bottom that some kind of huge fish of the type they call Meros<sup>1</sup> devoured it. Hardly had half an hour passed when the ship stalled, as usual, to sound the bottom; every time they tried, they found 25 plus. The calm weather indeed returned by nightfall. That is why on the

**14th**, we solemnly invoked divine hope, to get some wind, by reciting the Litanies of the Saints, and by venerating the exposed relics of the Holy Cross, for among Spaniards the Triumph of the True Cross is much venerated. By 10 a.m. some wind was present. We sighted two ships following us, uncertain as to whether they were friends or foes. We caught fish, called Sharks, exceeding the size of a cow.

**15.** Calm weather returned, plainly bothersome, unless relieved somewhat by fishing. The sun was observed and gave 22 degrees, and the distance to port was [estimated at] 140 leagues. Just before nightfall, the wind arose, and the following day

**16** the wind abated. At about 4 p.m., we clearly detected to the south the sound of guns firing frequently. Our men suspected that the ships we had seen earlier were in turn being attacked by enemies.

**17 & 18.** We were already pushed by an unsteady wind, when at 8 p.m. a proper storm hit. Although the diligent sailors had the foresight of furling the sails, it put us at risk.

**19.** Wind favorable now. Sounded, but no bottom. Hence we thought we were close to port.

**20.** Same prosperous wind. At noon, we found the distance to be no more than 30 leagues.

**21.** Feast-day of St. Matthew. All night the wind was favorable. We sighted land, but the wind abandoned us at 10 a.m. That is why our earlier hope of making port that day was frustrated.

**22.** The wind now being favorable, at daybreak we sighted the port of **Vera Cruz**, which happily we entered at 10 a.m. in complete modesty: none of the guns on the fort saluted us. It turned out that the cause was that in the last voyage of the Captain General, when he had left the port headed for Spain, in any case he had said good-bye but they had not answered him from the fort, by their own design. This was the retort of a haughty mind. Meanwhile, while they were busy with the anchors, Fr. Superior with a companion came aboard at noon. Then the launch was lowered for us. They followed us between 3 and 4 p.m., after they had taken their meal at the Captain's table. We were made welcome by the extraordinary charity of the Society, and so treated the whole time we stayed there. There is no other fortification than the Fort, which guards

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1 Ed. note: If I am not mistaken, this is a member of the grouper family, called Mérou in French. It can be as long as 2 meters and weigh over 100 kilograms.

the port from a nearby island, where it rises from solid rock, and dominates the sea. It defends the port, but the entrances to it are so narrow that hardly two ships can enter together. The churches of the other [orders] are extraordinarily among the best and well arranged. All the squares [rather streets] are aligned in straight line. But, what should be admired the most in this the beginning of all of the Indies, are the monasteries, the churches, and the divine cult, in which nothing is left to be desired, either in magnificence, or in the rites, or in the decorations. Let us hope that the customs will answer to these exteriors! We also found an unusual kindness in the royal officials who came up soon with the money assigned to us by the King. In fact, as they were ordered, they arranged the necessary things for the rest of the journey. We remained here 5 whole days.

28. We began the voyage to Mexico in the afternoon, and covered 5 leagues, as far as a place called Old Veracruz.<sup>1</sup> Along the way the rain soaked us pretty good. Soon, under a cloudy sky, we expectedly found ourselves following flooded roads through opaque forests which brought us not a small bother. Then and there, as this [part of the] journey was already achieved, we were shipped aboard a Canoe, that is made out of a dug-out tree, across a wide river.<sup>2</sup> Many crocodiles, as they call them, infested it, and finally, such fierce swarms of flies were infesting us that they bit and sucked our blood. Meanwhile, after dinner, we slept that night as best we could.

29. Feast-day of St. Michael. Mass was said and heard. We then understood that another bad luck had happened. The mules, while they were crossing the river, were under the care of negligent servants. We were then delayed here, while they were searching for fatter fodder. They were sent in all directions to get some. Half a day went by before they reappeared. That is why, after lunch was taken at midday, we proceeded with our voyage and covered a distance of 8 leagues, and arrived at an inn for travellers, which type of accommodation is built of reeds. It is called La Rinconada. Flies pursued us and bothered us, even during the whole night. During the whole evening, the whole atmosphere was splashed with a bright light like candles flying about, as if the sky would descend upon the earth, and the stars thought to be in the sky had changed their place above.<sup>3</sup> The whole trip as far as Mexico was very pleasing, going up and down, but not steeply. The mountains all around are clothed with tall trees. The birds there are of very diverse colors, such as those brought from the Indies, red, blue, green. For a space of 40 leagues the land is nowhere cultivated, except in pasture lands, which look luxuriant. We all agreed that it was a permanent spring; nowhere else could we find similar land anywhere in Belgium or rougher land in Spain. The Italian Fathers thought the same with respect to Lombardy. Neither did we run out of food necessities during the whole trip; meat and bread could be found everywhere.

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1 Ed. note: The new port and city of Veracruz had formerly been known as San Juan de Ulloa.

2 Ed. note: Called Rio Atayac today.

3 Ed. note: Probably a manifestation of a meteor shower. The north latitude of Mexico seems to be too far south for the aurora borealis to be seen there.

30. We accomplished 11 leagues and arrived at the quite famous village called Galapa, where the Franciscan Fathers have a convent.

1 **October.** We made another 12 leagues as far as the inn called Perope. The next day

[2.] 12 [leagues], and we spent the night at the quite large farm of our Fathers. The place is called Ossuma. There they cultivated with 50 or more plows. The pig herd amounted to 5,500, not counting the mules, horses, cows. In the afternoon of the same day we diverted to another farm, in which the sheep numbered 120,000 [sic], give and take a few. All of these sheep are raised in common; the part belonging only to the College of St. Peter and St. Paul in Mexico amounts to 80,000. It would be easy to conjecture here, but the European prices do not apply.

3. We covered another 10 leagues to the City of [Puebla de] los Angeles, and we diverted to the College of the Holy Ghost, for the Society has three colleges. In San Ildefonso, they have the studies in moral Theology, and Philosophy; and in San Jerónimo, studious laymen live under our discipline. It is a fact that we were received with more than fraternal charity. This place here comes first in the whole Kingdom of New Spain after the Metropolis of Mexico. It is open, with splendid buildings and well populated. All the squares [rather streets] intercept at right angles and are lined up straight. All the churches, specially those of the religious orders, have magnificent structures and splendid decorations. All the others have flowery works with many pictures elaborated with great art. Our Colleges have a golden arch, elegantly worked, the likes of which I have seen nowhere in Europe. Not to be excluded is the magnificence of the Cathedral church, which has a large altar sculpted in marble. It has been consecrated already by Don Juan de Palafox, and thus far what has been spent on its structure and decoration amounts to 10 --?--<sup>1</sup> hundred thousand pieces of Indian money, that is pesos. In spite of that it is very august, this elegance is all Mexican. On the other hand, the structure is Italian, and the three naves are designed as a very large cross, dominated by an elegant dome through which the light is diffused everywhere. Placed here is the altar, with a splendid view of its four sides. It is not easy for me to describe the concept with words, except to say that within a short time of one being present here, this place would increase the divine business. We remained here for 4 whole days.

8. We then headed for Mexico, covering another 6 leagues. We had dinner at a small farm called Santa Ana; it lies in the famous village called San Martin. The convent here is also splendid and belongs to the discalced Franciscans; it is called San Diego.

9. After travelling 12 leagues we arrived at a place called Cherco; after climbing a hill, steep on both sides, we gained a view of the city of Mexico. Between that and its suburbs, that surround Mexico on all sides, there is a lake that lies in-between and around this whole district, so that to get there Indian boats, called Canoes, are used and they navigate very easily to all parts.

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1 Ed. note: Illegible word(s) due to erasure in manuscript.

10. Today is the Sabbath. After travelling 6 more leagues, we arrived at Mexico at noon, and we diverted to the College of St. Peter and St. Paul, where the Procurator of the Philippines, Brother Manuel Duarte, was expecting us, so that we were welcomed by him and the whole College very kindly, and we enjoyed this hospitality for 8 to 10 continuous days. The Society has 4 residences in this city. Firstly, there is the college where they teach Theology, also Scholastic Philosophy, and the humanities. Those of our people who live here number almost 100. The structures of both the church and house are splendid, the galleries are wide and supported by cut stones resting on double square [footings]. Then, there is the Profess House, of the same kind of work, but more elegant and splendid. The one in charge here was Fr. Juan Ximenez, originally from Burgundy. He is also the confessor of the viceregal family. He received all of us, not just his countrymen, with singular affection. The other college was built for the education of the Indians; here they learn to read, write and learn music, and how to play instruments. Here we came face to face with the pious memory of Fr. Cornelius Beudin, who was once its Fr. Rector and was already well known for his addiction to the language of the Indians. The new Superior asserted that his remains had been sent to Belgium aboard the fleet. Finally there is another seminary erected with funds from the King, where the lay students are busy with the humanities as well as the higher letters. The city is hardly the second Archdiocese in Spain, in nobility, commerce, and the gatherings of good and splendid establishments of all the religious orders, and their superb buildings.<sup>1</sup> There are 18 cloistered monasteries, not at all inferior in charm. We were told here the one thing that we all longed to hear, that the Philippine galleon, which had remained from last year, was already about to be despatched. Rather, the Viceroy himself, having given an appointment to the Fr. Provincial, but [the latter being] unable to go on account of a serious illness, brought the news, decreed by himself, and the Council, that the day of departure had been fixed at 8 December, the feast-day of the Immaculate Conception. That is why we have been ordered to make the preparations to expedite this departure as soon as possible. This was unanimously done, the more important baggage being sent ahead to Acapulco already, but due to the difficulty of some stretches along the way, the horses might not be able to follow us.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The foremost Archdiocese was that of Seville, as it was overseeing most of the dioceses in Latin America at one time.

2 Ed. note: Abrupt ending also in manuscript. The last folio (serving as an envelope) is missing in the archives.

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## Document 1671P3

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# Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Mathew Schweitzer, dated Mexico 5 December 1671

*Source: AGR 1, fol. 35-36v.*

*Summary: Contains his journal of the crossing from Spain to Mexico and references to many Flemish Jesuits he knew. Comments by Fr. Bouwens about Veracruz: There were 4 monasteries, not counting that of the Jesuits, some hospitals, parish churches, etc. The fort had at least 60 cannon and 200 soldiers. At the town of Puebla de los Angeles, there were Dominican and Augustinian monasteries. The moneys spent to build the cathedral there amounted to a fabulous amount and was not yet finished. The Jesuit Province of New Spain covered a distance of 900 leagues; it had four missions: Sinaloa, Paral, Sonora, de la Sierra. Among the missionaries, there were some Jesuits from the Flandro-Belgian Province (e.g. de Hutter, Ægidianus, Maes) and the Gallo-French Province (e.g. Montefrio, i.e. Frofjlmont who had just died, and Diserinus, alias Dysaerin).*

## Journal kept by Fr. Bouwens on the voyage between Cádiz and Veracruz

### Original text in Latin.

[folio 35]

*Reverende Pater in Christo*

*P. E.*

*Fidem libero quam R. Væ discedens dederam; ac proinde mitto navigationis nostræ diarium: breve id quidem atque succinctum; ne et ego perscribendis communitè, ut aiunt, accidendibus inutiliter tempus insumam; et R. Vam. seriis, ut solet, intentam, nugis distineam.*

*Julij Vix tandem e portu altum invectos ventus excepit contrarius. Infaustum navigationis exordium mercatoribus accidit non importunum: minora namque, quæ bono numero classem circumvolitabant navigia merces, quas copiosas satis vehebant furtive per obviam onerariis imposuere. Ita Regem ubique Iusificant [Iudificant].*

16. *Mutatus sub noctem ventus in Borea-orientalem favere nobis perrexit per hebdomadas etiam plures. Postridie*

17. *Præter festivas præcurrentium acclamationis more inter navigantes solito, nihil accidit peculiare.*

18. *Tardigradam quam, quod cæteras subsequi non posset, una cum suo celoce petentes Honduras, deseruimus.*

20. *Golfo quem vulgo dicunt de las Hieguas ingressi, mare invenimus magis inquietum nausea ilico subsequente, quæ Franciscanos imprimis tum non exulavit [exul(t)averit?].*

21. *Vento validius insurgente navis eminus apparuit malo majori destituta, quam nostri rati admirantiam, errore deinde cognito Caravelam novere damni penitus immunitem.*

22. *Tarifam [i.e. Tenerife] superavimus, quam alio nomine vocant magnam Canariam. Sub meridiem vela dimisimus vento vehementione coacti. Periculum insuper eminuit a Gubernaculo, quod nescio quo vitio, navem ventis procellisque jactatam [=jactatum] non dirigebat. Expalluere ad rei insolentiam una cum Capitaneo quotquot clavo navis veherebat, mercatores: inclamat Gubernator, accurrunt nautæ; tempore certe, evidenti alioquin, ut ipsi postea fatebantur naufragandi periculo nobiscum obnoxii.*

23. *Cursum stitit utrumque vis aquæ; quæ clavo e carina excusso navim subibat: et deprehenso malo nautarum ilico accurrit diligentia. Sub vesperam ex 16 navigans, tot enim simul solvimus e portu, non plures 11 comparuere, aliis alio dilapsis.*

24. *Deseruere reliquas aliæ duæ. Detinuit nos volatus piscium, ut novo ita non injucundo spectaculo.*

25. *Obiit e nocte unus e nigris. Nec aliud accidit præter celebritatem D. Hispaniæ titularis more genti consulto.*

26. *Præter volanter aves vicinam, ut rebamur, insulam aliquam mentitæ spe nos inani lactabant. Sequenti tribus nihil succedit.*

30. *Jejunio Soctis. servato ad festum S. P. N. quod solemniter postridie est celebratum, omnia disposuimus.*

31. *Navis primo mane ornata nautico circumquaque vestit. quotquot habent vexilla aplustriaque explicuit. Non omnes ad aram fecimus, excepti deinde potu indico, quem e mercatoribus unus liberaliter obtulit genti. Etiam viliori. Sub 8am sacrum cantavit Franciscanorum Superior, vel Custode ilis precabantur, vir non vulgo viveuntur(?) suos auctoritatis qui Guardian alii forte non uno(?) functus canus deninam(?) Provincialis universæ præest Provinciæ Mexicanæ. Post evangelium alius item ex illis panegyrum cabuit sane perquam piam atque ad honorem Sancto appositam. Prandio deinde tantiori exceptos ludis festivis detinuit gens nautica gratiosissime sane et perquam jucunda: sub finem vino cupediisque inter illam liberaliter distributis inerenda nobis obtigit. Nos vero accepta pridie ab amice mercatore bellaria arædam additis iisdem quibusdem, ex iis quæ penes nos erant, apposuimus P. Pastis, attisque pro officio gratiis finem accepit celebritas.*

*1 Augusti. Ad solis ardentis calores caro salsa jam pridem ægrum siculata vermibus, ut citra fœtorem, scaturivit. Præmissa catechesi ac concionculæ, quæ quot hebdomadico habebantur a nostris aliquoties, ad perendinas indulgentias tempestive omnes cœpe [sic] anul(?) disponi(?).*

*2. Mane de peccatis vitæ confessor sacro deinde epulo ad unum fere omnes referimus fructu haud inmore ipsorum, quam nostra omnium voluptate suam mihi conscientiam aperuit Calvinista Hollandus, qui inter Hispanos publice audiebat Catholix cito: illum ego deinde e loco ac tempore convenienti Ecclesias reconciliavi. Subducto sub meridiem calculo 700-nos leucas jam conferisse sustinuit Pilota; sed errore ut tempus docuit manifesto.*

*3. Ex armis in singulos, si quis hostis forsitan ingrueret distributis successis postridie*

*4. Subtra[sc]tio, vix 30 universim omnium. Animus plerisque bellicosuæ scilicet, ac Martialis utpote unorum nemo miles sclopum exonerare aut ne vix quidem nosset, aut non cuderet. Adde tormenta locis amota, inutilia partim, partim impedita.*

*5. Terram vicinam pollicebantur omnia, Iris, volatus avium, fulgetra; et quæ mare copiosa deinde advenit, terræ feces, arborum rami, herbæ etc. at postridie*

*6. Subdicta ratione 300 leucis aberat insularum magis vicina.*

*10. Nam præcedenti triduo nihil occurrit; apparunt sub prandum navis quædam septentrionem versus stu(?) videre fuit celocem Hispanum, ic sacellam imprimis qui hostilem ratus, ad nos statione via recta ilico se recepit iam actum se omnibus esse conclamans: vix orisum(?) tenuimus, quod ne vel, periculi vinera hactenus appareres. Repetito tormenti ictu una cum celoce exploratum millitur quæ illam detexerat, ne forte hostilis celaret alias, earum prodroma.*

*12. Pridie namque actum est omnino nihil, de terræ distantia inter illos non est conventum: probabilius testabat ad leucas 160. Vi tempestatis in diversum actis non media[sc]ie(?) imminuit periculum ne in nostram vicina impingeret: at nos Deo bene vectente citra damnum stitit: illud 28 præcedentis (quod ibi annotare exciderat) si non nobis, mercibus recte quas sua pernulo a mari immunes Capitaneus succeperat transvehendas, non fere sane imminuit: undarum vi expressus e carina clavus aquam admittebat malum eo periculosus quo difficillius deprehensim: dico vix potest quantum ruinæ suæ ut eam vir bonus existimabat, ingenuerit, nautarum non ita post solerti industria aliquantum recreatus: ex illis namque tres quatuorve e fumbus in mare penduli clavus aliis vi majori adactis ulteriorem perniciem averterunt. Extractis deinde quæ aquæ circuperant examinatisque, damnum intra limites stetit 200 supercales haud quaquam excedens.*

*13. Hodie ad explosum tormentum convocatæ suam quæque sententiam tulivunt - e proxima a terra distantia, quæ 100 plus minus leucarum a plerisque est indicata.*

*14. Vesperi festo Virginia Assumptiæ prenum est a nautis qui varias Indiæ nationes moribus ac vestum cultu ingeniosissime expressere.*

[fol. 35v]

*15. Ad festivitatem sumptus munifice subministravit Capitaneus: sacrum con[vi]vio epulæ etc. ut supra 31 Julii.*

16. *Incredibili summum voluptate terram eminus deteximus versus austrum: eam **Anguillam** insula indagabant. Postridie*

17. *Sub vesperam præservecti 4or **Virgines** (quas pauci incolunt Hollandis ut quidam aiebat gos[s]yppu ac tabaci feraces) superavimus promontorium S. Joannis de **Puerto Rico**, et ea nocte ipsam insulam tenuimus;*

18. *Qui superandæ non suffecit dies proxime subsequens. Octo sole urbem, quæ insulæ caput est et sedes Archiepiscopalis, vidimus quidam; at contemplari, ut libuit non licebat ob montem illi objectum. Castrum hinc inde geminum urbi pariter ac mari imperat. A prandio frequentiores nimbi in malaciam de sylvæ: jam deinde depexit tempestas, quæ contraria velis coegit non ultra progredi. Aura aliquantum mitigata partim celox ingreditur et cum urbem subitura. Altera navi etiam hodie classis decrevit.*

19. *Sub 10am matutinam devenimus ad stationem periculo sorto ne in se mutuo naves impingerent. Finito vix prandio procella incubuit tonitribus fulminibusque perquam horrenda quæ Franciscanos duos qui curiositatis canoa conscensa properabant ad littus, tantum non subvectit submersitque. Insulæ aspectus supra quam scribi potest amœnus munifice omnes affert. Interea expeditus scapha, conscenditur saltatus in terram altitium pecorum (porcorum imprimis) frugumque omnis generis si frumentum excipias, feracissimam. Nos comparatis qui ad reficiendum videbantur nos insalubria, regressi sumus ad navem pernoctantibus in terra nos paucis.*

20. *Vix fuit qui remaneret in navi alii aguatum alii lignatum iere. Pars rediit multas frugibus: pars coneat greges pecorum integros, qui ludandis exsuccandisque ad sole linteaminibus insudabant et erat istorum pars longe maximam jucundum præ reliquis præbuere spectacules instructis potissimum ad prandium epulis. Aquæ dulci, ligno, pecori, frugibus etc. in classem coinportandis ad seram usque nocte insumptum est quod fuit diei reliquum.*

21. *Ad solis ortum dato signo sustulimus anchoras, a prandio classem cum suis, visitat venit Generalis. Comparavimus nos, ut fuimus jussi 3 Religiosos. Omnes mercatoribus omnibus uno excepto, et quotquot sine facultate navem conscenderant hic illis one proderentur: furtive abstrusis. Sed non fuit prodicionis perionem jam in illis perquirendis iam operæ fuerit impensum. Ullis ad suam regressis prætervecti sumus **Sachenum**, insula est quæ rupis instar alta rotundaque ut caret incolis, ita pecore abundat et maximæ capreis. Hic nos quasi immotos detinuit malacies, quæ mox exorta diem etiam duæ sequentem.*

23. *Ad monitam prorexisimus [sic], insulam Hispaniæ a simiis dictam. Hic celocem habuimus reducem gaudio, eo majori, quo pæjora fuerant, quæ de illa aut capta ab Anglos, aut tempestatis volis malisque, destituta retulerant.*

24. *Nihil habuit singularie. Postridie*

[25.] *mane videndam se dedit insula **S. Dominici**; qua 8am cursu dextrorsum reflexo accessimus propius: exorta deinde procella totum pene dum desiit.*

26. *Malacies calori plus quam Indico conjuncta tantum non exanimavit omnes.*

27. *Aer sub 8am matutinam tenuiter motus succrevit deinde paulatim, donec occidente soleam(?) fædam(?) prorumperet tempestateri(?) per totam fere noctem contrac-*



*tus velis prorisque obversis luxeræ naves omnes: Capitanea et Almirantia etiam duplicato ac triplicato lumine.*

28. *Nihil singularie.*

29. *Deteximus **Cubam**; conspectum **Jamaicæ** eripuerè nobis nube ac nebulæ crasiores.*

1 *Sept.* *Nam biduo ante vix quidquam occurrit obiit piissime e nautis binis omnibus Ecclesiæ sacramentis ad morte tempestive munitus. Fundum mox petiit demotui corpus more inter navigantes consulto. Reliquum diem sudeci(?) nos pene immersit intollerabilis celox quem dein aliquato initioem excepit piscatio, opus natatio pene omnium.*

2. *Priori non absimilis.*

3. *Prætervecti simul mane insulam quam vocabant **Cayman** minorem e majorem deinde tenuimus sub prandium solo utramque æqualum ac plano nocte mombemur(?). Ut proras illis obverteremus; ne quid periculum oriretur ab iis, qui ibi piscandis festudinibus ocupabantur.*

4. *Ad 10 continuæ fere malacies: tum sub auroram intervallo quantum oculis licuit assequi apparuere naves duæ, quæ et postridie simulabant se nobis velle adjungere; at deinde forte spe predæ [=prædæ] amissa, non eas hostiles suspicabamur disparuere. Facta bolide semel iterumque laudem ad 180 ulnas invenimus fundum.*

11, 12, 13. *Amissi pene tramite incerti hæserè Navarchæ donec fundum dein no invenere ad ulnas 54 quæ mox ad 35, tum ad 31 decrevere eodem die præca[ut]io deinde secuta in cænâ ac prandium suffecis omnibus abundantî sime.*

14. *Hodie positæ sunt reliquæ S. Crucis, ad easque decantatis litaniis ventum impetravimus, quem iterum vesperi excepit malacies 140 leucis indicabant nos abesse e portu.*

16. *Tentato fundo ulnas invenimus 22 [uln]as quæ postridie mane a 26 crevere ad plures.*

18. *Distantia a portu videbatur 75 leucarum: nocte ingruente valida ingruerat procella aqua malum potuisset timeri, nisi tempori invigilassent. Postridie*

[19.] *ex amisso jejunio viciniore portum respeximus quidem; ut ille nusquam comparuit ob majorem quam putabatur ab eo distantiam quæ*

20. *ex calculo credebatur 60 leucarum; quæ ad 25 postridie decrevere, quando et apparere cæpit America conlindus, qua omnium voluptate non facile exsero.*

22. *Vento ea nocte oportunistimo usi sub ortum solis prospeximus portum Veræ Crucis eumque sub 11am Deo sit laus, 70 navigationis die Salv. omnes summis ingressi, et ibidem in Collegio humanissime exceptos per 6 continuos dies liberaliter recreavit qui virem gerebat Rectoris.*

*Postridie navis appulit ex Campeche (portus est continentis Americæ) magis australis, retulitque inter alia non procul inde Indigenas Indos inhumaniter habitos ab Hispanis coacta seditione ministrum suum evangelicum (erat is Minorita) crudeliter interfecisse. At facti deinde pænitenter veniam [=veniebant?] a PP. obtinere alio illis submisso ex iis, qui unam vemebant [=veniebant] nobiscum. De Panama ab Anglis deserto [fol. 36] nemo illic dubitabat.*

*Locus hic ad maris littus in longum exlinditur Portum S. Mariæ non dissimilis: e Mercatoribus aliquot habet prædivites. Monasteria præter Collegium nostrum numerat omnino 4or præter hospitale non unum et templum Parochiale. Castrum quod e rupe saxove latente muri supereminet urbi simul et portum imperat a tormentis 60 ut minum et 200 militibus probe instructum. Geminum deinde fortalitium urbem defendunt in ipso littore quod non nisi ex portu vadis, utrumque impeditissimo habet accessum. Æris temperies ob calorum humorumque excessum insaluberrima hiemem aliam non habet nisi Boreales continuos, qui ab ineunte Octobri per aliquot continuos menses portum habent infestissimum.*

### [Description of Puebla de los Angeles]

*28. Itinere Mexicum versus instituto Angelopolim venimus 3 Octobris ubi per dies 5 omni prosus affectus ex charitate excepti urbem, et quidquid in urbe est visu dignum non semel lustravimus. Illa ut multis Hispanæ urbibus amplitudine sua non cedit; ita situ tractoque platearum longo latoque superat, universas: monasteriorum vero templorumque nitor atque ornatus Belgis nostris nihil debet. Eminebant Dominicani et Augustiniani, quorum domiciliis nullum vidi in Belgio simile. De Cathedrali hoc tantum adjicio; quod in fabricam illius, neque hactenus est absoluta, quo tempore eam consecravit Palafoxius, quindecies decem centena pataconum millia<sup>1</sup> publicis privatisque elemosynis fuerint collata. Tertiam istic probationem habet Societas, item gymnasium studiorum ulteriorem, et convictum. Utrique domui amplæ et commodæ, suum templum est adjectum.*

### [Description of Mexico City]

*Relicta Angelopoli tertio dein die pervenimus Mexicum sub 1am pomeridianam, ubi etiamnum hæremus omnes, præter P. Superiorem et P. Coomans, quos præcedenti dominica in Apaculpo [sic], portus est ad mare[m] Australe[m]; præmissos nos brevi sequimus anno proxime ineunte itineris reliquum prosecuturi. Mexicum septentrionalis Americæ caput utrimque e mari, hinc septemtrionali, inde Australi 80 plus minus leucis dissitum solo paludoso et aqueo, altissimis undequaque rupibus cingitur. Plateas amplas habet et rectissima ædificiorum serie perquam bene dispositas. Gaditanum amplitudine sua adequat, superet certe si novæ urbs contiguam veterem adjicias: at hæc ab annis aliquot quo nescio infortunio ædificiis plerisque dejectis carruit; Palatium tamen istius Montesumæ etiamnum servatur venerandum infinitatis monumentum e regione illius templum habent est domicilium PP. Franciscani, qui hac in parte idiomate genti proprio Indos instruunt.*

*Hos præter, seminaria suo domum habemus professam, et disciplinarum omnium Gymnasium: alit hoc e nostris 80 circiter; illa non plures 25 ea Regularum ubi observantia, ut nihil magis. Ad 900 leucas extenda Provincia missiones habet 4or[.] Sinaloam scilicet, Paral, Sonoram et quam de la Sierra: illas labore non humori quam fructu ex-*

1 Error est forte pro voce patacum habebat unum Indicorum.

*colunt omnii(?) ut minimum 60, quos inter Provinciam quondam nostra Flandro-Belgica P. de Hutter, P. Ægydiano, P. Maes qui modo missionem Superior et Sarundem [sic] visitator Collegio simul Puadianensi præest maxima summum commendatione. E Provincia Gallo-Belgica P. Montefrio alias Fromont, non ita pridem defuncto vivit superstes P. Diserinus vir vere apostolicus: Successores illis expetuntur alij, eoque magis quod novæ nuper missiones apertæ spem suam in exteris fixam habeant. In Californias anno præcedenti novum expeditionem auspicaturus e nostris quatuor hactenus destituit qui solutis 10 pataconum millibus eos illuc susceperat invehendos: duo ex 4 illis designatis præmaturo obitu sua vota aliis reliquere ad implenda.*

*Hodie sub vesperam pessima renuntiantur de barbaris qui incursione facta in Sinaloam, missionem metu omnia complevere forte non sine strage: ita citatis eques hodie Pro Regi renuntiavit unus aliquis, quem illinc huc destinarunt in 4am hujus indicta est celebritas S. Regis Fernandini. Festum canonizationis S. [Francisci] Borgæ celebrabitur mense februaris quo apparatu ignosco: festo S. Andreæ publica privataque lætitia ac pomparum vulgari publicata est Bulla Cruciatæ in hunc modum: Sabbat 30 proxime festum præcedenti Civitatis obæquitabant est Magistratu ac primaria nobilitate plus minus 25 eos quorum apparatu, ut in Hispania simile quid nusquam viderim: præcedebant [sic] illos in equis item quin holoserico rubro induti præferebant coronata civitatis insignia: hos præcesserant tibicines ac tympanistæ; atque ea cavalcata intimatum Pro Regi Bullam jam acceptam rite de more publicandam.*

*Die Lunæ eodem omnes apparatu convenere in domam Commissarijs; quem una cum Thesauraris supplicabandi deduxere uterque Clerus Regularis et sæcularis primum ad templum Dominicanum ubi alba et pluviali indutus Commissarius latus illius stipendibus duobus Canonicis eodem modo induti accepit Choro **Te Deum** intonante; tum inde ad Cathedralam perrexit supplicatio inter multiplures ignium festivorum Lunes et pridie vesperi frequentissimos succendere, fragores lituis lubisque ad angulos platearum interstrepentibus: in Cathedrali præter Archiepiscopum et Pro Regem sacro et concioni inter fuit homum multitudo pene infinita, quæ deinde bulla sub finem concionis solemniter publicata actum ad altare sub conexeo affixe ad sua se recepit.*

*Festum S. [Francisci] Xaverii, qui Civitati Mexicanæ electus est, con Patronum tam religiose ab omnibus hic observatur, ut vix ulla obfcinia pateat; ubi tamen dominicus de Sestis alus uti per totam Hispaniam maxima passim subjectas est emendi atque vendendi. Congregationem Xaverianam inter Clericos Regulares ab unius aliquot instituit P. S. Victores modo eam dirigendi a se prescripto: festum et illi in Parochiali S. Crucis, ubi Sacellum primarium opulente ornatum habet s. ille apostolicus, inter alia prandium pauperibus liberaliter eo die est distributum. Ita hic viget cultus Xaverianus, ejus ex ipsis Marianis fovente plurimum eodem P. S. Victores, cui nos 4or me memor P. Coomans, P. Tocchi [sic] siculum et P. vander Steyn suppetias mittit. R. P. Provincialis Provinciæ Mexicanæ potestate ud [sic] id ei facta ab Adm. R. P. N. Generali. De Marianis illis utpote jam notis ex iis quas Madrito dedi, nihil jam dico, nisi quod missio illa, si non omnibus, quas modo habet Societas, mereatur præserri, recte nulli alteri videatur postponenda 1º ob solitudinem, utpote quæ ab aliis gentibus avulsa cum nulla*

*earum communicationem habet [fol. 36v] 2° ob rerum omnium quæ ad victum sunt necessariae, penuriam: illas ex eleemosynæ collatis huc Mexico submittit Collegis Mexicanam Minister vir omnino sanctus et Marianis a P. N. Si per Superiores immediatos liceret, jam pridem applicatus; sed eum Mexici detinet singularis Dei providentia, ne eo destituta novella hæc, missio intereat, quæ ab anno 68 huc usque numerat ad 60000 hominum quos ad fidem nostram convertere nostra Socte. sacerdotes 6, qui soli ex tota Europa neque enim eo accurritur, ubi nihil est, sacri in immenso illo insularum tractu subsistunt.*

*Nos inde plura memores semper R. Væ cujus et sacrificiis me commendo eo impensius, uno illis deinceps magis indigneo omni(?) ad sacrem sacrendum supellectes hactenus destitutus; et ut eam alicunde submittat Deus, necessaria forsitan ad sacrum quotidianum materia destituendus; quod tamen solatium (et novis R. V<sup>a</sup> quanti id a sacerdote inter Barbaros solitario et rerum omnium indigo sit faciendum) Divinæ Majestati, si ita expedit ad animarum salutem cum jam pridem me totum devovi, lubens consecro aliorum per Provinciam ferventissimis precibus Sanctissimisque Sacrificiis multum confisus fors[te] ut pro infinita sua misericordia num permittat Deus me, postquam aliis prædica vero ipsum reprobum effici et vale mi P. Matthia post amplexus affectu maximo iterum ac sæpius repetitos. Et frequenti scriptione (quod certe facies) de rebus potissimum quæ ad Provinciam mihi charissimam pertinent, mutuuum inter nos amorem proseguere; meque si illi ex æquo forsitan non respondero (omnem tamen accipiam scribenda oportunitatem, excusatum habe ex eo, quod facilius, si quod tamen illic sit facile) forte perferri possint amicorum litteræ, quam istinc ad eos responsum remitti.*

*Mexici 5 Decem[br]i 1671*

*Officiosam salutem cum debito obsequio adscripto toti Provinciæ R. Provinciali imprimis, P. Th. Dekens, P. Ægidio van Beke, P. Joi. Rentergen, P. Manderscheyt, P. de Brens, P. Adriano van Horenbeeck, PP. Professoribus meis, P. Grandam, P. Ars debrum, PP. Navalibus etc. quos in generis R. V. mihi notos maxime PP. meos Magistros P. van Asse, P. de Kien, P. de Raet, P. P[apenb]roch.*

*R. V. Servus in Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens.*

*P. S. Adjicio pauca: 6 hujus dicebatur portum Acapulco subjisse navis Peruana, mercurium advenit inter alia. Rumoritem erat de alia circa parte easdem conspecta ex Philippinis: sed rumor, evanuit. A diebus 14 hinc in Acapulco abiere P. Superior et P. Petrus tempestive istic paraturi quæ necessaria sunt ad reliquam navigationem, quam Deo dante sumus resumtum anno proxime ineuntem.*

*Ab aliquot diebus hic per publicas urbis plateas virgis cæsus est. Religiosos quidpiam spectaculo supe non religioso ob polygamiam sacrere cum tribus, si memini, similis superstitibus, contractagia incotabantur sacrilegium ut pænæ ita et sceleris forsitan haud*

*seviore seriarum mulieres duae, quarum altera pertutum quinquennium, rem habuerat cum daemone.*

*Sub initium nostri huc adventus edicto publico relegati sunt in suas terras exteri omnino omnes. Sed res praeter turbationem multorum aliud nihil sortita ob infinitas, quibus erat implicata, difficultater successu carruit.*

*3 Novembris juridice a S. Inquisitione rescripta est sententia quam in Philippinis contra earum Gubernatore haeredeos insimulatam fulminaverat S. Officii Commissarius Augustinianus quidam cujus jussu hisce addictis bonis et ipse Gubernator captus Mexicanum Tribunal appellaverat ut navigationi et mærori penis immortalus est; quam hac appelleret defuncti haeredibus. Adjudicata est integra confiscata hereditatis restitutio, cum declaratione quod quæ injustæ et violenter in dictum D. Salcedo fuere peracta; illis ad munia publica cum scrum(?) ordinis sunt ac gradus, obesse non posse etc.*

### Literal translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace of Christ.

I fulfill the promise that I made to Y.R. upon my departure; so, I send the **diary** of our voyage. In any case, it is brief and succinct, so that I not waste time writing common [stuff], as they say, and about useless incidents. And, as usual, I will mention serious things to Y.R., and keep out the frivolous [stuff].

**July.** Finally we left the port, but we had hardly reached the high sea when a contrary wind arose. There happened an untimely and unlucky beginning of the voyage for the merchant ships; a good number of small ships with merchandise were visiting the fleet, sailing rather furtively through the merchant ships to place their goods aboard. So, they deceive the King.<sup>1</sup>

**16.** By nightfall the wind changed to northeast, becoming favorable to us, persisting that way for many weeks. The next day

**17.** Except for the festive acclamations that are common among sailors, nothing special happened.

**18.** We abandoned one of the ships that were heading for Honduras, with their single patache, and that were falling behind and could not follow us.

**20.** When we entered the gulf they call "de las Hiegvas",<sup>2</sup> we came into a rough sea causing nausea from then on, which specially did not leave(?) the Franciscans.

**21.** With the wind becoming stronger, a ship appeared at a distance to have been made destitute by a major problem, which we thought was admirable, the mistake becoming known, we learned that the caravel was completely free of damage.

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1 Ed. note: They were thus avoiding paying the duties that the merchants on board had paid on their own goods.

2 Ed. note: Not "Ciegas" either, but "Yegvas", which means Mares, female horses; I think they were then entering the so-called "horse" latitudes.

22. We passed Tarife [rather Tenerife], which they call by the other name of Great Canary Island.<sup>1</sup> Just before noon, we reduced sail, the wind pushing with force. This danger brought out the pilot who, I do not know for what reason, was not directing the ship when it was hit by the wind and squall. The merchants became pale at the insolence of the business by whatever Captain's man was at the rudder; the commander shouted, the sailors ran up. The intervention was certainly obvious; otherwise, as they discussed later on, we would have been in danger of foundering.

23. The course was maintained and the force of the waters on both sides lifted the rudder off the hull; the diligence of the sailors who ran up soon fixed the problem there. By nightfall, that made 16 days at sea since we left port; no(?) more than 11 appeared similar to the others gone by.

24. The last two [ships] abandoned us. Flying-fish kept us busy, with their new spectacle, not at all unpleasant.

25. One of the negroes died last night, and nothing else happened, except the celebration of the feast-day of the patron saint of Don España, in accordance with the deliberate custom of the people.

26. Except for birds flying, that flocked together, and fed our vain hope that some island lay nearby. Nothing occurred during the next three [days].

30. Fast of the Society observed in preparation of the feast-day of our holy Father [St. Ignatius] which is solemnly celebrated on the last day of the month; we arranged everything.

31. At daybreak the ship was decorated all around by the sailors spreading as many flags and poop ornaments as could be found. Not all [of us] officiated at the altar. Then, one of the merchants generously offered some Indian drink [i.e. chocolate] to the people. Even cheap [wine]. At 8 o'clock the sacred [mass] was sung by the Superior, or Custodian, of the Franciscans [2-3 words undecipherable] who were praying, a man who takes care of his people uncommonly well, filling the post of Guardian of the band, a venerable old man who comes already with the authority to be the head of the whole Mexican Province. After the gospel, another one of them give the eulogy, completely pious and wholly to the honor of the saint. Then, after an ample meal was had, festive plays were presented by the sailors which were fully and completely delightful. At the end, we made a liberal distribution of wine and sweets among them. Indeed, the previous day we had accepted sweets from the friendly merchant, with other things also, from those that were in our hands; we appointed Fathers Pastis and Attis for the job at hand, and he brought the celebration to a close.<sup>2</sup>

**1 August.** Some salted meat, which had been suffering from worm infestation for some time already, was exposed to the heat of the sun. It was rotten and stank beyond [endurance]. Before the catechism and small prayers that were sometimes given weekly

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1 Ed. note: Tenerife and Gran Canaria are two different islands, however.

2 Ed. note: Pastis and Attis, an obscure reference to Greek mythology.

by our people, everyone in his own time began to prepare for the indulgences of the day after tomorrow.

2. In the morning, I was the confessor of the sins of one's life, then gave the sacred meal, to one whom almost everyone referred to by the fruit by no means according to their custom. He was a Dutch Calvinist who opened his conscience to me, much to our pleasure. Among the Spaniards, he was often heard to say Catholic. Then, I reconciled him with the Church at a convenient time and place. At noon, it was calculated by the Pilot that we had already covered 700 leagues, but he showed a manifest error as to the time estimate.

3. One weapon to every man, in case of an enemy attack. After the distribution, the next day

4. They were taken back, hardly 30 in all. In fact, the spirit of many is bellicous, and martial, given that none of the musketeers was exonerated, either hardly anyone knew how to fire them, or repair them. Besides, when the guns were tested, they were partly useless, and partly jammed.<sup>1</sup>

5. The neighboring land was promising everything: a rainbow, a rapid run, lightning; and what the sea then brought in abundance: flotsam, tree branches, grasses, etc. And the next day

6. Estimated run to the nearest big island: 300 leagues.

10. Nothing happened during the preceding three days. At meal time, a certain ship was sighted to the north. It seemed Spanish, but it was thought to be an enemy privateer; it was then heading straight for us and everyone was shouting together that action was already in the offing. We had hardly arrived at ... that so as not to seem so far like coming danger.<sup>2</sup> A gun was fired, some soldiers aboard the launch went to explore, to see if perhaps the enemy would have kept others hidden, being their precursor.

12. The action of yesterday was altogether nothing. The distance to land is not agreed to among them; the probable distance is 160 leagues. The danger caused by the force of the storm in its diverse actions did not hit in our immediate vicinity; we hope that God will willingly keep its damage away. The preceding 28 days (which is when I began writing) the Captain has transferred all his responsibilities at sea, if not to us, straight to the merchants(?), he did not almost completely reduce(?). He admitted that the rudder that had been pushed off the hull by the force of the water was a dangerous evil which was more difficult to predict. I say the force can cause him his ruin just as easily, more than the good man thought; it was repaired only with tremendous efforts by the sailors. Three or four of them were swung over the rudder by the great strength of the others and by reaching it they averted a tragedy later on. Then when it was pulled from the water and they had inspected it all around, the damage was within limits, by no means exceeding 200 [supercalles=?].

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1 Ed. note: This paragraph is very loosely translated, and is my educated guess of what Fr. Bouwens tried to say in rough Latin.

2 Ed. note: Garbage in, garbage out.

13. Today before the storm exploded, a meeting was called, whose opinion was that the distance to the nearest land was estimated at 100 leagues more or less.

14. The eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin was an occasion for the sailors, who expressed themselves very ingeniously in dressing up in accordance with the customs of various Indian tribes.

15.. The Captain generously supplied everything for the festivity: mass, festive meals, etc. See 31 July above.

16. It was with an incredible show of pleasure that land was sighted toward the south. They made it to be the Island of **Anguilla**.

17. Just before sunset, the four **Virgin** Islands were sighted. They are inhabited by a few Dutchmen and are said to be fertile for cotton and tobacco. We came abreast of Cape St. John of **Puerto Rico**, and by nightfall we arrived at the island itself.

18. The whole of the next day was not sufficient to fully make it. 8 a.m. we saw the city, which is the capital of the island and the see of an Archbishop, but it was not possible to contemplate it, because a hill<sup>1</sup> was obstructing the view. Here, a fort then dominates both the city and the sea [approaches]. By mealtime, frequent rain clouds brought calm to the woods; then already the storm hit, which, being contrary, the sail was taken down, and we did not proceed forward. The breeze being somewhat abated, the launch was boarded and went off to the city. Today the other ships of the diminished fleet [arrived] also.

19. Before 10 o'clock in the morning, we came up to the anchorage, not without risking the danger of collision with the other ships. We had hardly finished lunch when a squall hit with thunder and lightning, totally horrendous for two Franciscans who out of curiosity had boarded a canoe and were heading ashore; it is a wonder they did not capsize. What I can write about the appearance of the island is that it is magnificent to look at on all sides. Meanwhile, we took the canoe that was sent ashore to fetch some cattle (mostly pigs) and fruits of all kinds; the land is very fertile, except for wheat. After we realized that it seemed not a good place to recuperate, as it seemed unhealthy to us, we went back aboard the ship, but quite a few spent the night ashore.

20. Hardly was anyone left aboard ship, as some went ashore for water, others for wood. Some came back with many fruits, some were getting together groups of live cattle; the men were playing and exerting themselves until their clothes were wet with perspiration and part of them were having great fun for a long time, the rest were presenting the more important spectacle until a meal was taken. Until evening and night-time, fresh water, wood, cattle, fruits, etc were loaded aboard the fleet, and that took care of the rest of the day.

21. At sunrise, the anchors were raised at a given signal. At lunch time, the General came to visit the fleet with his people. We presented ourselves: we were 3 Religious at

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1 Ed. note: Actually it is part of a peninsula.



his order. All the merchants, except one who presented himself, made themselves scarce, as they may have come aboard without permission. But there was no denunciation of them, as they had been inquired of already and already paid for their loads. As soon as these people had gone back, we passed **Sachen**,<sup>1</sup> which is a savage island, high, round, without inhabitants, but abundant with cattle, and above all goats. Here we were made immobile by calm weather, and remained so until daybreak the day after.

23. We sailed by **Monita**, the island called Monkey Island by Spaniards. Here we had the launch return with joy, the more so because bad things could have happened to it; it might have been caught either by Englishmen or willy-nilly by a storm, either way made destitute.

24. Nothing special happened. The next day

25. In the morning the Island of **Santo Domingo** came into view. At 8 a.m. the heading was changed to the right toward it, but a squall arose that almost stopped everything.

26. Such calm weather and heat together in the Indies might be enough to kill everyone.

27. Just before 8 a.m., the air began to move weakly, then little by little, until a storm violently approached from the west which lasted almost through the whole night with sail furled and lamps lit at the bow of all the ships turned [toward it]. The flagship and the almiranta also had twice and three times as many lights.

28. Nothing particular.

29. We sighted **Cuba**. The view of **Jamaica** was hidden from us by clouds and denser fog.

1 **Sept.** Before that storm hit two days ago, two of the sailors died very piously and went to their death properly provided with all the sacraments of the Church. Soon the bodies went to the bottom, in accordance with the custom observed among sailors. For the rest of the day, the launch was almost swamped at the beginning of some fishing, forcing almost everyone to swim.

2. Not different from the previous day.

3. In the morning we sailed by an island they call **Cayman**, the lesser, and then before noon we arrived at Great Cayman, and we enjoyed(?) both a regular sun and a clear night. The bows were turned, so as to avoid any danger to those who were then busy fishing for fun.

4. From 10 [p.m.] we had almost calm weather, then just before dawn, the eyes searched for two ships, which yesterday seemed to want to reach us, and then perhaps having lost hope of a prey, though we did not suspect them to be hostile, they disappeared. When the sounding line was let down, we were again pleased to find bottom at 180 fathoms.

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1 Ed. note: What Fr. Bouwens writes *Sachenum* in Latin, Fr. Coomans wrote it as *Sacheus* (Doc. 1671P2).

11, 12, 13. The captains had difficulty finding the proper route, while the bottom was only found at 54 fathoms, but soon it was almost 35, then decreasing down to 31 on that day [11th] and then on the following day [12th] by lunch time and supper-time there were sufficient bottom for all.

14. Today the relics of the Holy Cross were brought out and the litanies recited before them. We got the wind, but once again by vespers the calm returned. They found that the distance to port is 140 leagues.

16. The sounding line indicated 22 fathoms, which the next day [17th] it increased to over 26.

18. The distance to port is about 75 leagues. As night-time brought a squall, some damage could be feared, unless a close eye was kept on the weather. The next day

[19]. After breakfast, we were looking for some port in the vicinity, and it was nowhere to be seen on account of the distance being greater than it was thought.

20. The estimates that were thought to be 60 leagues decreased the next day [21st] to 25, when the land of the American continent appeared. I cannot easily express the joy of everyone.

22. The wind having been very favorable last night, at daybreak we sighted the port of Vera Cruz and just before 11 a.m., and all safe, thank God, on the 70th day of the voyage, we entered it. We were very humanly received at the College and spent 6 continuous days generously entertained by him who acted as Rector.

The next day a ship arrived from Campeche (a port on the continent of America further south) and reported, among other things, that not long ago the local Indians had begun a rebellion against the Spaniards and inhumanly killed their gospel minister (he was a Minor [i.e. Franciscan friar]). This done they came with regret to one of the Fathers who had come with us and maintained that it was one of them who had left them. No-one doubted in Panama that he had fled to the English there.

#### **[Description of Veracruz]**

The place here is situated along the seashore and resembles Port Santa Maria [near Cádiz]. Some of the merchants are very wealthy. There are four monasteries excluding ours and not counting the hospital and the parish church. The fort, whose walls rise upon a rocky hill next to the city, dominates it as well as the port; it has 60 cannon at least and 200 soldiers properly instructed. Hence the fortress and city together defend the same shore where anyone leaving the port, either way, can be stopped. The air mixture is excessively unhealthy on account of the heat and humidity; there is no other season unless there are continuous northerlies, which blow from the beginning of October through some continuous months making the port very exposed.

#### **[Description of Puebla de los Angeles]**

28. Along the way towards Mexico, we came upon Los Angeles on 3 October, where for 5 whole days were were received very affectionately by the charity of the city, and we visited whatever is worth seeing in the city. It leaves nothing to be desired to many

cities in Spain by its size. So, it is superior [to them] by the site and extension of its public squares in width and length. There is nothing in Belgium that can compare to the exterior beauty and decor of its monasteries and churches. For instance, for the construction of the Cathedral, which is not yet complete but has been already consecrated by Palafox, alms have been collected, from public and private donations, amounting to 15 times 10 hundred thousand [sic] pesos.<sup>1</sup> The Society has a third probation here, as well as a gymnasium and a convict.<sup>2</sup> Both houses are spacious and comfortable; their church is next to them.

### [Description of Mexico City]

At 1 p.m. of the third day after leaving Los Angeles we arrived at Mexico, where even now we are all staying, except for Fr. Superior and Fr. Coomans, who left on Sunday to go to Acapulco, the port on the South Sea. We will follow them soon at the beginning of next year to pursue the rest of the voyage. Mexico is the capital of North America and equally distant from both the North Sea and the South Sea by 80 leagues more or less. It is surrounded by swampy ground and water, and high mountains on all sides. It has large public squares and very straight rows of buildings extremely well laid out. It look like Cádiz in size, but it would certainly gain in having a new city built next to the old one. Here, some years ago, I do not know by what bad luck,<sup>3</sup> many of the buildings were left demolished. Even the Palace of Montesuma, which even now serves as a place of veneration for the whole region, as it is where the Franciscan Fathers have made their residence and church; they teach the natives using the language of the Indians.

As for us, besides a seminary for them, we have a profess house and a Gymnasium for all disciplines. About 80 of our people are sustained here. Not more than 25 observe the rules in their strictest sense. The Provinces has four missions extending over 900 leagues, that is, Sinaloa, Parol, Sonora and that called the Mountain Province. A minimum of 60 of them live and work in them, among them some from our Flandro-Belgian Province: Fr. de Hutter, Fr. Ægidianus, Fr. Maes who is a mission superior and visitor at the College of Sarundem(?) similar to that of Guadiana, with an excellent reputation. From the Gallo-Belgian Province: Fr. Montefrio, alias Fromont, who died not long ago; still alive is Fr. Dysaerin, a very apostolic man. Others are to be sent as their successors, and there is great hope that the above missions will be opened to foreigners. Last year a new expedition was sent to explore the Californias, with four of our people; so far 10,000 pesos have been invested in this venture. Two out of the 4 assigned there have died prematurely, but the others wished to continue.

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1 Note in margin: "This is perhaps an error; this peso could be a unit of the Indies."

2 Ed. note: A gymnasium was a public school. A convict, in this context, was the name given by Belgian Jesuits to a boarding house (independently-managed) where some students from out of town were lodged.

3 Ed. note: No doubt an earthquake.

Today towards evening the bad news was announced about barbarians having made an incursion into the Sinaloa mission, and they might have filled it with fear, if not massacre. So, today a parade by the cavalry of the Viceroy reminded one and all everywhere to gather at 4 [p.m.] for the celebration of the feast-day of St. Regis Fernandini. The feast of the canonization of St. [Francis] Borgia is to be celebrated during the month of February, with what pomp I ignore.<sup>1</sup> On the feast-day of St. Andrew, the Bull "Cruciatæ" was published with common pomp at the joy of the public and private citizens in this way: On the last Sabbath 30th [November] closest to his feast-day the City yielded to the wishes of the Magistrate and first nobility of 25 more or less, whose preparations had nothing to envy to something similar in Spain. They were preceded by horsemen dressed in red silk and carrying the royal ensigns of the city. They were followed by fifers and drummers; besides, by this cavalcade the bull, already accepted by the Viceroy, was publicized.

On Monday everyone with the same show gathered at the house of the Commissioner [of the Inquisition]. He, at the request of the Treasurer, led the Religious, both regular and secular, to the church of the Dominicans where, dressed in white and violet(?), the Commissioner brought their stipends to two Canons who, similarly dressed, accepted them while the choir intoned the **Te Deum**. Then he proceeded to the Cathedral for public thanksgiving prayers amid festive fireworks on Monday; on the previous day in the afternoon there were very many noisy firecrackers<sup>2</sup> and dances at the corners of the public squares. Inside the Cathedral, besides the Archbishop and the Viceroy, there was an almost infinite crowd attending mass and prayers; then at the end of the prayers the act of publication of the bull was solemnly read before the altar, a seal affixed to it, and it was handed over.

The feast-day of St. [Francis] Xavier [i.e. 3 December], who is one of the patron saints of the City of Mexico, is religiously observed by all here, so that it hardly needs a reminder. Also on the Sunday of Sestis(?)<sup>3</sup> garlic is taken out and sold, the same as everywhere in Spain. Fr. San Victores instituted the Sodality of St. [Francis] Xavier among secular and regular priests, given them their written constitution; his feast-day is celebrated in the Parish of Santa Cruz, where the main shrine where [the statue of] that apostle stands is decorated, among other things, with a meal generously distributed to the poor on that day. Thus, the Xaverian cult is alive here, of which Fr. San Victores himself kept alive the souvenir of the Marianas themselves among many. Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Mexican Province sends the four of us, Fr. Coomans, Fr. Tucci the Sicilian, Fr. vander Steyn, and myself, to assist [that mission], by authority from our Most Rev. Fr. General.<sup>4</sup> Since I have already said what is known about the Marianas in my letters from Madrid, I need not add anything, except to say that the mission in question deserves to be preserved the most among all the missions that the Society has, and

1 Ed. note: The feast-day of this saint was soon fixed at 10 October.

2 Ed. note: Literally "exploding sticks".

3 Ed. note: Possibly from Cestas in Spanish, for Basket Sunday.

4 Ed. note: Fathers Tucci and Vandersteyn went on to the Philippines proper.

should not be placed after any other: 1° on account of its isolation, given that they are remote and their people have no contact with any other; and 2° on account of the lack of all the things that are necessary things to live on; those have been collected with money from alms by the Minister of the College of Mexico, a completely holy man and one who has already applied to our Father [General] to go to the Marianas, if his immediate Superiors will give him permission. However, the special providence of God has kept him in Mexico, so as not to deprive the new mission in question, which as of the year 1668 numbered then up to 60,000 men, whom 6 priests of our Society from all over Europe are converting to our faith, for not many flock to where there is nothing; only sacred things subsist in that immensity of the islands.

Hence, we will often think of Y.R., to whose sacrifices I strongly commend myself, and in turn I will do the same in my masses, albeit more unworthily and though I am still without the necessary mass kit. May God send from somewhere the necessary material for saying daily mass that is missing. Even this is a consolation (and Y.R. [knows] how much new ones mean to a solitary priest among barbarians and one destitute of all things, unless he makes them himself) from the Divine Majesty, who sends me to the salvation of souls to which I have devoted myself a long time ago already. I willingly consecrate with the others throughout the Province; I very much rely on their very fervent prayers and holy sacrifices, so that God may allow me, perhaps through His infinite mercy, after I predict to the others that I have truly realized reproach itself. Good health to you, dear Father Matthew,<sup>1</sup> after affectionate embraces which I have often repeated. And by frequent writing (a welcome thought) about the main events happening in my very dear Province, let us pursue our mutual love. As for me, if perchance I should not respond in kind (even if I should have an opportunity to write, please excuse me for that, because it is easier, if however that may be said to be easy) perchance to be able to receive letters from friends, to whom I promise to answer.

Mexico, 5 December 1671.

I send my kind greeting with due regards to the whole Province, specially Rev. Fr. Provincial, Fr. Thomas Dekens, Fr. Ægidius van Beke, Fr. John Reutergen, Fr. Manderscheyt, Fr. de Brens, Fr. Adrian van Horenbeeck, my Father Professors, Fr. Grandam, Fr. Ars de Brum, the Naval Chaplains, etc. who Y.R. knows are known to me, my Father Masters, Fr. van Asse, Fr. de Kien, Fr. de Raet, Fr. P[apen]broch.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Gerardus Bouwens.

P.S. I add a few notes: On the 6th of this month, it was said that a Peruvian ship had arrived at Acapulco; it came to trade, among other things. There was a rumor that it might have come from a certain part of the Philippines, but that is what it was, a rumor.

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1 Ed. note: This is the clue that made me realize that the addressee was Fr. Matthias Schweitzer, as Fr. Bouwens himself will confirm in Doc. 1673M.

On the 14th, Fr. Superior and Fr. Petrus [Coomans] left from here to go to Acapulco to make the timely preparations for the rest of the voyage, which, God willing, we will resume at the beginning of the coming year.

For a few days now, some news has been making the rounds of the public squares in the city: some Religious giving a non religious spectacle on account of polygamy consecrated with three, if I remember such superstitions, contracted by living sacrilegiously so that the punishment for him must in any case be more severe than that of the two women, one of whom had for the whole of five years had relations with the Devil.

At our arrival here, there was a public edict to the effect that all foreigners are to be sent back to their countries. However, except for a disturbance by many, nothing other than a lucky event, on account of the infinite difficulties that are implicated, will cause this to be successful.

On 3 November, the Holy Inquisition published a legal rescript, sentencing the heirs of the one who used to be Governor of the Philippines [i.e. Salcedo]. That certain Augustinian Commissioner of the Holy Office on whose order the Mexican Tribunal was appraised of the appeal by the Governor himself (but since he died in the voyage [from Manila to Acapulco]) his heirs are involved. It was adjudicated that the property that had been completely confiscated be restituted to the heirs, with the declaration that the suit against the said Don Salcedo had been unjust and carried out violently. Their orders point to his public functions and the step/degree, to be in the way, not able, etc.

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## Document 1671P4

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# Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Mexico 12 December 1671

*Source: AGR 1, fol. 37-37v.*

*Note: The account of the voyage from Acapulco to Guam is missing, but they arrived during the first week of May 1672.*

### Original text in Latin

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Prolioxiores dederit ad R. Vam., ita enim existimo, P. Petrus; ut ego proinde cogar esse succinctus, ne idem tractando pluribus, fiam importunus.*

*Navigationem si non citra incommoda, citra pericula certe; quod raro accidit, habuimus (Deo sit laus) tam felices, ut intra dies nos plures 7 Canarias prætervecti tenuimus deinde Americam continentem die ab egressu e portu Gaditano 70° exscensione itaque facta in Portum quem dicunt La Vera Cruz, Angelopolim primum (ab est hæc a Vera Cruce leucis plus minus 60) tum Mexicum venimus via terrestri benigne, ubique habiti ex nostris, et munifica illorum charitate recreati. Hanc uti et exactissimam vitæ Religiosæ observantiam P. Socio ad R. Vam. perscribendam reliquij unum huc, quod est primum scripturæ largumentum; adiecisse contentus mihi scilicet una cum tribus aliis (sunt autem hi P. Petrus, P. Vander Stein Gallo-Belga, et. P. Ant. Tucci Siculus).*

*Marianas Insulas obtigisse vel eo titulo præ missionibus reliquis multum dilectas, quod ut commodi nihil, ita laboris ac tolerantiae habeant omnino plurimum sed non sine fructu; 60 enim hominum millia ab anno 68 ibidem conversa munerat Collegii Mexicani Minister ex certis litteris quas inde ea de re non unas accepit; ut missio hæc si non mereatur præserri omnibus, quas ubivis terrarum habet Societas, nulli certe videatur postponenda; solitaria quippe est, et in zona torrida a gr[ado]: 16 supra lineam ad ipsam usque Japoniam, ut opinantur plerique - per plurimas insulas extensa præter 6 e nos-*

*tris alium ex tota Europa habet neminem, omni deinde commercio cum aliis nationibus ob extremam Indigenarum inopiam destituta: sine receptaculo, sine præsidio contra Gentilium incursiones (ut varium est atque instatur Indorum ingenium) vivunt illic nostri in tanta rerum omnium indigentia, ut, nisi illis etiam ad victum necessaria supeditarentur ex eleemosynis, unas hic Mexici emendicat Colegij Minister, vir vere Sanctus, et ipse Marianis (a P.N. jam pridem applicatus si ab immediatis superioribus impetraret facultatem) vix bene inchoata interiisset jam dudum novella hæc colonia.*

*De qua inde plura memor semper tum R. V<sup>a</sup>; tum superiorum aliorum, ac Provinciæ deinde universæ mihi charissimæ ob plurima maximaque quibus illi obstrictus vivo, beneficia. Perstringo alia, quorum in suis ad R. V. non meminerit P. Petrus, qui a diebus 14 cum P. Superiore hinc discessit in Acapulco (portus est ad mare[m] Australem)] tempestive illic paraturus, quæ ad reliquam navigationem sunt necessaria; illum Deo bene propitio resumpturi sumus anno proxime ineunte.*

*Pridie festi S. Xaverii pessima quædam nuntiabantur ex Sinaloa de Barbaris qui in vicinam illi[c] regionem [c]excursione factâ metu ibidem omnia, si non etiam strage compleverant ante paucos dies publice per urbem vapulavit religiosus aliquis de polygamia sacrilega a Indice Inquisitiones convictus, illum cum tribus, si memini, superstibus simul contra pec[c]latio comitabantur illum ut pæne, ita et sceleris sociæ mulieres duæ, quarum altera per quinquennium rem habuerat cum Dæmonio.*

*Dominica proxime elapsâ ferebatur in portum Acapulco appulisse navis aliqua Peruana alia item conspecta dicebatur non procul inde ex Philippinis. Plurimos habuit non parum suspensos edictum non ita pridem publicatum, quo exteri omnes relegabantur in suas quique terras: sed res ob difficultates infinitas successu caruit. His plura non habeo quæ adjungam nisi quod orem obtestorque, R. Vam. ut Sanctissimis suis suorumque Sacrificiis ac precibus nos habere dignetur commendatus eo impensius, quo magis deinceps illis ego certe indignero.*

*Mexici 12 Decembr[is] 1671*

*[P.S.] Salutem cum obsequio bona R. V. venia P. Manderscheit mecum adscribit P. Petrus.*

*R. V. Servus in Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens*



## Literal translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace of Christ.

Fr. Petrus would have sent to Y.R. a longer letter,<sup>1</sup> so I think; therefore, so that I may not be bothersome by repeating many things, I will choose to be brief.

The voyage, if not overly uncomfortable, [was] certainly very dangerous, [but] what happens rarely (thanks be to God) we had it so happy that within not more than 7 days of sailing we arrived at the Canary Islands, and from there we reached the continent of America on the 70th [day] from the day we left the port of Cádiz, disembarking then at the port they call La Vera Cruz. Passing first by [Puebla de] los Angeles (there are 60 leagues more or less from Vera Cruz to here) by an easy overland route, we then arrived at Mexico, where we were accommodated by our people, and entertained by their abundant charity. My companion Father [Coomans] has written to Y.R. about the strict observance of the religious life here, one of the other [subjects] which is the first presented in [his] letter. In fact, I am happy to add that I was one of [a band of] three others (they are in addition to Fr. Petrus, Fr. Vander Stein from the Gallo-Belgian Province, and Fr. Ant. Tucci, Sicilian).<sup>2</sup>

The Mariana Islands have acquired this much beloved name before the other missions, which means nothing in the way of comfort, rather they were all full of labor and tolerance, but not without fruit, for they sheltered 60 thousand men [sic] as of the year 1668, in accordance with some letters received by the Minister of the College of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> In order for this mission, if it does not deserve to be sown in advance of all the lands that the Society has, it certainly should not be among those to be postponed. In fact, it is isolated, and in the torrid zone, from 16 [sic] degrees north of the Line as far as Japan itself, so that they are thought to be numerous; there is no-one throughout these numerous islands, except 6 of our people from all over Europe. Hence, commerce with other nations is destitute on account of the extreme poverty of the natives: our people live there without any refuge, without any garrison against the incursions of the gentiles (there are various opinions about the threat posed by the disposition of the Indians), with such a lack of all resources that, unless those food necessities were to be

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- 1 Ed. note: This is the note that makes me believe that Doc. 1671P2 was addressed to Fr. van Schoonen.
  - 2 Ed. note: Almost nothing is known about Fr. Vander Stein; he became mentally sick, and was later expelled from the Society, although he lived the rest of his days at the Jesuit College at Manila, wearing the cassock of a secular priest and looked after by a Japanese convert. As for Fr. Antonio Tuccio, more correctly Antonino Tucci, born in Sicily in 1641, he served in the Philippines from 1672 until his death in 1716 (ref. B&R 41: 39). He was Provincial of the Philippines twice, 1696-99, and in 1707.
  - 3 Ed. note: This was Fr. José Vidal, whom Fr. Sanvitores had chosen as his special procurator for the Mariana mission in Mexico. The letters in question included Doc. 1668D & 1669J. One of the documents could have been the Mariano grammar.

supplied out of alms, some of which the Minister of the College here in Mexico has begged for. This man is a holy man, and himself a Mariana missionary (for which he has applied to our Father [General] some time ago already, if he can obtain permission from his immediate superiors).<sup>1</sup> Hardly well begun, this recent colony would have perished long before.

This said, therefore, I always remember the many, Y.R. as well as my other superiors, and also the whole Province so dear to me on account of the many great benefits of which I am grateful. I merely touch upon the other [benefits] which Fr. Petrus would not have forgotten in his letter to Y.R. Fourteen days ago, our Fr. Petrus has left here to go to Acapulco (the port on the southern coast) with Fr. Superior, there to make the timely preparations for the rest of the voyage. With God's favors, we will resume our voyage this coming year.

On the eve of the feast-day of St. [Francis] Xavier, they were announced a very bad news from Sinaloa<sup>2</sup> concerning barbarians who have made an incursion into the next region there, thus causing fear. As if it were not enough, within a few days some religious was flogged in public for sacrilegious bigamy, after being convicted by the Inquisition of the Indies. If I remember, the Inquisition committed three of them, for similar superstitions involving sin, so that two others, public women, one of whom had business with the Devil for five years.

Last Sunday, it was reported that some Peruvian ship arrived at the port of Acapulco; it was also said that so far there is no sign of the Philippine galleon. The edict published not too long ago, to the effect that all foreigners are to be sent back to their own countries, has had many suspended, but the business lacked success on account of infinite difficulties. I have nothing more to add, except that I beseech Y.R. to deign to remember us in your holy sacrifices and earnest prayers, to which in turn I will respond with mine, though unworthy they may be.

Mexico, 12 December 1671.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Gerardus Bouwens

[P.S.] I would be obliged if Y.R. would obligingly send my regards to Fr. Mander-scheit, to whom Fr. Petrus and I wrote.

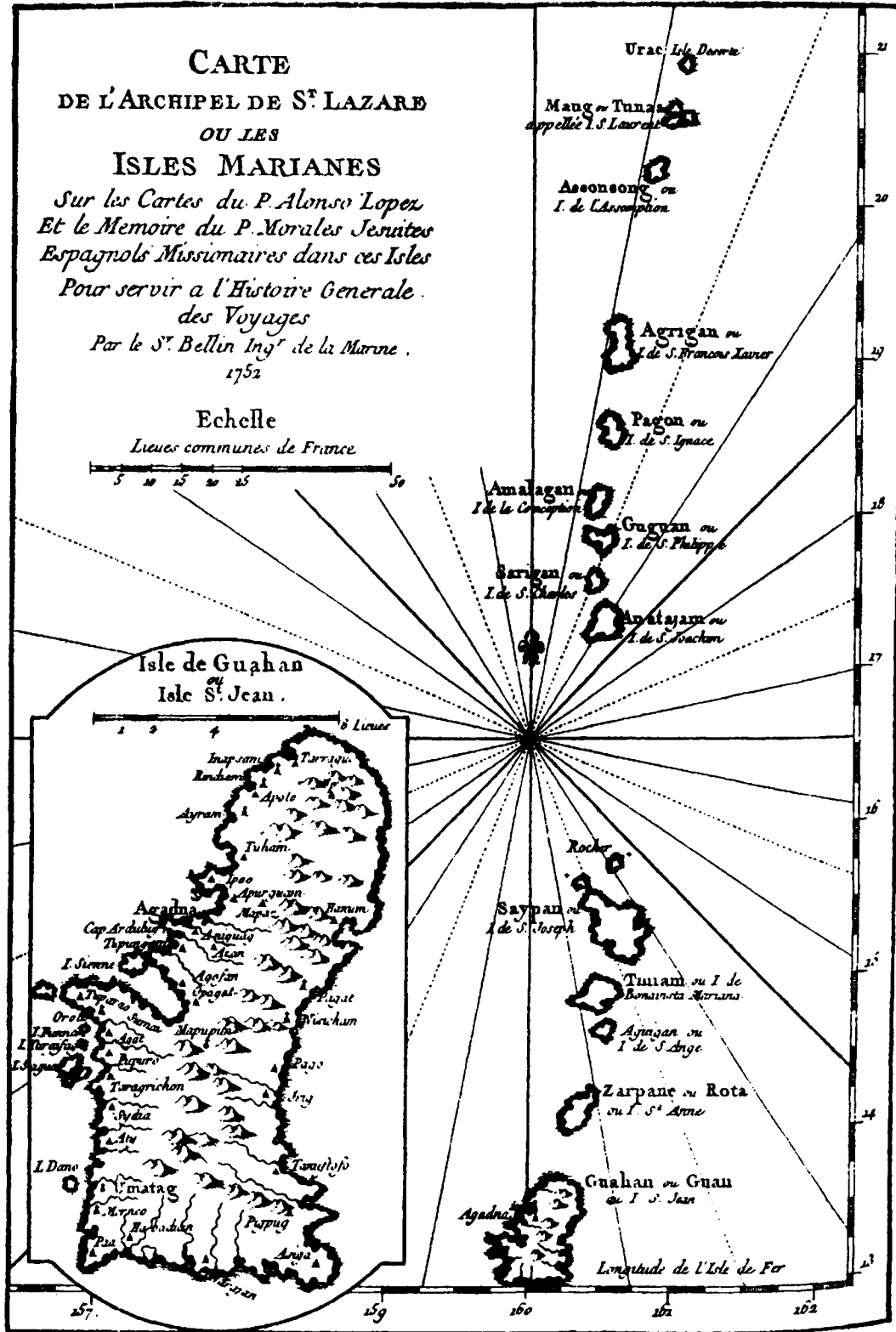
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1 Ed. note: This comment confirms the identity of Fr. Vidal.

2 Ed. note: A province of New Spain.



**View of Acapulco Harbor in 1670.** *Sketch by Arnoldus Montanus published in Amsterdam in 1671. Looking east, it shows the inner harbor of Acapulco Bay which is on the right of Fort San Diego in center. The fort measured 122 yards by 80 yards.*



N<sup>o</sup> 2. Tome X. Page 364.

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## Document 1671Q

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# The 1671 map of Guam by Fr. Alonso Lopez

*Source: Original drawing now lost; engraved and published by Bellin, the French cartographer, in 1752; see Bibliography, under ca. 1671.*

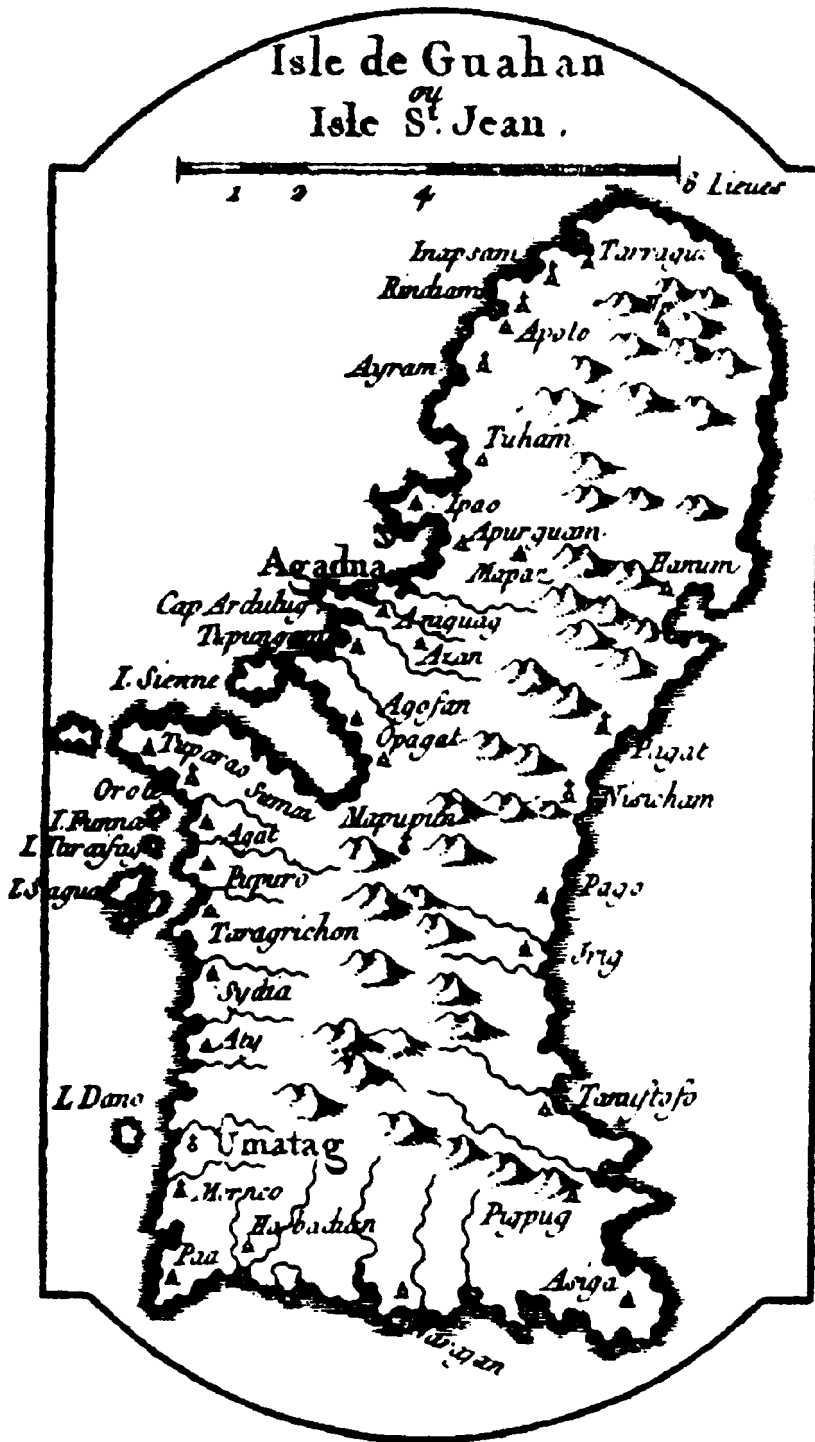
*Notes: Fr. Lopez arrived at Guam in 1671; his final departure date from the islands was in 1684. This map of Guam was not, however, the first time Guam appeared on a map; the first map of Guam was drawn by Pigafetta in 1521 and the first map of the Marianas was drawn by Captain Espinosa in 1522 (See Vol. 1).*

(Facing page:) **First detailed map of Guam and the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Alonso Lopez.**

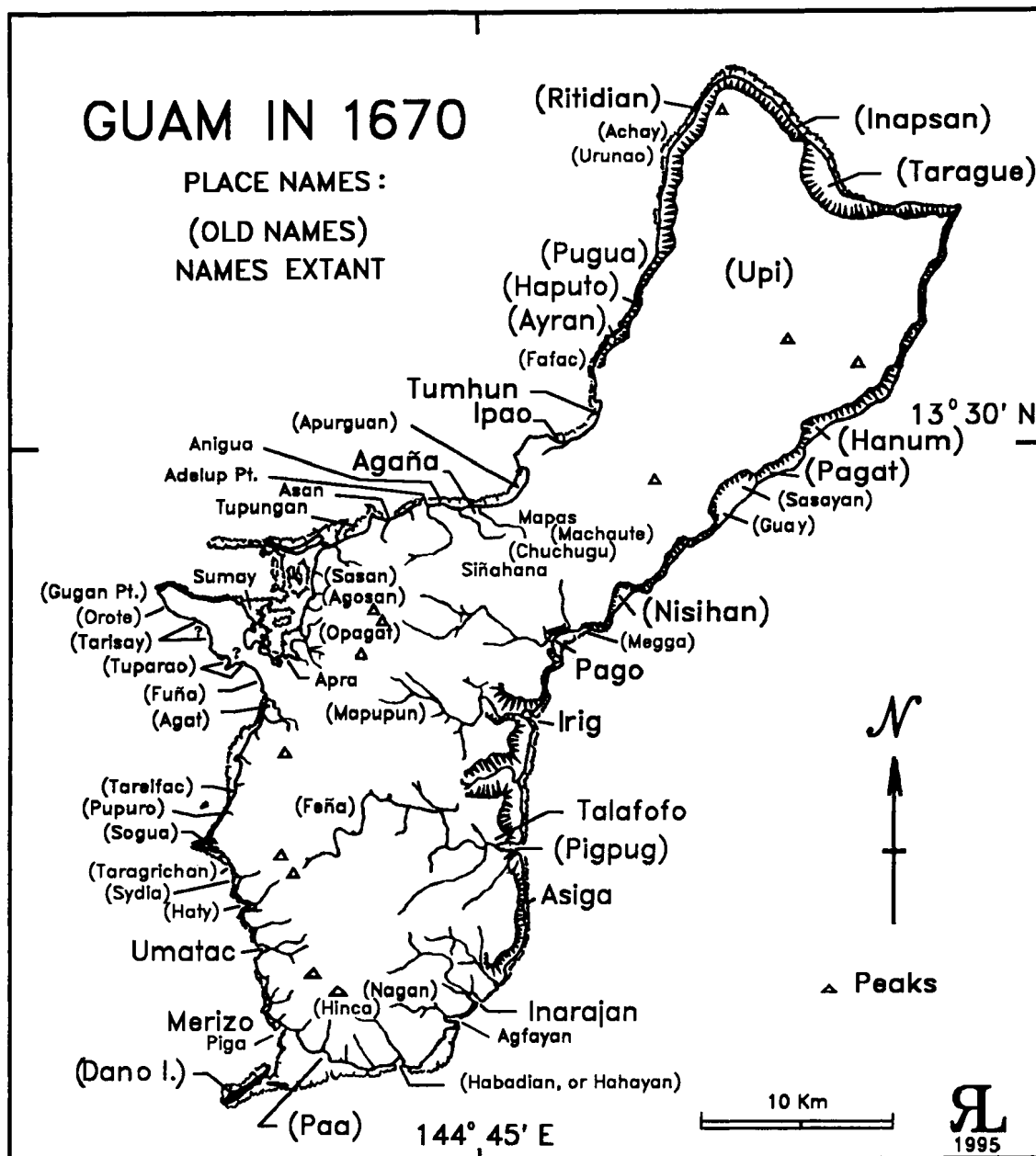
*He arrived at Guam in 1671 and must have submitted these sketch maps to Fr. Luis Morales with the rest of the mission's correspondence aboard the galleon of 1672. Fr. Morales had himself resided in the islands from 1668 to 1671 and had gone to Spain to become procurator.*

*It is not known how the French Naval Engineer Bellin got the copies that he engraved in 1752 for publication in Prévost d'Exiles' *Histoire générale des voyages*, and also in Fr. Charles Le Gobien's continuing series of his "*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*." I suspect that the French Government got their copies from one of many French ships that visited Guam in the early 18th century, notably Nicolas Frondat in 1708, and Mr. Moncourant in 1711; both of these gentlemen made copies of some charts, then available locally, when they visited Guam.*

*This map was re-engraved and published in 1758 in the Dutch edition of Prévost's "*Historische Beschryving der Reizen*" (see illustration in B&R 23: 135).*



Map of Guam (enlarged inset, Lopez map of 1671).



Old place names on the island of Guam in 1670. When one looks carefully at the Lopez map of Guam on facing page, the small dot symbols surmounted by a cross indicate the location of churches, probably with an attached residence, in 1671. The symbols without a cross probably indicated simple lean-to chapels and/or places to rest during mission tours. All structures at that time were made of wood, and roofed with native thatch.

### **Explanations for the 1672 map of Guam, by the editor.**

It seems obvious that this specific map of Guam, or St. John Island as it was also called, has its origin in the sketches by Fr. Alonso Lopez. Most of the information of church sites also dates from early 1672, although some very small additions seem to have been made in about 1680, probably when the map was studied by Fr. Sanvitores' biographer, Fr. García, in the light of the annual reports for the 1673-1678 period; his book was published in 1681. The same map and cartographic information was then passed on to the French Jesuit, Fr. Le Gobien, who wrote his history of the islands, based almost entirely on García for the period up to 1680, and who published his first edition in 1700. That is how the map got into the hands of French, and eventually, Dutch publishers and their engravers in the early part of the 18th century. The latter civilians could only reproduce the maps without explanations.

At the time of Fr. Sanvitores' death in April 1672, there existed 7 reductions, and it is proper to suppose that at least one wooden church had been built, or was being built, in each district. The map shows the boundaries between these 7 main districts with a dotted line. However, there is some confusion with boundaries at Ritidian (that is the work of the editors, not Fr. Lopez who would have known). The church sites in 1672 (or soon after) were at: Agaña, Ayran, Ritidian, Tarague, Pagat, Nisihan, Merizo, Umatac, Orote, and inland at Mapupun.

The map also confirms that the village of Hanum, which was one of the largest on the island at the arrival of the missionaries (1668) with 100 houses, is now reduced to a site without a church. In the first reduction of that district by Fr. Sanvitores himself, the planned district centre was at Nisihan and a church was built there. However, the map shows that another church was built at Pagat; this indicates one of two things: either the people of Pagat had been reticent to move their place of residence, or the editor(s) and engraver(s) made a mistake. The latter possibility is the most probable.

The map shows some obvious misconceptions. The western coast below Orote was then heavily populated, and had been even at the time of Magellan, and Legazpi. Fr. Lopez must have had a hard time to "cram" all their names on his sketch maps, because the engraver resorted to labelling the offshore islands with the names of the villages that had always existed on the coast itself; the natives would never have had permanent settlements on those waterless islets. So it is that the villages of Siene (Piti today?), Fuña, Taraifag and Sogua never were the names of islets. Similarly, the villages of Upi and Pigpug were not mountains, as the map indicates. Chuchugu, which was located in the hills east of Siñajana and south of Toto today, is shown on a mountain top, but that is proper. As for Mapupun, it was an important location then, probably only because the missionary, when on a visit, had to stay overnight. The probable location of Mapupun is between the upper reaches of the Atantano and Ilig Rivers, south of Mt. Tenjo. There is yet another small error, I think, in that the labels for Orote and Tuparao were interchanged; the proof is that Tipalao today (note the change in phonetics) is located where the site of the Orote church is shown on the map.

Finally, I note that all the place names that have been replicated at islands further north came from the northwest coast of Guam.





Map of Guam in 1672 showing districts and church sites.

### Notes on Chamorro direction terminology.

*Source: Article by Robert R. Solenberger entitled: "Recent Changes in Chamorro Direction Terminology", in Oceania (Sydney) 24:2 (1953): 132-141.*

...  
 "Chamorro informants agree that only on the island of Rota (about 800 population [in the early 1950s]) and in the two municipalities of Umatac and Merizo in mountainous south-western Guam is the Chamorro speech heard today in its original purity."

...  
 "All the Saipanese and most of the Guamanians questioned maintained that there were four, and only four, direction terms in the Chamorro language..."

...  
 It was found that *lago*, "west" in Saipanese usage, enters into a number of combinations where it means "foreign" or sometimes "Spanish". The commonest word of this group is *galago*, meaning "dog" but literally "animal (of the) west", or "animal (from) overseas". Safford, writing a grammar of the language of Guam, correctly translates *gilago* as "a northman, a Spaniard"—literally "from the north" in the speech of Agaña.<sup>1</sup> Guamanians use *lago* in the generalized sense of "overseas" is well demonstrated..."

...  
 "In Saipan, the word *lago*, when used to designate anything or anyone from across the seas, is almost invariably translated as "western"."

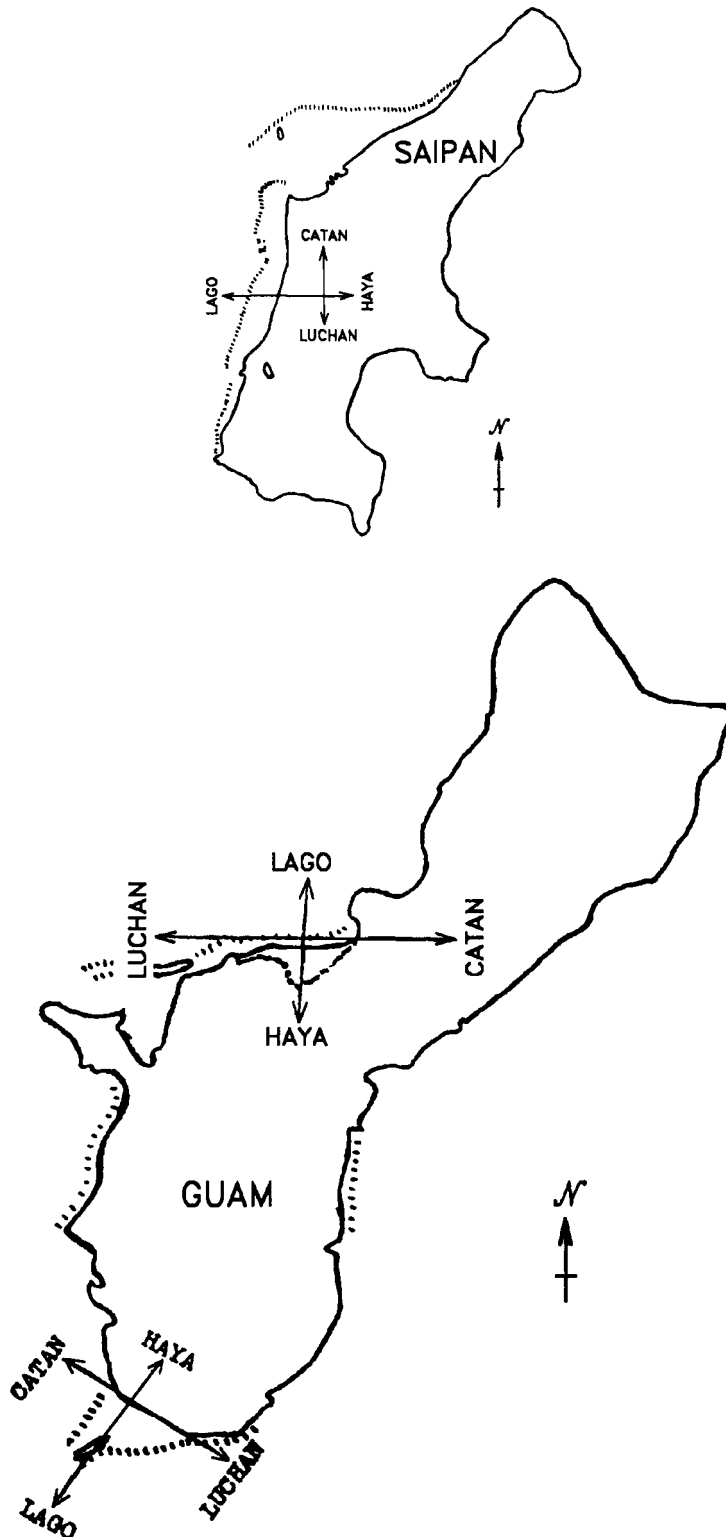
...  
 "Another purely geographical factor influencing the inhabitants of the Northern Marianas to equate *lago* with the compass direction "west" is that the general trend of the entire arcuate chain is from north to south, and most of the islands are somewhat elongated in that axis, giving them a long western coast line. The prevailing winds, except under very unusual conditions, are from the NE or E. Any [sailing] vessel, regardless of its point of origin, which approaches one of the Marianas either to anchor or come into a harbor, will normally do so on the leeward, western side."

...  
 "On a visit to Rota in May 1952, the author observed... that the direction "out to sea" [with respect to the main port] is, therefore, roughly north-west. Local inquiry revealed that this direction is invariably called *lago*, and that the direction up the beach to one's right when facing *lago* is *catan*, that to the left being *luchan*."

...  
 "In addition to being able to visit Merizo several times, the writer was fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. Jesus C. Barcinas, then Commissioner of Merizo Municipality, an excellent, objective informant whose "Merizo Village Journal" forms an appendix in the post-war edition (1947) of Laura Thompson's book *Guam and Its*

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1 W. E. Safford, "The Chamorro Language of Guam," in *American Anthropologist*, vols. 5-7, 1903-1905.

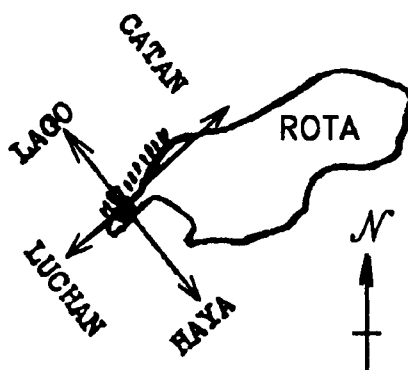


**Chamorro words for directions are relative to coastlines. True meanings of the four direction terms depend on the direction of a specific coastline where a village is located, not on the compass.**

*People.* Mr. Barcinas gave assurance that the term *lago* is the one invariably used in Merizo for the direction “out-to-sea”, at right angles to the coast, the three other terms for the cardinal directions being used in the usual way to correspond with it. He was quite definite in stating that **the true Chamorro meanings of the four direction terms depend on the direction of the coastline wherever a village is situated, and not on the compass.**”

...  
By far the most complete and linguistically informed grammar of Chamorro is that by Hertha Costenoble, who, according to her own preface, lived in Guam as a child between the years 1905 and 1913...<sup>1</sup> The writer cannot confirm or deny her equation of *catan* with the north-west (or dry-season) monsoon and of *luchan* with the south-west (or rainy-season) monsoon, except to point out that it would apply only at a west-coast location, like Garapan. Costenoble is also correct in stating that ***catan* and *luchan* are always directions following the coastline, while *haya* and *lago* are at right angles to the coast.**”

...  
“In conclusion, we may draw certain lessons from the changes that have taken place in the way in which Chamorros designate directions: (1) A system of directional nomenclature based on the landwards-seawards contrast is still in general use by most Chamorro-speakers. (2) This system is generally unrecognized by the [modern] Chamorro themselves and by most outsiders who have studied their language...”



1 H. Costenoble, *Die Chamorro Sprache*.

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## Document 1671R

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# Letter from Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Thomas [Cardenoso], dated Agaña 4 November 1671

*Source: Original now in ARSI; formerly in 26 Martyrs' Museum, Nagasaki (2 folios).*

*Notes: Fr. Cardenoso was then in Tinian. Fr. Sanvitores warns him against possible treacheries, and praises the work done by Captain Diego de Mendizabal and of the native Captain Antonio Ayihi. The proper year for this document is 1671, not 1672, as Fr. Ezquerria arrived only in 1671, and Fr. Sanvitores was obviously still alive.*

### Original text in Spanish

Jhs

*Mi Padre Thomas*

*P. X.*

*Apenas dejan escribir estas dos letras las piedras que nos tiran estos buenos hijos, y que el buen Padre de todos nos imbia sin duda para purgarnos, y para que ofrecidas de alguno que sepa imitar al Santo Esteban aplaquen al mismo Señor por las blasfemias, que embueltas entre ellas arrojan estos pobres ciegos contra nuestro buen Dios, que a llegado alguno de estos barbaros a dezir, que el es de Dios, y que el sí que es **Macana** que no se le cayo la casa con el bagfujio, y se cayo la casa de Dios. Al fin no aviendo nos prendido fuego que nos arrojaron y aviendo ya sacado lo mas de las alajas con intento de deshacer casa tan alta, y peligrosa de fuego, nos vino un bagyo fortissimo en la octava de S. Francisco de Borja dia de Santa Brigida, que hizo grande estrago en todo Agaña, no se aun lo que en la isla, que quisa aqui abra querido Dios mostrar su especial enojo, y que aun su casa se cayese, como quien no quiere tenerla en tierra de tanto mal, si no se arrepienten, que para eso los castiga [el] Señor, y nos castiga a todos, quizas por los muchos pecados del iniquo siervo de Dios.*

*No es para tanta apretura de tiempo y cosas el escribirlas aora, la conclusion en orden a lo que VR<sup>a</sup> escribe la da el Señor por aora quisa para grandes bienes y que quien menos VR<sup>a</sup> pensara quede para ser el Noe por quien Dios restauere esta cristiandad si se ane-*

*gare por sus justos juicios, y gravissimos pecados mios que bastan para dañar a muchos en este diluvio de piedras, lancas, fuego, y mas sencible aunque el del infierno las blasfemias contra Dios etc.*

*Y assi lo primero por ahora no puede salir ningun compañero nuestro para essa isla por la falta de aqui, mas de lo que VR<sup>a</sup> ausente puede pensar, y peligro en el camino especialmente en esta tierra tiempo del **Manayag**, por lo qual mucho menos puede VR<sup>a</sup> venir ya, asta que el Señor ordene otra cosa, sino dar gracias a la providencia divina, que sabe para lo que le detubo, y para que le dio tres compañeros tan escojidos entre los pocos, que con mas balor que armas, y sobre todo el balor de la fee de nuestro Señor Jesu Xrto. y zelo de su conservacion siquiera entre los angelitos bautizados descuenten lo que aqui se malograre.*

*Esperamos en nuestro buen Padre y Madre de estos pobres que no llegara esto al ultimo extremo, pero en cualquier caso VR<sup>a</sup> consultando al Alférez D. Diego [Mendizabal] (que es de arto consuelo este a su lado de VR<sup>a</sup> soldado de tan buenas prendas de christiandad y valor) obrara lo que mejor pareciera para su seguridad y conservacion de esta christiandad en orden a quedarse ay [=allí] con todos los compañeros que tiene, o salir con todos, y de las alajas lo mas importante a juicio de VR<sup>a</sup>, y que no añada riesgo a las personas, y quisa fuera lo mas seguro irse VR<sup>a</sup> con su gente a la isla de Rota que parece aora la mas sana, especialmente iendose a vivir en casa de algun principal como **Itomo** o **Nonohot**, donde quedaron sus tinajas de VR<sup>a</sup> con los demas trastos de Rota, y el tabor de polvora, que corre riesgo faltando Padre, ya VR<sup>a</sup> sabra como se vino el Padre Ezquerria y con el todos los compañeros, y asi no ay nadie que pueda remitir, ni guardar etc. Y en caso extremo nuestro importara estar para el navio siquiera en Rota, y desde alli embiar cartas a la Nao, y venir, si fuese posible en las circunstancias con gente de Rota al navio. Al fin Nuestro Señor dara a VR<sup>a</sup> el acierto en todo que conviene para su Santo Servicio, guardandonosle etc.*

*Porque alla no se ensobervescan con lo de Guajan es bien que sepa VR<sup>a</sup> que fuera de dos muertos niños nuestros Jusepe y Diego hijo del Señor Fuentes muertos en el monte y Damian saliendo por comida alanceado con tres lanças de que ya esta casi bueno, en la guerra misma no nos an muerto ni erido a ninguno aviendo muerto de ellos a lo menos cinco, y muchos eridos de **pequi** y flechas, y que de pura lastima de sus daños con la guerra les dimos conchas para que la dejasen, y asta aora ciegos porfian; Dios que los crio y redimio les abra los ojos.*

*Si ay ubiere conchas, que de aqui aora no ay con quien embiarnlas, conviniera embiarnlas por medio de **Caiza**, o otro seguro en desquite de las muertes pues dicen que quien debe paga, y aunque les paguemos sin deberles a Dios y a la caridad que nos aprieta por Jesu Cristo que les redimio debemos eso y muchos mas, procurando en nuestra poquedad imitar lo que su grandeça hizo poniendo la paga por los que le devíamos tantas ofensas, y beneficios etc. y si no les aprovecha a ellos aora, quiza despues reconociendo la fuersa de la caridad christiana, y a lo menos aprovechara a nosotros el hazer de nuestra parte quanto pudieremos en amor de la paz, y de estos pobres.*

*Todo este pueblo de Agaña y sus cercanos, y aun dicen toda la isla esta en guerra abierta contra nosotros y si no es Antonio Ayihi no tenemos otro de confianza, digolo para que de todos se guarde VR<sup>a</sup> con su prudencia y sin muestras de temor pues no ay que temer a otro que a Dios etc.*

*Esta era 2<sup>a</sup> via de otra que fue de repente con los Indios y banca que VR<sup>a</sup> embio de Tinian y el Capitan Diego que se ofrecio sin mas prevencion a embarcarse con ellos no obstante el peligro, por lo qual y otros buenos servicios y propositos merece la caridad que VR<sup>a</sup> le hara, y no resolviendose VR<sup>a</sup> a venir luego le embiara quanto antes con el socorro que pudiere traer de arroz, viscocho de la tierra, y cualquier bastimento aunque no han mas que cocos[,] y Ayihi lleva bonote para hacer cuerda para emplear en arroz[.] VR<sup>a</sup> hara lo que pudiere para que se logre la compra, y se nos trayga todo el arroz posible assi en las bancas de Ayihi y nuestra, como en todas las demas de amigos que hubiere que se les pagara bien el arroz y el traerlo; del trabuco no me atrevo a determinar, sino dexarlo a su prudencia de V.R<sup>a</sup> y circunstancias y personas que lo traygan con todo seguridad, que si no quedese asta la ocasion que Dios deparare.*

*Tampoco resuelvo nada de su salida de VR<sup>a</sup> desa isla, dexandolo a su resolucion y inspiracion del Señor y circunstancias que deparare su Magestad aunque me inclino siempre a que VR<sup>a</sup> se vaya acercando siquiera esta Rota para assegurar la correspondencia con el Navio de Castilla que assi embiando cartas, como saliendo en persona a verse en el se podra hacer mejor desde Rota, quando VR<sup>a</sup> se hubiese podido llegar a Guahan, como procurare VR<sup>a</sup> encaminandose (si el peligro de Agaña no hubiere abajarse) al puerto de **Ati**, que los de aquellos pueblos dicen no se an conjurado contra nosotros.*

*Despues desto llegó el dia 20 de Octubre en que nos acometieron las dos partes de **Ruchan** y **Catan** y la del monte a las espaldas y los principales de Playa por el mar con unos mil hombres dicen por cada vanda y convatiendonos lo mas del dia con su lluvia de piedras y lanças y resguardo de unas tarimas que traian contra nuestras armas de fuego por mar y tierra fue Nuestro Señor servido que no hiciesen mal alguno a los nuestros ni pudiesen entrar en nuestra plaça de armas guarnecida apenas de veinte hombres de armas pero sin duda de muchos angeles que el Señor S. Miguel nuestro especial patron desta guerra nos avria conducido por voluntad del buen Padre destes pobres christianos y niños a quienes sus crueles padres naturales querian dexar huérfanos por no querer conocer el bien que les previene en ellos, inducidos de nuevo segun dicen del Choco que les dio la traza de las trincheras o tarimas, las quales tarimas varias veces se les an quitado los nuestros junto con las calaveras y vanderas del diablo que en ellas traian saliendo a esto con gran fervor el Padre Francisco Solano que les quebro los ojos quebrando delante dellos las calaveras.*

*Fueron tan persuadidos de que no podian por fuerça salir con el intento de destruirnos y que entre ellos se destruian con cinco que an muerto asta oy en la guerra y otros cinco por lo menos mal eridos de nuestras armas que aquel mesmo dia por la tarde vinieron a pedir paces y las acabaron de pedir de una parte y otra y confirmar viniendo los principales el dia siguiente que fue de las once mil Virgenes, entrandose con tal con-*

*fianza desarmados por nuestras puertas que muestran bien no temen en nuestro trato les trayciones que entre los suyos quando hacen paces con tanto recelo de hablarse.*

*Gracias al Señor parece estamos en paz, pero no faltan aun indicios de trayciones, y assi nos an avisado que no salgamos sino con mucho resguardo y en casa nos estamos con el mismo cuidado y trabajo de las centinelas, en que an trabajado como en lo demas nuestros compañeros y los Padres con notable celo y alegría en Dios con cuyo favor an vencido las grandes molestias deste cerco y falta de sustento y sueño, a buen seguro que les correspondera bien colmado el premio en el cielo y mas faltando tan del todo el de la tierra para verdadera prueba de ser todo por amor de Dios y destos pobres desconocidos y sus criaturicas que de cierto son hijos de buen Padre y buena Madre.*

*Estamos pues todavia como cercados y algunos dicen con mas peligro por no estar tan descubierto el enemigo. Y assi necessitamos mucho del socorro que e pedido a VR<sup>a</sup> de todo el arroz que se pudiere, y que venga con ello el Capitan Diego que verdaderamente hace falta para curar llagas de eridos y empajados(?) que los mas de los nuestros padecen algo desto especialmente en los pies, lo que padecen en la mala cabeça y padecieron a no ver quien supliera tratof.] como los Padres compañeros pide el principal remedio de sus Santos Sacramentos de VR<sup>a</sup> y su venida si es posible con mas seguridad que la que oy tiene y sin dexar por dexado la isla en la forma que VR<sup>a</sup> mismo juzgue ser mas gloria de Nuestro Señor que nos le guarde y dexa ver con mucha salud y aumentos de espinas y paciencia en los trabajos que el Señor nos embiare, o mejor sigilos y prendas de su amor en quien no los sabe malograr como el mal siervo etc.*

*No se quando ira esta via. prevengamos con ella a 4 de Noviembre de 672 [rather 1671].*

*Agadña etc.*

*Siervo de VR<sup>a</sup>*

*+*

*+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +*

*[P.S.] No va el Capitan Diego porque aca le piden los enfermos y hasta una amba-da(?) y banca quebrada que vera VR<sup>a</sup> si se puede suplir alla, aunque no aviendo marineros nuestros pues aun Pedro ya no esta para viages y a estado muy malo, no nos hace mucha falta las bancas. el Señor lo supla todo: en la disposicion de VR<sup>a</sup> y compañeros me remito al papel que lleva el Padre Alonso [Lopez], por la detencion de Ayihi y sus compañeros que quisa sera para mejor. remito esta via con los de **Adyan** que llevan el molino.] el Padre Alonso llevara las demas cosas y compañeros que pudiere. oy 22 de N[oviembr]e.*

*[P.P.S.] Esta es una de las vias que hemos embiado de lo que a pasado estos dias. lo que ay mas nuebo diran los mensageros y la carta que escribe el Padre Francisco Ezquerra que ya que no va en persona a acompañar a VR<sup>a</sup> no le puede faltar en la correspondencia y contrato Mariano, y porque no se falta del todo a los buenos Hijos de S. Ana nos abremos de privar en esta isla de otro Padre mas y tan buen Compañero como el Padre Alonso para que VR<sup>a</sup> le tenga y esos Angelicos queden mas fijamente assisti-*



dos y con mas extension si es posible a los de la parte de **Marpu** y Saipan en las paces y visitas que se pudieren hacer como digo mas en particular en el papel que lleva el P. Alonso a quien me remito.

Y por si este llega antes digo que lo que sumamente encargo a VR<sup>a</sup> es que ajuste quanto antes lo de Marpu dando lo que Caysa y otros amigos dixieren que basta para ajustar las paces y muertes de los que cayeron quando se disparo nuestra pieza y lançadas y qualquiera otro que se sintiere o quisiere paga de nosotros porque **ti hem namiña guinaha, ro taotao**, que no estimamos hacienda sino hombres, como en Guaham que emos dado nuestras conchas porque no hubiese guerra, con arto mal de los que no quisieron creernos.

Tambien deseo se ajuste lo de **Saipan** del mejor modo por la lastima que hacen los niños que a dos años que no se bautiçan, y espero que no reparara VR<sup>a</sup> en qualquier gasto aunque lo quite de la comida bien pobre, y para que aya alguna ayuda de costa lleva el Padre Alonso lo que se a podido dar aca.

Lo que lleva Ayihi es para arroz, y por lo mucho que le debemos, no ay que reparar en como el lo empleare: sino que VR<sup>a</sup> ayude a que venga todo el arroz possible a pagar aca si alla no hubiere con que etc.

## Translation

Jhs

My dear Father Thomas,  
Peace of Christ.

The stones that these good sons of ours are throwing at us hardly give me enough time to write these two letters.<sup>1</sup> The good Father of us all no doubt sends them to purge us, and make them available in case someone wants to imitate the good St. Stephen, in order to make amends to the same Lord for the blasphemies thrown at our good Lord by these poor people in their blindness. One of these barbarians, who is a **Macana** [i.e. sorcerer], has even dared to say that he is on the side of God, since the *baguio* [i.e. typhoon] did not make his house fall down, but the house of God fell down. In the end, it had not caught fire when they threw us some fire-brands, and after we had already removed most of the sacred things with the intention of dismantling such a tall house, susceptible to [catching] fire, we were hit by a very strong typhoon during the octave of St. Francis Borgia, on the feast-day of St. Bridget,<sup>2</sup> which did great havoc all over Agaña. I do not yet know about the rest of the island. Perhaps God wished to demonstrate his particular annoyance, allowing even His house to fall down, as if He did not wish to have it standing in such an evil country, unless they repent; that may be why the Lord punishes them, and punishes us all, perhaps because of the many sins of this wicked servant of God.

1 Ed. note: The two letters P.X. [Pax Christi] that he had just finished writing.

2 Ed. note: Exact date, 8 October 1671.

I am writing these things, not on account of troubled times, but to give the answer to what Y.R. wrote, as coming from the Lord himself. For now, perhaps for some great benefits, in a way that Y.R. has not thought of, the Lord could make you the Noah who would restaure our Christian community, if it should become flooded as a just sentence against their faults, and my own very grave sins, which are sufficient to bring upon us this deluge of stones, spears, fire-brands, and, worst of all, although they come from Hell, the blasphemies against God, etc.

The first thing is that, for now, none of our companions can go out to that Island [of Tinian], because of the need here, but regarding Y.R.'s intentions of absenting yourself, there is danger along the way, specially in this island at the time of the *Manayag*.<sup>1</sup> That is why Y.R. should not come here yet, not until the Lord disposes otherwise. Rather, give thanks to divine providence, that has known how to detain you there, for the three companions He gave you, as they are the best among the few [we have]; their great courage rather than their weapons, and above all the courage given by their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the zeal for preserving it, even among baptized little angels, they are to take into account that the situation might worsen here.

Let us hope that our good Father and Mother of these poor people will not let things degenerate to the extreme end, but in any case Y.R., after consulting Lieutenant Don Diego [Mendizabal] (who, being a soldier with so many Christian and military qualities, is quite a consolation at the side of Y.R.), will act as best as you see fit for your safety and preservation of this Christian community in order to, either remain there with all the companions that you have, or to leave all together, taking along the more important sacred objects that Y.R. sees fit, but without adding risk to your persons. Perhaps the safest thing to do would be to go with your people to the Island of Rota, which seems now to be the safest one, specially if you go and live at the house of some chief, like Itomo or Nonohot, where Y.R.'s jars and the other goods for Rota were left, as well as the powder keg, which is now at risk, because there is no Father there. By now, Y.R. understands that Father Ezquerro has come over, with all his companions, so that nobody is left [there] to send, or watch over, anything, etc. Also, in case of extreme need on our part, it would be important to have someone present in Rota to intercept the ship, and from there send letters to the galleon, and even go in person with the Rotanese to the ship, if the circumstances should make this possible. In short, Our Lord will give Y.R. the confidence to act in everything for His holy service, watching over you for us, etc.

In order for them overthere not to get swollen heads about what is happening in Guajan, it is a good idea that Y.R. should know the facts: with the exception of two deaths among us (those of our boys, Jusepe and Diego, the son of Mister Fuentes, who

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1 Ed. note: My guess that the meaning of this local word could be either "monsoon" or "uprising."

both died in the bush, and Damian when he went out to get food and was transpierced with three spears, from which he has almost fully recovered), during the war itself, none of us has died or been wounded, and they have suffered at least five deaths, and many wounds from *pequi*<sup>1</sup> and arrows, and that it was by pure pity that we gave them tortoise shells for the damages they suffered during the war, in order to have them put a stop to it, and until now, blind as they are, they persist. May God, who created them and redeemed them, open their eyes.

If there should be tortoise shells overthere, since there is no-one here whom we can send to get them, it would be proper to send them care of Caiza,<sup>2</sup> or by some other secure means, to make amends for the deaths, because they are saying that “whoever owes must pay”, and although we pay them without owing them, in the eyes of God, and on account of the charity that impels us, for Jesus Christ who redeemed them, we must do so, and even more, trying with our humble means to imitate Him in what He did in his largesse, thus paying Him for the many trespasses, and benefits, etc. Supposing that they still do not appreciate them for what they are now, perhaps later on they may recognize the strength of Christian charity, and at least this deed on our part will benefit us, since we ought to do as much as we can for the love of peace, and of these poor people.

This entire town of Agaña and its vicinity (it is even said the whole island) is at open war against us.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Antonio Ayihi, there is no-one we can trust. I say this, so that Y.R. will be on your guard with anyone else. Be careful, but do not show fear, since there is no reason to fear anyone but God, etc.

This letter is a duplicate; the original is to be sent care of the Indians and aboard the canoe that came unexpectedly, sent from Tinian by Y.R.; Captain Diego offered himself to go along with them, without any preparation, notwithstanding the danger. For this, and other good services and proposals, he deserves the charity that Y.R. will afford him. Should Y.R. decide not to come then, you are to send him back as soon as possible with all the succor that you can, in the way of rice, locally-produced biscuits, and any [other] food supplies, even though it might be only coconuts. Ayihi is taking along some coir in order to make rope with it, and then trade it for rice. Y.R. is to make your best for the success of this barter, and all the rice available is to be sent to us, aboard our canoe and that of Ayihi, and aboard all the canoes of our friends that can be found, as they will be paid well for the rice, upon delivery. Regarding the blunderbuss, I do not dare make a decision. Rather, I leave it to the judgment of Y.R. and the circumstances; if the persons involved are reliable, let them bring it, otherwise keep it there for the occasion that God will arrange.

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1 Ed. note: Sometimes written “paki”. Fr. Sanvitores uses the neo-Chamorro word for gun, musket, or in general, a fire-arm. It may be interesting to note at this point that the people of Kosrae, when they first heard the sound of a European fire-arm, in 1824, they used the word “pak”, which was also their word for a “fart”.

2 Ed. note: He was then the most important chief in Tinian.

3 Ed. note: Further below, he mentions that the south-west coast at least was quiet.

I do not make a decision about the departure of Y.R. from that island either, leaving it to your own resolution and inspiration from the Lord, and the circumstances arranged by His Majesty, although I am still inclined [to think] that Y.R. should go at least as far as this Rota, in order to ensure contact with the galleon from [New] Spain, either by sending letters to it, or by going out in person and boarding it; this would be more feasible from Rota. In case Y.R. succeeds in making it to Guahan, as you should try to do if you decide to sail (and the danger in Agaña has not yet abated), go to the port of **Ati**, as the people from those towns say that there is no plot against us there.

After this, the 20th of October arrived, and they attacked us, both on the **Ruchan** and **Catan** sides, as well as on the side of the mountain at our backs.<sup>1</sup> There were about a thousand men in all, who came by sea with the chiefs of the coastal villages, from both shores, it is said. They fought with us for most of the day, raining stones and spears upon us. By sea and along the shore, they brought in some [portable] wooden barricades against our fire-arms, but our Lord was pleased to prevent them from doing us any harm or to make it into our stockade, garrisoned as it was with only 20 fighting men, but no doubt backed up by many angels that our Lord St. Michael, our special patron saint in this war, allocated to us, with the consent of the good Father of these poor Christian people and children whose cruel natural parents wished to turn into orphans,<sup>2</sup> because they refuse to recognize the good we are trying to do with them; it is said that once again Choco has influenced them, this time by giving them the design for the [portable] retrenchments, or barricades; by the way, the said barricades were overrun many times by our men, as well as the skulls and the Devil's banners placed upon them. Father Francisco Solano went out with great fervor to break the eyes off them, breaking the skulls as the people watched.<sup>3</sup>

They became so convinced that they could not go out with the intention of destroying us, since they only succeeded in destroying their own people, five having died so far in this war, and five others been badly wounded by our fire-arms, that on that same day in the afternoon, they came to ask for peace. The negotiations ended in an agreement on both sides, to be confirmed by the chiefs the next day, which was the feast-day of the 11,000 Virgins.<sup>4</sup> They presented themselves at our gates, unarmed, thus showing such trust [in us], because among themselves they fear treachery so much during peace negotiations that they are very distrustful of having talks.

Thank God, it appears that we are at peace, but there are still signs of treachery. That is why we have been told not to go out without a large escort. At home, we are

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671Q for Chamorro direction terminology. With respect to Agaña, the ruchan side was west toward Apra, and Catan was east, rather northeast toward Tumhon.

2 Ed. note: He refers to native children from the boarding schools who were inside the stockade with the foreigners.

3 Ed. note: This statement, about the Devil's banners and the breaking of eyes, makes me think that some skulls, but more probably some wooden figurines, had eyes made of pearl shells, etc. None of these artifacts is known to have survived destruction.

4 Ed. note: This day is indeed celebrated by the Catholic Church on 21 October.

also on our guard, keeping up with the watch and the work of the sentinels. The Fathers have shared in this work with our companions, and done so with notable zeal and happiness in God for whose sake they have borne the great discomforts of this enclosure and the lack of food and sleep. For sure, they have earned the good reward that awaits them in Heaven, and specially so, because the reward from this world was totally lacking, as the real proof that everything was borne for the love of God and of these poor ignorant people and of their little children, who are surely the sons of the good Father and good Mother.

Thus, we are still enclosed and a few say that we are even more at risk, since the enemy is not so visible. Therefore, we are in as great a need as ever of all the rice possible that I have asked from Y.R. Captain Diego should come with it. It is really wanted to cure the wounded of their sores and most of the others impaired(?) and suffering from something, specially on the feet, not to mention the headaches they suffer, upon seeing that no-one wants to trade with us. As the [other] Fathers, and the companions, I ask for the main remedy from the holy sacraments of Y.R., and your coming, if possible, under safer conditions than the present ones, and without leaving the island for good, unless Y.R. himself judges this necessary for the greater glory of our Lord. We ask Him to keep you, that we may see you in good health and with an increase in the thorns and patience brought by the labors sent to us by the Lord, or better, with [an increase] in the proofs and marks of His love for whomever knows how to profit by them, such as your bad servant, etc.

I do not know when this duplicate letter will be sent. It was ready by 4 November 1672 [rather 1671].

Agadña, etc.

Y.R.'s servant,

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+ Diego Luis S. Vitores +

[P.S.] Today is 22 November. Captain Diego is not going after all, because the sick people here need him, and we even have a broken canoe and *embada*(?) so that Y.R. will see if he can make up for it overthere, although there are no seamen available among our people; even Pedro is no longer able to make voyages, and he has been very sick. We do not lack the canoes much. The Lord will provide it all. Regarding the employment of Y.R. and your companions, I refer you to the paper that Father Alonso [Lopez] is taking along, on account of the delay affecting Ayihi and his companions; perhaps this will be for the best. I despatch this duplicate copy with Adyan's people, who are transporting the mill.<sup>1</sup> Father Alonso will carry the other things and the companions that he can.

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1 Ed. note: What mill would that be? Perhaps a mill to hull rice, or one to crush sugarcane, or even to make flour out of wheat, to make hosts...

[P.P.S.] The above was one of the despatches we sent about the events that had occurred up to that time. The more current news will be given by the messengers and the letter that Father Francisco Ezquerro has written, because there has been a change; he is no longer going there to act as the companion of Y.R., still he did not wish to fail to maintain contact in true Mariano fashion. The reason is that the good Sons of St. Ann [in Rota] should not be deprived and we had to deprive this island of yet another Father, and such a good Companion as Father Alonso is, so that Y.R. will have him and those little angels will enjoy a more permanent assistance. If possible, he should take greater care of those in the **Marpo** district and in Saipan in the way of all possible peace-keeping and religious visitations, as I have explained in greater detail in the paper that Fr. Alonso is taking along, and to whom I refer you [for explanations].

In case this letter should reach there first, let me say that what I wrote is first of all to entrust Y.R. with the peace negotiations that are to be made with Marpo as soon as possible, giving what Caiza and other friends tell you is sufficient to achieve peace and [repay] for the deaths of those who fell when our field-piece was fired upon them and by the spears thrown at them, and to anyone else who might feel or wish to get payment from us, because *ti hem namiña guinaha, ro taotao*, which means that we do not care for material goods but for people, the same as in Guaham, where we gave our tortoise shells, to stop the war, much to the annoyance of those who did not believe us.

I also wish that peace be achieved in the Saipan affair, as best as can be, because it is a pity that the children there have not been baptized in the last two years, and I hope that Y.R. will not refrain from making whatever expense is necessary, though it be taken from the poor food allowance, and, in order to help a little with the expense, Father Alonso is carrying what it has been possible to give from here.

What Ayihi is carrying is to get rice, and given that we owe him so much, one should not look closely at how he is going to use it. However, Y.R. should help him so that he may bring as much rice as possible, to be paid here upon delivery, if there is not enough to pay for it overthere, etc.

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## Document 1672A

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# The last five months of the life of Fr. Sanvitores, by Fr. Juan Ledesma

*Source: Fr. Ledesma's The Cause of Beatification, pp. 419-439.*

## 1. Introduction to his martyrdom

Drawing from the documentation which we possess, we may recast the events that took place in the last five months of the life of the Servant of God.

The end of the "Great War of Guam," ... took place on 21 October 1671. Those who took part in it were some 2,000 barbarians, as far as they could be reckoned at a glance. Aside from the Chinese Choco, they had been incited by the *Macanas* who as early as a year before, after the Servant of God obtained from Heaven a torrential rain, which put an end to the drought, felt that their credit and authority among the people was on the decline and in danger of being lost. They increased then their activity in the campaign of calumnies against the Fathers.

After their formal surrender on this day of October 21st, conditions were imposed on them of not obstructing the labor of the Fathers and to rebuild the church and their residence.

From this day the principal occupation of the Servant of God was to visit one by one the towns of the Island of Guam.

In the following month, on November 17, he sent Fr. Francisco Ezquerra to the Island of Santa Ana [Rota], and Father Alonso Lopez to those of Santo Angel [Aguijan], Buenavista Mariana [Tinian] and San José [Saypan].

On December 18, he began the yearly spiritual exercises in the Residence of St. Ignatius of Agaña. There he celebrated Christmas with the greatest solemnity possible in the new church which had been erected over the ruins of the first one. Then he renewed his visits to the towns of the island of Guam, until he was called to Agaña because of the grave illness of Fr. Diego Noriega. There this Father died in his arms on January 13 of the incoming year of 1672. When the funeral services were over the Father returned to his mission and to the church of **Nisihan** which was in the process of construction.

It was to improve the administration of the Mariana Mission that he had decided to divide the island of Guam into four parts or sectors, each one provided with its own church, built for each of 40 towns. Fr. Francisco Ezquerra, who had come from his visit of Zarpana, was appointed to the town of **Merizo**, where he built a beautiful church, even though out of coconut trunks and palms. Two laymen were building the church for another town, that of **Pagat**. Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso, who had not yet arrived from his previous destination, was assigned to the church of **Pigpug**. The Servant of God reserved for himself the town of **Nisihan**, which was the most uncomfortable and dangerous, but which abounded in children and youths who attended the classes of Christian Doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

From here he used to visit the towns which belonged to the sector of **Nisihan**. Occasionally he used to go to the Residence of St. Ignatius for his periodic confession.

From the surrender and the formal peace pact of October 21 of the year 1671 to March 31 of the following year peace had reigned in Guam. At least nothing in particular happened to disturb it openly. I say "openly" because there actually were not wanting signs that the situation did not enjoy complete calm.

Among these signs, which were prior to 31 March 1672 we find the following:

Fr. Francisco Solano, in his letter of April 26, scarcely three weeks after the violent death of the Servant of God, says that "as soon as peace was established, which was on October 21," the Venerable Father sallied forth and went around the whole Island... Nothing special happened... and so we went out since then without any fear, although there were rumors of what the enemies of the law of God where planning to do..." (see Doc. 1672E).

The same Father in the same account says that "the one who, besides the Devil, more than anyone else, was embarrassed by this peace... was the Devil's instrument and instigator of it [the war], Hurao... He was greatly resentful of us and did not want to come until we assured him and entertained him. But although he appeared to be quiet... it was not necessary for him to hide his wounded heart, for he tried to foment later treason in other towns." Subsequently, Fr. Solano says that he and another enemy, called Quipuha, tried to kill him and Fr. Francisco Ezquerra together with the companions who were helping him to build the church in Merizo.

Finally, Fr. Solano gives this general judgment: "how insolent they [the enemies] are."

Bypassing other signs which we will indicate farther down, let us quote the statement of Fathers Francisco Ezquerra in his "Account of the events in the Mariana Islands in the years 1672 and 1673" signed by them in Agaña on 6 April 1673: "When that stubborn war was over... on October 21..., and when they themselves had asked for peace... which was accepted by us, the Venerable Father Rector made later some missions, in

1 Ed. note: Merizo appears clearly on a modern map of Guam, and Pagat not so clearly on the NE coast. My research indicates that Nisihan was located between Pago and Pagat, probably near Fadian Point, and that Pigpug was on the south shore of Talafofo Bay at the mouth of the Pigpug or Asalonso River.



which he under-estimated the danger of which he was informed by some of the natives.” (see Doc. 1673K).

## 2. The last three days of the Servant of God

As has been said above, Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso who was then absent from Guam, had been assigned to the church of **Pigpug**, one of the four sectors into which, for better administration, the Servant of God had divided the Island of Guam. He arrived at last on March 31. On the occasion of this arrival, the peace which until then had apparently reigned during the last five months, was roughly and openly broken.

And it is because Fr. Francisco Solano, who received him in the central church and Residence of St. Ignatius of Agaña, decided to send on that day the catechist Diego Bazan to notify Fr. San Vitores about the arrival of Fr. Cardeñoso.

That Quipuha, who had been the go-between in the declaration of peace of last October, although he was baptized, was not the Christian that he should be, considering the life he led in concubinage. The Servant of God on his part had admonished him several times, for which reason Quipuha hated him and his companions, whom he took for critics and judges, who wanted to control his evil desires.

To carry out his errand Diego Bazan was going to pass through the town of **Chuchugu**.<sup>1</sup> Quipuha came to know it. He came to this town with his concubine. He bribed two evil-living youths to kill him, an act which they carried out on that same day of March 31.

On that same night, after those of Chuchugu had committed the crime against the young catechist, nine of its men tried to burn one of the watch towers of the soldiers; but they failed.

On the following day, April 1, since his messenger, the young Diego Bazan, failed to return sooner, Fr. Solano sent hastily two others to notify Fr. San Vitores about the arrival of Fr. Cardeñoso. These were Nicolás de Figueroa and Damián Bernal, both Filipinos, the former a Pampango and the latter a Tagalog. When they reached the place where the Servant of God was, they came to know that Diego Bazan had not arrived. They were then sure that he was killed, a fact that was confirmed by a boy of the area. The Servant of God recognized in these events the danger that threatened all. Besides, we read in the account of “one of the Fathers of the Mariana Mission” that “after five months of the peace of last October, the Servant of God advised the Fathers to take refuge again in the church and protected Residence, for he was informed by one of the assistants of the Fathers regarding a rebellion which some of the islanders proposed to make” (see Doc. 1672H6).

The Servant of God, then, urged the two messengers to return to the Residence, and sent word all around that all, Fathers and soldiers, should take refuge in Agaña.

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1 Ed. note: My research has led me to believe that Chuchugu was located in the hilly area due south of present-day Barrigada, and due east of Toto.

The two messengers brought along Manuel Rangel, a Spaniard, the one in charge of the church of **Nisihan**. The intention of the latter was to take part in the public discipline in the church of Agaña, that day being a Friday of Lent. The Father also dispatched the five companions he had in the construction of the church, and remained alone with a Visayan, named Pedro Calonsor. When they arrived near the place where Bazan was assassinated, they were ambushed by more than 20 natives of **Chuchugu** and **Mapaz**.<sup>1</sup> They killed Manuel Rangel. The other two, Nicolás de Figueroa and Damián Bernal, defended themselves and escaped. But they got lost in the bush and, being separated from each other, were assassinated, the former in the town of **Ipao** and the latter in that of **Tumon**.<sup>2</sup>

Of the five who had been dispatched by the Father, one, Manuel de la Nava, a Spaniard, segregated himself from the others and was thrown over a precipice. The rest were saved by hiding for two weeks in some caves.

In sum, four Christians died ahead of the Servant of God in the two days that preceded his death. One more, Damián Bernal, died on the same day and town some hours after his martyrdom.

### 3. Motivation of these assaults and deaths

In the first place, with the peace of 21 October 1671 the principal enemies of the Fathers, the *Macanas* and the Chinese Choco, had not been eliminated. Nor were the calumnies that the Fathers killed the sick with the holy oils of Extreme Unction, and the children with the poisoned waters of baptism. The “Great War of Guam” itself had been instigated by them. And they were not the ones who asked for peace.

The Governor of the Philippines, in the report he sent to the Queen on 22 June 1672, about the death of Fr. San Vitores, says that: “... The greater part of the natives of the Island of Guam having risen up in revolt, were led by a Chinese mestizo, who showed himself always opposed to the gospel workers. He convinced the natives that the children’s death after baptism was caused by the water they received. Together they surrounded Fr. Diego de San Vitores (see Doc. 1672H6). Although the death of the Servant of God was inflicted only by Matapang (with his accomplice Hiraó), he explicitly mentioned the waters of baptism as the source of his fury. It is then logical to include among “those who rose in revolt... led by a Chinese mestizo” those who in the three past days rebelled and killed the four who preceded the Servant of God, including the fifth who died hours after his death, since they were all Christians and auxiliaries of the Fathers.

We just underline these words of the Governor about the Chinese mestizo: “who always showed himself opposed to the gospel workers.” How? “By convincing the natives that the children’s death after their baptism was caused by the water they received.”

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- 1 Ed. note: There is still a place called Mapas in the Mongmong-Toto area of Guam, to the east of Maite. Chuchugu, as I said before, was in the hills east of present-day Toto.
  - 2 Ed. note: The two Filipinos therefore fled northward through the plain now occupied by the international airport, down to the beaches, at Ipao and Tumon respectively.

How the Governor came to know this is mentioned in the same letter. Referring to the revolt, he says that “the rest of the companions and the infantry which I left when I passed by there, and eight other soldiers more, who the year before were left behind by the General of the **Buen Socorro**, were harassed and retired, until the arrival of the relief ship when they gave the above-mentioned information.” This relief ship was the **San Diego** which passed by Guam last May 2, and to which Fr. Solano refers in the appendix of his letter of April 26 (see Doc. 1672E).

In the preceding quotation the Governor speaks about the time when he passed through the Marianas. This was on 13 June 1669, at the end of the year in which the Mariana Mission began. He was rightly informed about “the poisonous weed that had been planted by a Chinaman...” According to the contemporary account, the Governor had meant to capture him. For this purpose he sent an assistant and soldiers. But the bad conscience of the Chinese had already saved him.

The bad influence of this Chinese from the beginning and during the years that followed was such that in this last report of the Governor to the Queen he ends his reference to the Chinese Choco by the following words: “I am certain that if they were free from this Chinese mestizo, they would generally embrace the evangelical doctrine, since the natives are of a good natural disposition and they have no particular sect and religious allegiance.” In other words, the Fathers and Christians would be free from this principal, if not exclusive, obstacle and source of opposition, with his calumnies against them and against the sacraments of the church. The principal motivation, therefore, of his opposition and of the assaults and deaths was religious.

Many are the testimonies that confirm this conclusion of the Governor...

We have spoken so far of the influence of the Chinese Choco through his calumnies against the holy oils and the baptismal water. With this influence there went also that of the *Macanas* who played the part of prophets promising health, water, fish and similar goods through the invocation of deceased persons, whose skulls were kept in the houses; these were not venerated until after the arrival of Choco the Chinese.”<sup>1</sup>

We see an indication of this influence of the *Macanas* during the time of a drought, which was persistently long in duration. Many neophytes began to go secretly to them, so that they would make sacrifices to the famous skulls. They lost credit when the Servant of God obtained from Heaven a torrential rain. They generally lost the same credit because of the success of the preaching of the Fathers. This explains their opposition to them and their intrigues to incite the natives against them.

The same thing was seen in the “Great War of Guam” when “the barbarians, seeing that the Spaniards were spoiling their work, advised by the *Macanas*, after making an open pact with the Devil, commended under their care the trenches they had dug, and placed in them the skulls of the deceased.”

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1 Ed. note: This last statement is incorrect, as many earlier historical documents have revealed, notably that of Fr. Pobre (see HM3:184-185).

From all that has been said above we see the relationship of the past assaults and murders with the religion preached by the Fathers; we see the full religious motivation and the influence of the Chinese Choco and of the *Macanas* on Matapang, the assassin of the Servant of God, as we can see from the details of his martyrdom.

## 4. The death of the Servant of God

### 1 April 1672.

As we have seen above, between this day and the day before, four faithful auxiliaries of the Mission fell victims of the assassins. The Servant of God, informed of the new rebellion promoted by some of the natives, sent word to all to take refuge in the church and the protected Residence.

When all were already safe as he expected, it was the Father's turn to do the same. He, therefore, took to the road on that same day of April 1 accompanied by his faithful Visayan, Pedro Calongsor. Night caught up with them in the little village of **Fafac**, and they spent the night in the house of a good Christian.<sup>1</sup>

### 2 April 1672.

Very early in the morning of this day Venerable Father said the Mass on a portable altar, and took the route of **Tumon**, a little village close to the shore and about a league and a half distant from Agaña. He took this route for one apostolic reason. He was in search of Esteban [Díaz], that good Filipino Christian who, with the shipwreck of the galleon in 1638, had lived in these islands, and learned the language well. He instructed in it the Servant of God, first on their trip to Manila and then on their return to the Marianas. This Esteban had fled from him to live the dissolute life of the natives, and, according to information received by the Father, was living in Tumon. The shepherd then went there in search of the lost sheep.

Here in Tumon, around eight o'clock in the morning, God called him to the reward of martyrdom.

The death of the Servant of God took place with the following details and circumstances, which are jointly found in all the contemporaneous testimonies, although not all in each of them:

1. In the morning of April 2 the Father went out towards the town of Tumon a league and a half distant from Agaña. He arrived there around seven o'clock, where there was a recently-born child, the daughter of Matapang. The Father asked him to bring out the child to be baptized. Matapang became furious, he insulted the Father, proffered blasphemies and threatened to kill him.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fafac must have been located at one-hour's walking distance from Tumon Beach. Perhaps it was due east in the area of present-day Dededo, i.e. toward Nisihan, unless the Father had the previous day visited the northwest coast; there was a place there recorded as Fafacé and Pafacé by the French 100 years later.

2. Matapang, the principal killer, had been baptized and much favored by the Father. But he had apostatized from the faith.

3. Matapang said that the baptism was a useless thing and that it killed the children. With sarcasm he invited him to baptize instead a skull which he had in his house.

4. Another native, called Hirao, tried to pacify him. He was not a Christian. Matapang asked him for help in killing the Father. Hirao refused because of the affability and love with which the Father treated all. But he was accused of cowardice; hence he consented.

5. So that Matapang could cool off, the Father got together the children who were there to instruct them. And he invited Matapang to join them. This man answered that he was angry with God, fed up with him and irritated by the Father's teachings.

6. The child of Matapang was in danger of death. Her mother who was a Christian offered her to the Father to be baptized. By then Matapang had absented himself. During this absence the Father baptized the child. This increased the anger of the barbarian.

7. The two assassins began with the companion of the Father, Pedro Calongsor whom they pierced with a lance. Matapang hurled a spear against the Father and Hirao split his head with a sword. Thus the Father gave up his spirit to the Lord.

8. At the moment of martyrdom the Father was preaching to them, holding a crucifix in his hand and imploring God's mercy over them.

9. Matapang insulted the crucifix of the Father. He hit it with a stone, stepped on it and dragged it, proferring at the same time insults and blasphemies.

10. According to the witnesses the Servant of God died because of his administration of baptism, out of hate and in defense of the faith. They consider his death as glorious, and as a martyrdom, and him as a martyr.

...

## 7. After the martyrdom

The body of the Servant of God together with that of his faithful companion was dragged towards the sea and buried there never to be recovered until the day of the universal resurrection. As regards the other things he had on, the crucifix he had around his neck was reduced to minute pieces by the assassin with a stone, amidst insults and blasphemies.

The soutane in which he died and the sword or *catana* which split his head are preserved today in the Cathedral of Agaña in the Marianas. Originally the former landed in the hands of the Duchess of Aveiro, and the latter came to the possession of the family of the Marquises de la Rambla, heirs of the brother of the Venerable Father.

The big crucifix of ivory with which he preached to the criminals was sold by Mata-pang for 30 bundles of rice. And underneath the soutane they found with great consternation three painful hair shirts which he was wearing around his body.<sup>1</sup>

The news of the death was received in Manila with the first ship that passed through Guam, which was on the following May 2. Bells were rung at its arrival and a *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral. In Mexico the same demonstration of pain and joy were shown, especially by the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier. Greater and even more solemn was the celebration that took place in Madrid at which was present Don Jerónimo, father of the Servant of God and the greatest benefactor of the Mission founded by his son.

Lastly even in our days the place of the martyrdom is venerated with a chapel on the shores of the bay of Tumon. An annual procession, and other acts of devotion are held during the year. The chapel is a descendant of that first one which was built in 1674, two years after his martyrdom, by Captain Damián de Esplana, as he had promised when he was cured from a sickness through the intercession, as it was piously believed, of the Venerable Father.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores' eyeglasses were recovered. Fr. Bustillo took possession of them when he returned to Guam in 1676, but then, in 1679, he sent them to Fr. Alava in Toledo, Spain, but they were likely intercepted by some unknown person along the way (see Doc. 1681N).
  - 2 Ed. note: The chapel soon became a victim of neglect, however, and it was not until about the year 1936 that Msgr. Olano had a monument built on the approximate site of the martyrdom. The plaque from the monument was hidden during the Pacific War and, after the war, a temporary open chapel was added to the monument.

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## Document 1672B

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# Royal decree sent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 29 February 1672

*Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 6-7, pp. 35-37.*

## Regarding the exploration of the Solomon Islands

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Al Virrey de la Nueva España ordenandole que en conformidad de lo que se ordene por las cédulas en esta ynsertas, tome noticias de personas practicas del parage donde estan las Islas de Salomon en las de Filipinas y que informe de los medios que se podran aplicar para su descubrimiento.*

*Marques de Mançera Pariente del Consexo de Guerra Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva España, y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de Mexico, ó a la persona ó personas, a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*El Rey mi Señor (que sea en gloria) mando despachar en treinta de Agosto del año pasado de mill y seiscientos y quarenta y siete, y veinte i siete de Abril del de mill y seiscientos y quarenta y nueve dos cédulas cuya thenor es como se sigue:*

*[Aqui las dos cédulas citadas, que la de 30 de Agosto del año de 1647, esta asentada en N<sup>ª</sup> Esp<sup>ª</sup> de ofiçio el año de 1645, a folio 270, y la de 27 de Abril del de 1649 esta asentada en N<sup>ª</sup> España de officio del año de 1647, a folio 206.]*

*Y aora D. Geronimo de San Vitores, Cavallero de la orden de Santiago del Consexo de hacienda, ha presentado un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores, su hijo, de la compañía de Jesus, de las cosas que, eran mas neçesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, en que el, y otros quatro Religiosos de su orden, estan entendiendo, y entre ello, pide que se embien navios suficientes y de proposito por la parte del Peru, para la Terra Austral, antes yncognita, y llamadas Islas de Salomon, y otras que con ellas se continuan, desde la Isla de Guan en las Marianas hasta çerca del Peru, y que vayan sin dependençia de otros viages, para reconoçer los puertos que dizen ay en aquellas Islas, y espeçialmente en las de Guan y*

*Zarpana, y para llevar ministros evangelicos, por aquella cordillera y tambien por las Islas que continuan las Marianas con las Filipinas por Mindanao, para la administracion de unas y otras.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo Real de las Indias con los papeles tocantes a esta materia, he tenido por bien de dar la presente, ynserar las çedulas referidas, y mandaros (como lo hago) que en conformidad de lo que en ellas se ordeno, tomeis noticias de personas practicas, del paraje donde estan las dhas Islas de Salomon, y de los medios que se podran aplicar, para su descubrimiento, comunicando os para este fin con el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores, que es el que haora haze esta proposizion, y tambien lo hareis con el Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas (si os pareziere necesario) y habiendo os enterado bien de todo lo que os pareziere preziso en esta materia, me informareis con toda distincion y claridad, lo que en raçon de ella, se os ofreziere, para que tenga efecto el dho descubrimiento, y si abra en esas Provinçias personas de la yn-teligencia, y notiçias que se requiere, que hayan cursado la navegacion de las Islas Philipinas, a quien encargarselo, y la forma en que se podra hazer sin causar gastos a la Real Hazienda, executando lo referido, con el cuydado y atencion que combiene, y se fia del çelo que poneis en todo lo que toca a mi servizio remitiendo este ynforme con vuestro parecer en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca.*

*Fha en Madrid a veinte y nueve de Hebrero de mill y seissientos y setenta y dos años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

## **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

To the Viceroy of New Spain ordering him, in accordance with the decrees enclosed in the present, to get information from nautical persons knowledgeable about the neighborhood of the Solomon Islands in those of the Philippines and to send a report about the possible means of their discovery.

[To the] Marquis of Mancera, Member of the War Council, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

The King my Lord (may he rest in peace) ordered the despatch of two decrees dated 30 August of the year 1647, and 27 April 1649, whose tenor is as follows:

[Note within text: Herein the two quoted decrees; that of 30 August 1647 is recorded in the New Spain file for the year 1645, on folio 270, and that of 27 April 1649 is recorded in the New Spain file for 1647, on folio 206.]

However, now, Don Geronimo de San Vitores, Knight of the Order of Santiago, member of the Finance Council, has presented a paper with a **list of points** signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus, detailing the things that were most necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Phil-



ippines, where he, and four other Religious of his Order, are working, and among others, he asks that a sufficient number of adequate ships be sent in the direction of Peru, towards the Austral land, heretofore unknown, and called the Solomon Islands, and other nearby islands, all the way from the Island of Guan in the Marianas as far as the vicinity of Peru, and that they be sent independently of other voyages, for the purpose of finding ports that they say exist in those Islands, and specially in those of Guan and Zarpana, and to take Gospel ministers up that island chain, and also through the Islands that lie between the Marianas and the Mindanao part of the Philippines, for the administration of both sets of islands.

This having been seen in the Royal Council of the Indies, along with the papers concerning this matter, I have decided to give you the present, to enclose the above-mentioned decrees, and to order you (as I do now), in accordance with what is ordered therein, to gather information from expert nautical persons, about the neighborhood where the said Solomon Islands lie, and of the possible means to apply, for their discovery, by communicating with the said Diego Luis de San Vitores to this effect, as he is the one who now makes this proposal, and also with the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands (should you feel it necessary) and, having informed yourself well about everything that might appear to you required in this matter, you are to inform me in great detail and clarity about whatever may seem appropriate to you in this matter, so that the said exploration could take place. Let me know if there are in those Provinces persons with the required knowledge, who have sailed the Philippine route, to whom such a project could be entrusted, and the form that could be used to carry it out at no cost to the Royal Treasury, with due care and attention. I trust in the zeal that you will apply to everything that concerns my service, by remitting this report with your opinion at the first opportunity that will present itself.

Made at Madrid, on 29 February 1672.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

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## Document 1672C

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# Letter from Fr. Vidal to Fr. Andrés de Cobián, dated Mexico 3 March 1672

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 78-80.*

*Note: Fr. José Vidal and Br. Manuel Duarte had a disagreement about the job of procurator for the Mariana Island Mission. Fr. Vidal here refers the matter to Fr. Cobián, Provincial of Mexico. The latter referred it to Rome.*

## Original text in Spanish

*Mi P. Provincial Andres de Cobian.*

*Con ocasion de las sedulas favorables, que en este aviso vinieron para la mission de las Islas Marianas, entre las quales una contiene que se de a los misioneros de aquellas Islas lo mesmo, que se dà de la caja real a los misioneros de la provincia de Sinaloa, pretende el Hermano Manuel Duarte corra por su mano esta cobranza, alegando ser procurador de Philippinas; tener poder del P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y que corriendo por su mano, quedará assentada, y facil de cobranza de la caja real para lo futuro.*

*En primer lugar alabo el zelo santo, y affecto, con que dicho Hermano Duarte acude a las cosas de su Provincia, y estoi muy edificado de la solicitud, y cuydado, que pone en sus negocios, pero no puedo dexar de decir no pone este cuydado en las cosas tocantes a las Islas Marianas, pues aunque hasta aqui ha sido Procurador de las Philippinas, jamas se ha querido encomendar, ni que corra por su cuenta negocio alguno de los que han ocurrido de las dichas Islas Marianas; tanto, que este mes de Diciembre, quando fui a la fiesta de Santa Lucia, dexó todas las cosas, que se avian de llebar para la mission de Islas Marianas, encajanadas, y liadas ya para que se llebassen; viniendo el Arriero por ellas, y diciendo al Hermano Manuel Duarte Juan de Reina, en cuyo poder estaban los cajones, assistiesse al romaneaje para entregarlo al Arriero, y que le pidiesse recibo de lo que llebaba, no lo quiso hacer dicho Hermano, respondiendole, que a el no le tocaba esso, poniendo otras dificultades, de suerte, que si yo no bengo tan presto, se hubieran quedado acá todos los generos, que yo avia solicitado, y estaban ya del todo prevenidos, y dispuestos para llebarlos a las Islas, y entonces Procurador era de Filip-*

*pinas el Hermano Manuel Duarte, y [fol. 79v] tenia tambien el poder del P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, que agora alega para la cobranza.*

*Este poder, que tiene el Hermano Manuel Duarte es el mesmo, que tenia el Hermano Francisco Vello, del qual nunca vio, ni se valio el Hermano Francisco Vello: antes en todos los negocios, que se ofrecian tocantes a las Islas Marianas, me daba parte a mí, para que yo los solicitasse, y todos corrieron por mi mano, diciendo, que todos me tocavan a mi, puesto que los Padres de las Islas Marianas a mi solo me dirigian sus cartas, y comunicaban sus cosas. este poder es el que alega el Hermano Manuel Duarte, y dice ser mejor que el que yo tengo, y que este ha de prevalescer para las cobranzas, y no el mio, que piensa es del P. Sanvitores como sujeto particular: y no es assi, porque el poder, que yo tengo, dice expresamente, que el P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores como superior, y prelado de la mission de las Islas Marianas me da su poder para todas sus causas, cobranzas, que de cartas de pago, presente escritos, escrituras, y otras muchas cosas, que se expressan en el; el qual es tan vastante para todos los negocios, que ocurren, que con el he cobrado de la caxa Real dos libranzas, que por incobrables me las dieron de limosna para las Islas Marianas.—*

*Con este poder he presentado memoriales en gobierno, y se han consultado en Juntas generales, y acuerdos, pidiendo en ellos, y solicitando causas de aquella mission, y se ha tenido siempre por muy vastante poder.—*

*Con el he solicitado todas las sedulas, que han venido agora en favor de las Islas Marianas, que son cinco, ó seis: y constando al Señor Virrey, y a todos los Señores de la Junta el poder, que en otras ocasiones he presentado, mandó su Exc<sup>a</sup> en Junta general se me hiciessen notorias dichas sedulas, para que con el poder, que tengo, para los negocios de las Islas Marianas, constandome de la mente de su Magestad, y ida lo que fuere necesario para aquella mission en cuiá conformidad presente memorial pidiendo, lo que jusgué ser necesario: y este memorial va corriendo en sus despachos sin embaraso, ni impedimento alguno; antes las dificultades, que avian ocurrido, en orden a dar el dinero de la caxa, estan ya llanas, y vencidas con la gracia del Señor y si el poder, que yo tengo, no fuera vastante, se huviera embarasado todo el negocio con el.*

*El Hermano Manuel Duarte acude con todo empeño a los negocios de Filippinas, no assi a los de las Islas Marianas: y en esto hace como buen religioso, que observa los ordenes del P. Provincial de Filippinas, el qual le escribió agora un año, que no diesse una quartilla siquiera para la mission de Islas Marianas. Tambien le tiene ordenado cobre dies mil pesos de los albaceas [sic] del Señor Gobernador D. Diego Salsedo, y los ponga a renta pa- [fol. 80] ra la Provincia de Filipinas, segun el mesmo Hermano me ha dicho a mi: siendo assi que dichos dies mil pesos los dexa en su testamento el Señor Gobernador para la mission de Islas Marianas expressamente, y con advertencia, que si faltare el P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, se gasten en aquella nueva conversion, y se den al que huviere sucedido en ella a dicho Padre Sanvitores.—*

*Tiene tanto affecto el Hermano Duarte a su Provincia de Filippinas, que a los ocho Padres, que vinieron este año de Europa, para passar a aquellas Islas, les persuadia con notable instancia, que ninguno se quedasse en las Islas Marianas, sino que passassen*

*todos a Filippinas, porque el P. Sanvitores no los avia ia menester, y que vastaban seis, o siete, que avia allá para aquellas islas; quando es notoria la copiosa miez, y grande fruto, que se va cogiendo, y que necessita de muchos, y fervorosos operarios. y assi ruego a VR<sup>a</sup> mire esta causa con piedad, y que se advierta, que el Hermano Manuel Duarte con muy santo zelo de su Provincia puede impedir, y embarasar el grande fruto, que aquellas Islas prometen, para gloria del Señor.*

*Su Magestad guarde a VR &.*

*Mexico, y Marso 3 de 1672.*

*Siervo de VR<sup>a</sup>*

*+ Joseph Vidal.*

## Translation

My Fr. Provincial Andrés de Cobián.

Upon the occasion of the arrival of some decrees favorable to the mission of the Mariana Islands with the recent mail, among which one orders that the missionaries of those Islands be given the same that is given from the royal coffers to the missionaries of the province of Sinaloa, Brother Manuel Duarte pretends that the collection of this money is his responsibility, by alleging to be Procurator of the Philippines, to hold a power of attorney from Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, and that, if the business passes through his hands, it will remain established, and easy to collect from the royal coffers in future.

In the first place, I praise the holy zeal, and affection, with which the said Brother Duarte attends to the affairs of his Province, and I am very edified by the diligence, and care, that he takes in this business, but I cannot omit to say that he does not take as much care of the Mariana Islands, given that up to now, although he has been Procurator of the Philippines, he has never wanted to commit himself, nor that any business connected with the said Mariana Islands be his responsibility; so much so that, last December, when he went to the feast of St. Lucia, he left all the things, which had to be carried away for the Mariana Island Mission, already crated and tied, ready to be taken away; the muleteer came for them, but when Juan de Reina, in whose care were the crates, told Brother Manuel to help him with the weighing in order to turn them over to the muleteer, and to ask him for a waybill, said Brother refused to do so, responding that it was no concern of his, and placing other difficulties. The result was that, if I had not happened on the spot, all the goods that I had begged and that were in every way ready for despatch to the Islands would have remained here. And Brother Manuel Duarte was then Procurator of the Philippines, and he also held the power of attorney of Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, which he now refers to, for the collection.

This power of attorney held by Brother Manuel Duarte is the same one that Brother Francisco Bello had, which Brother Francisco Bello never made use of. Rather, in all the affairs he conducted for the Mariana Islands, he would report to me and begged me to solicit them, and they were all carried out through me, and he kept saying that everything was my concern, given that the Fathers of the Mariana Islands only addressed

their letters to me, and passed their business to me. This power is the one that Brother Manuel Duarte alleges, and declares, that it is better than the one I hold, and that his must prevail for the collections, and not mine, which he thinks came from Fr. Sanvitores unofficially. That is not the case, because the power of attorney which I hold expressly says that Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, as superior and prelate of the Mariana Island Mission, gives me his power for all his business, collections, to give pay cards, to present writs, and many other things stated therein. Such a power is enough for all the business affairs that may happen; for instance, with it I have collected two drafts from the Royal coffers, which, being uncollectible, were given to me as alms for the Mariana Islands.—

With this power I have presented memorials to the government, which have been consulted in general meetings, and in agreements requested therein, and soliciting in cases for that mission, and the power in question has always been held to be adequate.—

With this power I have solicited all the decrees that have come now in favor of the Mariana Islands, which are 5, or 6, in number; and in making known to the Viceroy and to all the Gentlemen of the Meeting the power of attorney that I presented to them on other occasions, His Excellency in a general meeting ordered that I be officially informed of the said decrees, so that, with the power that I hold for the business of the Mariana Islands, by referring to the intention of Her Majesty that everything necessary for that mission be sent there, in accordance whereof I presented a memorial asking for what I judged to be necessary. This memorial is now making the rounds through various cabinets, without any hindrance or impediment. Rather, the difficulties which have occurred, with regards to paying the money out of the coffers, have now been overcome, thank God, and if the power that I hold had not been adequate, the whole business would have been hindered.

Brother Manuel Duarte attends to the affairs of the Philippines with every effort, but not so to the affairs of the Mariana Islands. In this matter, he acts as a good religious, observing the order of the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines, who wrote to him a year ago, not to give even a single pint to the Mariana Island Mission. Also he has ordered him to collect the 10,000 pesos from the executors of Governor Diego Salcedo, and to invest the amount for the benefit of the Province of the Philippines, according to what the Brother himself told me. This, notwithstanding that the Governor expressly stated in his last will and testament that the 10,000 pesos were for the Mariana Island Mission, adding the proviso that, should Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores not be there, the money be spent in that new conversion, and be given to the man who would have succeeded there to the said Father Sanvitores.—

Brother Duarte has so much affection for his Province of the Philippines that he tried hard to persuade the 8 Fathers, who have come from Europe this year, to go on to those Islands, and not to remain in the Mariana Islands, but that all the religious should go on to the Philippines, because Fr. Sanvitores did not need them, and that the 6, or 7, missionaries already in those Islands were sufficient, though it is well known that the

harvest being gathered there is copious, the fruit ample, and that many more zealous workers are required. Therefore, I beg Y.R. to look into this case with piety, knowing beforehand that Brother Manuel Duarte, with his very holy zeal for his Province, may try to frustrate the great fruit that those Islands promise, for the glory of the Lord.

May His [divine] Majesty keep Y.R., etc.

Mexico, 3 March 1672.

Y.R.'s servant,

+ José Vidal.

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## Documents 1672D

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# Memorial from Fr. Vidal to the Viceroy, dated Mexico 29 March 1672

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 72-73v.*

### Original text in Spanish

*Don Antonio Sebastian &a.*

*Por quanto ante mi se presento el Memorial siguiente en 21 de febrero de 1672:*

*Ex[cellentisi]mo Señor*

*El Padre Joseph Vidal Religioso de la Compañia de Jhs: y Procurador de la Nueva conversion y mision de las yslas Marianas:*

*Dize que havindose servido Su Magestad (que Dios guarde) de dirigir a V. Ex[celencia] dos Reales çedulas: la una despachada en 12 de Agosto de 671 en que manda se sirva V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de disponer la provision de los **ornamentos** y demas cosas que se expresan en el apuntamiento del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores cuya copia fue Su Magestad servida remitir a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> como mas largamente se contiene en dicha çedula: Y la otra su fecha en 10 de octubre de dicho año, en que Su Magestad se sirve de mandar se socorra de esta Real caja a los PP. misioneros de dichas Yslas segun la que se da a los de la Provincia de **Sinaloa**: V. Ex<sup>a</sup> fue servido de mandar se hiçiesse notorias al suplicante para que como Procurador de dicha mision pidiesse lo neçessario para ella en cuyo obedeçimiento es assi que las yslas descubiertas son treçe hasta 12 de Junio del dicho año de 71, y las perssonas Baptizadas hasta el año de 70 eran 30 mill, como consta a V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de la Relacion que remitió el dicho P. Diego Luis de San Vitores; y aunque cada ysla viene a ser una Doctrina y mission y a cada Doctrina, y mision nueva dà Su Magestad una campana, un ornamento entero, capa negra[,] inçens<sup>o</sup> y demas ornato para çelebrar: con todo no son mas que onze los Padres misionarios que ay en las yslas contando los quatro que van agora en el navio que salio este mes de febrero del Puerto de Acapulco para las yslas Philippinas y assi para ornamentos con que puedan çelebrar dichos PP. recibiran de gracia qualquier limosma; y ayuda de costa que V.Ex<sup>a</sup> fuere servido de mandar se dé en virtud de dicha Real Cedula: y en quanto los dichos apuntamientos que ella rrefiere para que V.Ex<sup>a</sup> se sirva de disponer las cossas que en el*

*se expresan parece sera neçessario lleban Polvora[,] Munision; Y algunas armas de fuego para las Perssonas que asisten a los PP. o si se huviere de poner presidio en aquellas yslas conforme el dicho P Diego Luis de San Vitores propone o como dispusiere V.Ex<sup>a</sup> con su mucha prudencia y discreçion y por que es neçessario previenen compra y comodidad en los p[r]teçios lo que se a de remitir a dichas yslas y que si se compran al tiempo del despacho suele costar duplicado de lo que cuestan quando se prebienen a tiempo las cossas que se an de inbiar y atendiendo a que agora se esta haziendo el despacho de la flota se disponga dicha Proviission.*

*Y en quando a dicha segunda cedula que dispone se les provea a los dichos Padres misioneros con el socorro desta Real caxa en la forma que a los Padres que lo son de Sinaloa es assi que a cada uno de los sussodichos como consta de los libros de la caxa Real y demas despachos se dan 300 pesos de limosna; y 35 pesos para el seminario donde se crian Niños musicos que sirven los divinos exerçios y se compran instrumentos musicos para el efecto: A V.Ex<sup>a</sup> pide y supplica se sirva en conformidad de dichas çedulas de mandar[fol. 72v] que acabado el despacho de la flotta se les de desta Real caxa a los dichos PP. el socorro de dichos ornamentos y demas cossas que en dichos apuntamientos se rrefieren; y assimismo el de los 300 pesos a cada uno de los dichos once Padres y los 35 Pesos para el dicho servicio y finalmente servirse V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de proveer segun propone dicho P. Diego Luis de San Vitores en dichos apuntamientos. Por los quales se a de servir V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de passar los ojos por venir como vienen dirigidos de Su Magestad a la prudente disposicion de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> en que reciba merced y aquella Provincia el felix progreso que prometen sus dichosos Prinçipios, como lo espero de la grandeza de V.Ex<sup>a</sup>.*

*José Vidal.—*

*de que mandé dar vista al Señor Fiscal Licenciado Don Joan Francisco de Ezquivel con testimonio de las Reales çedulas y apuntamientos que en ellas se çitan; Y dio esta Repuesta:*

*[Note in margin:] Respuesta del fiscal 27 de febrero de 1672.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El fiscal de Su Magestad a visto este memorial y las Reales çedulas que con el presenta el P. Joseph Vidal y el apuntamiento que en una dellas se mençiona: y diçe que V.Ex<sup>a</sup> siendo servido podra mandar **por aora** que los ofiçiales Reales imformen por los libros de su cargo que es lo que Su Magestad a estilado dar para la administracion de cada Doctrina y mision nueva y para estipendio a cada uno de los Misioneros de la Provincia de Sinaloa; y que haviendo hecho dicho informe se le buelva con estos Papeles para responder y sobre lo demas que se rrefiere en dicho apuntamiento.*

*Mexico 27 de febrero de 1672.*

*Ldo. D. Joan Francisco de Esquibel.*

*Y remiti a los offiziales Reales desta Corte que me informaron lo siguiente:*

***Informe de ofiçiales Reales 9 de março de 672.***

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Lo que emos aberiguado por los libros de la Caxa es, que a los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs de la mision de la Provincia de Sinaloa se les señalaron por este superior*



*Gobierno en conformidad de ordenes de Su Magestad a Razon de 350 pesos a cada uno de los que por entonces pareçieron neçessarios para las conversion de aquellas Provincias: Y a los que asisten en pueblos donde ay Seminarios para enseñarla Doctrina Christiana[,] leer, escribir y contar a los Naturales ya rreducidos a la obediencia de Su Magestad 300 Pessos a cada uno, y desde el Año 607 que se halla copia de los Libramientos que se dieron a favor de los dichos Religiosos hasta oy a corrido el Librar-seles en esta Real caja esta porcion a los que se an empleado en dichas misiones.—*

*Asimismo consta por un libramiento de dicho año de 1607, que en virtud de mandamiento del Exmo. Sor. Virrey Marques de Montesclaros se remataron en la Real Almoneda las cosas neçessarias para dos ornamentos que contienen los generos siguientes: frontal, frontaleras, manteles, Palia, Corporales, Bolsas de ellos, Paño de Calix, Campanilla, Casulla, Manipulo, estola, Alba, Amito y çingulo[,] Dos calices con sus Patenas[,] dos ymagenes del olio con sus marcos, Dos campanas de metal con sus lenguas[,] dos libros misales. Lo qual fue para dos religiosos que nuevamente aquel año fueron señalados para dos misiones de los yndios Xixinés de Paz, y tambien se halla que el año de 1605 se libraron de esta Real caxa en virtud de orden del superior Gobierno 5,575 Pesos para ornamento y otras cossas [fol. 73] neçessarias para fundar las nuebas ygleçias de las Provincias de Sinaloa y Guadiana: Asimismo se hallan tambien otros libramientos hechos los mismos años Por la misma Razon de lo qual se persive haverse observado lo mismo con los demas misiones que antesedentemente havian ydo a las otras misiones de dichas Provincias[.]*

*V.Ex<sup>a</sup> sobre todo mandara lo que mas conbenga.*

*Mexico y março 9 de 1672 años.*

*D. Antonio de Ybarra.*

*D. Fernando de Deja y Ulloa.*

*Y lo volvé al dicho Sor. fiscal que dio esta respuesta:*

***Segunda respuesta del fiscal en 10 de março 672 años.***

*Exmo. Señor.*

*El fiscal de Su Magestad ha visto el informe de ofiziales Reales y dice que siendo V.Ex<sup>a</sup> servido podra mandar que **por aora: y en el interin** que se trae çertifiçacion del cierto numero de Religiosos Operarios que ay y asisten en las yslas Marianas se socorra diez Religiosos a Razon de los 350 pesos que dichos ofiziales Reales informan pagarse a los Padres misioneros de Sinaloa hasta que conste estar ya poblados y que asisten en seminarios y que dichos officiales Reales embien 10 fronttales[,] Manteles, cingulos[,] estolas[,] manipulos[,] Casullas[,] Caliçes[,] Patenas[,] Paños de ellos [,] Corporales y sus volsas; ymagine al olio de nuestro Señor y su Santa Madre; y se saquen a la almoneda y rrematen en quien mas baxa hiciere para que se rremitan en la primera ocasion al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores como su Magestad lo ordena por sus Reales Cedula y de embiarle despacho en Virtud de ellas para que el Gobernador de Manila les embie Diez Campanas moderadas, y otras tantas Campanillas, pues alla ay tantas metales y se haran con mas façilidad, y comodidad, y tambien çien Yndios Pampangos nombrandoles a Don Juan de Santa Cruz (como lo pide dicho Padre) por Cavo por lo*

*bien que refiere procede; y que habiendo llegado a Manila en que asistire el sangley Choco le prendan, y remitan a aquella çudad.*

*Mexico a 10 de marzo de 1672 años.*

*Licenciado D. Joan Francisco de Esquibel.*

*Con lo rremeti a Junta general; y vista en la que tuve con los Señores Assistentes en conformidad de lo que en ella se rresolvio por el Presidente mandar a los Juezes oficiales Reales de la Real caxa desta Corte que **por aora y en el interin** que se trae çertificaçion del sierto num<sup>o</sup> de Religiosos Operarios que ay, y asisten en las yslas Marianas libren y paguen al Padre Joseph Vidal como quien tiene Poder del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores lo que montare el socorro de Diez Religiosos a razon de 350 pesos como se pagan a los Padres Misioneros de Sinaloa, que con este mandamiento y los demas r[fecau]dos necessarios se les passara en quenta lo que montare. Y assimismo mando a dichos oficiales Reales traigan al Pregon el la Real almoneda Diez frontales[,] Manteles, Alvas, çingulos, estolas, Manipulos[,] Cazullas, Caliçes[,] Patenas[,] Paños de ellos[,] corporales y sus Bolsas y Ymages al olio de nuestro Señor y su santa Madre; y los rematen en quien mas baxa huviere y remitan en la primera ocaçion al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores como su Magestad lo ordena por sus Reales çedulas que lo [fol. 73v] que esto montare tambien se les passarra en datta.*

*Mexico 29 de março de 1672 años.*

*El Marques de Mançera.*

*Por mandado de Su Ex<sup>a</sup>, Don Pedro Velazques de la Cadena.—*

*[Certification:] Concuerta con el Mandamiento original que esta en el officio del secretario de Gobierno de Cadena donde se saco este traslado a la Letra y en fee de ello lo firme*

*Manuel Duarte.*

## Translation

Don Antonio Sebastian, etc.

Inasmuch as the following Memorial was placed before me on 21 February 1672:

Your Excellency:

Father José Vidal, Religious of the Society of Jesus and Procurator of the new conversion and mission of the Mariana Islands:

Declares that Her Majesty (God save her) was pleased to address two Royal decrees to Your Excellency: one despatched on 12 August 1671, wherein Y.E. is ordered to please arrange the supply of **ornaments** and other things expressed in the list of points submitted by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, whose copy Her Majesty was pleased to remit to Y.E. and referred to more extensively in said decree; the other, dated 10 October of said year, wherein Her Majesty was pleased to order that the missionary Fathers of said Islands be succorred from these Royal coffers, the same way as the missionaries of the Province of **Sinaloa**.

Y.E. was pleased to order that said decrees be officially transmitted to the suppliant, so that as Procurator of the said Mission he may request what it needs. To comply, let

it be known that the islands that have been discovered as of 12 June of said year 1671 are 13 in number, and the persons baptized as of the year 1670 were 30,000, as stated in the narrative remitted by said Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores; and although each island can be a separate mission field and to every new mission field Her Majesty gives one bell, one set of ornaments, one black mantle, incense and other mass kit, all in all the missionary Fathers who are present in the islands are no more than eleven, including the four who are presently on their way aboard the ship that left the port of Acapulco this month of February bound for the Philippine Islands. And so, in order for said Fathers to be able to celebrate mass with grace whatever alms and contribution that Y.E. would be pleased to order be given in accordance with said Royal decree will be welcome. And, in accordance with the said list of points referred to therein, so that Y.E. may be pleased to arrange things expressed therein, it appears that the following items will be necessary: gun-powder, ammunition, and a few firearms for the persons who assist the Fathers, or, if there is question of placing a garrison in those islands, in accordance with the suggestion made by the said Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, or as Y.E. will dispose in accordance with your great prudence and discretion. And because it is necessary to foresee the purchase and advantageous prices for what must be remitted to said Islands and that if they are bought at the time of the despatch the cost is usually double what it cost when the things to be sent are purchased in advance, said provision should take into account the fact that the despatch of the [Atlantic] fleet is in progress.

With respect to the second decree, that orders that said missionary Fathers be provided with succor from these Royal coffers in the same manner that is used for those of Sinaloa, it happens that for every one of the above-mentioned Fathers, as stated in the books of the Royal Treasury and other despatches, 300 pesos are given in alms, and 35 pesos for the seminary where the children musicians are being raised to serve the divine offices and musical instruments are to be purchased to that effect: he [i.e. the suppliant] begs and beseeches Y.E. to please order that, in accordance with said decrees, as soon as the fleet has been despatched, the said Fathers be given from these Royal coffers the succor of said ornaments and other things that are mentioned in said list of points; and in addition, the 300 pesos to every one of the said 11 Fathers, plus the 35 pesos for said service, and finally Y.E. may be pleased to provide, in accordance with the proposal made by Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores in said list of points. Consequently, Y.E. may be pleased to look favorably upon the above requests, as they are addressed from Her Majesty to the prudent disposition of Y.E., and so that Province hopes to get from your mercy the success that the good beginnings promise for the future, so I hope from the greatness of Y.E.

José Vidal.—

I have referred this to the Fiscal, Licentiate Don Juan Francisco de Ezquivel, along with certified copies of the royal decrees and list of points that were quoted therein. And he gave this Answer:

[Note in margin:] **Answer from the Fiscal, dated 27 February 1672.**

Your Excellency:

Her Majesty's Fiscal, having seen this memorial and the Royal decrees that Fr. José Vidal reproduces therein and the list of points that is mentioned in one of them: declares that Y.E. could be pleased to order **for now** that the Royal officials inform you of what the books in their care state that Her Majesty agreed to pay for the administration of every new mission field, and as a stipend to every one of the missionaries of the Province of Sinaloa; and, once said report has been submitted, to return it with these papers for an answer, regarding this and the rest referred to in said list of points.

Mexico, 27 February 1672.

Licentiate Don Juan Francisco de Esquivel.

And I remitted [them] to the Royal officials of this Court, who reported the following:

**Report from the Royal officials, dated 9 March 1672.**

Your Excellency:

What we have ascertained from the account books is, that the Religious of the Society in the mission of the Province of Sinaloa were granted by this superior Government, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty, at the rate of 350 pesos to each one of those who then appeared necessary for the conversion of those Provinces; and to those who work in towns where there are seminaries to teach natives already reduced to the obedience of His Majesty the Christian doctrine, how to read, write and count, 300 pesos to each one, and from the year 1607 there can be found copies of the drafts that were made in favor of the said Religious, and a portion earmarked for said missions has been reserved until today in this royal treasury.—

In addition, there is on record a draft in said year of 1607, that by virtue of an order from His Excellency the Marquis of Montesclaros the necessary funds be paid out to purchase in the Royal auction house for two [sets of] ornaments, each containing the following items: front ornament of an altar, frontal pieces, mantle cloths, altar cloths, corporals, pouches for those, cloth for the chalice, small bell, chasuble, maniple, stole, alb, amice, and girdle, two chalices with their patens, two oil paintings with their frames, two metal bells with their clapper, two missals. The above were for the two religious who were then assigned to the two missions of the Xixines Indians of Paz, and also it was found that in the year 1605 the royal treasury paid out 5,575 pesos, by virtue of an order from the superior Government, for the ornaments and other things necessary to found the new churches of the Provinces of Sinaloa and Guadiana. In addition, there were also other payments made those same years for the same reason. Hence, it is perceived that the same custom was observed for the other missions that had previously been set up in the said Provinces.

Y.E. will order what you think most appropriate.

Mexico, 9 March 1672.

Don Antonio de Ybarra.

Don Fernando de Deja y Ulloa.

And I gave it back to the Fiscal, who gave this answer:

**Second answer from the Fiscal, dated 10 March 1672.**

Your Excellency:

Her Majesty's Fiscal has seen the report of the Royal officials and declares that Y.E. may be pleased to order that **for now**, until a certificate as to the correct number of Religious workers who reside and work in the Mariana Islands be presented, 10 Religious be paid at the rate of 350 pesos, which is what the said Royal officials report is being paid to the missionary Fathers of Sinaloa until it becomes clear that they are populated and who work in seminaries, and that said Royal officials send 10 frontal altar cloths, mantle cloths, girdles, stoles, maniples, chasubles, chalices, patens, their cloths, corporals and their pouches; oil paintings of our Lord and his Holy Mother; and that they be obtained at the auction house and from the lowest bidder, in order to be shipped at the first opportunity to Father Diego Luis de San Vitores as Her Majesty orders by her Royal Decrees, and to send him a despatch by virtue of them, so that the Governor of Manila will send him 10 average-size bells, and as many smaller ones, given that there are so many metals there and they can be made more easily and conveniently, and also 100 Pampango Indians, appointing Don Juan de Santa Cruz Officer in charge (as said Father is asking) on account of his good proceedings; and that upon arrival at Manila [rather Guam] where the Sangley Choco may reside they are to seize him and send him to that city.

Mexico, 10 March 1672.

Licentiate Juan Francisco de Esquivel.

Then I remitted it to the General Meeting, where it was seen by the Gentlemen present; with respect to what is in it, it was decided by the President to order the Royal official judges of the Royal Treasury of this Court **for now** and until a certificate of the correct number of Religious workers who reside and work in the Mariana Islands is presented, to pay to Father José Vidal, as holder of a power of attorney from Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, the amount that will cost the succor of 10 Religious at the rate of 350 pesos, as is paid to the missionary Fathers of Sinaloa, and that said amount be recorded into the account books with [a copy of] this order and the other necessary papers. In addition, he ordered said Royal officials to take to the crier of the royal auction house the list of 10 altar frontal cloths, mantle cloths, albs, girdles, stoles, maniples, chasubles, chalices, patens, cloths for them, corporals and their pouches, and oil paintings of our Lord and His holy Mother; and to obtain them from the lowest bidder, and ship them at the first opportunity to Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, as Her Majesty has ordered by her Royal decrees, and that this amount be recorded as well.

Mexico, 29 March 1672.

The Marquis of Mancera.

By order of His Excellency, Don Pedro Velazquez de la Cadena.—

[Certified copy:] This agrees with the original order that is in the office of the Government Secretary, Mr. de Cadena, where this exact copy was made, and in faith whereof I have signed it.

Manuel Duarte.

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## Document 1672E

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# Letter from Fr. Solano, dated Agaña 26 April 1672

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 82-87; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Notes: Fr. Francisco Solano became Superior of the Mission after the death of Fr. Sanvitores. He was born in Spain on 4 October 1635; he arrived at Guam on 9 June 1671, and died there on 13 June 1672. Therefore, he wrote this letter less than two months before his death.*

## Letter from Fr. Francisco Solano to Fathers Morales, Casanova and Br. Bustillo in Manila

My Fathers Luis de Morales,  
Pedro de Casanova,  
and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo.  
P[ax] C[hristi]

Although I imagine that everyone in that City of Manila is desirous to know about the condition of things in this part of Christendom, still I think that Your Reverences will be with singular reason stimulated, not by curiosity, but by the great zeal which still lasts in your hearts for its progress, especially since its beginnings are due to your apostolic labors and continuous fatigue. And so I say that your desire for very specific news will be all the greater. Such news I would like to communicate now to Your Reverences.

But the Lord's Providence has so ordained the events and other things of this Mission that, when for several days we were expecting the ship's arrival, he deigned to stop the mail's preparation, giving us the greatest blow that we could fear from his rigorous justice, offended by our sins and tepidity. And the blow has been no less than to cut off our head with the unexpected removal of our Father, Master and Superior, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, thereby rewarding him for his labors with a glorious death which on April 2 in the town of **Tumhun** was inflicted on him by one whom Your Reverences would least expect, a native called Matapang, from the same town of Tumhun. He is the Matapang whom you baptized and cured of certain wounds from spear thrusts when Your Reverences had recently arrived here.

This is, therefore, I say, the reason why the news on the Mission will not be as complete as I would desire: because the Venerable Father had with him all the papers and dispatches, none of which I have been able to get hold of until now, no matter how diligently I tried, nor do we know of the event more than what we heard from some natives who have been later in Tumhun.

His Reverence was not the only one whom they assassinated, but also on that same day and in the previous, other six of our companions, who were Diego Bazan, a Spaniard and former companion of Your Reverences; Manuel Rangel and Manuel de Nava, Spaniards; Damián [Bernal], a Tagalog; Pedro Calonsor, a Visayan; and Nicolás de Figueroa, a Pampango. All of them youths of very good disposition. Because they were isolated from one another the enemy was able to execute on them such cowardly cruelty.

Because of the deaths of these and the absence of many of the remaining companions, the few who are here have not dared to take proper and just retribution, investigating the case juridically. Particularly, in order not to risk it all, we are fortifying ourselves here in this town of Agaña while we await the arrival of the ship which is the only thing they fear, and in which after God we have placed our hopes. I shall, therefore, write to Your Reverences all that has happened during this year, including the circumstances which time may permit.

[There follows his narrative of the events since his arrival at the Mission on 9 June 1671, just three months before the Great War of Guam, until the peace pact that ended it.]

The one who more than anyone else, outside the Devil, was embarrassed by this peace... was uirao whom the Devil used as instrument and executor of this war... He distrusted us very much, and did not want to come until we assured and entertained him. But although he gave signs that he had quieted down,... it was not necessary for him to hide his evil heart, trying to build up later against us treason in other towns. He and Quipuha, while I was on a mission tour, tried eagerly to have the *Urritaos* assassinate me... And in Merizo they tried also to have them kill Fr. Ezquerria and the other companions who were building a church there. But our Lord always defended us... until ultimately his most exalted providence was pleased to let the blow of all these intrigues fall on our holy Superior, to reward him for his apostolic endeavors with a glorious death. The event took place in the following manner.

As soon as peace was [re]-established, which was on October 21, the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Father Rector decided that the work of the missions should continue... Father Rector took charge of the visitation of this Island. For this purpose he sallied forth and made the circuit of almost the whole island without any company except that which Your Reverences know he used to take along. Nothing in particular happened in this visitation, and so we started to come out without fear since then, although there was no lack of news about what the enemies of the law of God were planning to do...

I arrived at this Residence and reported to Father Rector about the state of affairs... This was one of the reasons that moved His Reverence to have me make this last mission, since His Reverence had decided to divide us in this island, so that the fewest possible would remain in this Residence. Thus the building of churches and residences could be given a start... And so he resolved that a church be built in **Tarragui**...

He later came with me to **Nisihan**. The church was already finished and His Reverence was actually in that town waiting for Fr. Tomás [Cardeñoso] who had not yet arrived from Tinian. He was to proceed to **Pago** where I was to go, and actually did not for particular reasons which moved His Reverence. And in case Father Tomás did not arrive, His Reverence was decided to go himself for the construction of that church, in spite of the fact that he was so busy in the preparation of the mail which he was actually preparing for the ship's arrival. At last, Father Tomás arrived and I sent Diego Bazan to **Nisihan** with the letters and the notice to His Reverence about Fr. Tomás' arrival.

He was carrying with him two spears, of those peculiar to this land, and he took the road to **Chuchugu**. On entering the town he got into a conversation with the *Urritaos*. They made him put aside the spears..., and seeing him off guard, one *Urritao* called Aruru stabbed him with a machete... Another hit him with a club on the head with which he killed him.

On the same night of that day when they killed Diego, the enemy came to burn us, but our dogs... discovered the incendiaries, and the guards being warned... did not give them the chance to light the fire. However, they hurled spears, one of which was directed towards a young Pampango who leaned out of the sentry house... Another spear was directed towards a Spaniard who was about to leave the stockade...

Since I was worried that Diego Bazan had not returned with the reply from **Nisihan**, on the following day I dispatched a message through two others, who were Damián and Nicolás de Figueroa... In their company was a native boy of this place, called Ambrosio<sup>1</sup>... who assists us like any other Filipino, together with two others... who came to us. On the way... the three of them met Manuel Rangel who was the little Spaniard in charge of the church of **Nisihan** and who was on his way to take the discipline in the procession that would take place on that day, the second Friday of Lent. And advised about what was happening, he retraced his steps and accompanied them to where Father Rector was. He had moved on to **Guay**.<sup>2</sup>

There they learned how Diego had been assassinated, and so Father Rector sent back again these three to this Residence. On their way 20 natives of **Chuchugu** and **Mapaz** met them. The three fought against the 20 and the Pampango, Nicolás de Figueroa, killed one of them called Painhin, cutting off his head, while the others managed to kill

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1 Ed. name: His full name was Ambrosio Hagman; he will appear later as a witness in the legal inquiry. His family name corresponds to that of the moray eel.

2 Ed. note: From what follows, it seems as if Fr. Sanvitores was on a counter-clockwise tour of the northern part of Guam. The town of Guay was probably located north of Nisihan on the NE coast.



with a lance the little Spaniard Manuel Rangel. Figueroa and Damián saved themselves by going into the bush.

Father Rector at that time had with him six companions, most of them youngsters, and from **Guay** he gave them orders, not knowing of the fate of the three, to proceed to this Residence.

And accompanied by only one native Visayan, called Pedro Calonsor, he went by way of **Pagat** and from there he went up through the wild interior to recover the old Esteban [Diaz], as well as to administer some baptisms [at Tumhun].

The other five went off to go to Agaña, but in **Guay** they were informed of the death of Rangel, and here one of them, a Spaniard called Manuel de Nava, detached himself from his companions, took the road towards the house of a one-eyed native of that town called **Pigus**, and they say that this man killed him by throwing him [over a cliff] upon one of the coral reefs. The other four did not go on but went back to **Nisihan**. Here they were not sure of themselves because of the news they received that Agao would try to kill them there. Since he tried to carry it out by force, they went to **Pagat** guided by a reputed relative of Pablo. Because of him, they were not killed when they passed through **Sasadia** [Sasayan] in **Pagat**...

Coming back now to Damián and Figueroa. The latter, while cutting some coconut in the bush to eat was seen by a youngster who ran and said that there was around a *Guirrago* [meaning stranger]. The people of the town came and he fled, but they caught up with him and there they killed him, as well as Damián in Tumhun, whom they treacherously killed while they were giving him something to eat.

#### [The death of Fr. Sanvitores]

Father Rector was killed by Matapang in the same town ahead of Damián. His Reverence had arrived at his house very early in the morning, having slept [the night] before in **Fafac**. And while he was pacing up and down in front of the house the Father asked him: "Are there any children to be baptized?" To which he answered in anger: "There inside I have a skull. Baptize it for me with that water of God." Another native called Hirao tried to pacify him, telling him: "For your life's sake let him go where he is going." To which Matapang replied: "Let us kill him." The said Hirao did not consent in the innocent death of such a holy man, because nowhere in the world was there the least complaint against him, thanks to the great affability and love with which he treated all. But Matapang mocked him as a coward. "You are a coward," he said. Hurt by this, he replied: "Let us kill him." And beginning with the companion Pedro Calonsor, they speared him. The holy Father began to preach to them, but Matapang made fun of him and paid no attention to the holy Father. He proffered to them a big crucifix made of ivory which he was carrying with him. His Reverence told them: "There is no other God than this." And Matapang hurled a spear at him. Hirao wounded him with a machete, with which he gave up his spirit to the Lord. They threw his venerable body into the sea, and it is said that they insulted the holy crucifix with many outrages.

This is all that we have been able to know about the event from the statement of some natives, and there is no doubt about it. We have not been able to make so far any further investigation, because all our companions are somewhat full of fear, and because it has seemed to us better not to make any demonstration for the time being until the arrival of the ship. May God bring it and may he give great courage to the heart of the military chief in order to avenge such great crime which deserves an exemplary punishment.

And if it is not forthcoming now, all of us who are left run a great risk, for they are so insolent and they will be convinced that the ship will not do them any harm, since they say that they have been assured by one of our men who escaped from us and joined them; for we are subject also here to the dangers from false brothers.

This is what happened in this Mission since Your Reverences departed from these islands, which I have narrated to you in such detail so that Your Reverences may share this news with whom you may see fit for the good of the Mission. But I saw fit to share it with Your Reverences, because it is not possible for me to make a longer report for individuals. Hence you will yourselves share what you think is best for others to know, although for Spain it is imperative that I do it, while our Lord gives me help and time which at present is very scarce and we are waiting for the ship to arrive.

But if the papers of Father Rector should appear from here and there, which up to the present it has not been possible to retrieve from the natives, Your Reverences will have a very good account which His Reverence had already done, together with other papers he had for remittal to His Majesty as well as to his Lordship the Governor.

May God keep Your Reverences to whose prayers and holy sacrifices I commend myself.

From these Mariana Islands and Residence of Agaña, 26 April 1672.

Your Reverences' Servant,  
Francisco Solano

[P.S.] The letter ends here. To it I only add that on the first day of May the ship that was coming here from New Spain arrived at the said Islands of the Ladrones. There it left the resources of three priests of our Society and 27 soldiers with some supplies, so that we hope that with this and the shedding of the blood of the Venerable Father San Vitores, that vineyard that is the Mariana Mission will bear copious fruits of souls for Heaven.

### Document 1672F

*Note: There exist some letters written to Fr. Cobián, Jesuit Provincial in Mexico, in 1672 that may have a bearing on the Mariana Mission. If so, they will be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found.*

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## Document 1672G

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# Fr. Sanvitores' picture gallery

### Introductory note.

The only live portrait made with Fr. Sanvitores present was painted in Madrid in 1660, before the missionary left Spain for the Philippines. See Vol. 4, p. 108, for an idea of his appearance.

Soon after his death was reported in Spain (1674), an official portrait was drawn in the style of the period by an unknown artist, and hung in the Cathedral at Burgos, Spain. It was drawn perhaps from memory, or from the 1660 portrait, or both. All other paintings since that time are based on this official portrait, as can be seen from the following picture gallery.

I have also found a reference to a portrait, perhaps the same as the official portrait, painted by an Austrian Jesuit, Father Adam Gerstl, who was destined to visit Guam twice. While he was in Spain on the way to the Philippines, he painted not only a portrait of Fr. Sanvitores, but also those of the other three martyrs: Fr. Medina, Fr. Ezquerro, and Fr. San Basilio, according to an eyewitness report by one of his companions, Fr. Strobach (see Doc. 1679P1). At least 3 of these portraits have disappeared; perhaps they were shipped to one of the German-speaking provinces. As far as the portrait of Fr. Sanvitores by Fr. Gerstl is concerned, perhaps it served as a model for the engraver for the frontispiece of one of his two biographies (see below).

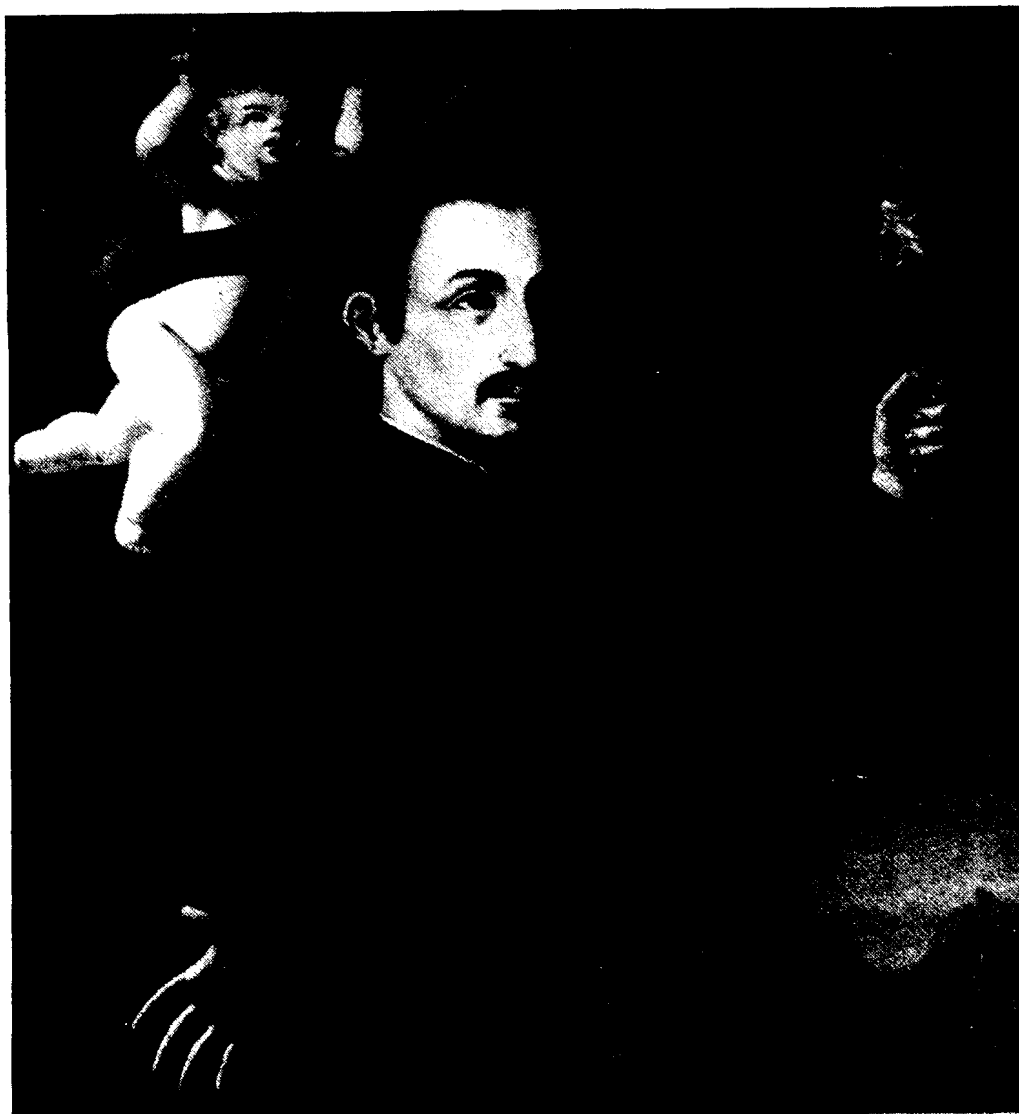
**The standard portrait by an unknown artist, in the Cathedral of Burgos, Spain.**

It hangs in one of the side chapels of the Cathedral of Burgos, Fr. Sanvitores' birthplace. Transcription of the Spanish caption:

*“Verdadero Retrato del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores natural de la Ciudad de Burgos, varon de vida inculpable, y angélica, llamado milagrosamente a la Compañía de JHS en el Colegio de Madrid, y la conversion de los gentiles, favorecido de el Señor con singulares virtudes, y prodigios, primer predicador Apostolico de las yslas marianas donde padecio con sus compañeros grandes trabajos, y convertidas millares de almas, predicando con un Santo Crucifixo dio la vida traspasado el pecho con una lanza, y partida la caveza con una catana en el 2 del mes de Abril de 1672 y su edad 44 años.”*

Translation of the above caption: “Authentic Portrait of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, a native of the City of Burgos. He was a man with an irreproachable and angelic life. He was miraculously called to the Society of Jesus in the College of Madrid, and to the conversion of heathens, favored by the Lord with special virtues, and prodigies. He became the first Gospel preacher of the Mariana Islands where he suffered great hardships with his companions. He converted thousands of souls, preaching with a holy Crucifix. He gave his life when his chest was transpierced by a spear and his head cut off with a machete on 2 April 1672, at 44 years of age.”

A modern copy hangs on the second floor of the Guam Public Library at Agaña, Guam.



Venerable Retrato del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores natural  
 de la Ciudad de Burgos varon de vida inculpable y angelica, llamado milagrosam<sup>te</sup> a la  
 Compania de IHS en el Colegio de Madrid, y la conversion de los gentiles, favorecida de  
 el Señor con singulares virtudes, y prodigios, primer predicador Apostolico de las yslas Marianas  
 donde padeció con sus comp<sup>añeros</sup> grandes trabajos, y convertidas millares de almas, predicando  
 con un S.<sup>o</sup> Crucifixo dio la vida traspassado el pecho con una lanza, y parando la sangre  
 con una escama nel 2 del mes de Abril del 1672 a su edad 44 años.

**Portrait of Fr. Sanvitores appearing in his biography by Fr. Fco. García.  
It was engraved by Gregorio Fesman at Madrid in 1682.**



**Portrait of Fr. Sanvitores published in Fr. Ortiz' Italian translation of the biography by Fr. García.**

It was published at Naples in 1686. The assassin Matapang used a spear, and his accomplice Hirao wielded a machete.





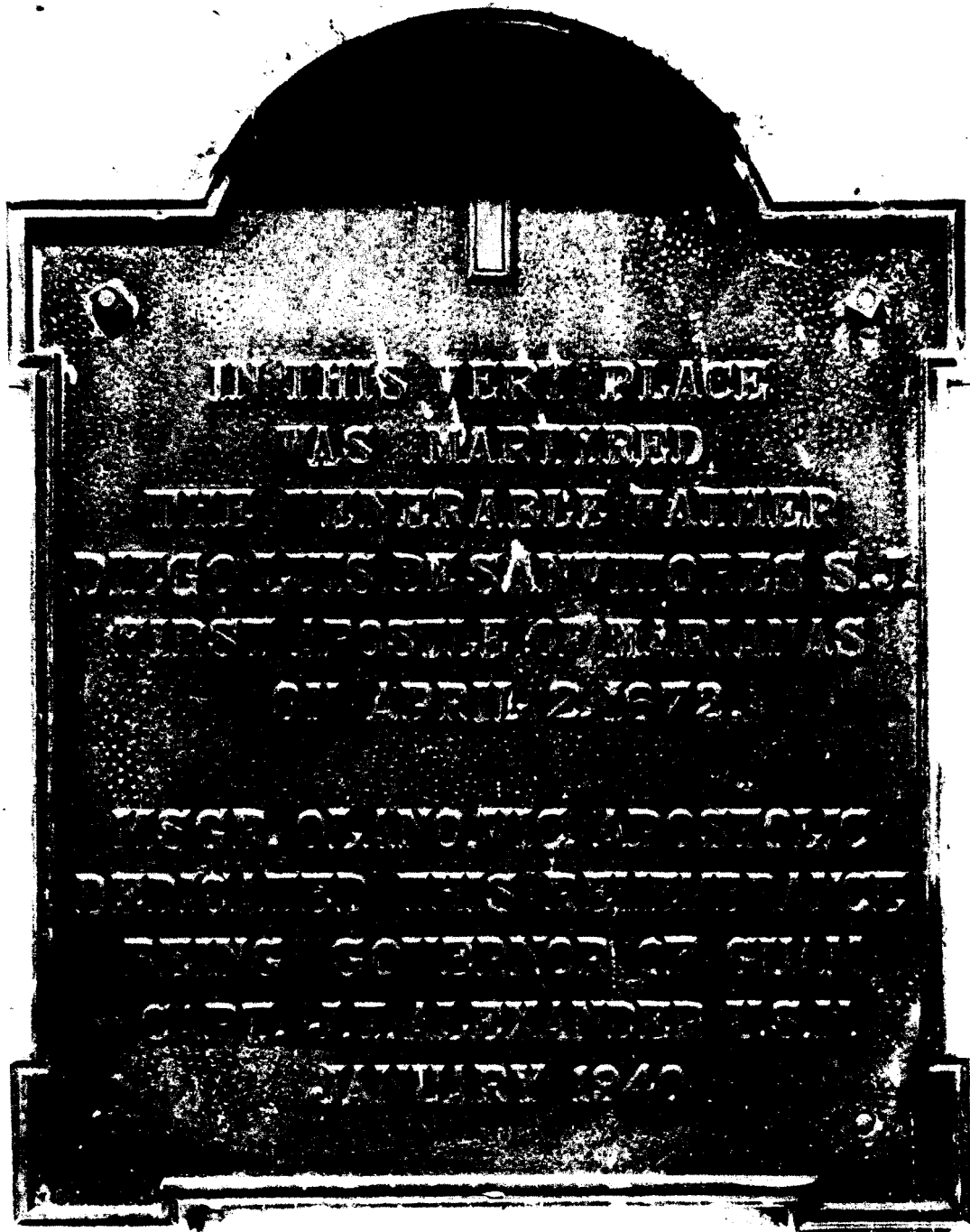


**Portrait of Fr. Sanvitores published in Manila in 1876.** This sketch mysteriously appeared on the front page of the magazine “El Oriente” on 19 November 1876. The editor came across this drawing by an unknown Jesuit while doing research in the archives of the Lopez Museum library at Manila in 1984.



**This portrait used to be in the church at Saipan. Before the War in the Pacific, this picture was hanging in the church at Saipan. This reproduction is from a pre-war Japanese publication.**





**Monument and plaque honoring Fr. Sanvitores, Tumon Beach. Photos taken by Burris Studio, Agaña, in 1959 for Domingo Abella (Courtesy of Mrs. Abella).**



**A modern portrait, with a moustache. Matapang is shown as a Roman soldier, whereas in reality, he was naked. The straight machete has become a scimitar.**



**Statue of Fr. Sanvitores outside the Agaña Cathedral, 1976. Most Rev. Felixberto C. Flores, since deceased, stands before the statue of Fr. Sanvitores outside the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral. He was the first Chamorro bishop of the Marianas. At that time, the process of beatification was once again in progress, pressed forward in Rome by the Jesuit Postulator, Fr. Paolo Molinari, with the assistance of Fr. Juan de Ledesma, a Filipino Jesuit. The Venerable Sanvitores became Blessed Sanvitores in October 1985.**



**Old and new portraits of Blessed Diego Luis de Sanvitores.** *The right-hand portrait is a recent creation to honor the new status of the first Apostle of the Marianas (Courtesy of Fr. Thomas McGrath, S.J.).*



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## Documents 1672H

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# Eulogies of Fr. Sanvitores

## **H1. The life of the invincible soldier of Christ, the Venerable Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores, S.J., martyred in the Mariana Islands on 2 April 1672**

*Source: RAH 9/2676, doc. n° 24 (204 pages).*

[Too long and repetitive to be reproduced here.]

## **H2. [Extract from the] Compendium of the life of the apostolic Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores, S.J., founder and first apostle of the Mariana Islands, where he spilled his blood**

*Source: RAH 9/2676, doc. n° 16 (61 pages); partly translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Notes by Fr. Ledesma: This is an original manuscript document of the 17th century, as we can see from its orthography and the baroque style of the presentation on the front page. The name of its author is not given on the title page but from the context there can be no doubt that it is Father Alonso Lopez. His source of information is, according to his own words "the report that I made in the Mariana Islands in 1673 with witnesses who were present at such a great cruelty. This is also the fame which constantly prevails in the said Islands, and what Matapang himself has told many persons, from whom I have heard it." Our extract begins on April 1, the eve of the martyrdom.*

...

Hell gathered together all its forces... The very confidence of the Venerable Father, his fervent zeal to feed lovingly his sheep offered the opportunity. He sallied forth on the first day of April, 1672, from the town of **Nisihan** to administer some baptisms. On the way the news of the first death, that of Diego Bazan, reached him. For this reason he ordered the companions he had with him to retire to the fort and the town of our Father St. Ignatius, while one Visayan youth, named Pedro Calonsor, remained to be with the Servant of God. He merited in his death the happiness for accompanying the Venerable Father. The Servant of God went on to visit some towns.

Night caught him in one of them and very early the next morning he went out towards the town of **Tumhon** which was two leagues away from the principal Residence. He arrived in Tumhon around seven o'clock in the morning. He came to learn about a recently-born girl and went to the house of her father called Matapang. The Venerable Father asked him if there was some recently-delivered woman; at the same time he asked him to bring out the recently-born daughter so he could baptize her. Daringly the barbarian answered that there inside the house he had a skull, which he could baptize... He added other insults and threatened with death the Servant of God, who peacefully and eagerly asked him not to impede, for he himself was baptized, such happiness for that infant and that he should permit that he baptize her even if he should take his life, which he would give willingly to avoid the condemnation of his daughter.

The native could not be placated. The saintly Father took time to teach the doctrine to some children, while he awaited Matapang to change his mind. He called him to teach him together with the others. To this the native answered blasphemously saying: "I do not want to learn, I am already fed up with and mad at God." And while the Venerable Father continued teaching the children the sacrilegious native Matapang began to solicit an accomplice of his crime.

He approached another islander who was accompanying the Servant of God, and he tried to persuade him to cooperate with his desires by killing the Father. Hiraio, for this was the name of the islander, refused to cooperate. He told him to let him go his way, alleging that the Venerable Father was a good man and that it was of no use at all to kill him because he did no evil to anyone, rather he was good to all. And that he had been responsible for the peace and other favors that they had received. And it was good to remind him that the same Father had years before saved the native Matapang himself from death, having cured him by extracting from him the bone of a lance with which another native had pierced one of his arms. And he cured him no less from the sicknesses of the soul by instructing him and baptizing him together with his family.

Matapang branded him as a coward. And he told him that he alone would kill him for he was a good youngster and had enough strength for it... Hiraio was piqued and embarrassed for being branded as a coward; he condescended with the ungrateful native Matapang. So he went for his spears, thus giving time for the Venerable Father to baptize the girl in the meantime.

The barbarian was more irritated because of the baptism and helped by Hiraio he attacked the fortunate companion of the Servant of God, hurling at him many spears which he evaded with dexterity. And he could have evaded death if he had escaped; but he preferred as a good son to die at the side of his Father and not to abandon him. I have it as certain that he would have first eliminated the two enemies and freed himself and the Father, if he had had weapons, given the energy that he had. But the pious heart of the Venerable Father did not tolerate weapons in his companions. Finally after evading many spears that were hurled at him, one hit him and the barbarians rushed forward and finished him up with a sword, striking him on the head.

The Venerable Father tried to pacify them and soften their obdurate hearts. He took in his hands a holy ivory crucifix of little less than a yard in length which he carried suspended from his neck, and with this sacred symbol of peace and love in his hands he offered them eternal life. He exhorted them to repentance and threatened them with the punishment of the Most High and persuaded them that only God was the absolute Lord of all and that he alone should be venerated in that land of Guahan, all of which words they blindly despised in their diabolical rage. This did not influence the pious heart of the Venerable Father; instead in imitation of his Master, Jesus, he asked God to have mercy on the impious parricides saying: "May God have mercy on you." At this the said Hirao reacted by raising his arm and striking his head with the sword, while his companion Matapang hurled a spear at his stomach. Thus he gave up his spirit to the Lord who for such a glorious death had chosen him, on the morning of Saturday between 7 and 8 o'clock, on 2 April 1672...

Removing his poor clothing they found his virginal body close-fitted with three sharp iron chains. The native Matapang grabbed a small holy crucifix which the Venerable Father carried continuously with him around his neck. And placing it over a stone he pounded it with another so many times that he reduced it to pieces, revealing thus... the motive of his sacrilegious determination and repeating with the blows these words: "This is he whom the Spanish venerate as their main superior and Chief."

He grabbed another image of Christ our Lord with which the Venerable Father had preached to them, which because he knew that it was esteemed among us... the sacrilegious native sold it for 30 bundles... of rice. Such was his impiety that... he loaded him in a small boat and going out into the sea he threw him into it with a big stone tied to his feet...

It was in this manner that the impious parricides treated that body which had been such a good companion to his joyful soul. This was the manner and circumstances of the death of Venerable Father Diego Luís de San Vitores, according to the investigation which I made in the Mariana Islands in 1673 with witnesses who were present at such a great cruelty. This is also the fame that exists constantly in the said Islands and what Matapang himself has reported to many persons from whom I have heard it.

...

### **H3. Martyrology of the Jesuit Province of the Philippines—Eulogy of Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores (in Latin)**

*Source: Jesuit archives of the province of Toledo, Alcalá de Henares, legajo 1273, n° 114, fol. 2+ (22 pages).*

*Note: Quite possibly the same as the appendix to Doc. 1672L, as there could only have been one official eulogy.*

[Not reproduced as it is likely a duplicate of part of Doc. 1672L.]

## H4. The printed eulogy by Fr. Pedro F. Esquex

*Source: "Sermón de las heróicas virtvdes del gran patriarca san Ignacio de Loyola en fiesta votiva...", Madrid, 1674; copy in the Jesuit archives in San Cugat del Valle (#Q-c-114-20v), and elsewhere, e.g. MCF copy at UH, photocopy at MARC.*

*Notes: Fr. Esquex was the official court preacher. He was born in Zaragoza in 1610. He died at Madrid on 2 November 1676. The date of the sermon and the celebration that caused it was 11 June 1674.*

### [Extract from the] Sermon in honor of Father Diego Luís de San Vitores by the Reverend Father Pedro Esquex, of the Society of Jesus. Madrid, 1674.

[Title page:] **Sermon about the heroic virtues of the great patriarch St. Ignatius de Loyola, during a votive feast organized by his sons in the Imperial College of the Society of Jesus, not discussed directly but through the perfect copy of one of his sons, who is Fr. Diego Luís de San Vitores, native of the city of Burgos. The sermon was preached by Rev. Fr. Pedro Francisco Esquex, S.J., preacher to His Majesty. The Licentiate Antonio Romero y Navarro dedicates this [book] to Mr. Gerónimo de San Vitores de la Portilla, Knight of the Order of St. James, of the Council of His Majesty for the royal Treasury and excise revenue. [Printed at] Madrid, Mateo de Espinosa y Arteaga, 1674.**

...  
Some time after the mentioned declaration of peace the missionary Fathers went out to visit the new Christian towns with the same zeal they had before these troublous events.

But after five months, one of the native confidants of the Fathers informed one of Ours that those islanders were becoming rebellious again. Consequently, he promptly advised all the Religious who were dispersed in those islands to get together in the church of San Juan, where they had defended themselves before.

Father San Vitores was on that occasion farther away than the others, supervising the construction of a new church. He could not retreat, then, soon enough and when he did he went accompanied by only one native who was from the Visayas and was called Calonsor. He went to a place where there was another native, whom I do not name, lest there remain the memory of such an infamous man. He owed Father San Vitores his temporal life, because he had been saved by him from death; and he owed him also the eternal life, had he not been disloyal to the Faith and to his Christian obligations, because he baptized him. The Father met him and wishing to be his guest, he asked him if there were any sick persons in the town or children to baptize. And he answered him with many insults proffered with great shamelessness. He called him a liar and added that if he wished to baptize, he should enter his house and baptize a skull he had there...

Father San Vitores was not disturbed when he saw him so changed. Instead he told him with the greatest affability that at least they should get together the children to teach them the Christian Doctrine. But... to such affectionate words he reacted with

new and greater shamelessness, and told another native who was with the Father: “Let us kill him.” This man, however, being more moderate, showed some resistance, but not enough when he saw himself treated as a coward by his companion. They delayed somewhat in the execution. What no doubt stopped them was the heroicity of the virtues which caused this fervent missionary and preacher of the Gospel to be revered. And so they did not carry out their determination until, drenched by the blood of the Visayan companion, whom they pierced with their lances, they became more ferocious.

When Father San Vitores saw that fortunate companion of his wounded and dead, he took an image of the crucified Christ into his hands, which he always carried in front of his breast and hanging from his neck. Then he began to preach the Law of Christ to those two barbarians with great fervor, exhorting them to contrition of the crimes they committed. But becoming more irritated with this persuasion, one of them pierced his chest with a thrust of the lance and the other finished him up by splitting his head... The last thing he did after which he delivered his most pure soul to God was to pray several times for his principal aggressor: “May God have mercy on you.”

Those barbarians were not satisfied with the cruelty with which they killed Father San Vitores and his companion, for later... they tied great stones to their feet and threw them into the sea... The infernal fury did not stop here; for it went on to insult with many blasphemies and blows the image of the crucified Christ with which he had preached to them until he died.

## H5. Chronological summary of the life and virtue of Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores, S.J.

*Sources: Jesuit archives of the Province of Aragon, San Cugat del Valle, E-I-c5-(n) (35 pages); they are notes made by Fr. García for his book about Fr. Sanvitores (see Doc. 1681A).*

[Not reproduced here, as it is only a summary of Doc. 1681A, and possibly very similar to the printed account in H6. below.]

## H6. Account of the happy death of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luís de San Vitores, edited by Fr. Vidal

*Sources: Manuscript original in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 240-243; copy in AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 12; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 227-235. Printed version in ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 245-247, and also in LC #BV3680.G82S3; partly translated below by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Notes: The manuscript was edited by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma in Manila. The printed version was re-edited by Fr. José Vidal, Procurator of the Mariana Mission in Mexico; he sent it to Fr. Sanvitores' father, accompanied by a letter dated 10 February 1674 (see Doc. 1674A). There are at least 3 different editions of this booklet, which differ in only minor details; one was printed at Seville by the widow of Nicolás Rodríguez in 1674 (not followed here). W. E. Retana reprinted the latter pamphlet as a “Relación del martirio del V.P. Diego Luis de San Vitores” in his *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, IV (1898): 157-170.*



# RELACION

ESCRITA POR VNO DE  
 LOS PADRES DE LA MISSION,  
*Mariana*, remitida á Mexico, desde la Isla  
 que llamavan antes *de Goan*, y aora se llama  
*de San Juan*, en la Nao de China, que  
 aportó á Acapulco por Henero, de este  
 año de 1674. y de Mexico se remite en el  
 Aviso que proximately llegó á la Baía  
 de Cadiz, en que se refiere el martirio del  
*Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores*,  
 superior de dicha Mission; y en el interin  
 que sale á luz mas estensa Relacion de  
 su admirable vida, y muerte se im-  
 prime esta aunque tan sucinta.



BRAS grandes del servicio de Nuestro Señor  
 que se dirigen á la salvacion, y vien de mu-  
 chas almas, siempre tuvieron grandes dificul-  
 tades que vencer; y Demonio por sí, ó por sus  
 ministros hizo todos sus esfuerzos para im-  
 pedirles. Esta de la nueva conversion en las Islas Marianas,  
 ha sido de tanto gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor, como la ex-  
 periencia nos lo ha enseñado en suceßos raros, y extraordi-  
 narios que ha avido: muchas dificultades tuvo que hazer el  
 siervo de Dios, *Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores*, para entrar  
 en estas Islas; pero como sobre Santo le docto Dios de sin-  
 gulares, y relevantes prendas naturales en la prudencia, y  
 escogida eleccion de medios para direccion de los negocios  
 que el Señor fiava de su vigilancia, y cuydado, las venció  
 con facilidad. No se refieren aora casos particulares de su  
 Apostolica vida, porque fuera hazerle conocido agravio  
 A que-

Title page of the eulogy printed at Seville in 1674.



# RELACION ESCRITA POR VNO DE LOS PADRES DE LA MISSION,

*Mariana*, remitida á Mexico, desde la Isla que llamavan antes *de Goan*, y aora se llama *de San Juan*, en la Nao de China, que aportó á Acapulco por Henero, de este año de 1674. y de Mexico se remite en el Aviso que proximamente llegó á la Baía de Cadiz, en que se refiere el martirio del *Venerable Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores*, superior de dicha Mifsion; y en el interin que fale á luz mas estensa Relacion de su admirable vida, y muerte se imprime esta aunque tan fucinta.



**O**BRAS grandes del servicio de Nuestro Señor que se dirigen á la salvacion, y vien de muchas almas, siempre tuvieron grandes dificultades que vencer; y Demonio por si, ó por sus ministros hizo todos sus esfuerzos para impedirles. Esta de la nueva conversion en las Islas Marianas, ha sido de tanta gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor, como la experiencia nos lo ha enseñado en

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First page of the Retana reprint of 1898.

[Title page:] **Account of the happy death of the V. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, first missionary and conqueror of new peoples and of another kingdom for the Catholic Majesty of the Queen our Lady Doña Mariana de Austria, Regent of Spain and tutor of his Lordship Don Carlos Segundo, her August son and our King and Lord, taken from various papers which have come from the Mariana Islands.**<sup>1</sup>

The great works in the Lord's service which are done for the salvation and the welfare of many souls, always had to overcome great difficulties. The Devil, either by himself or through his minions spared no efforts to stop them.

The recent conversion of the Mariana Islands has given great glory to God our Lord. This is shown by the rare and extraordinary events that have taken place there. To enter into these islands, the Servant of God, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, had to meet many obstacles. But he easily overcame them since, over and above his holiness, God endowed him with the singular and extraordinary natural gift of prudence in the choice of means to guide him in the arduous mission the Lord entrusted to his holy and prudent decisions, to his magnanimous and truly generous soul.

We do not report now specific events of his apostolic life, for it would be doing him an injustice to reduce his life into a short narrative, when his zealous labors demand a lengthy biography.

#### **[The Father's arrival. The fruit of 3 years]**

When Father Diego Luis arrived in these Islands, once he landed, he summoned together the natives of the Island of Guam. He placed at his right hand those who claimed to be of noble race, and at his left by reason or the treatment given them, the plebeians. He preached to them in their own language and revealed to them the purpose of his coming. This he did with such fervor that the Devil failed to oppose or resist his apostolic spirit, and to dampen the ardent zeal that led him thither. Conquered by his affable words, full of the Lord's spirit and thereby effective, the natives showed their gratitude by offering him gifts of fish and fruits of their soil. But the best gift they gave him which was more in accordance with our faith was that of their souls, which, well disposed and purified by their love, they offered to their Creator, cleansed by the salutary waters of baptism.

Those baptized in that first year were over 13,000. This number went beyond 30,000 in the two following years. The Servant of God and his companions had converted them to our holy faith. The natives, nobles as well as plebeians, came from everywhere in their small barks, asking to be baptized. Each one begged insistently for a Father to instruct in the Faith and to baptize those of their Island.

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1 Ed. note: The papers in question left Guam on 2 May 1672, arrived at Acapulco in January 1674, were rushed from Mexico to Cadiz and even printed in Seville in time for the ceremony at Madrid on 11 June 1674 (see above).



**[The opposition]**

Indeed the Devil had to call upon the spirits of hell. He saw himself dispossessed so suddenly of those souls that for so many centuries had been peacefully subject to his tyranny. Without contradiction or opposition whatsoever from the servants and vassals of Christ he carried them off to hell as if he were their absolute master. He noticed that not only the brave spirit of Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores and of his zealous companions waged forceful war against him. When the soldiers who in their military occupation are not wont to be so devout, strongly fought him with the example of their thoroughly-religious lives. In their zeal for the salvation of souls, they followed, as far as possible, the example of the Fathers. The [Filipino] natives did likewise. They had followed them from Manila, attracted by their kind and holy manner of life.

One of the Spaniards, a Creole from Puebla de los Angeles in the Kingdom of New Spain had come to these islands. Led by his piety, he was spending his leisure time in forming wooden crosses for distribution of this standard of our faith among the houses of the Christians. Hell could not bear this lively war that was being prepared against it through the crosses. It was the Cross that had overcome so many times the Devil's malice, a defeat he could not suffer from the pious labor and industry of that youth called Joseph de Peralta. Infernal fury seized one of the natives. Either he was not baptized or he prevailed upon one of the apostates to inflict on him 18 dagger wounds and leave him dead. The aggressor's and inhuman assassin's crime failed to be noticed by our men.

**[Open warfare against the Mission]**

From this spark, hidden under the ashes of disguise of these islanders, the Devil ignited an infernal fire in the hearts of more than 2,000 natives. In order to rid themselves (as the Devil cried through their sacrilegious mouths) of the Law of God and of the teachings of the Christian doctrine, together with the whole hell they declared war against the 6 Fathers, 12 Spaniards and 17 Filipinos. With Christian valor and fortified with the help of Heaven they faced the enemy camp, resisted their assaults, conscious every moment of the favor and special assistance of the Lord's power, granted through the prayers of Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. The sudden recovery of two of ours who had been mortally wounded was attributed to him. With the assistance of the Servant of God, who as a loving Father prayed for their cure, their wounds were perfectly and suddenly healed.

Heaven's special favor was shown in a very singular and extraordinary case, which includes many others. Fr. Diego was well aware and had experience of the treacherous character of those islanders. He feared (and with sufficient reason) that a change might take place which would endanger him as well as his companions, both religious and secular. Given his ability which was aided by his God-given prudence, in order to provide for any contingency he saw to it that a stockade was made to surround the church and the Residence of the Society on the Island of San Juan. He also provided that in appropriate place three small forts were erected where our helpers could hide and use

some firearms, if only to intimidate the natives. On this occasion, the event foreseen by our prudent Father arrived. Our men took refuge in the church and behind the stockade. They realized the evident risk to their lives, for they were threatened at any moment by the burning material placed on the tips of their lances and hurled by them in order to inflame the roof of the church. By God's grace this had no result whatsoever, because the burning material fell off before reaching the church's roof, which was so easy to burn for being made of grass or straw. Moreover, they tried to put on fire a shack or hut that was contiguous to the church, so that this would necessarily catch fire together with the house where our men had taken refuge. Thus they would die from the violent flames, or in freeing themselves they would fall into their hands, unable to escape.

Still, devoid as they were of all human help in such a tight situation, God's rescue did not fail and that of the Captain General of the celestial armies St. Michael Archangel. Ours had placed their arms and their hearts under his protection. In such a tight predicament, we fled to our Patron Saint Michael the Archangel. Together we all invoked him in a language the enemies could understand, for it was their language: "Saint Michael belliang!"<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to our prayer: "Saint Michael, rescue us with water!" A thing most singular and admirable happened, even for our barbarian enemies. Instantly the wind stopped, and while the sky was serene and clear, a cloud suddenly appeared and discharged water that was enough to quench the fire that was already burning the church, and consumed the shack and hut nearby which belonged to one of our enemies. Thus the aggressors were fooled and even shamed at the failure of their clever scheme and design to assassinate us.

But they were so possessed by the infernal fury against the ministers of the Gospel and the Christians, their auxiliaries, that these prodigies and heavenly rain were not enough to quench the fire of hell ignited in their hearts. They summoned together a big number of other islanders, who very gleefully came by sea, mouthing sacrilegious blasphemies and detestable curses against our Lord and God. They brought with them as emblems of their designs various skulls, which they call *Anitis*. Inspired interiorly by God and far from being frightened by the countless numbers of the barbarian enemies, ours, fired by the love of God whose cause they were defending opened the doors of the church and of the stockade. Holding their weapons, only 30 men went out to meet them. They had such a happy success as if it had come from Heaven. Soon, at the first encounter six of the enemy fell dead, many were wounded and the rest took to flight. Indeed to scatter a whole army of these enemies and to fill them all with fear as they were on this occasion, one Spaniard of strong and generous will and endowed with military prudence would have been enough. None of them being sure any more of their lives, lest they be counted among the dead which they feared, very soon they sent messengers asking for peace and friendship with us, requests that were granted.

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for "uchan", or rain (for instance, see p. 499).

**[Peace once again]**

With the establishment of peace, our preachers resumed their missionary excursions. Five months later some of the new Christians who love us dearly, secretly informed us of the fear and suspicions they had of some new plots on the part of those who were not confirmed in the faith and Christian doctrine. They advised our men to take refuge again in the church and protected Residence.

At that time Venerable Father Diego Luís de San Vitores was some distance away from the Residence, helping out in the construction of a new church. (Fourteen of these churches were already finished). He was informed of the impending rebellion. He started for the Island [rather Residence] of San Juan with only one companion called Pedro Calonsor a native of the Visayas in the Philippines. He went by way of the town of **Tumhon**. There he met a native whom he had adopted, called Matapang; the Father loved him very much. This man owed him the life of the soul given to him through baptism. He also owed him the life of the body, for with his prayers he obtained it from God who saved him from death of which he was in true danger because of a mortal wound which his very own [people] had inflicted on him, due to his restless and rebellious character.

The Father arrived to be his guest, and thus give him that pleasure. He inquired if there were any sick ones to visit in town, or some persons newly instructed in religion and ready for baptism. Discourteously he replied:

—“Away with you, liar! What baptism are you after? Go into my house and baptize for me a skull I have there.”

The Father noticed the great change in that islander. Adding more to his natural affability, to see if he could thus save him for God, he told him:

—“Let us at least get the children together to teach them the Christian doctrine.”

—“Forget about that,” said the barbarian, “For we are tired of your doctrine and your teaching.”

Then, turning to another native, named Hirao, who had joined the company of the Venerable Father, he told him:

—“Let us kill him.” The other was seemingly opposed or desired to dissuade him from his evil intent. But giving way to his easy and voluble nature he said:

—“If you want to kill him, let it be at least later.” Matapang derided him for being a coward and said:

—“Leave me alone. I will kill him myself.”

Then Hirao, not willing to be taken for a timid man or a coward, agreed to kill the Servant of God, as proposed to him by Matapang. They were delayed, however, in the execution, perhaps because of the reverence and respect they had for his heroic virtues and apostolic life. Hence to assassinate him they started by losing this respect and veneration.

**[The death of the Servant of God]**

They killed, then, first his Visayan companion. The fervent zeal of the Minister of the Gospel could not bear to see the Faith outraged which his fortunate companion

had constantly professed until death. He yearned for the image of Christ professed until crucified to triumph over the Devil and hell, which had sworn to wage a public bloody war against God and his ministers, so as to impede the salvation of those miserable souls. He held in his hands the crucifix he was carrying on his breast and was hanging from his neck. He preached to them as a true apostle the mysteries of our holy Catholic Faith. The barbarians were filled with new fury by this teaching of the doctrine and the profession of the faith of Jesus Christ.

Blinded by passion Matapang pierced his chest with the lance he was carrying. Thus the fervent Father's heart was transfixed with sorrow and pain at seeing the blood of Christ wasted in the aggressor for whose spiritual life he was also shedding his own. Then Hirao struck his head with a deep wound. Thus the apostolic preacher fell to the ground.

In life he was a true imitator of Christ our Lord through his ardent zeal for the salvation and redemption of souls. In death he was his living image through his loving eagerness in asking the Divine Majesty to forgive his enemies and assassins. On 2 April 1672, on the Saturday preceding Passion Sunday, he committed his spirit into the hands of that Lord who created him for his greater glory, for the good of innumerable abandoned souls, and for the consolation of us who had the fortune of knowing him and living with him. He expired as a true father of those ungrateful sons, with these words with which he closed the most happy moment of his life: "Matapang, may God have mercy on you."

#### **[Desecration of the crucifix]**

The Devil who provoked them into the loss or the veneration for the sacred person of the Servant of God, got them also, to his utmost joy, to lose their respect for the sacred image of Christ our crucified Lord, as much through the blasphemies against his Majesty uttered by their sacrilegious mouths, as through the rude insults and repeated blows inflicted on His most sacred body by the brazen, daring hands of the barbarians.

#### **[The body thrown into the sea]**

With cruelty, they dragged the two dead bodies across the village. But they became even more cruel to us by depriving us of their blessed relics. These would no doubt assuage the keen feelings which, humanly speaking, such a considerable loss would cause in us, making martyrs of us through the pain left with us. For attaching large stones on the feet of the venerable body of the Servant of God, they dumped it into the sea together with that of his companion.

May the Lord accept this sorrow and prolonged martyrdom. May his Servant (as we trust in the divine mercy) provide us from Heaven with the means to follow in his apostolic footsteps. May he confirm the Faith which at great cost he planted in those islands and which with singular consolation we have seen grown in so short a time with such extraordinary progress.

We are certain that with this fruitful watering of his blood it will multiply by confirming those who have been baptized, who presently are beyond 50,000.<sup>1</sup> May baptism be granted by the Lord to all the islanders. Since His Majesty took from us our Father, may He give us double the spirit which He gave us before to carry on with his heroic endeavors.

**[A month later]**

Being orphans because of the absence of our beloved Father, we are now fenced in by the risks which continuously threaten us. Yet, as if with his own hands, our Lord deigned to send us consolation and help, because on the 2nd of May of this year of 1672 the galleon that sails from New Spain to the Philippines cast anchor at Guam. The well-known nobleman Leandro Coello, her admiral, was very friendly to our Society and especially to our Mariana Mission. He left with us a number of men with weapons, gunpowder and ammunition, for our protection. This makes the natives of these islands quiet and peaceful. It gives us solid hope that the Devil will again be beaten, and that the Standard of God, which is how these sons call the Cross, will be victorious.

One of the leaders of these islanders, named Antonio Ayihi, is of no little help for the peace and quiet among them, as we see him so favorable to us. For he controls them with his authority. With Christian zeal he corrects them and reprimands them in their superstitions and the little fidelity they have shown towards God and his ministers. And he assists us with such persistence that even in the midst of the past troubles, he would go through the enemy camp to bring us help. He would also keep us informed on their plans and designs.

We trust in the Lord's mercy that he will reward him for the fidelity with which he has defended our cause. We trust too that this reward will be besides the eternal one, the spiritual one in this life, granting him new enterprises wherein to display his generosity, and that by his example, counting on the new Ministers of the Gospel and manpower we are expecting from the zeal of our Queen and Lady, we may progress in the living desires we have for the salvation of these souls.

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1 Ed. note: Again, note the pious but misguided inflation of the real numbers given in the official statistics; 30,000 has now become 50,000.

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## Document 1672I

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# Letter from Fr. Francisco Ezquerra to Fr. Master of a Jesuit Novitiate, dated Guam 3 May 1672

*Source: Present location unknown; a 3-page folio-size ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 52 pounds sterling, about \$260 then (Cat. N° 442, n° 1819, pp. 104-105) and again in 1927 (Cat. N° 491, n° 37, pp. 28-30). Extracts have been translated as follows.*

## Letter from Fr. Ezquerra to the Fr. Master of the future Mariana Missionaries

[Extract:] “I have no doubt that you will have had plenty of news of this Mission this year, through the letters from Fr. Francisco Solano, and I therefore do not repeat them, although there is enough to say about the disasters and troubles with which the Lord has sought to console us. These troubles are naught but gifts, particularly if they are borne for love of the Lord, who so greatly loves us.”

“Our usual occupation is to proceed from Island to Island, facing many perils and at times nearly overpowered by the heavy seas, which cause our frail barques to be almost submerged; sometimes it seems as though we were rowing on a flat plank, a distance of 18 or 20 leagues...”

“On land, we make it our practice to explore the villages, seeking children to baptize and to teach... As a rule, they receive us affably, and the greatest favor they can confer upon us is for the chiefs to call us their equals! But this, I think, is only meant as a mere compliment, for the vanity of these nude brethren is well-nigh incredible. They consider themselves the finest men on earth, and their courtesies and customs are simply laughable. They are a happy people, and the young men aim at being jocular. The children are docile and easy to teach, and they are quite content with a few little beads, which they value, and with which they learn.”

“They all foregather in the villages at our approach, and it brings the tears to one’s eyes to see these dear little creatures praising their Maker, in a land which is almost unknown. The poverty of these people is remarkable... but if we abandoned them, who

would help these poor creatures, who are now fortunate by reason of the Light of the Holy Faith which is beginning to dawn upon them? It is easy to introduce it into these lands, with a little fear, and many examples,... and I hope to God that this will some day be a very flourishing Christianity.”

“Our difficulties are many, but this can hardly be wondered at, in view of the small number of missionaries; and it is heartbreaking to see how many of the people die in infancy without being baptized. They are so insufficiently clad; the clothes they wear are fashioned out of green leaves; and if we are not careful, they hide the children from us, believing that their baptism will cause their death, although many have proved their mistake. I have been in one island where this fear has died out.”

[Synopsis: This very interesting letter, which is one of the earliest accounts of life in the Mariana Mission, contains records of pioneer work among the savages, by a missionary who was martyred by them in 1674. It is written with a simple dignity, lightened by whimsical humor, which makes it a particularly entertaining narrative. He says that their food was of the most frugal kind, and sometimes there was none at all. He mentions that the natives lived chiefly upon grated coconuts and roots...]

[Extract:] “And a kind of delicate fruit which they call ‘rimay.’ They eat fish on their feast days, and if they ever give any of this away, they regard it as the greatest gift on earth.”

[Referring to the events of the current year, he says:] “You will have had notice of the disasters from the Reports... Incited by the devil, they waged a crude war upon us, continuing their attacks upon us for close on two months, a veritable deluge of stones, which they throw with terrific force. Some of them struck very near me, and in the midst of the war our house was demolished... and so were many of theirs; but this did not deter them from continuing their attacks at night both with lances and stones, and they even attempted to set fire to our dwelling, but the Lord did not permit this calamity... and the war eventually ceased, and a few killed and wounded. They were only about 30 soldiers of ours against 2,000 barbarians who had joined forces... to disturb the Mission and interrupt the work of baptism.”

[The writer records the establishment of two churches on the Island, and the reconstruction of their Mission-house, followed by a description of the tragic death of the Rector, Fr. Francisco Solano, who had again taken up missionary work in the outlying villages. He describes the Father’s encounter with a savage], “who had already been responsible for five murders... and after the Father had greeted him in the customary manner, the surly barbarian threatened him with his lance, a formidable weapon fashioned out of human bones... He followed the Father into the town, and after a short conversation he struck the Father with his lance. The Father, who was carrying a crucifix, held it up to him and said: “Our Lord is above us all,” and other similar remarks which you may surmise, but which have not yet been ascertained... Another Indian who was present struck the Father a heavy blow with a cutlass, and he fell in a pool of blood—and there he died, with a lay brother whose name was Pedro Calonsor.”

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## Documents 1672J

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# Three letters from Governor de León, dated Manila 1672

## J1. Letter to the Queen, dated 10 June 1672

*Source: AGI Fil. 10-1-15.*

*Note: He advises that he has built a galleon named **San Telmo**, and that it was despatched to New Spain.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora: El Governador de Philipinas da quenta a V.M. de haver hecho la fabrica de un galeon nuevo nombrado **San Telmo**. Y que se despacho a la Nueva España el año de 1672 por el Real situado.*

*Hallandose estas Islas sin mas vageles de porte que el galeon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** que trajo el situado de la Nueva España el año pasado de seiscientos setenta, y uno; el patache **San Diego** que quedó de invernada en el Puerto de Acapulco el dicho año, y el galeon **San Antonio de Padua** que assi mesmo fue de primer viaxe; me fue forzoso poner en fabrica otro que es el que va en esta ocasion nombrado **San Telmo** de porte de sette cientos toneladas, porque los dos vageles que havia el nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** se quemó en Cavite por descuido del que le guardaba aunque ya estaba destituido de volver a hazer viaxe porque en la pudriçion de sus maderas no cabia algun aderezo, y el otro nombrado **San Joseph** que es en el que yo vine, tambien en virtud de Junta de los Maestros de fabricas esta mandado desazer por no estar capaz de aderezo, aunque de uno, y otro se aprovechará de la maior parte de fierro que se pudiere de que quenta a V.M. y de que é dispuesto esta nueva fabrica en consideraçion de que con las noticias que é ttenido de los disignios del Sipuan de Ysla Hermosa es preçiso tener en el Puerto de Cavitte dos navios de porte prevenidos para lo que pudiere ofrezerse por ser la mas unica defensa que estas yslas tienen.*

*Guarde Dios la C. y R. P[ersona] de V.M. como la Christiandad á menester.*

*Manila 10 de Junio de 1672.*

*Manuel de Leon*



### Translation.

Madam: The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. having had a new galleon named San Telmo built. And that it was despatched to New Spain in the year 1672 for the Royal subsidy.

Given that these Islands found themselves without any other large ship other than the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** that brought the subsidy from New Spain last year 1671, the patache **San Diego** that remained behind in the port of Acapulco that year, and the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** that made her first voyage also [in 1670?], I was forced to order the construction of another one, that is the one about to go now, named **San Telmo**. She has a capacity of 700 tons, because, out of two vessels that bore the name of **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, one burned in Cavite due to carelessness on the part of her keeper, although she had already been condemned not to make another voyage because her timbers were so rotten that they could not be repaired, and the other named **San José** which is the ship that brought me here, had also been declared unrepairable and ordered dismantled by a commission of master ship-builders, although I would like to report to Y.M. that most of the iron in either one of them will be salvaged. I have arranged for this new ship built, taken into account that, from the news that I received about the designs of Sipuan in the Island of Hermosa, it is proper to have two large ships in the port of Cavite, ready for whatever may happen, as such is the only defence that these Islands possess.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.  
Manila, 10 June 1672.

## J2. Letter to Queen Mariana of Austria, dated 22 June

*Sources: AGI Fil. 16-1-18; AGI Ultramar 562, colección Simancas 2, folios 2-3; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 332-334; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora: El Governador de Philipinas: Da quenta à V.M. del estado en que está la Mission de las Islas de los Ladrones.*

*En despacho que el año de 1670 hize una quenta aà V.M. del estado en que se hablaba la Mision de las Islas de los Ladrones en que se estaba exercitando el Padre Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus. Y à ora lo hago de las notiçias que à traido el Patache **San Diego** que de buelta de la Nueva España estubo en una de aquellas Islas por el mes de Maio deste año, y se reduzen à que à mutinados la maior parte de los naturales de la Isla de Guan Capitaneados de un Mestizo de Sangley que siempre se mostró contrario à las operaciones de los Ministros evangelicos influyendo en los Indios que las Criaturas que despues de Baptizados se morian era la causa el agua que rezebian, juntos todos zercaron al padre Diego de San Vitores, y a flechazo logro dichoso Martirio siguiendo los pasos de otro[s] compañero[s] que pocos meses antes le avia conseguido en otra Isla[.] los demas compañeros, y la Infanteria que yo dejé quando pasé por*

*allí, y otros ocho soldados mas que el año pasado les dejó el General del Galeon **Buen Socorro** se hallaban acosados, y retirados hasta que llegando allí el patache salieron dandolas notiçias referidas, y abiendole pedido al Cabo del, les dejase [socorro ó] re-fuerzo con gente para su defensa, y para destruir el diabolico enbarazo deste Mestizo Sangley [que]es solo, porque en todos los naturales se gobiernan[;] me dize que de la Infanteria que traia à su cargo les dejo 15 soldados, y la porzion de bastimentos que le permitio el tiempo con cuió socorro, y tres religiosos de la Compañia que dejaron allí, y venian destinados para quel empleo quedaron mui gustosos, y con seguras esperanzas de acabarla reduçion de aquellos naturales de que se iba ya logrando copioso[s] fructo[s] en todas las Islas descubiertas, y tengo por zierto que si ubiesen sin este Mestizo Sangley abrazaran generalmente la Doctrina Evangelica, por ser Indios de buen natural, y no tener adoraç.ion ni secta particular: los Cabos de las naos que salen de aqui para la Nueva España llevan horden para dejarles à la buelta el socorro proporcionado à su nezessidad que es quanto se me ofrezze dar quenta à V.M. en esta materia.*

*Guarde Dios la C. y R. P. de V.M. como la Christiandad à menester.*

*Manila 22 de Junio 1672.*

*Manuel de Leon.*

### **Translation.**

Madam: The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. on the state of the Mission in the Ladrone Islands.

In the despatch which I sent in the year 1670, I reported to Your Majesty on the state of the Mission of the Islands of the Ladrones, in which Father Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus is engaged in the sacred ministry. And now I report on the news brought over by the relief ship **San Diego**, which on its return from New Spain was at those Islands in the month of May of the present year.

The gist of the report is that the greater part of the natives of the Island of Guam staged an uprising, captained by a Chinese mestizo, who had always showed himself opposed to the labors of the evangelical ministers. He induced the natives to believe that the death of the children after their baptism was caused by the water they received. All of them together surrounded Father Diego [Luis] de San Vitores. Shot by arrows [sic] he obtained a happy martyrdom. He followed thus the step of another companion who a few months earlier had won it in another Island. The other companions and the infantry which I left when I passed by there, and the other 8 soldiers who last year were left by the General of the galleon **Buen Socorro**, were attacked and retreated until the relief ship arrived. They then sallied forth and gave the above-mentioned news.

The military Chief of the ship was asked to leave behind the help or reinforcement of manpower needed for their defense and to destroy the diabolical embarrassment caused by this Chinese mestizo... He tells me that he left there 15 soldiers from the infantry under his command and the part of the supply that time permitted him to discharge. With this help and three religious of the Society who were left there and had come destined to labor there, they were very pleased and with sure hopes of complet-

ing the settlement of those natives, which was already harvesting copious fruits in all the discovered Islands.

I have no doubt that if they were freed from this Chinese mestizo they would generally embrace the evangelical doctrine, for these natives are of good disposition and they do not worship in any particular sect... The military Chiefs of the vessels that leave these parts for New Spain have orders to leave them on their return the help in proportion to their needs. This is what I have to report to Your Majesty on this matter.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty so needed by our holy Religion.

Manila, 22 June 1672.

Manuel de Leon<sup>1</sup>

### J3. Letter to the Queen Regent, dated Manila 4 July 1672

*Source: AGI Fil. 10-1-22.*

*Note: He announces the arrival of the patache San Diego.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora: El Governador de Philipinas da quenta à V.M. de haver llegado à ellas el Patache San Diego con el socorro; y de que quedo en el Puerto de Acapulco el Galeon San Antonio de imbernada.*

*Teniendo hecho ya el despacho para el galeon **San Telmo** que este año và à la Nueva España, llegó de ella el patache **San Diego** que se había quedado de imbernada el año pasado; en el recibí los pliegos, y hordenes de V.M. de los que les solo sean podido executar por la mucha cortedad del tiempo los que remitto con carta particular sobre cada uno, y en los demas entenderé luego que salga este galeon procurando en todos lograr el maior azierto en el serviçio de V.M.*

*Vienen en este patache 100 mil pesos de socorro y no puede mi obligazion escusar el poner en la Real consideracion de V.M. que si me hallase sin los rezelos de los Reinos, y Provinçias zircumbezinas (de cuios motibos doy quenta à V.M. en carta aparte) fuera menor mi desconsuelo con la cortedad de este envío, pero siendo de la calidad que hé referido considero por preçiso representar à V.M. que no dandosele a cada soldado mas que doze Reales cada mes, y algunos ocho inportan estos sueldos solo en esta ciudad,*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This letter was received in Spain on 31 May 1674, reviewed by the Council on 2 June ("Tell him that we have received the news, and to give thanks to God for the spiritual fruit that Father Diego Luis de S. Vitores has achieved in the conversion of the Indians of the Ladrone Islands, until he lost his life, and that, in order for this mission to continue, he is to take care to give it the necessary assistance and succor to the religious and soldiers who assist them in that reduction, since it is a project so valuable for the service of God our Lord, and the propagation of the Catholic religion, which is the main obligation of H.M.; thus, he is ordered to comply with it, with the zeal expected of him") and, on 25 July, the Queen sent him a reply (see Doc. 1674L).

*y el puerto de Cavitte mas de cinco mil pesos en cada uno, y pagandose enteramente à los ministros de la Audiencia, y ecclesiasticos como V.M. nuebamente me manda, y a los oficiales mayores, y menores de la Real Hazienda apenas se podra cumplir con solas estas obligaciones con 100 mil pesos siendo inescusables las de un continuo astillero, y corte pues como tengo representado à V.M. los vajeles que se fabrican en estas islas son de tan poca duracion sus maderas que para cada viaje es preciso dessaforrarlos, y aserles de nuebo un considerable aderezo; el gasto que se haze en los matalotajes, y socorros en Reales de la gente de mar es bien grande por hazerse la prebençion para un año, y assimismo es mui buena parte la que preçisamente se consume en mantener la Infantería, y Presidios, de que ynescusablemente se nezesitta para la defensa de estas Provincias; quando tome posesion de este Gobierno hallé en las Reales cajas 16 mil pesos[,] 75 mil vinieron conmigo, y 150 mil trujo el año pasado el galeon **Buen Socorro** no ha viendole tenido el antezedente por su arribada, con que le computo de cada año a sido de 80 mil pesos yo è yerçenado(?) quanto me a sido posible de gastos que de muchos años à esta parte estaba en corriente se hisziesen de la Real Hazienda, y su distribucion corre oy con la buena quenta, y razon que se debe sin pagarse ni gastarse mas que aquello que es preçisamente neçessario; y lo continuarè assi en todo el tiempo que corriere à mi cargo este Gobierno procurando siempre el maior azierto en el servicio de V.M.*

*El galeon **San Antonio** que el año pasado despaché à la Nueva España por el Real situado, abiendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco à los prinçipios de este año tiempo bastante para poder despacharle de buelta à estas yslas me abisa el Virrey Marques de Manzera que en junta particular que hizo, se resolbio que se de imbernada hasta el año que viene ha[y]endome notable falta este vajele en el Puerto de Cavitte para tenerle con el mas bien guarnizado por lo que se pudiese ofrezzer.*

*Guarde Dios la C. y R. P. de V.M. como la Christiandad à menester.*

*Manila 4 de Jullio 1672.*

*Manuel de Leon*

### **Translation.**

Madam: The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. that the patache **San Diego** has arrived there with the subsidy; and that the galleon **San Antonio** was spending the winter in the port of Acapulco. Aboard her I received the mail, and orders from Y.M. but the shortage of time has allowed me to carry out only those whose particular file I remit. As for the others, once this galleon has gone out, I will try and give them the more appropriate treatment that the service of Y.M. demands.

Aboard this patache came a subsidy of 100,000 pesos and I cannot escape my duty to report to Y.M. that, if it were not for the worries concerning the neighboring Kingdoms and Provinces (about which I adjoin a separate report for Y.M.), my disconsolateness about the shortage of this despatch would have been minor. However, being deficient as I said, I consider it necessary for me to let Y.M. know that [even] by giving no more than 12 reals per month to every soldier, and some of them only 8 reals, such salaries, just for this city and the port of Cavite, amount to more than 5,000 pesos in

each [place], and by paying the ministers of the Audiencia and the ecclesiastics their full salaries, as Y.M. orders me to do once again, and the senior and minor officials of the Royal Treasury, the 100,000 pesos will hardly be enough to satisfy these obligations, and it is necessary to have continuous ship-building activities, since, as I have already reported to Y.M., the timbers of the ships built in these Islands last but a short time, it being necessary for every voyage to remove some layers and renovate them considerably. The expenses made in the outfittings, and the wages of the sailors are quite large and recurring every year; a large part is also spent to maintain the Infantry, the garrisons, which are absolutely necessary for the defence of these Provinces. When I took possession of this Government, I found 16,000 pesos in the Royal coffers; 75,000 pesos came with me, and 150,000 were brought in by the galleon **Buen Socorro** last year, as the preceding ship had turned back in distress. Hence, I figure that the yearly average has been 80,000 pesos. I have tried my best to keep the expenses imputable to the Royal Treasury down as much as possible, as the incoming funds are posted every year, and their distribution today is done strictly in accordance with reasonable restraint, nothing being paid out or spent unless it is precisely necessary. I will continue to do the same as long as I am in charge of this Government, trying always to do the best I can to serve Y.M.

Regarding the galleon **San Antonio**, which I despatched to New Spain last year for the Royal subsidy, having arrived at the port of Acapulco at the beginning of this year, with sufficient time to be able to be despatched back to these Islands, I am advised by the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, that in a special meeting that he held, it was decided to make her spend the winter until next year. This vessel is sorely wanted in the port of Cavite in order to have her garrisoned against any eventuality.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 4 July 1672.

Manuel de León

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## Documents 1672K

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# Royal decrees issued in 1672

## K1. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid April 1672

*Source: AGI Fil. 101-2-129 (formerly Fil 68-2-15).*

*Notes: The news of Fr. Sanvitores' death did not reach the court until 1674. In this document, the Queen asks the Viceroy to get in touch with Fr. Sanvitores to see if he would have an objection to the sending of 8 discalced Franciscans to the Mariana Islands, to Tonquin, to Cochinchina, and to advise the Governor of the Philippines and the Council about it.*

### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> que comuniqué con Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs si tendrá inconveniente que ocho Religiosos descalços de la orden de San Francisco entren a la combersion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas, Tunquin, ó Cochinchina, y que de lo que executare dé notiçia al Governador de Filipinas y al Consejo.*

*Fha en Madrid à [blank] de Abril de 1672.*

*La Reyna Gobernadora.*

*Marques de Mançera, Pariente, del Consexo de Guerra, Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Çiudad de Mexico ó a la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno:*

*Fr. Juan García Raçimo, descalço de la orden de San Francisco Procurador General de la Provincia de San Gregoria de las Islas Filipinas me à representado, que se le a conçedido licencia para llebar a ellas quarenta Religiosos, y que los tenia promptos, para embarcarse con ellos, en la flota que este año ha de ir à esas Provinçias, y que algunos de los dhos Religiosos havian pedido que sin deternerse en la Çiudad de Manila, les dejasen pasar à predicar el santo Evangelio a los Infeles, y conoçiendo el fruto que otros han hecho, se havian de elegir y escojer ocho Religiosos **para las Islas de los Ladrones, llamadas Marianas**, y para Tunquin, ó Cochinchina: Supplicando]me fuese servida con todo lo neçesario, y que les deis el favor que hubieren menester para que los dhos*

*ocho Religiosos, pudiesen haçer su viage, pues era tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, y mio:*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consexo de las Indias, a parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) que para obrar con mayor açierto en esta materia comuniquéis, con Diego Luis de San Vitores, de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que se halla con otros Sugetos de su orden, en las Misiones de los Indios de las Islas Marianas, si tendra yncombeniente, el questos ocho Religiosos descalços de San Francisco entren à exercitar su espiritu, en la combersion de los naturales de aquellas Islas, y de los demas que se representan, y que en caso que lo puedan haçer, les señaleis la parte por donde sera mas combeniente, su entrada, sin que puedan embaraçar la Mision en que esta entendiendo el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores y de lo que se dispusiere dareis notizia al Governador de Filipinas, avisandome, en las ocasiones que se ofrèçieren de lo que en esto executaredes.*

*Fha [blank]*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain. He is to write to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus to ask him if he would have an objection to having 8 discalced Religious of the Order of St. Francis join in the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands, Tonkin, or Cochinchina, and he is to inform the Governor of the Philippines and the Council of actions taken.

Made at Madrid, on [blank] April 1672.

The Queen Regent.

[To] Marquis of Mancera, relative, member of the Council of War, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

Fr. Juan García Racimo, discalced Franciscan, Procurator General of the Province of San Gregorio of the Philippine Islands, has stated to me that he has been granted permission to take 40 Religious overthere, and that he was about to embark with them aboard the fleet that must go to those Provinces this year, and that a few of the said Religious had asked not to be held back in the City of Manila, but allowed to go on to preach the holy Gospel to the heathens. Having learned of the fruit that others have gathered, 8 Religious should be selected **for the Islands of the Ladrones, called Marianas**, and for Tonkin, or Cochinchina. He begs me to please see to it that they be given the necessary papers for the said 8 Religious to be able to make their voyage, since it is so much to the service of God our Lord, and mine.

This was seen in the Council of the Indies, and it seemed proper to order you (as I do now), in order to work this out effectively, to get in touch with Diego Luis de San Vitores, of the Society of Jesus, who is presently with other members of his order in the Missions of the Indians of the Mariana Islands, asking him if he would have any objection to having these 8 discalced Religious of St. Francis make their entry there, to exercise their spirit in the conversion of the natives of those Islands, and of the others

above-mentioned, and that, in case they may do so, he is to point out the best place where they could make their entry, without any hindrance to the Mission in which said Diego Luis de San Vitores is involved, and you are to inform the Governor of the Philippines about the outcome, advising me of your actions at every opportunity that may offer itself.

Date [blank].<sup>1</sup>

## K2. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 10 June 1672

*Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 13, exp. 56, pp. 285-286.*

*Summary note: She approves what he recommended about the despatch of 18 more soldiers to protect the Jesuit missionaries from the local Indians.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta del 22 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1671, representais que por cédula mía de 6 de Junio del mismo año, os mande tomasedes muy particulares noticias de personas prácticas e inteligenres del estado en que se hallavan las reducciones de los naturales de las islas de los Ladrones y de la necesidad que tenían los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en ellas de que se les diesen **soldados con armas** para su resguardo tomando motivo para pedir este informe del que hizo en el Consejo de las Indias Don Manuel de León, Governador y Cap. Gral. de las islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de ellas en 10 de Junio del año pasado de 1670, refiriendo el copioso fruto que los dichos religiosos iban haciendo en aquellas islas y de la proposición que le hizieron quando paso por ellas de que les dejase algua gente y armas con que enfrenar la inconstancia de los Indios y en execución de la dicha cédula dar quenta de haver formado una junta de los sujetos más prácticos de aquellas islas que se hallavan en esa ciudad y que de la conferencia que con ellos tuvieseis resultado lo que parece del testimonio que remitis que se reduce a que **no es conveniente poner Presidio en aquellas islas** por ser esteriles y carecer de puertos y estar sugetas a grandes tormentas y huracanes que hacen mal segura su navegación, pero que sin embargo de esto se podrían poner **hasta 18 hombres** en la parte y sino que los hubieren menester los religiosos misioneros para guarda y defensa de sus personas con avertencia de que nunca se dividan sino que esten siempre juntos y dispuestos para la defensa contra la inconstancia de los naturales y que del mismo situado que fuere para Philipinas se les envíe lo necesario de **vino, [h]arina, biscocho y otras cosas** de que necesitan a disposición*

1 Ed. note: Since this decree is not dated, it is possible that there was a change of heart and that it was never issued. In any case, there is no trace of follow-up documents on file.



*de los Virreyes de manera que las naos que fuesen de Acapulco lo dejen en Yguan [sic], que es la más vecina a la derrota del viage.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias ha parecido que se execute en todo lo que se propuso en la junta que hubisteis y así os mando que en su conformidad deis las ordenes que fueren necesarias para el cumplimiento de ello.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 10 de Junio de 1672.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España aprovando lo resuelto en una junta que hizo y enviar 18 soldados tan a los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que estan en las Islas de los Ladrones que defenderse de los que habiten en ellas.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter dated 22 November of last year 1671, you represented that by my decree of 6 June of that year, I ordered you to take very special notices from expert and intelligent persons concerning the condition in which the reductions of the natives of the Ladrone Islands are found and the necessity for the religious of the Society of Jesus who labor there to be given **soldiers with weapons** for their protection, the motive for which had been the petition made to the Council of the Indies by Don Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of their Audiencia on 10 June of the past year 1670, in which he mentioned the copious fruit that the said religious were gathering in those islands and the proposal they had made to him, when he passed by there, to leave them some people and weapons in order to restrain the inconstancy of the Indians. Now, to comply with the said decree, you report having called a meeting of individuals most knowledgeable about those islands to be found in that city and that the conference you had with them resulted in what appears in the testimony that you remit, which can be summed up as follows, that **it is not convenient to place a Garrison in those islands** because they are sterile and lack ports, and they are subject to great storms and hurricanes that make their navigation unsafe; but, in spite of which, **up to 18 men** could be posted at a place to be chosen by the religious missionaries, to guard and defend their persons, with the precaution that they should never divide [their forces]; rather, they should always remain together and ready for defence against the inconstancy of the natives. Also, with the same subsidy sent to the Philippines, they should be sent necessities, such as **wine, flour, biscuit and other things** they might need by the Viceroy, so that the galleons that go from Acapulco might leave it in Yguan [sic], which is the closest one on their normal route.

This matter having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was decided that everything proposed by the meeting that was held should be carried out, and so I order you to give the appropriate orders that might be necessary for its accomplishment.

Made at Madrid on 10 June 1672.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty, Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain, approving what was resolved in a meeting that he held, to send 18 soldiers to the religious of the Society of Jesus who are in the Ladrone Islands for their defence against those who inhabit them.

### **K3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 November 1672**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 30-31, pp. 83-85; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 13, exp. 115, pp. 288-289; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She answers one of his letters about **soldiers and weapons** that he is to send to the Marianas to protect the Jesuit missionaries, and encloses a copy of her decree of 10 June (K2 above).*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Governadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta de 29 de Abril pasado de este año avisais del recivo de la Cédula de 12 de Agosto del antecedente de 1671 en que os ordene enviasedes gente y armas para resguardo de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en la misiones de las Islas Marianas, si juzgasedes que convenia y representais lo que en la materia se os ofrece, y por el testimonio que remitís parece que en virtud de otro despacho de 6 de Junio del mismo año de 1671 formasseis junta de personas prácticas para tomar noticias de lo que sería conveniente hacer, las cuales dijeron se podrían poner **hasta 18 hombres** en el sitio que los religiosos misioneros los hubieren menester para su defensa con advertencia de que siempre estuviesen juntos sin dividirse nunca y que del situado que desde esa ciudad se remite a Filipinas se les enviase lo necesario a vuestra disposición y de vuestros sucesores y que en las naos lo dejasen en Yguan por ser el paso de ellas, de lo qual avisasteis en carta de 22 de Noviembre del dicho año y que después en virtud de la segunda cédula de 12 de Agosto de 1671 tubisteis junta general de hacienda en que se resolvió que hasta que fuese nueva orden mía (con visto de lo que excrivisteis en la carta referida) no se hiciese novedad, respecto que de enviar gente a los misioneros notoriamente se les había de seguir perjuicio alborotandoles los naturales de aquellas islas, si se quieren reprimir con violencia debiendose hacer las conversiones con la suavidad del Santísimo Evangelio y sin el ruido de las armas y opresiones de soldados como está encargado.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, ha perecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que executéis lo que esta proveido sobre esta materia por la Cédula que se despachó en 10 de Junio pasado de este año cuyo duplicado se remite con esta a que no se ofrece que añadir.*

*De Madrid a 12 de Noviembre de 1672 años.  
Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,  
Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Respecto a una carta del Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España sobre la gente y armas que ha de enviarse para resguardo de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que estan en las misiones de las Islas Marianas, y remitiendo duplicado de la çedula de 10 de Junio de este año para que la ejecute.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter dated 29 April of this year you acknowledge receipt of the Decree dated 12 August of the previous year 1671 in which I ordered you to send people and weapons for the protection of the religious of the Society of Jesus who attend to the missions of the Mariana Islands, should you think it proper, and to tell me the alternatives about this matter, and you were to remit the minutes of the meeting in accordance with the other despatch of 6 June of the same year 1671 as a result of the conference you were to hold with experts in order to find out what was convenient to do. The latter experts said that it would be possible to **place up to 18 men** on the site to be selected by the religious missionaries for their defence, with the warning that they should remain together, never divide their forces, and that the subsidy that is remitted from that city to the Philippines be sent to them by you and your successors as you see fit and that the galleons were to leave it in Yguan when they pass by there. Henceforth, you advised in your letter of 22 November of the said year and later on, in answer to the second decree of 12 August 1671, that you had held a general meeting of the treasury council in which it was resolved that, until a new order from me (for reasons given in the said letter) no changes should take place, because by sending [armed] people to the missionaries some prejudice would result to them by disturbing the natives of those islands, if they wished to repress them with violence, and the conversions had to be made with the gentle methods of the most holy Gospel and not with the noise of firearms and oppressions by soldiers, as it is ordained.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it appeared that I should order you (as I do now) to carry out what has been provided regarding this matter by the Decree that was despatched on 10 June of this past year, whose copy is enclosed, and to which there is nothing more to add.

From Madrid on 12 November 1672.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] Regarding a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain about the **people and weapons** he has to send for the protection of the religious of the Society of the Society of Jesus who are in the Mariana Island Missions, and enclosing a copy of the Decree of 10 June of this year to be carried out.

## K4. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 12 November 1672

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 31-32v, pp. 85-88; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 13, exp. 118, pp. 291-292; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She answers one of his letters about the suitable port, the mineral and other land products of the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta de 30 de Abril pasado de este año aviseis el recibo de dos despachos de 12 de Agosto del de 1671 en que os mande que valiendo os de los religiosos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en la isla de Guan, una de las Islas de los Ladrones, (que ya se llaman Marianas) pusiesedes particular cuydado en que se reconociesen los **frutos** que hubiese en ella y si había algunos **minerales** y también en que se descubriese algun **surgidero**, en una de aquellas islas en la parte que pareciese más apropósito y segura, para lo qual os correspondiesedes con los dichos religiosos y con el Governador de Filipinas encargandoles que haviendole hallado remitiesen mapas y relación ajustada del sitio donde se descubriese y de su calidad y fondo por lo mucho que importaba tener algun puerto razonable y seguro para el abrigo de las naos de aquellas islas, y decis que no haviades podido dar paso a la execucion de estos despachos por haverlos recibido a 6 de Febrero de este año y salido el mismo día del puerto de Acapulco la nao que llevó el socorro a las Islas Philipinas, que lo que pudisteis averiguar por diversas declaraciones de los sugetos mas versados y prácticos de aquella carrera era que en ninguno de las Islas que llaman de los Ladrones o Marianas descubiertas hasta ahora se halla un puerto ni surgidero ni aún abrigo de mediana seguridad para bajeles de gavia y que carecen de trigo, maiz, y demás granos que era argumento de poca fertilidad y de no tener minerales, de oro, plata, hierro, o cobre, de que inferis que en lo temporal no puesse seguirse tanto beneficio a esta Corona como en lo espiritual a la Iglesia de la reducción y pacificación de aquellas gentes, y que sin embargo excrivirades a los religiosos misioneros y al Governador de Filipinas en la conformidad que os tengo mandado y dareis quenta de lo que resultare.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias con los papeles tocantes a esta materia, ha parecido deciros que sea visto lo que representase y que todavia será conveniente tomar los informes que os he ordenado del Governador de Filipinas y de los religiosos misioneros para tener más ciertas noticias de lo que se contiene en los despachos citados, teniendo entendido que lo principal a que se debe atender es a la conversión de aquellos Indios y que sólo por lo de un alma se debe dar por bien empleado qualquiera gasto que se hassen en aquella misión y así os encargo y mando cuideis mucho de ella, asistiendo a los religiosos para que puedan continuar en tan santo exercicio por el fruto que de ello se siga a nuestra sagrada religión que es el mayor beneficio que se puede lograr y el que más han estimada siempre los varios reyes mis*

*progenitores, gastando tantos thesoros por la conversión de los infieles a cuya imitación, deseo que el tiempo presente, se obre con el mismo celo y atención y de los que en esto obraredes me dareis quenta en las ocasiones que se ofrecieran para hallarme con noticia de ello.*

*De Madrid a 12 de Noviembre de 1672.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Respuesta a una carta del Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España sobre los informes que se le mandó pidiese al Governador de Philipinas y a los religiosos de las Islas Marianas de los puertos, minerales y frutos que ay en ellas, y encargandole cuyde mucho de la conversión de aquellos Indios.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter of 30 April of this year, you acknowledge the receipt of two despatches dated 12 August 1671 in which I order you to avail yourself of the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who work in the island of Guam, on the Ladrone Islands (which are now called Marianas). You were to pay special attention to have the **local products** identified to find out about **minerals** and also the discovery of some **anchorage**, and you were to correspond with the said religious and with the Governor of the Philippines to delegate such tasks, and afterwards send charts and a detailed report about the site where the port was found, its nature and bottom, given that it was very important to have some reasonable and safe port to shelter the galleons of those islands. You said that you had not been able to carry out these despatches because you had received them on 6 February of this year, on the very date that the galleon taking the subsidy to the Philippine Islands left the port of Acapulco; meanwhile, you had found out through various declarations made by individuals most knowledgeable and expert about that run that in none of the islands called the Ladrones or Marianas has there been found a port or anchorage with an average security for topsail-type ships, that they lack wheat, corn and other cereals, thus proving their lack of fertility, that they have no minerals, gold, silver, iron, or copper, from which it is inferred that in material things they cannot be of much value to this Crown as the reduction and pacification of those people can be in the spiritual [sphere] to the Church, and that nevertheless you were writing to the religious missionaries and to the Governor of the Philippines in accordance with my orders and would give a report on what might result from that.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies along with the papers regarding this matter, it appeared that [I] should tell you that what you say should be ascertained and that it was still convenient to get the reports that I ordered you to get from the Governor of the Philippines and from the said religious missionaries in order to receive more accurate information about what is contained in the said despatches, granted that the

main thing is to attend to the conversion of those Indians and that, even for one single soul, what is done for that mission would be considerable well spent. So, I order you to pay special attention to it, assisting the religious so that they may continue such holy exercise that bears the fruit it does for our holy religion and that constitutes the best benefit we can expect, one that the various kings, my ancestors, have estimated and spent such great treasures on, i.e. the conversion of the gentiles, and I wish to imitate them by continuing to work with the same zeal and care. You are to give me an account of what transpires at the earliest opportunities so that I may be informed of it all.

From Madrid on 12 November 1672.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain about the reports he was ordered to ask from the Governor of the Philippines and from the religious of the Mariana Islands about **ports, minerals and products** there, emphasizing to him the importance of the conversion of those Indians.

## K5. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 21 November 1672

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 32v-34, pp. 88-91; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 13,, pp. 294-295.*

*Summary note: She expresses disappointment that he finds the salvaging of the cannon not feasible, and advises him that she has ordered the Governor of the Philippines to try it on his own.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,*

*Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*En carta de 30 de Abril pasado de este año dais quenta de haver recibido la Cédula de 12 de Agosto del antecedente de 1671 en que os envia a mandar dispusiesedes se sacase la **artillería** que el Maestre de Campo Don Manuel de León, Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas aviso en carta de 7 de Julio de 1669 parecía en quatro brazas de fondo de los dos galeones que ahora 30 años se perdieron, el uno en la Isla de la Carpana grande y el otro en la de Buena Vista, en las Islas de los Ladrones, llamadas Marianas, y que esto se hubiese (sin embargo del informe que sobre ello se os pidió por otro despacho de 6 de Junio del mismo año de 1671) con la mayor brevedad y menos costa de la Real Hacienda que fuese posible, y dezis que en virtud de las Cédulas referidas se formaron juntas de los sugetos más prácticos de aquellas islas donde se confirió la materia y que discurrida y considerada con mucha atención su situación, desabrigo y falta de puertos, los uracanes y borrascas que de continuo las combaten, el conocido riesgo que padecerían asíi la gente como las embarcaciones, instrumentos y aparejos correspondientes a tan laboriosa y dilatada faena, la poca esperanza de su logro y el mucho gasto de la Real Hacienda parecía a todos los que se hallaron en las*

*juntas no ser tratable ni útil al Real servicio intentar la recuperación de esta artillería a que sólo se os ofrecía añadir que habiendose de poner mano en esta obra no hallais que de ese Gobierno se pueda contribuir a su efecto con otros medios que el de algun dinero porque todos los que para semejantes operaciones se requieren y la gente de mar y los buços estarán más pronto en los artilleros de Filipinas que donde no se ve fabricar un batel como sucede en la costa de esas provincias sobre el mar del Sur y que habiendose de conducir desde la Veracruz a Acapulco se dejava considerar su mucho gasto.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias con el testimonio de las Cédulas y Juntas que remitis, ha parecido enviar a mandar al Gobernador de Filipinas (como lo hago por Cédula de la fecha de esta) que por su parte dispongase que esta artillería procurando se haya sin costa de la Real Hacienda ni de los situados que se le envian, sino valiendose de otros medios, los que tuviere por más convenientes para el intento y que de cuenta de lo que obrare, de que se os da noticia para que lo tenga entendido.*

*De Madrid a 21 de Noviembre de 1672.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mando de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Respuesta a una carta del Virrey de la Nueva España sobre sacar la artillería de dos vajeles que se perdieron aora 30 [sic] años en las Islas de los Ladrones, y avisandole lo que sobre esta materia se ordena al Gobernador de Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

In a letter dated 30 April of this year you acknowledge receipt of the Decree of 12 August of last year 1671 in which I had ordered you to arrange for the salvage of the **guns** that Master-of-Camp Manuel de León, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, had mentioned in his letter dated 7 July 1669 lied in four fathoms of water from the two galleons that 30 years ago were lost, one at the Island of Big Çarpana and the other at that of Buena Vista, in the Ladron Islands, called Marianas, and to do it as soon as possible and with the least possible cost to the Royal Treasury (notwithstanding the report that you had been asked to produce by another despatch dated 6 June of the same year 1671). You say that in view of the above-mentioned Decrees many meetings were held with the most expert persons on those islands, in which the said matter was discussed, and that after due consideration and much attention paid to their situation, lack of shelter and ports, the hurricanes and sudden storms that continuously hit them, the known risk thus posed to people as well as vessels, equipment and rigs to be employed in such a laborious and long-lasting task, the little hope of its success and the great expense to the Royal Treasury, the project to attempt to salvage those guns seemed unworkable and not useful to the royal service to all those who attended the meetings, that the only thing you had to add to this was that you find that your Government can contribute for that purpose other than giving maney, because all

persons required for similar operations, the seamen and the divers, would be found more easily in the shipyards of the Philippines, that it is not feasible to build such a special-purpose boat on the coast of those provinces facing the South Sea, and that great expense would have to be made to transport one from Veracruz to Acapulco.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, along with the decrees and the minutes of the meetings that you sent, it seemed that the Governor of the Philippines should be ordered (as I do now by a Decree of same date) on his part to arrange for these cannon [to be salvaged], and to try and do so without cost to the Royal Treasury or to the subsidies that are sent to him; rather, he is to use other means that he may find most appropriate to that effect and report on the eventual action taken, and so I inform you so that you may be aware of it.

From Madrid on 21 November 1672.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain about the salvage of the cannon of two ships that were lost 30 [sic] years ago in the Ladrones Islands, and advising him of what the Governor of the Philippines has been ordered to do about this matter.

## K6. The Queen Regent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 21 November 1672

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-7; also AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 34-35, pp. 91-93.*

*Summary note: She orders Governor Vargas to try and salvage the bronze cannon from two ships that had been wrecked in the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Al Governador de Filipinas, avisandole lo que a escrito el Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> azerca de sacar la **artilleria de dos vageles**, que se perdieron aora 30 años en las Islas de los Ladrones y ordenandole que por su parte disponga se saque en la forma que arriva se refiere.*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la çiudad de Manila ó a la persona, ó personas, a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*Haviendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias lo que escrivesteis, en carta de siete de Jullio del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y nueve sobre la notiçia que os dieron los religiosos misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus, que estan entendiendo en la conversion de los naturales, de la Isla de Guan, una de las de los Ladrones, que ia se llaman Marianas, en esas Islas pide que, de los galeones que se perdieron aora treinta años, el uno en la Isla de la Zarpana grande y el otro en la de Buena Vista pareçia la mayor*



*parte de su artilleria en quatro brazas de fondo y que se podria sacar con poca dificultad, aunque para conseguirlo seria preciso embiar alguna gente con armas, pues sin ellas no lo permitirian los Indios ni querrian ayudar a sacarla por ser gente dada poco al trabajo, embie a mandar al Marques de Manzera Virrey y Capitan General de la N<sup>a</sup> España por zedula de doce de Agosto del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y uno que sin embargo del informe que sobre esto se le pidio por otro despacho de seis de Junio del mismo año dispusiese se sacase esta artilleria con la mayor brevedad y menos costa de la Real Hazienda, que fuese posible y que habiendose hecho havisase quantas pieças heran y de que genero para que con vista de ello se os ordenase lo que ubiesedes de hazer de hellas, y que en el interin os previniese las hiçiesedes poner a buen recaudo.*

*Y aora en carta de treinta de Abril pasado deste año dio quenta el Marques, que habiendo reçivido las çedulas referidas, se formaron Juntas, de los sugetos, mas practicos de esas Islas, donde se conferio la materia y que discurrida y considerada con mucha atencion su situacion[,] desabrigo y falta de puertos[,] los uracanes y borrascas, que de continuo las combaten el conoçido riesgo que padeçerian asi la gente como las embarcaciones, instrumentos y aparejos correspondientes a tan laborosa y dilatada faena la poca esperança de su logro y el mucho gasto de la Real Hazienda pareçio a todos los que se hallaron en las Juntas, no ser tratable ni util al Real serviçio intentos la recuperacion de esta artilleria y concluye diçiendo que habiendose de poner mano en esta obra no hallava que desde Mexico se pudiese contribuir a su efecto con otros medios que el de algun dinero por que todos los que para semejantes operaciones se requieren y la gente de mar y los buços estaria mas promptos en los astilleros de esas Islas.*

*Y habiendose bisto todo en el Consejo de las Indias, ha pareçido ordenaros y mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) que por vuestra parte dispongais se saque esta artilleria procurando se haga sin costa de la Real Hazienda ni de los situados que de Mexico se remiten para el socorro y sustento de la Infanteria y defensa de esos presidios sino baliendoos de otros medios los que tubieredes por mas conbenientes, y proporcionados para el intento y de lo que executaredes, dareis quenta en las ocasiones que se os ofreçieren.*

*Fha en Madrid a 11 de Noviembre de 1672 años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada del Consejo.*

## **Translation.**

The Queen Regent,

To the Governor of the Philippines, acknowledging receipt of his report to the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the salvage of the **cannon from two vessels** that were lost 30 years ago in the Islands, and ordering him to personally arrange for the salvage in the manner described therein.

Master-of-camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia in the city of Manila, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

After the Council of the Indies saw what you wrote, in a letter dated 7 July of the past year of 1669<sup>1</sup> regarding the news given to you by the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are working at converting the natives of the Island of Guan, one of the Ladrones, now called Marianas, I asked that the galleons that were lost in those Islands some 30 years ago, one in the Island of Big Sarpana [i.e. Saipan] and the other in that of Buenavista [rather Rota], as it appeared that most of their cannon were showing in 4 fathoms and that they could be salvaged with little difficulty, although to achieve it it would be necessary to send some men with weapons, since without them the Indians would not allow it nor would they help with the salvage, as they are people little given to work, and I sent an order to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, in a decree dated 12 August of the past year 1671, notwithstanding the report that he had been ordered to submit in a previous decree dated 6 June of the same year, to arrange for the salvage of these cannon with the briefest delay and at the least possible cost to the Royal Treasury, and having done so, he was to report on the number of cannon involved and of which type they were, so that a proper order be given you for their proper disposal, and in the meantime you were asked to store them in a secure place.

Now, in a letter dated 30 April of this past year, the Marquis reported that he had received the decrees in question, that meetings had been held, among the individuals most knowledgeable about those Islands, wherein the matter was discussed, and that after this discussion, having carefully considered their location, lack of ports and shelters from winds, hurricanes and squalls, that beat upon them continuously, thus the danger to which the men as well as the [salvage] vessels, tools and rigs necessary for such a hard and long task, would be exposed, plus the little hope of success and the great expense of royal funds, it seemed to everyone present at the meetings that attempts to salvage these cannon were not practicable nor desirable for the Royal service. He concludes by saying that, if such a project should be carried out, it could not be done from Mexico, except perhaps the provision of some money, because all the means necessary for such operations, the seamen and divers, would be more readily available in the arsenals of those Islands.

All of this having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it seemed proper to order you (as I do now) to arrange yourself the salvage of these cannon, and to try and do it at no cost to the Royal Treasury and at no cost to the subsidies remitted from Mexico for the succor and sustenance of the Infantry and defence of those garrisons; rather, by calling upon other appropriate means at your disposal, commensurate with the size of the project, and to report on actions taken at every opportunity that may offer itself to you.

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1 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1669E2.

Made at Madrid, on 11 November 1672.  
I the Queen.  
By order of Her Majesty,  
Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.  
And countersigned by the Council.

## **K7. Other decrees of 1672**

—**One sent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 1 (4?) December 1672**

*Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, ... There is a bad photocopy at MARC, pp. 297-298.*

*Summary note: She wants him to send more Jesuits to the Mariana Island Mission.*

—**Apparently, there existed another decree, dated 16 November**

*Source: Unknown; cited in Doc. 1681L3.*

*Note: It was about sending 200 Pampangos to the Marianas.*

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## Document 1672L

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# Composite report for the 1665-1672 period, attributed to Fr. Provincial Andrés de Ledesma

## Annual letters from the province of the Philippines —Residence of the Marianas, 1665-1671 [sic]

*Sources: 1) RAH 9/2668, doc. n° 17; 2) ARSI Phil. VII 2., fol. 852v-888v; 3) bad copy (of the RAH document) in the Jesuit archives of the Province of Toledo, Alcalá de Henares, Spain, Legajo 324, folios (new numbers) 523-608, old numbers 83-114; 4) perhaps also in the Jesuit archives of the Province of Aragon, San Cugat del Valle, Spain, ref. E-1-a-17d, pp. 39-109; 5) 129-page typescript in MARC Working Paper #14 (1979), based on the bad Alcalá copy.*

*Notes: The Mariana section of this report is the last section of this report, and last-minute information for 1672 is based on the letter of Fr. Solano (Doc. 1672E). The text of this section begins with the phrase: "Entre los mas apostólicos empleos de nuestra religiosa provincia en estos 4 años [1668-72] ha sido de no menor gloria de Dios y fruto de innumerables almas que de credito y estima de nuestra Compañía la misión y la predicación del Santo Evangelio en las islas Marianas (olim de los Ladrones)" and ends with the phrase: "tenemos noticia, como por no haver llegado este año [1672] de las Islas Marianas la relación de su fervorosos empleos." I have used the RAH copy, which is in a very clear handwriting, to make the translation below; the MARC typescript has a number of inaccuracies, due to a transcription once removed from the original in RAH. The passages printed in bold characters below are those that have been borrowed from the 1670-71 report (Doc. 1671A).*

## Annual letter from the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus, from the year 1665 to 1671 [sic]

### Residence of the Mariana Islands.

Among the most apostolic employments of our religious province in the last 4 years, the mission and preaching of the Holy Gospel in the Mariana Islands (formerly the Ladrones), much to the credit of our Society, has been no less successful in saving numberless souls for the glory of God. Satan continued to fear the war that was waged against him in taking out of his tyrannical grasp so many souls which he had held cap-

tive and blind with the ignorance of the way of glory in these so numerous and dispersed islands. Thus, he at first placed all his efforts in perturbing such a glorious enterprise, trying by a thousand means to render useless the means that were taken to that end. Creditable witnesses of this may be the contradictions suffered by the Apostle of these islands, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de S. Vitores (who has already fertilized this Mariana inheritance with his blood), the hardships, the sweat and the tears he spent in obtaining by entreaty the permission of his Superiors and of the secular Government to make his voyage. Everyone concerned, civilians or Religious, judged such a mission impossible and, measuring it in human terms, held no hope of its realization. In truth, the enterprise was very difficult; but with divine grace, which disposes everything smoothly, so many powerful impediments were overcome and by means so marvelous that clearly the tight hand of the Almighty was recognized as very superior to human forces indeed.

**[A marvellous vision]**

This was demonstrated by a marvellous vision in which our Lord [showed] to a religious person of very strong virtue and of familiar contact with his Majesty a big and beautiful galleon on whose deck next to the main mast stood our Holy Father Ignacio with His Cross in the hand and a very brilliant golden Jesus on his chest and with the head reaching up to heaven. The said ship came out of the cupola of the church of our College of Manila and arrived with a favorable wind as far as the port of Cavite, where the effects disappeared. What showed the hand of divine Providence in this [vision] was [the fact] that the hearts and opinions of those most against such a holy and glorious enterprise, upon whom its human success depended, were suddenly moved. Indeed, that same day the Governor of these islands, Don Diego Salcedo, was inspired to despatch the Mission, and to do so, he then sent an order to the port of Cavite so that the galleon in which the Fathers had to embark be made ready without delay. While this occurred in Manila, some singular cases of divine piety, responsible for the success of this enterprise, also occurred in Mexico, where they experienced many of them, especially one proposition handed over to the royal Fiscal by the Lord Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, asking him to inform once more about this matter; he had been totally opposed to the idea before, but, after talking with both Fathers Diego Luis de S. Vitores and Luis de Medina, he said that he had suddenly changed his mind, without knowing how this had come about, but recognizing that God had something to do with it. So, he then wrote a very favorable opinion which was later agreed to by the Viceroy and the whole Council. For the sake of brevity, I omit other, very exquisite, providences of the Lord which would provide material for longer narratives.

**[Description of the Mariana Islands]**

The Mariana Islands which have been discovered up to now and enlightened by the Holy Gospel are 13 in number. Their names are: **S. Juan, Santa Ana, S. Angel, Buena Vista Mariana, S. Joseph, S. Joachin, S. Carlos, S. Phelipe, la Concepcion, S. Ignacio, S. Xavier, la Asumpcion, S. Lorenzo** which correspond to their old names,

which are: **Guan, Rota, or Zarpana, Agiguan, Tinian, Seipan, Anatajan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagon, Agrigan, Maug, Songsong.**<sup>1</sup> The position of these islands runs from 13 to 22 degrees North [lat.] more or less. They can be said to be truly Mariana-like in that, beginning as they are from the south-southwest, they go on to finish in the north-northeast [sic],<sup>2</sup> forming the figure of a half-moon, a sign of the protection that they now experience under the feet of Mary. They all maintain commerce among themselves and they concur in using one single language. They enjoy a healthful climate and sky, their waters are healthful and in so plentiful that in the main Island of San Juan (formerly Guan), which would be about 40 leagues in circumference, one can count over 30 rivers, some of great volume, and with a special eel fishery. There is no knowledge of any poisonous or obnoxious animal, nor even any local regrettable creature, except for the plague of rats and other lizards and bothersome small animals [i.e. insects] that are very bothersome and plentiful. As for the Indians, they live rationally in settlements of 10, 20, 30, and some of 60, 80 and over 100 houses, which they build in the form of shacks, many of which atop stone pillars, roofing them curiously with coconut palm [thatch], as all the islands are well covered with coconut trees.

**[The native customs of the Chamorros]**<sup>3</sup>

Their independence from one another is extreme. They have no common chief, except the heads of families, whose priority or right of succession and ownership of the main house and lands is inherited (as do princes in the East Indies) not by the sons, but by the brothers and nephews. When the latter inherit, they change their names, adopting that of the founder or elder of their family, respecting the distinctions between the high, low and middle lineages to such an extent that it is amazing to see in people with so little diversity in clothing and housing accommodation. It appears that their origin is from a well-organized nation where nobility was appreciated, with the characteristics used by St. Francis Xavier to describe the Japanese nobility, since no matter how poor one is, he would not be allowed to marry a richer person of lower status, to such an extent that, in the old days, they would kill one who would marry someone of less noble blood. They despise those of low lineage so much that they do not eat or drink with them, and do not even allow them to come near the houses of the nobles, but they do give them what they ask some distance away from those houses. They use great courtesies among themselves; normally, when they meet or pass in front of one another's

1 Ed. note: The names of the last two islands have been interchanged; Assumption corresponds to [As] Songsong, and San Lorenzo to Maug.

2 Ed. note: So written in at least two copies, but logics dictates that this should be NNW instead.

3 Ed. note: For a comparison with the native peoples and customs of the Philippines, see B&R 40: 35-373. The ancient Chamorro customs were similar to the ancient Filipino customs. Just one example: "...the cursed belief that persuades them that the souls of their ancestors or the grandfathers of the families are present in the trees and at the bottom of bamboos, and that they have the power of giving and taking away health and of giving success or failure to the crops..."

houses they say **Ati arinmo**: Let me wash your feet<sup>1</sup> and they accompany it by taking out betel nut and offering it for them to chew.

Their ordinary occupation is fishing, building boats and cultivating their plantations. They get sustenance from fish, which they esteem more than chicken, and the lack of bread is made up by a kind of well-ripened fruit, but when this fruit is out of season, some root vegetables similar to potatoes replace bread. Rice is served as a delicacy during feasts. They do not use wine nor any other liquor that might lead to drunken parties. They generally eat moderately, even during their parties that come down to singing their stories, having wrestling and spear-throwing games, while food is being distributed, such as rice cakes, fish, coconut, bananas, sugar-cane, and a mixture of rice of grated coconut as a drink, without any excesses taking place that might be reprehensible.

In their costumes and clothes they retain, it seems, a state of innocence, because they all go around completely naked; only the women cover themselves with some decency. The women also dress up for the feasts, which consists in placing some wreaths over their foreheads, either made up of some flowers, like jasmine, or of some beads and [pieces of] turtle shells dangling from a string of small colored shells, which are considered precious among them and also use to make some belts to place around their waist, with some small [pieces of] coconut [shells] well-arranged and dangling all around, over some skirts made out of the barks of tree roots. With this adornment, they usually get together, about a dozen of them, and place themselves in a circle. Without moving from their position, they sing in tune their old popular songs with a remarkable harmony and range of voices, marking time with the hands, the right hands playing with some "half-moons"[i.e. Chinese halberds] and the left hands with some small boxes by way of castanets, which they shake very seriously. Another one of their decorations consists in dying [their teeth] black and in whitening their hair with various solutions. The women are proud to keep their hair as long as possible, whereas the men leave only a tuft the length of a finger on the crown, shaving the rest off their head.

Their usual weapons are spears which they make out of the leg bones of their [dead] parents with a series of two or three grooves, shaped like fish-hooks, so that they go in easily but are very difficult to take out. They also use javelins, cutlasses, and the sling which they handle from childhood with some skill.

They absolutely hate murderers, and cruel people, treating them without honor. The married men do not have many wives, or concubines, but the bachelors keep some women in public houses where they live with total freedom and independently even of their own parents. Among the married people, the jealousy of the women is such that at the slightest news of disloyalty on the part of their husbands they punish them in various ways. Sometimes the offended party gathers all the other women of the village, each one taking along her spear and hat, and they go to the house of the adulterer, and

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1 Ed. note: This was a more convoluted form of greeting than the Japanese way of saying "It is honorably early" by way of "Good Morning".

after uprooting whatever plantation he may have, make as if they wish to spear him and they throw him out of his house. At other times, they punish them by separating from them, in which case the wife's relatives join in the show at the husband's house, where they throw out of the house whatever was inside it, leaving nothing but the shell standing; sometimes, they even destroy that. The explanation for this custom is that the women are those who command, the husband not being able to decide anything without her approval; he cannot even punish his own children, because if he does any such thing to them, the wife divorces him and the children follow her and then recognize no other father than the man chosen by their mother as a new husband.

They observe very strictly some **superstitions**, specially while fishing, when they keep a great silence and observe an absolute fast, out of fear or adulation of the **Aniti** (that is how they call the souls of their ancestors) so that they will not punish them, or take away the fish, or disturb them in their dreams, to which they gave credit easily. Upon the death of their deceased, they place a basket over the head as if to offer a place where the soul, upon leaving the body, can remain inside the house, thus replacing the dead body, or acting as a decoy to lure it back during the frequent visits from its normal residence, which place they believe is below the ground, where most of them just rest, but with some suffering for those who died in some mishap. Another custom consists of parading the corpse before the houses of his relatives, after it has been anointed and covered with some colored oil, the lips being also rubbed with betel nut. During the burials, their particular ways of showing sorrow are tears, some blowing of shells and crying which they usually maintain for six, eight days or more, according to the [degree of] affection; the time is spent in lugubrious chants, in banquets around a tomb which they build next to the sepulcher adorned with flowers, palm [branches], shells and other adornments such as things that they esteemed the most. The wife of the deceased usually cuts some of her hair to remember her suffering and she keeps track of how many nights have gone by since he died by tying knots in a cord she carries around her neck. However, the greatest demonstrations occur at the death of one of their leading men, whom they call of the first class, or a famous matron. Then, they are not contented with the above demonstrations. They decorate the streets with various bows, woven and curled up things, triumphal arches; they destroy coconut trees, burn houses, break canoes, whose sails are torn apart and put up in front of their houses as a mark of infamy, or mourning in their sorrow. In their chants they add sincere tears and many praises of the deceased, whose sepulcher is crowned with oars as a sign of a famous fisherman, or with spears to mark the brave, or with both if he did it all.

In the old days they were persuaded that they were the only people, and their land the only one in the world. But, after the experience of seeing our galleons and the Dutch ones pass, they learned that there were many others; they added to their traditions [the idea] that all other lands, men, and things had come from their own land and been born from a stone on the Island of Guan which had previously been a man, and after being turned into a stone had given birth to the rest of mankind, that after becoming separ-



ated from their people and spread to other lands had forgotten their language. So, they talked like idiots, not understanding one another.

They became persuaded that the rats, flies, mosquitos and all their illnesses came from the ships that pass by their islands, given as proof that colds that they usually get every year after the passage of the ships; what happens is that covetousness for iron makes them [go out and] shout around the galleons day and night, sun and moon shining, and through all kinds of weather at sea, it is no wonder that most of them go back home hoarse and with other ailments.

Their errors regarding the Creation of the World are like those of men unaffected by the enlightenment of the faith, without culture or other civilization. They used to say that Puntan (perhaps the first man who was thrown up by a storm upon these lands) had been a very ingenious man. For many years he had lived in some imaginary spaces there in the abyss before heaven and earth were created. When this man reached the hour of death, moved by the thought of leaving his successors without any land to sustain themselves and without the necessary things [to maintain] human life, he called a sister he had who also had been born without a father or mother, and he gave her all his powers so that after he had expired she would use his chest and shoulders to made heaven and earth, sun and moon out of his eyes, rainbow out of his eye-brows and similarly adjust the rest of the world, with a not-too-erroneous correspondence between the minor and the major [sides], if only in a symbolic fashion. It turns out that they have not raised their Puntan, either up to some epicurean summits, or the material beginning of the Japanese, or some such delirious notions that some more civilized and cultured nations have more guiltily adhered to and given credence to more superstitions; in fact, they do not give any cult, exterior ceremony, worship, invocation or recourse to the said Puntan and his sister, by which they would recognize their divinity, not even a memorial or monument, other than their good memories when they learn and remember this and other old fables and events of their ancestors, which are usually recounted during their feasts by some who pride themselves in being learned, making bets on who can recite the most verses, but there are no mentions of religion, sect, priests or Bonzes, other than some they call **Macanas** or impostors, who usually promise health, water, fish and similar material goods through the invocation of some deceased in **Sa-sarraguan** (so they call the infernal places), whose skulls they preserve in their houses in baskets where they usually visit, staying around inside or below the house, until such time as the Macanas use them to ask [favours] for the living whom they deceive, in their own best interest, more so than for the convenience of the living toward the dead, from whom everyone recognizes that nothing good can be expected. If someone prays to them sincerely, it is so that they will not harm them, the way the devils usually do, and to deceive him,<sup>1</sup> in spite of this respect and fear, usually appear to these simple people and talk to them using the name of their parents to deceive, but they have been unable to extract from them any other recognition, worship, temples, laws or ministers to

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1 Ed. note: The mixture of singular and plural is part of the original text.

instil a cult of idols or profession of some sect, outside of the above-said; such a circumstance was inviting the Apostle of the Indies to convert the Macassar people, before they became infected by the pest of Mohammedanism, of which these poor people, thank God, are completely exempt.

**[The arrival of the missionaries]**

Heaven having then arranged with special assistance and favor all the spiritual and temporal means necessary for the success of the entrance to the Marianas, their shores were sighted on Friday 15 June 1668, the [very] first day that the devotion of the first Fridays [of the month] was established in Mexico, to commemorate the 10 years of the apostolic preaching by St. Francis Xavier in the Indies, that devout Sodality did its best to ask God specifically for the conversion of the Mariana Islands, so immediately concerned by the light that the Lord gave on that day for the discovery of the promised land and the enlightenment of so many souls until then separated from the light of the Holy Gospel. The galleon came close to the island and was surrounded by many canoes of the Mariano Indians, and although at first it was doubtful that the Fathers would make their entrance to their islands, given that they were fearful of coming aboard the galleon, fearing perhaps that with the special nearness to shore would result in some harm to them, such as they had experienced before with the Dutch galleons; so, the more they were welcomed aboard, the more they became fearful. Finally, it was discovered that the best way of attracting their hearts was through the intervention of the Most Holy Virgin, and they invoke this heavenly princess, singing her litany there aboard the galleon; as soon as they reached the middle of their prayers, without any fear or distrust the Marianos began to climb aboard very calmly and trustfully. They were welcomed with a special show of love, and were taken to pay their respects to an image of the Most Holy Virgin, in whose presence the mistrust on both sides simply disappeared.

The next day, Saturday 16 June, the galleon anchored and, stepping ashore, the Fathers raised upon those shores the sacred standard of the cross and without fear of what might happen given the novelty of the entrance, or without any preventative measure or armed protection other than their faith and devotion to the Most Holy Virgin, the Fathers stayed that night among the gentiles. They proposed their embassy to the leaders of the first town they encountered, by talking to them either by themselves or through an interpreter they had brought along.<sup>1</sup> In the end, they convinced them to ask themselves the Captain and commander of the ship to leave behind the Fathers so that they may be instructed and taught the true way to the salvation of their souls, which until then they had ignored. They did this with a rare show of joy, requests and competitions concerning which town the Fathers had to reside, every one of the leading men who had flocked in from other points wanting the Fathers [also].

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores and his companions had begun to learn the Chamorro language from a Filipino who had lived in the Ladrones, following the shipwreck of the *Concepción* in 1638 (see Doc. 1668I); this Filipino had come with Fr. Sanvitores from Manila, to serve as an interpreter and catechist.

That same day a happy beginning was given to the baptisms of the children, which brought about semi-parental relationships between the poor Marianos and, not only the Captain and commander, but also other officers and passengers of the galleon, on account of holy baptism by which they became god-parents, something pleasing to the souls of those who went ashore. Meanwhile, many of the islanders would take their infants to the ship itself to seek the relationship and friendship of the people of God. There stayed in the islands five priests and one student brother, whom the natives welcomed with special joy and delight, by holding various dances and festivities in their fashion and by offering them as much food as their poverty allowed, with other demonstrations of welcome in which they showed the pleasure with which they welcomed them. This pleasure was general in all the islands, through which the Father spread out, at the request of the islanders themselves, specially in the Island of Tinian where the leaders were of a haughty nature or serious and proud of their very noble blood; they wished on this account to deal lushly with the Fathers, lodging them in their own houses, and not permitting them to set up their own property, or house in the town. On the day of the glorious St. John, June 24th, the Fathers who had not yet been able to spread out to the rest of the islands due to stormy weather celebrated the feast of the Most Holy, one of them preaching in the native language with a rare delivery, and mass being sung with much solemnity. To this they added many baptisms of young children, as this was the main occupation of the Fathers at the beginning, together with the catechism and the preparation of the adults. So, in the island of Tinian, on the day of our Father St. Ignatius [i.e. 31 July 1668] a solemn baptism took place, in which, following their instruction, all the chiefs and their wives received the water of grace, and were followed by a numerous crowd of children whose cries and noise were the best adornment of a procession that afterwards took place with the relic of our holy Father, with many lights accompanied by some [musical] instruments.

Every day the faith of Jesus Christ was making celestial progress everywhere, when the Devil, envious, tried at first to stop the damage and war being made against him, God permitting that this Mariana mission would not lack in its beginnings the enamel of the primitive churches, watered and fertilized by the blood of their disciples. Satan's choice, in the war by which he tried to destroy this new Christianity, was a Chinese idol-worshipper named Choco; he became the Dacian of these islands and the Diocletian<sup>1</sup> of the new baptism and gospel with a false rumor that he circulated to the effect that the Ministers of the gospel meant to give death to everyone with the holy oils and blessed water with which they baptize and with particular success among the children. This rumor, fanned by the Devil, spread so much that many of the adults refused to be instructed by the Fathers, in whose presence the women would hide their children, sometimes fleeing with them into the bush so as not to expose them to a fearful death. The case got more credit when God allowed the death of some children recently baptized;

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1 Ed. note: Diocletian (245-313 A.D.) was a Roman emperor during whose term (284-305) Christians were persecuted.

this greatly irritated the spirits of the natives and they began to vomit their poison against the ministers of Jesus Christ and his holy baptism. In particular, those of the Island of Seypan, where Choco the idolater had many relatives, decided to give them a violent death; this was found out soon enough when one of the Fathers, while instructing the natives of this island, on the eve of the Assumption of our Lady, 14 August 1668, they furiously threw him a spear which pierced his right calf, although divine Providence that was reserving him for greater enterprises freed him from the danger of death. The next day, he embarked to go back to the Island of Guan. While passing by the Island of Tinian, now Buenavista Mariana, which is next to Saipan where they wounded him, there appeared to a leading man of Tinian, who had a short time earlier been baptized by the Father, a very beautiful Lady who told him the following words: "Why do you let the Father pass. Why do you not treat him?"

This impious rumor of the Chinese barbarian caused numberless other hardships to the Ministers of the gospel. On this account they saw themselves being persecuted, insulted, and not rarely beaten with sticks and in danger of being drowned by the natives, either on their own, or by the Devil through them, when passing from one island to another. At every turn, they were stoned and confronted with spears pointed at their chests, specially when walking through the wooded hills in search of the Mariano fugitives and the children they were hiding there, but the tricks of the prince of darkness did not prevail against the light of the gospel, because the zealous Fathers had experienced the protection of the divine piety that made them come out safe from so many known risks and, trusting in divine grace, they overcame greater dangers, and thus continued to obtain much fruit in baptisms. For instance, there were many who discovered that they had been tricked by Choco the idolater and sought baptism, whole towns even. After the Fathers had preached to them and instructed them, they were saying: "Can these people who are teaching us things so beneficial to the salvation of our souls wish us evil, and try to kill us? That is not possible," and so they happily embraced the catholic truth. In spite of the enemy of the human race, as of June 17, the day of the entrance, until 21 April 1669, not a full year, there were reduced to the fold of the Holy Church eleven islands with 13,289 baptisms, out of fewer than 20,000 cathecumens. Among the baptized, there were more than 50 old people over 100 years old and some over 120 years old, and over 100 infants who died soon after baptism and presented themselves to the celestial table as the first offerings of the new Mariana fruits; and some by special ways and providence of the Lord.

The conversion of Choco the idolater himself was no less a triumph of the faith and confusion for the Devil. The Ven. Fr. San Vitores converted the said Choco, instructed him and baptized him with a rare prodigy. He had published throughout the islands that the Fathers were killing with the holy oils, killing the children with baptismal water, specially the most tender ones. He had added later that the adults who escaped death would suffer disfigurement and painful chronic illnesses, becoming bald, lame, crippled, and other qualificatives in a similar vein. This man came by himself to ask for baptism, retracting himself and repudiating all his falsehoods in front of the Marianos.

The latter cheered and made jokes about this fables, undeceived as they were already with the experience that the water of life did not give death. Although the Fathers were suspicious of his earnestness, they administered baptism to the said idolater as the main part of the satisfaction and remedy of the said damage and they named him Ignacio. As a result the said death rumor abated somewhat in the Island of San Juan, where he was baptized, but not so much in the other islands, where the first rumor was published more and believed more than the second one.

**[The apparitions of the Virgin in Tinian]**

In connection with this change in and baptism of Choco, it would be well to refer to a marvellous vision, as both events were specially examined by the Fathers. This vision occurred to an Indian named Ignacio Ipapa, a native of the town of Sunjaron, now called Immaculate Conception, in the Island of Buenavista Mariana. In dreams, although the said Ignacio confesses it was while awake, the apparition took place on the night of August 17th, [feast-day] of the Most Holy Virgin, in the shape that is venerated in Guadalupe in Mexico, [whose image] the Fathers had decently placed in an oratory facing the house of the said Indian, except that, instead of being joined as in the image of the Immaculate Conception, her hands were busy with two children who appeared to be feeding at her breast. Apart from that, there were eight other children, older ones, who at the feet of the Virgin pulled a dog tied by a cord with eight branches, the dog nevertheless offering resistance and barking. The circumstances that intervened made this vision plausible. Indeed, at most [this was a sign that] the infernal Cerberus was proud of the barkings of his Minister Choco against holy baptism, of the wounding of the Father in Seipan and the death given to two of his lay companions at sea off Tinian, and it seems that the Most Holy Virgin ordered him tied up, at the prayers of the Mariana children who were in heaven, or in school learning the Christian doctrine. At least, the effect that happened next was that the Chinese idolater, the prime mover of the persecution, came to give himself up and to ask for himself the baptism which he was denying for the others. He was baptized on 20 August, after three days of debate held with him, beginning that same day, 17 August. This vision has no little consonance with another that took place 30 years<sup>1</sup> before at the time of the shipwreck of the galleon **Concepcion** at the same island,<sup>1</sup> and it was once again confirmed, that the Most Holy Virgin had appeared to an Indian named Taga exhorting him to be baptized and to help the shipwrecked Spaniards, giving them a canoe so that they would go back to their country and bring some Fathers who would teach them the way to

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1 Ed. note; This is a supposition by Fr. Ledesma. The shipwreck did not occur at the same island, but at Aginguan Beach, Saipan Island.

heaven. The said Indian executed everything, being baptized at the hand of Marcos Fernandez, a Spaniard from that shipwreck, and he gave them a canoe through a brother of his on the Island of Guan. The memories of everything are still fresh in the town of Chiro,<sup>1</sup> now called San Vicente Ferrer, where the man who inherited the house [of Taga] has preserved the last name of Corcuera, which had been given to the said Taga in honor of the man who was then Governor of the Philippines.

**[The miracle of 1 December 1668]**

Many other favors and effects of divine Providence have been experienced, very extraordinary and supernatural, in some cases miraculous. They served mainly to give the lie to Choco's calumnies against holy baptism and confirmed the Marianos in the faith. One of the most noteworthy examples occurred in the town of Fuuña in the Island of Santa Ana and residence of San Francisco Xavier,<sup>2</sup> where a three-month-old child was resuscitated. With cruel piety, his parents, convinced as they had been by Choco's rumor, had hidden him so that he would not receive the grace of baptism, and so he died without it. He had remained six hours without any vital breath, stiff, cold and anointed with oil, which is the shroud they give to the corpses before burying them, when one of the Fathers took him in his hands, asking God with loving tears through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin and the glorious Apostle St. Francis Xavier for the life and salvation of that innocent, to whom he offered to give the name of Xavier. Wishing to recite the prayer of this saint: *Deus qui Indiarum gentes, &c.*<sup>3</sup> he began three times without being able to remember [the first] half of it, so he made up for it by using that of St. Francis Xavier, in the following manner: *Deus, qui ad majorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam, novo per beatum Ignatium subsidio militantem Ecclesiam roborasti:*<sup>4</sup> *concede ut cujus gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla. Finally, in the presence of the whole town the child revived, first giving some slight signs of life with the beating of his heart and the movement of his hand on that side, upon which the Father baptized him sub conditione*[conditionally] *in case he were alive, but when the said signs ceased, the Father repeated his prayers and the crea-*

- 1 Ed. note: Chiro, which corresponds to Chelo in modern Chamorro, means Brother. The location of this town cannot be easily reconstructed. Since its inhabitants took an active part in the rescue of the survivors of the Concepción shipwreck, it could have been in sight of the southwest corner of Saipan, perhaps on the NE coast of Tinian, sharing a beach with Segua, just south of Segua, or Asiga, Point.
- 2 Ed. note: This place may have been located on the SE coast of Rota (see Bryan's Place Names, MI14-14). The residence, or parish, of St. Francis Xavier covered the eastern half of the island, with its seat located at Agusan soon after (see Doc. 1683K & L).
- 3 Ed. note: This is the official prayer appearing in a Catholic missal, for December 3rd: "Deus, qui Indiarum gentes beati Francisci prædicatione, & miraculis Ecclesiæ tuæ agregare voluisti: **concede propitius, ut cujus gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla. Per Dominum &c.**"
- 4 Ed. note: This is the prayer which appears in the missal, for July 31st. The second half is properly thus: "Concede, ut ejus auxilio, & imitatione certantes in teris, coronari cum ipso mereamur in cælis. Qui vivis, &c."

ture recovered the spirit he had lost and the color of blood, moved his whole body, opened his eyes, and began to cry. His tears make everyone present shed tears of happiness, and also of shame, disenchanted as they were, since baptism did not kill, but rather give life. Baptism was once again administered under a new condition to the said child, [but] within 10 days of his new life, he flew to the eternal one, on 10 December, the octave of the feast of St. Francis Xavier.

With another similar event God confirmed the efficiency of baptism in Tumadrigo [i.e. Sumarrago], a town in the Island of Agrigan, now called St. [Francis] Xavier, where they brought a one-year-old girl to the Father, with so few signs of life that the priest began to fear that she might be completely dead; so, he baptized her conditionally, while applying a relic of our Father St. Ignatius, whose name he promised to give to the baby, if she lived. Upon pouring the water upon her, she was resuscitated by it, showing a marked difference in appearance and natural color than she lacked before; so, the Father baptized her again under a new condition. God kept the baby girl, now named Ignacia, alive until the following morning when He improved it with eternal life.

#### **[Nisihan, December 1668]**

No less wonderful than the resurrection of the dead was the triumph experienced in the conversion of Nisihan, a town full of Choco's partisans in the Island of Guan, whose obstinacy had not been overcome the three previous times that the Fathers had tried it, until the feast day of the holy Apostle of the Indies arrived. One of the Fathers<sup>1</sup> had gone to the said town before and had been paid for his ministry with two wounds on the head and forehead, so that he was particularly moved to insist on the conversion of the said town. Commending himself to the Most Holy Virgin and to her holy Apostle Xavier, whose name he promised to bestow upon the town, he continued with his supplication until the octave of the feast day of the saint, i.e. 10 December [1668], when, after he had said the Saint's mass for this purpose, he arrived at the town, whose natives were suddenly moved to listen to his preaching and the Christian doctrine gratefully. They all embraced the faith, and they were baptized on the octave of Immaculate Conception [i.e. 15 December 1668].

In Tumbon [rather Tumhon], a town of this island of Seipan, where the Devil had retrenched himself, thanks to the rumor of Choco, his Minister, in such a way that there was no adult who would listen to the gospel preaching, a Father met with a woman possessed by the devil. He invoked the Most Holy Virgin, and her husband St. Joseph, while applying the relics of our glorious Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, and thus chased the bad spirit away.

Among other cases that the Lord offered to give a lie to Choco's rumor in this obstinate island, one was diametrically opposite to it. It happened in the town of Opián [Obian], now Assumpcion, where, by means of baptism, a paralytic woman who was

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1 Ed. not: Note in margin: The Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina.

totally disabled and had an increasingly worse fever received perfect health and suddenly recovered the complete use of her limbs.

In the of Muchon,<sup>1</sup> now called St. Francis Xavier, in the Island of Santa Ana, commonly called Zarpana, a man named Francisco Nufa had almost died twice already of a long and dangerous sickness, and both times he was cured completely and suddenly upon the application of a medal of the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier.

In Opraio, a town on the Island of Agrigan, now St. Xavier, a woman had been suffering the terrible pains of childbirth, and no less difficulty, for one and a half days. The Father applied to her some letters that he had, signed by the hand of our Fr. St. Ignatius, and an engraving of the same saint.<sup>2</sup> She gave birth at once to a baby girl and the mother asked that she be given the name Ignacia.

One of the Fathers was in the town of Agadña on the Island of Guan, there came to see him a married couple from Fuuña with an eight-month-old child suffering from dropsy, of which many die. Since Choco had specifically ascribed [this] illness to holy baptism, and [saying] that when they already had it, it would get worse, his parents had withdrawn the said child, but God having afflicted them with the same illness, which was getting worse, they found no other remedy than the church. they came to beg the Fathers for a remedy, completely excluding holy baptism, because, with a terrible lie, they pretended that the child had already been baptized. The Father<sup>3</sup> applied to him various relics and tried to instruct the child's parents, as they confessed that they themselves had not received baptism; he catequized them and bautized them. However, when the child remained sick, they returned a second time, to confess that the child had not received baptism; the Father administered it, and with it became free of the illness.

In Tarraifat [i.e. Tareifac], a town on the same Island of Guan, a woman lost the ability to talk for five days and found herself unable to receive holy baptism, which she had resisted before on account of Choco's rumors, but when a Father applied to her a relic from the entrails of St. Francis Xavier, while reciting his prayer. The sick one became like herself again and spoke distinctly when repeating the words of the Act of Contrition that the Father was saying to her. She asked twice for baptism, answering clearly to the rest of the instruction and, having received it, lost the faculty to talk once more.

In Piggug, a town on the same island, now called Triumph of the Holy Cross because it had been reduced on its feast day, 16 July 1668, with special victory of the Holy Cross, by the burning before it a goodly number of idols or figures representing their ancestors, whose veneration had been introduced, it seems, by Choco the idolater, one

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- 1 Ed. note: Mochon, or Muchong, still exists as a place name on the NE corner of Rota (see Bryan's Place Names, MI 14-4 & 5). The parish center had been moved from here to nearby Agusan by 1682.
  - 2 Ed. note: Many of these engravings had been printed in Mexico by Fr. Sanvitores and taken to the Marianas in 1668 (see Doc. 1669B).
  - 3 Ed. note: Note in Margin: Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina.



of the Fathers then found a woman over 100 years old, totally deaf, who had been hidden by her relatives during the first visits of the Father. The latter applied a relic of the Holy Cross, reciting at the same time the prayer to the glorious St. Joseph, whose day it was.<sup>1</sup> The old woman gave a sign of hearing so that she was able to answer to the essentials of the Instruction for Holy Baptism which she received willingly, and she went on to hear other things said to her by her family who were greatly amazed, as well as others when they learned about it.

I omit the mention of other cases, similar to those already mentioned, with which God has advantaged this his new estate. Neither do I mention various apparitions that the Indians themselves received, mostly from their *Aniti* or demons, from which they have already been freed, either through baptism, or the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin and her beloved husband Joseph, or else by keeping some cross inside their houses. Not a few times, it was sufficient to have, written on a piece of paper, the names of our Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, which the demons themselves were confessing to detest. This was seen quite clearly on one occasion in which an *Aniti* named Fanyao was haunting a house. A Father came by this house and left in a well concealed place a piece of paper on which were written the names of our glorious Fathers. When he returned a short time later, they told him that they had thrown it out of there because Fanyao detested it.

Well, with the encouragement of divine piety through such heavenly patrons, the Fathers continued their missions with renewed joy. Those who shine the most in sincerely embracing the things concerning the faith were the youth and the children; they quickly learned in two languages the questions [of the catechism] and the prayers, signing them with the Fathers as they went from one town to another, where they held contests with one another on their knowledge of the doctrine.

Besides the eleven islands already mentioned, two other were added further north, the zeal of the Fathers having overcome the real difficulty that existed in reaching them with the light craft of the Marianos. In those thirteen islands the number of baptized reached 30,000 by the year 1671, counting adults and babies, besides the 13,000 mentioned in the first year.<sup>2</sup> In achieving this result, divine providence also continued its favors with particular wonders that the missionaries experienced as well as the natives themselves through the Most Holy Virgin, and the other patron saints of the islands and towns in them, in very specific risks. For instance, a missionary who found himself with his life in danger, saw himself suddenly saved, only by invoking the name of St. Francis Xavier. On another occasion, the risk was a painful attack of kidney stones; he implored the favor of his saint and then saw himself well again. At other times, when the same accident would happen, it was sufficient for him to think of St. Xavier and instantly the pain would cease. When the relic of the holy Apostle was applied to dying

1 Ed. note: In other words, it was then 19 March 1669.

2 Ed. note: It was soon admitted, even by Jesuits, that there had been some double-counting. So, these numbers give an inflated view of the population at the time of conquest.

man with a rotten arm,<sup>1</sup> he was found the next morning to be in full health. The same thing happened to a woman with a known risk, when a cross on which was engraved the name of the same St. Francis Xavier was applied to her.

To shorten this narrative, I skip over the many other favors and providences of the Lord, not a few of which have been experienced at every step these past years, not the least of which has been the good health of the ministers in the midst of so many hardships, the consolation in the midst of so many drownings and dangers, and in seas where crossings of over 20 leagues from one island to another make the risk very notorious aboard the small craft, the widest of which is not more than 3 to 4 palms, with only one board to serve as a deck, midship-gangway and poop, without no shelter other than the open sky, and when it becomes angry<sup>2</sup> the danger on the beaches and inland hills increases readily, with the ambushes and the bad treatments mentioned earlier. Many times necessity reduced the clothing worn to a frock made of palm mat, with a hat and sandals of the same material. Food came from the fruits in the bush, the local root crops and coconuts; whenever a little rice was found, it was considered a delicacy, and so too some fish simply boiled in water. It was not rare for hunger pangs to be felt, for lack of food supplies on the long journies, with the repeated downpours, with the legs made bloody by the hidden rocks and common reed-grass, but amid such a penury of things, the interior happiness and contentment were such that they would not trade them in for all the comforts in the world.

**[The Tinian War and peace-making]**

**The devil being enraged by the fruit that the missionaries were collected with full hands in spite of so many hardships. He tried by various ways to disturb the peaceful possession of the new vineyard of the Church. One of the most notorious was to incite such an intense war among the natives of Buenavista Mariana, the proudest people and presumed to be of the highest blood in all the islands. During over four months of repeated battles and various deaths of the most distinguished leaders on either side, the burning of their houses, destruction of their plantations, and the great disturbance of the gospel plantation as well, the Fathers could not pacify the hearts, though they used every means possible, such as calm persuasion, promises, and even threats. However, when it seems as if there was no remedy left, divine providence came to the rescue with a very effective means to accomplish this difficult enterprise and pacification, which consisted in only ten lay companions who had come with the mission. Armed with only three muskets and a small field-piece, they placed themselves between the two camps, into which the whole island had divided, and they served them notice that the first side that would try to fight would get the punishment they deserved. Just to threaten to use these weapons against one side or the other**

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1 Ed. note: Leprosy was then prevalent in the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: A play on words, since sky and heaven is one and the same word in Spanish.

was enough to make them stop their bloody fights, given the natural fear of these people for firearms. The most prominent leaders of both sides came together and they negotiated a peace agreement. To commemorate it, there was then raised in the middle of the battlefield a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Peace. Our people made use of this chapel as a fort or fortified place, the better to secure the peace agreement, but when it seemed as if the end of such a long and hard-fought war had come to an end, it was then that the Devil tried his best effort, not only against the natives, but also against the few of our men who were trying to settle the disagreements through peace, because, after two months that had seen one death inflicted outside the field by one side and the burning of a town by those of the other side, the battle again flared in sight of our fort and chapel of Our Lady of Peace, where there remained only eight men at that particular time with only two muskets and the field-piece. When the main military leader of one side suddenly attacked it, intending to capture the firearms which were the only things they feared, the field-piece was fired by our side and it caused death; the other weapons affected two of those who had dared to come nearer, among whom was the leader in question who remained badly wounded. The explosion sound made by the piece caused most of those barbarians to hit the ground, so frightened by fear and out of breath they were that they did not try to use their weapons against our people, or their enemies. They could not even use their feet to reach safety and so they remained for a long time spread out in the middle of the battlefield, paralyzed by fear. That is how the battle ended. The barbarians did not dare to make open war after that, although there was no lack of flashes, not only between the natives, but also against our people, whom they tried at various times to poison, but without any effect whatever, something admitted by the adversaries, and attributed by our people to the special protection of the Most Holy Virgin and our glorious Apostle St. Francis Xavier, whose miraculous image of Zamboanga, already accustomed to such fights and victories never left its post and office in our fort and squadron.

**[The final days of Fr. Medina]**

When the Devil saw his first attempt frustrated, he decided a second one in the two neighboring islands of Saipan and Anatahan [=Anatahan]. He revived in them the fire and fatal rumor that Choco the idolater had spread at the beginning against holy baptism. The people there had given more credence to such an impious calumny, and were awaiting an opportunity of vomiting the poison of their malice against the gospel ministers. Thus, when the zealous Fr. Luis de Medina was criss-crossing the islands [sic] of Saipan, he met with the deserved prize for his untiring zeal, that is, the crown of martyrdom [in January 1670]. After the pacification of Buenavista Mariana, which was his responsibility, he pursued his missions in the Island of Saipan, which was also under his care. He began his ministry with the towns that had not been visited for the longer time; that is where the most infected and opposed to Christian customs were living, and

those with the most guilty malice. Well then, most of the adults there were already Christians, [but] they refused specifically the baptism of their children, since they could have been led to believe that so many children and adults in their island still enjoyed life. Over 6,000 had been baptized earlier (many of them had since died of their ordinary diseases), either because they had heard of Choco's retractation and baptism, or finally by the miracles that God had arranged in that island, the better to justify His cause. However, it seems that this first light stopped shining; so, they were persecuting Fr. Luis, their gospel minister, as soon as he set foot in Seipan, with repeated insults and continuous abuses, which the Father always suffered with particular patience and serenity of spirit.

In **Arrayao**, the first town he visited, when the Father was looking for a child they had taken away, although he did not find it, many stones did make their mark. In **Tatafu**<sup>1</sup> he baptized many and instructed the town people with a pleasurable result and acceptance of the word of God. However, leaving that place he found in other towns that he met along the way his good payment in the form of verbal abuses; he was called a killer of children and a sower of lies.<sup>2</sup> On the hill at **Sugrian**, where he was looking for children, he was told that their mothers had taken them down to the beach. When he went down, many Indians followed him and force him to hurry downhill. When the Father had already arrived at Tipo Beach, he was asking for a recently-born child to baptize, when they surrounded him and joined in to declare openly against the Father, saying that he came only to kill their babies, and that what he was telling them about baptism being the way to heaven was a trick and that our Lord God was a liar and bad, with other similar blasphemies. They would have executed the bad deed that they were already threatening to use against him, had not the town of **Raurau** been so near. Indeed, the residents of Raurau, not so perverted then, had come out to meet him. They invited him to spend the night in their town, where the Father found another stumbling block, or a step toward his good luck, because in the house of the chief who was his host there were some [wooden] figures that they usually placed on the burial grounds, with some superstition involved, something at least akin to idol-worship. The zealous Father, after he had instructed them, said that he would not spend the night in that house, unless they removed from it those figures that they had placed there with some veneration. They showed they were greatly disturbed by this [request], saying that they were their gods (although they had not called them by such a name before, it seems that the light of the faith had made them more blind), but at his insistence they removed them.

The next day, 29 January [1670], Fr. Luis went out to pursue his mission in the towns above the cliff, which he had not yet visited, but he could not shake loose various *Uritao* or free lads, the ordinary assassins and executors of evil deeds in the towns; they

1 Ed. note: Not Fatani, as wrongly transcribed in MARC WP#14. Tatafu, rather Tatachu, was visited after Arrayao, and before Sugrian; its location may correspond to San Vicente today (see my reconstructed map of Saipan in 1684, Doc. 1684B.

2 Ed. note: The word "embustes" in Spanish could be taken figuratively to mean "baubles, trinkets".

did not cease to pursue him along the way with an ample battery of blasphemies against God and verbal abuses against the Father and two companions, born in the Philippines, whom he had brought along, until they arrived at the town of **Cao**. The Father was walking from house to house, as St. Francis Xavier had done, looking for children, so as not to leave without remedy anyone who would be at risk. Suddenly, over 30 armed men carrying spears surrounded him. Shouting the horrendous blasphemies, they threw one spear against the Father, and another against one of his companions who was leading the march. The latter's name was Hipolito de la Cruz, born in the Visayas; as he had been the main companion of the Father during the hard work [of the conversion] at Tinian and the difficult period of the war there, so it was that he came to receive the reward and major prize that God reserves in this life for His chosen ones. They left the other companion, named Agustin de la Cruz, alive and he undertook to return to Buenavista to bring the news to the other Fathers and to make an eyewitness report of the said circumstances. Besides the common saying and fame throughout the island, there were convened over 20 persons from the same island of Seipan, and other witnesses who give depositions in Saipan before Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, chief of the men who escorted the Fathers.

The blessed Father was finally wounded by the first spear which lodged between his shoulders. He did not fall yet; rather, with his former serenity and peaceful step, and with the spear still planted, he pursued his voyage in search of more children to baptize. He was heard to say no other words than Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, Mary, and he beat his chest in repentance until more spears were thrown, that made him fall down to the ground. The natives say that twice he got up, or sat up, talking with God and with a cross that he had carried on his chest, which he got hold of after they removed from his hand another cross that he carried at the end of a walking stick, which he was used to take along on his missions; they had violently grabbed this one from him and thrown its broken pieces all over those fields. Well then, when the said stick with cross went missing, the zealous Father took hold of the one that he carried on his chest, lifted it from his chest in view of those barbarians and calling to the Lord, whose image and that of the Most Holy Virgin were engraved on it, with such affection that it made the tyrannical murderers withdraw with fright, fearing, as they themselves confessed, that God would come at his call, but the Father calmed them down, exhorting them to repent from their sin and to return to God whom they had offended, so that He might pardon them, as he himself forgave them. This deed and these words moved the minds of some of them, to a special respect and veneration of the Father, calling him *Macanna*. This is marvellous, and as they say themselves, he had resuscitated to talk to them and to talk with God. As he turned again to talk to the holy Crucifix, one of those barbarians became tired of the colloquy lasting so long, and he wounded him with the last blow with a spear into the throat. This way, the lucky swan and gospel preacher gave out his last voice of praise and confession to the Lord, who had chosen him for His glory to cultivate the Mariana fields and take part in the first act of preaching there.

After Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz had carried out the first summary investigation in the Island of Seipan, he returned to the same island afterwards with nine other companions, with the intention of not sparing any means to take the body of the said Fr. Luis from the power of those gentiles and apostates. He landed at Opian on 24 April and directed his voyage toward the towns of Raurau and Cao. Their fearful residents came forward to meet him, carrying the body of the said Father and that of his lucky companion, Hipolito, which they offered to the said Captain, recognizing their fault with great shows of sorrow and fear, adding that, since they learned that he was to come for the body (that is, since the first investigation that the Captain had carried out 15 days before) they had not been able to calm down, having visions, not only when they were half asleep but also when they were fully awake, seeing many *Guirragos* (so they call the Spaniards and foreigners), some dressed like the Fathers and other like the lay Captain, who were coming to their towns and causing them much fear. Perhaps it was the fear that caused them to see such apparitions. In any case, they all gave themselves up to the Captain, delivering at the same time the weapons they carried. The Captain calmed them down, telling them that, as a result of the action they had taken and the reverence they showed toward the corpse of the blessed Father, which he received with the greatest formalities possible, as planned, such as clarion and songs of the Christian doctrine, he was not going to punish them right there, as their sins deserved to be, nor would he burn down their town, although I could not resist going there in order to put up the standard of the holy Cross upon the burial ground and places where they had taken the life of the Father and of his companion, Hipolito. So it was that no opposition was made, when this land formerly sterile and since watered with the blood of the blessed martyr began to bear fruit, by letting itself be watered with the water of baptism. On that occasion, two children of tender age and even tender health were baptized; one in the town of Cao, and the other in that of Raurau, without any resistance, but instead at the invitation of their own parents, who brought along the water itself, which was poured by one of the companions well taught how to act on such occasions.

One of the favors of the Lord was to bring to an immediate conclusion and complete knowledge the proof of the martyrdom of the lucky Fr. Luis de Medina, because, in addition to the summary investigations carried out on two occasions by the Captain, who was also the Fiscal Major of the Lord Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus of the City of Cebu, to whose diocese the Mariana Islands belonged, confirmed as it were by 17 witnesses from that very town of Cao the cause and circumstances surrounding the death of Fr. Luis in hate for holy baptism and gospel preaching, there was another [proof] provided by the very mouth of the killer, a man named Poyo, and his main accomplice, named Daon. The said Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz arrested both of them, as he was accompanied by only nine men. Over 150 men in this band of delinquents did not dare to offer any resistance. He brought them in canoes to the island of Tinian, where in the presence of the Superior of the Mariana Mission, and another Father who took the place and authority of Vicar General given by his Most Illustrious Lordship, Fray Juan Lopez, Bishop of the said diocese, they confessed that in the

town of Cao, they had given death to Fr. Luis, the reason for killing the Father being that: *pumarroyi sinor satapangui famagor*,<sup>1</sup> the formal words from the mouth of the killer himself, Poyo, with which Daon, his accomplice, concurred, that is to say that the Father “spilled diseases with the water that he poured on the children.” They said also that those of Raurau had taunted those of Sugrian, when the Father insisted on baptizing a child at Tipo Beach, and that is why they held a big grudge against him, and wanted to kill him.

**[The death of Lorenzo, the man from India, in Anatahan]**

**The third person, who at the cost of his life obtained the eternal one in such a just cause, was on the Christians who had remained in the islands since the shipwreck of the galleon Concepción in 1638, was named Lorenzo. He was a native of Malabar and had been associated with the companions of the Fathers. While visiting one of the towns on the Island of Anatayan [rather Anatahan], to see if there were any sick child to baptize, he found the prize for his good zeal. Some Indians were irritated because a recently-baptized child had died a few days earlier; they gave him such a cruel death that, not content with giving him repeated wounds, they went on to pull out his eyes and to bury him in a public cesspool, a good testimonial of their blind and obstinate hate for holy baptism.**

**[Rebellion in Guam in 1671]**

The ministry of this new Christian community had begun peacefully, as well as exposed to the risks that may be foreseen when lambs are among wolves. It was pursued with no less admirable providence than with a variety of outcomes, either in the happy sowing and first acceptance of the gospel seed with an assured harvest of babies, or in the overseeding of discord by the Chinese idolater against holy baptism, or even in the cultivation and irrigation by sweat and blood of the workers, with the addition of divine grace and especially the works of the Lord in confirmation of His holy Faith, or else in the adversities and bad correspondence of the barbarians, whose treacherous and feigned dealings have been well recorded over a period of three years with such experiences, without any reaction on the part of our people to make an abusive show of weaponry, or threats out of revenge or sorrow for the injuries done to the Fathers and other companions. Rather, they were invited peacefully and offered pardon, in order to give them one more exemple of Christian charity. When the Devil recognized that this peace was our way of preventing his war against us, he tried to go one better and finish once and for all with all the gospel ministers and their companions in the Island of San Juan and its town of San Ignacio de Agaña, the main residence of this mission.

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1 Ed. note: Bad transcription, I think. In Doc. 1670B this reads: “Pumurróyi sinor sa tapanği famagon.”

The beginning and occasion for it was that a companion of the Fathers, named José de Peralta and a native of Puebla de los Angeles, went alone into the bush to cut wood to make crosses with, in order to distribute them among the houses of the new Christians. When he failed to return, they went out to look for him and found him dead, bathing in his own blood, caused by the 18 wounds that the aggressor had given him. The case caused much sorrow in the chests of the Spaniards and other companions of the Fathers and obliged them to make the necessary investigation and to arrest some Marianos who appeared the most suspect. However, since insufficient proof was found, they were all given their freedom back. The minds of the barbarians were irritated by these arrests, and law and order, proclaiming their former impunity for similar crimes, and excited again by the death of a chief who had offered resistance and had attacked the Spaniards on the occasion of one of those arrests, 32 towns, including that of Agaña, joined in a conspiracy. The rest of the island remained neutral, with only one exception, the family of a good Indian named Ayihi that declared its fidelity to the Spanish Christians. Ayihi exposed himself to many and very well-known dangers, serving as a spy and bringing in some food at the peak of the troubles, and very important advice.

Recognizing that the diabolical intentions of the conspirators were to finish once and for all with the Spaniards and the Fathers, who happened to find themselves together at the said residence, except one Father and a few other laymen, our people tried to enclose the church and house with a stockade made of logs, as fast as possible on account of the expected event. They built two small towers to accommodate two small field-pieces that had come from the remains of two vessels that had been shipwrecked in the islands. However, in order to render the cause of God more just, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores tried to obtain by entreaty from the Spaniards that the good of christianity be placed ahead of their honor and the mark that the barbarians might score in their effort, trying to reconcile the two sides with a peaceful measure, forgetting about the just revenge for insults received. This peace did take place with the greatest of earnestness and means used by the barbarians themselves, whenever they find themselves harassed and overcome by their enemies, which consists in sending turtle shells which they esteem very much and which they use to reach peace agreements. They sent as many such shells that their covetousness, and the sticky hands of the go-betweens, demanded, all at one time, in such a quantity that it would have been enough for the others to settle ten similar peace arrangements with. However, what was Christian piety was interpreted by the barbarians as slackness and cowardice, and after having received the shells through trickery, they became thus more insolent, not only against the Spaniards, branding them as cowards, but also against the image of the true peace-maker, Jesus Christ crucified, against whose cross they aimed their stones and spears, as one of the Fathers was offering peace with it.

Well then, up to 2,000 armed barbarians had gathered to attack our people, whose number was reduced to 12 Spaniards and 19 Indians from the Philippines. The latter repelled with valor, not only the first attack that occurred at about 11 September, but the rest of the continuous attacks that followed during a period of 40 days, either as di-



rect attacks in the open, or as ambushes, or with various artifices, using a stockage which they build similar to ours and facing it. From there, they were taking turns to pelt our people, day and night, not permitting a moment of respite, and making use also of fire which they tied to their spears and stones, throwing them repeatedly upon the roof of the church and house, made of palm leaves, a material very apt to catch fire, but divine providence did not allow the voracious element to ever attack his temple, and even less the place of residence of his missionaries. As a proof and demonstration of his assistance, on the day following the feast-day of the glorious archangel St. Michael,<sup>1</sup> there was found on the roof of the church a bone left from a spear that had burned; as they threw it, the part where they had tied the coir or cord that burned had broken into two pieces which burned upon the leaves of the roof itself, without one leaf being burned. The Spanish had implored the assistance of the glorious Archangel on the eve of his feast-day and obliged themselves with a vow to invoke him every evenings for the period of one year and to offer through him one high mass at the end of the war, for the victory that was expected with his assistance and to dedicate to his name the first fort of the King our Lord that would be built for the purpose on the islands.<sup>2</sup> His favor was felt not only in the above-mentioned event, but also in a new vigor felt by the soldiers after this vow, and the properous outcomes during the course of the war.

As a confirmation of the special favor consisting of the fire not having caught in a material so flammable, among other fire spears which they threw afterwards, one was seen to come and hit the house of a chief named Hurao; it caught fire so quickly and burned so furiously that it was feared with reason that it might not [sic] spread much. Our people being left without the human means to extinguish the fire, they invoked the Angel and right after the shout made by one of the Fathers<sup>3</sup> who acted also as one of the sentinels, and with him the rest of the camp: "San Miguel *uchan*," which means rain, in order to inspire the Lord with a shout in the local language so that the incendiaries themselves might become witnesses of the quick favor from heaven, the weather being fine, all of a sudden there came a shower so timely that it prevented damage to us but let the house of the said Hurao burn down. Our people had wished to remove this house before, because its vicinity might prove a disadvantage to us, and they had not done so in order to avoid all signs of violence and hostility, such as they might also have carried out easily by burning the houses of the ungrateful people of Agatña and of other enemies who were the ones wishing to burn down ours.

However, God our Lord took upon Himself the need for justice and revenge, which our people left entirely to Him. He began by taking out His armory the winds, typhoons and storms to punish the stubborn obstinacy of the barbarians, the crucible and proving ground of His chosen ones. Thus, in the middle of the war, on 8 October, there arose one of the most furious hurricane that these islands had ever seen, which suddenly

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1 Ed. note: Michaelmas Day is celebrated on September 29.

2 Ed. note: The latter promise was not kept, because the first royal fort was named for Our Lady of Guadalupe (see Doc. 1683M).

3 Note in margin: Ven. Fr. San Vitores.

brought down almost all the houses in the town of Agatña and in most of the others in the island. It made a special target of those who had been prominent in the conspiracy, as the barbarians themselves noticed. Along with the houses, the trees whose fruits they use as food were also destroyed. The fury of the winds which lasted the space of 24 hours brought down, among other destructions, our church and house, while some of our people were inside, but without causing them any physical harm, so that the loving providence of the Lord would still be seen, even at times when He was most angry, He did not wish to spare His own house and temple. Amid the ruins of the church, there occurred a case worth noting, which was that a post fell upon the shoulders of the statue of St. Francis Xavier. The Saint remained upright, but somewhat leaning forward, in such a manner that it managed to prop up part of the rods and beams enough to form an empty space where the Fathers might say mass as always, something they had not stopped doing during the whole of the blockade. Meanwhile, the rabid Devil aimed his battery against this heavenly defence, by having the barbarians shoot their stones, but without any effect or harm, although there was one stone that hit during mass, after the Lord had been consecrated. As soon as the chant of the holy altar was about finished, a stone arrived with great force right next to the head of the priest, at the moment he was saying: "*Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.*"<sup>1</sup>

The barbarians took advantage of the situation, as it seemed to them that the powder would be wet and our weapons useless, on account of the water from the sky and the sea which had soaked everything in the camp. They gathered from everywhere to take part in the plunder and victory which they thought certain, seeing that our people were without of house, without spots to fight from; everything was destroyed, and even one tower was leaning, so that it was not useable. They attacked, throwing their stones and spears, shouting horrible blasphemies again the power of our God and Lord, in such a way that one of their *Macanas* or tricksters, dared to shout the words, which were heard by our people amid the shouting of their disturbance: that he was God, and more powerful than the God of the Christians, since the house of our God had fallen down, and his own house had not fallen. Nevertheless, this did not make the Spaniards and other companions faint; they always carried their weapons in the hand and took care to watch over the powder, to repair what had been damaged in the tower and to build some kind of shelter with the materials from the ruins. They put themselves back in fighting shape and defence against the new impulse of the barbarians, to whom they resisted with such spirit that not one [enemy] succeeded in breaking into such a truly-named Plaza de Armas, either by rushing it or on the sly; all the gentiles had to retire well discouraged and ashamed.

However, so that the victory might always be accompanied by all the means and demonstrations of Christian peace and gentleness, which our side needed and pretended to use, freedom was given to a grand chief named Hurao, who had been captured by

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "May the peace of Christ be with you." This prayer precedes the Agnus Dei, near the end of the mass.

our people at the beginning of the disturbance, for having been one of the main instigators of the unjust disturbance. He had asked for this favor and offered to plead for peace if he were released. He was given his freedom, not so much because they expected him to comply with his promise, but to show that on our part no means was spared to achieve it [i.e. peace]. During the imprisonment of this chief, his people had remained neutral, but after he was released, as if a grave injury had been done by giving him freedom, they tried to take revenge by opening hostilities. So, they declared themselves to be in league with the other enemies. They renewed their efforts and continued their attacks, already using new artifices for their defence; indeed, they used the boards of their canoes as a kind of parapets or shields. Under their shelter, they also raise some palisade which encircled ours, trusting the protection of their boards and portable trenches,<sup>1</sup> with which they defended themselves from our fire and attacked with a continuous rain of spears and stones, with such courage that at times they dispatched their spears three at a time, and although our people made a few sorties and destroyed their trenches, both times they put them back up again, and to make them safer, they dedicated them to the Devils, by placing on them the *Babao*<sup>2</sup> of their *Aniti* and skulls; however, our soldiers, armed more with the faith and trust in God than with their defences and preparations, they kept on resisting confidently day and night, with almost no rest and very little food, as they could not go out to look for some, without very serious danger, not so much from the enemies in the open, whom they were always facing, while they showed their backs whenever our people would go out, but from the danger unseen in the ambushes. When the barbarians saw their intended frustrated, they decided to call together all their peoples, and to finish with everyone else once and for all, by attacking on all four sides at once. To this effect, they arranged their portable trenches ashore, carrying them upon their shoulders, as well as on the sea side upon their canoes, adorning them with palm leaves and a large number of skulls and the *babao* of their superstitions. When our people saw this, and that they were being surrounded on all sides by the enemy troops shouting their ordinary yells, they went out to meet them outside of the stockade, fighting in close combat with them with such bravery and effort that in very little time they destroyed, overturned and stepped on their diabolical *babao* or *Aniti* and skulls, cleaned the sea of their canoes and caused all the enemies to flee, with a much different kind of yells, since they were caused by fear and calls for mercy. Withal, the barbarians were left so confused and scared, their haughtiness so humbled, that they completely despaired of being able to accomplish their plans, seeing that our soldiers had such spirit, and their own arms and assaults so useless. So, that same afternoon, and more formally the next day, which was the feast-day of the Eleventhousand Virgins, October 21, they came humble to ask for pardon and the peace which had been offered to them by our people so many times before. Moved by Christian

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1 Ed. note: I imagine that they were carrying the hulls of dismantled canoes, to use as such portable trenches.

2 Marginal note: *Babao*, that is, insignias.

piety, our people condescended to their petition, so that the peace arrangements so long desired were then made; the adversaries began to bring in their wounded so that our people might cure take care of them, while they brought in the food supplies that the fort needed so much.

The number of dead on the enemy side did not exceed five during the course of the war, as a result of either divine mercy, or Christian piety of our soldiers, who only sought to scare them, not to destroy them; not a few times they could have done them much harm, but, as the barbarians themselves noticed, they refused to do so. There was a larger number of wounded, but only among the more daring. The barbarians were not able to kill a single one of our people in such a stubborn fight; only two were wounded during the whole duration of the siege, and these were not wounded during a battle or open war, but by treachery. In both cases, the assistance of divine piety and the efficiency of the prayer of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores were evident.

The first soldier to be wounded was an archer from the Philippines, whose name was Damian. He had been sent out, before the above-mentioned storm, with two other companions to look for some breadfruits, which serve as food or bread. The enemies came out from ambush and attacked them on three sides, wounding the said Damian with three mortal wounds, one on the ears, one in the stomach, and one through the calf; although the enemies were not discovered until after the damage was done, they did not escape free from wounds inflicted by the same Damian who, despite the three spear wounds, fought with spirit and transpierced with an arrow one of the adversaries, giving him a second wound with his machete and, without losing his breath, returned to the fort. He occasioned no little sorrow, there being no hope for his health on account of the three penetrating wounds and the fact that the points of the spears had broken inside. However, the prayers of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, who held him in his arms, and the intercession of St. Francis Xavier and other saints invoked by the wounded man, cured him, more so than the medicines, that were not even suitable, or those who treated him, who were not surgeons, and did not know how to proceed or cut through such dangerous and sensitive places. However, God our Lord showed mercy, so that from only one wound they took out over 20 small pieces of the bone from one spear, and the good Damian recovered his health, only to give his life in such a glorious death, as will be said later.

The second and last one among our people to be wounded by them was Captain Antonio de San Francisco. He was at his guard-post when they a stone hit him that made such an ugly wound on his chest; he lost his breath and without a word fell down upon the ground, not showing any sign of life, as if dead, but the continuous and zealous prayers of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, who was instantly and repeatedly begging God for the health of the said Captain, he regained consciousness and was back at his same post within a few hours.

This war has served to undeceive the barbarians, in that their valor is less than they boasted about before, their *Aniti* not as powerful as they said, the better for the credit and esteem of the power of our God and of the Spanish and Christian name and effort.

So, they have traded their insulting riddles for honorific praises of our God and of the good Christians, with a detailed account of the event which they have incorporated into their stories, reserving the jeer and insulting remarks for those who had deceived and agitated their people for the disturbance.

Once the disturbance had been quieted down through divine favor, and the minds of the Marianos become peaceful, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores decided that the Fathers would go out to pursue their missions. So, he assigned them to various islands and towns, with himself staying in the same Island of San Juan, where the uprising had taken place; he went around it, visiting almost all its towns and, so that the things of our holy faith might take root more permanently, he arranged to have various houses and churches built in various towns on the side facing south, to which he assigned some lay companions who were to be in charge of the fabrics.<sup>1</sup> He determined which towns were located within the boundaries of each church district. A happy beginning was made in everything, now that the distrust had vanished.

#### **[Events leading to the death of Fr. Sanvitores]<sup>2</sup>**

However, the Devil seeing the Great War which with such efficient means was being carried out against him, upset again the feelings of the natives of a town in the interior called **Chuchugo**, inducing them to plan the total ruin of the Fathers and other Spaniards and Filipinos their companions.

They took advantage of the fact that they were isolated from each other and unarmed, ever since they were badly beaten when they attacked them at the time they were united and armed. The first one whom they treacherously assassinated was a young Spaniard from Mexico, named Diego Bazan, whom they stabbed in the stomach and finished up with a fatal wound in the head by striking him with a club, while the said Diego was quite distracted and talking amicably with the same criminals.

The treachery was not known so soon, for the barbarians kept secret this perfidious death in order to spread it among those who were in the town of Agaña [sic] whereto they proceeded that same night with the purpose of putting on fire the stockade and the house of our men. These were warned by the barking of our dogs and took the proper precautions not without risk, to the extent that two of our soldiers were almost wounded by the enemy spears which were hurled very close to them. As soon as the enemy found out that they were discovered and attacked, they fled with such signs of fear that they left behind their spears and other instruments they had prepared for the fire.

Our men tried not to heed the case by covering it up, not to disturb the inhabitants of the town of Agaña, as well as to inform the saintly Father Rector about what happened and to find out the cause of the delay of the said Diego. For that purpose they

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1 Ed. note: The word "fabrica" in Spanish has two meanings; one is workshop, the other has to do with the material side of a local church administration, or vestry.

2 Ed. note: Most of this section has been translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.

sent two companions to the town of **Nissihan**, where at that time was the V. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores. These two companions were joined by another who had been on the way to the town of Agaña to take the discipline in the procession scheduled for the fourth Friday of Lent. The three arrived to notify Father San Vitores of the new assault and at the same time of the unfortunate death of Diego Bazan which they had verified on the way. When His Reverence was informed of this he sent them back to the Residence itself.

On their return the three were ambushed by some twenty barbarians. Against them they defended themselves as long as the arrows lasted, for the two who were natives of the Philippines, and the spears for the other who was a young Spaniard, a native of Puebla de Los Angeles, called Manuel Rangel. They killed one of the enemy, but when they became unarmed they tried to run away and save themselves. Since the barbarians were so many they killed Rangel, while his two companions escaped into the bush. And without the knowledge of each other they both came down to the towns of the shore. There they were killed by those who were provoked by the people living in the interior at Chuchugo. One was called Damián, the same man who was said above to have been cured of three spear wounds, and the other was Nicolás de Figueroa.

Around this time the fervent Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, accompanied by the Visayan youngster called Pedro Calonsor, had gone up to the villages of the interior, which had not been visited for some days. And after having untiringly labored at teaching the doctrine to those barbarians he finally arrived at the village of **Tumbun**. There he found the prize and reward of his indefatigable zeal in a glorious death at the hands of an ungrateful barbarian and tyrannical native called Matapang. He was one who had most benefitted from His Reverence and other Fathers of the Mission. For, besides the fact that he owed him the life of the soul given through the holy baptism, he owed him too that of the body which through him and his prayers he had recovered, for he had been fatally wounded when the Fathers had recently arrived at those Islands. He was a truly cruel and treacherous man, hated even by his own people, because of the many deaths which he had inflicted violently even among his own, for they already count five, without any one having demanded from him an account for them.

The saintly Father Luis, then, went to the house of this man, and asked him if in the village there was someone to baptize. He answered with great scorn and haughtiness saying:

—“Go into my house and baptize a skull which I have in there.”

The Father suffered this shameless sacrilege, telling him with signs of his usual affability:

—“Here, let us assemble the children to teach them the doctrine.”

—“Away with that,” the proud Matapang answered. “I’m already fed up with your teaching.”

And turning to another native called Hirao who had joined the Father, he said:

—“Let us kill him.”

Hirao opposed himself to this invitation saying:

—“No, don’t do such a thing. If you want to kill him, do so later.” To which Matapang replied by taunting him as a coward:

—“Leave me alone, I will kill him myself,” as if to say that much valor was necessary to take the life of a religious, who was unarmed, blind, and without more strength in his whole body than what was communicated to it by his great and fervent spirit, fed by prayer and penitence.

Peeved, then, at having been jeered as a coward, the said Hirao consented to kill the innocent Father, and beginning first with the youthful Visayan they speared him with barbarous inhumanity. The zealous Father upon seeing this took a good-sized holy crucifix which he had hanging from his neck and raising it high he began to preach to them and to reprimand them for their many blasphemies against God. But the barbarians filled with diabolical rage and furor, attacked the Venerable Father. **Matapang wounded him with a spear and his companion Hirao parted his head with a machete.** But he did not die soon and had time to teach them and reprimand them for the great sin they had committed, and exhorted them to contrition. And that they might see that he was dying for the love of that Lord whom he had tried to make them know, and that he was imitating him in the pardon he asked from the eternal Father for them who were killing him, he remained praying a long time for them and begging God’s pardon for them, saying principally to Matapang: “May God have mercy on you.” With this he gave up his spirit to the one who created him for His greater glory and for the good of the innumerable Marianos.

The sacrilegious cruelty of the tyrants was not satisfied with this. They passed on to carry out new sacrilegious cruelties which were to utter many insults and to inflict many blows on the image of the holy crucifix, and, as a final cruelty, to tie a heavy stone on the sacred feet of the dead body and to throw it together with that of his companion into the sea. This is the information that we were able to gather from some Indians concerning the death of this apostolic man, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores. Because of their excitement among the Indians, we were not able to obtain a more formal and legal report on the events of the martyrdom. Our companions judged it prudent not to make any demonstration of our sorrow until the arrival of the ship which we were awaiting. When it arrived we received the help of three new religious, priests of our Society<sup>1</sup> and some companions and arms. We were decided not to leave any stone unturned in order to find out and duly punish the murderers, and to promote with the divine grace the progress of that young Christianity.

It is fitting to close this brief narrative of the deeds and ministries of this religious province of the Philippines with [a description of] some of the many virtues and examples of two of its beloved workers and Mariana martyrs, Fathers Luis de Medina and

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<sup>1</sup> Ed.note: They were the two Belgian priests, Fathers Bouwens and Coomans, and the Italian Fr. San Basilio.

Diego Luis de San Vitores, by which it was made illustrious. So, reserving the narration of the life and martyrdom of such illustrious men and true Jesuits for a longer history book,<sup>1</sup> we will only sketch a few points, in grateful memory of the great works they performed, up to their last and lucky attainment of the crown of eternal bliss, as we piously believe.

**[Extracts from the eulogy of Fr. Medina]**

The most lucky Fr. Luis de Medina was born in the city of Malaga on 3 February 1637, the same year that the galleon **Concepción** was shipwrecked in the Mariana, then Ladrone, Islands.<sup>2</sup> It seems that he showed signs of a tender devotion to the Most Holy Mary from the very womb of his mother. He was to reap special benefit during from her later while preaching and planting the faith of Jesus Christ in those islands, and to fertilize this growth with his blood. Indeed, when his mother was very near childbirth, on 2 February, the day of the Purification of the Most Holy Virgin, she injured her belly, with a manifest risk to the child she bore in her womb. Through the intercession of this sovereign Queen, the child saw the light the next day; he was born lame in one foot and with a stuttering voice, so that he might always speak and walk (so says the grateful Father in a small book he had written, containing various points with which to remonstrate himself toward a greater accomplishment of his obligations) and remember the life that he had received through Mary upon coming into the world. He showed very well the divine providence and special favor from the Queen of the Angels, by taking advantage of this luck for the steps and language of this mundane world; it later gave him such agility in the use of his feet and such facility in the use of his tongue for the ministries of religion that not only in his own country and native language, but also in such remote regions and strange languages where he came to work with so much success in souls in the most apostolic mission fields, for such roads, land and sea voyages, that it seemed as if he did not need any feet, but rather wings to fly and propagate the faith of Jesus Christ among peoples so uncivilized. Right from the crib and even before he was born, our Luis had experienced in Mary the caresses of a mother, and it seems that he managed to get this heavenly Princess to favor him as her son.

...

Once all these oppositions had been overcome, he was received in the Society on 30 April 1656.

...

Once his novitiate was completed, the more he advanced in religion and studies, the more he was strengthening himself with new objectives and vows, all of which he wrote down with his own hand in a long list of points signed with his name. On 2 February [1662], which was the sixth year after his entry in religion, despite the fever and his con-

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1 Ed. note: A book on the life and times of Fr. Sanvitores was written later by Fr. García (see Doc. 1681A); two biographies of Fr. Medina were written, one by Fr. García (Doc. 1670D) and one by Fr. Florencia (Doc. 1670F).

2 Ed. note: It was one and a half years before the shipwreck.



tinuous occupations of his studies, he made a vow to pray every Saturday the small office of Our Lady, etc.

...  
When he was still a student in the College of Cordoba, two religious of our Society happened to pass through, on their way to Seville to join a band going from Spain to the Philippines [in 1660], he was specially moved to go to those missions and felt like a voice inside telling him the following words: "With this one (pointing at one of the two) you must go." Although some time passed before the accomplishment of Fr. Luis' desires—he did not go to the Indies then with the other religious who embarked that year—the events later showed that his persuasion had not been in vain, as we will see.

The Most Holy Virgin had earmarked her devoted son for the cultivation of her Mariana Islands with a most particular zeal and fervent desires to occupy himself in works of charity, of which he began to give examples in his post as **Professor of Grammar**,<sup>1</sup> jointly with his ministry at the College of Montillos, where, not content with his occupations inside the house, he participated with particular fervor in the ministries outside, not only in the confessions, sermons and talks on doctrine, about which he has left many very good writings, but also in collecting material alms through the streets in the company of devoted persons similarly moved to perform these and other acts of charity. The burning zeal of Fr. Luis was much involved in these occupations when there arrived from our Fr. General in Rome the answer [to his request to go to the missions in the Indies]. Recognizing that the vow made by Fr. Luis was the spirit and will of the Lord, he expressly ordered the Superiors of the Province to send him to the Indies. So, they picked him for the Philippine missions.

...  
They embarked on 19 July 1667, and since the Procurator General, Fr. Luis Pimentel, in whose charge the mission came, had to be detained in Spain, he used this opportunity offered by the Lord to take notice of Fr. Luis' good mind and appointed him as Superior of the other companions.

...  
Soon after his arrival in New Spain... there arrived in time aboard the galleon from the Philippines the apostolic Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, sent to the new and glorious mission of the Mariana Islands. The fervent Fr. Luis de Medina felt inside that God was calling him for that enterprise. This calling was made particularly evident when he heard what he had perceived until then, to comply with the internal voice, that it had seemed to him that what he had heard in Cordoba, about his having to go to the missions of the Indies with one of those passing through on their way to the Philippines. Years had passed before the said Fr. Medina was able to embark, because the man in question had been the Ven. Fr. S. Vitores, now coming back from Manila on the way to the said mission and with an order from the Provincial of the Philippines to choose

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1 Ed. note: This particular skill was to be useful in 1668, when he probably assisted with Fr. Sanvitores' project of a Chamorro grammar.

for his companions some priests coming from Spain. Our Fr. Luis offered himself, with a special permission from the Fr. Provincial of the Province of Mexico, so that his burning desires were given complete approval.

From Mexico, Fr. Luis went on to the port of Acapulco, and prepared himself with new fervor for the Mariana mission, for which the Most Holy Virgin had selected him from infancy.

...

He pursued the rest of the voyage as far as the Mariana Islands with the same tenacity. There, he had reached the center of his desires, he opened the wings of his spirit, being the first one to raise the sacrosaint standard of the cross upon those shores,<sup>1</sup> and by his hands the first baptisms were given. He later offered himself for the most difficult missions and voyages, paying no attention to the hardships and dangers, such as the repeated storms at sea and the contrary winds, so that many times divine providence delivered him miraculously, as well as the rough land journeys over cliffs full of stones as sharp as razors, steep hills and defiles at altitude, swamps below. Fr. Luis walked through all of those with such happiness and velocity, without any impediment from the feet that had almost prevented his entry in the Society before. Three times he went around the main Island of Guan, each time spending one month, and baptizing there over 3,000 gentiles.

...

[Summary of the rest: His encounter with Choco, the Chinese idolater, is recounted. He was wounded at Nisihan. In Apur Guam, he baptized a grand chief who was killed soon after. When the other islands were opened, he was assigned to the three islands of Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saipan. Fr. Casanova was his companion during the Tinian War that preceded by short time his mission to Saipan and his martyrdom. He was then 33 years old, had spent 14 years in the Society of Jesus, and one year and seven months in the Marianas. A total of 8,000 baptisms have been ascribed directly to him. ]

**[Extracts from the eulogy of Fr. Sanvitores]**

The second missionary and a peerless first in hardships and merits who fertilized with his blood the gospel plantation and the new vineyard of the Lord in these islands was the apostle of the Mariana peoples, the ideal and prototype of the religious and missionaries, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, a true son of our Fr. St. Ignatius and the beloved disciple of the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier.

...

God called him into the Society when he was about 12 years old, and before he became 13 he was received in it, by special dispensation of our Fr. General.

...

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1 Ed. note: The first time had been in 1565, at the time of the voyage of Legazpi.

He began and pursued his novitiate and studies with signs of obvious and very elevated virtue and great holiness. He spent one year as a **Professor of Grammar** and five as a Professor of Philosophy.

...

[Synopsis: In November 1657 he suffered a serious fever that nearly took his life. He was cured by the application of the signatures of St. Francis Xavier and the Ven. Fr. Marcelo Mastrilli. In 1658, he almost joined a new mission field in Africa. In April 1658, he moved to Madrid and again was attacked by fever and the same remedy was applied. He was nevertheless assigned to the Philippines. He spent one year in Mexico City where he developed the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier. Between 1662 and 1667, he fulfilled various duties in the Philippines (prefect of studies at the college, missionary in the hill country of Maralaya and in the Island of Mindoro) before his departure to found the Mariana mission. He was the author of a book of devotion entitled: *The Voice of the Immaculate Conception*, published under the pseudonym of Diego Alfonso Maluenda. The rest of this paper contains a list of his virtues, and examples of his devotions, marvels, etc. which is incomplete, because it is said that the last annual report received in Manila did not contain the full details of his life and death story (see Doc. 1672H).]

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## Document 1672M

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# Composite report for the 1669-1672 period, by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 88-93v; partly translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Note: The author was born in Yesta in Spain in 1610, entered the Society of Jesus in 1627, passed by Guam and arrived at the Philippines in 1632. When he wrote this account, he was Provincial of the Philippine Province, which included the Mariana Mission.*

## Report for the period 1669-1672 sent<sup>1</sup> by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma to Fr. [General] Oliva, dated Manila 10 July 1672

### [Part 1.] Events in the Mariana Islands from the year '69 until the present of '72 and martyrdom of Venerable Father Luís de Medina.

[Not reproduced. Similar to Doc. 1670D & E, and to part of Doc. 1672L.]

### [Part 2.] Uprising of the natives and martyrdom of Venerable Father Luís de San Vitores.

The enemy, not yet feeling themselves safe, sent immediately to ask for peace. This was granted and lasted for some time. The ministers (of the Gospel) resumed their missions until after five months, on the occasion of the death which they inflicted on two of our students who were accompanying us. It became necessary then, to run for refuge again.

At this time the Venerable Father San Vitores was some distance away from the Residence. He was helping out in the construction of a church. He was informed of the danger, and as he was on his way back to the Residence with his companion called

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1 Ed. note: Sent by the "alternate route", that is, by way of India. This was, therefore, a duplicate copy.

Pedro Calonsor, a native of the Visayas, when he passed by the town of **Tumhon**, he met a native already a Christian, called Matapang. This man had been one of the most benefitted by His Reverence, because, besides the life of the soul that he owed him through the administration of the holy baptism, he owed him the life of the body which through the Father's help, assistance and prayers, he had recovered when he was mortally wounded at the time of the recent arrival of the Fathers at these Islands.

He was a native truly cruel and treacherous, hated even by his own [people], because of the many treacherous deaths which he had carried out among them, since among other crimes five such deaths were counted against him.

The saintly Father, then, arrived at the house of this man. He asked him if there were any sick persons, and any baptism to administer. He answered with conspicuous scorn:

—“Away with you, liar. What baptism? Go into my house and baptize for me a skull I have there.”

The venerable Father bore up the shameless sacrilege. And addressing him with signs of his usual affability he told him:

—“Let us, then, at least get together the children to teach them the doctrine.”

The sacrilegious man retorted:

—“Away with that, for we are fed up with your instruction.”

And turning to another native who had joined the Venerable Father, called Hirao, he told him:

—“Let us kill him.”

To which he resisted saying:

—“Don't do him such harm. If you want to kill him let it be later.”

He regarded him as a coward and said:

—“Leave me alone. I will kill him.”

...

The said Hirao was piqued at being taken for a coward; he consented to the crime and beginning with the only companion of the Father they killed him with spears hurled at him. In the meantime, the Venerable Father holding the holy crucifix which hanged from his neck and raising it he preached to them and objected to the many blasphemies they were proffering against God... He said: “Only God is the head of this land.” But they, acting against the respect due such a sovereign Lord, (the Father's companion being already dead), attacked the Venerable Father. The traitor Matapang hurled a spear against him, some say into the chest, or through one arm. The other native, Hirao, cut his head open with a machete, whereupon, consequently he fell on the ground. But he did not die too soon, not to have time to warn them about the great sin they had committed.

But that they might see that he was dying for that Lord whom he had preached to them, and that he was imitating him in the pardon which he asked his eternal Father for the same criminals who were killing him, he kept on repeating in a loud voice several times these words: “Matapang, may God have mercy on you.” With these words

he gave up his spirit to Him who had created him for His greater glory, and the good of these poor souls.

The barbarous cruelty or the sacrilegious criminals did not stop here. Rather turning their anger against God, they committed several outrages by striking not a few blows against the holy crucifix, and as a climax of their cruelty, they later dragged their bodies, tying heavy stones to the feet and dumping them into the sea. This was a cruelty greatly felt by all of us who became orphans with the loss of such a father. In the loss of the courage which while he was still living his spirit shared with all of us, we would at least be consoled in the relics of his body.

This is the news, which in so recent an event we were able to verify, reserving for another year the more certain individual and judicial data on his death, which took place on the morning of April 2, Saturday, the eve of Passion Sunday, in the town of Tumhon, in the Island of San Juan, previously called Guam.

Manila, July 10, 1672.

Andrés de Ledesma

To Our Father in Christ Father Juan Pablo [Oliva] our General of the Society.

Account from the Mariana Islands.

2a via. Roma.

[Note by a modern archivist:] From the Philippines. Events in the Marianas from 1669 to 1672. The Martyrdom of V. Fr. Luis de Medina [sic].

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## Document 1672N

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# Composite report for the 1672-1681 period, by Fr. García

**“Brief history, or historical descriptions of what happened during the conversion and reduction of the 13 Mariana Islands...”**

*Source: RAH 9/2676, doc. n° 23 (75 pages).*

### Note.

This report is entitled, in Spanish: *“Historia brebe o sea Descripcion histórica de lo sucedido en la conversión y reducción de las 13 Islas Marianas desde el año 1672 que fué el martirio del V. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores hasta su entera reducción y pacificación que se logra hoy en día, compilada de las verídicas relaciones y varias cartas que cada año se escriben en Marianas para dar distinta cuenta de lo que sucedia y tomar de concordia y unión las debidas providencias.”*[undated, but ca. 1681].

The closing paragraph reads as follows: *“Escribio esta historia y la vida del V.P. Diego Luis de San Vitores difusissimamente el Padre Francisco García, sacandola de papeles authenticos que se guardan en el archivo de la Provincia de Toledo y de las cartas annuas, que vinieron de las Provincias de Philipinas, y Mexico.”*

[Therefore, this is but a secondary, summarized account, which Fr. García used to produce the biography that he published in 1681 (see Doc. 1681A). The primary-source documents themselves are published in this series.]

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## Document 1673A

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# The Process of Guam—First official investigation of the death of Fr. Sanvitores, dated Agaña 9 January 1673

*Sources: Postulation General of the S.J. in Rome; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma, The Cause, pp. 474-484.*

### Introductory note, by Fr. Ledesma.

This particular document is a copy or another which had been made in 1673 after the original information that was made then. We could call this report the Process of Guam. A proof of this is the fact that on the left superior margin of our document the following is written: "*Embiarase el original desta información con nabio más seguro.*" [The original of this investigation report is to be sent by a safer ship]. This marginal note was in that copy of 1673 and it was copied in this modern copy that we have today. The original and that first copy itself do not exist anymore.

We know, however, that the original of this document was presented and included in the Process of Mexico and there are references to it in other contemporaneous writings.

The Procurator was Father Alonso Lopez. After a summary of what he knew, he asked the Vicar Forane that there be made a "legal inquiry into his death." He noted that Fr. Lopez was on Guam at the time of the martyrdom and that he must have been informed already about everything from eyewitnesses even before this Process began. Later on he testified in an account made together with five other Fathers (Doc. 1673L); then in the Process of Manila, and lastly in a Compendium of the life of the Servant of God (Doc. 1672H2).

The immediate Official of this Process was the Superior of the Mission, Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, S.J. in his capacity as Vicar Forane in the Island "by special delegation and authority and designation of the Most Reverend Father Fray Juan Lopez, of the Order of St. Dominic, Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus [Cebu]." The Notary Apostolic was Sergeant Major Don Juan de Bozo.



The immediate addressee of the investigation report was the Philippine Provincial, who was then Father Andrés de Ledesma, S.J.

The witnesses were:

1) A native of the town of Apurguan by the name of **Mapuha**. He says that although he was not present it is a common statement of all the natives. He was 25 years old.

2) A native of the town of Merizo, named **Bayug**. He declared to have been present and was an eyewitness of the death of Father San Vitores. He was 30 years old.

3) A native of the town of Apurguan, named Ambrosio **Hagman**. He heard the fact and details of the crime from the same assassins of Father San Vitores. He was 14 or 15 years of age.

Witnesses of the testimonies made were:

1) for Mapuha, Captain Don Diego de Mendizabal and Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz;

2) for Bayug the same as above, the second signing himself for the witness;

3) for A. Hagman, Don Nicolás de la Cruz, who signed for the witness.

## Authentic inquiry held in the Mariana Islands on 9 January 1673

### Petition.

Alonso Lopez, a Religious of the Society of Jesus, who resides in these Mariana Islands: I declare that in the town of Tumhon of this Island of San Juan, on 2 April 1672, Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores was assassinated having baptized an infant girl, the daughter of a Christian native, called Matapang, to whom the said V. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores had asked to baptize her.

And the barbarian did not want his daughter to be baptized because baptism was of no use. And mouthing other blasphemous words, he took his life by hurling a spear into his chest.

And another native by the name of Hirao, persuaded by the said Matapang, parted his head with a *catana*, after having first killed between the two a youthful Visayan, companion of the said Ven. Father, called Pedro Calonsor. And later the said Matapang gave blows with a stone to a small holy crucifix carried by the Ven. Father.

Wherefor, for the greater glory of God our Lord, the fame of our Sacred Religion and the honor of the servants of the Lord, I wish to make a summary investigation of the said death in the manner which I report, in order to remit it to the Father Provincial of our Society in the Philippines.

Consequently: to Your Reverence, as Vicar Forane in these Islands, by virtue of your special delegation and the authority and designation of the Most Reverend Father Fray Juan Lopez, of the Order of St. Dominic, Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, I request that you order that such information be received from me and that the witnesses

that I may present be examined in accordance with my petition. Begging for justice, etc.—Alonso Lopez.

### **Presentation.**

On the Island of San Juan, in the town of Agadña and in the Residence of our Holy Father St. Ignatius, on the 9th day of the month of January of 1673, in the presence of the Rev. Father Francisco Ezquerra, of the Society of Jesus, Vicar Forane of these Islands, by special delegation and by the authority which was granted to the Superior of this Mission by the Most Reverend Father Fray Juan Lopez, of the Order of St. Dominic, Bishop of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, who has jurisdiction over these Islands, this petition presented by Father Alonso Lopez was read.

### **Decree.**

And the Reverend Father Francisco Ezquerra declared: that from the said Father Alonso Lopez be received the information that he offers, which information he shall pass on to Sergeant Major Juan de Bozo y Santiago, as the Apostolic Notary in these Islands; and that the original of the said information shall be committed to him for the purpose which he mentions. In this matter he interposes and interposed his authority and decree. Thus he provided for and signed.

By order of His Paternity.

Juan de Bozo y Santiago, Apostolic Notary.

### **Deposition N° 1.**

In the Island of San Juan, town of Agadña and in the Residence of our Father St. Ignatius, on the 9th day of January 1673, Father Alonso Lopez, a Religious of Society of Jesus, for the information that he offers and which by mandate is to be accepted, presented as witness a native, born in the town of Apurguan, whose name was Mapuha. I, the undersigned Notary by virtue of the commission given to me, received from him his oath. And he made it, calling upon God as witness, and promised before him to tell the truth about the death of the Ven. Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and that if he did not tell the truth God our Lord should condemn him to hell. And being asked in accordance with the petition made above, he said:

That the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, having arrived at the town of Tumhon, and at the house of a native called Matapang, asked from the said native if there was someone who had given birth, so he could baptize the child. To this the native answered: "What did the woman deliver for? Inside my house there is a skull; baptize it." And that the Ven. Father S. Vitores told him to give him his just recently born child for baptism. To this the native Matapang replied that he did not want him to baptize his child, because it was useless, and that, when the Father called him to teach him the Christian doctrine, the said native Matapang replied that he did not want to learn it, because he was mad at God.

He then asked a native of the same town called Hirao, who was accompanying the Venerable Father S. Vitores, to help him kill him. And although he resisted at the beginning, in the end he decided to help.

And that first, between the two they killed a young man, a native of the Visayas, in the Philippines, called Pedro Calonsor, who was a companion of the Venerable Father. They speared him and then parted his head with a machete.

And that the said Father Diego Luís de San Vitores, holding up in his hands the image of Christ crucified which he carried hanging from his neck, began to preach to them and told them that God is the only and principal Lord and Chief in this land of Guahan. And that they were mocking at all these words.

And the Ven. Father told him: "May God have mercy on you." And then the native Matapang threw a spear at him which penetrated his chest; and the native Hirao gave him a blow with the machete on the head, with which blow he died.

He adds more: that their bodies were thrown into the sea and that these floated up towards the surface two times.

And that all this that he said above is what he heard everybody say; and that although he was not present, still it is the common story among all the native Marianos. The said Mapuha is 25 years old. He belongs to the group of those natives who are at war.

He asserted that what he has reported is the truth, declared under the oath made by him, by virtue of which oath he affirmed and ratified it, being witnesses of his declaration Captain Don Diego de Mendizabal and Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz.

Sworn to before me—Juan de Bozo y Santiago, Apostolic Notary.

## Deposition N° 2.

On the Island of San Juan, in the town of Agaña and in the Residence of St. Ignatius, on the 9th day of January 1673, Father Alonso Lopez, a Religious of the Society of Jesus, for the information that he offers and which is by mandate to be received, presented as witness a native born in the town of Merizo, named Bayug, from whom, I, the undersigned Notary, in virtue of the commission given to me, received the oath which he made calling upon God as witness, before whom he promised to tell the truth about the death of the Ven. Father Diego Luís de S. Vitores, and that if he did not tell the truth God our Lord may condemn him to hell. And being asked, in accordance with the petition made above, he said:

That he was present at the death of the Venerable Father Diego Luís S. Vitores. And that when the said Venerable Father arrived at the town of Tumhon and at the house of a native called Matapang, he asked the said native if there was some woman who had given birth, so he could baptize the child. To this the native Matapang answered him: "What did the woman give birth for? There, inside my house, is a skull; baptize it."

And that the Venerable Father S. Vitores asked that he be given for baptism his recently born daughter. To this the native answered that he did not want his child to be

baptized, because baptism is useless and that he should go away because he would kill him. The Venerable Father answered that he should let her be baptized first, even if he should kill him for he preferred to die, rather than [let] this child go to hell.

The Venerable Father called him to teach him. And the native Matapang answered that he did not want to learn because he was mad at God. And then he invited a native of the same town who was accompanying the Venerable Father S. Vitores, called Hirao, to help him kill him. Although at the beginning he refused, in the end he decided to help Matapang.

And that first, between the two of them they killed a young man, a native of the Philippines, called Pedro Calonsor, who was the companion of the Venerable Father; they speared him and then parted his head with a machete.

And that the said Father Diego Luís de San Vitores held up in his hands the image of Christ crucified which he carried hanging from his neck. He began to preach to them and told them that God is the only and principal Lord and Chief in this land of Guahan. And that they were mocking at all these words.

And the Venerable Father told him: "May God have mercy on you." And then the native Matapang hurled a spear at him which pierced his chest and the native Hirao hit his head with a *Catana*, with which he died.

He adds more: that their bodies were thrown into the sea, which came up to the surface twice.

All of this he declared to be true under the oath that he had made. He is apparently 30 years of age. Witnesses of this testimony were the said Captains Don Diego Mendi-zabal and Don Juan de Santa Cruz; the latter signed for the witness.

D. Juan de Santa Cruz.

Sworn to before me—Juan de Bozo y Santiago, Apostolic Notary.

### **Deposition N° 3.**

On the Island of San Juan, in the town of Agadña and in the Residence of San Ignacio, on the 9th day of the month of January, 1673, Father Alonso Lopez of the Society of Jesus, for the information that he offers and which is mandated to be received, presented as witness a native, born in the town of Apurguan called Ambrosio Hagman. From whom, I, the undersigned Notary, in virtue of the commission given me, received his oath. And he made it, calling upon God as witness, before whom he promised to tell the truth about the death of Venerable Father Diego Luís S. Vitores and that if he did not tell it may God our Lord condemn him to hell. And when interrogated in accordance with the petition presented above, he said:

That the Venerable Father Diego Luís S. Vitores, having reached the town of Tumhon and the house of a native called Matapang, asked the said native if there was a woman who had given birth, so he could baptize the child. To this the native answered: "What did the woman deliver for? There inside my house is a skull; baptize it."

The Venerable Father asked for the baptism of his recently born child. To this he answered that he did not want his child to be baptized. The Venerable Father called the

native Matapang to teach him the Christian Doctrine and he answered the Father: "Away with you, go away, for I am already mad at God." And that his children, whom the Venerable Father was instructing were mad at God and fed up with learning about God.

And he added: "Away with you, go away Father the Great or Great Father (for that is how all called him) because I am going to kill you." The Venerable Father answered: "I prefer that you kill me rather than that your child be condemned to hell."

Matapang invited a native called Hirao, who was accompanying the Venerable Father. He persuaded him that they kill him, beginning first with a young companion of the Venerable Father, called Pedro Calonsor, a native of the Visayas. Afterwards Matapang hurled a spear at the Venerable Father, which penetrated his chest and went through his back. And then Hirao with a machete or *Catana* struck his head. The Venerable Father had been from the beginning holding in his hands a holy crucifix, telling them that God is the only Lord in this land of Guahan. He told the parricide: "May God have mercy on your soul," and he died.

He declares also that their bodies were thrown into the sea.

All of this he heard from others. And he adds that he heard the same native Matapang declare that the same Matapang grabbed a small holy crucifix which the Father carried around his neck (this was at the time they took off his clothing) and that he gave blows to the crucifix with a stone saying: "This is the one whom the *guirragos* (foreigners) take for their principal Lord and Chief."

He declared all this under the oath he had made, on the strength of which he affirmed and ratified his declaration. He is, it would seem, of 14 or 15 years of age. He is to be given credit by reason of his Christian faith, of which he has more knowledge than any other in these Islands.

And because he does not know how to sign his name, Nicolás de la Cruz signed in his stead, on the said day, month and year.

Nicolás de la Cruz.

Sworn to before me—Juan de Bozo y Santiago, Notary Apostolic.

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## Documents 1673B

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# The Queen Regent reviews the last request made by Fr. Sanvitores

## B1. Note by the Secretariat of the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 10 February 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-3-186; also in Fil. formerly 67- 6-3; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 17, folios 165 et seq.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Razon de los puntos en que esta tomada resolucion sobre las cosas que son necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas que estan a cargo de los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs.***

*Con una orden de 3 de febrero passado, remitió Su Magestad al Consejo un memorial de Don Geronimo de San Vitores del de Hazienda con un papel de apuntamientos firmado del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores su hijo de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs y de otros Religiosos compañeros suyos (y dos cartas) de las cosas que eran mas necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Yslas Marianas en Filipinas y Suplica se vean y que se ordene lo que fuere mas del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor—y su Magestad manda se vean estos papeles con toda atencion en el Consejo y que se consulte lo que en raçon de ello se ofreciere y pareciere.*

*1º En el apuntamiento pide que se embie el numero mayor que se pudiere de Ministros del Santo Evangelio para dichas Yslas, por ser ya trece las que estan reducidas, como para reducir otras muchas que estan en aquella cordillera.*

*—Sobre esto se ordeno al Virrey Marques de Mancera (en virtud de otro apuntamiento que vino el año pasado con orden de su Magestad de 22 de octubre de 1671) por Cedula de 16 de Noviembre del mismo año que se embiase todos los mas Ministros de la Compañia que pudiese, para que vayan obrando en aquella reduccion con el celo y cuydado que conviene, y que para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual, les de todas las asistencias que ubieren menester.*

2º *Tambien pide que se imbie numero de Compañeros seglares, de varias havilidades y oficios y que vayan con los ynstrumentos de ellos, y las Armas de fuego que se pudieren.*

—*Aviendose visto en el Consejo otro apuntamiento que sobre estas materias remitio el Governador de Filipinas con carta de 7 de Jullio del año de 1669, se mando en quanto a este punto se remitiese al Virrey copia del dicho apuntamiento como se hizo con despacho de su Magestad de 12 de Agosto de 1671 para que dispudiese la provision de las personas y cosas referidas.*

3º *Que se les embien de la ciudad de Manila 200 yndios Pampangos con un cavo de dicha nacion y que en trueque de ellos se remitiran a ella otros tantos Yndios, naturales de las Yslas Marianas los quales yran de buena gana como empeçamos a yr el año pasado de 1668 y que esto se hara con facilidad por estar dichas Yslas tan al paso de las Naos de Filipinas.*

—*En quanto a esto, se remitio al Virrey por cedula de 16 de Noviembre de 1671 para que correspondiese con el Governador de Filipinas y con el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores y que tomando noticias de las convenencias o ynconvenientes que podrian resultar de hacerse este cambio disponga lo que pareciere de mayor utilidad para aquellas combersiones, teniendo entendido, que el yntento principal deve ser en esta materia atender al bien de las Almas, que se van reduciendo a nuestra Santa fee Catholica, procurando evitar lo que pudiere embaraçar a tan santo fin.—y al Governador de Filipinas se aviso lo que se ordenava al Virrey para que se correspondiese con él.*

4º *Que desde Manila se despache navio suficiente y de proposito sin dependencia de otros viages para reconocer los Puertos que se dice ay en aquellas Yslas y especialmente en la de Guan y Zarpana para llevar Ministros Evangelicos por aquella cordillera y particularmente por las Yslas que continuan las Marianas con las Filipinas.*

—*De este punto se dio noticia al Virrey por Cedula de 12 de Agosto de 1671 para que valiendose de estos Religiosos ponga particular cuidado en que se descubra este surgidero por lo mucho que ymportaria para que tengan abrigo las naos de Filipinas.*

5º *En el dicho apuntamiento dice este Religioso que para las Yslas mas distantes se necesita de mayor embarcacion la qual podra yr de Manila, ó de la Nueva España ó del Peru, con orden de que se detenga en las Yslas Marianas el tiempo que fuere menester pues havia bastante Puerto, especialmente en la Ysla de Guan y en la Zarpana, y que ademas de ellos, se hallaran otros en las demas Yslas, si va nao que los reconozca.*

—*Sobre este punto se dijo por Cedula de 16 de Noviembre de 1671, al Virrey de la Nueva España y al Governador de Filipinas que se comuniquen con el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores para que con atencion a lo que representa dispongan lo que fuere necesario para que el dicho Diego Luis y los demas Misioneros tengan la embarcacion que piden para pasar de unas Yslas a otras, y que lo executen sin reparar en el gasto, por ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor; y al Governador se le advirtio la orden que se dava al Virrey a quien se encargo la execucion de esto y que si entendiere que el Virrey del Peru, lo podra disponer con mayor comodidad y brevedad,*

*le avise lo haga diciendole que tiene orden de Su Magestad para ello y que de cuenta de lo que se executare.*

*6º Tambien dice que se embien navios suficientes y de proposito por la parte del Peru, para la tierra Austral antes yncognita y llamada Yslas de Salomon, y otras que con ellas se continuan, desde la Ysla de Guan en las Marianas, hasta cerca del Peru.*

*—Sobre este punto, se ordeno al Virrey de la Nueva España, por cedula de 29 de febrero del año pasado de 1672 que tomase noticias de personas practicas del parage donde estan las Yslas de Salomon y que ynforme de los medios que se podran aplicar para su descubrimiento.*

*7º Asimismo dice que para la ynmediata administracion y Visita de aquellas Yslas que esta detenida mucho tiempo y siempre aregada en las tenues embarcaciones de la tierra, se necesitan à lo menos de dos embarcaciones como lanchas, las quales, pueden yr de Filipinas dentro de las naos como otras que suelen llevar à Acapulco, y que con estas mismas embarcaciones se podra dejar la gente y socorro, a vista de las Yslas Marianas, con mas facilidad y ningun estorvo de las naos quando ubiese viento contrario, como suele haverle a la yda de Manila.*

*—En quanto a este punto, parece que esta dada providencia con la orden de arriva, en que se mando al Virrey y al Governador de Filipinas que se comuniquen con el Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, para que con atencion a lo que representa dispongan lo que fuere necesario para que el y los demas Misioneros, tengan la embarcacion que piden para pasar de unas Yslas à otras, como mas particularmente se refiere en las cedula citadas, de 16 de Noviembre de 1671 que se despacharon sobre esta materia.*

### **Translation.**

**List of the points about which a decision was made regarding the things that are necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines that are in charge of the Religious of the Society of Jesus.**

With an order dated 3 February last, Your Majesty remitted to the Council a memorial from Don Geronimo de San Vitores of the Finance Council with a paper containing a list of points signed by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus and by other Religious his companions (and two letters) regarding the things that were most necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, in which he Begs that they be seen and that you be pleased to order what would be for the greater service of God our Lord—and Your Majesty ordered that these papers be seen with due care in the Council and that you be advised about it on what should best be done.

1º In the list of points, he asks that the maximum number of Gospel Ministers be sent to the said Islands, given that the number of islands already reduced is 13, and that there are many others in that island chain yet to be reduced.

—Regarding this point, the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, was ordered (by virtue of another list of points that came last year with an order of Your Majesty dated 22 October 1671) by the Decree dated 16 November of the same year to send all the Minis-



ters of the Society that he could, so that they would go and work in that reduction with the appropriate zeal and care, and in order for them to achieve the greatest spiritual fruit, he was to give them all the help necessary.

2° Also he asks for the despatch of a number of lay companions, trained in various skills and trades, and that they go with as many tools, and firearms, possible.

—The Council, having seen another list of points that the Governor of the Philippines sent regarding this matter with a letter dated 7 July of the year 1669, it was ordered with regards to this point that a copy of the said list of points be remitted to the Viceroy; this was done with a despatch from Your Majesty dated 12 August 1671, so that he would arrange for the provision of the persons and materiel in question.

3° That 200 Pampango Indians be sent to them from the city of Manila with an officer of the same nationality and that in exchange for them as many Indians, natives of the Mariana Islands and volunteers, be sent overthere, as they began to do in the year 1668, and that such a thing would be easy to carry out as the said Islands lie along the route of the Philippine galleons.

—Regarding this point, a decree dated 16 November 1671 was sent to the Viceroy, for him to get in touch with the Governor of the Philippines and with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and that, having informed himself as to the advantages and disadvantages that might result from this exchange, he was to arrange what seemed to him for the greater benefit of those conversions, keeping in mind that the main and foremost objective in this matter must be the good of the souls that are being reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith, trying to avoid what might hinder this holy purpose.—The Governor of the Philippines was advised of what was being ordered to the Viceroy so that he would correspond with him.

4° That from Manila be despatched a ship large enough for the purpose, and independently of any other voyage, to survey the ports that supposedly exist in those Islands and specially in that of Guan and Zarpana, to take Gospel Ministers throughout that island chain and specially through the Islands that exist between the Marianas and [Mindanao in] the Philippines.

—About this point, the Viceroy was advised by Decree dated 12 August 1671 so that he would avail himself of these Religious to carry out a careful exploration to find such an anchorage, given that it is important for the Philippine galleons to find some shelter.

5° In the said list of points, this Religious says that for the more remote Islands, a large boat would be necessary, one that could come from Manila, or from New Spain, or from Peru, with an order to make a stopover at the Mariana Islands long enough, given that there is a port good enough for that, specially in the Island of Guan and in that of Zarpana, and that in addition to those, other ports might be found in the other Islands, if a galleon would make a survey.

—About this point, the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of the Philippines were told by decrees dated 16 November 1671 to get in touch with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores so that, with respect to what he says, necessary arrangements could be

taken for the said Diego Luis and the other missionaries to have the boat they request to travel among all the Islands, something they were to carry out regardless of the cost involved, since such an enterprise was for the greater service of God our Lord; and the Governor was forewarned about this order expressly given to the Viceroy to execute, and that if he should hear that the Viceroy of Peru could provide it more easily and quickly, he should tell him that he holds an order from Her Majesty to that effect, and that he was to report on actions taken.

6° Also, he says that suitable ships for expressly sent toward Peru, to the Austral Land, heretofore unknown, and called the Solomon Islands, and to others that are located in that neighborhood, from the Island of Guan in the Marianas, to almost as far as Peru.

—About this point, the Viceroy of New Spain was ordered, by decree dated 29 February of last year 1672 to obtain information from persons knowledgeable about the area of the Solomon Islands and to give a report about the means that might be applied for their exploration.

7° In addition, he says that for the immediate administration and visitation of those Islands which is delayed so much and always risky aboard the small local craft, they would need at least two boats, like launches; such boats could come from the Philippines aboard the galleons, as others that they usually take to Acapulco, and that they would use the boats in question to leave the men and subsidy in sight of the Mariana Islands more easily and without hindrance to the galleons when there is a contrary wind, as there usually is on the Manila-bound run.

—With respect to this point, it seems that it was taken care of in the above-mentioned order, by which the Viceroy and Governor of the Philippines were ordered to get in touch with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, so that, in view of what he said, arrangements were to be made for him and the other missionaries get the boat they requested to travel from one island to another, as specified in detail in the above-mentioned decrees of 16 November 1671 that were issued regarding this matter.

## **B2. The Council to the Queen, dated Madrid 6 March 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 3-1-53; also in Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 19-24; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 355- 363, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 167-168v.*

*Summary note: Refers to the brief presented by Mr. Gerónimo de Sanvitores, regarding the request made by Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores which contains 10 points listing the needs of the Marianas.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Señora.*

*Satisfaciendo á la orden de V.M. que vino con un Memorial de Don Geronimo de S. Vitores y un papel de Apuntamientos de Diego Luis de San Vitores su hijo de la Compañia de Jesus sobre las cosas que son necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas: representa lo que en la materia se le ofrece.*

*Con orden de tres de Febrero pasado se sirvió V.M. remitir al Consejo un Memorial de Don Gerónimo de San Vitores, del de Hacienda, con un papel de Apuntamientos firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores su hijo de la Compañía de Jesus, y de otros religiosos compañeros suyos, y dos cartas y manda V.M. se vean estos papeles con toda atencion y que se consulte lo que se ofreciere y pareciere.*

*El Memorial de Don Geronimo de San Vitores, se reduce á poner en las Reales Manos de V.M. el apuntamiento y cartas que recibió de su hijo suplicando á V.M. se sirva de mandar se vean, y que se ordene lo que fuere mas del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor.*

*El Apuntamiento de Diego Luis de San Vitores contiene diez puntos en que propone algunas cosas, que dice son necesarias para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, en cuyas reducciones estan entendiendo el y sus compañeros y habiendo remitido V.M. al Consejo en otras ocasiones diferentes relaciones y apuntamientos de este religioso sobre estas mismas Misiones, y vistose en el se ha reconocido que de los diez puntos que ahora propone, está tomada Providencia en los siete de ellos en la forma que V.M. se servirá mandar ver, por la relacion que va con esta Consulta, y en los tres restantes representa lo que aqui se referirá.*

*—Que en la Isla de Guan (que es una de las Marianas) se haga una fundacion real de Seminario con titulo de S. Juan Lateranense de Guan (unido por medio de la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier, con la Archicofradia de San Juan de Letran de Roma) para la buena institucion de los niños de aquella tierra, huérfanos por naturaleza, ó costumbre de Nacion en que totalmente estan exentos los hijos de la educacion y sugesion de sus Padres, cuya barbaridad por la divina providencia viene á ceder en mas facil introducion, de nuestra crianza, y reducion á las casas de Seminario, y que no será la menor combeniencia que con el tiempo saliesen, no solo con aptitud de servir de Canapoles, sino aun para ordenarse de Sacerdotes, por faltarles totalmente la embriaguez.*

*—Que la renta ó limosna que se podia situar en la Caxa Real de Mexico para el Seminario Mariano de la Isla de Guan (que ya se llamaba de San Juan) no seria menester que llegase á los 3,000 escudos que referia el Apostol de las Indias San Francisco Xavier, se aplicaron del real haber para los seminarios que se hicieron en su tiempo.*

*—Que si hubiese medios no dexaria de pedir para la fundacion de otro Seminario, ó casa aparte, donde se crien las niñas Marianas antes que el enemigo comun las agregue á las casas publicas, donde viven en comunidad, los mancebos con las doncellas y solteras que escogen y llevan de unos Pueblos á otros con ruin consentimiento de sus Padres, que lo que interesan en la paga; pero que por esperar, que la fundacion de las Marias pobres de Mexico (que solicitaba la Congregacion de S. Francisco Xavier) ha de ser la Madre y fuente de muchos bienes de aquella Cristiandad, y especialmente de la buena institucion de las niñas Marianas, ceden por ahora esta suplica en la obra de Mexico.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo, la orden referida con todos los papeles tocantes á esta materia y lo que sobre ella pidió al fiscal de él, ha parecido dar cuenta á V.M. de lo proveido en los siete puntos que se refieren en la **relacion adjunta**.*

*Y en quanto á los otros tres considera el Consejo que siendo las reducciones de las Islas Marianas, tan de servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y de la obligacion de V.M. acudir á ellas con toda brevedad, para que se vayan continuando aquellas misiones, y logrando los buenos efectos que se deben esperar del Celo y trabajo con que este religioso y sus compañeros se emplean en esta conversion. Combendrá que V.M. se sirva de mandar al Virrey de la Nueva España que comunicandose con Diego Luis de San Vitores, para la fundacion del Colegio Seminario que propone se haga en la Isla de Guan, para la buena institucion de los niños huérfanos de aquella tierra, disponga que de la Caja real de Mexico, se remitan cada año hasta tres mil pesos, ó lo que menos fuese necesario, segun lo que informare el dicho Diego Luis, esto en el interin que los situa en pensiones de encomiendas de indios vacos, procurando se haga quanto antes fuere posible para aliviar la Caja de esta Carga; y que tambien se diga al Virrey, se comunique con este religioso, para que la fundacion del Seminario ó Casa donde se crien las niñas Marianas, para evitar el daño que representa de estar agregadas á las Casas públicas, y que para esta fundacion, acuda con lo que fuere menester segun lo que le informare el dicho Diego Luis de San Vitores, situandolo en la forma que se ordena, para el Seminario, y que asi mismo se ordene al Virrey que fomente la fundacion de las Marias pobres de Mexico, asistiendo para esto á la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier, pues en una y otra parte será de grande utilidad para recoger doncellas huérfanas y que vivan con la virtud y doctrina que conviene en que se hará gran servicio á Dios Nuestro Señor; y que se de noticia á este religioso, de todo lo que se ordena al Virrey y juntamente las gracias del celo y cuidado, con que se ocupa en aquellas reducciones, y encargandole que en nombre de V.M. se las de á sus compañeros, alentando á todos para que continuen, por ser obra de tanta utilidad, asi en lo espiritual (que es el fin principal á que se deve atender) como en lo que mira á lo temporal.*

*Asi mismo vino con los papeles referidos una **Carta del Capitan Don Pedro de Santa Cruz** que se halla asistiendo á Diego Luis de San Vitores en aquella Mision su fecha en la Isla de Guan á 21 de Mayo de 1670 en que da cuenta al Gobernador de las Islas Filipinas, del estado que estas reducciones iban tomando y de los surgideros que habia reconocido, eran á proposito para que diesen fondo las embarcaciones y Navios que fuesen por las Costas de las Islas Marianas y de la facilidad con que se podrán sacar las piezas de artilleria que se veian de dos Naos que ahora treinta años se perdieron en aquellas costas, en que se reconoce lo que este sugeto sea aplicado á estas disposiciones y asi parece al Consejo se le den tambien las gracias por lo que asiste y ayuda á esta conversion para que se le aliente á continuarlo.*

*V.M. mandará lo que mas combenga á su Real servicio.*

*Madrid á 6 de Marzo de 1673.*

*Conde de Medellin,*

*Marques de Monte Alegre,*

*D. Tomas de Valdes,*

*Conde de Castellar,*

*Don Antonio de Castro,*

*D. Juan de Santelices,  
D. José Ponce,  
Marques de Santillan,  
Don Sancho de Villegas.*

[Enclosure: B1 above]

[Minute from the Queen:] *Como parece y el Consejo aplicara todo el cuidado posible á esta obra tan piadosa.*

### Translation.

Madam:

To satisfy the order of Y.M. that came with a Memorial from Don Geronimo de San Vitores and a paper of Points from Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus, regarding the things that are necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, the Council has this to say about this matter.

In an order dated 3 February last, Y.M. was pleased to remit to the Council a Memorial from Don Geronimo de San Vitores, of the Finance Council, with a paper containing a list of points signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus, and by other religious his companions, and two letters, Y.M. ordered that these papers be seen carefully and that you be given the appropriate advice.

The **Memorial** from Don Geronimo de San Vitores can be summarized to this: he simply wishes to place the list of points and letters received from his son into the hands of Y.M., begging you to please order that they be seen, and to order that action be taken for the greater service of God our Lord.

The **List of points from Diego Luis de San Vitores contains 10 points** in which he proposes a few things which, he says, are necessary for the Missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, at whose reductions he and his companions are working, and Y.M. having remitted to the Council on other occasions various accounts and list of points from this religious about these same Missions, and once it was seen in it, it was recognized that, out of the 10 points which he now proposes, a decision has already been taken on 7 of them, in the manner that Y.M. will be please to note, in the reference enclosed with this Consultation, and about the three remaining points, he declares the following:

—That in the Island of Guan (which is one of the Marianas) a royal foundation should be created for a Seminary to be called of San Juan de Letrán of Guan (linked, through the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, with the Archfraternity of San Juan de Letran of Rome) for the good education of the children of that land, orphans either by birth or native custom, where children are completely devoid of education and subjection to their parents, whose barbarity through divine providence will eventually disappear more easily if we can raise them and reduce them to the houses of the Seminary, not the least advantage of which will be that in time they will come out of it, not only

better able to serve as Acolytes, but also even ready to become Priests, given that drunkenness is completely lacking among them.

—That the income or alm for the Mariano Seminary of the Island of Guan (which is now called San Juan), which could be located in the Royal Treasury of Mexico, would not exceed the 3,000 escudos that the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, was referring to as being necessary for seminaries in his time.

—That if there were enough means, he would dare request the foundation of another Seminary, or separate house, where the girls of the Marianas would be raised, before the common enemy would gather them into the public houses, where the young men live in community with the young women and unmarried women whom they choose and take from some towns to others with the despicable consent of their parents, in exchange for some financial gain; however, it is to be hoped that the foundation of the poor Maries in Mexico (which the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico was trying to establish) will be the Patron and source of many benefits for that Christian community, and specially the good education of the girls of the Marianas, hence the pious work of Mexico should take precedence over this request.

The order in question, with all the papers regarding this matter, having been seen by the Council, as well as what its Fiscal had to say about it, it seemed appropriate to inform Y.M. about what has already been decided about the 7 points mentioned in the **enclosed report**.

With regards to the other 3 points, the Council, considering that the reductions in the Mariana Islands are so much to the service of God our Lord, and that it is the obligation of Y.M. to look after them as soon as possible, the better to ensure the continuity of those missions and the achievement of the good effects that are expected from the zeal and labor of this religious and his companions working at that conversion: Declares that Y.M. should be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain to get in touch with Diego Luis de San Vitores, for the foundation of the Seminary College that he proposes be established in the Island of Guan, for the good education of the orphaned children of that land, to arrange the remittal from the Royal Treasury of Mexico of up to 3,000 pesos every year, or less if necessary, in accordance with the report he is to get from said Diego Luis, as an interim measure, until it can be situated in the rental income from grants in vacant Indian lands, and that he should try and do this as soon as possible in order to relieve the Royal Treasury from this charge. The Viceroy was also told to get in touch with this religious, to create the foundation of the Seminary or House where Mariana girls would be raised, to avoid the harm that he says is done when they are aggregated to the public houses, and that this foundation be attended to as soon as possible, in accordance with the report expected from said Diego Luis de San Vitores, the subsidy for it coming from the same source as the Seminary [for boys]. The Viceroy should also be ordered to encourage the foundation of the Poor Maries of Mexico, assisted in this by the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, since in either place it will be of great benefit for collecting the orphan girls, wherein they could live with the appropriate virtue and indoctrination, to the greater service of God our Lord; and that this

religious be informed about the order given to the Viceroy, and at the same time thanked for the zeal and care with which he works in those reductions, and entrusting him to thank his companions on behalf of Y.M., encouraging all of them to carry on, since the enterprise is so useful, not only in spiritual matters (which is the main objective that is expected) but also in material matters.

Similarly, there also came with the above-mentioned papers a **Letter from Captain Don Pedro de Santa Cruz**<sup>1</sup> who is assisting Diego Luis de San Vitores in that Mission, dated in the Island of Guan 21 May 1670 in which he reports to the Governor of the Philippine Islands on the status of these reductions, about the anchorages he had surveyed and that were suitable for boats and ships that may visit the coasts of the Mariana Islands, and about the ease with which the guns from two galleons that were lost in those coasts some 30 years before could be seen and could be salvaged: it is recognized that this individual has applied himself in these arrangements and so, the Council decided to send him thanks for the assistance and help that he provides to this conversion so that he may be encouraged to carry on.

Y.M. will order what you see fit for her Royal service.

Madrid, 6 March 1673.

Count of Medellin,  
Marquis of Montealegre,  
Don Thomas de Valdes,  
Count of Castellar,  
Don Antonio de Castro,  
Don Juan de Santelices,  
Don José Ponce,  
Marquis of Santillan,  
Don Sancho de Villegas.

[Enclosure: B1 above]

[Minute from the Queen:] As shown and the Council is to apply all the care possible to such a pious enterprise.

### **B3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 18 April 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 49-50v, pp. 121-124; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 13, exp. 155, pp. 299-302; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 210-212, and also in Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She tells him to communicate with Fr. Sanvitores about the foundation of the seminary college proposed for the orphan boys of the island of Guan and of the boarding house for Mariana girls.*

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1670G. However, his proper name was Juan, not Pedro.

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora,  
Marqués de Mancera, etc.*

*Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores del Consejo de Hacienda presentó un papel de **apun-  
tamientos** firmado de Diego Luís de S. Vitores, su hijo, de la Compañía de Jesús y de  
otros religiosos compañeros suyos que contenía **10 puntos** en los cuales proponía al-  
gunas cosas que dice son necesarias para las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Ma-  
rianas en Filipinas en cuyas reducciones estan entendiendo y habiendose reconocido  
otro papel que antes había llegado sobre la materia se halló estar tomada resolución en  
7 puntos de los que contenía en la forma que abreis visto por los despachos que se han  
enviado y en los tres restantes representa que en la Isla de Guan que es una de las Ma-  
rianas se haga una **fundación Real de seminario con título de San Juan Later-  
anense de Guan**, unido por medio de la Congregación de San Francisco Xavier con  
la Archicofadria de S. Juan de Letrán de Roma, para la buena instrucción de los niños  
de aquella tierra, huérfanos por naturaleza o costumbre de nación en que totalmente  
estan exemptos los hijos de la educación y sugestión de sus Padres cuya barbaridad por  
la divina providencia venía aceder en más fácil introducción de nuestra crianza y re-  
ducción a las casas de seminario y que no sería la menor conveniencia que con el tiem-  
po saliesen no sólo con aptitud de servir de canacapos sino aún para ordenarse de  
sacerdote por faltarles totalmente la embriaguez, y que la renta o limosna que se podía  
situar en la caxa Real de esa ciudad para el seminario Mariano de la Isla de Guan (que  
ya se llamava de San Juan) no sería menester que llegase a los 3,000 escudos que refe-  
ría el Apostol de las Indias, San Francisco Xavier, se aplicaron del Real haver para los  
seminarios que se hicieron en su tiempo y que si hubiesen medios no dejaríades de pedir  
para la fundación de otro seminario o casa aparte donde se crien las niñas Marianas  
antes que el enemigo comun las agregue a las casas públicas donde viven en comuni-  
dad los mancebos con las doncellas y solteras que escogen y llevan de unos pueblos a  
otros con el consentimiento de sus padres por lo que interesan en la paga, pero que por  
espera que la fundación de las Marias pobres de esa Ciudad que solicitava la Congre-  
gación de San Francisco Xavier ha de ser la madre y fuente de aquella christiandad y  
especialmente de la buena instrucción de las niñas Marianas çedian por aora esta su-  
plica en la obra de esa ciudad.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias con todos los papeles tocantes a esta  
materia y lo que sobre ello pidió el fiscal de el, y consultado se me he tenido por bien  
de ordenaros y mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) que comunicando os con el  
dicho Diego Luís de S. Vitores para la fundación del colegio seminario que propone  
haga en la Isla de Guan, para la buena instrucción de los niños huérfanos de aquella  
tierra, dispongais que de la Caxa Real de esa ciudad se remitan cada año **hasta 3,000  
pesos** o lo que menos fuere necesario, según lo que os informare el dicho Diego Luís  
esto en el interín que lo situais en pensiones de encomiendas de Indios Vacos y así os  
encargo lo hagais quanto antes fuere posible para aliviar la Caxa de esta carga y tam-  
bién os comunicareis con este religioso, para la fundación del seminario o casa donde*



*se crien las niñas Marianas para evitar el daño que le presenta de estar agregadas a las casas públicas y para esta fundación acudiréis asimismo con lo que fuere menester según el informe que se hiciere el dicho Diego Luis de S. Vitores situandolo en la forma que os ordenais hagais para el seminario y también os encargo que fomenteis la fundación de las Marias pobres de esa ciudad asistiendo para esto a la Congregación de San Francisco Xavier, pues en una y otra parte será de grande utilidad para recoger doncellas huérfanas y que vivan con la virtud y doctrina que conviene en que se hará gran servicio a Dios Nuestro Señor y de lo que en estos tres puntos fuerdes executando me ireis dandome quenta en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren, para que lo tenga entendida y de la presente tomarán la razón los contadores de quantas que residen en el dicho Consejo.*

*Fecha en Madrid a 18 de Abril de 1673.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magestad,*

*Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la Nueva España que comunicandose con Diego Luis de S. Vitores de la Compañía de Jesús para la fundación del Colegio seminario que propone se haga en la Isla de Guan para la buena instrucción de los niños huérfanos de aquella tierra y casa de recogimiento para las niñas Marianas, execute lo que se ordena.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

[To] the Marquis of Mancera, etc.

Don Gerónimo de S. Vitores of the Treasury Council presented a paper with a list of points signed by Diego Luis de S. Vitores, his son, of the Society of Jesus and by other religious his companions which contains **10 points** in which he was proposing a few things that he says are necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines in whose reductions they are involved and, after checking another paper that had been received previously regarding the matter, it was found that 7 of the points contained therein had already been resolved, as you have seen by the despatches that have been sent. In the 3 remaining points, he suggests that on the Island of Guam which is one of the Marianas a royal foundation [be created] for a seminary with the name of San Juan de Letrán of Guam (to be linked through the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier with the Archfraternity of San Juan de Letrán of Rome) for the good training of the children of that country, made orphans by nature or by national custom, the result being that the children [concerned] are totally lacking in education and subjection to their Parents whose barbarity by divine providence resulted in an easier introduction of our [system of] education and reduction to seminary houses, that it could be expected that in due course there would come out of them with the skills to serve as acolytes, and even to be ordained as priests given that they lack drunkenness completely, and that it would not be necessary for the income or alms to be invested in

the Royal funds of that city for the Mariano seminary of the Island of Guan (which is now called San Juan) to amount to more than the 3,000 escudos from the Royal Treasury that the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, mentioned were applied to the seminaries that were created in his time, and that if there were any means he would not stop asking for the foundation of another seminary or separate house where to raise Mariana girls before the common enemy would attach them to the public houses where the young men live in community with the young and unmarried women whom they select and take from one village to another with the consent of their parents on account of the payment [they receive]; rather, hoping that the foundation of the poor Marys of that city that the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier was requesting should be the mother and source of that Christian community and specially of the good training of the Mariana girls, they concede this request to the work of that city.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies with all the papers touching upon this matter, along with what the fiscal there requested, and consulted, I have seen fit to order you (as I do now) to communicate with the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores for the foundation of the seminary college that he proposes for the Island of Guan, for the good training of the orphan boys of that country, you are to arrange for **up to 3,000 pesos** to be taken out of the Royal Treasury of that city to be remitted every year, or less if necessary, according to what the said Diego Luis will inform you of; in the meantime, you are to locate the sums in the rental income derived from the grants of vacant Indian lands. So, I order you to do so as soon as possible in order to relieve the Treasury of this charge and also to communicate with this religious, for the foundation of the seminary or house where to raise Mariana girls in order to avoid the harm done if they are annexed to public houses, and for this foundation you are to refer as well to what may be expedient in accordance with the report that the said Diego Luis de S. Vitores will make, by obtaining funds for it in the same manner that I ordered you to do for the seminary. I order you also to encourage the foundation of the poor Marys of that city to assist the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in this [endeavor], reason being that one way or another it would be of great benefit to gather orphan girls together, so they may live a virtuous life and be instructed for the greater service of God our Lord. You are to report regarding the actions taken with regard to these three points at whatever opportunity that may present itself, so that I may be informed, and the accountants who live in the said Council are to take notice thereof.

Made at Madrid on 18 April 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of her Majesty,

Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain who is to communicate with Diego Luis de S. Vitores of the Society of Jesus for the foundation of the seminary College which he proposes be made in the Island of Guan for the good training of the orphan boys of that country and a house in which to gather the Mariana girls. He is to carry out the given orders.

## B4. The Queen Regent to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Madrid 18 April 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol 51-52v, pp. 125-128; AGI Ultramar 562, part of Jesuit doc. n° 10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She acknowledges receipt of his 10-point request transmitted through his father, and about the College [San Juan] de Letran for orphan boys and the boarding house for girls.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La dhas Islas.—A Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs avisandole lo que se ordena al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp.<sup>a</sup> sobre la fundazion del Collegio seminario que propone se haga en la Isla de Guan para la buena institucion de los niños huérfanos y casa de recogimiento para las niñas Marianas.*

[De] *La Reyna Gobernadora*

[A] *Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañía de Jhs.*

*Don Geronimo de San Vitores vuestro padre del Consejo de Hazienda presento un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de vuestro nombre y de otros Religiosos vuestros compañeros, que contenia diez puntos, en los quales proponeis algunas cosas que decis son necesarias para las misiones de los naturales de esas Islas Marianas, en cuyas reducciones estais entendiendo, y haviendose reconocido otro papel que antes havia llegado sobre la materia se hallo esta tomada resolucion, en siete puntos de los que contenia en la forma que abreis visto por los despachos que se os an embiado a vos y al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España y Gobernador de Filipinas y en los tres restantes, representais que en la Isla de Guan que es una de las Marianas se haga una **fundacion Real de seminario** con titulo de San Juan Lateranense, de Guan, venido [=unido] por medio de la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier con la Archicofradria de San Juan de Letran, de Roma, para la buena ynstitucion de los niños de esa tierra huérfanos por naturaleza ó costumbre de nacion en que totalmente estan exemptos los hijos de la educacion y sugecion de sus padres cuya barbaridad, por la Divina providencia ven[d]ra a ceder en mas fácil yntroducion de nuestra criança y reducion a las cassas de seminario y que no seria la menor convenienzia que con el tiempo saliesen no solo con aptitud de servir de canacapoles, sino aun para ordenarse de saçerdotes, por faltarles totalmente la embriaguez, y que la renta ó limosna que se podia situar en la caxa Real de Mexico para el seminario Mariano de la isla de Guan que ya se llama de San Juan, no seria menester que llegase a los tres mil escudos que referia el Apostol de las Indias, San Francisco Xavier, se aplicaron del Real haver, para los seminarios que se hiçieron en su tiempo y que si ubiese medios no dejariades de pedir para la fundacion de otro seminario ó cassa aparte donde se crien las niñas Marianas, antes que el enemigo comun las agregue a las casas publicas, donde viven en comunidad los mancebos con las doncellas y solteras que escogen y llevan de unos pueblos à otros con ruin consentimiento de sus padres por la que ynteresan en la paga, pero que por esperar que la fundacion de las Marias pobres de Mexico, que solicitava la Congregacion de San Francisco à de ser la Madre y*

*fuelle de muchos bienes desa Christiandad, y espeçialmente de la buena instituçion de las niñas Marianas cediades por aora esta suplica en la obra de Mexico.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, con todos los papeles tocantes a esta materia, y lo que sobre ella pidio el fiscal de el y consultandoseme, he tenido por bien de mandar al Marques de Mançera Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España como lo hago por cedula de la fha de esta que comunicandose con vos para la fundaçion del collegio seminario que proponeis se haga en la Isla de Guan para la buena ynstituçion de los niños huerfanos de esa tierra, disponga que de la caxa Real de Mexico se remitan cada año hasta tres mil pesos el que menos fuere neçesario, segun lo que le ynformaredes[,] esto en el ynterin que los situa en pensiones de encomiendas de Indios vacos, procurando haçerlo quanto antes fuere posible para aliviar la Caxa de esta carga y tambien le ordeno, que se comuniquen con vos para la fundaçion del seminario ó casa donde se crien las niñas Marianas para evitar el daño que representais de estar agregadas a las cassas publicas, y que para esta fundaçion àcuda asimismo con lo que fuere menester segun le ynforme que le hizieredes, situandolo en la forma que le mando, lo haga para el seminario, y tambien le encargo que fomente la fundazion de las Marias pobres de Mexico, asistiendo para esto a la Congregaçion de San Francisco Xavier, pues en una y otra parte sera de grande utilidad, para recoger doncellas huerfanas y que vaian con la virtud, y doctrina que conviene, en que se hara gran servicio a Dios nuestro Señor de que ha parecido avisaros, para que lo tengais entendido y juntamente os dos las gracias del çelo y cuidado con que os ocupase en esas reduçiones y os encargo que en mi nombre, se las deis a vuestros compañeros, alentandolos a todos para que lo continuen por ser obra de tanta utilidad asi en lo espirital, que es el fin principal a que se deve atender como en lo que mira al temporal, y del estado que las fundaçiones de los collegios referidos fueren, tomando me avisareis en las oçassiones que se ofreçieren.*

*Fha en Madrid, a dieçiocho de Abril de mil y seisçientos y setenta y tres años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Mgd,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señlada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The said Islands.—To Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, to advise him of the orders given to the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the foundation of the seminary College that he proposes to establish in the Island of Guan for the good education of the orphan boys and a boarding house for the Mariana girls.

[From] the Queen Regent,

[To] Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus.

Don Geronimo de San Vitores, your father, of the Finance Council, presented a paper with a **list of points** signed with your name and that of other Religious your companions, that contained 10 points, in which you proposed a few things that you said were necessary for the missions among the natives of those Mariana Islands, at

whose reductions you were busy. It was recognized that other paper that had arrived previously regarding this matter and that decisions had already been made about 7 points contained therein, in the manner that you will have seen by the despatches that were sent to you and to the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of the Philippines. In the 3 remaining points, you requested that in the Island of Guan, which is one of the Marianas, be established a **royal foundation for one seminary** to be called San Juan de Letran of Guan, linked through the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier with the Archfraternity of San Juan de Letran of Rome, for the good education of the boys of that land who were orphaned, either by nature or by local custom, where children are now completely devoid of education and subjection to their parents whose barbarity, through divine Providence, will eventually disappear more easily thanks to our upbringing and reduction to the houses of the seminary, and that the least disadvantage would not be that eventually there might come out some with the ability to serve not only as acolytes, but even to be ordained as priests, since they are completely exempt from drunkenness, and that the income or alm for the Mariano Seminary of the Island of Guan, which is now called San Juan, which could be located in the Royal Treasury of Mexico, would not exceed the 3,000 escudos that the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, was referring to as being necessary for seminaries that were built in his time, and that if there were enough means, he would dare request the foundation of another Seminary, or separate house, where the girls of the Marianas would be raised, before the common enemy would gather them into the public houses, where the young men live in community with the young women and unmarried women whom they choose and take from some towns to others with the despicable consent of their parents, in exchange for some financial gain; however, it is to be hoped that the foundation of the poor Maries in Mexico (which the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico was trying to establish) will be the Patron and source of many benefits for that Christian community, and specially the good education of the girls of the Marianas, hence the pious work of Mexico should take precedence over this request.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, with all the papers touching upon this matter, along with what the fiscal there requested, and consulted, I have seen fit to order the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain (as I do now by decree of same date) to communicate with you for the foundation of the seminary college that you propose be created in the Island of Guan, for the good training of the orphan boys of that country, he is to arrange for **up to 3,000 pesos** to be taken out of the Royal Treasury of that city to be remitted every year, or less if necessary, according to what you will inform him about; in the meantime, he is to locate the sums in the rental income derived from the grants of vacant Indian lands, ordering him to do so as soon as possible in order to relieve the Treasury of this charge and also to communicate with you, for the foundation of the seminary or house where to raise Mariana girls in order to avoid the harm done if they are annexed to public houses, and for this foundation he is to refer as well to what may be expedient in accordance with the report that you will make to him, by locating the sums in the same manner that I ordered him to do for the semin-

ary. I also order him to encourage the foundation of the poor Marys of that city, being assisted by the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in this [endeavor], reason being that one way or another it would be of great benefit to gather orphan girls together, so they may live a virtuous life and be instructed for the greater service of God our Lord. It has seemed proper to advise you, so that you may keep it in mind and at the same time I wish to thank you for the zeal and care you take in working at those reductions and I entrust you to thank your companions on my behalf, encouraging them all to carry on with an enterprise that is so useful, not only in the spiritual realm, which is the main objective to be attended first, but also in material things, and you are to report to me at every opportunity about the status of the foundations of the above-mentioned colleges.

## **B5. The Queen Regent to Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, dated Madrid 18 April 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 53-53v, pp. 129- 130; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She thanks him for the assistance he gave to Fr. Sanvitores and his companions. This is an answer to Doc. 1670G.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Dhas Islas.—A Don Pedro [rather Juan] de Santa Cruz, dandole las gracias por lo que asiste y ayuda a Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jhs y a sus compañeros en la conversion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas.*

*Don Pedro de Santa Cruz,*

*Entre los papeles que presentaron en el Consejo de las Indias, en nombre de Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jhs, proponiendo algunas cosas, que diçe son neçesarias para las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en cuyas reduçiones estan entendiendo el y sus compañeros, vino una carta vuestra de veinte y uno de Mayo del año passado de mil y seiscientos y setenta en la qual dais quenta al Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas del estado que esas reduçiones yvan tomando y de los surgideros que haviades reconocido eran a proposito para que diesen fondo las embarcaçiones y navios que fuesen por las costas de esas Islas Marianas y de la facilidad, con que se podran sacar las pieças de artilleria que se vian de dos naos que aora treinta años perdieron en esas costas.*

*Y haviendose visto en el dho Consejo, y consultadoseme sobre ello, se ha reconocido lo que os habeis aplicado à esas disposiçiones y con atencion à ello, ha parecido daros las gracias, como por la presente lo hago, por lo que asistis y ayudais a la conversion de aquellos Indios, y espero os alentareis a continuarlo, por ser obra de tanta utilidad asi en lo espiritual que es el fin principal, a que se deve atender, como en lo que mira a lo temporal que en ello me darederes por bien servido para premiaros en las ocasiones que se ofreçieren de vuestros aumentos.*

*Fha en Madrid a dieciocho de Abril de mil y seiscientos y setenta y tres años.  
Yo la Reyna.  
Por mandado de su Mgd,  
Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.  
Y señalada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Said Islands.—To Don Pedro [rather Juan] de Santa Cruz, giving him thanks for the assistance and help he gives to Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus and to his companins in the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philip-pines.

Don Pedro de Santa Cruz.

Among the papers that were presented to the Council of the Indies, on behalf of Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, proposing a few things which he says are necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands, at whose reductions he and his companions are working, there came a letter from you, dated 21 May of the past year 1670, in which you report to Master-of-camp Don Manuel de Leon, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands about the state of the on-going reductions and about the anchorages that you had surveyed as being suitable for boats and ships to anchor in along the coasts of those Mariana Islands and of the ease with which could be salvaged the guns that could be seen as coming from two gal-leons that some 30 years ago were lost on those coasts:

This having been seen in the said Council, and advice given me about it, it was recognized that you had applied yourself to those arrangements and carefully so, therefore it seemed proper to give you thanks, as I do now, for the assistance and help you gave in the conversion of those Indians, and I hope that you will be encourage to carry on, given that the enterprise is so useful, not only in the spiritual sphere, which is the main objective that one must keep in mind, but also in material things, and in this I will consider myself well served and willing to reward you whenever the opportunity to do so will present itself.

Made at Madrid, 18 April 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.





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## Documents 1673C

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# The Queen agrees to finance more missionaries for the Marianas

## C1. The Queen to the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 4 April 1673

*Note: She forwards a letter from Cardinal Nithard in response to a request by Fr. Sanvitores, superior of the Mariana Island Mission, for more religious for the conversion of those islands. Cardinal Nithard was Fr. Everardo Nithard, S.J., the Queen's confessor.*

[No longer extant. Mentioned in C3 below.]

## C2. The Council's secretary's letter to Fr. Provincial, Diego de Valdés, dated Madrid 15 April 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil.331, libro 7, fol. 47v-48v, pp. 118-120; AGI Fil. 101-3-208; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Islas Marianas—Reverendissimo Padre Provincial Diego de Valdés—lo es de la Provinzia de Castilla la nueva—sobre embiar Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs a las misiones de las Islas Marianas.*

*Haviendose presentado en el Consejo de las Indias un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado del Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de las cosas que eran mas necesarias, para las misiones de los naturales de las islas Marianas en Filipinas, en que el y otros quatro Religiosos de su orden estan entendiend[.] propuso entre ellas por lo mas preçiso que su Magd. ubiere por bien de mandarseles embiase, el mayor numero, de ministros del Evangelio que se pudiese desde la Ciudad de Mexico a la Isla de Guan, que es una de las Marianas, en los naos que salen del Puerto de Acapulco con el socorro ordinario de aquellas Islas para que desde ellas se repartan por las mas çercanas en las embarcaçiones de la misma tierra.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo se mando al Marques de Mançera Virrey y Capitan General de la N<sup>a</sup> España por cedula de 16 de Noviembre del año passado de 1671 que en las ocasiones de naos que se ofreciesen y se despachasen para las Islas Filipinas embiase todos los mas Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs que pudiese a la Isla de Guan para que vayan obrando en aquella reducion con el celo, y cuidado que conviene y que para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual, de que tanto necesitan los naturales de las dhas Islas Marianas, ordenase a los Religiosos que fuesen à ellas se les diesen, todas las asistencias que ubieren menester en la forma que se acostumbra haçer con los que pasan à emplearse en semejantes ministerios, y que diese quenta de lo que executase con toda yndividualidad.*

*Y en carta que el Marques escribió a su Mgd. en 12 de Junio del año passado de 1672 y se a recibido en los Galeones que proximately an llegado à estos Reynos, dice que luego que recibió el despacho referido mandose hiciese notorio al Padre Provincial de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de la Ciudad de Mexico, y por su ausencia al Padre Viçe Provinzial para que propusiese el numero de sugetos que podria embiar a las Islas Marianas en la primera ocasion que se despachase vagel con socorro à Filipinas y de que avio necesitarian para que no se perdiese tiempo en proveer, y prevenir todo lo que conviniera al buen logro del piadoso animo de su Mgd. y que habiendose yntimado por ausencia del Padre Provincial, Andres Cobian, al Padre Viçe Provincial, Pedro de Valençia, respondió que lo oya y que participaria esta noticia al Padre Provincial para que como a quien ynmediatamente tocava, proveiese y determinase lo que tubiese por conveniente, y añade el Marques que por noticias extra judiciales bien fundadas tenia entendido que no se hallava aquella Provincia con sugetos bastantes para las lecturas, operaciones y misiones de su cargo, y que sera dificil ocurrir a la obligacion de las islas Marianas hasta recibir algunos de Europa:*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de Indias se a hacordado diga à V.Rma. que por ser tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor el acudir a la conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas, procure V.Rma. disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos a emplearse en aquella mission ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, y de lo que V.Rma. dispusiere dara quenta al Consejo para que con vista de ello se provea lo que mas convenga al aumento de aquellas conversiones. Dios guarde a V.Rma. muchos años.*

*Madrid 15 de Abril de 1673.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

[Endorsement:] *En esta misma conformidad se escribieron cartas el dho dia, sobre esta materia, al Padre Juan de Cardenas, Provincial de la Provincia de Andalucía. Y al Padre Diego de Alastuy, Provincial de la Provincia de Aragon. Y al Padre Pedro Geronimo de Cordova, Provincial de la Provincia de Castilla la Vieja. A todos se les trato de Rma. y al Padre Pedro Geronimo de Cordova, de Señoria.*

### **Translation.**

Mariana Islands.—[To the] Most Reverend Father Diego de Valdés, Provincial of the Province of New Castile—regarding the despatch of Religious of the Society of Jesus to the Mariana Island Missions.

Whereas there has been presented in the Council of the Indies a paper containing a **list of points** signed by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, about the things that were necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, where he and four other Religious of his order are busy, he proposed, among other things, that the most important one was for Her Majesty to agree to order the sending of as great a number of Gospel ministers as possible from the City of Mexico to the Island of Guan, which is one of the Marianas, aboard the galleons that leave the port of Acapulco with the ordinary subsidy of those Islands, so that they may then be distributed among the nearby islands aboard local canoes.

This having been seen in the Council, the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain was ordered, in a decree dated 16 November of the past year of 1671, to send as many Religious of the Society of Jesus that he can to the Island of Guan, whenever galleons are available and are despatched to the Philippine Islands, for employment in that reduction with due zeal and care, in order to achieve the greatest spiritual fruit, of which the natives of the said Mariana Islands are in great need. He was ordered to provide the Religious who were to go there with every assistance that they might require in the manner normally given to those who are assigned to such ministries, and he was to report on actions taken in great detail.

And in a letter that the Marquis wrote to Her Majesty, dated 12 June of last year 1672, and which was received aboard the galleons that recently came to these Kingdoms, he says that, as soon as he received the above-mentioned despatch, he had an official note addressed to Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the City of Mexico, or in his absence to Father Vice-Provincial, so that he might propose the number of individuals he could send to the Mariana Islands at the first opportunity of a vessel being despatched with the subsidy to the Philippines, and what outfit they might need so that no time would be lost in providing it, and arranging everything suitable to achieve the pious intention of Her Majesty. In the absence of Father Provincial Andrés Cobián, Father Vice-Provincial Pedro de Valencia was acquainted with this request, and he answered that acknowledged it and would transmit it to Father Provincial, as he was the one most closely concerned with it, so that he would appraise himself of it and decide what was best to do about it. The Marquis adds that, through unofficial channels, he had it for certain that that Province did not have enough individuals for the teaching positions, operations and missions under its care, and that it will be difficult to concur with the obligation of the Mariana Islands until a few were received from Europe:

And this having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was agreed to tell Your Reverence, given that to attend to the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands is so much for the greater glory of God our Lord, Your Reverence should try and arrange for a few Religious to go and be employed in that mission, to assist Father Diego

Luis de San Vitores, and Your Reverence will please inform the Council so that, in view of your response, an appropriate decision can be made, the better to increase those conversions. May God save Your Reverence for many years.

Madrid, 15 April 1673.

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[Endorsement:] Similarly, letters of same tenor were sent on same date to Father Juan de Cardenas, Provincial of the Province of Andalusia; to Father Diego de Alastuy, Provincial of the Province of Aragon; and to Father Pedro Geronimo de Cordova, Provincial of the Province of Old Castile. All were addressed as Most Reverend, except for Father Pedro Geronimo de Cordova, who was addressed as Your Lordship.

### **C3. The Council of the Indies to the Queen, dated Madrid 22 April 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 3-1-54; AGI Fil. 101-3-207; AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folios 25-28; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 364-367, and also in Fil. 17, fol. 169-170.*

*Note: They respond to the Queen Regent about the letter from Cardinal Nidardo and Fr. Sanvitores' request.*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Consejo de Indias á 22 de Abril de 1673.*

*—Satisfaciendo á la órden de V.M. que vino con una carta del Cardenal Nidardo, sobre lo que le escribe Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus Superior de las Misiones de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas de lo que necesita de Religiosos para aquellas conversiones. Da cuenta á V.M. del estado que esto tiene, y del cuidado con que está el Consejo de que vayan cuanto antes fuese posible.*

*Señora.*

*Con órden de 4 de este mes se sirvió V.M. de remitir al Consejo una carta del Cardenal Nidardo, con copia de lo que le ha escrito Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jesus, Superior de los ministros de las misiones de las islas Marianas en Filipinas, sobre lo que necesita para la prosecucion de ellas y manda V.M. que viendose con la atencion que pide la calidad de la materia, se consulte lo que se ofreciere y pareciere.*

*El Cardenal Nidardo refiere en la Carta que escribió á V.M. en 25 de Febrero pasado de este año que Diego Luis de San Vitores, le representa en la que le ha escrito, el gran fruto que saca su sagrada religion, aumentando nuestra Santa Fé Católica en aquellas partes, y la necesidad que tienen de misionarios, y pone en las Reales manos de V.M. copia de dicha carta, suplicando á V.M. mande se le asista con los sugetos que pide de la Provincia de Austria, y califica este Apostolico Varon por mas apropósito, para las dichas misiones, y asi mismo con lo necesario, como lo espera el Cardenal, del Real y piadoso ánimo de V.M. y que nuestro Señor ha de conceder por este medio, grandes felicidades á V.M. y al Rey nuestro Señor.*

*En las cartas que Diego Luis de San Vitores, escribe al Cardenal Nidardo sus fechas de la Isla de S. Juan llamada antes Guan, en las islas Marianas á 25 de Abril del año pasado de 1669 y 29 de Mayo de 1670, dice que aquella gran mies y escursion desde la tierra Austral y otras hasta el Japon está esperando muchos y fervorosos operarios de la [Casa] de Austria y otras de por allá sin que se detengan mas tiempo que el de la vas-tante dilacion que abrá en el camino, hasta llegar á las dichas Islas Marianas, ya que de España era imposible que fuesen vastantes.*

*Habiendose visto en el Consejo la órden de V.M. y cartas referidas y reconocidose lo que está proveido sobre embiar religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus á la Mision de las Islas Marianas, ha parecido representar á V.M. que con ocasion de haberse visto en el, un papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores, una de las cosas que propuso por lo mas preciso para las Misiones de los naturales de aquellas Islas, fué que se les embiase el mayor número de ministros del Evangelio que se pudiese desde la Ciudad de Mexico á la isla de Guan (que es una de las Marianas) en las Naos que salen del Puerto de Acapulco con el socorro ordinario de Filipinas, para que desde ellas se repartan por las mas cercanas, en las embarcaciones de la misma tierra, se mandó al Marques de Mancera, Virrey de la Nueva España por cédula de 16 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1671 que en las ocasiones de Naos que se ofreciesen y se despachasen para las Islas Filipinas embiase todos los mas religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus que pudiese á la isla de Guan, para que fuesen obrando en aquella reduccion con el celo y cuidado que conviene, y que para que mejor se pudiese lograr el fruto espiritual de que tanto necesitaban los naturales de aquellas Islas Marianas, ordenase que á los religio-sos que fuesen á ella, se les diesen todas las asistencias que hubiesen menester, en la forma que se acostumbra á hacer, con los que pasan á cumplarse en semejantes min-isterios, y que diese cuenta de lo que ejecutase.*

*Y en carta que el Marques escribió á V.M. en 12 de Junio del año pasado de 1672, dice que luego que recibió el despacho referido, mandó se hiciese notorio al Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus de aquella Provincia, y por su ausencia el Vice-Provincial para que propusiese, el número de sugetos que podria embiar á las Islas Marianas en la prime-ra ocasion que se despachase vagel, con socorro á Filipinas, y de que avio necesitarian para que no se perdiese tiempo en proveer, y prevenir todo lo que comviniese para con-seguirlo, y que habiendose intimado por ausencia del Provincial al Vice-Provincial, re-spondió que lo oia y participaria esta noticia al Provincial, para que como á quien inmediatamente tocaba preveyse y determinase lo que tubiese por conveniente y añade el Marques que por noticias estrajudiciales bien fundadas, tenia entendido, que no se hallaba aquella Provincia con sugetos vastantes para las lecturas, operaciones, y mis-iones de su cargo, y que seria dificil ocurrir á la obligacion de las islas Marianas, hasta recibir algunos de Europa.*

*En vista de la Carta del Marques de Mancera pareció al Consejo se escribiese á los Provinciales de la Compañia de Jesus de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andalucia, y Aragon (como se ha hecho) que por ser tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, el acudir á la conversion de los indios de las Islas Marianas, procuren disponer*

*que vayan algunos religiosos á emplearse en aquella Mision, ayudando á Diego Luis de San Vitores y á los demas compañeros que estan entendiendo en ella, y al General de la Compañia se le ha dado tambien noticia de lo que se encarga á los Provinciales diciendole que por su parte lo fomenta, con el celo y cuidado que conviene, por ser la obra de tan grande piedad, y depender de esto la Salvacion de aquellas Almas, y al Virrey, se le da aviso de todo, en respuesta de su carta para que lo tenga entendido y juntamente se le encarga que por su parte continúe las instancias para que de aquella Provincia se embien religiosos, en conformidad de lo que le está ordenado por la Cédula referida, por la contingencia que puede haber, de que vayan de estos Reynos con la brevedad que conviene.*

*De que el Consejo da cuenta á V.M. satisfaciendo al órden referido para que se sirva tener entendido, el estado que tiene esta materia, y el cuidado con que se está de que vayan cuanto antes fuere posible, los mas religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus que se pueda á las Islas Marianas, á emplearse en aquellas misiones, para que hallandose V.M. con esta noticia mande lo que mas fuere servida.*

*Madrid á 22 de Abril de 1673.*

*Conde de Medellin,*

*Marques de Monte Alegre,*

*D. Antonio de Castro,*

*D. Juan de San Felices,*

*D. José Ponçe,*

*Marques de Santillan,*

*D. Sancho de Villegas.*

*[Minute from the Queen:] Quedo advertida. El Consejo lo ejecutará y me dará cuenta por ser obra tan del servicio de Dios.*

### **Translation.**

Council of the Indies, 22 April 1673.

—Responding to the order of Y.M. that came with a letter from Cardinal Nithard, regarding what Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, Superior of the Mariana Island Missions in the Philippines wrote to him about the need for Religious for those conversions. The Council reports to Y.M. about the state of this affair, and of the care and speed with which the Council is treating the matter.

Madam:

With an order dated on the 4th last, Y.M. was pleased to remit to the Council a letter from Cardinal Nithard, with a copy of what was written him by Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, Superior of the ministers in the missions of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, regarding the need for their survival and Y.M. orders that they be seen with the due care that the matter requires, and recommend the best thing to do.

Cardinal Nithard, in the letter he wrote Y.M. on 25 February of this year, mentions that Diego Luis de San Vitores, in his letter to him, has mentioned the great fruit that

his sacred order if getting, by increasing our Holy Catholic Faith in those parts, and their need for missionaries. He forwarded a copy of said letter to Y.M., begging Y.M. to order that he [i.e. Sanvitores] be assisted with the individuals whom he is asking from the Province of Austria, and he qualifies this apostolic man as most suitable for the said missions, and with necessities as well, as the Cardinal hopes to get from the Royal and pious intention of Y.M., and that, through this means, our Lord will surely grant Y.M. and the King our Lord some great happiness.

In the letters that Diego Luis de San Vitores wrote to Cardinal Nithard, dated from the Island of San Juan, formerly called Guan, in the Mariana islands, on 25 April of the past year 1669 and 29 May 1670,<sup>1</sup> he says that such a great harvest and the exploration from the Austral Land and others in the vicinity as far as Japan await many zealous workers from the land of [the House of] Austria and others from overthere, without them being detained more time than necessary along their way to the said Mariana Islands, given that it was impossible to get enough individuals from Spain.

The order from Y.M. having been seen in the Council, and the letters in question, and recognizing what is being provided about the despatch of religious of the Society of Jesus to the Mariana Island Mission, it seemed proper for the Council to represent to Y.M. that, with reference to a **list of points**, which was also seen in it, signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores, one of the things that he proposed as necessary for the Missions among the natives of those Islands was that the largest number of Gospel ministers as possible be sent from the City of Mexico to the Island of Guan (which is one of the Marianas) aboard the galleons that leave the port of Acapulco with the ordinary subsidy for the Philippines, so that from there they may be dispersed through other nearby islands aboard local canoes, the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain was ordered in a decree dated 16 November of the past year 1671 to send as many religious of the Society of Jesus as he can to the Island of Guan aboard the galleons that become available and are despatched to the Philippine Islands, so that they may work in that reduction with due zeal and care, the better to achieve the spiritual fruit that the natives of those Mariana Islands sorely need. He was ordered, in sending the religious there, to give them all the assistance they might need, in the manner usually employed with those who go on to work in similar ministries, and he was to report on actions taken.

And in a letter that the Marquis wrote to Y.M. on 12 June of last year 1672, he says that after he had received the above-mentioned despatch, he ordered that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus of that Province be notified, and in case of his absence the Vice-Provincial, for him to propose the number of individuals that could be sent to the Mariana Islands at the first opportunity of a vessel being despatched to the Philippines with the subsidy, and to specify what outfit they would need, in order not to waste any

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1 Ed. note: I have not come across these letters in AGI or elsewhere. It appears that every document to and from Nithard has disappeared from Spanish archives, except for a self-serving auto-biography which he wrote later in Rome, and is now in the National Library in Madrid.

time in supplying and arranging for everything that would be appropriate. He says that the Vice-Provincial was informed, in the absence of the Provincial, and he answered that he acknowledged the request and tht he would pass it on to the Provincial, as the latter was most closely concerned with it, for him to provide an answer and determine what was most convenient. The Marquis adds that he has learned, through trustworthy unofficial channels, that there were not enough individuals for the teaching posts, operations and missions under the care of that Province, and that it would be difficult to meet with the obligation of the Mariana Islands, until a few were received from Europe.

In view of the Letter from the Marquis of Mancera, the Council thought it proper to write to the Provincials of the Society of Jesus for the Provinces of New and Old Castiles, Andalusia, and Aragon (as was done), given that to accede to the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands was so much to the service of God our Lord, for them to arrange for a few religious to go to that Mission, to help Diego Luis de San Vitores and his other companions who were working there. The General of the Society was also made aware of the requests being made to the Provincials,<sup>1</sup> and he was asked to on his part he should encourage it, with due zeal and care, since the enterprise was one of great piety, and the salvation of those souls depended upon this. The Viceroy was also advised about everything,<sup>2</sup> in answer to his letter, so that he would know what is going on, and would himself take care to continue his requests for religious to be sent from that Province, in accordance with what he has been ordered by the above-mentioned decree, with the understanding that some may go from these kingdoms in the near future.

The Council reports to Y.M., to satisfy the above order and to keep you informed of the status of this affair, and of the care that is being taken in order to have the largest number of religious of the Society of Jesus go to the Mariana Islands to be employed in those missions, so that being thus informed Y.M. may order what you see fit.

Madrid, 22 April 1673.

Count of Medellin,  
Marquis of Montealegre,  
Don Antonio de Castro,  
Don Juan de Santelices,  
Don José Ponce,  
Marquis of Santillan,  
Don Sancho de Villegas.

[Minute from the Queen:] I concur. The Council shall proceed and keep me informed, as this enterprise is so much for the service of God.

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1 Ed. note: See C4 below.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673D2.



## C4. The King and Queen Mother to Fr. General Oliva, dated Madrid 26 April 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 53v-55, pp. 130-133; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-209; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Don Carlos por la Gracia de Dios  
Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon,  
de las Siçilias, de Hierusalem,  
de Navarra y de las Indias &c. y la  
Reyna Doña Mariana de Austria  
su Madre, como su Tutora y Curadora  
y Governadora de dhos Reynos y Señorios.*

*Dhas Islas.—Al General de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, avisandole que a los Provinciales de su orden de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, y Aragon se les escribe procuren disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos à emplearse en la conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas y que por su parte lo fomenten con el çelo y cuidado que conviene.*

*Reverendo y Devoto Padre General de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs.*

*Haviendose presentado en nuestro Consejo de las Indias yn papel de **apuntamientos** firmado de Diego Luis de San Vitores de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> de las cosas que eran mas neçesarias para las misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas en que el y otros quatro Religiosos de su orden estan entendiendo, propuso, entre ellas, por lo mas preciso que se les embiase el mayor numero de ministros del evangelio que se pudiese desde la Ciudad de Mexico a la Isla de Guan, que es una de las Marianas en las naos que salen del puerto de Acapulco con el socorro ordinario de aquellas Islas para que desde ellas se repartan por las otras çercanas en las embarcaciones de la misma tierra.*

*Y haviendose visto en el dho Consejo, mande al Marques de Mançera Virrey y Capitan General de la N<sup>a</sup> España, por cedula de dieiseis de Noviembre del año passado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y uno, que en las ocasiones de naos que se ofreçiesen y se despachasen para las Islas Filipinas, embiase todos los mas Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que pudiese, a la Isla de Guan para que fueren obrando en aquella reduçion con el çelo y cuidado que conviene, y que para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual de que tanto neçessitan los naturales de las dhas Islas Marianas, ordenase que a los Religiosos que fuesen a ellas se les diesen toda las asistencias que ubiesen menester en la forma que se acostumbra haçer con los que pasan à emplearse en semejantes ministerios y que me diese quenta de lo que executasen[.]*

*En carta que el Marques escribió en doçe de Junio del año passado de mil y seis cientos y setenta y dos, diçe que luego que reçivio el despacho referido mando se hiziese notorio al Provincial de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de aquella provinzia y por ausencia al Viçe Provincial para que propusiese el numero de sugetos que podria embiar a las Islas Marianas en la primera ocassion que se despachase vagel con socorro a Filipinas, y de que avio neçessitarian para que no se perdiase tiempo en proveer y prevenir todo lo que conviniese, para conseguirlo y que havindose yntimado, por ausencia del Provincial, Andres Cobian, al Viçe Provincial, Pedro de Valençia, respondió que lo oia y que participaria esta noticia al Provincial para que como a quien ynmediatamente tocava, proveyese y determinase lo que ubiere por conveniente, y añade el Marques que por noticias extra judiçiales vien fundadas tenia entendido que no se hallava aquella Provincia con sugetos bastantes para las lecturas, operaciones y misiones de su cargo y que seria dificil ocurrir a la obligazion de las Islas Marianas hasta recibir algunos de Europa.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo de Indias, ha parecido escribir a los Provinciales de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andalucía, y Aragon, como se a hecho por cartas de quince deste presente mes, que por ser tan del servizio de Dios nuestro Señor el acudir a la conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas procuren disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos à emplearse en aquella mission, ayudando à Diego Luis de San Vitores, de que os doi noticia para que por vuestra parte lo fomenteis con el çelo y cuydado que conviene, por ser la obra de tan grande piedad, y depender de esso la salvacion de aquellas Almas y de lo que dispusieredes me dareis quenta en manos del Secretario infrascripto para que con vista de ello provea lo que mas convenga al aumento de aquellas conversiones[.]*

*De Madrid a 26 de Abril de 1673 años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

Charles by the grace of God  
King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily,  
Jerusalem, Navarre and the Indies, etc.  
and the Queen Mariana de Austria,  
his Mother, as his Tutor, Caretaker  
and Regent of said Kingdoms and Dominions.

Said Islands.—To the General of the Society of Jesus, advising him that letters are being written to the Provincials of his order in the Provinces of New and Old Castile,

and Aragon, for them to try and arrange the despatch of a few Religious to be employed in the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands, and that on his part he should encourage it with due zeal and care.

Reverend and Devoted Father General of the Society of Jesus.

Whereas a paper has been presented in our Council of the Indies containing a **list of points** signed by Diego Luis de San Vitores of your Society about the things that were most necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines where he and four other Religious of his order are working, wherein, among other things, he proposed as the most urgent one the despatch of the largest number of Gospel ministers as possible from Mexico City to the Island of Guan, which is one of the Marianas, aboard the galleons that leave the port of Acapulco with the ordinary subsidy for those Islands, so that once there they may be distributed among the near-by islands aboard local canoes.

After this was seen in the said Council, I ordered the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, in a decree dated 16 November of last year 1671, to send to the Island of Guan as many Religious of the Society of Jesus that he could, whenever there were galleons available and despatched to the Philippine Islands, for them to work in that reduction with due zeal and care, and the better to ensure the achievement of the spiritual fruit that the natives of the said Mariana Islands sorely need, he was ordered to give the Religious sent there all the assistance they might need in the manner that is usually given to those who go on to be employed in such ministries, and that he was to report to me on actions taken.

In a letter written by the Marquis on 12 June of the past year 1672, he says that once he received the above-mentioned despatch, he ordered that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus of that Province, and in his absence the Vice-Provincial, be notified so that he may propose the number of individuals who could be sent to the Mariana Islands at the first opportunity of a vessel being despatched with subsidy to the Philippines, and to specify what outfit they would need so as to waste no time in providing and arranging everything appropriate, in order to achieve it. After the Vice-Provincial Pedro de Valencia was notified, in the absence of the Provincial Andrés Cobián, he answered that he acknowledged the request and would pass it on to the Provincial so that he, as the person most concerned with this matter, may provide and decide what would be most appropriate. The Marquis adds that he has learned, through well-founded but unofficial channels, that that Province does not have enough subjects to fill all the teaching posts, operations and missions under its care, and that it would be difficult to attend to the obligation of the Mariana Islands until they receive a few from Europe.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it seemed proper to write to the Provincials of the Provinces of New and Old Castile, and Aragon, as was done in letters dated 15 March of the present month, since it is so much for the service of God our Lord to attend to the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands, for them to try and provide a few Religious for employment in that mission, assisting Diego Luis de

San Vitores. I hereby notify you so that you may on your part encourage it with due zeal and care, since the enterprise is one of great piety, and upon it depends the salvation of those souls, and you are to inform me through the undersigned my Secretary of what actions you will take, so that in view of it, the proper decision can be made to increase those conversions.

From Madrid, 26 April 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.

## **C5. Mr. Fernandez to Fr. General Oliva, dated Madrid 2 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 55-55v, pp. 133-134; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-210; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Dhas Islas.—Rmo. Pe. Gnl. Paulo de Oliva.*

*Remito a V.Rma. el despacho incluso de su Mgd. en que se da notiçia a V.Rma. de lo que se a encargado a los Padres Provinciales de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andaluçia, y Aragon sobre que procuren disponer que vayan algunos religiosos à emplearse en la conversion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores que se alla entendiendo en ellas y encarga su Magd. à V.Rma. que por su parte fomente por ser obra tan de servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y del recivo de este despacho se sirvira V.Rma. de mandarme avisar en lo de mas que fuere de su servizio.*

*Dios guarde à V.Rma. muchos años.*

*Madrid a 2 de Mayo de 1673.*

*V<sup>a</sup> M. de V.Rma. su mayor servidor,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

Said Islands.—Most Reverend Father General Paulo de Oliva.

I remit to Your Reverence the enclosed despatch from Her Majesty in which Your Reverence is given notice of what has been entrusted to the Fathers Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of New and Old Castile, Andalusia, and Aragon regarding their efforts to arrange the despatch of a few religious to be employed in the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores who is working there, and Her Majesty entrusts Your Reverence to encourage on your part an enterprise of such importance to the service of God

our Lord, and Your Reverence will please order that I be advised of whatever may be of your service.

May God save Your Reverence for many years.

Your major servant who kisses the hand of Your Reverence,  
Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## C6. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Cárdenas, dated Madrid 30 May 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 70-70v, pp. 163-164; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-220; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Rmo. Padre Provincial Juan de Cardenas.*

*Islas Marianas.—*

*En carta de dos de este mes avisa V.Rma. del recivo de la orden del Consejo de Indias en que se encargo a V.Rma. procurase disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs à emplearse en la mission y conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores para lograr tan sagrado ministerio y diçe V.Rma que considerando la gran falta de sugetos que tiene esa Provincia havia recibido tres que determinadamente havian entrado para yr a esta mission y estaban actualmente en el noviciado de esa ciudad que son el **Padre Juan de Ahumada** saçerdote y el **Padre Sebastian de Monrroy** que es de evangelio y antes de salir de ella se ordenara de missa y que el tercero es un hermano que acuda a las cosas temporales de que segun V.Rma a entendido neçessitan los Padres de aquella mission y que aunque estos tres sugetos son todavia noviçios la experiencia en las letras asegurava à V.Rma que los dos an de ser muy aventajados misioneros y que antes que lleguen a las Marianas se abra cumplido el tiempo del noviziado y abran hecho los votos sustanciales de religion.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo se a hacordado, diga à V.Rma. que se estima el cuidado con que ofreçe embiar estos tres Religiosos para la mision de las Islas Marianas y asi se admiten encargando a V.Rma. disponga que esten promptos para embarcarse en la flota de N<sup>a</sup> España que se esta aprestando para salir a navegar por San Juan [i.e. 24 June], y que avise a V.Rma el nombre[,] naturaleça y hedad de cada uno de estos tres Religiosos para que con esta notiçia se les mande acudir con el aviamiento neçessario para el viage librandose en la Caxa Real de Mexico por no haver caudal en la Cassade la Contratazion de esa Ciudad y asi lo tendra V.Rma. entendido para executar la orden del Consejo.*

*Dios Guarde a V.Rma. muchos años.*

*Madrid, a 30 de Mayo de 1673.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### Translation.

Most Reverend Father Provincial Juan de Cardenas.

Mariana Islands.—

In a letter dated 2nd of this month, Your Reverence acknowledged the receipt of the order of the Council of the Indies in which Your Reverence was ordered to try and arrange the despatch of a few Religious of the Society of Jesus to be employed in the mission and conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores to achieve such a sacred ministry, and Your Reverence says that, considering the great lack of individuals available in that Province, you had received three who had volunteered to go to this mission and they were presently in the novitiate of that city, to wit: **Father Juan de Ahumada**, priest, and **Father Sebastian de Monrroy** who is a preacher and who will be ordained to say mass before he leaves, and the third one is a Brother who would take care of material things, and you understand that the Fathers of that mission have a need for such a service, and that although these three individuals are still novices, the experience gained during classical studies has convinced Your Reverence that the first two will be very advantageous missionaries, and that before they get to the Marianas they will have finished the period of their novitiate and would have made substantial vows within the order.

This having been considered in the Council, it was agreed to let Your Reverence know that the care you took in offering to send these three Religious for the Mariana Island Mission was appreciated, and so they are admitted, and Your Reverence is entrusted to arrange for them to be ready to embark aboard the New Spain fleet that is being made ready to set sail around St. John's Day [i.e. 24 June], and Your Reverence should advise as to the birthplace and age of each one of these three Religious so that this information can serve to attend to their necessary outfits for the voyage, with money to be paid out of the Royal Treasury in Mexico, since there are no funds in the House of Trade of that city [i.e. Seville] and so Your Reverence should heed this in carrying out the order of the Council.

May God save Your Reverence for many years.

Madrid, 30 May 1673.

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## C7. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Valdés, dated Madrid 30 May 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 71-71v, pp. 165-166; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-219; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Rmo. Pe. Provincial Diego de Valdes.*

*Islas Marianas.—*

*En carta de nueve de este mes avisa V.Rma. del reçivo de la orden del Consejo de Indias, en que se encargo à V.Rma. procurase disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos de la Compañia à emplearse en la Mission y conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, para lograr tan santo ministerio, y dice V.Rma. que asta con todo cuidado de cumplir esta orden por la neçesidad que padeçe de obreros aquella nueva christiandad y que aunque en esta Provincia sean tan pocos los sugetos que ay por la apretura de los tiempos no se escusara V.Rma. en quanto le fuere posible cooperar en esta parte con la divina vocaçion.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo, se a hacordado diga à V.Rma. que se estima el cuidado con que ofreçe embiar Religiosos para aquella Mission, y que procura remitir el mayor numero que sea posible y con la brevedad que conviene, para que alcançen à embarcarse en la flota que ba de salir por San Juan de este año para la N<sup>a</sup> España y que V.Rma. avise los nombres[,] naturaleza y hedad de cada uno para que con notiçia de los sugetos que fueren se les mande acudir con el aviamiento neçesario para el viage librandose en la casa Real de Mexico por no haver caudal para ello en la cassa de la Contratazion de Sevilla.*

*Dios guarde a V.Rma. muchos años.*

*Madrid a 30 de Mayo de 1673 años.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

Most Reverent Father Provincial Diego de Valdes.

Mariana Islands.—

In a letter dated 29th of this month, Your Reverence acknowledged the receipt of the order of the Council of the Indies in which Your Reverence was ordered to try and arrange the despatch of a few Religious of the Society to be employed in the mission and conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores to achieve such a holy ministry, and Your Reverence says that you endeavoured to comply with this order, given the need of that new Christian community for workers and that, although there are so few individuals available in this Province, given the troubled times, Your Reverence will on your part not interfere with the work of divine vocation.

This having been considered in the Council, it was agreed to let Your Reverence know that the care you took in offering to send Religious to that Mission was appreciated, and so you should remit the largest number possible and as quickly as possible, so that they may be able to embark aboard the fleet that will set sail this year around St. John's Day [i.e. 24 June], and Your Reverence should advise as to the names, birth-places and ages of each one of them so that this information can serve to attend to their necessary outfits for the voyage, with money to be paid out of the Royal Treasury in Mexico, since there are no funds in the House of Trade of Seville.

May God save Your Reverence for many years.

Madrid, 30 May 1673.

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## **C8. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Córdoba, dated Madrid 30 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 71v-72v, pp. 166-168; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-218; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Rmo. Pe. Provincial Geronimo de Cordova.*

*Islas Marianas.—*

*En carta de veinte y seis de Abril pasado de este año aviso V.S. del recivo de la orden del Consejo de Indias en que se encargo a V.S. procurase disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs, à emplearse en la Mision y conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores para lograr tan santo minister[fi]jo y diçe V.S. que podra embiar estudiantes respecto de que los mas que pasan a las Indias lo son actuales, y no sacerdotes, y que en la Provinzia a donde van acavan sus estudios y no pierden tiempo, porque se hacen a los costumbres ó principios de aquellas lenguas con que en la parte donde los emplean se hallan mas aviles, para entrar mas a prisa en la enseñaça de los Indios, y que aunque las Islas Marianas an menester obreros saçerdotes, por no haver en ellas collegios en que darles estudios mas que detenidos en Mexico, y en Manila, los acavan alli mas aptamente con destinados para esta mission y adquieren la aptitud referida y van surtiendo en aquellas Islas como van entrandos y en otra carta de la misma fha, repite V.S. que podra dar sugetos si vastasen los que fuesen estudiantes y no ubiesen de ser saçerdotes acavados ya sus estudios porque de estos no havia al presente por emplear y que si el Consejo se sirviere de que sean estudiantes se avise luego à V.S. lo que ha de executar por el deseo grande con que esta de concurrir à aquella Mission de tanta gloria de Nuestro Señor.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo, se a hacordado diga à V.S. que se estima el cuidado con que ofreçe embiar Religiosos para esta Mission y asi se encarga à V.S. procure remitir el mayor numero que sea posible y con la brevedad que conviene para que alcanzar à embarcarse en la flota que à de salir a navegar por San Juan de este año para la N<sup>a</sup> España, y que V.S. avise los nombres, naturaleças y hedad de cada uno para que con notiça de los sugetos que fueren seles mande acudir con el aviamiento necessario para el viage librandose en la caxa Real de Mexico por no haver caudal para ello en la cassa de la Contratazion de Sevilla.*

*Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años como deseo.*

*Madrid a 30 de Mayo de 1673.*

*B.I.m. de V.S. su mayor servidor,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*



**Translation.**

Most Reverend Father Provincial Geronimo de Cordova.  
Mariana Islands.—

In a letter dated 26 April last, Your Lordship acknowledged the receipt of the order of the Council of the Indies in which Your Reverence was ordered to try and arrange the despatch of a few Religious of the Society of Jesus to be employed in the mission and conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores to achieve such a holy ministry, and Your Lordship says that he could send students, given that those who go to the Indies are normally just students, and not priests, and that they finish off their studies in the Province where they go, and they do not lose time, because they get used to the customs or elements of those languages, and so they become more skilled in their place of employment, the better to join in the teaching of the Indians, and that, although the Mariana Islands need workers who are priests, given that there are no colleges there, those who are destined to this mission can be detained in Mexico, or in Manila, to finish their studies more suitably there and to acquire the above-mentioned skill, before they join the mission in those Islands as they do elsewhere. In another letter of same date, Your Lordship repeats that, should students who are not yet priests be acceptable individuals, he could give some as there are no priests available at present, and that he would provide some students, should the Council be please to receive them, given that Your Lordship advises that he has a great desire to assist that Mission which is so much to the glory of our Lord.

This having been considered in the Council, it was agreed to let Your Lordship know that the care you took in offering to send Religious to this Mission was appreciated, and so Your Lordship is urged to remit the largest number possible and as quickly as possible so that they be ready to embark aboard the fleet that will set sail around St. John's Day [i.e. 24 June] of this year for New Spain, and Your Lordship should advise as to the names, birthplaces and ages of each one so that this information can serve to attend to their necessary outfits for the voyage, with money to be paid out of the Royal Treasury in Mexico, since there are no funds in the House of Trade of Seville.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Madrid, 30 May 1673.

Your major servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,  
Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## **C9. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Alastuey, dated Madrid 30 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 72v-73, pp. 168-169; copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-217; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Rmo. Pe. Provinzial Diego de Alastuey.*

*Islas Marianas.*—

*En carta de veinte y cinco de Abril pasado de este año aviso V.Rma del reçivo de la orden del Consejo de Indias en que se encargo à V.Rma procurase disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs à emplearse en la Mission y conversion de los Indios de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores para lograr tan Santo Ministerio, y diçe V.Rma que hara notoria en esa Provincia la orden referida, y la mucha mies que ofreçen aquellas Islas para el Evangelio y la preçisa necesidad que tienen de operarios para recogerla y que de los que moviere Nuestro Señor a tan gloriosa empresa dispondra V.Rma que vayan los mas que pueda a su tiempo aunque no serian los que su buen deseo querria embiar de socorro a una mission tan del servicio y gloria de Dios.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo se a hacordado diga à V.Rma que se estima el cuidado con que ofreçe embiar Religiosos para la mission de las Islas Marianas y que procure V.Rma remitir el mayor numero que sea posible y con la brevedad que conviene, para que alcançen à embarcarse en la flota que a de salir a navegar, por San Juan de este año para la N<sup>a</sup> España y que V.Rma avise los nombres[,] naturalesa y hedad de cada uno para que con notiçia de los sugetos que fueren se les mande acudir con el aviamiento necessario para el viage librandose en la Caxa Real de Mexico por no haver caudal p<sup>a</sup> ello en la Cassa de la Contratacion de Sevilla.*

*Dios guarde a V.Rma muchos años.*

*Madrid à 30 de Mayo de 1673.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

## **Translation.**

Most Reverent Father Provincial Diego de Alastuey.

Mariana Islands.—

In a letter dated 25th of April of this year, Your Reverence acknowledged the receipt of the order of the Council of the Indies in which Your Reverence was ordered to try and arrange the despatch of a few Religious of the Society of Jesus to be employed in the mission and conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores to achieve such a holy ministry, and Your Reverence says that you will notify that Province of the above-mentioned order, and of the large harvest that those Islands offer for the Gospel and the urgent need they have of workers to gather it, that Your Reverence would make the arrangements for those whom our Lord moved to go to such a glorious enterprise in due course, although they might not be as numerous as you wish to send to assist a mission that is so much to the service and glory of God.

This having been seen in the Council, it was agreed to let Your Reverence know that the care you took in offering to send Religious to the Mariana Island Mission was appreciated, and so you should remit the largest number possible and as quickly as possible, so that they may be able to embark aboard the fleet that will set sail this year around St. John's Day [i.e. 24 June] for New Spain, and Your Reverence should advise

as to the names, birthplaces and ages of each one of them so that this information can serve to attend to their necessary outfits for the voyage, with money to be paid out of the Royal Treasury in Mexico, since there are no funds in the House of Trade of Seville.

May God save Your Reverence for many years.

Madrid, 30 May 1673.

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## **C10. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Villamayor, dated Madrid 30 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 73v-74v, pp. 170-172; copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-216; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Rm. Pe. Provinzial Joseph de Villamayor.*

[Etc. Since he was writing to this Jesuit for the first time, he repeats the standard letter first sent to the others in April.]

...

## **C11. Letter from Mr. Fernandez to Fr. Villabona, dated Madrid 30 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 75, p. 173; draft copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-218; copy in RAH 9/2677; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Padre Manuel de Villabona.*

*Islas Marianas.—*

*Haviendose visto en el Consejo de Indias las cartas que los Padres Provinciales de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andalucía y Aragon an escrito en respuesta de lo que seles dijo sobre que vayan algunos Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs à emplearse en la Mission de las Islas Marianas ayudando al padre Diego Luis de San Vitores y asimismo el memorial que V.P. presento sobre esta materia se a hacordado seles escriba lo que V.P. vera por las cartas que van con esta y tambien se dice al Padre Provincial de Cerdeña que por su parte disponga vayan algunos Religiosos de aquella Provinzia a esta mission de que aviso a V.P. para que solicite su cumplimiento procurando que los Padres Provinciales executen lo que se les encarga, con toda brevedad por estar tan proxima la partença de la flota.*

*Dios guarde a V.P. mil años.*

*Madrid a 30 de Mayo de 1673.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### Translation.

Father Manuel of Villabona.

Mariana Islands.—

The Council of the Indies has seen the letter that the Fathers Provincial of the Provinces of Old and New Castile, Andalusia and Aragon have written in answer to what they were told regarding the despatch of a few Religious of the Society of Jesus to be employed in the Mariana Island Mission, assisting Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and also the memorial that Your Paternity presented regarding this matter, and it was decided to write to Y.P. what you will see in the enclosed letters, and also the one sent to the Provincial of Sardinia<sup>1</sup> who is told to arrange for a few Religious of that Province to go to this mission, about which I inform Y.P so that you may see to it that the Fathers Provincial carry out what they are ordered, and quickly, given that the departure of the fleet is so near.

May God save Y.P a thousand years.

Madrid, 30 May 1673.

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

## C12. Answer of Fr. Villabona, dated 2 June 1673

*Source: RAH 9/2677.*

*Con papel de V.M. de 30 de Mayo pasado e recibido las cartas que los Señores del Consejo de Indias han mandado se escrivan a los Padres Provinciales de las Provincias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andalusia, Aragon y Cerdeña, porque procuren que vaya algunos Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> a emplearse en la mision de las Islas Marianas ayudando al Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores. Y en conformidad de lo que el Consejo me manda solizitare su cumplimiento para que se logre el servicio de nuestro Señor y respondiendo los Padres Provinciales pondre sus cartas en manos de V.M. deseando me mande muchas cosas de su servicio para obedezzerle como tengo obligacion.*

*Dios guarde a V.M. muchos años como deseo.*

*Madrid a 2 de Junio de 1673.*

[Unsigned]

[Al]Seño Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

[He acknowledges receipt of C11 above.]

## C13. Mr. Fernandez to the House of Trade, dated Madrid 22 June 1673

*Source: RAH 9/2677.*

[This document has already been reproduced earlier as part of Doc. 1670I6.]

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This must be Fr. Villamayor mentioned in C10 above.

## C14. The Council to the Queen, dated Madrid 21 June 1673

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas, folio 28; copy in AGI Fil. 101-3-221; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 368-369 and also in Fil. 17, fol. 171-171v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Que siendo V.M. servida se podrá mandar librar á Nicolas de Pueyo de la Compañía de Jesus en la Caxa real de Mexico, lo que se habia de pagar en la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla para el aviamiento de los nueve sugetos de su órden que con licencia de V.M. lleva consigo para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas.*

*Señora.*

*Manuel de Villabona de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador General en esta Corte, por las Provincias de las Indias, ha representado que en conformidad de las órdenes que se han dado á los Provinciales de la misma Compañía de las Provincias de estos Reynos, para que procuren embiar algunos sugetos, para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, **estan prontos nueve religiosos** de su órden los cuales iban caminando para la Ciudad de Sevilla á embarcarse, en la flota que se está despachando para la Nueva España y suplica á V.M. se sirva de mandar, se les de licencia para ello, y para que los pueda llevar consigo Nicolas de Pueyo, á cuyo cargo va la mision de la Provincia de Mexico, y que se les libre en la Caxa Real de aquella Ciudad el abiamiento que les toca, desde esta Corte hasta las Islas Filipinas, y desde ellas á las Marianas, en la forma que se acostumbra á hacer, con los demas sugetos que pasan á costa de la real hacienda respecto de no haber en Sevilla caudal de que hacerlo como era notorio.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo donde se tiene noticia de que en la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, no hay efectos de donde suplir prontamente este gasto siendo preciso que estos religiosos se embarquen en la flota que ahora va á la Nueva España, para que puedan emplearse en tan Santo Ministerio, como es al que van destinados, ha parecido que siendo V.M. servida, se le podrá librar al dicho Nicolas de Pueyo, en la Caxa Real de Mexico, lo que se habia de pagar en Sevilla, para el aviamiento y demas gastos de los nueve sugetos de la Compañía de Jesus que lleva consigo, para las Misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas, sin embargo de las órdenes generales que estan dadas, pues lo mismo se ha hecho de algunos años á esta parte, con los demas religiosos que han pasado á las Indias.*

*V.M. mandará lo que mas fuere servida.*

*Madrid á 21 de Junio de 1673.*

*Conde de Medellin,*

*Marques de Montealegre,*

*D. Tomas de Valdés,*

*D. Juan de Santelices,*

*D. José Ponce,  
Marques de Santillan,  
D. Sancho de Villegas,  
D. Miguel Muñoz.  
Como parece. Don Francisco de Madrigal.*

### **Translation.**

If Y.M. so wishes, an order may be given for the release to Nicolas de Pueyo of the Society of Jesus from the Royal Treasury in Mexico of what should normally have been paid out of the House of Trade in Seville for the outfitting of the 9 subjects of his order whom he is taking along, with Y.M.'s permission, bound to the Missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines.

Madam:

Manuel de Villabona of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies at this Court, has represented that, in accordance with the orders given to the Provincials of the same Society in these Kingdoms, to have them try and send a few subjects to the Missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, **9 religious of his order are ready** and they are on their way to the City of Seville to embark aboard the fleet that is being made ready for New Spain, and he begs Y.M. to please order to give him permission to do so. In order for Nicolas de Pueyo, in whose charge goes the mission of the Province of Mexico, to be able to take it along, and for the outfitting that concerns them be released from the Royal Treasury in that City, covering the voyage from this Court as far as the Philippine Islands, and from there to the Marianas, in the manner that is usually done with other subjects who pass at the expense of the royal treasury, given that there are no funds available in Seville to do it, as is well known.

This having been seen in the Council where it is known that the House of Trade in Seville has no cash from which this expense could be quickly paid out, being urgent for these religious to embark aboard the fleet that is about to depart for New Spain, so that they may be employed in such a holy ministry, as the one to which they are bound, it seemed that if Y.M. so wishes, the said Nicolas de Pueyo could have the funds that should normally be paid in Seville released to him from the Royal Treasury in Mexico, for the outfitting and other expenses of the 9 subjects of the Society of Jesus whom he is taking along with him, bound to the Missions of the natives of the Mariana Islands, notwithstanding the general orders that are in effect, given that there exists a precedent, and this procedure was used overhere with other religious who were bound to the Indies.

Y.M. will order what you wish.

Madrid, 21 June 1673.

Count of Medellin,  
Marquis of Montealegre,  
Don Thomas de Valdes,

Don Juan de Santelices,  
 Don José Ponce,  
 Marquis of Santillan,  
 Don Sancho de Villegas,  
 Don Miguel Muñoz.  
 Concur. Don Francisco de Madrigal.<sup>1</sup>

## C15. Note from the Queen to the House of Trade, dated 23 June 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-3-222; copy in RAH 9/2677.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Governadora.*

*Presidente y Jueces oficiales de la Cassa de la Contrataçion de la çudad de Sevilla: yo los mando que à Nicolas de Pueyo de la Compañia de Jhs à quien he dado lizencia para que lleve a la Provinzia de Mexico la Mision que estava conzedida à Francisco de Florenzia, de la misma Compañia; le degeis llevar asimismo, nueve sugetos, de su orden como superior dellos que ban destinados, para las conversiones de los naturales de las Isla Marianas en Filipinas, a costa de la Real Hazienda, sin ponerle en ello embaraço, ni ympedimento alguno que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fha.*

### Translation.

The Queen Regent.

President and Official Judges of the House of Trade in the City of Seville: I order you to let Nicolas de Pueyo of the Society of Jesus, who has been given permission to take to the Province of Mexico the mission that was granted to Francisco de Florenzia of the same Society, take along 9 subjects of his order, as their superior, who are bound to the conversions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, at the expense of the Royal Treasury, without placing any hindrance in their way, nor any impediment whatsoever, and so is my will.

Given.<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: The Council members were advised separately, by a note of similar content (minus the names of the missionaries) dated the next day, 22 June 1673 (see AGI Fil. 101-3-206).

2 Ed. note: A copy was sent to Fr. Villabona.

## C16. Mr. Fernandez to the Royal Officials (of Cadiz), dated Madrid 26 June 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-3-223; copy in RAH 9/2677.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*En carta de 22 de este mes aprobó el Consejo nueve sugetos de la Compañía de Jhs que ban destinados para la conversion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, para que los puede llevar consigo, hasta la Ciudad de Mexico Nicolas Pueyo de la misma Comp<sup>a</sup> y embarcarse en la glota que se esta despachando para la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> como mas particularmente lo veran V.Mercedes por la carta referida a que me remito.*

*Ya ora a representado Manuel de Villabona, de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, Procurador General en esta Corte por las Provinzias de las Indias que despues an llegado otros dos sugetos de su orden que el uno se llama Pedro Martin, que es filosofo de 24 años de hedad y natural de la Nava del Rey, y el otro Thomas Alvarez de la Fuente, theologo, de la misma hedad, y natural de Soria; y a suplicado a su Mgd. se sirva de aprobarlos para que los pueda llevar consigo en comp<sup>a</sup> de los demas el dho Nicolas de Pueyo.*

*Y haviendose visto en el Consejo se à hacordado diga a V.Mercedes den à Nicolas de Pueyo el despacho neçessario en la forma que se acostumbra para que pueda llevar los dos sugetos referidos, con los nueve que ya estan aprovados, y que le degen hazer su viage, en conformidad de los despachos de Su Magd. que para ello se le an mandado dar.*

*Dios guarde à V.Mercedes muchos años.*

*Madrid à 26 de Junio de 1673.*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

### Translation.

In a letter dated 22nd of this month, the Council approved 9 subjects of the Society of Jesus bound to the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, so that Nicolas de Pueyo of the same Society could take them along as far as Mexico City, and to embark aboard the fleet that is being despatched to New Spain, as Your Graces will be made aware in more detail by the above-mentioned letter, to which I refer.

And now Manuel de Villabona, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General at this Court for the Provinces of the Indies, has represented that, afterwards 3 more subjects of his order have arrived: one of them, named Pedro Martín, is a philosophy student, 24 years old, and a native of Nava del Rey, and the other, Thomas Alvarez de la Fuente, theology student, same age, and a native of Soria; and he has begged Your Majesty to please approve them so that the said Nicolas de Pueyo may take them along with him, in company with the others.

And this having been seen in the Council, it was agreed to tell Your Graces to give Nicolas de Pueyo the necessary despatch in the usual manner so that he may take the



two above- mentioned subjects, along with the 9 others who have already been approved, and to let them make their voyage, in accordance with the despatches of Her Majesty which have been given to him to that effect.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Madrid, 26 June 1673.

## **C17. The Queen to the House of Trade, dated Madrid 27 June 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 101-3-224; copy in RAH 9/2677.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Governadora.*

*Presidente y Jueces de la Cassa de la Contratacion de la Ciudad de Sevilla.*

*Por otra mi çedula de 23 de este mes y año, os mande dejasedes llevar a la çiudad de Mexico à Nicolas de Pueyo, de la Compañia de Jhs, nueve sugetos de su orden como Superior de ellos, que ban destinados para las conversiones de los naturales de los Islas Marianas en Filipinas a costa de la Real Hazienda como mas particularmente lo vereis por ella; demas de los quales os mando dejeis el llevar al dho Nicolas de Pueyo otros dos sugetos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs (que por todo son onze) que tambien ban à emplearse en la Mision de las Islas Marianas, en la forma que los demas, sin ponerle en ello embaraço, ni ympedimiento alguno, que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fha.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

President and Official Judges of the House of Trade in the City of Seville.

By another decree of 23rd of the present month, I ordered you to let Nicolas de Pueyo of the Society of Jesus take to Mexico City 9 subjects of his order, as their Superior, who are bound to the conversions of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines at the expense of the Royal Treasury, as was more specifically explained therein; in addition to them, I order you to let the said Nicolas de Pueyo take two other subjects of the Society of Jesus (that is a total of 11) who are also bound to the Mission of the Mariana Islands, in the usual manner, without placing any hindrance in their way, nor any impediment whatsoever, and so is my will.

Given.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A copy was sent to Fr. Villabona. The Queen also wrote to the Royal Officials of Mexico on 30 June; source: AGI Fil. 101-3-225. There are no records of either of these two new subjects having served in the Mariana Island Mission.

## C18. Letter to Fr. de Cordova, dated Madrid 7 July 1673

*Source: AGI Fil. 101-3-226.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*[Al] Rmo. Pe. Provincial Pedro Geronimo de Cordova.*

*En carta de dos de este mes, avisa V.S. que con la brevedad que le conzedio el tiempo encaminó a la Çiudad de Sevilla quatro sugetos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs para que vayan à emplearse en la conversion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas, y que espera V.S. seran de mucho servicio de nuestro Señor en aquello empleo, para buen exemplo y por yr en proporçion de estudios que ayudandose de la dilacion del viage pueden muy presto ser de provecho.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo de Indias se a hacordado que de su parte de à V.S. las gracias (como lo hago) por el cuidado que a puesto en aviar estos quatro Religiosos, y que se espera que para otra flota, dispondra V.S. que vayan mas à aquella Mission, por ser la obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, que guarde à V.S. con muchos años que deseo.*

*Madrid a 7 de Jullio de 1673.*

[Unsigned]

### Translation.

[To] Most Reverend Father Provincial Pedro Geronimo de Cordova.

In a letter dated 2nd of this month, Your Lordship advised that, within the short time that had been specified to you, you sent along to the City of Seville 4 subjects of the Society of Jesus so that they would go on to the conversion of the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, and Your Lordship hopes that they will be of much service to our Lord in that employment, to give a good example, while they go on studying during the voyage, the better to be most ready and useful when they get there.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was agreed that Your Lordship be given thanks (as I do now) for the care that you have taken in making ready these 4 Religious, and that it is hoped that Your Lordship will see to it that more will go to that mission aboard another fleet, as the enterprise is so much for the service of God our Lord, and may God save Your Lordship for many years, as I hope.

Madrid, 7 July 1673.

[Unsigned]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Copies of the individual answers received from him (for the Province of Old Castile), as well as from Fr. Valdes (Province of Toledo, i.e. New Castile), Fr. Cárdenas (Andalusia), and Fr. Alastuey (Aragon) can be found in RAH 9/2677. Besides, a synthesis of these answers from the Fathers Provincial is contained in AGI Fil. 101-3-213.

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## Documents 1673D

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# Letters from the Queen to the Viceroy regarding the Mariana Island Mission

## D1. The Queen to the Viceroy, dated 22 April 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 57-57v, pp. 137-138; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Note: She refers to his letter and reiterates that the despatch of 200 Pampango Indians to the Mariana Islands would be appropriate for the missions there.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Islas Marianas.—Respuesta a una carta del Virrey de Nueva España sobre que se embien de Filipinas ducientos Indios Pampangos a las Islas Marianas por ser conveniente para las misiones de los naturales de ellas.*

*Marques de Mançera Pariente del Consejo de Guerra Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provincias de N<sup>a</sup> España, y Presidente de la Audiencia que reside en la Ciudad de Mexico.*

*En carta de ocho de Junio del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y dos avisais del recivo de la çedula de dieçiseis de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y setenta y uno, con que os remiti un papel de apuntamientos que se havia dado por parte de Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de las cosas que eran mas neçesarias para los misiones de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas en que estava entendiendo con otros quatro Religiosos de su orden, y que entre ellas, pedia se le embiasen de Manila ducientos Indios Pampangos y que en trueque de ellos remitaria otros tantos naturales de las Marianas, y os ordene que correspondiendo os con el Governador y Capitan General de Filipinas y con el dho Diego Luis de San Vitores, y tomando notiçias de las conveniençias de inconvenientes que podrian resultar de haçer este embio, dispusien-des lo que pareciese de mayor utilidad para aquellas conversiones y que tambien havia mandado al dho Governador que en raçon de esto se correspondiese con vos y deçis executareis este orden, y que le escrivireis acerca de ello en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, a parecido avisaros del recivo de vuestra carta y encargaros executais lo que se os ordeno, por el despacho referido y me deis cuenta de lo que resultare.*

*De Madrid a 22 de Abril de 1673 años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Mariana Islands.—Answer to a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the sending of 200 Pampango Indians from the Philippines to the Mariana Islands, given that it would be advantageous to the missions among the natives there.

Marquis of Mancera, Relative of the Council of War, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain, and President of the Audiencia that resides in Mexico City.

In a letter dated 8 June of the past year 1672, you acknowledged receipt of the decree of 16 November 1671 with which I remitted to you a paper containing a **list of points** that had come from Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus mentioning the things that are most necessary for the missions among the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines wher he was working with 4 other Religious of his order, and among them, he asked that 200 Pampango Indians be sent from Manila and that in exchange for them he would send as many natives of the Marianas, and I ordered you to get in touch with the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines and with the said Diego Luis de San Vitores, and to inform yourself about the advantages and disadvantages that might result from making this exchange, arranging what would seem more useful to you for those conversions, and that I had also ordered the said Governor to get in touch with you in this regard, and to acknowledge this order, and that you wre to write to him about it at the first opportunity that offered itself.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it has been decided to acknowledge receipt of your letter and to order you to carry out what you have been ordered, by said despatch, and to report on action taken.

From Madrid, 22 April 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.

## D2. Letter to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 29 April 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 55v-57, pp. 134-137; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Dhas Islas. —Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> avisandole lo que se escribe al General y Provinciales de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de estos Reynos, sobre que embien algunos Religiosos a emplearse en las Misiones de las Islas Marianas, en Filipinas, y encargandole continue sus ynstançias para que de la Provinzia de Mexico se remitan los Religiosos en conformidad de lo que se le a ordenado.*

*Marques de Mançera Pariete del Consejo de Guerra, Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provinzias de la N<sup>a</sup> España y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Mexico ó la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*Por Cedula de dieçiseis de Noviembre del año pasado de mil y seis cientos y setenta y uno, os mande que en las oçassiones de naos que se ofreciesen y se despachasen, para las Islas Filipinas embiasedes todos los mas Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que pudiesedes a la Isla de Guan, una de las Marianas para que vayan obrando en aquella reduçion con el çelo y cuidado que conviene y que para que mejor se pueda lograr el fruto espiritual de que tanto necesitan los naturales de las dhas Islas Marianas ordenasedes que a los Religiosos que fuesen à ellas se les diesen todas las asistencias que ubiesen menester en la forma que se acostumbra haçer con los que pasan à emplearse en semejantes ministerios y que de lo que en esto executase desiesedes quenta, expresando el numero de Religiosos que pasasen y lo que montase el aviamiento que se les diese para hallarme con noticia de todo, y aora en carta de doçe de Junio del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y dos que se recivio en los Galeones que ultimamente an llegado à estos Reynos, deçis que, luego que reçivisteis el despacho referido, mandasteis se hiziese notorio al Provinzial de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs desa provinzia y por su ausencia, al Viçe Provincial para que propusiese el numero de sugetos que podria embiar a las Islas Marianas en la primera ocasion que se despachase vagel, con socorro a Filipinas y de avio necesitarian, para que no se perdiese tiempo en proveer, y prevenir todo lo que conviniere al buen logro de mi piadoso animo, y que havindose yntimado por ausencia del Provinzial Andres Cobian al Viçe Provinzial Pedro de Valençia respondio que lo oia y que partiçiparia esta notiçia al dho Provinzial, para que como a quien ynmediatamente tocava proveyese y determinese lo que tubiese por conveniente y añadis que por notiçias extra judiçiales bien fundadas teniades entendido que no se allava esa Provinzia con sujetos bastantes para las lecturas, operaciones, y misiones de su cargo, y que seria dificul ocurrir a la obligaçion de las Islas Marianas hasta reçivir algunos de Europa.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo de Indias, ha pareçido escribir a los Provinçiales de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs de las Provinçias de Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Andaluçia, y Aragon que por ser tan del serviçio de Dios nuestro Señor el acudir a la conversion de los In-*

*dios de las Islas Marianas, procuren disponer que vayan algunos Religiosos à emplearse en aquella mission ayudando à Diego Luis de San Vitores y a los demas compañeros suyos que estan entendiendo en ella, y al General de la Comp<sup>a</sup> se le a dado tambien noticias de lo que se encarga a los Provinciales diciendolo, que por su parte lo fomente con el zelo y cuidado que conviene, por ser la obra de tan grande piedad, y depender de esto la salvacion de aquellas almas, de que ha parecido avisaros para que lo tengais entendido y Juntamente os encargo y mando que por vuestra parte continueis las instancias para que de esa provincia se embien Religiosos en conformidad de lo que os esta ordenado, por la cedula referida, por la contingencia que puede haver de que vayan de estos Reynos con la brevedad que convenga.*

*Fha en Madrid a veinte y nueve de Abril de mil y seiscientos y setenta y tres años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Magd.,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Said Islands.—To the Viceroy of New Spain, advising him of what is being written to the General and Provincials of the Society of Jesus in these Kingdoms, regarding the despatch of a few Religious to be employed in the Missions of the Mariana Islands, and entrusting him to carry on with his requests for the Province of Mexico to send some Religious in accordance with what he has been ordered to do.

Marquis of Mancera, Relative of the Council of War, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia of the City of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose care their government may be.

By a decree dated 16 November of the past year 1671, I ordered you to send as many Religious of the Society of Jesus that you could to the Island of Guan, every time there were galleons available and despatched to the Philippine Islands, for them to work in that reduction with due zeal and care, and in order to achieve the spiritual fruit that the natives of the said Mariana Islands sorely need, I ordered you to give all the assistance possible to the Religious on their way there, in the manner that is usual with those who go on to work in similar ministries, and you were to report back on action taken about it, detailing the number of Religious in question, and the amount involved in the outfit given to them, so that I may be informed. Now, in a letter dated 12 June of the past year of 1672 that was received aboard the galleons that have recently arrived at these Kingdoms, you said that, as soon as you received the despatch in question, you ordered that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus of that Province be notified, and in his absence, the Vice-Provincial, so that he may propose the number of subjects that he could send to the Mariana Islands at the first opportunity of a vessel being despatch with the subsidy to the Philippines, and of the outfit they would need, so as not to waste time in

providing and arranging everything appropriate for the accomplishment of my pious intention, and that, having informed the Vice-Provincial Pedro de Valencia, in the absence of the Provincial Andrés Cobián, he answered that he acknowledged it and that he would pass on this request to the said Provincial, as he was the person most concerned about it, for him to provide and decide what would be most convenient, and you added that, through well-founded but unofficial channels, you understood that there could not be found enough subjects in that Province for the teaching posts, operations and missions assigned to its care, and that it would be difficult to meet the obligation of the Mariana Islands until a few came from Europe.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it has been decided to write to the Provincials of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Old and New Castile, Andalusia, and Aragon because it is so much to the service of God our Lord to attend to the conversion of the Indians of the Mariana Islands, they were to try and arrange for a few Religious to be employed in that mission, assisting Diego Luis de San Vitores and his other companions who are working there, and the General of the Society was also notified of the orders given to the Provincials and told to encourage it on his part with due zeal and care, given that the enterprise is one of great piety, and the salvation of those souls depends upon it. It seems appropriate to inform you of this and jointly I order you on your part to carry on requesting the despatch of Religious from that province, in accordance with the orders you have received in the decree in question, given the contingency that some are being sent from these Kingdoms within as short a time delay as possible.

Given at Madrid, on 29 April 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.

### **D3. The Queen Regent to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 6 May 1673**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 65-66, pp. 153- 155; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She approves the decision taken by the Treasury in Mexico to the effect that on the next relief ship sent to the Philippines the sum of 3,000 pesos be specially earmarked for a mission boat that the Governor of those islands is to provide Fr. Sanvitores for inter-island service.*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*La Reyna Gobernadora*

*Islas Marianas.—Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> aprovandole lo determinado por la Junta General de Hazienda sobre remitir en la primer socorro que se hiziese a Filipinas 3,000 pesos por quenta aparte para que el gobernador de aquellas Islas disponga la **embarcacion** que pide Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs por pasar de unas Islas a otras.*

*Marques de Mançera Pariente del Consejo de Guerra, Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provinzias de la N<sup>a</sup> España y Presidente de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Mexico, ó a la persona ó personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*Por çedula de dieciseis de Noviembre del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y uno os mande que os comunicasedes con Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que se halla entendiendo con otros compañeros suyos en la conversion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas en Filipinas para que con atencion a lo que representa dispongais lo que fuere necesario para que este Religioso, y los demas misioneros que con el estan, tengan la **embarcazion** que piden para pasar de unas Islas a otras y que la executasedes, sin reparar en el gasto que para ello fuese preciso e inescusable hacerse, respecto de ser para obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y os encargue cuidasedes mucho del cumplimiento de lo referido y que si entendieredes que el Virrey del Peru lo podria disponer con mayor comodidad y brevedad que vos le avisasedes lo hiçiese, diçiendole que teniades orden mia para ello, y que de lo que en esto executasedes diesedes quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofreçiese[.]*

*Y aora en carta de doçe de Junio del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y dos representais que habiendo remitido el despacho referido a Junta General, para que en ella se reconoçiese y considerase, si seria practicable fabricar esta embarcaçion en el puerto de Acapulco ó en alguno de los de las Provinzias de Guatemala, ó del Peru, sin saver antes de Diego Luis de San Vitores el porte y medidas que havia de tener para el yntento y efecto deseado y en la contingencia de que saliese yntil y si tendria mas convenienzia remitir con el primo socorro, que se embiase à Filipinas tres o quatro mill pesos por quenta aparte destinados a la fabrica y apresto de la dha embarcaçion, para que el Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Islas entendido la yntençion de este Religioso pueda hacerla obrar, en qualquiera de aquellos Astilleros donde ay tanta sobra de Maestrança, de que podria resultar conocido venefiçio de tiempo y de dinero[.] se havia resuelto en Junta General de ocho [sic] del dho mes, y año que en el primer socorro que se hiçiese a las Islas Filipinas se remitieren tres mil pesos por quenta aparte para que el Governador de ellas disponga la embarcazion con comunicacion del dho Diego Luis de San Vitores y que se les enbiase testimonio de esta resolucion y de la dha çedula como pareçe por el que remitis[.] a lo qual no se os ofreçia que añadir.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de Indias, ha pareçido aprobar, como por la presente apruevo, lo determinado por la Junta General de hacienda y os encargo dispongais su cumplimiento que por despacho de la fha de este se da aviso de ello al dho Diego Luis de San Vitores para que se comunice con el Governador de Filipinas en orden a la execuçion de lo proveido que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fha en Madrid a seis de Mayo de mil y seiscientos y setenta y tres años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Mgd.,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada de los del Consejo.*



## Translation.

The Queen Regent.

Mariana Islands.—To the Viceroy of New Spain, approving what was decided in a General Meeting of the Treasury regarding the despatch by the next available relief ship to the Philippines the sum of 3,000 pesos in a separate account, so that the Governor of those Islands may arrange for the **boat** that Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus requested for inter-island service.

Marquis of Mancera, Relative of the Council of War, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico City, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

By decree of 16 November of the past year 1671, I ordered you to get in touch with Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus who is busy with other companions at converting the natives of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines, so that, in response with what he had to say, you would arrange what this Religious and the other missionaries needed, by way of a **boat** they request to travel between the Islands, and you were to carry it out, regardless of the expense involved, provided it be unavoidable, because this enterprise was for the service of God our Lors, and I ordered you to take great care to carry out said order, and that, if you were to learn that the Viceroy of Peru could arrange it with more convenience and speed, you wereto advise him to do it, telling him that you had an order from me to that effect, and you were to report on actions taken at the first opportunity that offered itself.

And now, in a letter dated 12 June of the past year 1672, you represented having referred the despatch in question to a General Meeting, for it to be recognized and considered therein, whether it would be practicable to build this boat in the port of Acapulco or in any of the ports in the Provinces of Guatemala, or of Peru, without having heard previously from Diego Luis de San Vitores about the size and measures it should have for the purpose intended and running the risk that it might turn out to be useless, or else it would be proper to send some 3 to 4,000 pesos to the Philippines with the first relief ship, on a separate account earmarked for the building and outfitting of the said boat, so that the Governor and Captain General of those Islands, being aware of the intention of this Religious, could have it built in any one of those arsenals where there is an excess of ship-builders, the outcome of which might be advantageous time-wise and money-wise. The result of this General Meeting of the 8th [sic] of said month and year was that, by the first relief ship that would sail to the Philippine Islands, 3,000 pesos be remitted in a separate account so that the Governor there would arrange for the boat, with correspondance from the said Diego Luis de San Vitores, and that an official copy of this decision be sent to him, as well as a copy of the said decree, as per copies enclosed, and you say that you had nothing further to add.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it was decided to approve, as is done by the present, the decision made in the General Meeting of the Treasury and I

order you to arrange for its accomplishment. In a despatch of same date,<sup>1</sup> the said Diego Luis de San Vitores is being advised to get in touch with the Governor of the Philippines, in order to carry this out, and so is my will.

Given at Madrid, on 6 May 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.

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1 Ed. note: See next document.

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## Document 1673E

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# Letter from the Queen Regent to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Madrid 6 May 1673

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 66v-67v, pp. 156-158; AGI Ultramar 562, part of Jesuit doc. n° 10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 207-208, and also in Fil. 14.*

*Summary note: She tells him that, by a letter of same date addressed to the Viceroy, she has told him that she approved the decision to have 3,000 pesos sent to the Governor of the Philippines so that the Mariana Islands may have the **mission boat** that he has requested for inter-island service.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Dhas Islas.—Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs avisandole que por cedula de la fha de esta se aprueba al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> lo determinado por la Junta General de Hazienda sobre remitir con el primer socorro de Filipinas 3,000 pesos para que el Governador de aquellas Islas disponga la embarcazion que el pide para pasar de de unas Islas a otras y que se comunique con el dho Governador en orden a la execuzion de lo proveido.*

[De] *La Reyna Gobernadora*

[Al] *Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia de Jhs.*

*Por çedula de dieciseis de Noviembre del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y uno embie a mandar al Marques de Mançera Virrey y Capitan General de las Provincias de la N<sup>a</sup> España, que se comunicase con vos para que con atencion a lo que representais dispusiese lo que fuese neçesario para que vos y los demas Religiosos misioneros que os hagais entendiendo en la conversion de los naturales de esas Islas Marianas tengais la embarcaçion que pedia para pasar de unas Islas a otras[,] lo qual executase sin reparar en el gasto que para ello fuese preçiso e ynescusable hacerse, respecto de ser para obra tan del seruiçio de Dios nuestro Señor y le encargue cuidase mucho del cumplimiento de lo referido y que si entendiese que el Virrey del Peru lo podria disponer, con mayor comodidad y brevedad, que el el avisase lo hiçiese diçiendole que tenia orden mia para ello, y que de lo que en esto executase diese cuenta en la primera ocasion que se ofreçiese.*

*Y aora en carta del [doce de Junio del] año pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y dos representa el dho Marques de Mançera que haviendo remitido el despacho referi-*

*do a Junta General para que en ella se reconociese, y considerase si seria practicable fabricar esta embarcacion en Acapulco ó en alguno de los puertos de las Provinzias de Guatemala ó del Peru, sin saver antes de vos de porte y medidas que havia de tener, para el yntento y efecto deseado y en la contingencia de que saliese ynutil y si tendria mas conveniencia remitir con el primer socorro que se embiase à Filipinas tres ó quatro mill pesos por quenta aparte destinados a la fabrica y apresto de la dha embarcacion para que el Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Islas entendida vuestra yntençion pueda hacerla obrar en qualquiera de aquellos Astilleros donde ay tanta sobra de Maestrança de que pareçia resultaria conocido beneficio de tiempo y de dinero[.] se havia resuelto en Junta General de ocho del dho mes y año que en el primer socorro que se hiciese à las Islas Filipinas se remitiesen tres mill pesos por quenta aparte para que el Governador de ellas disponga la embarcacion con comunicacion vuestra y que se os embiase testimonio de esta resolucion y de la dha çedula como pareçia por el que remitia[.] a lo qual no se le ofreçia que añadir.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de Indias, he tenido por bien de aprovar por cedula de la dha de esta lo determinado por la Junta General de Hazienda y encargo al Virrey disponga el cumplimiento de ello de que ha parecido avisaros, para que os comuniquéis con el Governador de aquellas Islas en orden a la execuçion de lo proveido.*

*Fha en Madrid a seis de Mayo de mill y seisçientos y setenta y tres años.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Mgd.,*

*Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Y señalada de los del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

Said Islands.—To Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, advising him that by a decree of same date, the Viceroy of New Spain was told of the approval of the decision taken by the General Meeting of the Treasury regarding the despatch by the first relief ship sent to the Philippines of 3,000 pesos so that the Governor of those Islands arrange for the boat that he requested to travel among the Islands and that he is to contact said Governor in order to have this carried out.

[From] the Queen Regent,

[To] Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus.

By decree of 16 November of the past year of 1671, I sent an order to the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain to get in touch with you, so that, depending on what you would tell him, he would arrange what you and the other religious missionaries involved in the conversion of the natives of those Mariana islands might need by way of a boat that you requested to travel among the Islands, and he was to carry this out regardless of the expense, provided it be necessary, given that it was for an enterprise that is so much to the service of God our Lord, and I ordered him to be particularly careful of accomplishing this task, and that if he should learn that the Viceroy of Peru could arrange for one, more conveniently and fas-

ter, he was to advise him to do it and that he had an order from me to that effect, and then he was to report on actions taken by the first opportunity that might present itself.

And now, in a letter of the past year 1672, said Marquis reported having referred the despatch in question to a joint meeting of the Treasury Council for it to be recognized and considered, whether or not it would be practicable to have this boat built in Aca-pulco or in any one of the ports in the Provinces of Guatemala, or Peru, without having heard previously from you the size and measures that it should have, for the purpose intended, thus running the risk that it might turn out to be useless, or else whether it would be more appropriate to remit by the first relief ship sent to the Philippines some 3 to 4,000 pesos in a separate account earmarked for the building and outfitting of said boat, so that the Governor and Captain General of those Islands, knowing your intention, could have it built in any of those arsenals where there were an excess of ship-builders, the result of which might be advantageous time-wise and money-wise. The joint Meeting held on the 8th [sic] of said month and year decided to remit in the first relief ship sent to the Philippine Islands 3,000 pesos in a separate account, so that the Governor there, knowing what you want, could arrange this boat building, and he sent you a copy of this resolution and of said decree (as were enclosed) and he had nothing else to add.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I have decided that it would be well to approve, in a decree of this date, what the joint Treasury Council meeting had decided and I ordered the Viceroy to arrange for its execution. It seemed proper to advise you of this, so that you would get in touch with the Governor of those Islands, in order for this order to be carried out.

Given at Madrid, on 6 May 1673.

I the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty,

Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

And countersigned by those of the Council.

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## Document 1673F

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# Official check-list of 33 royal despatches regarding the Mariana Island Mission, 1670-73

*Sources: 1) RAH 9/2677; 2) RAH 9/2678, doc. 18; 3) AHH Mexico, Misiones en Filipinas, Temporalidades, Legajo 326-2, pp. 1724-27; ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 236v-237v.*

## Despatches from the King [sic] that have been sent for the Mariana Islands

1. On 24 May 1670, the Viceroy of New Spain was ordered to release the underwriters of the bond given by Fr. [Diego] Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus of the condition of eventual approval for **the 10,000 pesos** paid out from the Royal funds for the reduction of the Indians of the Mariana Islands [=Doc. 1670K1].

2. On 6 June [1671], the same was ordered to inquire the best way to salvage the **bronze cannon** of two galleons that were lost on the coasts of those Islands, according to the notice given by said Father San Vitores [=Doc. 1671F3].

3. On same date, the Viceroy was ordered to inquire at the first opportunity from the Governor of the Philippines about the need of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are working in the reductions of the natives of the Islands of the Ladrones for some **men with weapons** to protect them [=Doc. 1671F2].

4. On 12 August of the same year, there was sent to the Viceroy a copy of a **list of points** signed by Father San Vitores with the things those missions need, for him to arrange for their provision [=Doc. 1671F6].

5. On same date, he was ordered to avail himself of the said religious missionaries to pay particular attention to the discovery of an **anchorage** where the galleons of those Islands could find shelter [=Doc. 1671F7].

6. On same date, he was ordered to avail himself of said missionaries to pay particular attention to the survey of the **products** of the Mariana Islands and if there are any mineral ones, and to send a narrative of what there might be [=Doc. 1671F4].

7. On same date, he was ordered, notwithstanding the report that he was asked to submit on 6 June 1671, to arrange what he would think appropriate regarding the **men with weapons** whom the said missionaries requested from the Governor for their protection, and to send a report on the possible source of funds to pay these men [=Doc. 1671F5].

8. On same date, he was ordered, notwithstanding the report that he was asked to submit on 6 June 1671, to have the **cannon** in question salvaged [=Doc. 1671F8].

9. On same date, the Governor was ordered to get in touch with the Viceroy in order to achieve everything in question [=Doc. 1671F9].

10. On same date, Father San Vitores was told to carry on with the reduction of the said Indians, given that it was important for the service of God our Lord and to encourage his companions to do the same, and to try and find an **anchorage** for the shelter of the galleons, and to report on action taken [=Doc. 1671F10].

11. On 10 October of same year, the Viceroy was ordered to provide the religious of the Society who would go to these Islands and missions with what they would need, as was done with those of Sinaloa [=Doc. 1671H3 & K1].

12. On 20 [rather 24] of the same month, the Viceroy was ordered not to charge duties on the goods carried for the sustenance of the religious who work at said conversions [=Doc. 1671K2].

13. On 16 November, the Viceroy was ordered to get in touch with Father San Vitores and to arrange for him and his companions to have the **boat** they have requested to travel among the Islands [=Doc. 1671K6].

14. On same date, the same thing was ordered to the Governor of the Philippines, so that he would also arrange it [=Doc. 1671K7].

15. On same date, the Viceroy was ordered to send to the Mariana Islands all the religious of the Society that he could for the conversion of their natives and to give them the assistance they needed [=Doc. 1671K3].

16. On same date, the Viceroy was ordered to get in touch with the Governor and with Father San Vitores to arrange for **200 Pampango Indians** to go to the Marianas and in exchange for them have as many go to Manila [=Doc. 1671K4].

17. On same date, the Governor was ordered to get in touch with the Viceroy for the execution of said orders [=Doc. 1671K5].

18. On 29 February [1672], the Viceroy was ordered to report on the neighborhood where the **Solomon Islands** are situated in the Philippines [sic] and to advise on what means could be taken to explore them [=Doc. 1672B].

19. On 12 November, the Viceroy was ordered to get a report from the Missionaries of said Islands about the **ports, mineral and other products** existing there and to take good care of the conversion of their natives [=Doc. 1672G4].

20. On same date, the Viceroy was ordered to arrange for said missionaries to have **men with weapons** they have requested for their protection [=Doc. 1672G3].

21. On 21st of same month, the Viceroy was ordered to have the **cannon** from two ships salvaged [=Doc. 1672G5].

22. On same date, the Governor was ordered to arrange on his part to have said **canon** salvaged [=Doc. 1672G6].

23. On 18 April 1673, the Viceroy was told to get in touch with Father San Vitores for the **foundation of a seminary college** that must be built in the Island of Guan for the upbringing of orphan boys of that land, remitting 3,000 pesos every year for it, or less, as required, and to provide whatever might be necessary according to what said Father would say was needed to found a house where the Mariana girls would be brought up, and to encourage the foundation of the Poor Marys in Mexico which is in the care of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier [=Doc. 1673B3].

24. On same date, Father San Vitores was advised about the above and he was thanked for the zeal that he and his companions employed in the conversions [=Doc. 1673B4].

25. On same date, Captain Pedro [sic] de Santa Cruz was thanked for the help he gave Father San Vitores in these conversions [=Doc. 1671B5].

26. On 15th of said month, the Father Provincial of New Castile was ordered to try and send a few religious to be employed in these conversions.

27. On same date, the same thing was said to Father Provincial of Old Castile.

28. On same date, the same thing was said to Father Provincial of Andalusia.

29. On same date, the same thing was said to Father Provincial of Aragon.

30. On 26th of same month, the Father General of the Society was advised of what the Fathers Provincial had been ordered to do, and to ask him to do his part to help [=Doc. 1673C4].

31. On 29th of same month, the Viceroy was informed of everything and was ordered to try and have a few religious sent from the Province of Mexico [=Doc. 1673D2].

32. On [6] May 1673, the remittance of 3,000 pesos by the Viceroy to the Governor for the building of the **boat** requested by Father Sanvitores was approved [=Doc. 1673D3].

33. On same date, Father Sanvitores was advised about it so that he would get in touch with the Governor and have it carried out [=Doc. 1673E].



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## Document 1673G

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# Letter from Fr. Ezquerra to Fr. Salgado, dated Guam 29 March 1673

*Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 42 pounds sterling, i.e. \$210 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1821).*

## Letter signed by Fr. Francisco Ezquerra, giving news of the early Missionary in the Marianas

...

I turn to the news to the news of these Islands, in which six of us Fathers remain—the three who arrived last year, and three who were already here. Our Lord has gathered unto Him our beloved companion, **Father Francisco Solano**, who passed away on 17 [sic] June last year, of the illness which he contracted at Manila, aggravated by the long sea voyage and labors in these islands. You will realize our grief, specially mine, for, though I know not how, the responsibility for the Mission now devolves upon me... only the fulfilment of God's will can console me, and the love I bear these poor people, for only through living among them could anything so contrary to my will have happened.

I am sending an urgent letter to the Fr. Provincial about this, and I beg you, for the love of God, to help me by sending our someone from there to assist this Mission, or at least to appoint some of the Fathers who are already here... you see for yourself in whose hands this Mission now remains.

We have not been without disturbances and wars and deaths this year, which have to a certain extent impeded the progress of the Missions... although, on the other less dangerous parts of the Island, we have been able to account for the baptism of many children, and there is much work to be done among the adults, who, owing to their lack of application, must be continually having the same lessons drummed into them.

This year we again attempt to adopt the methods proposed by the Venerable Fr. San Vitores, although to me some of them do not seem humanly possible of achievement, nevertheless *non est impossibile apud Deum*,<sup>1</sup> which words the Ven. Fr. San Vitores himself told me had served as the basis of his project for this Mission, when he was saying Mass one day. We have therefore not hung back in praying for the same as the Father did, who, although no longer with us, can now plead the better with God; and his blood, spilled by these poor creatures, is calling for redress.

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Nothing is impossible to God."

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## Document 1673H

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# Letter from Fr. San Basilio to Fr. Provincial Valdés, dated Marianas April 1673

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 4, i.e. fol. 35-36; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 64-66; published in Murillo Velarde's Historia (Lib. V, cap. 14, n. 764); published in García's Vida, a translation of which appears in the Guam Recorder, December 1938; also published, in French, in Le Gobien's Histoire (1700 ed., pp. 237-240).*

*Note: This transcript has been improperly labelled "Derrota del Padre Francisco Gayoso", thus creating a confusion with the next document, n° 5 in Ultramar 562, which is Doc. 1676K.*

## Letter from Fr. Antonio Maria San Basilio to Fr. Vicente de Valdés

### Original text in Spanish.

*Dios me ha concedido una de las mayores gracias ni esperada por razon de mis muchos pecados, ni merecida por ser de esclarecidos varones, esta es el quedarme el año de 1672 en las Islas Marianas, en las cuales aunque ha sido grande el consuelo, se ha mucho disminuido con la muerte del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, del cual esperaba sacar los documentos, y aliento con los cuales tenia alentados, y adoctrinados los Padres que con su Reverencia trataban, y los seglares todos, Dios sea bendito que por sus altos juicios así lo dispuso quizas para que advirtiera á castigar mis muchos pecados y no me olvidaré que mayores castigos, y venganza debo tomar de ellos, no por eso me quedo desconsolado, confiando en Dios que tanto á mi como á los otros quatro nos ampara desde el cielo y por su intercesion de el espero dexar en estos gloriosos trabajos la vida, pues vastantes ocasiones ay de dexarla ya sea por la falta de los vestimentos necesarios que son de unas raizes, sin pan, vino, y carne ni bastante arroz, materia de la cual todas las Indias participan, y tomen continuas asechanzas de los naturales, que se han explicado tener grande codicia de las cosas que les traemos de España como son cuentas de bidrio, cascabeles, cuchillos, concha de tortuga que estiman como Oro, y por causa de ellas han muerto algunos compañeros seglares y soldados*

*juzgandolos cargados de estas cosillas, que por quitarselas no les han perdonado las vidas, pero si tubieran vastante miedo de nuestra gente, no se atrevieran á estos disparates y acudieran á la Doctrina y á la iglesia sin dificultad que ahora tienen por no hallarnos con bastante fuerza ha apretarlos las dhas cosas, y son la moneda corriente con que se sustentan las personas que nos sirven de escolta, con todos estos cuidados los cuales ad nihilum computantur en comparacion de la gloria, para decirla asi, que en Marianas gozamos y vivimos tan contentos, que non est preti existimabilis todo el consuelo junto de todos los hombres respecto al estado en que estamos: para dar parte de ello sepa V.R. que nuestras Misiones Apostolicas sine sacculo, et sine pera, y passim sine calceamentis, parte por que no los hay que son de palmas, es fuerza andar sin ellos por los muchos lodazales, y puntas de la Mar que no se pueden pasar calzados; nuestra comida es de raizes que nos sirven de antes, de porcion y de postre, sin carne, sin vino, ó pan, pero como non ni solo pane vivit homo, esto no nos da cuidado, por que es tanto el consuelo que nos da Dios en las Misiones, que lo de mi parte ya teniendo noticia de ellos las pretendiera con largos años de pretension para alcanzarlos.*

*Ytem rebosa la alegria en nuestro corazon cuando vamos por estos montes á caza de niños para bautizarlos de pasado casi todo el dia sin hallarlos topamos en unos escondrijos del monte con ellos infundiendoles la gracia de Dios. Yo en modo especial estoy contento por que los Indios siendo exercitados en tirar lanzas en sus peleas, desean de mis piernas y mis brazos, por ser largos para formar de mis canillas lanzas que no son de otra materia que de canillas de hombre y son tan ponzoñosas que con una puntecilla que quede dentro causa infaliblemente la muerte. La lengua no tiene tanta dificultad á [a]prenderse por no tener Junta de muchas consonantes en sus palabras, la gente es de la misma[,] como el Venerable Padre Diego Luis escribió años ha[.] mi Padre, no falta mies para los trofeos del cielo sino fuera otra que de niños hay para cien operarios hasta ahora, Dios nos de medios para andar estas tierras y dar al cielo tantos pobres redimidos con la sangre de Jesucristo con quien Dios nos junte en la patria de los Bienaventurados.*

*De estas Islas Marianas por April, de mil seiscientos setenta y tres años.*

*De Vuestra Reverendisima siervo en Cristo,*

*Antonio Maria San Basilio.*

*[Al] Padre Vicente de Valdés, Lector de la Compañia de Jesus de Alcalá.*

### **Translation of the edited text, by Margaret Higgins.**

God has granted me one of the greatest favors..., that of being in the Mariana Islands in the year 1672. Although in these Islands there has been great advance, it has diminished noticeably with the death of the Venerable Father Luis de Sanvitores...

Blessed be God, for his high judgments, for to me it was not given to know and talk in Guam with Fr. Sanvitores,<sup>1</sup> but I am not disconsolate for this fact, for I trust in God that he will help me and the other four from his place in Heaven and, by his interces-

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1 He arrived at Guam one month after the death of Fr. Sanvitores.

sion, I hope to lose my life in this glorious work, for there are many opportunities of losing it, be it for lack of necessary foodstuffs, which are usually roots, without bread, meat or wine, or for the traps and stratagems of the natives, who have shown themselves to have a great craving for the articles we bring from Spain, such as glass beads, bells, knives, tortoise shell which they esteem as if it were gold, and because of this several secular companions have been killed when the natives believed them to be laden with these articles...

But if they had enough fear of our people they would not dare to try these deceptions and would hear the Doctrine and attend church regularly because we have not sufficient forces, and the above-mentioned articles serve as money, by which means the persons who serve us as escorts are sustained.

With all these cares, which may well be considered small in comparison to the happiness we enjoy in the Marianas, we live very contentedly and in a manner to which all the joy of life in other places is not even comparable.

Because Your Reverence should know that our missions are apostolic, *sine baculo et pera et passim sine calceamentis*, [without a staff or knapsack, and everywhere without shoes] partly because we do not have them, they are made of palm, and it is necessary to walk without them in many muddy places and on the shore, there are many places that one cannot walk with shoes.<sup>1</sup> Our food is roots, which serve us as an entrée, a main course and dessert, without meat, bread or wine. But as *non in solo pane vivit homo* [man does not live by bread alone], it does not distress us, for the consolation which God gives us in the missions is so great that I, for my part, hearing of it, tried for many years to come here.

Besides, our hearts overflow with joy when we go through these mountains hunting for children, to baptize them, and when we have passed most of a day without encountering any, we fall upon a group of them, shedding over them the grace of God.

I am specially content, because the Indians, being practiced in throwing lances, want my arms and legs because they are long, in order to make lances from my long bones, for their lances are never made of other material than human bone; and they are so poisonous that one puncture causes death.<sup>2</sup>

The language of the people is not very difficult for not many consonants appear together in their words. The people are the same as they were described some years ago by Fr. Sanvitores.

My Father, there is no lack of grain for the granaries of Heaven for, if it were only for the children, there is enough labor for a hundred workers now. God give us means to walk these lands and send to Heaven these many poor people, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, with whom may God gather us into the Land of the Blessed.

From these Mariana Islands, by April 1673.

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1 Ed. note: The Higgins' faulty translation is here amended.

2 Ed. note: Not entirely true, as the Chamorros sometimes used ordinary fire-hardened spears, that were not as lethal.

Of Your Reverence, a servant in Christ,  
Antonio María de San Basilio.

[To] Father Vicente de Valdés, Reader of the Society of Jesus in Alcalá [de Henares].

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## Document 1673I

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# Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Adrian van Horenbeeck, aboard the galleon San Antonio, 14 June 1673

*Source: AGR Jésuites Flandro-Belgique, op. cit., vol. 2, fol. 231-231v.*

*Notes: Fr. Bouwens left Guam, after only a 1-year stay, to go to Manila and Mexico on mission business. He came back 2 years later. Fr. Van Horenbeeck was born in Bois-le-Duc in Holland. He died at Breda on 4 August 1675 (ref. Poncelet, Nécrologie Flandro-Belge, p. 100).*

### Original text in Latin

[fol. 231]

*Reverende in Christo Pater,*

*P. C.*

*Nihil ab amicis, ex quo Indias tenui, accepi litterarum: cum forte verum sit, quod vernacule vulgo dici solet: "Vijter roguen, vijter areveren" nolim id quidem (etiamsi non mereor, ut rei meminerit quispiam) cum et omnium orationibus indigeam, ut consiliis plurimorum ac R. Væ imprimis: unam proinde rogo per viscera misericordiæ Dei, ut me inter gentiles, hosce tormentem, fervore suo per litteras huc transmissis, subinde spiritus dirigatque in rebus dubijs, quæ his in partibus non raro solent orcus vere; et si quando unquam unus profecto vel maxime non a cura conversioneque animarum ad intricatam negotiorum applicor tractationem, a qua quantum abhorream, ineptusque fugiam ignorare non potest, quisquis me noverit. Verum una me solatur obedientia quam in maximis missionis nostræ difficultatibus, periculibusque gravissimis salva conscientia detrectare me deb-- nec certe potui; me forte (quod avertat Deus) importuna tergiversatione unus æquissimum demum(?) lebellam(?) hanc Christi vineam, quam labore sudoreque suo per annos omnino quinque excoluere Patris reliqui vere Apostoli, et ex illis suo suo [sic] sanguine fecundissime irrigarunt. Mittor itaque Manilam de medijs ad missionis nostræ conversationem, rei que Christianæ augmentum coram tractaturus cum D. Gubernatore nostrisque ibidem Superioribus; faxit Deus eo successu, quin et requirit necessitas (quæ omnium omnino consensu propemodum est expertum) et spondere videtur. Divina benignitas, quæ ad instantiam Venerabilum P. Didaci Lu-*

*dovici de San Victores Madriti in favorem missionis nonnulla deposuit gratissimis hisce novis res nostras afflictas non parum recreavit Maris Americo-Manilana, cujus felicem adventum continuis sacrificiis, orationibusque a 25 Martij ad 24 Maij Deo Divisque publice privatumque, ut rem momenti maximum pro more commendavimus. Post 86 dies navigando consumptos hic -escet in conspectum dedit e Regione Residentiæ primariæ cui a S. P. N. Ignatio nomen est.*

*Insulas nostras, uti et anno superiore nobis persuaque(?) eralij(?) rem(?) a diebus non paucis communi omnium opinione prætervecti præstolabantur in dictum promontorium S. Spiritus, quod Manila abesse dicitur 80 leucarum, ecce 23 Maij [1673?] sub 6am vespertinam a navigatione sua matutina domum(?) nostrique revolant cum naviculis suis unus, atque alter ex Indis nobis vicinis, navem advenisse clamittant sese rei oculatæ esse testes ingeminant; quid multa? verbis adhibetur fides, etsi ante mensem plus minus perpemve iterumque falsa rei species, et ex objecta specie rumor dereperat; gestire omnes, lætisque clamoribus implere domum suam ac secum vicum littora: nocte insequenti uti invigilam a plumbus; ita a nemine perceptum est aliquid: verum ad 7am matutinam apparuere inflata ventis carbasa, rectaque littus nostrum petebant. Ilico ad navem convolat e nostris non nemo; qui eo minimi omnium nomine felicem amicis gratularetur adventum, domum nostrum invitare -- a qua hunc fuere fortuna, Superior aberat quæ ego pridie de tam optitis nobis per litteras feceram certioem. Ad rem ille, et dimissa domo recta convolavit ad navem humanissime una cum altero Pater et quo item sucio [sueto?] exceptus ab omnibus atque a D. Generali imprimis viris perquam officioso: certum cum eo est de rebus, quæ eleemosynæ nomine mittebantur in terram, exponendis: et(?) erat festinato apud eum ob angustias temporum metumque immensum tempestatum, ventorumque hoc anni tempore adversantium prohiberetur a subeundo portu anchorisque jaciendis: itaque contractis tantummodo velis in conspectu nostro stetit die non amplius uno /. a 24 sub meridiem usque ad 4 vespertinam diei nisi(?) sequentis /. 25 Maij quo tempore omnia domum adversa uti maxima æstimatione ita commodo nostro non minori. Inter alia jussu suæ Majestæ advenere a Vice Rege Mexicano nonnulla templorum, quæ mihi festinanti videre non licuit ornamenta capsî prægrandis, cui baculandæ vix 8 homines sufficient, inclusa: addidit et D. Generalis ex sua parte nonnulla, inter quæ et **equum** genereum animal hactenus hic incognitum. Exposuit item milites 11 volentes omnes, lubentesque qui rem Christianam nobisque promoveant: 12 insuper alios nobis conmutavit totidem hinc a nobis Manilam dimissis quos inter (ut videat R. V<sup>a</sup> quibus huc experamus etiam intra septa domestica) qui pessimo exemplo, et præsentissimo totius Christianitatis pericula a nobis ad Indos aufugerat: Rem paucis subjicio. Nocturna eruptione stationem suam, ut erat inter milites officialis, deserueret post primam vigiliam, quo, uti suspicio est, libidinem infamem experet: ubi revertitur hominem deligit, qui egebat excubias. Casus ad me defertus, somnoque excitor, mihi enim totus(?) ob superioris absentiam incumbibat cura domum, campum lustro cum officialibus in rem inquiri diligentius, hominemque abesse comperio; qui dum clam revertitus, ad amico domum se recipit. Idemque fere abscondit; dumque inbetur [sic] ad sua[m] migrare, periculum metuens, fuerat enim et severissime alias ean-*



dem ob causam reprehensus in privatim a singulis nobis, tum publice ab omnibus, et deinde compedibus detentus, fugam arripuit submissis ilico, qui illum, sed frustra, recherevit [recidevit?]. Scriptis postridie letteris invitatur ad reditum: at ille pessima quæque, ut retulere postea Indi nobis minito(?) lætus(?) Indigenis immixtusve eorum more depositis vestibus agriculturæ per diem, sub noctem vero tripudiis et sese accinxit; Tertio a fuga a die selectis 8 schloperareis ego cum alio Patre in pagum me contueor, ubi ille detinebat sese, rectus domnum non repetere sine præda. Stratagema disposui et ut eventus probavit, sine periculo: nam Indi duo, qui eum elicereat interea dum nos abdebamus. Duce præstolante, eundem manibus pedibusque revinctum sustulerunt in humeros, nobisque tradiderunt in manus, atque ita sub 9am vespertinam effectum sortiti domum revertimus, rem Tribuno servandum tradidimus, eumque post badimum dignitate militari privari jussimus, vinculisque deteneri in adventum navis ad quæ cum pedibus vinctus ad aliorum exemplum est dimissus ad arbitrium Gubernatoris Philippinarum, a quem confidimus præe(?), ut consentiat in media qua ad conservationem et augmentum hujus Christianitatis prætendimus; præcipua sunt:

1) ut nobis prospiciatur de Duce aliquo et integro vitæ et in re militari non parum exercitato, in quem nos, quo melius uni Gentilium conversioni intendamus, tuto transferre possimus regimen militare credi enim(?) vix potest quantum inde nobis et laboris accedat et invidiæ; laboris ut per annum integrum suæ stipendis, sine fundatione ex submissis hunc inde eleemosynis de vicum, vestituque prospiciamus 60, totidem enim hic versantur nobiscum, hominibus, et hos inter non pauci quos serpubamare(?) diu mortis metu Rest [obest?] contimere [sic] non potuit: invidia, quod nobis tribuatus, quidquid intoleranter abillis [=intolerabilis] agitur, aut parum feliciter. Adde quod instituto nostro adversetur sæcularum, quin et inclitarum huc negotiorum tractatio.

2) ut 200 Pampangi (natio hæc est Philippina) cum suo Duce huc transmittant, quos citius faciliusque Deo Regisque subjugantur hi nostri gentiles, qui præter Baptismum nihil hactenus vel admisere vel certe retinere Christiani: Illorum indolem fuse descripsit P. Petrus [Coomans] tum litteris ea de redactis ad P. Coukerken, tum **narratione historica**, quam de tota hæc missione ab ipso illius exordis fuse accurateque conscriptam transmittit in Provinciam: hanc adi-re ne gravitur R. V. quo ego labori parcam.

3) Navis est adeundis Insulis suaque tempore visitandis accommodata: ad huinc antem fabricam transmittuntur Manilam a Rege 3000 pataconum ut spes et fore ut hisce mediis res Christiana jam tandem hic et firmitus et imposterum non minime augeatur. Accedunt et alia Regiæ munificentiae argumenta, qualia sunt; quod nos in portum ex emerit vectigalibus: quod consenserit [conscenderit?] in 200 illos Pampangos; at cum de stipendis eorum nihil hactenus sit constitutum, per non carebit difficultate: quod Missionarius singulis decreverit 350 patacones in annos singulos; et ut habent verba textus obsum et vinum, quantum divino cultui sunt necessaria. Præter hæc pretendimus eleemosynam annuam templis seminar usque ad educandos more Christiano parvulos, excruendis necessariam: suas enim hic ædes habent Gentiles, ubi communibus sumptibus aluuntur in communi tum pueri, tum puellæ maxima sane morum et castitatis imprimis corruptela. Repetitis insuper litteris institimus sæpius, ut naves omnes quæ ex

*America petunt Philippinas hic ipse insula Guana anchoras jaciant, utque a Rege necessariam militibus una cum armis et pulvere tormentaris annonam relinquunt, illamve Rex commutet in stipendia illis alibi dari solita. Quod petitur a superioribus unum est, ut Missionarios huc plures transmittant, qui messem animarum nobiscum colligant, cum fieri omnino non possit, ut præsentis necessitatis etiam pauci sufficiant: versamus hic enim viverem non pluris 6 per eum divisas inter se insulas distribuendi illa cum autem quam fixo incolimus per 35 leucas extensa 180 pagos habet et incolas numerat ad 12000 plures etiam Insulæ detegentur forsitan, ubi exprimum huc navis nostra advenerit, et ut nos detegentur habebant certe quod agant, quotquot e nostris huc advenerint.*

**[Description of the natives]**

*Gens enim est ad modum rudis, et parvulos excipe [sic], in rebus fidei parum, aut nihil potius versata: malarum suarum consuetudinum tenacissima nostris parum affecta, solita libidine (inventus potissimum) Divini cultus si non contemnens, nihil recte observans, ingenio subdola, cupidine avarissima; hæc tamen, aliaque gentis vitia, talia non sunt, ut emendari non facile possint, ubi cum zelo, Religioso moderatæ correctionis temor Magister accesserit qui torpentes natura sua, vixque ad cultum Dei repentes excitet adigatque; nec dubium est quam eo modo boni ferventesque formandi fuit Christiani: habent enim a quibus commendentur non pauca: unica uxore contenti vivunt, etiamsi priori matrimonio quacumque fere de causa soluto aliud contrahatur potissimum a fæminis, quarum unica in maritos insolentia: inveteratam. Hanc, deprevatamque consuetudinem emendari hactenus non potuimus, ne inter baptizatos quidem; unde fit ut cautius procedatur in baptizandis adultis, eorum jungendis in facie, ut dicitur, ecclesiæ. Ut enim omnino abstineat juramento; Idola non noscunt, etiamsi circa defunctorum manes suos superstitionibus non cureant. Nihil omnino habeat quod inebriet. Viribus quantumvis polleant, timidi sunt supra modum, ut vel hinc liquide constet, quam facile hi[c]jugum sunt admissuri: Ante nostrorum adventum contractus alios non habebant inter sese, nisi "de ut des". Nullum hic auri, argente pro tum: ferro, granis vitreos parvulis, nam grandiora nihili feciuntur crotalis, cultris (Instrumenta fabrilia mirum in modum appetunt) conchiei testudineis cæterumque his similibus emendum nobis est quidquid ad votam 60 hominum communitatem est necessarium.*

*Victus, ut verbo complectas omnia, tenuis est imprimis, et non raro admodum paucis: a Junio usque ad Octobrem defectum panis arborum fructus supplent pastinacis quoad saporem non multum dissimiles: tum ad Febreriam usque radices succedunt duplicis generis, præter aliam quæ etiam servit pro obsonio, denique reliquo anno oriza vescimus aqua item modo cocta: obsonij loco veniunt cucurbitæ et legumina, quæ ex America nobis submittuntur in eleemosynam; Plantani fructus palmarum et semel quot hebdomadis pars aliqua gallinæ, bubula enim aut suilla hic rara est adeo, ut illis etiam citra periculum vesci liceat, qui tertiana laborant. Certi ratio est verum pauperibus accommodata: nam extra domum continua est hujus cubatio:*

*Ut tardam reliqua, una navigatio ex aliarum aliam insulam ob præsentissima pericula incommodaque gratissima non nisi vitæ suæ hic patitur contemplaces et prodigos; qualem sint oportet quotquot ex illa Provincia Marianas cogitant, castitatem insuper aderant plusquam humanam, animique eximiam fortitudinem ad labores quoslibet pro Dei gloria subendus, qualis fuit, qui sub nostrum huc adventum rem totam in præsentissimum coniecit discrimen; casus accidit 13 Maij unum ex Indorum q. frequentabat domum nostram tum sponte sua, tum a nostris invitati ex vicinis pagis Indorum præcipui de confirmanda pace quam certe conditionibus jam peregerant, cum Superiore ac reliquis Patribus t[r]actatari; cum ecce determinenter aliquot una cum recens adventis clam inter se conferunt, ut erant ob morte Vener. P. San Victores etiamnum exacerbati; de tollendis e medio Indorum istorum nonnullos quos aut sumptæ malitia, aut importunis nostrorum zelus jam nocentes designaverat. Quid multos incautos sui que securos armati invadunt; unum ipso in loco conficiant, alterum fæde in capite vulnerant, ita ut aliquot deinde post horas sacro fonte bus conditione lustrarus expirerit: tertium (et, erat hic in quem unum hæc cudebatur faba) vix tandem elapsum infrequentanter, sed frustra; Clamare ad hæc nos omnes ein læ-- affligique supra modum Superior damnareque impotentiam Hispanorum zelumque imprudentes.*

*Interea alij ut continerent vicinos Indos delapsi ad littus obvium Indigenam glande non leviter vulnerant, Indamque pro gentis moræ ei adhærentem trajiumil(?). Sump-tus hoc rei male gerendæ omnes ita præ ceteris superiorem afflixit, ut hominem desperatæ propemodum valetudinis ilico certa affixerit. Octiduo deinde post ex 50 militibus selecti sunt 21 ut Paricidas Indos uno cum pago militarent pro merito: Verum præter domos incensas aliquot, unumque ex hostibus occisum vulnumque ipsi Paricidæ in brachio inflictum (ex quo deinde convaluit) magnopere actum est nihil: E nostris vulnerati 4, quorum 3, post dies aliquot pie religioseque obiire, reliqui vix summum vitæ evaseræ discrimen. Moritur deinde superior 13 Junij, meque in locum substitunt: at ego tante oneri impos[iti] reclamando eas proposui rationes, ut alter successerat cum nomine Vice Superioris. Dum hæc ita agebantur inter nos consultabant de resumendis armis inimici Indi, et post varia hostilitatis indicia duos e socijs nostris ex Insula **Tenian** ad nos reduces aggrediuntur in proxima nobis insula, eosque injectis laqueis hastisque immisis proditine crudeliteque trucidant; aditu(?) per hanc in alias insulas irreparabili multorum damno nobis dein ex -- intercluso. Infortunam auxit ex socijs Philippinis non memo, qui domo sine causa profugus in hostes proximos incidit a quibus utroque oculo primum deinde et vita crudelissime spoliatus suæ pænitentia, quod scitur, signo, temeritatis suæ ne uno(?) plus duam, pænas dedit. Ad eo(?) usque Augusti convocatis undecumque(?) --sum pagos, postenuit belli metus, et postridie id recto certius parabatur, undique amici videri voleant Indi occidentales et erant forsitan, festo Mariæ ad inter summo mane turmatim convolare domum nostram fundæ hastisque armati, quo nos defenderent. Ab nos periculum veriti ob instabilitatem gentis, ac ingenium subdolum ad sua eos remisimus, expeditis ilico ad defendendos lares necessarijs; sed festes jam alia arma Hispanica experti [expecti?] abstinere a vi; doles(?), quarum egregij sunt artifices, nos est [et?] existimabant ex insidijs, et longa fauce domi appres-*

*uri: verum que sua frustrati serum, utinam et seriam barbaræ suæ teneritatis pænitentiam verbo quidem, non opere subinde demonstravit.*

*Hinc est quod totæ hoc anno, ne tenerrima hæc Xri vinea distractis viribus periclitaretur millarum alias insulas seu missio seu visitatio sit instituta uno huc ad nos recepit sese, qui cum 4or sociis excolebat Insulam **Tenian** P. Alonsus Lopez domestico nobiscum labore, contentus, nec ille certe domi defuit, quem fusens descripsit P. Petrus; qui quo facens intelligatur de rebus quibusdam quin(?) Insularum; illas ego rudi quantumvis manu delineatus transmitto ad P. Matthiam Schweitzer; prius tamen cum V. R<sup>a</sup> alijsque communicandas, rogoque ut boni istic consulant RR. VV. laboris compendium.*

*Præterim hic(?) niter [meas?] continuas Nautarum vociferationes, quæ vix permittunt necessariam negotiorum dispositionem. Hodie 20 est dies ex quo navim conscendi a Generali humaniter habitus in mea pauperiæ, nam nec ob rem habeo quem expuram(?) in via nec certum, nec præter sotanam unicam ne clam quidem qua involvas: adeo hic observatus prescripta a Xro peregrinandi ratio, cujus et sanctum luculenter experior siquidem nihil habens posset eo omnia. Caritatem D. Generalis, mensa sua me quamvis invitum quotidie excomientis(?), affectum militum, amorem Nautarum; ad hoc illosque adeoque ad omnes totius nobis quot dominicæ et festis concionem habeo sub vesperam, tum finis actu contritionis; quotidie junioribus trado doctrinam Xrianam per horam, tum convocatur gens nautica ac reliqua turba nullam(?), illasque ad cap-m explico præcepta decalogi adjecto sub finem exemplo; eo facto ægros invisio quibuscum frango: bubullam; panis; nam portionem meam divido inter eorum 2 vel 3 per cæteris indigos; volentibus aures eo(?) de peccatis suis confiteantur: et certe laboris hinc qualicumque fructus respondit eo major, quo avidius exercitia hujusmodi expetebant quibus tota navigatione præter sacrum (quod et ego quotidie dico) ne vel semel habitae conbia(?), nullaque exhomologesis præter Pasqualem.*

*Hæc sunt mi pater, quæpaucis dum R. V<sup>a</sup> perscribenda: plura dabet adminnta(?) vernacule, quam rogo ut deinde unicum. Alicui, prout est inscripta, tradendam curare me gravetur, et pro oportunitate communicare cum DDlis Gobau quarum SS. operibus precibusque, ac imprimis SS. R. V. sacrificiisque missionem hanc totam meque mecumque ad meos Marianos reditum enixe commendo.*

*Ex Nave S. Antonij Patavini in mari Philippino Japonico 14 Juny 1673.*

*R. Væ Servus in Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens*

*[P.S.] Salutem officiosam cum omni delatione obsequij Totis Provinciæ mihi charissimæ ac nominatim R. P. Provinciali, P. Th[om]æ Dekens ad quem alteram dedo, P. Ægydio vander Beekæ, P. Joannis Reutergen, etc. meis quondam Superioribus, PP. Professoribus Th[eo]logiæ et Ph[ilosoph]iæ, specialim P. Mattheo de Kien, quarum rogo R. V. fascæ communicat uti ad ellum scriptas, meque deinceps ferventissimis suis excitare confirmareque ne omittat.*

*[231v] Reverendo Patri in Christo,*

*[The image shows a dense, handwritten Latin letter in a cursive script. The text is extremely small and fills most of the page. At the bottom right, there is a signature and a date: "Fr. Bouwens" and "1771".]*

Facsimile reproduction of part of a letter by Fr. Bouwens. Bottom right-hand corner of his letter to Fr. van Horenbeek (same scale as the original) on which the text is written so small that the folio-size sheet contains 129 lines of text.

*P. Adriano van Horenbeeck Soctis. Jesu Sacerdoti, stet eo mortuo Rdo. in Chro. Patri Mattheo de Kien Soctis. Ejusdem Sacerdoti.*

[Note added by another hand:] *“Littera P. Gerardi Bouwens ex navi S. Antonij ad Philippinas 12 [sic] Junij 1673.”*

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace of Christ.

I have received no letters from my friends since I reached the Indies. Perhaps it may be true what I used to say in the vernacular: “Vijter roguen, vijter arveren”.<sup>1</sup> In any case, I would not wish it (even if I do not deserve it, that someone would remember the thing) when I need the prayers of everyone, and the advices of many of them and of Y.R. in particular. Therefore, I beg you to send one letter for the love of merciful God, to me among gentiles; tormented by these, given your fervor transmitted through your letters, my spirit is often directed at uncertain things, which in these parts are usually not rarely directed at Orcus, it is true.<sup>2</sup> If whenever one day one such as I is assigned, most certainly not full time to the care and conversion of souls, but to intricate business dealings, which I hate so much, whoever knows me cannot ignore that I will flee [that situation] as unreasonable. Truly only obedience consoles someone like me and forces me to accept it, in view of the great difficulties of our mission and its most serious dangers, and I certainly could not refuse. God forbid that I may, by my vacillation, do unfair(?) damage(?) to this vineyard of Christ, where the rest of the truly-apostolic Fathers have lived and spent their labor and sweat over the past five years, and which they have irrigated with their most fertile blood. Therefore, I am sent to Manila about the means for the conservation of our mission, and to discuss the Christian business openly with the Governor and also with our Superiors. May God allow it to succeed, as necessity requires it (and in that almost everyone is in complete agreement) as promised by divine benevolence. It was at the request of the Venerable Fr. Diego Luis de San Victores who sent enough letters to Madrid, and then repaired to the sea between Acapulco and Manila. This momentous and happy advent has since been customarily commemorated by us, with continuous sacrifices [i.e. masses] and prayers to God and the Saints from 25 March to 24 May, in public and private. After 86 days spent sailing [in 1668] he came into sight of the area of the first Residence, named after our holy Father St. Ignatius.

Our islands, in order to ... , last year after a discussion over a few days, everyone was of the opinion. We were waiting to sail on at the said Cape of Santo Espiritu, which is distant 80 leagues from Manila they say. On 23 May [1673], just before 6 p.m., our people were coming back aboard one of their canoes, and another from the neighbor-

1 Ed. note: Flemish expression, which may mean: “Four eggs, four waiters.”

2 Ed. note: Orcus was the Greek god of death. So, he was often thinking about death.

ing Indians. They were shouting to those in the ship to come, repeating that turtles(?) had been seen. How many? Trust was used for words, although before the month(?) more or less after a careful examination, and again the false aspect of the thing, and rumor might go down at the view of this spectacle. They were all gesturing, and with happy shouts inviting to their home and with them to the village ashore. During the night that followed, a watch was kept with the plumb line, to see if anything was perceived by someone. Truly, at 7 a.m. there appeared sails made taut by the wind and they were heading straight from the shore to our [ship]. Right away, someone from our people rushed to the ship; he, whose name I do not recall, was happy with the arrival of friends, inviting us to our house to which by chance the superior was away, the man to whom I had sent a letter the previous day. When he got it, he left home and ran up directly to the ship very humanly with another Father and was getting used to everyone, above all to the General, a man completely obliging.<sup>1</sup> Truly the many things that this man sent ashore by way of alms is worth mentioning. He hurriedly did so on account of the fear of bad weather and imminent storm, and winds that prohibited the coming into port and anchoring this year. Therefore, some of the sails were furled and it stood in sight of us for not more than one day, to the 24th just before noon until 4 p.m. of the next day, 25 May. During that time everything was carried home to our maximum satisfaction and not minimal comfort. Among other things, by order of His Majesty to the Viceroy of Mexico, there came not a few things for the churches, which I did not have the leisure of examining, including huge crates with ornaments, whose transport required at least 8 men. The General added many things on his own account, among which was a **horse**, a type of animal unknown here up to now. He also delivered 11 soldiers, all volunteers, who promote the Christian business for us. In addition, another 12 were exchanged for the same number leaving us to go to Manila (Y.R. will see those we expect here also within our domestic enclosure). The worse example of them, and the ever-present danger to the whole Christian community for us, is one who might flee to the Indians. I will elaborate a little. One who was an officer among the soldiers escaped from his post at night, which he might have abandoned after the first watch; he, it is suspected, was looking [to satisfy] his infamous lust. When the man returned, he was placed asides by the man on guard. The case was referred to me; I was roused from my sleep, because, in the absence of the superior, the complete care of the house and camp was under my care. With the officers, I inquired diligently and found that the man was missing. When he had returned secretly, he had been received in the house by a friend [of his]. He too had almost absconded. While imbued(?) with the idea of moving, fearing danger, for he might have been very severely [punished?] and reprehended on account of the case in private by everyone of us, as well as publicly by all. Therefore, he was placed in irons, he stopped fleeing, submitted right away, but in vain, he did it again(?). The next day a letter was sent to him inviting him to return. What is worse, it was reported that after he was threatened by us, gladly mixed with the Indian

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1 Ed. note: This was General Durán de Montfort.

natives, shed his clothes in the plantation fields by day in accordance with custom, and indeed in the evening he adapted himself to the dances. On the third day of the flight, 8 musketeers were specially selected and I went with another Father to the village to observe where he had detained himself, intending not to return home without the prey. I disposed a stratagem to achieve it without danger, for two Indians had in the meantime secured him for us. With the leader waiting, he was tied up hands and feet and carried off on shoulders, to be placed into our hands. Besides, we returned home just before 9 p.m. and the affair was brought before the Commander. After ... we ordered that he be deprived of his military rank and to be detained until the ship arrive, with feet in bonds, to serve as an example to the others, to be sent to Manila to be judged by the Governor of the Philippines, whom we trust will decide the matter in the interest of the conservation and increase of this Christian community that we seek. The particular things are:

1) for us to be provided with some Commander, who is to be honest and expert in military matters, to whom we, who would be better employed in the conversion of the Gentiles, would transfer all the military administration, for he could then relieve us of the work and hostility involved: (a) the work: to pay for one whole year of allowances for him, without a foundation from the alms sent from there to here for food and clothing; we foresee 60, for this number of men, who live among in constant fear of death, cannot be considered too large;<sup>1</sup> (b) the hostility: now directed at us, whatever the actions are unbearable, or not happy enough. Add to this what our constitution warns us about lay people, and business dealings.

2) to send here 200 Pampangos (they are Indians in the Philippines) with their commander, in order to subjugate to God and the King faster and easier our gentiles, who except for baptism have accepted or retained anything Christian up to now. Fr. Petrus [Coomans] has made a full description of their natural dispositions, in his letter about that which he wrote to Fr. Coukerken,<sup>2</sup> as well as in a **historical report**, which he has written by himself that fully and accurately describes the highlights of everything that happened in this mission, and is sent to the Province; so, I will spare Y.R. by not repeating it.

3) a ship is to come and visit the islands at his own time to be arranged; nevertheless, 3000 pesos have been sent by the King to Manila to have it built. So, our hope is that with this means the Christian business will finally be placed on a good footing and in future be increased by not a small measure. There arrived at our port, among other proofs of the generosity of the King, such things as tax revenues, which would be enough for 200 of those Pampangos, but nothing about their salaries has been received so far, and this will not lack difficulty: as each missionary would decrease to 350 pesos each per year; and there were not one word of text about the wine, and whatever is neces-

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1 Ed. note: Approximate rendering, as the original is garbled, including Latin words invented by the author.

2 Ed. note: This 1673 letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. Coukerken has not been found.



sary for the divine cult. Except for the annual alms we asked for the church and seminary to educate the children in the Christian way of life, excluding the necessary, for the Gentiles here have their houses, where boys are fed together at community expenses, and the same with the girls, for their better way of life, of course, and specially [to prevent] the corruption of their chastity. In repeated letters before we have more often asked that all the ships that sail from America to the Philippines anchor here at the island of Guam, and that they leave every year the necessities sent by the King for the soldiers, including weapons and gun-powder, or that the King change to a salary what is usually given in another way. What the Superiors have been unanimous in asking is that many more missionaries be sent, to reap the harvest of souls, and when it cannot be all granted, with the present need even a few would suffice, for we are not more than 6 living here; the islands would be divided among them. The inhabitants are distributed among 180 villages spread over 35 leagues, and they number up to 12,000, plus also in the islands to be discovered, where we will go when our ship has come, and they [i.e. the superiors?] are intent on sending us no matter what, whether more of our people come or not.

#### **[Description of the natives]**

The people are somewhat rough, and except for the children, not enough, or not at all, concerned with the faith. Our tenacity has not affected their customary misdeeds, e.g. their usual lust (a most powerful invention). As for the divine cult, when they do not disdain it, they observe nothing correctly. They are by nature crafty, very fond of pleasure. Finally, the above and the other vices of the people, are not such that they cannot be easily eradicated, when a Master would make use of religious zeal and the fear of correction to animate and push them by stiffening their nature and leading them slowly but surely toward the cult of God. There is no doubt that in this manner they can become good and fervent Christians, for they have not a few things to recommend them, [for example], they lived content with only one wife, although at first the marriage could be dissolved almost for any reason whatever and contract made with another, mainly by the women, whose insolence toward their husbands is deep-rooted. So far, we have been unable to amend this depraved custom, not even among those who are baptized; it follows therefore that, in baptizing adults, it is safer to proceed in joining them in the face of the Church, as we say. They abstain completely from swearing. They do not recognize idols, although they may not take care of the remains of their deceased according to their superstitions. There is nothing at all with which they can get inebriated. Their strength is above average. They are somewhat shy, and it can be shown clearly that they would easily admit the yoke here. Before our arrival they had no trading between themselves, except by bartering.<sup>1</sup> There is no gold, or silver either,

1 Ed. note: Literally, "by give and take".

for now. [Therefore,]<sup>1</sup> with iron, very small grains of glass, for they made nothing bigger [than] earrings, knives (they covet the manufactured kind beyond measure), turtle shells and other similar things[.] Anything that is to be recovered by us in punishment necessitates the common votes of 60 men.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding food, and everything that comes under the definition of the word, it is specially in short supply, and not rarely in poor supply. From June to October, the lack of bread is replaced by the fruit of a tree called breadfruit because it tastes not too differently. Then from February until roots of many kinds are ready, except another which is also used as a dish, in short, the rest of the year, **rice** is cooked by us in water[.] Similarly cooked are alternative food such as squashes and vegetables, which have been brought to us from America as alms; bananas, the fruit of palm trees and such, every week part of some chicken, for beef or pork is so rare that we cannot allow the risk of eating more, only the third of those who work. The reason is indeed that they are poorly accommodated, for they are under continuous incubation outside the house.<sup>3</sup>

To change the subject, the navigation from one island to another on account of the present dangers and the discomfort is not pleasant, unless one wants to squander one's own life. So, whoever may be thinking of leaving that Province to come to the Marianas must have a superhuman chastity, and extraordinary strength of character to face whatever hardships for the glory of God, such as was proven most singularly in a critical incident just before our arrival. The case occurred on **13 May** [1672]. One of the Indians who was frequenting our house, either spontaneously or at our invitation from the neighboring villages of the Indians that had preceded the others in confirming peace whose conditions would already been finalized, by dealing with the Superior and the other Fathers, when here comes one of the recently-arrived with determination and they set up a secret conference among themselves, so that they would be even now exacerbated on account of the death of the Venerable Fr. San Victores. Not a few of these Indians raised [the issue], either out of malice, or to importune us by their zeal, wanted to cause prejudice. So, grabbing their weapons, they attacked the others and caught them unaware. They killed one right on the spot. They made a horrible wound on the head of another, so that after a few hours, and his baptism *sub conditione*, he expired. Finally, force was used upon a third one (this one was here as my responsibility) but, as is usually the case, in vain. They all shouted that this was our fault, specially that of the Superior and they damned the imprudent impotence and zeal of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, some who tried to restrain the neighboring Indians from falling out to the beach seriously wounded an Indian along the way with a bullet, and a Judas who ... the adherents to the customs of the people. This turn of events was badly borne by all, but specially affected the Superior, so that he decided on the spot to take care of the almost desperate health of the man. A week later, out of the 50 soldiers 21 were

- 1 Ed. note: A pattern of three dots in the manuscript can be interpreted as the word "therefore", if it really corresponds to the symbol used in logic, and mathematics.
- 2 Ed. note: My interpretation is that turtle shells were held in common.
- 3 Ed. note: Perhaps this means that the chicken were running loose and not raised in coops.

chosen to engage Indian patricides in a village. In fact, they burned down the houses, killed one of the enemies and wounded the patricide himself in the arm (from which he later recovered) who did nothing much: four of our men were wounded, of whom 3 died religiously and piously a few days later, the rest hardly escaped with their lives. Then the superior died on **13 June** [1672] and they substituted me in his place; the charge was so heavy that I proposed some reasons for another to succeed with the title of Vice Superior.<sup>1</sup> There then began some consultation among ourselves regarding the resumption of arms against enemy Indians. After various signs of their hostility, two of our companions returned to us from the Island of **Tinian**. They reached the island next to us [i.e. Rota], where they threw cords<sup>2</sup> and threw spears, treacherously and cruelly killing [them]; the passage through this island to the other islands became irreparably cut off for us. One of our Filipino companions increased our misfortune, by fleeing from our house without a reason to neighboring enemies; as soon as they saw him they then cruelly took his life as a punishment, which is known, as a sign of his temerity so that he did not give two punishments.<sup>3</sup> From that time until August, they were called from everywhere to their villages; this postponed the fear of war, and the next day, it became more certain, as from everywhere Indian friends from the west [coast] were seen to come, and they were perhaps coming for the feast of Mary and by mid-morning(?) flocked to our house in bands, armed with slings and spears, intending to defend us. We feared danger on account of the instability of the people and their crafty disposition, and sent them back home right away to defend the necessary houses, but already they expected(?) to keep the other Spanish arms far away, by force; [doles=?] whose tricks are noteworthy, they were considering to press us from ambush along the long corridor of the house. It is true that they were later prevented, so that it demonstrated the serious regret of the tenderness of their barbarity, in any case in words, not deeds.

That is all that happened this year, so as not to endanger this very tender vineyard of Christ by dispersing the forces to other islands, by setting up either mission or visit. One of them welcomed us; so, Fr. Alonso Lopez with 4 companions was doing domestic labor in the Island of **Tinian** with us, content that he was not needed at home, as Fr. Petrus has amply described, who makes it understood how(?) certain things are in the islands. I send to Fr. Matthew Schweitzer<sup>4</sup> a rough sketch of these things, which however are first to be communicated to Y.R. and the others, and I beg that Your Reverences will exchange this compendium of my labors.

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- 1 Ed. note: Strange assertion. After the death of Fr. Solano, Fr. Ezquerro is said, by all other references, to have replaced him as superior. It was Fr. Ezquerro who despatched the reluctant Fr. Bouwens to Manila the following spring.
  - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens did not have a dictionary aboard his galleon; by "cords" he probably meant slings. Further below, he uses the word "funda".
  - 3 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.
  - 4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673J.

Meanwhile, the vociferations of the sailors here, hardly allow me the right disposition for business. Today, it has been 20 days since I embarked and the General humanly took pity of my poverty, for neither do I have what to wear along the way, nor except for one single robe so as not to secretly in any case involving;<sup>1</sup> thus, here can be observed the writing of Christ, whose holy reason I try to experience very well, if truly nothing at all could be had by that, the charity of the General, invited daily at his table, living with the affection of the soldiers, the love of the sailors. With the former, the latter, and all of us, I have the prayer on Sundays, holidays just before sunset, then finishing with the act of contrition. Every day I transmit the Christian doctrine to the younger ones for one hour, then to the nautical and other crowd I explain the precepts of the 10 commandments, adding some examples. This done, I visit the sick with whom I share my beef, bread, for I divide my portion among two or three of these indigents, to whom I willingly lend my ears to listen to the confession of their sins. Certainly, there is a major response to whatever labor is exercised here, as they expect during the whole voyage, except the sacred [mass] (which I say daily) but not usually on deck(?), and not homologously, except at Easter.

Such are, dear Father, the few news until Y.R. writes about the events occurring in our native country, which I beg to be informed about from now on, and, if it is not asking too much, have someone write to the Gobau family, to whose holy works and prayers, but most specially the holy sacrifices of Y.R., I strongly commend myself and this whole mission, and for me to return to my Marianos.

From the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** in the Filipino-Japanese Sea, 14 June 1673.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Gerardus Bouwens

[P.S.] An obliging greeting with very belated regards to the whole Province, very dear to me, and specifically Rev. Fr. Provincial, Fr. Thomas Dekens to whom I owe one, Fr. Égide Vander Beck, Fr. John Reutergen, etc., my former Superiors, the Fathers Professors of Theology and Philosophy, specially Fr. Matthew de Kien, to whom I beg Y.R. to have what is written to you communicated, and in turn do not omit to animate and confirm them in their very fervent [endeavors].

[Address:] To the Reverend Father in Christ,

Fr. Adrian van Horenbeeck, priest of the Society of Jesus; in case of his being dead, to Rev. Fr. in Christ Fr. Matthew de Kien, priest of the same Society.

[Note added by another hand:] "Letter from Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, aboard the ship **San Antonio** on the way to the Philippines 12 [sic] June 1673."

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1 Ed. note: Transcription is too uncertain to make this clearer.

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## Document 1673J

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# Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Schweitzer, dated Manila 8 October 1673

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 232-232v.*

*Note: This letter is mostly about the China Mission and the controversy raised in Manila and elsewhere by the visit of the French Archbishop Pallu. Fr. Bouwens had met Fr. Schweitzer in Mexico in 1671; there is no other information about him; he is not listed in Poncelet's works.*

### Original text in Latin

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Præsentem Marianæ missionis statum jam habuerit forsitan R. V<sup>a</sup> ex ultimis meis, quas Junio mense ei inscripsi ex mari Japonico-Philippinensi: sub initium sequentis Julij dimisso itinere postquam per 8 continuo dies ventis adversis obluctati angustias freti Manilensis venire non potuimus, in portum nos recepimus insulæ quam olim de los Pintados, nunc vero Bysaias nuncupant. Hic a nostris, qui eas excolunt partes, per litteras invitatus excensionem feci, substitique ad aliquos dies perbenevole benigneque habitus pro more consuetudineque Soctis. ab eo, qui Residentiæ præerat cum titulo Rectoris. Proximus pago hinc, quem Palapag Indi vocant, spartam suam excolit P. Alphonsus Stapleau[x] quem missioni nostræ Gadibus præsertim nobis R. V.: ille, ubi primus de adventu meo fit certior illico ad me advolat. P. Antonius Tuccius e PP. Siculis [Sicilian] alter, ex ipse solus nostræque navigationis comes individuus longius distabat aliquanto, quam ut ad binas meas tempori respondisset; gravissimas tamen et zelo vere Apostolico plenas ab eo accepi Manilæ; alteras experto a P. Maximiliano vander Stein, cuius Apostolatus ordinis est imprimis periculoque terra marique plenissimus: versatur ille inter incultos ac semi hactenus Marianis nostris non usquem adeo assimilés, quos Subanos vocant in insula de los Negros; 7 omnino ecclesias curæ suæ, ut scribit commissus habet PP. Mediolanses cursum suum Theologicum prosequuntur.*

*Manilæ quam ego tenui 31 Julij pridie festi S. P. N. teneoque etiamnum, dum tractantur, conficiunturque negotia Missionis nostræ, quæ magnis undique impetuntur*

*contradicientium machinationibus; et quod numquam mihi persuaseram, etiam ab iis, qui illa et p[ro]movere forsitan poterant, et certe debebant propugnare. Bis egi cum D. Gubernatore (nec sæpius licuit) frequentius cum Superioribus nostris; hi ab rei difficultatem, et certe difficultate eam rem carere non diffiteor, dimisere animos; Ille exhaustum ærarium reponit, præsentem Philipinarum necessitatem, perimem ab hoste non procul hunc tumultuanti et quod caput est, nihil sibi immediate imperatum e Rege, rem omnem commissam Pro Regi Mexicano, qui illi ea in re mandare nihil potest; 3 pataconum millia ab eo huc transmissa ne ad inchoandum q[ue] nedum perficiendum, quod intenditur navigium sufficere: quis de alimentis prospicies 200 Pampangis (Indi sunt Philippinenses) quis assignavit stipendia tum illis, tum Duci illis præficiendo aliaque his similia de quibus non meminere decreta Regia. Favebant intentis nostris sæcularum non pauci et zelo dilitandæ amplificandæque fidei permoti largas eleemosynas addiderant certis conditionibus, quas Superiores nostri non admisere veriti, ne quid inde pateretur Provincia: faxit Deus ne ibi timuerint cum irreparabili animarum detrimento, ubi non erat timor; duo etenim ex primarijs totius Collegii rem periculo omnino exemplum in publica PP., quos inter et ego adstiti, consultatione sacrosancte asseverarunt sed frustra. Discussit R. P. Provincialis ad visitandas doctrinas, aberitque 6 minimum menses: visitatorem missionis nostræ nominavit Collegii Manilensis Rectorem P. Ludovicum Pimentel reluctantem omnino, de que rei successu desperantem: multa ille requirit ad conservationem istius missionis, et impossibilia iudicat universa. Quid mihi ad hæc animi, quid consilij mi Pater? Vice-Provincialem ad eo, præterquam bona verba nihil accipio: alios consulo? compatiuntur quidem; at miserum sine effectu solatium, ut certe sit constitutumque hinc recta ad meos me redire non posse; repetenda America est navigatione non minus periculosa, quam itu, redituque ad Marianas per 4 et amplius leucarum millia prolixa: jam mihi assignatus est comes perigrinationis meæ unus e 3, qui cum P. San Victores primo missionis Marianæ posuere fundamenta. Manilam inde petierat a biennio, ut studia inchoaret, quibus jam cum licentia abruptis subdiaconatum suscepit reliquis ordinibus sacris proximis initiendus. Vir plane videtur ad eam missionem, quam amat tenerrime, a Deo peculiariter destinatus: cum alius nobis Superior sit ad inugendus nescitur etiamnum. Sentit Gubernator necessarium esse imprimis, ut tum Mexicum, tum Madritum pergat e nostris quispiam, qui rem illic promoveat; siquidem indicant cum illo plerique, hinc eam conservari non posse: litteras suas instructionesque pollicetur ad utramque aulam, quo res faciliatur, ita heri mihi retulit jam altera Vice [sic] P. Vice Provincialis addiditque, eum nobis daturum unam alteramque celocem, quæ vehamus commodius aliquanto ex alijs in alias insulas; imponentur autem illæ solutis tabulis onerariæ Americanæ, ut in reditu exponi possint, et a sui architecta illic componi; quod si fiat hæc est quod dubitum, erit facilius inde navigatio, nec periculis incommodisque ita, ut fuit hactenus; exposita; servietque, non parum ad compugendos Indos, eosque in officio continendos.*

*Particularia hæc, eaque propria: subjungo publica: anno superiore omnia hic timore impleverat China Piratæ illius celeberrime, qui ex Insula Hermosa [= Formosa] Batavos non ita pridem eiecit, filius, a quo et bellum jam videbatur imminere: rei veritatem*

*exploraturus in urbem Macan Legatus mittitur a Gubernatore, additurque illi e nostris Chinicæ linguæ peritissimus P. Franciscus Mesina; vanum comperere timorem; nam Barbaro vix ad sui defensionem sufficiebant vires, nedum suppetebant ad aggressionem aliorum. Rediere itaque illi una cum P. Francisco, qui jam vices gerit Provincialis visitantis.*

*Attulit hic inter alia de electione P. Philipi de Marinis in episcopum Chinarum, at incertum est an admiserit dignitatem; certe hæc illi valuit ad resistendum. Episcopo cuidam Gallo Chinam visitanti a S. Congregatione de Propaganda [Fidei], vel ut hic quidam loquuntur, sed ne quis malus audeat(?), de destruenda, fide mirabiliter ille insertatus nos functionesque nostras: sed suam illi electionem objecit P. Philippus nec illius in se sibi que subjectas agnovit jurisdictionem: fulminavit ille excommunicationes, suspensionesque: ab hasce nihili feceret nostri, potissimum ubi illis constitit de jurisdictione illius subreptitia; ut enim hæc foret legitima admittere illam vel certe agnovisse dievisset Cancellaria Lusitanica uti ex nobis Romanis huc perscripsit P. Joes. Bapta. Maldonado, quem una cum P. de Henuym ex Provincia Gallo Belgica secum ante annos plus minus 7 in Chinam abduxit P. Philippus de Marinis. Multum dictum Gallus ille in suis ad Archiepiscopum nostrum, Dominicanus hic est, qui Rectorem Collegij nostri de Yloilo ante triennium fere, sed invalide ut impressa apologia demonstrat P. Hieronimus de Ortegas, excommunicavit propter novam inter Indos [12?] solicitantes apud ipsum episcopum [1-cm hole] zeluensem non repugnentem, doctemam erectam, conqueritur de nobis, debac[c]haturque potissimum in P. Joem. Bapta. Maldonado quod bullas s[1-cm hole] scrivit, contemneus provexerit e fenestra: declaravit nos inhabiler ad sacramentorum administrationem etiam in articulo mortis: æ[1-cm hole] non sapit Jansenismum? Vetuitque ne quis ne in extremis quidem nobis si jurisdictione destitutis confiteatur. Videat R. V<sup>a</sup> quosque a [1-cm hole]-pestis illos sub cineribus quidem occultata apud Europæos, necdum plane extincta: tam sanctis Apostolorum istorum documentis etiam No- [1-cm hole] superbe insolescunt, qui vocari deinceps prætendunt Magistri Legis Novæ ac fidei sacrisanctæ; P. vero a quo illam didicere, s- [1-cm hole] addito Philippum vocitant. Dicuntur litteræ illæ a Dominicano quodam inde reduce huc allatæ. Eo Manila hic discesserat ante ali- [1-cm hole]-pus per Chinam via forte terrestri Romam, quod consequi non potuit, penetraturus: is Gallum illum ex commissione, ut suspicio e suor- [1-cm hole]-rum multum coluita quo et habitus ipse est perbenigue. Dicitur et alius Dominicanus accepuisse litteras ex Japonia a primario quoda- [1-cm+ hole] qui Religiosos istos eo invitat oblato illis per suas ditiones transitu: eum rectum sit non definio.*

*De Christianis; numerus, non pæ- [1-cm+ hole]-tyro in Japonia anno superiore affectis non dubitatur. Continuis lucubrationibus laboribusque multum debilitari, extenuarique di- [2-cm hole] P. Ferdinandus Verbiest, submittitus illi a P. N. Italus quidam in Mathematicis eximius P. N. Grimaldi. A Chinico Imperatore [1-cm+ hole] quidem nostri ac P. Ferdinandus imprimus; ceterum prohibentur Gentiles de novo baptizare, baptizatos vere jam pridem instruere v-[1-cm+ hole]: fuvereque permittuntur. Franciscani 3 ex Philippinis in Chinam non ita pridem profectu a Chinis comprehensi sunt et*

*in vincula com- [1/2-cm hole] -os Mandarinus quidam, ad quem spectabat ea res, pro nostris obtrudebat Rectori Macanensi conquestus, quod contra edictum Imperatoris citra licentiam eos permetteret legem promulgare. Cui ille se recto scire eos e nostris non esse respondit: rogavit Mandarinus domum illos admitteret et detineretque Rector, qui re inter alios communicata cum nostro Vice Provinciali P. Francisco Mesina, qui Macani tum aderat tergiversando hominem interrogavit; quid e fuga illorum, si forte ea elaberentur sibi smsque [sic] immimeret periculi? Collegit Mandarinus eam in rem difficulter consensuum Rectorem, cui proinde dixit ne auxili]aretur; se enim de domo illis prospecturum Recripsere deinde Franciscani de nobis tacite conquerendo se quidem in functione Apostolica impediri a quibusdam qui facere id minime debuissent, prædicare tamen se nactosque ultra 50000, quos instruunt; quod utrumque discrepare a vero disiecte nobis asserit P. Mesina. Sed plura forsitan de eo ad vos, certioraque P. Hennym, uti de interrepta civitate S. Thomæ de Sallo(?) parum aut nihil potius in Batavos hic profecit cum Anglo Gallus. Audimus rem fervere apud vos; eumque jam nunc deglutisse Hollandiam fere totam irei quæso veritatem educe mi Pater, nosque litteris suis recrea in tam fertili tamque copiosa scribendi materia: Aduce si placet Provinciæ mihi charissimæ statum: infere item aliquid de lite, quam nobis Romæ intentavit vicarius Hollandiæ. Amplissimum procul dubio argu[men]tum dedere festivi apparatus pro Canonizatione S. Borgæ: in illos hic a Provincia vel potius Collegio Manilensi insumpta dicuntur 9 vel 10 pataconum millia at nullibi nobis spectare quid licuit. Lis nobis gravissima intentatur in Nova Hispania de decuris: eam decidere noluit Senatus Mexicanus, sed indeterminatam rejecit Madritum ad Consilium Indicum; eo non obstante Episcopus Angelopolitanus alioqui nobis perquam amicus ac familiaris sequestravit bona Collegii ibidem Spiritus Sancti in eoquum Clericos constituit. Societas ea de re procuravit fidei in Senatu Regio instrumentem authenticum: ita vexamur ubique Deus nos defendat.*

*Historice rem Marianam ab ipso suæ foundationis exordio accuratæ fideliterque complexus est P. Petrus, missitque ad Provinciam: sed fabriculus hic cuidam e nostris inscriptus serius advenit quam ut via Hispanica transmitteretur: eam ego via Lusitanica transmittere non audeo ne forte intercidat aut diutius delineatur defectu oportunitatis: sed accuratius ea de ne consulam P. Messinam ejusque sequor consilium: adjicio interim ejusdem narrationis exemplar aliud, quod si perferatur ad vos, citius multo advenerat quam quas dedi ex nupera mea navigatione.*

*Responsum R. V<sup>a</sup> etsi quis præterea aliquid scripserit, per P. Franciscum de Florentia Hispani mittatur in Marianas: et hasce istic cum amicis communicet, meque tum illi, tum R. V<sup>a</sup> maximis habeat SS. suis Sacrificiis commendatum in salutem conversionemque animarum.*

*Manilæ 8 Octobris 1673*

*R. Væ Servus in Christo*

*Gerardus Bouwens S.J.*

*[P.S.] Salutem et obsequium Provinciæ universæ nominatim R. P. Provinciali P. Thomæ Dekens, P. Jofannji Reutergen, P. Andreae Lopez, P. Guilielmo Hosio, P. Joan-*



*nis van Horenbeeck, R. P. Professoribus The[olog]iæ et Philosophiæ singulis, P. de Kien, PP. Concurrentibus in Phlia. Thlia. magistris, P. Andreae van -scere(?), quos rogo ignoscant mihi, unque inscriptas sibi commune habeant.*

[232v, address:] *Reverendo in Christo Patri Matthiæ Schweitzer, et in ejus morte vel cui absentia P. Joanni Baptæ van Horenbeeck Soctis JESU sacerdoti.*

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace of Christ.

Y.R. may already have received news about the present state of the Mariana Mission, perhaps in the letter which I wrote to you last June from the Japan-Philippine Sea. Just before the beginning of the following July, the voyage ended, after spending 8 continuous days with contrary winds blowing in the narrows of the Strait of Manila, we could not make it, and went instead to a port in the islands formerly called de los Pintados, but now called the Visayas. Here, I was invited by a letter from those of our people who labor in these parts. I stepped ashore and, for a few days I did some relief work, willingly, in accordance with the honorable custom of our Society, for the man who headed the Residence with the title of Rector. The next village to this one, called Palapag by the Indians, was the chosen spartan residence of Fr. Alphonse Stapleaux,<sup>1</sup> whom Y.R. sent to join our mission [band] at Cádiz. When he was told about my arrival, he came up immediately. Fr. Antonio Tuccio<sup>2</sup> one of the Sicilian Fathers who was my individual companion during our voyage, was stationed a little further away by himself. In due course he would answer two of my letters. I nevertheless received them in Manila; they are full of truly apostolic zeal. I received another from Fr. Maximilian vander Stein, whose apostolate is of the first order and very full of danger from land and sea. He normally lives among uncivilized, or so far semi-civilized, people, not different from those of our Marianas up to now; they are called Subanos and live in the Island of Negros.<sup>3</sup> He wrote that he had 7 churches under his care, left to him by the Fathers from Milan when the latter were pursuing their course of Theology.

I reached Manila on the eve of the feast-day of our holy Father [St. Ignatius] 31 July and even now I am busy dealing and carrying out the business of our Mission which is hindered by contradictory machinations from all sides and, I would never have persuaded myself of that, even coming from those who should perhaps have promoted it, and certainly had to defend it. I have dealt with the Governor twice (I was not allowed

1 Fr. Stapleaux was born in Namur, Belgium, on 18 December 1634. He entered the novitiate at Tournai. He travelled to Mexico at the same time as Fathers Bouwens and Coomans. Like Bouwens, he made his last vow there. He is not listed in Sommervogel.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Antonio Tuccio, more correctly Antonino Tucci, born 1641, served in the Philippines from 1672 until his death in 1716 (ref. B&R 41: 39). He was Provincial of the Philippines twice, 1696-1699, and in 1707.

3 B&R 43: 283 says that the Subanos, or Subanon, are a tribe living in Mindanao, not Negros.

more), but more frequently with our Superiors. I do not deny the difficulty of doing this, or that the thing is free of difficulty; it certainly is discouraging. He alleged that the treasury of the Philippines was exhausted, the present need of the Philippines with the troublesome enemies not far away, which is of prime importance, that he had no immediate order from the King, that the whole thing was in the hands of the Viceroy of Mexico, that he could not give any orders concerning that thing, that the 3,000 pesos sent here by the latter were insufficient to begin building a ship, much less to finish it. As for the food allowance for the 200 Pampangos (they are Filipino Indians), he has assigned a stipend for them and their leader, and for other similar things which I do not remember, in accordance with the royal decree. Our intents to have not a few zealous civilians to actively promote and propagate the faith would add large alms under certain conditions, which our Superiors are fearful to admit, so that the Province would not suffer by it. May God replace the fear of those who would do irreparable damage to the souls by lack of fear. Two of the leading Fathers in the whole College have made an example of the business in public, and I have held a sacred conference with them, but in vain. The Rev. Fr. Provincial<sup>1</sup> has gone to visit the mission stations, and will be absent for at least 6 months. He has appointed the Rector of the College of Manila, Fr. Luis Pimentel, as visitor of our mission, but he is completely reluctant.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the success of the business is desperate. He pretends many things that would preserve that mission, but he judges them to belong to an impossible world. What would you, dear Father, advise me to do, given this state of mind? I have heard nothing except good words so far from the Vice-Provincial. Do I consult others? In any case, would they sympathize with me? This would be poor consolation, without any effect, certainly stating the right things but being unable to make things right for me. To return via America would require a dangerous navigation, that is, no fewer than 4,000 leagues or more to go there and come back to the Marianas. Already there has been assigned to me as companion in this voyage, one of the three who, with Fr. San Victores, were the first missionaries in the Mariana Mission.<sup>3</sup> He came to Manila from there two years ago to begin his studies and he has already received permission to become a sub-deacon; he will be initiated into the other sacred orders soon. The man is plainly dedicated to that mission, which he loved very tenderly, and to which God has particularly destined him. It is not yet known when he and another of ours will be anointed. The Governor felt it to be specially necessary that one of ours should pursue and promote the matter with either Mexico or Madrid; if most of them denounce it, it will not be possible to observe it here. He has proposed [to send] his letters and [copies of his] instructions to both courts, to facilitate the thing; so, yesterday the Fr. Vice-Provincial brought back another [letter] to me already, and he added that he will give us one boat or another, that

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1 Ed. note: His name was Fr. Andrés de Ledesma.

2 Ed. note: Pimentel was also a reluctant interim Provincial for a short time in 1670 and 1675. He was full-time Provincial from 1687 to 1690.

3 Ed. note: Brother, soon to be Father, Bustillo was to accompany him to Mexico, and return to the Marianas one year after him.

we can use to sail among the islands; however, he is to place loose boards on the American galleon, so that they might unload them on the return voyage, and to be put together there by its carpenter. If this is done, which I doubt, the navigation from there would be easier, so as to avoid the danger and the discomfort to which we have been exposed up to now; it might serve well in fighting the Indians, and to keep them obedient.

Those were the singular events, albeit private. Now for the public news. This past year the whole of China has been filled with fear. The son of that pirate who had ejected the Dutch from the Island of Formosa some time ago, has very rapidly gone from there and war is seen to be imminent. To find out the truth, the Governor has sent an envoy to the city of Macau and has added one of ours who is very expert in the Chinese language, Fr. Francisco Messina.<sup>1</sup> The fear of perishing together was vain, for the Barbarian lacked forces for his own defence, and they were far from sufficient for attacking others. Therefore, they returned. Accompanying Fr. Francisco was one [Jesuit] who already carried the powers of visitor to the Province.

Among others who arrived here, there was the elected Bishop of China, Fr. Felipe de Marinis, but it is doubtful that he will be admitted to the office; there certainly will be some resistance to that. The Holy Congregation of the Propaganda [of the Faith] has sent a certain French bishop to visit China, so it is said here, but so that some evil might not dare(?) destroy the faith, he has admirably inserted us and our functions, but Fr. Felipe has placed an objection to his election, and neither of them have acknowledged the jurisdiction of the other. The other man has issued excommunications and suspensions; our people would not make anything of them, mainly when he considered his jurisdiction to be surreptitious. For it to be considered legitimate, it would certainly have to have been acknowledged and given by the Portuguese Chancellery, as Fr. Juan Bautista Maldonado has written from our Roman [headquarters] to Fr. Felipe de Marinis here; the latter brought Fr. de Hennyn<sup>2</sup> along to China about 7 years ago. This Frenchman has said much in a letter to our Archbishop, who is a Dominican, who excommunicated the Rector of our College of Iloilo three years ago, but this excommunication is not valid according to a printed apology by Fr. Gerónimo de Ortigas, on account of a news circulated among the Indians [who] solicited the non-reluctant Bishop of Cebu himself. Once this learned apology was written, he complained about us, and was furious mainly against Fr. Juan Bautista Maldonado, because of the bulls that he wrote, and with contempt threw out of the window. He declared us unauthorized to administer the sacraments, even on the point of death. Does not this taste like Jansenism? He vetoed anyone to assist anyone of us on the point of death, if declared destitute by jurisdiction. So, Y.R. may see that any [hole in ms.] them hidden under ashes in the home of Europeans, not yet fully extinct, the so holy documents of these Apost-

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1 Ed. note: Born in Messina, Sicily, in 1614; came to the Philippines in 1643; during his long career, he ministered to the Chinese of Manila for over 20 years. He would serve as Provincial from 1681 to 1683. He died in Manila in 1686.

2 Ed. note: Spelled Haynin by himself (see Doc. 1675B2).

les also [hole] made superbly insolent those who in turn pretended to be called Masters of the New Law and of the holy faith. Indeed, the Father who distributed that [hole] is called Felipe.<sup>1</sup> That letter said that a certain Dominican brought it back from there. He would have left Manila before [hole] through China perhaps overland to Rome, which he did not succeed to penetrate. He gave the commission to that Frenchman, so that [hole] much honored by one who is himself very kind. It is said that another Dominican has received a letter from Japan from the first quod- [hole] who invites these Religious to go there to transit through his empire; I do not define whether this is right or not.

Concerning Christians, it is not doubted that the number of martyrs in Japan this past year was not [hole]. Continuous labors at night have much weakened and extenuated the [hole] of Fr. Ferdinand Verbiest. They were replaced by one of our Italian Fathers who is an eminent mathematician, Fr. Grimaldi. Some of our [hole] by the Chinese Emperor, and above all Fr. Ferdinand; the others were prohibited to baptize Gentiles again, but they were permitted to instruct those baptized some time ago already and to [hole]. Three Franciscans travelled from the Philippines to China; they are not included in those who had gone there before and in league with [hole] a certain Mandarin, who looked after this thing, and on behalf of our people presented a complaint by the Rector of Macau, against an edict of the Emperor whereby an exception to the law would have been promulgated, to grant them a licence. He answered that it was not right for our people to interfere.<sup>2</sup> The Mandarin begged the Rector to admit them and detain them in our house. He [i.e. the Rector] communicated, among others, with our Vice-Provincial Fr. Francisco Messina, who was then present in Macau. By devious means he interrogated the man: what of their flight, if by chance they had escaped only to expose themselves to danger? The Mandarin agreed with difficulty with the Rector, who then said that he could not help [him], for a rescript would be issued to prevent henceforth the Franciscans to leave home to tacitly exercise their apostolic function, to forbid anyone to do the least they should, nevertheless to preach to and instruct more than 50000. Fr. Messina would have asserted that either way he did not agree to divide our people so. But perhaps you have heard more [than I] about it; I am informed that Fr. Hennyn has left the destroyed city of St. Thomas of Galle<sup>3</sup> [with] not enough or rather nothing in Dutch [ships?] sailed here with an Anglo-French. We understand that the thing is of interest to you and that already by now would have swallowed almost the whole of Holland; I look to you for the truth, dear Father. His letter to us takes pleasure in writing about such fertile and copious matters. Let me know about the condition of my beloved Province. Tell me also something about the dispute that the vicar of Holland has intended against us in Rome. From afar I hesitate to give a very ample

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1 Ed. note: A reference to Archbishop Felipe Pardo.

2 Ed. note: Approximate rendering. Other interpretations are possible.

3 Ed. note: Perhaps a city in SW Ceylon.

argument about the festive preparations in honor of the canonization of St. [Francis of] Borgia; in those of the Province here or rather in the College of Manila, it is said that 9 or 10 thousand pesos have been spent and nowhere were we allowed to watch [the spectacles]. A very serious dispute has been intended against us in New Spain by the “decuris”;<sup>1</sup> the Mexican Senate has refused to decide it, but sent it to the Council of the Indies in Madrid for a determination. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles, a former friend of ours, from placing an embargo on the property of the College of the Holy Ghost and put in some secular priests there. The Society has procured an authentic instrument from the royal Senate to prove its rights to it; so, we may be persecuted but God will defend us.

The history of the Mariana Mission since its foundation has been presented by Fr. Petrus [Coomans] in an exceptionally accurate and faithful account.<sup>2</sup> He addressed it to the Province, but in the small shop [post office?] here a certain member of the Society received it unregistered, for later transmittal via Spain. I did not dare to send it via Portugal, so as not to have it opened or forwarded after more delay for lack of opportunity. To be safe, I consulted with Fr. Messina and followed his advice: in the meantime, I enclose another copy of this account, which, if it is to be carried to you, it might get there much faster if I take it along in my above-mentioned voyage [to Mexico].

Although Y.R. may have written some answer in the meantime, it is to be sent to the Marianas, care of Fr. Francisco de Florencia in Seville; the letters to and from my friends should also go through him. I greatly commend the salvation and conversion of souls to your holy sacrifices.

Manila, 8 October 1673.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Gerardus Bouwens S.J.

[P.S.] Regards and greetings to the whole Province, specially Rev. Fr. Provincial Fr. Thomas Dekens, Fr. John Reutergen, Fr. Andrés Lopez, Fr. William Hosio, Fr. John van Horenbeeck, the Rev. Fathers Professors of Theology and Philosophy, specifically Fr. de Kien, the Fathers Masters of courses in Philosophy and Theology, Fr. Andrew van -scere(?), all of whom I beg not to ignore me, and may they consider this as something written to themselves in common.

[Address:] To Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Matthew Schweitzer, and in case of his death or absence, to Fr. John Baptist van Horenbeeck, priest of the Society of JESUS.

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1 Ed. note: “Decuris” in neo-Latin is probably equivalent to “cabildo” in Spanish, i.e. the (religious) municipal council.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673L.

[Doc. 1673K1]

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Relacion de los sucesos de las Yslas Marianas de el año de 1672 y 73.*

*Forzosa prisa, ocupaciones, y ahogos en los despachos del año pasado de 71, por la apretura de los tiempos que ocasionó la impensada muerte de N. V. P. R [everendissimo] Diego Luis de S. Vitores y sus seis compañeros, no dieron lugar á que fuese perfecta la relacion de todo el año, quedandose por referir los frutos con que despues del recio granizo, y piedras de la guerra, llovidas sobre esta tierna viña, consolo, y vivifico N.S. á los que por sus altos consejos, justificados en si mismos habia mortificado, en los trabajos de tantas rebeliones, y turbacion á un de los mismos elementos. Y asi comenzaremos por ellos esta narracion, pues tanto son mas dignos de que no los borre, por incuria del olvido quanto se pueden referir con menos peligro de adulacion, mas en particular, y con mas seguridad de quien á fuerza de sus desvelos, y ansias, y aun á ciertos peligros de su vida, los copió á manos llenas, acreditandolos con la gloriosa muerte que por lograrlos, y cuidar de sus amadas y encomendas ovejas, le dieron los carniceros lobos, que á impulsos de barbaridad y falta de conocimiento en lo mucho que les importa desnudarse de la fiereza y vestirse del nuevo modo que se les predica, habian afilado sus garras para despedazar el rebaño de Cristo, contra quien arrojaron sus lanzas, y desataron sus blasfemas lenguas.*

*Concluida como se dixo el año pasado la porfiada guerra á los 21 de Octubre [de 1671] no pudiendo sufrir los incendios de caridad que abrasaban el pecho de N. V. P. Rmo. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, las estrechas prisiones, en que parece habian estado, sin estenderse al espacioso campo y esfera que pedia la grandeza de su actividad, y zelo salió despues despreciando su propia vida, por dar pasto á su caridad; que si es grande la que la expone á la contingencia por los amigos, **maiolem charitatem memo [nemo?] hab[er]at**<sup>1</sup> tal seria la que la despreció por darla á sus enemigos, y buscar eterna de estos Ysleños que poco antes le habian tirado sus lanzas sin respetar á la sagrada imagen de Cristo N.S. que en sus manos tenia el V. Padre cuando persuadiendoles á la paz evangelica, y combidandoles con ella les hablava; pedidas pues por ellos mismos las pazes que arrogantes habian despreciado y admitidas de nuestra parte hizo luego algunas misiones el V. P. R. menospreciando peligros de que algunos Indios le avisaron, y constante en su determinacion de buscar almas para Dios no hizo caso, por que estimaba mas cumplir el Ministerio de su Apostolado, y llenar la dilatada carrera que a tan agigantados pasos habia corrido desde su tierna edad, como se podrá ver en la historia que se sacará á luz de su religiosa vida.*

*En una de estas Misiones que fué despues de seis ú ocho dias que se ajustaron las pazes salió el V. P. R. con otro Padre, y solos dos hombres sin armas como lo acostumbra y teniendo noticia que habia un niño sin Bautismo en el Pueblo de **Chuchugu** que es uno de los de el monte, y de los mas aainados, y temidos por sus traidores desa-*

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "There was no-one with a greater charity."

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## Document 1673K

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# Jesuit annual report for 1672-1673, attributed to Fr. Ezquerro

*Sources: AGI Fil. 68-1-40 (ref. Astrain VI, pp. 820-821); AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 8 (part 1); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 102-172 (except that pp. 117-120 and 125-128 have been stolen).*

*Notes: The author of this report was Fr. Ezquerro, then Superior of the Mariana Island Mission. The report is countersigned by Fathers Bouwens and Coomans. As Fr. Bouwens left Guam that year, he no doubt carried the report with him to Manila. It seems that this report was addressed care of Fr. Sanvitores' father, as Fr. Juan de Ledesma says, in "The Cause of Beatification", from the postscript that says: "Your Venerable Lordship should lend it to Father Juan Gabriel Guillén;" the latter having been Fr. Sanvitores' colleague in the old days. This report was the probable basis for the report that the Governor of the Philippines sent to the Council of the Indies (AGI Fil. 11-2-11, 6 May 1676), and also the basis for Part XXI of Fr. García's biography of Fr. Sanvitores: "1 June 1672 to end of December 1673—The state of affairs after the death of Fr. Solano."*

## An account of the events in the Mariana Islands in the year 1672-1673, dated Agadña 6 April 1673

### Original text in Spanish.

[See facing pages, and below]

**Synopsis, in part by Fr. Juan Ledesma.**

...  
The whole year's account failed to reach perfection due to the forced haste, occupations and stringency in sending off the dispatches of the past year of 1671, due to the tightness of the times which caused the unexpected death of our Venerable Reverend Father Diego Luís de San Vitores and his six companions. Left over in the narrative were the fruits with which... our Lord consoled and encouraged those whom, in his profound designs... he had made to suffer in the midst of so many rebellions and disturbances, even from the weather itself.

And so we will start this account with them, for they are all the more worthy of not being forgotten, the more they can be told with less danger of adulation more particularly... by him... who harvested them in great abundance, dignifying them with the

*fueros, afianzados en lo aspero del sitio que pueblan, que dando alas á el atrevimiento sirve de refugio y asilo á la cobarde huida que con todo su arrojo emprenden como los demas fuera de sus asperezas en que hacen pie para manifestar pues el V.P. no temia á sus acostumbradas deslealtades, se ofreció á un Yndio p<sup>a</sup> ir en busca de el recién nacido infante mas poniendo dificultad el Yndio (para ir en busca) el que fuesen los compañeros aunque desarmados, por que dezia temerian los del Pueblo, mandó al padre y á los dos soldados prosiguiesen la Mision por los Pueblos de Playa, y se entrego el V.P. en manos de los enemigos, que poco antes habian maquinado nuestra destruccion; como verdadero Apostol de Cristo embiado como inocente oveja en medio de los lobos, sin que le arredrasen [=frighten him] sus ahullidos que todavia estaban sonando con las voces de algunos que no aseguraban la fidelidad en los de dho Pueblo, este magnanimo aliento, premio N.S. de contado con ocho niños que en el mismo Pueblo bautizó aquel dia volviendo á casa con el consuelo que se dexa entender, de quien habia hallado los que poco antes destituidos corderillos, y expuestos á la contingencia de su perdicion. Plato fué este con que sabores nuestro Señor; y pico el gusto y deseos de Nuestro V.P.R. para que por si mismo, y por medio de otros Padres se hiziesen otras correias y misiones en que hubo algunos casos particulares. Una entre otras, iba un Padre en busca de un niño, y no hallandolo se bolvia á su Pueblo, mas perdiendo el camino, se fué entrando por bosques, y arboledas en donde halló al niño que buscaba, y á otros dos, cuyas madres estaban entre las ramas con sus chiquillos, hasta que uno de ellos publicando con los sollozos la injuria que se le hacia, se manifestó, con que fueron bautizados, habiendo N.S. guiado por aquellas espesuras al Padre que para coger su camino fué necesario desandar lo pasado.*

*No pudiendo asistir por si solo nuestro V.P.R. á tan esparcido rebaño embió luego dos Padres que le fuesen juntando y desterrasen los temores que la acometida del infernal leon habia causado con sus rugidos, y asi se embarcaron uno para visitar la Ysla de Santa Ana, y otro p<sup>a</sup> las Yslas del Santo Angel ó **Aguiguan**[.] de Buenavista Mariana ó **Tinian**, y la de S. José de la de los naturales **Zeipan**, que esta desde la muerte que en ella dieron al V. Padre Luis de Medina no se habia podido visitar; la resulta de esto deremos mas abajo, por no interrumpir con su narracion los sucesos de esta Ysla; en donde el mismo dia que los Padres se embarcaron que fué á los 15 de Noviembre de 71 salió nuestro V.P.R. para visitarla con solos dos compañeros desarmados, detubose un mes en la Mision, y hubiera sido mas larga á no estar tan cercana la celebridad de las Pascuas [=Christmas], en que habia de asistir [en la] residencia de N.P.S. Ygnacio suppose que en uno de los Pueblos intentaron matarle y que para ello habian hecho junta los Indios, mas con todo se fué deteniendo para enseñar la Doctrina el tiempo que le daba lugar la necesidad y desamparo de los niños, que tantos meses habian estado sin el sagrado baño, y buscaba con toda solicitud, y desvelos. Despues de muchos trabajos, y bautismos que los alibiarian; volvió á esta residencia á los 18 de Diciembre en donde no pudo la fogosidad de su abrasado espiritu dar treguas al que pareciera descanso, estando en esta residencia, en donde aunque hay bastantes ocupaciones, por estar el Padre Francisco Solano que con su fervoroso espiritu acudia á los ministerios,*



glorious death which... the carnivorous wolves inflicted on him..., after sharpening their claws to tear to pieces the sheepfold of Christ...

When, as has been said, the obstinate war of last year ended around October 21, ... and after they themselves asked for the peace which they had previously arrogantly rejected, and we granted, the Venerable Reverend Father visited soon after some missions, making no account of the dangers reported to him by some of the natives...

In one of these visitations, which he made six or eight days after the peace was declared, the Venerable Reverend Father accompanied by another Father and only two men who were as usual unarmed sallied forth, for he was informed about an unbaptized child in the town of **Chuchugu**. This is one of those villages situated in the hilly interior and among the most reputed and feared for their treacherous lawlessness, encouraged by the wild place they were inhabiting... The Venerable Father, therefore, in order to show that he did not fear their usual offenses against the law, offered himself to a native to look to those companions, even if they were unarmed because he said that the town people would fear them. Hence he asked the Father and the other two soldiers to continue their mission among the towns of the seashore. And the Venerable Father joined the company of those enemies, who not long before had schemed to destroy us.

... This magnanimous courage was rewarded by our Lord with eight children whom in the same town he baptized on that day... This was a dish with which our Lord fed and increased the appetite and desires of our Venerable Reverend Father for going by himself and through other Fathers into more apostolic journeys and missions... Our Venerable Reverend Father could not by himself alone take care of such a scattered flock. He soon sent two Fathers who... embarked, one to visit the Island of Santa Ana [Rota] and the other the Islands of Santo Angel or Aguiguan, the Buenavista Mariana or Tinian, and that of San José, or Saypan...

The Venerable Father spent one month in his mission tour [of Guam] and he would have stayed longer were it not that the Christmas holidays required his presence in the Residence of our Holy Father St. Ignatius...

After many labors and baptisms... he returned to this Residence on December 18, where... he made the spiritual exercises, thereby renewing his spiritual vigor, and it seems that he was preparing himself for the approaching death that was awaiting him. He made these exercises with more than ordinary faithfulness in its performance, observance and mortification. He again went out for other missions with his usual fervor.

He spent two months in this mission tour, but was brought back to the house by the fatal sickness of Father Diego de Noriega... In view of the great scarcity of missionaries Father Noriega had offered himself to our Lord in sacrifice for these Islands, where his sickness became ever worse and, giving example of all the virtues..., he gave up his joyous spirit to God's hands on 30 January 1672.

After the funeral our Reverend Father went back to his missions. And for the better administration of this whole Island and certain other places in which the unbloody Sacrifice of our redemption could be offered with the proper decency he determined that other churches be erected, from where the towns could be visited more frequently

*le parecia estaba de mas, y asi tomando nuevos alientos en unos ejercicios en que parece se disponia para la cercana muerte que le estaba preparada, con mas que ordinaria exaccion, en su cuidado, observancia y mortificacion; salió á otras misiones con el fervor que solia, gastó con ellas dos meses, trayendole á casa la enfermedad mortal de el Padre Diego de Noriega,<sup>1</sup> á quien en este tiempo N.S. apremiar su religiosa vida, y resignada obediencia, con que cierto de los desmedros de su quebra salud, y peligro de su vida, por la falta de regalos que su habitual enfermedad pedia mandarlo por los Superiores en la mucha penuria que ahuido de operarios, se sacrificó á Nuestro Señor en estas Yslas, en donde siempre se le fué agravando su fisico [rather tísis], y con los exemplos de todas las virtudes (que dexamos para relacion aparte) especialmente de la Paciencia en sus dolores que fueron muchos y con conformidad en la voluntad de Dios entregó en sus manos su dichoso espiritu á los 13 de Enero de 72.*

*Concluido el oficio de la sepultura volvió nuestro Padre R. á sus misiones y para tener mejor administrada toda esta Ysla, y ciertos lugares en que con la devida decencia se ofreciese el incruento sacrificio de nuestra redencion, determinó se erigieren **tres Yglesias**, desde donde mas a menudo se visitasen los Pueblos, y tubiesen mas estension los Ministerios, y enseñanza de los niños con mayor asistencia de los Ministros, embió al Pueblo de **Merizo** que está al oeste de esta Ysla al Padre Francisco Esquerria, en donde fabricó una muy hermosa Yglesia, aunque de materia de cocos y palmas, que es la madera que sirve á todas las fabricas, esta residencia como todas con las muertes de que se dirá despues; otros dos compañeros seculares estaban fabricando otra en el Pueblo de **Pagat**. Tomó para si nuestro V.P.R. el Pueblo de **Nisijan**, sitio el mas peligroso y menos acomodado en las combeniencias corporales, pero era mas poblado de niños que lograban con su asistencia á la Doctrina los trabajos y desconsuelos que de la natural rudeza innata floxedad, y ninguna aplicacion de los adultos, fatigan, y aun á el mas alentado espiritu fuerzan á concebir ciertos peligros de su eterna perdicion, como hablando de los de edad crecida, y aun de mas politicas, capaces, y aplicadas naciones dice el Apostol de las Yndias: á cada una de estas residencias pertenecian casi **quarenta Pueblos**<sup>2</sup> que cada mes se visitaban, juntandose para reconciliarse los ministros que las tenian, y para tratar de los medios necesarios para su adelantamiento.*

*Con la tranquilidad dicha corrian las cosas de esta Cristiandad cuando llegó de otra Ysla el Padre Tomas Cardeñoso que estaba destinado para fundar Yglesia en el Pueblo de Pinpag [rather **Pigpug**] de cuya venida se embiaba á avisar al P.R. Supolo un perverso Indio llamado **Kipuha** á quien varias veces amonestó nuestro V.P.R. y reprehendio la continuancia, con que ciego de su lascivia tenia por suya la que era muger de otro, y respondiendo á varios avisos del Padre que mas queria irse al infierno, que dexar la manceba, acompañado de ella se fué al Pueblo de **Chuchugú**, no distante de el camino por donde habia de pasar el que llevaba las cartas,<sup>3</sup> de quien era amigo el*

1 Ed. note: He was sick with phtisis, i.e. tuberculosis.

2 Ed. note: The word "pueblos" can only mean tiny hamlets in this case, since there were up to 180 settlements, of any description, in the whole Island of Guam at the arrival of the missionaries.

3 Ed. note: This catechist was named Diego Bazan (see below).

and where the ministry of the church could be extended as well as the instruction of the children with greater ministerial assistance...

The affairs of this Christianity were going on, helped by the said established peace. It was then that Father Tomás Cardeñoso arrived from another Island. He was assigned to establish the church in the town of **Pigpug**. Notice was sent of this arrival to Reverend Father. A perverse native called Quipuha came to know about it. He had been admonished several times by our Father Rector about his incontinence. Blinded by his lasciviousness he had taken for himself the wife of another.

To the Father's various admonitions he replied that he preferred to go to hell rather than abandon his concubine. Accompanied by her he went to the town of **Chuchugu** which was not far from the road that was to be taken by the one who was hand-carrying the letters. The perverse native was his friend but he prevailed upon those of the said town to kill him... Two natives, therefore, tried to meet him seemingly by chance and told him: "You people say that we of Chuchugu are cruel and bad. Put aside those spears (the young lad was carrying two) and let us eat some *buyo*, (a fruit, which, like tobacco among us entertains them.) The unwary lad put aside the spears and the native his own too, to better disguise his treachery. But during the distraction of the conversation one native struck him in the chest with a machete and the other threw at him a spear, with which he killed him... The lad was one of the first founders of this Mission. He had come from his native Mexico and voluntarily offered himself to accompany our Reverend Father.

The night... of the day in which they killed him was 31 March 1672... On the following day Father Francisco Solano sent Nicolás de Figueroa and Damián Bernal to notify our Father Rector about what happened. When they met the Father where he was staying they learned that Diego Bazan, who had been hand-carrying the letters, had not arrived. Thus it was taken for certain that he had died, for this was also confirmed by a youth of the land called Ambrosio who was accompanying them and had heard about it.

The said Nicolás and Damián went back to the Residence. They were joined on the way by Manuel Rangel, who was going to attend the flagellation on that afternoon, a Friday of Lent. More than twenty natives of the town of **Chuchugu** ambushed them...; they killed Rangel who was unarmed. The other two were protected by two shields or armors, and with courage met their attack. They killed the principal of the town of Chuchugu..., but got lost in the bush. One separated from the other, so that they lost their way. Nicolás found himself in the town of **Ypao**, where with marks of friendship the enemy killed him, ... while Damián came down at the town of **Tumhon** where another friend of his asked to see his sword, which he, unaware of treachery, surrendered; then he was hit in the head with an axe, losing his life on 2 April 1672, on the same day in which our Venerable Reverend Father was assassinated.

Hell had mustered all its forces to try to eradicate this Christianity, full of fury against the zeal with which our Venerable Reverend Father was winning the conversion and salvation of these barbarians. Not satisfied with the crimes mentioned above, to be more sure that it won its objective, it hurled the blow at the head which it recognized

*perverso ---- y insistió á los de dho Pueblo para que le matasen sin que tuvifese] otra atencion para su alevosia que las reprehensiones de ellas, con que haciendosele encontrado dos Indios le dixeron: **Deciis vosotros que somos crueles, y malos los de Chuchugu, dexa esas lanzas** (llevava dos el mozo) **y vamos comiendo buyo** (que es fruta que como á nosotros el tabaco sirve á ellos de entretenimiento) dexo el inadvertido mozo las lanzas y el Yndio las suyas para disimular mejor su alevosia, pero en lo mas descuidado de la combersacion le dio el uno con un machete por los pechos, y el otro le tiró una lanza con que le acabo luego, arrojaron su cuerpo en una profunda hoya; esperamos en el Señor logró su alma en eterno premio los trabajos que padeció en estas Yslas, y peligros por mar y tierra, era continuo misionero, que solo y acompañado bautizó muchos niños sufriendo golpes y irrisiones y otras injurias, y fué uno de los primeros fundadores de esta mision que desde la ciudad de Mexico de donde era natural se ofrecio voluntario á N.P.R. p<sup>a</sup> acompañarle. La misma noche del dia que le mataron que fué á los 31 de Marzo de 72 vinieron de dho Pueblo de **Chuchugu** á quemar una de las garitas, y aunque con toda seguridad pudieron ejecutarlo, por no haber en ella centinela alguna á causa de ser solo 9 hombres, no les permitio nuestro Señor este triunfo (que es grande entre estos barbros) sino que descubiertos á ladridos de un perro, llegando á garita dos hombres que andaban de redonda huyeron los Yndios y dexando el fuego arrojaron tres lanzas, que á la mañana se hallaron clavadas en las palmas. El dia siguiente embió el Padre Francisco Solano á **Nicolas de Figueroa**, y á **Damian Bernal** que diesen aviso á nuestro Padre R. de lo sucedido y llegados donde estaba supieron que no habia llegado con las cartas **Diego Basan** que las havia llevado con que se tubo por cierta su muerte, por haberlo tambien confirmado con su dho un niño de la tierra llamado Ambrosio, que los acompañaba, y lo habia oido decir; bolvianse para la residencia dho Nicolas y Damian, á quienes se juntó en el camino **Manuel Rangel** que venia á azotarse aquella tarde viernes de Cuaresma.] salioles una emboscada de mas de 20 Indios de el Pueblo de **Chuchugu**, y otro cercano de **Mapás**, en que mataron á Rangel que estaba sin armas, y los otros dos escudados con dos adargas ó corazas con alentado animo los hizieron rostro, mataron al principal de el Pueblo de Chuchugu que se acercó mas á la acometida, y dividiendole en trozos con los alfanges, atemorizaron de tal suerte á los Indios que poniendose todos en huida, pudieron irse retirando los nuestros sin haber recibido dho Damian mas que un pequeño rasguño de una lanza que pasó rozandole el oido.] á Nicolas le habian atravezado un muslo con una lanza de hueso, y perdidos en el monte, se dividió el uno de el otro, con que descaminados fué Nicolas á salir al Pueblo de **Ypao**, en donde con señales de amistad fué muerto, por que abrazandose de el un Yndio como le acostumbran entre los amigos, viendose cerca de una peña, le arrojó á ella, y despues le alanzaron. Damian fué á dar al Pueblo de Tumcun [rather **Tumhon**] en donde otro amigo suyo pidiendo le el alfange para verlo, luego que inadvertido le entregó le dió con una hacha por la cerbiza [rather cabeza], y le quitó la vida á 2 de Abril de 71 [rather 72] el mismo dia que mataron á nuestro V.P.R. Cof]spirado habia el infierno, todas sus fuerzas, con que procuraba acabar esta Cristiandad, rebioso del celo con que nuestro V.P.R. solicitaba la combersion y salva-*

as its true enemy, by whose inspiration the whole body of these... Christians... kept in motion.

The same courage of our Venerable Reverend Father and his fervent desire to feed lovingly his flock gave him an opportunity to look for one sheep he had lost. He was walking with great haste because a native Visayan [named Esteban] without provocation had fled from his house. He was one of those who suffered shipwreck in the ship **Concepción** in 1638 and, after his return to Manila, the Venerable Father had taken him to these Islands as his interpreter. To bring him back to the flock our Venerable Father Rector went over mountains and valleys in search of him, intending also to baptize children he came across in the mountains. The news of the first death, that of Diego Bazan, caught up with him on the way. He, then, gave orders to his companions to retire to this Residence of our Father St. Ignatius. Then he went to the town of **Tumhon** accompanied by a native of the land and by a youthful Visayan called Pedro Calonsor.

At dawn they arrived at the house of a native called Matapang. The Venerable Father asked him if there was some woman who had recently delivered a child. To this question the barbarian daringly answered these words... "What did the woman deliver for? There inside my house is a skull. Baptize him."

But the Venerable Father begged him for his recently-born daughter so as to baptize her. To this impatiently and haughtily he answered... "I do not want you to baptize my daughter, because baptism is of no use." To this he added other words which made clear the motive of his sacrilegious determination, telling the Father: ... "Go and keep away from here Great Father" (this corresponds to the word *Magas*, which means great; thus they called him since he arrived in these Islands). "Go away," he said, "Padre Magas, because I will kill you." The Father, who was more desirous to live his life for God than the traitor was for taking it from him, replied full of compassion: "It is not difficult to kill me. But let me first baptize your child, for I prefer that you kill me than that your daughter be condemned and go to hell. And let me instruct also these children in the doctrine and word of God." There were some children before him, among whom was a son of the same Matapang, whom he was instructing on the same shore, in which apostolate he spent more than one hour. And to add benefactions to the ingratitude and bad reasoning of the native he told him with pleasure and zeal: "Come, Matapang. I will teach you." He answered: "I have gone to your house to learn." The Father replied: "I will teach you again the doctrine." Here the native blasphemously broke away from God and said: ... "I do not want to learn about God for I am already fed up with God and mad at him."

The Venerable Father continued teaching the children, ... the sacrilegious man looked for an accomplice of his crime. A native arrived who was accompanying the Venerable Father and was from the same town. He persuaded him to cooperate with his wishes. Hirao, for this was the name of the one who was accompanying the Father, resisted him... He told him to leave him [the Father] alone, asserting that the Father... was a good man and that there was no use killing him, for he did not do anything wrong to anyone, rather he was good to all and that the Father had been responsible for the peace that had been declared and for another benefaction that he had received. He

*cion de estos barbaros, y no contento con lo referido por asegurarse mas tiró el golpe á la cabeza que reconoció por su enemiga á cuyos alientos se movia todo el cuerpo de estos pocos cristianos al presentarle campal guerra; ofreciole ocasion la misma confianza de N. V. P. R. y el fervoroso deseo de apacentar amoroso sus ovejas; en busca de una perdida caminaba desalado por que un Indio Bisaya de los que pade[ció] naufragio en la Nao **Concepcion** el año de 38 y buelto á Marianas le traia á estas Yslas el V. P. para interprete de la lengua se huyó de casa sin que se le diese ocasion alguna, y para reducirle otra vez al rebaño salió nuestro V. P. R. por montes y cuestras en su seguimiento, con intento de bautizar juntamente los niños de el monte. Alcanzaronle en el camino las nuevas de la primera muerte de **Diego Basan**, con que dando orden á los compañeros que tenia para que se retirasen á esta residencia de N. P. S. Ygnacio se fué al Pueblo de **Tumhun**, acompañado de un Indio de la tierra y de un mozo Bisaya por nombre **Pedro Calon[gsor]**; llegaron antes de amanecer á casa de un Indio llamado **Matapa[n]g**, á este preguntó el V. P. si habia alguna nueva parida; á que atrevido el barbaro respondiò á estas palabras: **hasa mañago? adyo ya harum pumahu guaha haganga arumsoie(?)—umtapag**. Quieren decir: “¿para que es la parida? alli dentro de mi casa hay una calabera—bautizale.”*

*Ya se ha dho en otras ocasiones como guardan estos Ysleños los huesos y calbarias de sus difuntos, á quienes acuden con sus peticiones, supersticion que varias veces se les ha reprendido, y á esto aludian las palabras de el barbaro que bolviendo las espaldas á Dios se habia buelto al supersticioso culto de sus diabolicas calaberas, y llevadolas muy adornadas en forma de estandarte sobre unas varas p<sup>a</sup> alcanzar vitoria de los Cristianos, en la guerra que el Pueblo de **Tumhom** [sic], y otros sus aliados levantaron p<sup>a</sup> sacudir de si de una vez el suaba yugo de la ley de Dios que en pretendian vencer como ellos decian con estas infernales insignias lo cual les sucedió muy al rebes por que ellos fueron vencidos con algunas muertes y heridas y sus calvarios estandartes con valeroso y cristiano animo fueron de nuestros soldados destrozados y pisoteados, y asi por eso dixo el diabólico **Matapan** [sic] al V. P. S. Vitores que alli en su casa habia calaberas que las bautizase, trayendole á la memoria como habian sido injuriadas y menospreciadas de los Cristianos dandole á entender el sentimiento, que aun tenia de esto por ser supersticioso calaberista, pero el V. Padre le rogó le diese una recien nacida niña, hija del mismo Indio pñ bautizarsela á que impaciente, y soberbio respondiò: **munga matapag y hagaho figu hanum Dios satayladya**: “no quiero”, respondiò, “que bautizes á mi hija, por que no es provecho el bautismo”[.] á estos añadió otras palabras que indicaban bien el motivo de su sacrilega determinacion diciendole al padre **hanao hao Padre Magas[.] nga hopono hao**: “Anda, vete gran Padre” (que este es el nombre de **Magas** que quiere decir grande, con que desde que llegó á estas Yslas le conocian) “vete, le dixo, Padre Magas por que te mataré”; á esto replico compasivo el Padre que mas deseoso de dar la vida por Dios que el traidor de quitarsela, ¿no es dificil matarme mas dexame primero bautizar á tu niño, que mas quiero que me quites la vida que no que se condene y vaya tu hija al Ynfierno, y dexame enseñar tambien á estos niños la Doctrina, y palabra de Dios, tenia algunos delante, y entre ellos un hijo del mismo Mata-*

added that he could well remind the same native Matapang that he had been saved by the Father years before from death, having him cured with the extraction of a spear bone with which another native had pierced his arm. He cured him no less of the sicknesses of the soul by instructing him and baptizing him together with his family. But Matapang accused him of cowardice and told him that he alone would kill him for he was a healthy young man and had the strength for it (as if strength and courage were necessary to behead an innocent lamb, which would not offer any resistance and was so willing to offer his life).

Hirao was hurt and embarrassed by the mark of coward. He agreed to cooperate with the wretched native, and beginning with the companion he hurled at him some spears which he dexterously evaded, and he could have saved his life if he had fled. But as a good Catholic he preferred to die side by side with his Father and not to abandon him. Without any doubt we think that he would have first done away with the two enemies and saved himself and the Father if he were armed, considering his energetic bravery. But the Venerable Father's pious heart would not allow his companions to carry weapons.

Finally after having evaded many spear charges one found its mark. Then the barbarians rushed towards him and with a blow of the *catana* on the head they finished him up.

The Venerable Father tried to pacify them and soften their cruel hearts, and so raised in his hands a holy crucifix of ivory, about half a yard long, which he carried hanging from his neck, and with this sacred symbol of peace and love in his hands he was offering them the eternal life and exhorting them to contrition, now threatening them with the punishment of the most High, now persuading them that only God is the absolute Lord of all... The Father told them... "Only God must be revered in this land of Guahan."

These words were all despised by those men, blind in their diabolical fury. It did not change the Venerable Father's heart, rather... he begged God to have mercy on the impious parricide... At this, the said Hirao raising his hands struck his head with a blow of the *catana*, and Matapang hurled a spear into his stomach. Thus he gave up his spirit to the Lord who for such a glorious death had chosen him on the morning of Saturday between 7 and 8 o'clock on 2 April 1672...

A 30-year-old native of the town of **Merizo** called Bayug described as an eyewitness the manner mentioned above in which they assassinated the Venerable Father. The same was declared by a youth called Ambrosio Hagman of about 16 years of age, who in these lands deserves even more credit than his elders. This is also the common testimony of all. And the said youth Ambrosio adds that it was the same native Matapang who grabbed a small crucifix that the Father was carrying and placing it on top of a stone gave it with another so many blows that he tore it to pieces saying... "This is the one whom the *Guirragos* (which is the name they give us and those of overseas) want to make the principal creator of all things." And the same youth Ambrosio states that he heard this from the same said native, who narrated the manner in which he took the life of the Venerable Father.

*pang, á quienes estaba enseñando en la misma playa, en que gastó mas de una hora, y para añadir beneficios á la ingratitud y malas razones del Indio le dixo con agasajo, y celo “ven Matapang te enseñaré”[.] “he ido”, respondió, “á vuestra casa á aprender: replicole el Padre “te bolveré á enseñar la doctrina”: aqui rompio blasfemo el Indio contra Dios, y dixo: **Mungayo ara mafuaytay oson yo vi[ñ]gus Dios**: “no quiero aprender que estoy ya atediado y enfadado de Dios”[.] prosiguió el V. Padre enseñando á los niños, y el sacrilego á solicitar complice para su delito, llegose á un Yndio que acompañab al V.P. que era del mismo Pueblo, á quien persuadia esperase á sus deseos, resistiòle la determinacion el **Hirao** que este era el nombre del que le acompañaba, dixole que le dexase pasar su camino alegando que el Padre Rmo. era bueno y que no era de provecho matarle, por que á ninguno hacia mal, antes si bien á todos, y que el Padre habia sido causa de las pazes, y otro beneficio que habia resivido y bien podia acordarle que al mismo Yndio **Matapang** le habia librado años antes de la muerte, havien-dole curar, y sacar una lanza de hueso con que otro Indio le habia atravesado un brazo, y curado no menos las enfermedades de el alma, instruyendole y bautizandole juntamente con su familia; notole el **Matapang** de cobarde, y dixole que el solo le mataria, pues era buen mancebo y tenia brios para ello (como si fuese necesario el brio y aliento para degollar un inocente cordero, que sin resistencia y tan de su voluntad se dexaria matar) picado el **Hirao**, y corrido de la nota de cobarde, condescendió con el desagraddecido Yndio, y comenzando por el compañero, le tiró algunas lanzadas que con destreza [r]justró [=thwarted], y pudo librarse de la muerte se emprendiera la huida, mas quiso como buen católico morir al lado de su Padre, y no desampararle, y tenemos por indudable que primero hubiera concluido con los dos enemigos, y libradosse assi [rather a sí] y al Padre si llevara armas segun los alentados espíritus que tenia pero no los consentia el piadoso animo del V.P. en los que le acompañaban; finalmente despues de haberse librado de muchas lanzadas que le arrojaron le alcanzó una, y acudiendo los bárbaros con un alfange le acabaron dandole un golpe en la cabeza; quiso el Venerable Padre sosegarles, y mitigar sus duros corazones, y asi cojió en la mano un Santo Cristo de marfil de poco menos de media vara, que llevaba pendiente de el cuello, y con esta sagrada insignia de paz, y amor en las manos les ofrecia la eterna vida, y exortaba al arrepentimiento, ya amenazandoles con el castigo del Altísimo, ya persuadiendoles que solo Dios era el unico y absoluto Señor de todos: **Si Dios apuin oro** les dixo el Padre **guitatoro Guahan**, “Dios solo ha de ser venerado en medio de esta tierra de Guahan.” Palabras todas que despreciaron ciegos en su diabolica saña, que no inmutó las piadosas entrañas del V.P. antes á imitacion de su Maestro Jesus, pidio á Dios tubiese misericordia del impio parricida diciendo **Si Dios maasi ya hago** á que levantando el brazo dho **Hirao**, respondió dandole con un alfange en la cabeza, y el compañero **Matapag** le arrojó una lanza por el estómago con que dió su espíritu al Señor,*



They took off his clothing and distributed it among the natives, and we were not able to recognize them. They threw their bodies into the sea, and in fear of some epidemic, as they said, they put on fire the place that had been soaked in his blood.

This is what in this year we have been able to verify concerning his death. We hope that when, with the favor of our Lord these natives have settled down and subjected themselves to us, we will find very soon many other eyewitnesses whom we have not been able to question as they are still our enemies.

[End of synopsis by Fr. Ledesma. The rest was not translated nor synopsized, as ~~the~~ much of this information was edited by Fr. Coomans in the next document, Doc. 1673L]

*que para tan gloriosa muerte le habia escogido. Sabado por la mañana entre las 7 y las 8 á los dos de Abril de 1672 años dia en que se cumplió 22 años que recibió como diximos el sagrado orden de Diacono, fiando la iglesia de su celoso espiritu la predicacion del evangelio Sabado 2 de Abril de 1650.<sup>1</sup>*

*Un Indio llamado **Bayug** natural de el Pueblo de Merizo de edad de hasta 30 años declaró como testigo de vista el modo arriba dho, con que quitaron la vida al V. Padre.] lo mismo declaró un niño llamado **Ambrosio Hagman** de hasta 16 años, á quienes en estas tierras se les deve aun mas crédito que á los grandes. Esta tambien es la voz comun, y añade el dho niño Ambrosio que el mismo Yndio Matapang, quitó el V. Padre un Santo Cristo pequeño que llevaba, y poniendole encima de una piedra, le dió con otra tantos golpes que lo hizo pedazos diciendo **adyin apuin hanaoro y guirrago**: “Este es a quien los guirragos” (que este es el nombre que nos dan, y desde allende del mar) “quieren hacer causa principal de todo.” Y dice dho niño Ambrosio que esto se lo oyó contar al mismo Indio, refiriendo el modo con que dió la muerte al V. Padre.] quitaronle sus vestidos que repartieron entre los Indios, y no hemos podido haberlos á las manos, arrojaron sus cuerpos en el mar, y temerosos de alguna peste como decian encendieron fuego en el lugar que estaba regado con su sangre. Esto es lo que este año hemos podido averiguar de su muerte esperando con el fervor de N.S. que reducidos y sugetos ya dentro de poco tendremos otros muchos testigos de vista que por estar hoy enemigos no se han podido examinar.*

#### **[Brief eulogy of Father Sanvitores]**

*No nos empeñemos en la relacion de su apostólica y religiosa vida no solo por carecer de plenas noticias, para adornar su historia sino tambien por que sus fervorosos y mas que ordinarias virtudes igualadas y aun adelantadas á su fama, la piden mas larga y fuera agraviarlas pretender ingerirlas en esta relacion, cuya brevedad no sufre ni aun referir los trabajos, desvelos, y aun imposibles que venció para plantar y cultivar esta nueva viña, mas con todo apuntaremos algo que de siquiera confusa memoria de tan esclarecido varon.*

*Nació el V. Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores en la ciudad de Burgos, corte antigua de los Católicos Reyes de España Nuestros Señores. Han sido sus Padres bien conocidos por la nobleza de virtud y sangre, y bienes temporales, el Señor D. Geronimo de S. Vitores, del Consejo de Hacienda, llamabase su madre D<sup>a</sup> Francisca Alonso Maluenda[.] fué bautizado á los 19 de Noviembre del año de 1627. llamose Diego en el bautismo, y en el le dieron por abogado á Santisima Virgen N.S. y San Martin[.] habiendo crecido mucho mas en las virtudes que en los años, que no llegaba á 12 estando en la villa de Madrid, delante de la Santisima Virgen del Buen Consejo que piadosa lo dió al bienaventurado Luis Gonzaga de nuestra Compañia añadió al nombre de Diego el de Luis,*

1 Ed. note: The Spanish in Guam and in the Philippines reckoned the calendar dates to be the same as in Mexico and Europe (there being no international date line then). Nowadays, the event should be commemorated on 3 April.

*con abrasador deseos de imitarle, y entrar en la Compañía, á impulsos sin duda de la misma beatísima Virgen, vencidas con tal amparo no pocas dificultades que á sus ansiosos deseos le interponian fue recibido en la Comp<sup>a</sup> el año de 1640.*

*No tenemos individuales noticias de sus ejercicios en la virtud y perfeccion religiosa de que los que trataron desde entonces tendrian no poco que proponernos á la imitacion; mas dexare entender hecho desde luego profundos sentimientos para tan perfecto y bien acabado edificio como fabricó en su vida: hechos sus votos y corrido con muchas ventajas, el curso de sus estudios, fué ordenado de subdiacono en la imperial villa de Madrid á los 12 de Marzo de 1650, y el mismo año Sabado 2 de Abril, en que despues de 22 años derramó su sangre por el Santo Evangelio[,] fue ordenado dignamente diacono, y á los 23 de Diciembre creado Sacerdote que ofreciese al todo poderoso entre los gloriosos contentos de la paz angelica que tanto le habia de costar, en sacrificio y suave holocausto, al recién nacido niño, como crecieron con las obligaciones los cuidados, y con el nuevo oficio y celo la Salvacion de las almas que desde su niñez ocupó los primeros pasos á sus deseos lo veremos en un fragmento de carta escrita á nuestro Padre General Goyovino [sic] Niche [sic] cuyo original tenemos [en Agaña] en que ansioso pide á su Padre, las remotas misiones de las Yndias: y aunque perdera mucho la energia del latin en que la escribio ajustandonos lo posible la traduccion en nuestro Castellano que es como sigue:*

[Reproduced as Doc. 1659B]

*Esta Carta aunque no entera<sup>1</sup> es una muestra de que se puede hacer algun concepto del perfecto edificio que comenzó á labrar la gracia desde su tierna edad en el V. Padre [Diego] Luis de S. Vitores que acredita la verdad de lo referido con su Apostolica vida y dichosa muerte; para que le escogió misericordioso N.S. y dispuso fuese primero provada su vocacion por tantos caminos y aprovada por muchos muy espirituales y doctos religiosos que tantos años antes diesen ilustre testimonio de sus ardientes deseos, y vocacion cristiana divina: fué muy señalado el de nuestro muy Reverendo Padre Goswino Niquel [sic] que con graves palabras la aprueba y dice que “faltaria gravemente á la obligacion de su oficio y á su conciencia si no concediese al dho Padre S. Vitores la mision de las Yndias;” y añade: “Que Dios le quiere para ella, y parece que no se puede dudar ser expresa voluntad Divina, y que está resuelto de no mudar parecer ni parar hasta que se ejecute;” pasa mas adelante y dice: “que conoce es el Padre S. Vitores sugeto de grandes prendas, y que podia ser muy útil en aquella Provincia; pero que tambien lo era S. Francisco Xavier, y otros que han pasado á Yndias; y que si Dios lo quiere asi no se puede resistir á su voluntad;” concluye finalmente diciendo: “que ello ha de ser, y no puede dexar de ejecutarlo.”<sup>2</sup>*

1 Ed. note: One folio had been lost, by 1672. The document in question was then found among Fr. Sanvitores' personal effects. However, it was probably destroyed by fire during the rebellion of 1684, if not earlier.

2 Ed. note: The phrases of the original letter have been somewhat interchanged. See full text in Doc. 1659C.

*Con tan graves palabras parece podíamos coronar este brebe elogio del V. Padre San Vitores, mas la confirmaremos algo con la correspondencia de su trabajos en esta misión Mariana cuyo Padre y fundador fué emprendiendo su alentado espíritu la conversión de estas gentes con tanto mayores ansias, cuanto mas imposible parecia. Refirieron varias veces fueron insentido á sus deseos y le movieron á esta empresa unas palabras del evangelista S. Lucas, que dixo el angel anunciando la encarnacion de el verbo **non erit imposible apud Deum omne verbum.**<sup>1</sup> Con este trancado arnes [=armor] de la confianza en el poder y brazo de el altísimo que quiere que todos se suelen, comenzó á solicitar la salvacion de las gentes, con este venció su constancia, los imposibles que á sus designios se interpusieron, de que hay abonados testimonios en Manila, y en entrambas Españas como tambien en lo que obró en las dos navegaciones hasta estas Yslas: ganó los corazones de los navegantes con sus santas obras de exemplos y continuas exortaciones en que les persuadia la imitacion de los Santos y esplicaba la Doctrina Cristiana, y camino de el Cielo, con tanto fervor y cariño que a una voz le llamaban Santo Profeta, y Padre de todos, venerando y obedeciendo sus palaras, con que se quitaron los juegos, maldiciones, votos, pependencias &c. y se introduxeron Santas y buenas costumbres fomentadas con la frecuencia de Sacramentos, y devociones moviendoles la del Padre para hacer todos voto de defender la pureza de Maria Nuestra Señora negociando primero con Dios lo que queria persuadir á los hombres por medio de la saludable victima de nuestra redencion, que ofrecia todos los dias al eterno Padre dispuestos los seños de su alma á las consolaciones con las penitencias, y aunos, disciplinas, cilicios, y fervorosa Oracion en que ocupaba gran parte de la noche con que aplacado el Señor dió prospero viage en tan peligrosa navegacion, llegando no solo á Acapulco sino de buelta á Manila los que acompañaron; continuaronse en el Puerto de Acapulco, con notable edificacion de todos, tan Santos ejercicios que acudian todos á la misa que el Padre les decia, y á la tarde el Rosario de la Santísima Virgen, despues de el cual les repartia el pan de su doctrina, para que tenia especialísimo don con la suavidad y cariño de sus palabras encendidas todas en las entrañas de Jesucristo que tan dulcemente repetía.*

*Viose obligado para vencer imposibles pasar á la Ciudad de Mexico y en menos de siete dias hizo á costa de sus trabajos aquel tan largo, y penoso camino, llegado á la ciudad á las 11 del dia se fué á su antigua casa y capilla de S. Francisco Xavier, que está en la Parroquia de la Santa Veracruz, donde dixo luego misa presentando á N.S. por medio de su Padron S. Francisco Xavier los memoriales y negocios de esta Mision que eran tal de gusto del Santo Apostol, y con las prendas que tenia de el Patrocinio de la Santísima Virgen, la ofreció por medianera, a quien como de justicia pedia el Despacho para el bien de tantas almas.*

*Confortado con las interiores hablas del Señor que le movia sin divertirse á otras cosas, pidió y consiguio luego de la piedad del Señor Marques de Mancera Virrey*

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase whose literal meaning is: "It would not be at all impossible for God the Word." St. Luke, chapter 1, verse 37.

entonces de la Nueva España grata audiencia; de vida á lo apostólico de los negocios y autoridad de tan santo varon que resplandecia en su abrasado semblante y palabras virgidas todas al bien de esta mision para que proponia tan eficazes razones premeditadas en el retiro de su Oracion, que arrebatado de su eficacia y claridad el Señor Virey, viendo por otra parte los alcances de la Real Caxa, de que habian de salir los gastos, quedó suspenso y dudoso en la determinacion, hasta que tomando el Cielo por su cuenta esta causa la difinió. en favor de estos pobres, haciendo que con repentino temblor diese la tierra sentimiento de la dilacion; y asi juzgando ser aviso del Cielo, concedio S.E. lo que el V. Padre pedia con semejantes prodigios repetidos con mas continuacion dió el Cielo muestras en los imposibles que en Manila se ofrecieron y venció la constancia del V. Padre á quien nada le parecia imposible con la gracia de el Señor que le movia; **non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum.** Con tan urgentes ocupaciones no se olvido de repetir las platicas, doctrinas, actos de contriccion, y otros pios ejercicios; con que los años 60 y 61 que pasó por la Nueva Españ, habia afervorezado y adelantado la gloria de Dios en la ciudad de Mexico donde era tenido por comun Oraculo, y Apostol de estos tiempos, tal era su abrasado que por dó quiera que iba dexaba señales de su piedad y celo estimandole todos como profetizado Martir.

Consiguió algunas limosnas para esta su nueva Mision, fundada toda de limosnas que han sido su unica renta y patrimonio, heredado de la pobreza de su fundador y Padre. Aumentando con sus infatigables trabajos los meritos de su corona, y numero de los Discipulos de Cristo, reducidos con sus sermones, doctrinas &c. en que constante persistio de buelta á Acapulco, y continuó en la navegacion con bien conocidas medras de los que le trataban.

Llegado á estas Yslas á los diez y seis de Junio de 1668 quien podra decir el jubilo de su alma viendo tan cercano el remedio de tantas que yacian en las sombras de la muerte y tinieblas del gentilismo no es facil definir cual fué la mas sobresaliente virtud de las que adornaban su dichosa alma, abrasada con los deseos de ganar para Cristo estos Ysleños, quedavan vastante materia para su ejercicio, con que todas y cada una se llevaba la primacia tan eslabonadas, que ni por su natural suavidd faltava á lo sebero de un celo de Elias, ni con su abstraccion y oracion que era continua ocupacion de su espiritu, se descuidaba en la disposicion, y gobierno exterior ni con lo presto y eficaz de su obrar, faltara á la mas nivelada prudencia, ni finalmente le faltó en las demas virtudes, su exercitada paciencia y demas dones sobre naturales coronados con el finisimo oro de su caridad, y zelo de que brevemente diremos algo; y no será poco lo que afirman muchos de cualquiera virtud que lean ó oigan referir de varones muy ilustres, la hallaban muy el vivo en el V. Padre.

Fué en sumo grado su religiosa **pobreza** y generoso desprecio de todo lo humano, no solo no admitiendo ni teniendo alhaja alguna ó cosa curiosa sino tambien aborreciendo el tenerla: aun en lo preciso del vestido, amaba lo mas desechado remendado y pobre, tanto lo era la Sotana que traia que la antiguedad del tinte havia perdoñozo enteramente degenerando lo azul; zapatos no los usó mientras estuvo en estas Yslas, no solo por la carestia de ellos sino por el amor á la santa pobreza, usando de los que de

*palma texen en estas Yslas vistiendolos su humildad (como todas las demas cosas de debocion, siendo su breviario el mas usado y pobre. Aunque permanece á la caridad con que á imitacion el Apostol se hacia todo á todos por ganarlos para Cristo, no tiene manos de pobreza haberse vestido de petate ñ estera para hacerse o por mejor decir para hacer á estos desnudos que se aplicasen á texer sus vestidos de los frutos mismos de la tierra de que podian valerse para la desencia. Los borrones de sus precisas y graves cartas y negocios eran en las bueltas de cartas viejas, con tales reclamos y confusion causada de tantos fragmentos de papeles, que solo el Padre que los escribia podia concertarlos.<sup>1</sup> Eran la cama ordinaria unos mal compuestos maderos, y cuando admitia algunos lienzos ó colchon, lo ponía su industria y morificacion tan desigual que no serían mas que de tormento y no descanso: en las misiones descansaba sus trabajados miembros en el suelo, sin admitir para defensa de los mosquitos un pobre Pabellon. A esto podemos juntar su mortificacion y abstinencia con que jamas gustaba el vizcocho, carne, vino, ni otras menestras con que la caridad de los bienhechores ha socorrido á estas Misiones, obligandose á no gustar el Chocolate con especial voto que á su imitacion otros Padres, destinando lo que le podia tocar para los enfermos: con que se reducía su corto sustento á unas nicas, ó camotes, raizes que son de la tierra, y aun poco de coco rayado á que fuera de Casa solía añadir algo de sal, el pescado (aunque es poco el que se alcanza) no lo comía y para disimular su mortificacion decía que por falta de los dientes lo dexaba; aun del pequeño alibio del agua del coco tierno que es generosa se privó siempre.*

*De su **castidad** tenemos por cierto observó toda su vida preciosa joya de su virginidad, como amado hijo, y verdadero deoto de la que es Madre de ella Maria Santisima, á quien obligaba con su recatado proceder para que entre las muchas ocasiones, y trato, con tanta multitud de jugeres, la guardase siempre entera; ayudandose de la mortificacion, y penitencia que como espinas guardan esta fragante rosa: notaron muchos que aunque la cortedad de vista le escusaba del especial cuidado en los ojos, con todo los traía siempre baxos particularmente quando tratava con mugeres indicios de su recato, **usaba antes de venir á estas Yslas anteojos que supliesen la notable falta de vista, con que á poco mas de una bara de distancia no conocia;** y llegado á ellas los dexó totalmente escogiendo por mejor partido topar y darse golpes en los palos, y piedras, que tener ocasion de encontrar con menor decencia de la que su casto corazon amaba: á ninguno (aunque fuesen infantes) tocaba con la mano, para aseguran mas lo angelico de su pureza.*

*Fué perfectisima su **obediencia** estimando siempre la voz de el superior como la de Cristo de que da testimonio la carta arriba referida, pues siendo tan ardientes sus deseos de pasar á Yndias los proponía á la voz de el superior, esta virtud le hizo proponerlos, obedeciendo como dice la carta á sus Padres espirituales á quienes siempre tubo rendido juicio con lo profundo de su humildad, pue teniendo por ancianidad letras y*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Even when he wrote on virgin paper, his handwriting was very illegible. I wonder what a graphologist would have to say about it.

*esperiencia en misiones, cuando en estas se ofrecian negocios que deterninar, resolverlos por si solo, consultaba rendido á todos, especialmente á su confesor, seguia muchas veces contra el propio parecer sus dictámenes.*

*Jamas se le notó faltase en la menor regla, observancia que encierra en nuestra regla lo sumo de la perfeccion y exercicio de las virtudes fué bien conocido el de su **paciencia** de tal que le podemos atribuir la gloria de sus apostólicos empleos con ella venció los imposibles que para estorbarlos se interponian con ella, hizo rostro á tantas contradicciones; con ella pudo otlerar los dolores que en la dilacion de sus misiones y nueva combercion padecia, con ella finalmente atesoró en ellas ventajó sus meritos para la vida eterna.*

*Son los naturales de estas Yslas, en su **total desnudez** y pobreza tanto presumidos de ingenio, nobleza, y sabiduria, quanto despreciadores de las otras naciones, á quienes solian tener por gente vil, é inferior aá su desnuda politica; fundamente con que dieron á la paciencia del V.P. S. Vitores bastantes ocasiones para su exercicio ya le hechaban á su bárbara usanza sus toscos brazos sobre los hombros, ya mas groseros le tomaban con las manos el rostro, ya otros mas libres y desembultos [=bold] le tiraban y aun arrancaban el cabello y barba para burlarle, ya le quitaban los vestidos, y aun sagrados ornamentos para ponerselos: fué varias veces apedreado con palos, y acometido con lanzas, mofado de estos barbaros en muchas ocasiones que fuera largo de referir; no fueron pocos los que en la guerra del año de 71 se le ofrecieron padeciendo con alegre animo muchos trabajos, hambres y falta de sueño sin perdonar ni excluirse de las guardias, á que obligaba la apretura de el cerco, y falta de gente; hacia el Padre todas las noches su cuarto de tres horas, y las mas escogia el cuarto de la segunda y en el de la alva, ofrecia despues de su oracion fervorosa el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, con que se reducía el descanso á poco mas de una, ó dos horas, haciendo mas sensible sus penas las blasfemias que decian contra N.S. criador oyá por que su ardiente caridad disculpaba la injuria con la ignorancia y rusticidad en que se criaron estos Ysleños, que parece podria disminuir algo el sentimiento permitió N.S. lo tubiese tanto mas riguroso, quanto mas obligados y capaces los que á tan amoroso Padre diesen materia para abibarlo: fueron estos los mismos compañeros, soldados que nunca faltan algunos menos advertidos en sus acciones que olvidados de el fin con que estas pobres tierras se habian quedado, que es para emplearse en el Oficio de Apostoles, y ayudar con su buen exemplo á la conversion de estas almas, los perbertian con sus malos procederes; cuchillo de dos filos que atravesaba el corazon de la Madre que estaba alimentando, y criando á sus pechos con la leche de la doctrina y ley evangelica estos sus tiernos hijuelos; y le obligaban á abrasarse el Apostol á vivas llamas, por el escandalo que padecian, y no podian disimular la justicia y celo de el V.P. con que impacientes del moderado castigo tubieron por mejor la libre y barbara compañía de los Indios a quienes se fueron desamparando la nuestra golpe que la paciencia del V.P. llevó magnánima, y accion que prueba la necesidad de Cabo y gente que enfrene no solo á los Indios, sino tambien á los que quieron imitarles con su desenfado y libre proceder; escribió el V. Padre á los ausentados algunas cartas, cuales la ocasion pedia y hizo diligencias para que los pródi-*

gos hijos volviesen á Casa; ofrecioles hacer por ellos la penitencia que merecia su delito; con que reducidos luego que bolvieron desnudando en presencia de todos el V. Padre su inocente espalda y embrazando una aspera disciplina, tomó satisfaccion de la agena culpa con el castigo propio hasta que reprimido su fervor por los que veian castigada su culpa en quien no la tenia, reconocieron su yerro arrepentidos y alentados para la enmienda, con las fervorosas obras y exortaciones del piadoso Padre.

La oracion á cuyo fuego se fomentan las virtudes era tan intercadencias que admiraba verle en tanta variedad de ocupaciones sin interrumpirla despidiendo su ardor encendidas jaculatorias que penetraban el Cielo; halló su ambidexto animo en el corto término de estas Yslas un desierto para orar, y un dilatado mundo para predicar apostólico, y aunque era tan recatado en decir cosa que pudiese redundar en su alabanza confesó divertido que en estas Yslas le habia Dios comunicado notable facilidad para la oracion: pues esta hallava preevenidos puntos solos de enseñar la Doctrina á sus hijos Marianos en quienes veia comenzar alegrarse la vertida sangre de Jesucristo, á quien por sus misericordias rendia las gracias y pedia sus progresos: avivose mas este ejercicio, en su dha residencia de **Nisijan** donde parece se habia retirado para prepararse á la muerte, ó adelantandose en todas las virtudes que tomaban aliento y parece sellavan su vida en el familiar trato con Dios, por medio de la oracion, á que desplega su devocion las bellas al silencio de la noche en que quitandose el sueño gastaba la mayor parte de ella, sirviendole tambien de despertador lo mal acomodado de la cama, que como diximos era el desnudo suelo, en que tenia por almoada un duro madero sin mas aliño que el que le da la pobreza y desnudez de estos barbaros, adelantó todas las demas virtudes en este tiempo en que parece conicia ya faltarle poco para ganar muchos méritos.

Rezaba siempre de rodillas el oficio divino con sentimiento y ternura de su alma, especialmente cuando en el Padre nuestro llegaba á aquellas palabras **Sanctificetur nomen tuum**,<sup>1</sup> pidiendo á nuestro Señor fuese santificado, reconocido y venerado de todos su sagrado nombre; eran muchas sus devociones, y entre ellas el Rosario de la Santisima Virgen con quien tubo bien conocida devocion, acudiendo á ella en todas sus necesidades como piadosa Madre, confiado en su patrocinio, y cuando hablava de sus prerrogativas y excelencias bañaba su rostro de indecible alegria y consuelo, con ella, se regalaba como con tierna Madre, y viendo en la Ysla de Buena Vista Mariana, ó **Tinian**, caido enfermo, hallandose bien apretado en la falta de médicos[,] medicinas, y todo alivio, solo y sin otro Padre que le acudiese y puesto en los ultimos rérminos de la vida clamaba de lo íntimo de su corazon á su amorosa Madre Maria piadosas quejas; diciendole no es esto lo concertado, no es esta la palabra que me distes Viegen Santisima como quien sentia no morir, vertiendo su sangre por la gloria de Dios y predicacion de el Evangelio. Esta devocion á Maria Santisima le movio principalmente á poner á estas Yslas el nombre de Marianas, p<sup>a</sup> fundarlas debaxo de los benignos in-

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Blessed be Thy name."



*fluxos de esta estrella; que el V. Padre tenia por norte en la navegacion y carrera de la vida.*

*Sobre el solido ejercicio de virtudes que en la historia de su religiosa vida se verá mas largamente fundó el V. Padre el ardiente celo coronado con el finisimo oro de su caridad, era tan grande la sed que tenia de encaminar las almas al Cielo que olvidado de si mismo le consumia y deshazia todo el celo de la honrra de Dios y salvacion de su proximos, y brotaba todo dulzuras solo en pensar ó hablar de sus hijuelos engendrados en Cristo; obstantado con el Apostol, verdaderas entrañas y amor de Padre por sacar los retratos y verdaderos hijos de Cristo, gastaba en su enseñanza todo el dia, y para tenerlo desembarazado quitaba las horas del sueño, prevenido al silencio de la noche con fervorosos ejercicios de Oracion, Misa &c. para enseñar la doctrina á los niños á quienes antes que el sol saliese embiaba á buscar, y con amor y cariño de Padre les asistia y enseñaba la doctrina cumpliendo exactisimamente el particular voto, que de aplicarse á su enseñanza tenia hecho repartirles despues algunos regalillos de plantanos, y otras cosas que solicitaba; entre estos distribuia cuentas, &c. que de las limosnas y caridad de los bienhechores dexaban las Naos, con que agasajados, y contentos despues de enseñarles por si mismo á leer y ayudar á misa los despedia aficionados para la buelta: mas resplandecia su caridad y zelo en la aplicacion con que á los adultos enseñaba sufriendo sus toscas barbaridades perseverando todo el dia el vencer su natural rudeza; y por no defraudarles el tiempo, tomaba el que era propio del descanso para los gravisimos negocios, que por esta Mision tenia entre manos, para los cuales tenia determinado la hora inmediato despues de comer, en que ó leia las cartas las cartas que acerca de ellos le respondian, ó escribia de nuevo otras ó finalmente notaba reglas para el uso y facilidad en la lengua y esto para mas incomodidad estando siempre en pie sin permitir su mortificacion sentarse: no era menor el celo que de el buen gobierno de los compañeros soldados tenia procurando procediesen exemplarmente y para quitar ocasiones de ofender á N.S. les tenia siempre ocupados, como quien conocia ser el ocio origen de todos los males.*

*El tiempo que asistia en esta residencia, era forzado de urgentes ocupaciones; de que desembarazado salia en busca de las almas para encender en ellas el fuego de el amor de Dios por todas estas Yslas abriendo para todos los senos de su natural suavidad con que á todos atraia, y por ella era de todos conocido y amados con ella les hacia perseverar muchas horas oyendole la explicacion de la Santa Doctrina caminaba con soles, llubias[,] hambres, y otras muchas fatigas, y llegando mojado á los pueblos sin tener ropa que mudarse, con que solo á los incendios de su amor era su descando y su alibio; buscaba luego los enfermos para confesarlos; á los recién nacidos para bautizarlos y á los infantes y adultos para enseñarles, entonando con el alborozado espiritu las oraciones en que perseveraba mucho tiempo. En las continuas navegaciones no perdía punto ni permitia pasarse el tiempo sin adelantar en la Doctrina á los Indios sin que estorbasen a su caridad y celo las repetidas olas, con que azatadas de el viento las aguas, le mojaban todo, y aun encendian mas su fuego á los deseos de padecer mas por su amado Jesus.*

*No nos detenemos en el celo de la observancia religiosa que mas con exemplos que con palabras adelantaba en los que tenia á su cargo, á quienes trataba con especialísimo cariño y humildad, como si de hecho fuese el menos de todos. El amor que consiste en obras, manifestó en las referidas y otras mas heroicas que declaran el escondido tesoro de su inflamado corazon, y nos obliga á pasar en silencio el hilo de la historia comenzada y que debia algun breve elogio á la religiosísima vida y gloriosa muerte con que su fundador y primer Apostol el V. Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores glorificó á N.S. Jesucristo por el bien y salvacion de estas almas. Fué su muerte como diximos Sabado 2 de Abril de 1672 años, entre las 7 y 8 de la mañana á los 44 de su edad, y casi 32 de Compañía, onze de Profeso de quarto voto, y poco menos de cinco años en estas Misiones.*

**[The five catechists who accompanied Fr. Sanvitores on his last round]**

*Siguese ahora decir de los otros cinco compañeros que consigo tenia el V.P. en su nueva fundacion, y informado de la primera muerte mandaba retirar á esta residencia el uno llamado **Manuel de Nava**, natural de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueva España: apartado de los compañeros, llegó al Pueblo de Gay [rather **Guay**] en donde le despeñaron. Los cuatro temiendo ser muertos en el camino se retiraron al Pueblo de **Nisijan**, donde estuvieron un dia con no pequeño riesgo de su vida, hasta que guiados de un Indio de quien juzgan ellos ser hermano uno de nuestros compañeros, que estaba entre los cuatro, fueron al Pueblo de **Pagat**, allí padecieron por espacio de dos semanas hambres, sustos, desvelos, y otros muchos trabajos aguardando por instantes la muerte, escondidos entre dia en t--- cuebas que de peñas labró la naturaleza, y fueron refugio de los pobres afligidos, de todo los sacó N.S. por medio de los reputados parientes de nuestro compañero **Pablo**, natural de el Pueblo de Cavicungan, en la Provincia de la Nueva Segobia,<sup>1</sup> este, y otro compañero natural de Marinduque, llamado **Franco Cueva**, se quedaron en dho Pueblo de **Pagat** donde todavia se estan juntamente con el Indio **Esteban** huido, a quien como diximos buscaba el V.P. cuando le mataron. A los otros dos **D. Luis de Vera**, y **Nicolas de la Cruz**, no[s] los truxeron despues de los quince dias escondidos en una embarcacion en que para quitar del registro de los que encontraba fue necesario venir con toda incomodidad acostados en lo estrecho de la quilla, que con las repetidas mareas que recibia, no dio lugar á que tubiesen siquiera el alibio de la ropa enjuta, recibimolos como resucitados, despues de tan notables peligros, que no fué pequeña dha y misericordia de Dios.*

*Estaba en este tiempo el Padre Francisco Esquerria con algunos compañeros, levantando Yglesia en el Pueblo de **Merizo**, y la noche que se supo la primera muerte, embiamos por sus compañeros que el Padre habiendo salido á Mision, y estado dos dias*

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1 Ed. note: This place may correspond to Camalaniugan, located between Aparri and Lal-lo, along the Cagayan River, Luzon, Philippines.

*antes con nuestro V.P.R. llegó de paso á esta residencia en donde le cogió la nueva, con que fué forzoso detenerse, y desamparar la nueva fundacion, que no solo por las conveniencias del sitio, que es donde dá fondo la Nao, sino por la calidad de la gente, y otras razones, era la mas necesaria[.] dexose pues como las demas hasta que N.S. disponga las cosas con mas tranquilidad, como esperamos para el aumento y combersion de estos pobres neofitos.<sup>1</sup>*

**[The foray to the Northern Marianas in 1671-72]**

*Volvamos ahora á la resulta de las Misiones hechas en otras Islas: embarcaronse como arriba diximos á los 17 de Noviembre dos Padres<sup>2</sup> que forzados de los tiempos arribaron al Pueblo de Retidpan [rather Retidian, Guam] en donde aguardando el oportuno socorro sosegaron los animos de los turbados, y despues de varias Misiones en que se bautizaron algunos infantes á los nueve de Diciembre llegaron á la Ysla de Santa Ana [i.e. Rota], y pasando el Padre Alonso Lopez á las otras Yslas, conforme el orden de N. V.P.R. se quedó el Padre Francisco Esquerria para visitar dha Ysla de Santa Ana, y sosegar los Pueblos, que con algunas voces de los enemigos, no de el todo falsas, estaban algo inquietos; y aun determinados segun corria la voz de quitar la vida á los Padres y compañeros que alli aportasen, pero mudoles el corazon N.S. en una de las Misiones le sucedió al Padre [i.e. himself] el siguiente caso de no pequeño consuelo, por que caminando en busca de un niño de cuyo nacimiento habia tenido noticia, llegado al Pueblo no le pudo hallar, instabale la guia que era un niño de la tierra á que se bolviese, mas no sufriendo dilacion el corazon del Padre, en desatar las cadenas de el cautivo niño dexó la guia que no quiso pasar adelante, y tomo por tal al Santo Angel de la Guarda, que á poco rato le puso en las manos donde menos pensó el Padre al mismo niño que buscaba acompañado de otros dos, por que sin entenderlo, fué á dar á una sementera en donde dos Indias le ofrecieron sus hijuelos para que los bautizase; como lo hizo con notable consuelo: que en esta sola Ysla es donde no pudo hacer pie la diabolica voz de Choco desvanecida con la resurreccion de un niño difunto sin el grado baño como se ha dho; y asi este mismo año habiendo muerto otro niño en el mismo Pueblo, aunque estaba bautizado, decian sus Padres que no lo estaba y le ofrecieron al Padre y rogaban le hechase el agua, aunque muerto, persuadodos volveria á la vida con el bautismo pero gozaba ya la eterna, por haber muerto bautizado.*

*Y esto es lo que toca de la Ysla de Santa Ana, de lo que resultó en las otras Yslas inmediatas del Santo Angel ó Aguiguan[,] Buenavista Mariana, ó Tinian; de S. José, ó Zeipan.*

1 Ed. note: Having said this, Fr. Ezquerria, who wrote these words while he was superior of the Mission, must have changed his mind, or been influenced by the Belgian missionaries, as he abandoned his own parish of St. Dimas in Merizo and began a new one further north at Fuuñá that year (see Doc. 1674J).

2 Ed. note: They were Fr. Ezquerria and Fr. Lopez (see below).

**[Letter from Fr. Lopez to Fr. Sanvitores, dated Tinian 22 January 1672]**

*Habla el Padre Alonso Lopez, á quien embió nuestro V.P.R. en un capítulo de carta su fha á los 22 de Enero de 72 en que dando [cuenta] del cumplimiento de los ordenes que por escrito le dio el V. Padre de lo que habia de obrar en dhas Yslas dice asi:*

*“El primero orden V.R. fué que ajustase las paces entre los Indios de este Pueblo de Sanglarum [rather **Sungharon**], y residencia de nuestro Padre S. Francisco Borja, con los del Pueblo de **Marpu** y sus aliados, imformandome primero, supe que entre si se habian ajustado, y aun me dicen que el ajuste es solamente con los Indios, y que con nosotros no tienen paces, por haberles muerto nuestros soldados dos hombres en las guerras pasadas, pero como la pelea fué del Pueblo en cuya defensa los nuestros no entrado de inculcar la materia por no despertar al dormido si ofreciere ocasion daré conforme al orden de V.P. todo lo que pidieren de conchas, y arroz para el ajuste[.] [h]é ido á bautizar entre los enemigos, y no he tenido contradiccion alguna, con que estan los Ministerios corrientes gracias al Señor.”*

*“Mientras se hacia tiempo de embarcarme para la Ysla de Sn. José puse calor conforme al segundo orden de V.R. en fundar el colegio de los niños; levanté una casilla de quatro brazas de largo, tres de alto, y dos de ancho con la puerta dentro de casa[.] tengo ya un gran numero de niños colegiales que todo el dia asisten en casa, y duerman en su colegio de Nuestro Padre S. Ygnacio que este nombre la tocó por suerte, en que entraron S. Miguel, S. Josef, S. Francisco Xavier[.] son muy buenas habilidades, y van aprendiendo á leer, sustentolos con la limosna que se pide, y les tengo junto arroz y nica, para de aqui á dos meses que habrá muchas hambres por que el Bagueio lo destruyo todo.”*

*“A ocho de Enero me embarque para la Isla de San José ó **Zeipan**, llegué Aopigase [= a **Opian**] y bautizé luego tres niños de mas de año, y otros tres el dia siguiente en el mismo Pueblo traté varias veces de ajuste de las pazes con los del Pueblo de **Cau**, en donde derramó su sangre el Ven. Padre Medina, y siempre resistió **Chungi** nuestro (amigo **Chungi**)<sup>1</sup> alegando la barbaridad y crueldad de dho Pueblo y que no es gente que se arrepiente de lo hecho, no halla quien me quisiese guiar ni me lo permitió el viejo, ni hallo mas ajuste ni lo habrá sino con la fuerza y armas, por la insolencia de estos bárbaros que como no tiene cabeza quien los gobierna ni a quien temer, á todos dañan y con todo se salen fiados de la retirada á sus montañas, y riscos.”*

*“Visité tres Pueblos,<sup>2</sup> y por no salir de el orden de V.R. que era guardar los que me dixese nuestro amigo **Chungi**, no pasé adelante por que son enemigos los Pueblos siguientes de **Arayao** donde apedrearón al V.P. Medina[.] en estos Pueblos bautizé 17 niños y queda la gente muy gana y deseosa de nuestro comunicacion; desde **Opian** me embarque para **Tomun**, á donde con el favor de nuestro Señor llegué aunque estube para ahogarme en la punta de **Aguingan**, donde se perdió la **Nao**, por lo arrebatá-*

1 Ed. note: So, the name of the old chief of Obian between 1670-72 was Chungi.

2 Ed. note: See map of Saipan with old place names, reproduced with Doc. 1684B. San Antonio was then called Arayao, and upper Susupe called Tumhon.

*do de las corrientes y mareas y ayudados de un viento recio; antes que corriera la voz de mi llegada pasé á visitar otros seis Pueblos, en ellos bautizé 20 niños, huyeronse dos ó tres, y por el uno de ellos me detube un día y finalmente despues de cinco viages, ya de dia ya de noche nunca pude conseguir bautizarle[s] por que aun dura la mala semilla del sanguinario Choco, que quitamos la vida á los niños con las aguas de bautismo, y asi me dixo un Yndio pariente de el chiquillo, a quien buscaba para que queria matarle en el bautismo; en dos Pueblos de esta Ysla quisieron matarme, y por respecto de un Indio de Tinian que me acompañaba no lo hizieron, esto escribo para que vea V.R. que no se puede visitar esta Isla con fruto y firmeza ú amistad, sino es que aya armas y gente que los reduzca[,] sugete y aun castigue para el escarmiento; algunos Pueblos vi la tierra despacio como V.R. me mandó y me parece aproposito para trigo temporal, frixoles, habas, algodon, y otras semillas, en especial el maiz, de que en todas estas Yslas se pueden coger tres cosechas al año.”*

**[Letter from Fr. Lopez, dated Saipan 29 February 1672]**

*En otra carta su fha á los 29 de Marzo de 72 dice el mismo Padre asi:*

*“Aunque parecia sea posible hacer casa esenta de fuego me determiné a probar, y con el favor de N.S. se concluirá antes de mucho la obra tengo ya levantadas las pearedes, que son de adobe, y en casa los demas materiales, va texada de sotea [i.e. azotea = flat roof], con capa de cal [=lime], como se hacen en la Nueva España, y habiendo oficiales [=skilled workmen] se puede con mucha brevedad hacer en esa Ysla, que yo solo con un medio oficial [=half-skilled one] he hecho mi obra con que queda esta residencia mucho mas fixa y segura la havitacion.”<sup>1</sup>*

*Hasta aqui el Padre Alonso Lopez en sus cartas en que menciona algunas ordenes de nuestro V.P.R. que muestran el cuidado que entre tantos como le embarazaban. Tenia aun de las cosas mas menudas sin que la distancia de los lugares venciese su estendida caridad, y no solo era en las cosas espirituales, pero aun de las temporales que para asentar esta Cristiandad conducen á las otras Yslas tenia dispuesto nuestro V.P.R. pasar á ellas, y á la visita referida, mas dispuso nuestro Señor se quedase para darle el eterno descanso con la gloriosa muerte e queda dha en premio de su religiosa vida y apostolico empleo, y trabajos, con que queda referido lo que á sucesos de el año que comienza desde 2 de Mayo de 72.*

**[Arrival of reinforcements in 1672]**

*Y cierto no podemos comenzarla sin notar la paternal providencia de nuestro buen Dios, que cuidadoso de los graves daños que amenazaban á esta Cristiandad, y previendo las necesidades tan estremas, que assi de Ministros religiosos como de compañeros soldados, y bastimentos habiamos de padecer, dispuso tan de antemano los*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fr. Lopez does not say where he built this fire-proof adobe house. It was probably in the center of the friendly villages, perhaps outside of Tumhon (Susupe today). When Quiroga came in 1684, he built his stockade there; he may then have built his stockade around this 1672 house.

*remedios ya deteniendo en España un año los ministros que habian de embiar de socorro para su aumento, los cuales si hubieran embarcadose cuando estuvieron para ello el año de 70 es indubitable hubieran pasado á Manila y carecieramos de tan necesario socorro cuando tanto lo habiamos menester ya llevando el mismo año de 70 al Reyno de Nueva España dos Galeones de Filipinas (cosa rara en estos tiempos) para que el uno despues de internado un año saliese á tan buen tiempo del Puerto de Acapulco, con el socorro que dos Magestades divina y humana nos tenian preparado, que llegase á estas Yslas Marianas a sazón que se temia con mucha probabilidad rompimiento de guerra, y con ella hablando segun los medios humanos, la total ruina de esta Cristiandad, restados ya los bárbaros, con las insolencias y muertes de nuestro V.P.R., y los otros seis compañeros.<sup>1</sup>*

*Llegó pues el Galeon S. Diego á cargo de el Almirante Leandro Coello á dos de Mayo de 72, en que justamente se cumplia un mes de la muerte de nuestro V.P.R. y estando ya dando fondo no sabiamos de su llegada por que de industria nos la ocultaban los Indios, temerosos de que sabidos sus arrojios, y homicidos los harian algun daño y por el mismo temor, habiendo llegado á la Nao algunos Indios á quienes teniamos repartidas cartas, en que dabamos noticia de las desgracias sucedidas y peligros en que estabamos, para que despachando la lancha á este Pueblo de N.P. S. Ygnacio, se acudiese el remedio de esta Cristiandad, no se atrevieron á darlas siendo otra particular providencia de N.S. no solo el saber de su llegada sino el haber dos días antes acabado de amarrazar una barquilla de la tierra, con la cual, y las noticias que nos dió un Yndio por nombre **Antonio Ayihi** (de cuya fidelidad se ha hecho mencion en la relacion del año pasado) pudo salir en busca de ella el Padre Francisco Solano, que habia sucedido á nuestro P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, y asi aunque estaba tan apretado de la enfermedad de Fisica [rather Tisis = phthisis] que se le acrecentó por venir á esta Mision, no obstante su mucha debilidad, como tenia ya su vida tanto antes ofrecida, por el bien de esta Cristiandad, por quien finalmente la dió, como despues diremos, se embarcó en busca de la Nao la cual hallo rodeada de embarcaciones que al punto la desampararon temiendo algun castigo.*

*Luego que se publicó en la Nao la muerte de nuestro V.P.R. y los aprietos en que nos hallabamos, procuraron proveer el remedio encendidos con el piadoso celo de la Cristiandad sus cabos y oficiales como tan Cristianos, y deseosos de la propagacion de el Santo Evangelio, cuyos aumentos en estas Yslas han solicitado especialmente el dho Almirante Leandro Coello, y el Capitan Antonio Nieto, benefactores insignes de estas Misiones, ayudandoles en cuanto han podido con sus limosnas, desde sus principios y con particularidad este año dando aun sus alhazas, y propias armas de fuego, haciendo lo mismo el Capitan Juan Ventura que entre otras dió dos armas de fuego, de que tanta inopia se padece, y son tan necesarios para poner freno y temor á las osadías de los bárbaros que instigados de Satanás an intentado tantas veces acabarnos. Acudie-*

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1 Ed. note: The bountiful replenishments of 1672 did not prevent the deaths of Fr. Ezquerria himself, and of five (almost six) more companions within the next year.

ron tambien con el socorro de bastimentos que de su piedad y liberalidad nos prometiamos, dexaron algunos hombres para las armas y defensa de esta afligiada Cristianidad y se hubieran quedado muchos mas si se les permitie[se] por que estimulados todos los que iban con los infaustos sucesos de las muertes dhas, pretendian con mucho fervor quedarse para restaurar lo perdido y castigar los atrevimientos de los Pueblos que dieron la muerte á nuestro V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores. Dexandonos pues este socorro y habiendo cortado alguna madera para cepo de anclas y hecho su aguada en el Puerto de S. Antonio [i.e. Ati] que está al oeste de estas islas no perdiendo el buen tiempo que le favorecio se levó dha Nao **S. Diego** á 7 de Mayo en prosecucion de su viage á las islas Filipinas.

Hubo algunas sospechas de que intentaban hechar en el mar á los compañeros quando se embarcasen para venir á este Pueblo de S. Ygnacio á donde está la principal residencia cosa que no seria dificil á los Indios por ser tan pequeñas las embarcaciones y estar á cargo de ellos su gobierno, el cual no puede correr por cuenta de los nuestros mientras no tenemos embarcacion propia algo grande en que pueden embarcar 8, ó 10 hombres de armas de fuego, y gente que la sepa gobernar de los nuestros que es una de las mayores necesidades que padecemos, y fuera grandisima ayuda para la conquista y sujecion de rebeldes, por que con facilidad á saltar muchas veces, y obligarles á cumplir las leyes de Cristianos que han recibido. Y asi embarcados algunos compañeros en barcas de Indios amigos para venir en resguardo de las limosnas que nos habian dexado, que no pueden conducirse sino es por mar, por la total falta de caballos, ó cosa equivalente, los demas se vinieron por tierra con sus armas.

Llegaron á esta residencia de N.P. S. Ygnacio de Agaña, en donde á pocos dias que fué á los 11 de Mayo, de este año de 72 encontrando uno de los soldados con dos Indios principales que habian sido las cabezas en la guerra del año pasado; y renovadas á su presencia las memorias de ellas y reincidencias en los tumultos, y muertas de nuestros compañeros que fueron con influencia de sus depravadas voluntades, fomentadas desde los principios, con especialidad el uno de ellos llamado **Hurao**, que desde que llegamos á estas Islas, intentó varias veces acabarnos á estimulo de su codicia: impaciente el soldado de sus abilanteces, le atravesó con una espada dexandole muerto, y hubiera hecho lo mismo con el compañero por nombre **Agao**,<sup>1</sup> á no haberse valido de sus pies, con que evadiendo el golpe con la huida se libró. No fué menor la de otra desgracia que el mismo dia sucedió, por que yendo dos soldados á retirar á dos compañeros que habian ido á otro Pueblo encontraron en el camino á un Yndio y una Yndia, naturales de la Ysla de S. José, antes **Zeipan**, los cuales huyeron por el natural temor a las armas de fuego, que concibiendo sospecha serian culpados, precipitado el un soldado con los nuevos fervores y falta de experiencia de estas tierras, disparo una escopeta con que hirio al Indio y mato á la India que de el estaba abrazada como es costumbre antigua de ellos[.] con estos yerros originados de la falta de consejo, y sobra de propio parecer amedrantados los Indios de este Pueblo, y otro inmediato llamado

1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans writes this as Hagao (see Doc. 1673L).

*Aniguag*, se retiraron á otros Pueblos mas distantes. Golpes fueron estos que descargaron sobre los corazones de los Ministros, que viamos huir á los que andabamos á buscar, pero conformamonos con la voluntad de Dios N.S. que sabrá sacar de los males vienes, como se notará adelante que sacó especialmente de la muerte del principal de Hurao.

De estas desgracias tomando ocasion el padre Francisco Solano que todavia vivia habló á la gente de el campo dandole á entender el daño grave que haria, sino templava sus fervores, por que teniendo por enemigos á los Pueblos inmediatos que corren hacia la banda de el Sur, no hay todavia bastante fuerza para reducirlos y asi no solamente perderiamos la enseñanza, y doctrina de ellos á quienes solos podemos acudir en estos tiempos, por estar enemigos los de la parte del Norte, y embarazados los caminos por ellos para los demas, sino que nos exponiamos á los peligros de emboscadas y traiciones y de carecer del necesario bastimento que es forzoso salir á buscar hasta poderlos obligar á ellos que con paga lo traigan, y esto no se podrá conseguir estando contrarios y sin que aya mas gente que solo les falta este temor, que tan necesario ha sido en todas las nuevas Cristiandades para que obligados á proceder como Cristianos, no se atrevan á querer sacudir el suave yugo de el Evangelio; que tan de paz han recibido, y es cierto que viendo ellos fuerza bastante, con que corregir sus barbaridades será esta una de las mejores Cristiandades, de todo este Archipelago, pues como muchas veces se ha notado tiene mejores disposiciones que otra alguna tubo en su gentilidad, en cuyos principios hallaremos si bolvemos los ojos á las historias que siempre se ha opuesto el Demonio con motines y tumultos viendose desposeer de tantas almas, que por tantos siglos tenia en pacífica posesion, mas prevaleciendo la sangre de Cristo que por todos la derramó, a sido despojado de su tiranica posesion con la gloria del nombre Cristiano, que por la redondez de la tierra vemos esparcido.



[Doc. 1673K2]

**[The battle of Tumhon, 1672]**

*No podia empero sufrir mas dilaciones en el castigo el alentado animo de los soldados a quienes N.S. habia librado de la muerte que tantas veces les habian maquinado, los cuales eran solamente 16, y asi esforzados con el socorro de los compañeros que les havia venido, con los mismos deseos de castigar á los Pueblos que habian sido culpados en las muertes de el año pasado, especialmente a los que concurrieron á la de N.V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores para retraerles con el temor de semejantes insultos, y enseñarles las leyes de la justicia se determinaron á ir en busca de el Yndio **Matapang**, principal agresor para prenderle, ó matarle. Y por que no parezca excedieron nuestros Valerosos Soldados los limites de la justicia en el castigo y campeé mas su valor en la determinacion de la Salida, es necesario suponer primero la antigua costumbre de estas naciones en algun Pueblo uno que haya delinquido no solo el Pueblo á quien pertenece, sino todos los de su parcialidad, son cómplices en el delito, aunandose para defenderle, y declarandose por enemigo, y asi aunque solo dos Indios dieron la muerte á nuestro V.P.R. empero todo el Pueblo á quien pertenecian incurrio la culpa de el amparandolos: (nuestros soldados pocos en número) y ademas se liaron otros dos Pueblos circunvecinos, contra los cuales se determinaron nuestros soldados[,] pocos en número, y muchos en el valor, fundamentado en la propia desconfianza y amparo de la Santisima Virgen Nuestra Señora, pues hacian la causa de el Señor cuya gracia solicitaron primero, por medio de los Santos Sacramentos de la penitencia, y comunión, que recibieron todos el día 16 de Mayo uno antes de la salida, dispuestos á dar la vida por la justicia: armados ya con la copiosa gracia de el Señor contra el principal Pueblo por nombre **Tumhum**, distante de este de S. Ygnacio tres leguas,<sup>1</sup> y contra los otros dos sus confederados, y declarados teniendo por enemigos encubiertos, otros dos Pueblos de la Playa, que estan en el camino.<sup>2</sup>*

*El Sargento Mayor Juan de Santiago Bozo que exerce el oficio de Cabo de este campo nombró trece hombres Españoles de armas de fuego, ocho de Filipinas, los cuatro con alfanges y corazas, y los otros con arco y flecha, que son veinte y uno, ajustando el numero veinte y dos con su propia persona.*

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1 Ed. note: Three leagues are 9 miles, or 12 km, but the real distance is about 9 km. The missionaries always over-estimated their distances by 1/3.

2 Ed. note: The two villages in league with Tumhon were located on the same beach (see below) and, therefore, east of Ipao Point. One of them was Ipao itself, but the name of the other, located between Ipao and Tumhon proper, is not recorded.

*Llegó el día 17 de Mayo destinado para la faccion, y habiendo todos oido misa, capitaneando dho Sargento Mayor el Cristiano escuadron (que caminaba a pie por la total falta de caballos que se ha anotado ya)<sup>1</sup> salieron á las 4 de la mañana de este Pueblo; en el camino hallaron á un Indio sobrino de el principal **Agao** que se libró de la muerte, y por que no les ganase la delantera á dar el aviso, le embiaron juntamente con su muger, preso ó detenidos mientras bolvian de la faccion, encontraban en los Pueblos por donde pasaban á los enemigos no declarados, los cuales aunque armados á su usanza con lanzas y zaroos [sic],<sup>2</sup> y ceñidas las cinturas con petates, ó esteras como lo acostumbran en sus guerras[,] dieron paso franco á nuestros soldados vendiendose por amigos, industria para hacer mas á su salvo la traicion cuando les viesen mas empeñados en su viage, que prosiguieron sin embarazo, hasta que entrados en el monte descubrieron los enemigos emboscados,<sup>3</sup> con las lanzas y piedras, que desde su densa arbolada arrojaban, sin ser vistos de nuestra gente, que no por eso desistió de sus intentos, aunque cercada de tantos peligros, por fuera de las emboscadas tenian los enemigos sembradas las veredas, y sendas con puyas hechas de palos y huesos[.] antes animada con el especial socorro de la Santisima Virgen, y de nuestro glorioso patron S. Miguel Arcangel, que experimentaba en su imdennidad, pues no le impedian las piedras y lanzas enemigas, llegaron al Pueblo de **Tumhun**, y no hallando al homicida que buscaban dieron fuego á su casa, y por haberse el Pueblo puesto en defensa quemaron tambien otras 12 casas, que es la mayor venganza que toman ellos mismos en sus peleas contra otros Pueblos, y lo que tantas veces habian procurado hacer con nuestra Iglesia[.] destrozaronles juntamente algunas embarcaciones y Dios N.S. les libró misericordiosamente de nuestras armas con tan manifiestos indicios de que solamente queria cobrasen temor con el castigo en el incendio, sin que fuese en las vidas y personas, que en tan repetidos tiros ninguno murio en dho Pueblo, antes el **Sargento José de Tapia**, natural de el Pueblo de Bacolor en la Provincia de Pampanga, mozo de brios, y alentado animo, como lo reconocen los barbaros, á quienes en varias ocasiones ha ahuyentado con su gallardo valor acometiendo intrepido á sus multitudes, yendo este dia á los alcances á un Yndio al tiempo que iba á descargar el cangilan [sic],<sup>4</sup> con que sin duda le hubiera dividido, le detubo N.S. los pasos contandose con el amago, por que cayo en el suelo con el embarazo de unas ramas, y troncos que estaban en el camino, con que tubo lugar el Indio para huir, aunque desarmado de seis lanzas que llevaba las cuales le quitó dho Sargento entre las espesuras de las ramas que embarazaron el juego de el cangilan: no escarmentó este Indio[.] antes despues de tres meses venia en*

- 1 Ed. note: Some later writers, basing their story on Fr. García's Vida (a secondary source), have erroneously placed a horse at this battle. The first horse did not arrive at Guam until the following year, 1673.
- 2 Ed. note: Not in Spanish dictionaries. Word badly transcribed (perhaps saetas, meanings darts), or a native Chamorro or Filipino word meaning slings; probably the latter. Native armor is about to be mentioned, perhaps for the first time.
- 3 Ed. note: The trail from Apurguan to Ipao, then as now, passed across a peninsula. This plateau is called Tamuning today.
- 4 Ed. note: A Filipino word, usually written kampilan, which is a type of heavy cutlass.

*una ocasion incitando defendido de los arboles á los nuestros que disparandole un mosquete le hizieron malamente y dentro de pocos dias murió en castigo de su pertinacia[.] fugaban en dho Pueblo los Indios aunque sin efecto sus lanzas y piedras encubiertos tras de los cocos, á cuya sombra frustraban los tiros de nuestras armas, que sin este abrigo jugaban nuestros soldados; pero tenian lo mas poderoso, en el Patrocinio de N.S. que por su Santisima Madre los sacó libres de tantos riesgos.*

*Concluida esta faccion se fueron retirando, por sea ya el medio dia, y larga la jornada, quemaron á la retirada en otros dos Pueblos confederados algunas casas; de que corridos ó picados los enemigos venian siempre por tierra á los alcances, quizas con intento de detener nuestra gente hasta la noche en que no descubriese sus ardidés, y para lograrlos mejor les salió por el mar abrigado á una barquilla el atrevido Yndio **Matapang** diciendoles: **Vaho si Matapang am amhanbio** que quiere decir “yo soy Matapang, mucho os habeis tardado”, á que le respondieron, con diez ó doce balazos sin que ninguno le dañase siendo buenos los tiradores de que hemos llegado á pensar le libraba N.S. por los ruegos de nuestro Padre R.[.] esto no sin fundamento[.] pues con el de su santa vida y muerte esperamos está donde la caridad no padece menguas en su extension, mas insistiendo en su pertinazia el barbaro, disparo un mosquete un soldado por nombre **José Lopez**, y le atravesó el sacrilego brazo, á tiempo que iba á librar una lanza, con que fué obligado á dexar el tiro; proseguian la retirada los nuestros sin haber recibido lesion alguna y para que conociesen que tanta imdemnidad no nacia de las propias fuerzas uno dimanaba de la misericordiosa mano de el Señor permitió su Magestad que á la retirada encontrasen en mayor peligro de que no era posible salir siquiera uno á no ser amparados y defendidos del brazo de el Altisimo, por que ocupando los enemigos, que ya eran **nueve pueblos convocados**,<sup>1</sup> unos peñascos levantados á las margenes de la playa, les cercaron con cocos, y ramas el camino, por no habian pasado, para obligarles á bajar por la playa,<sup>2</sup> en que tenian hechos hoyos sembrados de puyas las cuales descubrió el Sargento Mayor Juan de Santiago que marchando delante de su escuadron, como experimentado en los ardidés de estos bárbaros, iba tocando suelo con una lanza, con que descubrió la traza de los enemigos que emboscados en lo alto de las peñas sin hacer ruido alguno, aguardaban á que empuyados los soldados no pudiesen tan libremente jugar las armas, pero descubierto el engaño mandó á su gente le siguiese entrando para pasar hasta el medio cuerpo en las aguas del mar, que habia ya ocupado con sus crecientes parte de el camino y playa, pasado habia ya el mayor peligro libre la mitad de la compañía de que rabioso el enemigo, levantando el clamor vibrava con despecho lanzas á los que iban pasando, sobre los cuales llovian piedras desgajadas de los montes, jugando estas armas bien á su salvo sin que ellos recibiesen daño y alguno de la mosqueteria; las lanzas que en estas tiraron pasaron de*

1 Ed. note: Besides the 3 villages on Tumhon Beach, their allies came from settlements in the area, probably Tamuning, Dungca, Apurguan, Maite, Mapas, and Chuchugu.

2 Ed. note: And around the headland, which has four points: 1) Ipao Point, formerly Tumon Point; 2) Saupon Point, formerly Tayanese Point; 3) Oka Point; and 4) Apurguan Point. The encounter next described could have taken place at any one of these points.

quinientas[.] con dos de ellas fueron heridos dos soldados, que no podian atender á tantos enemigos, por que no solo desde lo alto de las peñas y por las playas les tiraban; sino que juntamente por la mar les acometieron en embarcaciones con las cuales escudados y con las mismas en que se sumergian evadian los tiros de nuestras armas: viendo dho Sargento Mayor Juan de S. (Diego) digo Santiago, el peligro de sus soldados, y que le habian ya herido dos soldados, volviendo atras para socorrerlos se puso otra vez [en el] empeño de que fueron saliendo los que habian quedado en la retaguardia; hizieron los Yndios con la multitud de lanzas que arrojaron contra los que bolvieron al socorro un circulo horroroso, y con una de ellas hizieron en el tobillo á otro soldado que habia buuelto á socorrer á los compañeros, y dibertido el Sargento Mayor Juan de Santiago, en quebrar las lanzas, por no dexar armas al enemigo, le arrojaron de lo alto una lanza con tanta violencia, que atravesando la cuera que tenia puesta le entró por el hombro, hasta el hueso, y le atravesara sino llevara aquella defensa; tremolando estaba en el aire el hasta que le arrancaron, luego á cuya vista clamaron los Indios, como dando vaya y cantando la vitoria, cuando esforzado un soldado llamado **Lorenzo Berta**, con el golpe de una piedra que le dió en la espalda, y publicando la vitoria á S. Esteban su especial patron y deboto, tiró con tanto acierto un balazo á un Yndio que acababa de sacar la cabeza del mar, que dandole en la frente le dexo muerto: con que respondió á la vaya que daban á nuestro Sargento mayor herido, el cual con alentado animo les dixo no era cosa de importancia la lanzada de que tanto se alborozaban que viesen si importaba mas que la muerte de su compañero, y haciendo retaguardia á los soldados, trayendo en medio los heridos se fueron retirando.

Causada ya la barbara tropa, y desconfiada de la vitoria pues veia que en tan peligrosa emboscada, y en tanta ventaja como tubo en la refriega, peleando tan escudada asi en tierra como en las aguas, no habian conseguido en sus ultimos esfuerzos acabar á nuestros soldados, no lo consiguio mas por no ponerse á campo raso, en donde no habia de pelear tan á su salvo; ni les previno otra emboscada persuadida, y con muchos fundamentos que de la referida era imposible saliese con la vida, mas para ostentar Dios nuestro Señor su misericor[di]a y pedir los faboreció, con que prosiguieron la retirada, sin embargo aunque fatigados de lo ardiente de el Sol, y penoso de el camino: yendo á sacar dos soldados agua de un pozo para refrigerar la sed, les tiraron de entre las espesuras del monte algunas lanzas de que les libró la mano del Todopoderoso que de tan conocidos riesgos los habia sacado.

No podra aunque se dilatara mucho la narracion explicar los peligros de que libró N.S. á los valerosos soldados de Maria que lo son con especialidad los que en las Yslas dedicadas á su nombre, solo pretenden adelantar y ensalzar en el de Cristo; ni menos será posible haga concepto de el aprieto á quien no sabe la mucha destreza de estas Naciones, en jugar sus ponzoñosas lanzas, y quien no vió cuales llegaron nuestros Marianos soldados á este Pueblo de Agaña, serian á las cuatro de la tarde sin haber comido en todo el dia, por que de vizcocho que como poco antes llegada la Nao habia llevaron en un saquillo, sirviendoles de embarazo lo arrojaron al mar y juzgando los enemigos que era hombre dieron en el como en saco roto, clavandole mas de veinte lanzas. Hubo

lanza que rozando á un soldado la mexilla, y llegando a otro que estaba inmediato llamado **Martin de Uniza**, natural de el Pueblo de Zingain, en la Provincia de Pangasinan,<sup>1</sup> le cosió las faldas de el sombrero con la copa abradesandole por quatro partes sin que recibiese daño el que le tenia puesto, al mismo le clavaron en el mismo sombrero otras tres lanzas, espectáculo que orrorizaba al mas alentado; a otros rasgaron y atravesaron los vestidos con duplicadas lanzas. Los heridos fueron como se dixo arriba quatro.

**[Death of a Filipino soldier]**

Fué el primero **Pedro Basijan**, natural de el Pueblo de Salag en la Provincia de Bisayas en Filipinas<sup>2</sup> el cual habiendo venido desde la Ciudad de Manila con el Padre Francisco Solano [en 1671], y trabajado con mucho cuidado, fidelidad y constancia, así en el Puerto de Acapulco como en las dos navegaciones, y en esta Ysla en donde se hallo á la guerra el año de 71, y alivio con sus desvelos los forzosos en tan apretados tiempos; aunque no fué señalado para la faccion dha pretendió con notables instancias ya y mostró el alentado animo que tenia guardando su puesto que era en la retaguardia donde estaba cuando entre la multitud de lanzas por tantas y tan peligrosas partes arrojadas, le hirio una en un tobillo parte no peligrosa, y menos lo era la lanza por no ser de hueso sino de palo, pero el pasmo que se originó de mojarse luego en las aguas de el mar, pasó tan adelante, que le acabó á los 26 de Mayo, recibidos con toda debocion los Santos Sacramentos, y asegurandonos con tan buena disposicion la pagó á N.S. con su gloria lo mucho que trabajó en esta mision sin intereses en lo humano.

**[Death of 2 Mexican soldiers]**

El segundo herido fué **Juan Beltran**, natural de la Provincia de Sinaloa en la Nueva España[.] atrabesaronle una pierna con una lanza de hueso que se le sacó y pasó algunos dias como si estuviera sano, mas sin pensarlo quedo dentro una pequeña parte la cual fué bastante por la eficacia de la ponzoña del hueso humano, á que no se ha hallado contra para quitarle la vida, á los 6 de Junio con señales bien ciertas, de que quiso nuestro Señor premiar el buen zelo, con que un hombre de su edad que pasaba de los 50 años se habia tan de veras dedicado á servirle en estas Yslas, a donde vino por extraordinarios caminos solo con deseo de servir á Dios y murió con la misma disposicion.

El tercero fué **José de Torres**, natural de la Ciudad de [Puebla de] los Angeles en la Nueva España, que se quedo en estas Yslas para ayudarnos con el oficio de Carpintero en que era insigne oficial, y tan necesario en estas partes, mostró notable paciencia con sus dolores que son erigidos los que causa la ponzoña del hueso, y terribles las congojas que llevó todas con gran constancia y conformidad en la voluntad de Dios que segun creemos piadosamente por lo que el mismo José de Torres dixo le consoló en sus males con la confianza de la Santisima Virgen nuestra Señora que con amorosas entra-

1 Ed. note: Most probably Asingan, in the eastern part of the province.

2 Ed. note: Salag may correspond to Sara in Panay I.

*ñas le daba seguras prendas en el natural patrocinio á tan peligrosa hora, ahuyentando el infernal espíritu, que pretendió con su presencia turbarle; y risueña esta Soberana Señora con su soldado le animaba; murió pues con este consuelo á los 28 de Mayo, por que no fué posible sacarle la lanza que habia entrado por el tobillo con tanta fuerza que abriendole el pie despues de muerto, al tirarle el pedazo resistia la salida lo violento de la fuerza con que encarnó hasta los huesos.*

*El 4º fué el Sargento Mayor Juan de Santiago á quien se le sacó la lanza como diximos que era de palo; y a pocos dias combaleció del accidente aunque le duró dentro de las carnes el palo, que poco á poco se fué el mismo despidiendo. Sacó N.S. del castigo y faccion referida muy buenos efectos por que el dia siguiente 18 de Mayo, vivieron tres Pueblos inmediatos de la banda de el Sur, llamados **Aniguag, Assan y Tupungan** á hacer **Apruy**, que es "darse por amigos", trayendo algunos presentes de cocos y arroz, admitiose su amistad, con condicion que habian de embiar á sus hijos dos veces cada semana á rezar la doctrina, habian de quitar la casa pública de los mozos solteros, y asistir á Misa los dias de fiesta, estas dos ultimas condiciones ni las han cumplido ni podemos obligarles á ello hasta que con la fuerza y gente se ajusten mas las cosas y aunque vamos los dias de fiesta dos PPes con alguna escolta á llamarlos son muy pocos los que bienen[.] en la primera no han faltado por que los niños bienen á rezar muchas veces atraidos de las cuentas, ó granates que se les dan y agasajo que les hacemos. Este buen efecto no hubieramos conseguido si fuera vivo el Yndio Principal **Hurao** de cuya muerte hablamos ya por que con su mala inclinacion, y el [recono]cimiento que nos tenia, les hubiera instigado á que imitasen á los de la vanda del Norte, en las guerras en que diremos despues como lo hizo en la guerra pasada; y esto confesado de los mismos Yndios que dicen a sido bien quitar la vida á tan inquieto Yndio.*

**[Raid on Agaña. Church outside the stockade demolished]<sup>1</sup>**

*Este mismo dia al cuarto de segunda, quisieron arrojarse los enemigos á la Garita donde estaba el preso sobrino de Agao que por ver si se podia ajustar algo con su prision estuvo detenido, mas sentidos de nuestra gente que velaba huyeron con otros, que les acompañaban, y estaban como de manpuesto en las casas vecinas, y en una iglesia que de la otra parte del rio teniamos, la cual pocos dias despues que fué a los 28 del mismo mes, pretendieron sacrilegos quemar, aplicaron por diversas partes el fuego que traian en unas hastas largas, mas descubiertos les dispararon un mosquete, con que todos huyeron, dexandose sobre el techo, que era de hojas de palma, el fuego con quien no concurrio el Señor que defendía su casa, y habia prevenido el peligro con una pequeña lluvia, que despues bolvió á repetir, y asi á la mañana siguiente se hallaron consumidas de el fuego las hastas en que lo traian, y sin detrimento alguno la Yglesia y casa de Dios que luego destruyamos por no dexarles tan á su salvo la ocasion, y la mudamos dentro de la empalizada en que estamos hoy [1673], en donde se levantó una decente iglesia que se dedicó con toda solemnidad de procesion con el Santisimo Sacramento,*

1 Ed. note: This church was located on the Maite side, i.e. east of the Agaña River.

*regozijos de danzas, y asistencia de los Pueblos amigos á los fines de Junio, por que desde que el Baguio y huracan de el año de 71 nos derribó la que teniamos no habia sido posible bolverla á levantar sirviendo de iglesia un camarín [=shed], ó xacal [=shack] de dos brazas de lactitud [sic] y otras tantas de longitud; y aunque esta expuesta la presente a los mismos peligros, mas confiamos el en Señor que ahumentadas las fuerzas con el socorro de gente y demas pertrechos que la piedad de nuestro Católico Monarca, esperamos se podrá levantar á Dios casa, y iglesia mas segura y permanente pues hay en la tierra, bastante materiales de cal, piedra, y madera para su fabrica.*

*Un dia despues de la faccion arriba dha salieron algunos compañeros bien cerca de casa á cortar algunos cocos para su sustento y estando en la cima de el arbol, vino una lanza de entre las ramas, arrojada de los traidores encubiertos enemigos que estaban en emboscada, entraron por sus armas, y siguiendoles encontraron á otros que no eran menos enemigos á lo encubiertof.] iba el Padre Francisco Solano de pia memoria con los soldados, y reprehendiendo la alevosia detubo con sus razones á nuestra gente para que no matasen á alguno en que se ve con cuanto tiempo[,] amor y cariño se ha procedido con estos bárbaros[;] pues pudiendo en la ocasion matarles justamente se les perdonó, por ver si con los beneficios se amansaban estas fieras; mas con toda su obstinacion es behementes estímulos del Demonio rabioso de verse vencido no han hecho mella en ellos las blanduras, antes para manifestar de donde nace tan depravada voluntad amenazaron á los niños, persuadiendoles no viniesen á la Casa de Dios, y bolviendo mal por bien, no solo no pierden las ocasiones que se les ofrecen, sino que para satisfacer su vil y cobarde animo las buscan con muchas solicitudes de que tenemos dos casos de sumo dolor.*

*El primero es que un mozo natural de Filipinas, que estaba en casa sin ocasion alguna se salió á 3 de Junio y yendose hacia donde estaban los enemigos fué muerto lastimosamente como supimos dentro de tres dias, lo mas que llegamos á alcanzar es que dixo á un niño que estaba enfadado y hechas las diligencias no hemos alcanzado tubiese ocasion en casa para su inconsiderada determinacion.*

*El otro caso que tanto es mas sensible cuantos son mas y remediabiles los daños y inconvenientes que de el se han seguido; fué en la forma siguiente. Habian llegado á la Ysla de Buena Vista Mariana antes **Tinian** que es la cuarta en orden de las de esta cordillera donde estaba un Padre con cuatro compañeros nuevos de las muertes de nuestro V.P.R. y sus compañeros, y aun para asegurar la presencia de el Padre [Lopez] se despacharon muchas cartas con orden de que se retirasen á esta Ysla, pero ninguna de ellas llevo á su mano; y asi para certificarse de las nuevas, y estado de las cosas despacho con cartas á unos Indios de su mismo Pueblo, que ha sido largamente mas leal de todas las Yslas. Llegaron á esta residencia y fueron despachados con toda brevedad, pero detenidos en otros Pueblos tardaron en la buelta tanto que juzgaron los enemigos haber hallado ocasion para hacer complices de sus delitos á los de aquella Ysla; y asi algunos Yndios de la Ysla de S. José; antes **Zeipan**, yendo de esta Ysla esparcieron en la de **Tinian** una falsedad que pudo costar la vida al Padre y sus compañeros persuadidos Yndios á lo que se congeturo de nuestros enemigos que pretendian matasen al Padre*

*y compañeros[.] dixerón pues que á los Indios que el Padre habia despachado con cartas les habiamos preso, y aun muerto á uno de ellos, nuevas con que llorando las mugeres á sus maridos, y dos demas Yndios á sus compañeros y parientes se fueron al Padre con los principales de el Pueblo á dar la quexa y a no ser tan leales les hubieran luego muerto; pero aunque tenían creida la falsedad, les dixo el Padre razones tan claras que les sosego, y deshizo en parte la mala nueva, á que le ayudó un Indio principal llamada **Caiza** en cuya tierra tenemos la iglesia, persuadiendo á la gente que no creyese tan cosa, y no paró en esto la lealtad de este Yndio, sino que solicitado varias veces el y otros principales de nuestros enemigos para que diese la muerte al padre y compañeros, respondió siempre con resolución que no lo quería hacer, ¿que mal les hacia[?] y que el Padre era su refugio, y su Padre á quien acudia á pedir conchas, y todas que quería hablando siempre el cariño, y afecto de verdadero Padre y concluyó su razonamiento diciendo que sus antepasados siendo ancianos no habían muerto á los Padres, antes los habían recibido, que como el siendo muchacho (que será de 28 años) había de hacer tal desafuero pero bolviendo al [h]ilo de la historia, pra aplacar las lagrimas á los que no acababan de desengañarse despachó el padre á un Indio Bisaya llamado **Francisco Maunahan**, con cartas en que daba noticia de el rumor que se había esparcido y peligro en que quedaban para que con brevedad bolviesen los Indios, y manifestasen con su presencia la falsedad; llegó á esta Ysla dho Francisco á 13 de Mayo, y despachado bolvió á la de **Tinian** en compañía de los Indios que habían sido enviados no solo no agraviados sino agasajados, y contentos con algunos donecillos de conchas, cuentas y otras cosas de su estimación, con que se desvaneció la nueva se f[r]ustró el intento del Demonio, y deshizo el peligro en que estaban el Padre y sus compañeros.*

**[Rebels from Guam kill two Filipino missionary helpers in Rota]**

*Habia sospechas de que la Ysla de Santa Ana, inmediata á esta de S. Juan, que está en el paso, para la de Buena Vista, estaba algo inquieta estimulados de nuestros enemigos deseosos de bebernos la sangre, y de ganar para su parcialidad á cuantos pudiesen, empeñandolos para mas seguridad en sus delitos, por lo cual aunque estuvo señalado, y ya para embarcarse el Padre Antonio de S. Basilio,<sup>1</sup> que iba por compañero del Padre Alonso Lopez, que estaba en dha Ysla de Tinian, se deshizo sin pensar, la hida con particular providencia del Señor, que quiso librar de la muerte al Padre y así fué despachado dho **Francisco Maunahan** con orden de bolber á esta Ysla para dar noticias que tal estaba la gente en la de Santa Ana, bolvia para esta Ysla, y aunque con espreso orden que no llegase á dha Ysla de Santa Ana por que tenía ya ciertas noticias el Padre que estaban los naturales de ellas perbertidos, mas se determinó á entrar pareciendole que todos tenían tan buen corazón como el, y [que no] le harían daño, por haberles gangeado [=gauged] por espacio de tantos años las voluntades; poco despues que desembarcó acometieron Yndios de esta Ysla de S. Juan a un mozo compañero suyo natural de*

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1 Ed. note: This Jesuit from Sicily had just arrived that year, 1672.



*Filipinas<sup>1</sup> que ahora tres años se quedó en esta Mision con deseos de ayudar á estos pobres como lo hizo á costa de muchos peligros y trabajos siendo uno bien considerable haber estado dos años solo por no haber podido ir Ministros á las Yslas de **Gani** en donde se habia casado, y traía consigo á su consorte, que se bolbio á su patria muerto el marido, al cual hechandole traidoramente una soga [=rope] al cuello le arrastraron y fueron dando de lanzadas á dho **Francisco Maunahan**, le dieron con un cuchillo por el estomagof.] fueron sus cuerpos arrojados al mar, y creemos recibieron sus almas el eterno premio, de los muchos trabajos padecidos en el cultivo y servicio de estos Ysleños, cuyos hijos en no pequeño numero fueron labados con las sagradas aguas del bautismo por estos dos fieles Cristianos, que en ausencia de los Padres y mucha penuria de Ministros, les administraron este Santo Sacramento abriendoles las puertas de el Cielo; y aunque tan repentino el suceso, no les cogio desprevenidos pues muy poco antes habian en dha Ysla de Tinian recibido los Santos Sacramentos de la confesion y Eucaristia, y mostrado en su Cristiano proceder ser de los pocos escogidos; era dho Francisco natural del Pueblo de Yndan en Filipinas<sup>2</sup> y habiendose embarcado para la Nueva España en la Nao **Concepcion** que padeció naufragio en la Ysla de S. José el año de 38; fué por la misericordia del Señor uno, a quien perdonó el deshecho huracan en la mar, y la barbaridad de aquellos Ysleños en tierra; hallabase en la Ysla de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, antes **Alamagan** [rather **Alamagan**] cuando yendo el Padre Luis de Morales [1669], uno de los primeros fundadores de esta Mision á tomar la procesion de las almas que en dha Ysla y en las siguientes estan esparcidas, para agregarlas al rebaño de Cristo, se encontro con este nuestro antiguo Cristiano que sabiendo la llegada de el Padre la buscó alborozado y desde luego á los nuestros en señal no pequeña de las raizes que tenia en su alma la fé de Cristo, fué fidelisimo compañero en varios viages por mar y tierra, y estuvo acudiendo dos años á los bautismos y iglesia de esta Ysla de S. Francisco Xavier [i.e. Agrigan] a donde no fué posible ir Padre por los varios acontecimientos de dos años tan belicosos: venia este año con notables ansias de llevar Padres á aquellas Yslas, y encontró su buen corazon y sencillez el premio de su Cristiandad, dandole la muerte los barbaros en la forma dha á los **5 de Junio de 72**, y sin duda redimieron con ella estos dos Cristianos la vida de un padre y otros dos compañeros que indubitablemente hubieran aportado á dha Ysla de Santa Ana, y les hubieran muerto, si en la ocasion les hubiera perdonado la furia de los bárbaros gracias al Señor que combieerte en mayor bien nuestro los males que nos procuran nuestros enemigos, librandonos por este medio de otros mayores, aunque el que ha resultado de estas muertes ha sido bien considerable pues tenemos impedido el paso para las demas Islas, por ser escala para ellas, la de Santa Ana á donde no es facil pasar sin tocar en ella, mas esperamos en S.M. remediará estos daños como lo sabe hacer y que habien-*

1 Ed. note: His name was Juan Marinduque (see Doc. 1673L).

2 Ed. note: There is confusion here. Francisco Maunahan, the young Visayan, should not be confused with this older Tagalog, also named Francisco, it seems, but from Indang, just south of Manila) who must have been over 50 years old and had lived in the Marianas since 1638 (see below). It would be this old man who did not fear to face the rebels in Rota.

*do una embarcacion mediana en que puedan ir ocho ó diez hombres con sus armas, hallaremos paso, y se hallarán y reducirán los de dha Ysla que por sí son de buenas calidades.*

**[Death and eulogy of Father Solano]**

*Tan repetidos y sensibles golpes, era forzoso lastimasen á quien por razon del oficio y cargo de Superior de estas misiones los reciba en el corazon, y asi fueron bastantes á acelerar con sus violencias, la muerte al Padre R. Francisco Solano, que lo era actualmente por muerte de nuestro V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, con que á los **13 de Junio** del año de 72 en que justamente se cumplia un año de su llegada á estas Yslas se llevó N.S. apremiado [con la] gloria como lo esperamos el abrasado celo con que procuró infatigablemente en sus trabajos adelantar con todas veras esta Cristiandad, por lo cual le puede cotar entre los mas insignes bienhechores, y dexando para otra historia la relacion de su religiosísima vida, diremos aqui solamente algo de las virtudes que en orden al aumento de esta Cristiandad, exercito en que no solo veremos su apostolico espiritu sino tambien la ingratitud de estos Ysleños, y rabioso odio con que le aborrecian, por no sufrir su desenfrenamiento, el suabe yugo á que intentaba el Padre constreñerlos.*

*Despues de muchas y repetidas instancias que loablemente hizo á los Superiores, aunque resignado siempre á la obediencia para venir á esta Mision movido de lo Apostólico de sus empleos, conseguida la licencia, es indecible la solicitud que puso para socorrerla con las cosas necesarias no dejando en orden á este fin medio alguno que ajuzgase á proposito que no lo pusiese en execucion, á costa de muchos y continuados actos de mortificacion venciendo la natural repugnancia y dificultades que en pedir limosnas de puerta en puerta sentia; medio con que consiguió de la piedad de muchos cuidadosos de Manila gruesas limosnas que alibiaron necesidades grandes que los Ministros, y compañeros soldados de esta Mision padecian, á esto dirigia el Padre sus pasos espuesto todos los dias á los ardientes soles con infatigable diligencia los despachos y demas cosas concernientes al bien de estas Yslas, rompiendo muchas dificultades que se interponian á la execucion dexamos ahora (aunque fueron en orden al aumento de esta Cristiandad) las incomodidades, y trabajos que en el viage á la Nueva España, fueron forzosos la aplicacion continua en las platicas, doctrinas asistencia á los enfermos siendolo bien considerablemente el Padre los fervorosos actos de caridad, y conformidad con la voluntad de Dios que exercitó en las penalidades y asalto de temporales en que estubo para perder la vida consolandose unicamente en pensar la daria por Dios, y en demanda de esta su amada y solicitada Mision, con que estaba en un continuo exercicio de amor de Dios, ayudandole juntamente los dolores de su enfermedad que le despertaban á cada paso á hacer heroycos actos de amor divino por que cada vez que le afligia el dolor agudo de el pecho (que eran muchas) dandole punzadas que parece le reducian á ultimos términos, decia con fervorosas, sea por vuestro amor Dios mio, palabras que tubo siempre impresas en su alma, y repetia en esta ultima enfermedad con notable ternura.*

*Tomado Puerto en Acapulco [1671] y juzgando ser medio a proposito para ayudar á esta Mision pasar á la Ciudad de Mexico, emprendió el viage, sin que embarazase á su fervor la falta de salud, ni lo penoso de el camino en que padeció no poco.*

*Luego que llegó a la Ciudad de Mexico solicitó victorioso de si mismo en las repugnancias algunas limosnas, ya en fierro viejo, ya en otras alhaxas que desechadas por inutiles en las Ciudades, son de mucha utilidad en esta Mision, este cuidado le hacia al celoso Padre olvidar de si mismo, tanto que siendo necesario tomar una purga por orden de los médicos para alibiar sus males, habiendose hallado bastantemente apretado el dia que la recibio, salió el siguiente dia de casa á proseguir sus diligencias, que hizo con fervor mas que de hombre muy robusto ministrando su celoso y alentado espiritu las fuerzas á su debilitado cuerpo, y gastaba todo el dia en agencias de esta Mision, quitandose las horas de el sueño, perbirtiendo, por la urgencia de los despachos, las ordinarias, de comer y reposar, á conocidos desmedros de su salud que pospuso siempre á los progresos de esta Cristiandad; tubo la misma eficacia y solicitud, bolviendo al Puerto de Acapulco, en donde sin rendirse á la destemplanza del terreno ni perder punto de [vista?] fué continuo en el trabajo, y sufrimiento ya se humillaba unas veces rogando en lo que tocaba al bien de esta Mision, á algunas personas muy inferiores al Padre y á otros llebaba con el sensible animo, y constancia los despegos, y aun menos ajustadas palabras de algunos que con poco afecto oian sus piadosas demandas, ya otras veces se conformaba con la voluntad de Dios en la contrariedad de los sucesos, despues de haber agenciado á costa de repetidos desvelos muchas cosas que no conseguia, lo que aunque le lastimaba el corazon, lo llevaba todo con sereno y alegre semblante.*

*Embarcado para estas Yslas no le faltaron en la navegacion mortificaciones, que por el bien de esta Cristiandad padecio con la misma serenidad de animo: tubo siempre cuidado que fuesen apacentados, con sermones y doctrinas los navegantes para cumplir con la obligacion de Capellan de el navio, de que se hizo cargo por que juzgó conducia para hacer mejor los negocios de esta su amada Mision, que era el blanco de sus deseos, pues de esta suerte atareado se aprovecharia de la racion de agua para dar á las **Bacas, y otros animales que truxo á estas Yslas**; que como siempre habia venido de limosna no tenia para tantos costos, sino fueran á espensas de sus trabajos. Desembarcó en estas Yslas á los 13 de Junio de 71 en donde crecieron mas sus fatigas, á los incendios de caridad deseosa de ganar de veras p<sup>a</sup> Dios á estos Ysleños para lo cual se aplicó con toda intencion á **la lengua, de que traia desde Manila algunos principios**<sup>1</sup> anticipando este trabajo para aprovechar desde luego á estos bárbaros; por que en algunos parciales del Choco conoció el poco deseo que tenian de aprender el camino de el Cielo, á que tampoco se les podia instruir por la falta de fuerza y gente; todo lo cual le afligia y consumido con estas ansias, y celo de su enseñanza y salvacion usaba para atraerlos, ya de la suavidad que su caridad le dictava, ya de el rigor de amenazas y reprehensiones por el celo de la honrra de Dios le inspiraba convenientes para reducirlos medios que*

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1 Ed. note: From the Mariano grammar and catechism by Fr. Sanvitores (Doc. 1668I).

*le conciliaron el odio de los que olvidados de lo eterno solo desean vivir en las anchuras de su barbaridad.*

*Tenia ya nuestro V.P.R. como quien tambien conocia los alientos de su espiritu á la Ysla de Santa Ana, inmediata á esta por destinado palenque de su fervor, pero como los sucesos de el año pasado tan belicoso, corrieron con tanta variedad, é inquietudes desde sus principios, mudando la determinacion le detubo su Residencia en esta Ysla de S. Juan, con los aciertos que de su asistencia en las rebeliones y guerras mostró el efecto por que se debió gran parte de los triunfos al aliento con que tantas veces espuso á la contingencia su vida.*

*Habia N.S. dotado al Padre Francisco Solano, de un animo nada temeroso, con que emprendia cualesquiera accion que á la mayor gloria de S.M. juzgaba combeniente; y así cuando atraidos los bárbaros y mas de lo que debieran confiado en su confusa multitud, y pequeño número de nuestros soldados persuadidos á la vitoria rompieron alevosos la guerra, en que pertinaces con sus continuos asaltos de dia, y de noche sin permitir á nuestros soldados, treguar p<sup>a</sup> el descanso de que necesitaban, perseveraron quarenta dias, y reconociendo el Padre Francisco Solano ser unico medio para que desistiesen de sus intentos, el hacer algunas salidas y acometimiento que no se habian hecho, por ser tan corto el numero de nuestros soldados, y la mitad de ellos enfermos[,] se determinó á salir en persona, alentado á ocho hombres que solos podian hacer esta[s] acometidas y exortandoles á pelear por la fé de Cristo, y aumento de esta Cristiandad, infundiendo sus asistencias y valor á nuestra gente que por tener quien si fuese necesario la confesase, se arrojaba resuelta á los peligros, viendo por delante al Padre con una caraza en una mano, y un báculo en otra, cuanta --- valor que á nuestra gente conciliaba su presencia, tanto era el asombro que solamente con verle tenian los enemigos, aunque le miraban sin armas, confesando causarles mas horror su aliento que el estruendo de las armas, y así saliendo una vez el Padre con solos ocho hombres á mas de quinientos bárbaros, se pusieron luego en huida, y pidieron pazes, lo mismo hizieron en otras salidas, en que á impulsos de sus razones se arrojaron los nuestros á destrozár sus trincheras, y ultimamente en una acometida, á los que mas rebeldes habian perseverado en el cerco, luego que descubrieron al Padre que el primero se empeñaba en los riesgos, animando á todos pidieron á descompasadas voces las pazes, que habian antes despreciado, y se asentaron como se dixo el año pasado, siendo la asistencia de el Padre particular causa que tomó Dios para influir no menos valor á los que asistia, que terror á los que atrevidos contra Dios, y ciegos en su barbaridad, le hacian guerra.*

*Originose de aqui al Padre una continua mortificacion en lo mas vivo de su sentimiento, por que escudando, y defendiendo nuestra fé, fué el blanco del odio, rencor, y fraudes del demonio que conociendo por causa de su infamia en su frustrada prentension, al Padre Francisco Solano, armó una y muchas veces con injurias la lenguas de sus confidentes, y con lanzas las manos de sus seguaces, que como hombres de dura cerviz, reconociendo el yugo que el Padre les queria constreñir, hicieron no pequeñas diligencias para sacudirle juzgando conseguirlo con su muerte que varias veces le maquinaron aun en lo mas asegurado de su fingida paz; y esta la fué la causa por que no*

*permitir nuestro V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores andubiese como lo deseaba el Padre en muchas misiones[,] trabajo que sentia mas por lo que a las continuas correrias acompañar de hambres[,] falta de sueño[,] aguas[,] sustos &c. por que habiendo salido una vez le tenian tramada una traicion aguardandole en un camino para matarle de que teniendo noticia les dexó dibertidos en su emboscada, torciendo el camino, por la parte opuesta con que no se les logró la traza. Yendo en otra ocasion con nuestro V.P.R. fué necesario que á las once de la noche se pusiese en camino por orden del V.P.R. por estar determinados á matarle en un Pueblo, y sabiendolo un niño llamado Ambrosio que les acompañaba[,] avisó de ello con que no lo consiguieron.*

*Fué lo mas de el tiempo su residencia esta de N.P. S. Ygnacio en donde aplicado por si mismo al trabajo daba con su exemplo y asistencia eficazia á las obras que era necesario hacer para que no nos cogiesen tan desprevenidos los tumultos que de la inconstancia de estos barbaros se puede siempre temer; era el Padre el primero que cargaba los palos y cocos en sus hombros para hacer una empalizada ó estacada que hoy tenemos; desvelavase en hacer de noche guardias y rondas no solo por ser necesario que los religiosos las hiciesemos por el poco numero de compañeros que havia; sin por que el cuidado de el Padre le tenia en pie á qualquier hora de la noche, y el poco tiempo que daba al necesario reposo, solia ser expuesto á todos vientos y inclemencias de el Cielo, ya por no permitir mas la poca ó ninguna habitacion que habia, pues no teniamos casa alguna, ya por que voluntario buscaba lo mas incomodo para padecer, ya por estar mas á punto para acudir á los asaltos, que repetian muchas veces los enemigos, y hubo vez en que á persuaciones de un Padre recibió una fresada [=frazada] que fuese alguna defensa á tantas inclemencias, divisó la perspicaz vista de los Indios, lo blanco de el cobertor, que lo fué en la ocasion de su atrevimiento asestando á las piedras tan derechas, y tantas que le obligaron á levantar, y mudar de sitio con notable paciencia; andava mucho tiempo sin medias ó por que la inopenia en las ocasiones lo pedia; ó por que el trabajo en que estaba no permitia este alivio.*

**[The livestock brought to Guam in 1671]**

*Debe esta Mision á su infatigable solicitud **cuatro Bacas** que hoy tiene que puedan procrear en beneficio de los venideros, que aunque **el Padre truxo cinco** la una mataron los Indios en la guerra. **Trujo tambien palomas, y patos** que por falta de casa y demas combeniencias no se han aumentado pero confiamos en el Señor se aumentaran antes de mucho; **hay en esta Ysla algunos animales cerdosos que se deben tambien á sus diligencias;** y aunque no se comen hoy por estar amontados, y no darnos lugar las guerras á buscarlos, mas no es la peor calidad, pues conduce mas á su aumento y al bien y combeniencias de los que nos sucederan; aunque han muerto algunos los enemigos que nos hacen todo el mal que pueden, y lo han procurado en las bacas que varias veces nos han alanceado.*

*Aplicado estaba el Padre Francisco Solano con toda intencion á formar esta Cristiandad, cuando la infidelidad de estos Ysleños dió la muerte á nuestro V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores: golpe que habia de menester bien el esfuerzo y vigor de el Padre So-*

*lano, sobre quien cargaba ya el peso y obligaciones de toda esta Cristiandad que procuró desde luego cumplir sin desmayo, mirando en toda la mayor gloria de Dios N.S. usando de todos los medios que juzgaba con venir reprehendiendo los desmanes, y injurias que contra Dios hacian, faboreció S.M. el celo de su Ministro é impidió los depravados designios de los rebeldes que impacientes de sus avisos querian jugar las armas contra Dios, que castigo sus resoluciones de que tenemos un caso notable, sucedió á los 10 de Abril de 72 ocho dias despues de la muerte de nuestro V.P.R. Diego Luis de S. Vitores. Habia un Indio principal por nombre **Kipuha** que como apuntamos arriba tomó por muger á una que lo era **in facie iclesia**<sup>1</sup> de otro y se habia apartado de su legitimo marido, no aprovecharon las amonestaciones que nuestro V.P.R. les dió muchas veces, en orden á que se apartase de el delito: instabale sobre el caso el Padre Francisco Solano, pero estaba tan ciego en su aficion que bolvió á responder que queria mas irse al infierno que dexarla, una vez entre otros siete dias despues de la muerte del V.P.R. (como diximos ya) repitió el Padre las amenazas, y añadió que quizas moriria al dia siguiente; asi lo permitió N.S. por que el dia inmediato se fué con la manceba á trabajar, y sin enfermedad alguna cayo muerto delante de ella, obstinado en su lascivia; y algunos dicen que habia venido á convidar Pueblos para hacernos guerra; que de esta suerte pagan el cuidado de los Ministros, que se desvelan á solicitar su eterno bien.*

*Estaba esta mision bien afligida cuando quiso N.S. alibiarla con la temprana venida de la Nao, adonde como diximos se partió luego el Padre Solano, y trabajo en el despacho de cartas, y negocios mas de lo que sufría su salud de suerte que estuvo para morir en la Nao, volbió á esta residencia bien apretado y con los cuidados tan graves que tenia á su cargo, rendidas las corporales fuerzas, y á crecentadas las penas arriba dhas cayó en la cama, levantose con la fuerza de su mucha flaqueza, sacaba para acudir á las obligaciones de su oficio, grangeando á cada paso con ejercicios de muchos merecimientos no permitia en su enfermedad que se hiziese cosa alguna particular, tanto que para que comiese carne en lo mas urgente de su achaque fue necesario que cuidadosos los padres de su peligro le obligasen á ello. Dispusose para morir con las otras que su enfermedad pedia, y con tantos deseos de salir de esta vida por la buena cuenta que de los recibidos alientos espera dar, afianzada en la sangre de Cristo, y obras con que habia procurado la gloria de Dios, que habiendo cobrado alguna mejoría dixo le pesaba de no morirse entonces, tal era la tranquilidad de conciencia que Dios le habia dado en aquella hora, la cual se le llegó á los 13 de Junio de 72, que levantandose para oír misa, le obligó la tos, que arrancó con violencia de el pecho unas flemas embueltas en cantidad de sangre, y al recostarse dio su alma al Señor con notable sosiego, y sin las angustias que acompañan al morir, habiendo recibido todos los Sacramentos quedo su exausto cadaver tan venerable que parecía estar vivo, y conciliaba respetos y veneraciones con la apacible severidad [rather serenidad] de que se vistió sus semblantes; de*

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1 Ed. note: Rather "in facie ecclesiae," a Latin phrase meaning: "in the eyes of the Church."

*suerte que no causaba su presencia temores á los que le miraban, si ternuras su apacibilidad.*

**[More skirmishes. Land cleared by Spanish. Trench built by natives]**

*Forzosa digresion ha sido esta, que debia la historia á los muchos trabajos con que el Padre Francisco Solano, adelantó esta Mision en que se ven juntamente los traidores animos de estos Indios que tanto le persiguieron, y por quienes gastó su salud y abrebó los terminos de su vida.*

*Cinco dias despues de su muerte, persuadidos quizás que no habria alientos para visitarles ni resistirles comenzaron á vocear á su usanza los de la vanda de el Norte, en señal de la guerra que pretendian romper, y aunque no se hacia caso de sus voces, saliendo nuestros soldados á buscar el pan de la tierra que en los arboles previno la naturaleza, les gritaban metidos en el monte que nunca aguardan la acometida, de que enojados por ver que no se aprovechaban de la misericordia que usa dieron fuego á mas de 12 casas que daban alvergue á los enemigos, causoles algun temor pero no desistieron de sus intentos, antes suelto el preso de que se hizo arriba mencion para que conociesen mas la piedad, y animo con que estabamos en estas tierras, que no es de quitarles la vida, sino de darles la eterna por medio de la paz evangelica, obstinados en su mal corazon juntaron gente de pelea, con que vinieron muchas veces á gritar, y tirar sus piedras sin acercarse á tiro de mosquete, y algunas veces que salian los nuestros libran la defensa en la huida. Unas de estas quedaron algunos entre las espesuras de los arboles emboscados, aguardando á los nuestros que les habian acometido, y adelantandose un soldado por nombre **Matias Altamirano** juzgan [rather segun] se lo habian mandado dió con la emboscada de donde le tiraron ocho ó diez lanzas, á que respondió sin perder el animo por verse solo entre ellos con un mosquete que los ayuhenó, siendo particular misericordia de el Señor que no le hiriesen ó matasen, cogiendole tan cerca y no por ver frustrados sus deseos desistian antes tiraban piedras que se bolbian contra ellos, viendolos sin efecto, hizimos algunas rogativas y procesiones cantando las Letanias para aplacar á N.S. que misericordioso nos ha guardado, poniendoles temor para que no se resuelvan á acometer como pudieran, y no les causo poco miedo que desencombrasemos, mas de un tiro de mosquete el campo arrosando la arboleda, á cuya sombra solian acercarse mucho.*

*De arrecifes y piedras de el mar hizieron en la Playa al abrigo de unos peñascos y montecillo, distante de nuestra casa poco menos de medio quarta de legua<sup>1</sup> un **atajadjizo en forma de trinchera** [=partition in the form of a trench]<sup>2</sup> para impedirnos el paso a sus Pueblos, juntabanse en ella los enemigos, y en hacercandose algo nosotros los soldados despedian desde lo alto de el peñasco, piedras bien grandes y lanzas sin ser vistos que aunque caian entre los soldados á ninguno dañaron por la bondad de el Señor*

1 Ed. note: Considering the usual over-estimate of a league, this distance between the beach and the Jesuit house inside the wall was about 500 meters.

2 Ed. note: Presumably at right angle with the shore-line, parallel with the stream and on the west side of it.

*como ni tampoco las puyas de hueso y palo con que sembraron todos los caminos [h]anse muchas veces acercado á decir blasfemias contra N.S. librando luego en la huida la valentia de que se jactan, que con el socorro de gente que esperamos se podran castigar y reducir todos sin mucha dificultad.*

*Teniamos el paso impedido para la Ysla de **Tinian**, ó Buena Vista Mariana, pues la enemistad que de las muertes arriba dhas, resultó en la Ysla de Santa Ana, y sin poder socorrer al Padre [Lopez] y compañeros que en ella estaban, con que despachamos bien acaso una carta á que N.S. la dirigiese á sus manos con orden que si hallasen ocasion se retirasen á esta Ysla y residencia, sin llegar á la Islas de Santa Ana por el peligro que en ella habia, y el oficio mostró ser acertada la determinacion, por que habiendo llevado la carta mensajeros bien inciertos, llegó á manos de el Padre y aquel mismo dia halló quien se determino á traerlo; y asi el dia siguiente **21 de Junio de 72** se embarcó con tan prospero viage que en menos de 16 horas andubo mas de 40 leguas sin aportar á dha Ysla de Santa Ana, en donde fuera muerto si por algun accidente llegará á ella. Y esta es la razon de no dar este año relacion de las otras Yslas, por que la apretura de los tiempos[,] mal corazon de los enemigos y falta de embarcacion propia y segura no nos ha dado lugar á su asistencia.<sup>1</sup>*

*Empero se han hecho en esta Ysla algunas misiones que aunque no han sido muy largas por no dexar desamparada la principal residencia tan cercana al enemigo de cuya conservacion depende el bien de todas las Yslas, pero nos hemos alejado todo lo que ha sido posible, visitando mas de la media Ysla que está sosegada en que se han hecho algunos bautismos y fuera de los dhas en los años pasados se han bautizado en estas cinco Islas despues de la guerra del año de 72 mas de quinientos niños, otros centenares estan en las demas Yslas clamando por el socorro de su necesidad que se podra remediar con que haya hasta 200 hombres y embarcacion para apaciguar los enemigos.*

*No han faltado en esta residencia vastantes ocupaciones por que ha habido en que emplearse apaciguando discordias, reprimiendo desmanes, y sosegando rencillas que no faltan entre los buenos compañeros que tenemos que den que hacer, y bastante ocasiones, para merecer experiencia que en todo el mundo ha habido y especialmente cuando la blandura y misericordia que siempre es forzosa en los religiosos no se acompaña con poder de un Cabo, y Oficial secular, que como quien ha tratado, y sabe gobernar milicia, con el rigor castigue á los transgresores, de la ley Santa de Dios, y de las puntuales de la milicia; hanse asentado y exercitado nuestros alientos la forma de congregacion que el V.P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, erigio frecuentando los congregantes los Santos Sacramentos de la confesion y comunión [,] haciendo confesiones generales, los ejercicios de N.P. S. Ygnacio, y otras pias obras con conocidas medras del aprovechamiento de algunos afervorizandose con las platicas, leccion espiritual y exortaciones que todos los Domingos se hacen.*

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans says that the date of departure was 8 July (Doc. 1673L).



**[Filipino workers rebuild the church and Jesuit house, and the stockade in the summer of 1672]**

*Viendonos obligados á estar en esta residencia determinamos hacer en ella Yglesia, havitacion y casa de que careciamos desde el vaguio pasado, con que aplicados algunos mozos piadosos, naturales de Filipinas, se levantó á Dios como diximos una Yglesia hermosa y decente, y casa mas fuerte para la defensa y seguridad, rehaciendo la estacada para la defensa que confiamos en el Señor se adelantará todo con el buen socorro y pazes que pedimos á N.S. para esta perseguida y necesitada Cristiandad que á todos pide el socorro de las oraciones, para aplacar la justa ira de Nuestro Señor que se apiade de tantas almas, como perecen por falta de quien les ayude.*

*Ysla de S. Juan, residencia de Nuestro Padre S. Ygnacio y Pueblo de Agaña 6 de Abril de 1673 años.*

*Por estar repartidos los otros Padres en sus misiones, firmamos aqui los tres, que concurrimos aora en esta residencia.*

*Francisco Esquerra*

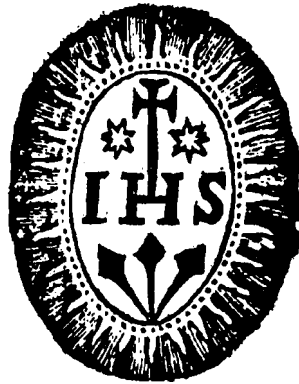
*Gerardo Bouvens*

*Pedro Comano.*

*Nota. Muchas cosas van borradas por que el que lo escribió esta relacion hechó [sic] muchos yerros. V.S. V. [=Vuestra Señoria Venerable] se la ha de prestar al Padre Juan Gabriel Guillen.<sup>1</sup>*

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Ezquerra is the author of this Spanish report, as the two Belgians could not have done it. Besides, they wrote their own reports in Latin (Doc. 1673I & L). As was said at the beginning of this chapter, Fr. Ezquerra sent this report to Fr. Sanvitores' father at the Court in Madrid.



## ARTICVLOS

PRESENTADOS POR LA PARTE, Y SV PROCVRADOR  
 en la causa de la informacion ante el Ordinario, de la muerte, por  
 causa de la Fe Catolica, virtudes, &c del Venerable Siervo de Dios  
 Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Religioso de la  
 Compañia de Iesvs.

**A**NDRES de Alava, Religioso de la Compañia de Iesvs, como  
 Procurador especial para la sollicitacion de las informacio-  
 nes de la vida ajustada, virtudes, muerte en defensa de la Fe, casos  
 raros succedidos en abono del Siervo de Dios Padre Diego Luis  
 de Sanvitores, ante V. parece en la mejor via, y forma,  
 que aya lugar, y dize: que al derecho de su Religion conviene se  
 haga por autoridad de V. informacion juridica de la  
 vida, loables costumbres, muerte en defensa de la Religion Chris-  
 tiana, raras virtudes, casos prodigiosos, publica voz, y fama de ex-  
 cessiva virtud, y otros dones sobrenaturales del grã Siervo de Dios  
 ya dicho Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Religioso alsimismo de  
 la dicha Compañia de Iesvs; lo qual à V. suplica en nõ-  
 bre de dicha su Religion, por el motivo que dan las constitucio-  
 nes Apostolicas, hablando de informaciones de semejantes perso-  
 nas, permitiendo se puedan hazer; nõ para el juycio definitivo, que  
 toca à su Santidad, sino para que no perezca la memoria de los que  
 pueden ser testigos de vista, y faltando despues, como mortales, se  
 haga mas dificultosa la probança. Y porque autorizados estos ex-  
 plos con la informacion hecha de orden de V. , tendrà  
 mas fuerça, y eficacia para mover los coraçones piadosos à su imi-  
 ta-

ta-

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## Appendix A

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# The Process of Toledo

## The original printed text in Spanish

*Sources: RAH 9/3578, among other places; cited in Fr. Ledesma's The Cause of Beatification, Rome, 1981.*

### **Preliminary notes.**

This document was presented to the Archbishop of Toledo, whose seat and palace are still located at Alcalá de Henares. One can see here that, by the time this Process ended, in 1689, the spelling of the family name San Vitores had become standardized as Sanvitores among the Jesuits, probably to avoid him being mistakenly referred to as Saint, something which would have prejudiced this Cause.

Little is known about the Procurator for this Process, other than he was then Rector of the College of Toledo when he began to work on this Process, and he had formerly been Rector at Cuenca; see Doc. 1681N, in Vol. 7, which is a letter from Fr. Bustillo in the Marianas to this Fr. Alava. Therefore, the date of this document is 1679, but the first draft was done no later than 1677. It was before 1677 that Don Gerónimo, Fr. Sanvitores' father, died at Madrid, and he was assisted at his last hour by this Fr. Alava, who no doubt came into the possession then of the letters that Fr. Sanvitores has written to his father. These papers probably passed to Fr. García, the official biographer, within a few years; it seems (from what Fr. Bustillo says) that Fr. Alava started, or wrote the first draft, of this biography, but Fr. García got all the credit. By the way, one correction to it offered by Fr. Bustillo was not incorporated; it dealt about the so-called Papal brief received by Fr. Sanvitores (see below). Fr. Bustillo even stated that his contribution for the cause of beatification (probably made in 1679) may have been suppressed by the superiors at Manila, and never got to Fr. Alava...

***Articulos presentados por la parte, y su Procurador, en la causa de la informacion ante el Ordinario, de la muerte, por causa de la Fe Catolica, virtudes, &c del Venerable Siervo de Dios Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Religioso de la Compañia de Jesus.***

*Andrés de Alava, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesus, como Procurador especial<sup>1</sup> para la solicitacion de las informaciones de la vida ajustada, virtudes, muerte en defen-  
sa de la Fe; casos raros sucedidos en abono del Siervo de Dios Padre Diego Luis de San-  
vitores, ante V[uestra] [blank] parece en la mejor via, y forma, que aya lugar, y dize:  
que al derecho de su Religion conviene se haga por autoridad de V. [blank] informa-  
cion juridica de la vida, loables costumbres, muerte en defensa de la Religion Christia-  
na, raras virtudes, casos prodigiosos, publica voz, y fama de excessiva virtud, y otros  
dones sobrenaturales del gran Siervo de Dios ya dicho Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores,  
Religioso assimismo de la dicha Compañía de Jesus, lo qual à V. [blank] suplica en  
nombre de dicha su Religion, por el motivo que dán las constituciones Apostolicas, ha-  
blando de informaciones de semejantes personas, permitiendo se puedan hazer, no para  
el juycio difinitivo, que toca à su Santidad, sino para que no perezca la memoria de los  
que pueden ser testigos de vista, y faltando despues, como mortales, se haga mas difi-  
cultosa la probança. Y porque autorizados estos exemplos con la informacion hecha  
de orden de V. [blank], tendran mas fuerça, y eficacia para mover los coraçones piado-  
sos à su imitacion. Y para dicho efecto de la informacion, que espera mandara V. [blank]  
se reciba, ofrece el tenor, y orden del interrogatorio siguiente.*

### I.

*Depone, que el Siervo de Dios Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores nació en la Ciudad  
de Burgos à 13 de Noviembre del año de 1627 y fue hijo legitimo de Don Geronimo  
Sanvitores de la Portilla, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, y Consejero, al presente de  
su Magestad en el Real de Hazienda, y de Doña Francisca Alonso Maluenda, y fue  
bautizado en la Parroquia de San Gil de dicha Ciudad à diez y nueve dias del dicho  
mes, y año, y confirmado en la Parroquia de San Martin de la Villa de Madrid.*

—Lo qual saben los testigos, porque es publico y notorio, y dello ay publica voz, y  
fama, y opinion constante, y irrefragable, especialmente entre varones graves, y fide-  
dignos, de suerte, que no oyeron, ni supieron cosa en contrario, por averlo leído en car-  
tas, relaciones, y papeles, que lo dizen, y por aver oído à otros informados de cierta  
ciencia, y porque es manifiesto, y por tal reputado por todos, y no se ha oído, ni dicho  
cosa en contrario: ni puede ser de otra suerte, porque si lo fuera, estos testigos, como  
tan bien informados, lo huvieran oído, ò sabido en otra manera respectivamente.

### II.

*Que al nacer el Siervo de Dios, temiendose un parto muy dificultoso, aplicandola à  
su madre una firma del Glorioso Patriarca San Ignacio, salió à luz, con no esperada fa-  
cilidad, de suerte, que sin ayudar à su madre persona alguna cayó el infante sobre una*

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1 Ed. note: I think that Fr. Luis de Morales (a Mariana missionary who was then in Spain, between 1684 and 1689) and Fr. Francisco García (Fr. Sanvitores' biographer) must have helped him with the historical accounts. However, he tells us (below) that the papers left by Fr. Guillén were also used, besides the official Jesuit archives of 2 provinces in Spain. After the suppression of the Jesuit order, some of these papers ended up in the Royal Archives in Madrid, where the present document is now found.

*tarima. Y que se hallò particular diferencia en el libro, en que escribia D. Geronimo de Sanvitores su padre el nacimiento de sus hijos, pues diziendo à todos los demás, Dios le crie para su santo servicio, del Siervo de Dios dize assi, Dios le haga Santo. Que en la educacion en casa de sus padres nunca se le oyò mentira, maldicion, juramento, ni palabra menos modesta, sino raros exemplos de todas virtudes, y frecuencia de Sacramentos.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### III.

*Que en sus tiernos años, el Siervo de Dios tuvo una grave enfermedad, ò concurso de muchas graves, como son viruelas con ardientes calenturas, garrotillo, y dolor de costado encubierto, de que fue hallado un dia sin apariencia de sentido, ò vida por algunas horas, y aplicandole una Reliquia de Santo Domingo Soriano, y rociandole con el agua, en que avian bañado dicha Reliquia, sanò repentinamente, diziendo à voces que Santo Domingo le avia dado la vida, y salud, sin aver sabido antes, ni podido saber por modo natural que le huviessen aplicado la dicha Reliquia.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### IV.

*Que el año de 1638 empeçò los estudios de gramatica, que continuò hasta el de 1640 en las Escuelas del Colegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus de esta dicha Villa de Madrid, y la virtud, y modestia sobresaliente que tenia entre los demás sus condiscipulos, la frecuencia de sus confesiones, y comuniones, y muchos ratos de oracion en la Iglesia de dicho Colegio; que fue Congregante, y Prefecto de la Congregacion de la Anunciata, que tienen dichos Estudiantes; siendo el primero en el exemplo de todas las cosas de virtud; y aprovechamiento de las letras.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### V.

*Que por este tiempo eligiò por su Confessor de asiento, para tratar con èl las cosas de su alma al Padre Diego Ramirez, Prefecto que era de los estudios de gramatica: y de la prudencia, letras, virtudes, y Apostolicos empleos, religiosa vida, y muerte de dicho Padre Diego Ramirez. Y que movido dicho Confessor de lo admirable de las virtudes, que en el Siervo de Dios reconocia, escriviò ciertos pliegos de papel, cuyo titulo es, Niñez, pretension, y entrada en la Compañia, de Don Diego de San Vitores, en que refiere alabanças de sus virtudes, y casos prodigiosos, y que dichos papeles originales, y autorizados, con las firmas, que deponen ser su letra, se guardan en el Archivo de esta Provincia de Toledo de la Compañia de Jesus.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### VI.

*Que este Siervo de Dios pretendió con grandes instancias desde edad de doze años ser recibido en la Compañia de Jesus, y que con estos fervores, y deseos, estando en oracion dia de la Anunciacion de Nuestra Señora de 1640 despues de aver comulgado,*

*le habló la Imagen milagrosa de Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo, diciendole tres vezes, que entrasse luego en la Compañia.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### VII.

*Que orando otro dia, por este tiempo, delante de la perfectissima, y milagrosa Imagen de Christo Crucificado, que oy està en la segunda Capilla de esta Iglesia del Colegio Imperial, al lado de la Epistola, y pidiendo le amparasse sus santos intentos, se le fortificò al Siervo de Dios la corta vista que tenia, y distinguiò claramente, que el Santo Crucifixo abria los ojos, y le baxò dos vezes la cabeça, como concediendo lo que le supplicava.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### VIII.

*Que fueron tan antiguos sus deseos de entrar en la Religion de la Compañia de Jesus, que èl mismo dixo, que no se acordava del principio desta vocacion, y si para el efecto de conseguirla, añadiò penitencias, y oraciones à muchos Santos sus abogados: y que aviendose declarado con sus padres, sufrió con admirable constancia las dificultades, y embaraços que le pusieron dichos sus padres, y otros parientes, y venció todas sus porfias, que llegaron hasta querer ausentarle, y tenerle encerrado, ya en un Convento de Religiosos desta Corte por muchos dias, ya en su casa; y assimismo, que del encerramiento de su casa se huyó sin que le viessen, estando su madre con dos criadas en la pieza inmediata por donde salió, y otras personas en las demás piezas, y se fue medio vestido al Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus desta Villa de Madrid, y que del dicho Colegio le quisieron sacar à libertad, y de la seguridad, y confiança con que hablava de la vitoria de este peligro, y los demás que le podia oponer todo el infierno.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### IX.

*Que aviendo dado los Superiores de la Compañia palabra à su madre de no recibir al Siervo de Dios sin su licencia, y la de su padre, vino dicha su madre acompañada de criados, y con mucho enojo al dicho Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus para llevarsele de grado, ò por fuerça, y mientras estava esperando en su coche à la porteria, para que saliessen los Superiores, tuvo una admirable vision, que es la que se halla en el numero LIII [rather LI] deste interrogatorio, titulo, Prenuncios de su dichosa muerte, de la qual vision diò quenta dicha señora en varias ocasiones à los Padres Francisco Aguado, Luis de Palma, Rodrigo Deza, y Diego Ramirez, Confessor del Siervo de Dios, y que desta vision quedò tan trocado el coraçon de la madre, que ayudò à su hijo à conseguir el fin de su vocacion contra la voluntad de los demás parientes, tomando a su cargo el sossegar à su padre, que estava ausente.*

### X.

*Que la noche 24 de Julio del año de 1640 quando la prudencia humana, por los autos proveidos del Real Consejo, y Vicario desta Corte solo podia esperar que le avian de*

*sacar à libertad, predixo con admirable seguridad, que el dia siguiente avia de ser recibido en la Compañia de Jesus, añadiendo, puesta la mano en el pecho, No ay duda ninguna en esto, porque acà dentro me lo està diziendo quien me suele dezir otras cosas que bien me està. Y que el dicho dia 25 de Julio de dicho año fue recibido en la Compañia, con gusto, y asistencia de sus parientes todos, aviendose mudado sus voluntades en el espacio de aquella noche.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XI.

*Que la madre del Siervo de Dios, ocho dias antes que fuesse recibido en la Compañia de Jesus, estandole hablando en la Iglesia de dicho Colegio, le llevó al Altar de San Ignacio, donde hizo al Santo esta oracion: Sancto Padre, este hijo os doy, para que me alcanceis de Dios mi salvacion, y que el dia desta ocacion fue Jueves 17 de Julio, y que dicha señora, con reparable correspondencia à este dia, murió 17 años despues en el de 57 dia Jueves, que tambien fue 17 de Julio, recibidos todos sus Sacramentos, y dexando muchas esperanças de su salvacion.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XII.

*Que en su noviciado, el Siervo de Dios procedió con admirable observancia, sin que se le viesse quebrantar la mas minima regla, y siendo exemplo de todos los demás, y de lo mucho que aprovechò el tiempo de sus estudios, y que los acabò con credito de muchas letras, y gran ingenio, sin aver descaecido por esta ocupacion, y exercicios de la perfeccion de su vida religiosa, antes con nuevos aumentos cada dia, y que le diò la Religion los primeros premios de estudiante, y que aviendose prevenido por mas de un año con extraordinarias penitencias, y oracion para el Sacerdocio, le recibió, y fue exactissimo en la devocion, y puntualidad de ceremonias en el Rezo, y Missa.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XIII.

*Que siendo Maestro de Artes en su Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Alcalà el Siervo de Dios, cumpliendo exactissimamente con la obligacion doblada de su Catedra, por leer dos cursos à un tiempo, se ocupava juntamente con sumo zelo en gobernar la Congregacion de los Estudiantes de aquella Universidad, en visitar muy frequentemente las Carceles, y Hospitales de aquella Villa, especialmente, el que llaman de Antezana, y pedir personalmente limosna para el socorro de estas necesidades.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XIV.

*Que en este tiempo murió en dicho Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus el Padre Manuel Chacon, Maestro de Teologia, y por la mucha estimacion que hazia del Siervo de Dios, le pidió, que no se le apartasse de la cabeçera, porque deseava morir en sus manos, y que tambien rogò al Siervo de Dios, pidiesse à N.S. le quitasse el juyzio en hallandole bien dispuesto: porque lo que mas temia en aquella hora era la inquietud, y viveza de*

*su imaginacion y haziendo oracion el Siervo de Dios, sucedió, que despues de recibir el enfermo el Sacramento de la Extremauncion, perdió el juyzio para todo lo que no era platicas espirituales, y del bien de su alma, y le tenia para estas, respondiendò en juyzio, y reconciliandose muchas vezes con el Siervo de Dios.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XV.

*Que por este mismo tiempo, quando en los veranos se van los Estudiantes, y Maestros à Jesus del Monte, Casa del dicho Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus de Alcalà, sita sobre la Villa de Loranca de Tajuña, hazia este camino el Siervo de Dios à pie con otro compañero, divirtiendose à hazer Mission en los lugares cercanos; y que una vez le sucedió seguirle casi todo el lugar de Santorcaz, hasta Jesus del Monte, que ay dos leguas [sic]; que muy frequentemente en dichos veranos salia por los lugares del contorno à hazer Misiones, de que sacò muy copiosos frutos, en admirables conversiones que hizo: y que aviendo publicado en un lugar destos los Jubileos de la Mission, dixo un moço, descuidado de su alma: Miren que Comedias nos traia, sino Jubileos para la hora de la muerte: yo no pienso morir tan presto, y assi no quiero ir à ellos: y que saliendo aquella noche el Siervo de Dios à hazer el Acto de Contricion por las calles, con un S. Christo, diziendo varias sentencias, una dellas fue esta: Alerta, pecador, alerta, que està la muerte muy cerca, confiessa esse pecado, no sea que amanezcas condenado: y oyendo esta voz aquel pecador, se mudò repentinamente, y siguiò la procession con muchas lagrimas, y aviendose recogido à su casa, despertò à la media noche asustado, diziendo à su muger: No oyes lo que dize los Padres, confiessa esse pecado, &c. Y aunque ella le procurò quietar, no pudo, y aunque abrió la puerta, y viò que no avia nadie en la calle, no sossegò, hasta buscar en su posada al Siervo de Dios, el qual le consolò, y dispuso para la confession de un pecado que avia onze años que callava, y avia callado en otra ocasion, estando en el articulo de la muerte: confesso se enteramente, y à la mañana recibió el Sacramento de la Eucaristia, que le fue Viatico, porque antes de diez horas murió de un repentino accidente, haziendo muchos Actos de contricion, con asistencia del Siervo de Dios, à quien rogò contasse este exemplo à todos.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XVI.

*Que hizo otras Apostolicas Misiones en Siguença, en Casarrubios, en Barajas, y en otros lugares de las comarcas de Madrid, y Sevilla, y el sumo fruto, y muchas conversiones que dellas se siguieron.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XVII.

*Que fue admirable su vocacion para ir à extender la Fè Catolica entre los Indios barbaros. Que hizo grandes instancias que en muchas ocasiones à los Superiores para que le permitiessen este empleo, sossegando juntamente este ardor con suma indiferencia en la voluntad de dichos Superiores, y que para declarar Dios su disposicion, de que passasse el Siervo de Dios à las Indias, le embió à peticion suya una gravissima enfer-*



*medad, que le puso en lo ultimo; y que aviendo recibido en este punto una carta del Señor Cardenal Sandoval, en que le exortava à Misiones, afervorizado con ella, y conseguida licencia de su Superior, hizo voto de emplearse en las Misiones de los Infieles, y sino pudiesse, entre Catolicos, debaxo del patrocinio de S. Francisco Xavier, y del Venerable Padre Marcelo Mastrilli, Martir en el Japon, segun piadosamente se cree, y al punto mejorò, y que aun no concediendole con esto sucesso los Superiores la licencia de ir à las Indias, le embiò N.S. el año siguiente otra enfermedad de calenturas malignas, de que estuvo muy al cabo, y renovando su voto en nombre de San Francisco de Borja, pidió al Santo, que si Dios le avia escogido para Misiones, le alcançasse de su Divina Magestad, que le faltasse la calentura en el dia del mismo Santo; y le faltò en esse mismo dia: y que convencidos ya los Superiores à conceder dicha licencia, aunque deteniendose por no causar esse desconsuelo al padre del Siervo de Dios, le embiò la Divina Magestad en Madrid el año de 59 [rather 58] otra fiebre tan maligna, que en pocos dias le puso à lo ultimo de la vida, y que con esta ocasion sacò el Siervo de Dios de su padre la licencia, que deseava, diziendole, que si no se la dava, moriria sin duda; y que recebido el Viatico, y aviendole traido unas firmas de S. Francisco Xavier, y el Venerable Padre Marcelo Mastrilli, le sobrevino un sueño muy suave, en que viò à S. Francisco Xavier, y al P. Marcelo, que le socorrian en un modo, que el Siervo de Dios no percivia bien, y oyò una voz de otro tercero, embiado de los dos, que le dezia: Ya estàs sano, y que hallandose al despertar con esta voz como en un baño, del mucho sudor que le avia sobrevenido, quedò perfectamente sano. Y que todos estos sucessos, con lo demàs que conducia à conseguir dicha licencia de Indias, se los escribiò el Siervo de Dios al Padre General de la Compañia de Jesus: de cuya carta ay muchos traslados, y el original de letra del Siervo de Dios quedò en poder del Padre Juan Guillen, que murió siendo Rector del Noviciado de la Compañia de Jesus de esta Corte.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XVIII.

*Que desde que se publicò su jornada para las Indias empezaron muchos, por materia de devocion, à recoger las firmas del Siervo de Dios, y lo que pudieron de sus pobres vestidos, por estimacion de su virtud, y esperanças de que avia de ser Martir.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### XIX.

*Que el camino desde Madrid à Sevilla fue una continuada Mission, haziendo el Acto de contricion en los lugares donde parava, y exortaciones, como dava lugar el tiempo, à labradores, y caminantes, en orden al dolor, y confession de sus culpas, y que en Toledo, movidos de su estimacion, y el fruto que avia hecho la primera noche, le detuvieron otro dia, en que entre otros se convirtiò, y confessò un pecador obstinado, que aviendo estado dos vezes en articulo de muerte, no lo avia querido hazer, y tres dias antes, por salir de la tristeza en que vivia, avia tenido dispuesto el ahorcarse: y que en Cadiz hizo el Siervo de Dios una Mission muy fervorosa, de que se siguieron muchas confesiones generales, y enmiendas de vida.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XX.

*Que embarcandose el Siervo de Dios para Nueva-España, en todo el viaje no dexò de predicar, confessar, y assistir à los enfermos, juntando con esto leer sus lecciones à los Hermanos Estudiantes, y instruir à los Novicios de la Religion que llevaba consigo:*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXI.

*Que en la Ciudad de Mexico se detuvo muchos meses, y en este tiempo, procuran-do siempre la salvacion de las almas, no cessava de dia, ni de noche en los exercicios, con que podia promover este intento, visitando carceles, y Hospitales, assistiendo à confesiones, restaurando la Congregacion casi perdida del titulo de San Francisco Xa-vier, y adelantandola tanto, que en el numero, y fervor no ay otra mas ilustre en Euro-pa, y introduciendo en aquella Ciudad, y Provincia el uso de hazer el Acto de contricion de noche por las calles, de que se siguieron muchos frutos.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXII.

*Que de Mexico passò à Acapulco, donde se embarcò para Filipinas, y al passar por las **Islas de los Ladrones**, le lastimò ternissimamente su desamparo, y que nadie las huviesse predicado el Evangelio; y que llegando à Manila, atendì con increíble fervor à la asistencia espiritual de los Españoles, y despues se retirò al Pueblo de Taytay, para aprender la lengua Tagala, que usan los de aquella Provincia, y es muy dificultosa, por no coincidir en nada con las de Europa, y la aprendì perfectamente, en tan pocos dias, que lo tuvieron sus compañeros por caso milagroso, predicando, confessando, y escri-viendo exortaciones en ella, que fueron de increíble fruto à los Indios; y que en Mani-la leyò Teologia, sin dexar por esso un punto el empleo de los ministerios con Indios, y Españoles; que en este tiempo saliò à varias Misiones, y una dellas à la Isla de Min-doro, donde con inmensos trabajos reduxo dozientos Indios, de los que llaman Cimar-rones, bautizando sus hijos, y familias, y fundando tres visitas, y algunas Iglesias para que se conservassen.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXIII.

*Que intentò con muchas veras con los Ministros del Rey Catolico, y los Superiores de la Compañia la **Mission de las Islas de los Ladrones**, hasta conseguir cedula del Rey, en que mandava al Governador de Manila, le diese embarcacion, y avio para tan Santo intento; y que de Manila aportò à Acapulco, y en la Nueva España vencì nue-vas dificultades con el Virrey Marques de Mancera, y otros Ministros; y que las pala-bras del Siervo de Dios, juntas con un terremoto que embiò Dios aquel dia, mudaron repentinamente el coraçon del Virrey, y Ministros; y juntando Consejo el dia siguiente, aunque era Domingo de Carnestolendas, mandaron se librasse todo lo necessario en las Arcas Reales; y que para assegurar à los Ministros Reales el temor, de que no les*

*passassen en quenta esta partida, saliò de su voluntad à fiarla con su hazienda un hombre poderoso.*

—Lo que saben, &c.

## XXIV.

*Que en Mexico, con la presencia, y estimacion del Siervo de Dios, se movieron muchas personas piadosas à darle limosnas de dinero, y halajas para la fundacion de aquella nueva Iglesia, y que sola la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier concurrió con valor de hasta diez mil pesos.*

—Lo que saben, &c.

## XXV

*Que con prospero viaje llegò à dichas **Islas de los Ladrones** Sabado 16 de Junio de 1668 y que en el primer Sermon que predicò convirtiò mil y quinientos Gentiles, y que cada dia iban en aumento. Y que el demonio, por medio de un Chino, llamado Choco, que años se avia quedado alli naufrago de una tempestad, levantò en estas Islas al Siervo de Dios, y à toda la Christiandad una gran persecucion, publicando, que los Padres mataban à los niños con el agua del Bautismo, y por esta causa los avian echado ellos de sus tierras: y que desta perversa voz se le siguiò al Siervo de Dios, y à los demàs Predicadores del Evangelio tanto odio de los naturales, que no los dexavan entrar en sus Pueblos. Y que instando el Siervo de Dios en oracion, y predicacion, y disputas con el Choco, consiguiò de Dios, para desengaño de aquellas almas, la conversion del mismo Choco, que les era de tanto impedimento, el qual se Bautizò, y desdixo de todo lo que avia publicado.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXVI

*Que hasta el año de 72 prosiguiò en su Apostolico empleo, sin perdonar fatigas, hambres, ni otros trabajos; fundando Iglesias, visitando todas las onze Islas, aviendolas puesto à todas por nombre general las **Marianas** à devocion de la Virgen Maria: y en particular à cada una, y à muchos de los Pueblos, nombres de Santos, ò Mysterios, bautizando à los Gentiles, confirmando à los ya Christianos con sus exortaciones; andando siempre en continuo movimiento, y aviendo menester valerse, por su corta vista, de quien le llevasse atado de un cordel con ciertos nudos, por donde se entendia quando subia, ò baxava la cuesta.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXVII.

*Que se le levantaron al Siervo de Dios otras persecuciones por medio de los hechizeros que ay en aquellas Islas, de que se le originaron grandes peligros de muerte, apedreandole en algunas partes, y tirandole lanças en otras; y que en una destas ocasiones el Sanglely Choco, antes de convertirse, diò al Siervo de Dios dos heridas en la cabeça, de que fue Nuestro Señor servido de sanarle.*

—Lo que saben, &c.

## XXVIII.

*Que por nueva conmocion de los hechizeros se juntaron un exercito de dos mil Marianos, para acabar de una vez con los Padres, y la Religion Christiana, y los tuvieron sitiados 40 dias, desde 12 de Septiembre de 1671 hasta 20 de Octubre del mismo año, defendiendo à la Iglesia solos 30 soldados que avia embiado el Governador de las Filipinas, en cuya defensa, por las oraciones de el Siervo de Dios, sucedieron casos mas que naturales, y sobre poder humano: como fueron, no pegar en la Iglesia pagiza los fuegos arrojadizos que tiravan los Indios; y aviendo hecho por inspiracion del Cielo, y consejo del Siervo de Dios, los Christianos un voto al Principe de los Angeles San Miguel, en el proprio dia de su dedicacion, de invocarle todas las noches con un Padre nuestro, y una Ave Maria, por espacio de un año, y ofrecer por mano del Santo Angel en el fin de la guerra una Missa Cantada; por la vitoria que su auxilio esperavan, y dedicar à su nombre la primera fuerça, que en estas Islas se edificasse de proposito, se hallaron los soldados repentinamente con nuevo aliento. La mañana siguiente 30 de Septiembre, se hallò clavada en el techo de la Iglesia una lança con fuego arrojadizo, que todo se avia consumido, con parte de la misma lança, sin que en el techo huviesse prendido, ni quedado una sola paja, ò hoja de palma. Y que prosiguiendo la invasion de los enemigos, y el arrojar à la Iglesia estos fuegos en lanças, y piedras, aun despues de caida la iglesia, con el tifon que se dirà, aviendo pegado un fuego destes en una casa cercana, y estendiendose ya el incendio al monte de las ruinas de paja, dandose ya todos por perdidos, exclamò el Siervo de Dios con viva Fè San Miguel, lluvia, y estando el Cielo sereno, vino repentinamente tal aguacero, que apagò todo el fuego. Que à los ocho de Octubre levantò Dios una tempestad de ayre, que hizo en los cercadores, y sus casas grandes daños, destruyendoles juntamente sus mas principales heredades, que son de arboles del Rimay, que les sirve de pan; y que cayendo tambien con la tempestad la Iglesia, no hizo mal à ninguno de los Padres, y soldados Christianos, que estaban en ella: Y que prosiguiendo los sitiadores en continuos asaltos, tiraron muchas lanças, y piedras encendidas à la Imagen de un Crucifixo; y que à los veinte de Octubre, animados del Siervo de Dios, salieron de sus defensas los treinta soldados Christianos, y sin aver quedado muerto, ni herido ninguno dellos, deshizieron, y vencieron el exercito de los dos mil sitiadores, obligandolos à pedir pazes.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXIX.

*Que acabada esta guerra, saliò el Siervo de Dios à continuar sus Misiones, y predicacion Apostolica entre los dichos Indios. Y que estos, conmovidos por sus hechizeros, tornaron à inquietarse contra la Religion Catolica, y el Santo Bautismo; de que enterado el Siervo de Dios, avisò à todos los Padres, y compañeros, que andavan repartidos en las Misiones, se recogiesen à la Iglesia, y fortaleza [sic], siendo èl el ultimo que venia, por hallarse mas lexos, no rehusando en el camino ocasion de ganar almas para Dios, y hazer nuevos Bautismos. Que llegando à un Pueblo, dos leguas distante de la Iglesia, y fortaleza, se fue à la casa de un Indio, llamado Matapang, que ya era Bauti-*

*zado, y à quien el Siervo de Dios avia sanado con su oracion de unas heridas mortales, y saludandole benignamente, le preguntò, si avia algunos niños de nuevo que Bautizar? Y que el dicho Indio (ya pervertido) le respondiò: Anda embustero, entrà en mi casa, y bautizame una calabera que alli tengo; y que estas calaberas, que llaman **anitis**, son de las que dichos Indios usan para sus supersticiones: y que no inmutado el Siervo de Dios con esta respuesta su agrado, y su afabilidad, le exortò blandamente à que juntasen los niños para enseñarlos la doctrina. Y el dicho Matapang, aviendo injuriado al Siervo de Dios con palabras afrentosas, incitò à otro Indio, llamado Hirào, à que le matassen, y aviendolo rehusado el dicho Hirào, fue tratado por Matapang de cobarde: y èl, por evitar esta nota, consintió con Matapang, y hirieron de muerte à un muchacho Bisaya, que iba con el Siervo de Dios, y el dicho Siervo de Dios enarbolò un Santo Christo que traia pendiente al cuello, assi para ayudar à su compañero en aquel trance, como para exortar à los agressedores, detestassen su apostasia, y se bolviessen à la Fè de Jesu Christo, y que dichos agressedores bolviendo contra el Siervo de Dios, le atravesaron con una lança por el pecho, y le dieron dos heridas con una media catana, una en la cabeça, que corriendo por junto à la oreja penetrò parte de la garganta, y otra en un braço de las quales cayò muerto. Y que antes de morir, bolviendose à Matapang, le dixo: Dios tenga misericordia de ti, Matapang. Y que la muerte del Siervo de Dios sucedió en 2 de Abril del año passado de 1672. Y que dichos agressedores, perdiendo el respeto à la Imagen de Christo crucificado, assi en horribles blasfemias, como en golpes, que la dieron, y ultraxes, que la hizieron, pisandola, y arrastrandola, dieron mas claramente à entender, que el motivo de la muerte, que dieron al Siervo de Dios, avia sido odio, que tenian à la Fè, y Religion Catolica, que predicava. Y que arrastraron despues el cuerpo del siervo de Dios, y el del niño su compañero,<sup>1</sup> y metiendolos en una canoa, se entraron en alta mar, donde los arrojaron.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## *DE LAS VIRTUDES DEL SIERVO DE DIOS.*

### *De las Virtudes Theologales.*

#### *XXX.*

*Depone, que aviendo sido el Siervo de Dios hijo de Padres Catolicos, y piadosos, fue bautizado, confirmado, y instruido diligentemente en los Misterios, Sacramentos, y verdades de la Iglesia Romana, conservandolas hasta el fin de su vida, y enseñandolas à muchos, assi Catolicos, como Infieles, en España, en Mexico, en Filipinas, y en las Islas Marianas.<sup>2</sup>*

1 Ed. note: His name was Pedro Calonsor (see Appendix B).

2 Ed. note: The following 5 articles have been incorrectly labelled by the printer.

*XXXII. [sic]*

*Que penetrò con todo fundamento los mysterios de nuestra Santa Fè, siendo peritissimo en la Theologia, y sagradas Escrituras; y no solo creyò dichos mysterios, sino que tuvo encendidas ansias, y deseos de dilatar su Fè por todo el mundo, como la dilatò en muchas partes, à costa de sus fatigas, salud, y vida, hasta derramar su sangre en defensa de su verdad.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

*XXXIII. [sic]*

*Fue firmissima su esperança, con que venció arduas dificultades en orden a lo que conocia conducente à su salvacion, y la de los proximos. Refieranse à lo que constare, desde los numeros xxv hasta el xxix. Y assi mismo fue ardentissima su caridad, con que se abrasava en amor de Dios, y de los proximos por Dios; y que toda su vida se texió de casi continuados exercicios de esta virtud, naciendo deste origen afectos de suma misericordia, piedad, y la limosna, que para dar à los necessitados pedia.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

*DE LAS VIRTUDES MORALES.**Prudencia.**XXXIII. [sic]*

*Diò nuestro Señor à su Siervo gran sabiduria, y prudencia, con que tenia en todas sus acciones, y negocios por primèr principio, y sin principal la gloria de Dios: encomendavalos mucho à su divina Magestad, à la Santissima Virgen Maria, y à otros Santos sus devotos: consultava las dificultades con personas prudentes, doctas, y santas, especialmente con sus Superiores, à quienes tenia por los mejores oraculos de la divina voluntad, y por consiguiente del acierto.*

*XXXV. [sic]*

*De tal suerte se portò con todos, que se hizo estimar, y amar universalmente, consiguiendo quanto para el servicio de Dios, y bien de los proximos pretendia. Siendo niño de diez años le encomendava su madre en ausencia de su padre negocios graves, y para ellos hablava à los primeros Ministros, y al Rey Catolico con admiracion de todos. Para empeñar à la Reyna Catolica en las assistencias que con tanta piedad hizo en ayuda de la conversion de dichas Islas, las puso nombre equivoco, en que explicò su devocion à la Reyna de los Angeles, y su atencion à la Reyna Catolica, llamandolas **Islas Marianas**, con que consiguió celestiales, y humanos socorros.*

*XXXVI. [sic]*

*Dispuso convenientissimamente el orden, y empleos de sus subditos en la Mission de dichas Islas. Diò admirables avisos para que fuesse en aumento; fundò un Seminario de niñas, que bien instruidas, son medios muy aptos para dilatar la Fè entre sus naturales, solicitò, y consiguió de la Reyna Catolica tener propria embarcacion, en que*

*con facilidad, y presteza puedan los Misioneros visitar las Islas, y asistir à las ocurrencias. Levantò un fuerte [sic] para seguridad de la principal Christiandad en la Isla de Guan, con el conocimiento que tenia de la inconstancia, dissimulos, y traiciones de aquellos naturales: cuya importancia consta de los sucessos del numero xxix.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### *De la justicia.*

#### *XXXVI.*

*Nunca hizo mal al proximo, ni se le oyò palabra vengativa, ò injuriosa contra èl. Diò a Dios exactamente la reverencia, y culto que pudo, y solicitò que todos se le diessen en el puntual cumplimiento de los preceptos, y consejos Evangelicos.*

#### *XXXVII.*

*A esta causa resplandecieron en el Siervo de Dios insignes actos interiores, y exteriores de Religion: especialmente en veneracion del Santissimo Sacramento de la Eucaristia, al qual hazia todos los dias frequentes, y muy devotas visitas; en sus enfermedades se pribava de qualquier socorro, aunque fuesse medicinal, si era despues de la media noche, por poder comulgar el dia siguiente. A la Madre de Dios Maria Santissima fue cordialissimo su afecto de hijo, alabandola, y invocandola casi continuamente, y dexando muchas memorias desta devocion en los nombres, que puso à varios lugares de las Islas de los Ladrones. Al glorioso Patriarca San Ignacio edificò de limosnas, que juntò, en el Hospital de Antezana en la Villa de Alcalá, una Capilla, y le colocò en otro quadro por remate del Altar Mayor; à San Francisco Xavier le restaurò la Congregacion de Mexico; à San Miguel Arcangel dedicò una Isla de las que convirtió, dandola su nombre, como à varios Santos las demàs Islas, y los Pueblos dellas.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

#### *XXXVIII.*

*Fue el Siervo de Dios obedientissimo à sus Superiores; no solo governandose por ellos en las acciones exteriores, sino descubriendoles todos sus movimientos interiores, para que con ciencia dellos mas facilmente le dirixiessen: teniendo esta regla por la mas segura de la divina voluntad.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### *De la Fortaleza.*

#### *XXXIX.*

*Emprendió el Siervo de Dios lleno de confiança divina arduas empresas llenas de dificultades, y embaraços, como constará de los dichos desde el numero vi hasta el x y desde el xxv hasta el xxix deste interrogatorio: à que se refieran.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXXX.

*La paciencia del Siervo de Dios fue invicta, sin que jamás se le oyese palabra menos sufrida en las enfermedades que tuvo, en los malos tratamientos, injurias, y heridas que recibió, y en los inmensos trabajos que padeció en sus Apostolicas Misiones.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

*De la templança.*

## XXXXXI.

*Fue el Siervo de Dios excelente en la virtud de la templança, como mostravan su honestidad, y recato, aborrecedor sumamente de toda torpeça, y segun lo que de su niñez escribe el P. Diego Ramirez, y lo que despues se viò en el resto de su vida fue virgen purissimo. Predicava contra la deshonestidad con sumo fervor, siendo esta materia el mas frequente assumpto de las Misiones que hizo entre Catolicos. Fue parcissimo en la comida, y dexando lo demas tomava lo necessario para su sustento de solo pan, y caldo: diziendo que esta era comida propia de pobres. Muchos dias entre año ayunava à pan, y agua. En el vestido gustava del mas vil, y le era gran mortificacion verse obligado por la obediencia à tomar otro. Su sueño era brevissimo; dormia lo mas del tiempo vestido, sino es quando por mayor mortificacion se desnudava para echarse sobre una estera, ò tabla; usando frequentemente rigurosos silicios, y diciplinas, hasta maltratarse de suerte, que algunas vezes fue necessario ponersele en cura.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXXXXII.

*De su clemencia, y afabilidad es demonstracion, que cada uno de los que le trataron le tenia por su mayor amigo. Que desde niño, hasta que murió, todos los que le trataron, siempre le llamaron, el Angel, el Santo. El sumo cuidado que siempre puso en procurar para todos, y especialmente para los mas necesitados el bien espiritual, y los temporales.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## XXXXXIII.

*La mansedumbre, y docilidad del Siervo de Dios consta de su blandura de palabras, suabidad de costumbres, y benignidad, con que admitia à los pecadores: de suerte, que el que una vez se confessaba con él nunca le dexava. Era sumamente estudioso, no perdiendo jamás particula de tiempo, que no lograse, ocupando el de las fiestas, y otros permitidos al descanso, y assi tuvo lugar para tanto como trabajò: pues quando parece que el zelo de las almas le ocupò llenamente toda su vida: tenia además muchos apuntamientos trabajados de la Sagrada Escritura, de Teologia, de Filosofia, de Historias, especialmente Ecclesiasticas. Compusò el libro de Casos raros de la Confession. Y en Mexico ordenò de los apuntamientos de las fiestas de Alcalá, el libro que imprimiò de los Patronatos, y Milagros nuevos de San Francisco Xavier: una exortacion, y formula de voto de la Concepcion Inmaculada à la Milicia de España, las reglas de la Congregacion de Mexico, y otros muchos pliegos sueltos de varias devociones.*



—Lo qual saben, &c.

#### XXXXIV.

*Amò à los enemigos, que le grangeò la predicacion contra los vicios de los pecadores, y las sectas falsas de los Infieles. Al Sangley Choco, de quien se hizo mencion en el numero xxvi [rather xxv] que le inoviò tan grande persecucion, y le diò dos heridas, le ganó con agasajos, y convirtiendole à nuestra Santa Fè le honró mucho. A los Isleños, que le tuvieron cercado en la Iglesia de la Isla de Guan impidiò les matassen gente dos piezas de Artilleria, que tenian los soldados Christianos, y dispuso las disparassen, donde amedrentassen, y no hiziessen daño. A un Indio, llamado Hurao, que traidoremente intentò la muerte del Siervo de Dios muchas vezes por si, y por otros, embarazò algunas vezes que le prendiessen, y presso ya le assistiò con mucha caridad en una enfermedad. Y dispuso que le diessen libertad los soldados. Al Indio Matapang, que le quitò la vida, le perdonò, y hizo à imitacion de Christo, especial oracion à Dios, pidiendole, que tuviesse dèl misericordia.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

#### XXXXV.

*En la pobreza Evangelica fue extremado, y menudissimo, no teniendo jamás halaja de algun valor, aun de las permitidas entre Religiosos, procurando siempre, que podia sin nota, hazer sus jornadas à pie, teniendo los apuntamientos de sus estudios en sobrescritos de cartas, y de letra muy apretada, por gastar menos papel; no sosegava, si le davan algo de regalo, que no podia excusar el tomar, hasta que lo repartia à los pobres, con licencia de los Superiores.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

#### XXXXVI.

*Llenò Dios todas las virtudes de su Siervo con el colmo de la humildad, sintiendo, y hablando siempre muy baxamente de si. Desta humildad nacia gustar tanto de andar en los Hospitales, y con los pobres necesitados; aver assistido quando era estudiante en Alcalà con todo secreto à un pobre ciego, que se sustentava de limosna en el Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus, gastando los ratos que podia todos los dias, hasta que el viejo murió en consolarle con platicas espirituales, barrerle el aposentillo; limpiarle los vasos inmundos, y quitarle por sus propias manos las sabandijas molestas. Semejantes ejercicios usava en todos los Colegios donde vivia con los enfermos, y impedidos de casa; valiendose de la autoridad de Maestro, y de Superior, quando lo fue, para que no lo impidiesse el encogimiento de los otros. Sus conversaciones, y trato ordinario davan à entender el vil concepto, en que se tenia. Llena està de clausulas, que testifican esta verdad la carta que escribiò al P. General de la Compañia, pidiendo le embiasse à las Indias, y las relaciones que desde allà embiò de los sucessos de aquella conversion; argumento es de la misma virtud, esconder su nombre en el libro, que imprimiò de Casos raros de la Confession, en el memorial que hizo, exortando à la milicia al voto de la Concepcion, en los pliegos de devociones sueltas que imprimiò, y en los sucessos particulares, y propios suyos, de que dà quenta en las relaciones que embiò desde las Islas*

*Marianas: donde todo lo que à èl toca, lo dize debaxo de algun nombre general: Sucedió à un Padre, à un Ministro, à un Ministro, à un Sacerdote, y otros modos de hablar semejantes; de suerte, que solo por testificaciones ajenas se sabe, aver sido el Siervo de Dios el instrumento de aquellas maravillas.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## DE LOS DONES SOBRENATURALES.

### Profecia.

### XXXXVII.

*Entre muchos Dones sobrenaturales con que honró Dios à su Siervo, resplandeció grandemente el de la Profecia.*

1. *Predixo quando su madre estava mas empeñada en embarçarle su entrada en la Compañia: que ella era la que mas le avia de ayudar à conseguir este intento, y assi sucedió, como se verá en los dichos de la nona pregunta de este interrogatorio, à que se refieran.*

2. *Predixo, quando estava mandado por el Real Consejo, y por el Vicario de la Villa de Madrid, que le pussiessen en libertad: que no le pondrian en libertad, sino que el dia siguiente le recibirian en la Religion, como sucedió: fuera de toda expectacion humana, refieranse à los dichos de la pregunta X.*

3. *A dos dias de su noviciado predixo, que su Confessor, que avia sido el Padre Diego Ramirez, no lloraria quando èl se fuesse à las Indias, y fue assi, porque avia muerto algunos años antes que el Siervo de Dios partiesse.*

4. *En Alcalá, despidiendose para ir à las Indias, de la Superiora, y Monjas del Convento de la Magdalena, à quienes avia hecho algunas platicas espirituales de mucho fruto, se hallava presente Soror Angela Maria de la Presentacion, Novicia, muy afligida, porque Francisco Bravo su padre avia hecho una perdida tan grande, que no avia esperanças de que pudiesse dar el dote para la profession de su hija, y Soror Isabel del Espiritu Santo, dixo al Siervo de Dios la affliction de la Novicia, y le suplicò, que echandola la bendicion encomendasse à Dios su remedio, à que respondió el Siervo de Dios: Ea, no tengan pena, que dentro de seis meses estará professa, y assi sucedió.*

5. *En dicho Convento en presencia de algunas Monjas Soror Catalina de San Francisco, Superiora, pidió al Siervo de Dios con instancia rogasse à nuestro Señor, que moviesse algun buen coraçon à que les labrasse Iglesia, y respondió: Quizà està ya nacido, y criado quien la ha de labrar. Y dentro de poco tiempo metió una hija Monja en dicho Convento el Secretario Don Andrès de Villaràn, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, y oy del Consejo de su Magestad en el Real de Hazienda, y labró la Iglesia, y Casa tan buena, y hermosa, como oy tiene dicho Convento.*

6. *Passando por Cordova de camino para embarcarse, avia en el Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus un Hermano que estudiava Filosofia, y deseava passar à Indias, llamado Luis de Medina, à quien viendo el Siervo de Dios, le dixo: Mire que hemos de ser grandissimos amigos. Y aquella noche oyò el Hermano una voz que le dixo: con esse*

has de ir: *lo qual se cumpliò años despues, quando passò el Venerable Padre Luis de Medina à las Indias, y encontrò en Mexico al Siervo de Dios, que avia buuelto de Filipinas para ir à las Islas de los Ladrones, y le llevò consigo à ellas, donde dicho Venerable Padre Luis de Medina mereciò morir alaçado por la predicacion de la Fè el año de 1671 [rather 1670].*

7. *Desde Cadiz escriviò al Padre Juan Gabriel Guillen, dandole cuenta de las Misiones que allí avia hecho, y el fruto que se avia seguido, y añadiò: Pero todo esto no es mas que una leve disposicion para quando V.R. venga à entablarlo, no piense ya que es profecia de mission de Indias, que bien puede venir de otra suerte. Ni entonces, ni en algunos años despues tratava, ni tratò dicho Padre Guillen de andar en Misiones, ni podia ofrecerse por conjetura humana, que quando anduviesse avia de ser en Andalucía, por no ser estilo passar à aquella Provincia los Misioneros de otra; pero todo sucediò con el fruto que se sabe de las Misiones, que dicho Padre Guillen, acompañando al Padre Tirso Gonçalez, hizieron en Sevilla, Cadiz, Cordova, y otros lugares de Andalucía.*

8. *Es ilustre profecia la que hizo à Don Diego de Salcedo, Governador, y Presidente de Manila. Rogò este Cavallero al Siervo de Dios con mucha instancia, le alcançasse con sus oraciones tener el Purgatorio en esta vida: à que no aviendole respondido en dos, ni en tres vezes; el mismo dia que se avia de partir el Siervo de Dios le bolviò hazer con lagrimas la misma suplica: preguntòle el Siervo de Dios si se hallava con animo de padecer en el cuerpo, en la hazienda, y en la honra lo que Dios fuesse servido de disponer; y respondiendole el Presidente que si, y que esso era lo que deseava, se le encendiò el rostro al Siervo de Dios como unas brasas, y tomandole la mano, le dixo: Pues buen animo; porque tiene V.S. mucho que padecer, y con esto le despidiò, agradeciendole los buenos oficios que avia hecho, en la disposicion de su jornada, y prevencion del Navio **San Diego**, que para ella le avia dado desde entonces se empezaron a tropear contra este Cavallero infidelidades, peligros de vida, y falsos testimonios: por los quales con violencias atentadas (como està declarado en testimonio autentico de la Santa general Inquisicion, que guardan sus Hermanos) fue preso por Ministros del Santo Tribunal, y con grandes fatigas llevado de unas partes à otras cargado de cadenas, y prisiones molestas, con sumas vejaciones, y embargos de su hazienda, hasta que ultimamente removiendole à otra prision muriò en un Navio con mucha conformidad con la voluntad Divina, y memoria del Siervo de Dios, por cuyas oraciones conmutadas las penas de la otra vida en las desta: y agradecido à este beneficio dexò en su testamento 10 mil pesos para la Mission de las Islas Marianas. En muriendo este Cavallero se aberiguaron con claridad su inocencia, y la malicia de sus emulos, y los atentados procedimientos de los Ministros, de que diò muy honorifico testimonio la Santa general Inquisicion. En este mismo caso se incluye otra Profecia, porque estando el Siervo de Dios en el interin de estos sucessos en las Islas Marianas sin humana comunicacion por donde pudiesse averlos sabido, escriviò al Señor Inquisidor general, por medio de D. Geronimo de Sanvitores su padre, en abono del dicho D. Diego Salcedo, y de-*

*shaziendo individualmente los cargos que le hazian. Dicho, que importò mucho para el buen despacho.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### *Consejo.* *XXXXVIII.*

*En el Don de Consejo fue admirable, y mas que de prudencia humana.*

*Escriviò desde Cadiz al P. Juan Gabriel Guillen, y hablando de las Misiones, le aconsejó que se correspondiesse con el P. Tirso Gonçalez, estando los dos en Provincias distintas, ocupados en las Catedras de Teologia, y no conociendose antes; por estas palabras: V.R. le escriba con esta ocasion, y sepa que importa mucho esta correspondencia: y importò tanto, que della se originò dexar entrambos sus Catedras, y dedicarse à Misiones con el exemplo, y fruto que se sabe en toda España, y especialmente en Andalucia.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

### *Milagros.* *XXXXIX.*

*Honrò Dios à su Siervo con la testificacion de obras sobre naturales que hizo por su medio.*

*1. En el Pueblo de Fecuña [sic], de la Isla de Santa Ana, residencia de San Francisco Xavier murió un niño sin Bautismo, porque le retiravan sus padres, y despues de seis horas que estava ya yerto, frio, y unguido (que es la mortaja, que usan en aquellas Islas) para enterrarle, tomandole el Siervo de Dios en sus manos, y ofreciendole con lagrimas à la Santissima Virgen, de cuya Inmaculada Concepcion avia dicho Missa aquel dia, que era Sabado, ofreciendola por el especial aumento de nuestra Santa Fè, y Gloria Divina, y obsequio de la Santissima Virgen, y salvacion de aquel niño, ofreciendo ponerle el nombre de San Francisco Xavier, cuya vigilia, y vispera celebrava con ayuno, queriendo dezir la oracion del mismo Santo, Deus, qui Indiarum gentes, &c. por tres vezes, todas tres encontrò con la del Patriarca S. Ignacio, de la qual dezia la mitad, y acabava con la otra mitad de S. Francisco Xavier, en esta forma: Deus, qui ad majorem nominis tui gloriam propagandam novo, per B[eatum] Ignatium P.N. subsidio militan-tem Ecclesiam roborasti concede, ut cuius gloria merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla. Y hecho esto, bolvio en presencia de todo el Pueblo el niño à la vida, haziendo primero unas señas leves con el movimiento del coraçon, y de la mano izquierda, con las quales, el Siervo de Dios le bautizò, debaxo de condicion, de si estava vivo, pero cesando las dichas señas, y repitiendo el Siervo de Dios nuevas instancias de oracion, hizo el niño movimiento con todo el cuerpo, cobrando los espiritus, y color perdidos, y abiendo los ojos: con este patente sucesso, reprehendiò el Siervo de Dios la falta de Fè de sus padres, y exortò con mucho fruto à los presentes à la estimacion de los Santos Sacramentos, y Fè Catolica; y bolviò à bautizar al niño, debaxo de condicion, de que no tuviesse vida, quando le bautizò la primera vez con señas tan leves de*

tenerla. Está confirmado este caso con el testimonio, y juramento de D. Francisco de Mendoza testigo de vista, y principal Interprete de aquellas Islas.

2. En Sumarrago Pueblo de la Isla de S. Francisco Xavier resucitó el Siervo de Dios à una niña, que avia muerto sin bautismo: en cuya resurreccion sucedieron las mismas circunstancias de equivocar las oraciones de S. Ignacio, y S. Francisco Xavier, y bautizarla dos veces, Sub conditione, por la misma causa.

3. En el Pueblo que antes se llamava Muchon, y ya San Francisco Xavier de la Isla de Santa Ana [i.e. Rota], un Christiano llamado Francisco Nufa, de largas, y apretadas enfermedades estuvo ya casi muerto dos vezes: y entrambos recobró repentina, y entera salud, aplicandole el Siervo de Dios una medalla de S. Francisco Xavier. Está comprobado con el juramento de dicho Interprete D. Francisco de Mendoza.

4. Al Pueblo de Agadña de la Isla de Guan, ya San Juan, vinieron dos casados del Pueblo de Fecuña [=Fuuña] con un niño de ocho meses hydropico (enfermedad, de que mueren muchos en aquella region) avianle sus padres defendido del bautismo, persuadidos del Sangley Choco à que esta enfermedad provenia del agua de los Christianos, y con ella se aumentava en los que ya la tenian, fingieron que estava bautizado, y pidieron otros remedios para el mal: el Siervo de Dios, aplicando al niño varias Reliquias, le dizo un Evangelio: mas creciendo la enfermedad cada dia, bolvieron confessando, que no estava bautizado, y con solo bautizarle de su mano el Siervo de Dios, estuvo dentro de pocos dias bueno, y sano.

5. En Taraifac Pueblo de la Isla de S. Juan hallò el Siervo de Dios una muger muy al cabo, que avia cinco dias que tenia perdida la habla, impossibilitada de pedir, y recibir el Santo Bautismo, à que antes se avia resistido: insistió en los medios, que Dios le inspiró, aplicando à la enferma una Reliquia de las entrañas de S. Francisco Xavier, y diciendo su oracion, despues de la del Nombre Santissimo de Maria, diò al punto la enferma señas de sentido, habló, repitiò el Acto de contricion, y pidiò el Santo Bautismo claramente una, y otra vez; y respondido à lo necessario de la instruccion, le recibió, durando toda aquella tarde con habla, la qual perdiò despues.

6. En Piggug, Pueblo de la misma Isla, año de 669 hallò el Siervo de Dios una muger de mas de cien años, sorda, à quien avran ocultado sus parientes, porque no recibiese el bautismo; y aplicandola al oydo una Reliquia del Lignum Crucis, dixo la oracion de San Joseph, cuyo dia era, y al punto oyò la sorda, de suerte, que pudo responder à la instruccion para el bautismo; y le recibió, conservando despues el oydo con admiracion de todos.

7. En Tumhon de la Isla de San Joseph [i.e. Saipan], hallò una muger con claras señas de [ser] endemoniada, por cuyo medio tenia el demonio obstinados todos los de aquel Pueblo, hizo el Siervo de Dios los conjuros ordinarios de la Iglesia, y añadió otras especiales, y devotas diligencias, que el Señor le inspirò, aplicandola varias reliquias, y diciendo las oraciones de la Santissima Virgen, de San Joseph, de San Ignacio, y de San Francisco Xavier, con que librò el cuerpo de la muger del mal espiritu, y à los vezinos del Pueblo de su obstinacion.

8. *En Opian, lugar de dicha Isla, bautizó el Siervo de Dios à una muger paralítica, y impedida de todos sus miembros, y con solo esto la dexò perfectamente sana.*

9. *En Oprao de la misma Isla, con unas letras de San Ignacio, que aplicò el Siervo de Dios à una muger, que avia estado dia, y medio peligrando en un parto revesado, dicha la oracion del mismo Santo, atada su estampa à la muñeca derecha, y ofreciendo poner el nombre del Santo à la criatura, nació con felicidad una niña, à quien bautizó luego, llamandola Ignacia.*

10. *Un soldado llamado Damian de los treinta que defendieron el fuerte, y Iglesia de la Isla de San Juan, en la invasion de los Gentiles, saliendo con otros à buscar bastimento, fue herido de los enemigos, que estavan emboscados, con tres lanças mortales en la cabeça, vientre, y una pierna, y el Siervo de Dios le sanò prefectamente con la invocacion de la Virgen Maria, y otros Santos.*

11. *Estavan dos campos enemigos de Indios apedreandose; y el Siervo de Dios para exortar à la paz, se metió en medio con una Cruz en la mano, y dando en el muchas piedras, se caian à sus pies, y se deshazian, sin hazerle daño alguno.*

12. *Llegaron al Convento de la Magdalena de Alcalà de Henares unas estampas del Siervo de Dios, en ocasion que se hallava Soror Isabel del Espiritu Santo, Religiosa del mismo Convento, con terribles dolores de gota artetica [=artrítica], y aplicandose una de dichas estampas se le aplacò el dolor.*

13. *En el mismo Convento, y el mismo dia, Soror Maria de San Buenaventura se diò con un hastil [=astil] de yerro un golpe grande en un ojo, de que vertia gran copia de sangre, y aplicandola una estampa del Siervo de Dios, se restañò la sangre, y se sosegò el dolor.*

—Lo qual saben, &c.

## *Eficacia que diò Dios à su palabra.*

### *L.*

*Diò Dios à su Siervo eficacia grande en sus palabras, como quien las avia escogido por medio para la conversion de tantas almas. Es innumerable el computo de Infieles, y pecadores que reduxo con sus sermones, y platicas familiares. Entre otros hazen demostracion desta eficacia los sucessos siguientes.*

1. *En Casa-Rubios del Monte, Villa del Arçobispado de Toledo, acabò en un Sermon con unas diferencias, y enemistades, que tenian dividido el lugar en vandos, que no avian podido componer personas de primera suposicion, y autoridad de la Monarquia. Conmovió tanto el Siervo de Dios con su fervor, y palabras los coraçones de sus oyentes, que antes de acabarse el sermon, levantandose de sus assientos, se abraçaron unos, y otros en la Iglesia: hallandose entre ellos el Siervo de Dios (sin que le huviesse visto baxar del pulpito, ni aun su mismo compañero) à confirmar aquellas pazes. Hizolos salir desde alli con la procession del Corpus, que no avian hecho à su tiempo (por ser los disgustos sobre quien avia de llevar las varas del palio) comprometieron todos*

*sus diferencias en la disposition del Siervo de Dios, el qual fue en la procession, hazien- do à trechos actos de contricion en lugar de villancicos.*

*2. En la Villa de Barajas, desde el tablado de una comedia, que se acabava de repre- sentar en la plaça, con una breve exortacion, se llebò tras si toda la gente del lugar, con- virtiendo aquella fiesta profana en lagrimas, y alaridos de contricion.*

*3. En el Pueblo de Nisihan, de la Isla de S. Juan fue por las circunstancias milagro- sa la conversion que de todos los vezinos hizo el Siervo de Dios. Tres vezes la avia in- tentado, sin mas fruto, que salir la ultima con dos heridas. Poco despues, dia de S. Francisco Xavier se hallò singularmente movido à insistir en esta demanda, y enco- mendandola à la Santissima Virgen, especial, y universal Patrona de aquellas Islas, por medio del Santo Apostol de las Indias, cuyo nombre ofreciò poner al Pueblo, prosiguiò su rogativa, hasta el dia 10 de Diziembre, Octava del mismo Santo Apostol, y dicha Missa por esta especial intencion, llegò intrepido al Pueblo, y puso Dios tal fuerça, y poder en su voca, y palabras, que repentinamente trocados todos, recibieron nuestra Santa Fè, y quedò Bautizado todo el Pueblo en la Octava de la Concepcion de N. Seño- ra.*

*4. Pertenecen à este titulo los dichos del num. xxiii acerca de la repentina mudança por las palabras del Siervo de Dios del Virrey, y Ministros de Mexico. A que se refier- an.*

### *Prenuncios del fruto de su Mission, y de su dichosa muerte.*

#### *LI.*

*Como cosa tan preciosa en su acatamiento declaró Dios en algunas significaciones el fruto de la Mission de la Islas Marianas, y dichosa muerte del Siervo de Dios.*

*1. El Padre F. [=fray] Luis de Amezquita, Religioso Agustino, Prior del Convento, y residencia de Taniguay [sic], varon, tenido por de insigne, y conocida virtud, estando en oracion al tiempo, que el Siervo de Dios disponia su ida desde Manila à las Islas Ma- rianas, viò en representacion, que desde la torre del Templo de la Compañia de Jesus de Manila salia fletada una hermosa nave, colocado sobre su arbol un resplandeciente nombre de Jesus, y que coronava la torre una estatua de oro, que con sus resplandores llegava al Cielo, como que avia baxado de alla para favorecer a la nave. No entendiò por entonces la significacion desta vision, hasta que escribiendo à los Padres de Mani- la, le avisaron de la Mission, que disponia el Siervo de Dios à las Islas Marianas, y con esta carta no le quedò duda, que era esta la nave que Dios le avia mostrado. Pidiò à sus Superiores licencia para passar con el Siervo de Dios; mas embarazolo su Divina Ma- gestad, premiando (como se espera) con la muerte, que tuvo en Manila, los trabajos de su vida, y buenos deseos.*

*2. La vision, que tuvo la madre del Siervo de Dios, de que se hizo mencion al num. ix fue en esta forma. Viò en un rayo de luz al Patriarca S. Ignacio, que traia de la mano al Siervo de Dios, vestido ya del traje que usan los de la Compañia (no aviendole aun recibido, y estando muy lexos del lugar desta vision) traia el Siervo de Dios le cabeça*

*bañada en sangre, y estava como degollado, y dixo entonces su madre à sus criados: Veis alli à mi hijo; traedmele. Entraron donde dezia, y no hallaron à nadie; oyò entonces la madre, que la dezia San Ignacio: No trates de llevarte à tu hijo, que le quiero yo en mi casa para Santo.*

*3. Siendo Novicio el Siervo de Dios, tuvieron èl, y otros dos connovicios suyos un admirable sueño en una misma noche, sin descrepar todos tres en circunstancia alguna. Vieron celebrarse en cierto lugar el juycio universal; oyeron las sentencias propias, y ajenas, que dava Christo. Y à la mañana, solo se acordaron de las sentencias de los tres del sueño, y de la de otro de sus connovicios: sucedió caer juntos los tres en la quiete, sin otro alguno, donde confiriendo sus sueños hallaron convenir en todo: eran las sentencias de Christo embiar el Siervo de Dios derecho al Cielo, y à los otros dos al purgatorio, y al otro quarto, que no soñó nada, condenarle al infierno. Y este ultimo dentro de pocos dias, sin ocasion particular, se inquietò con su vocacion, y no bastando à detenerle las piadosas exortaciones del Maestro de Novicios, se salió de la Religion.*

*4. Prenuncios fueron del sentimiento que hazia el infierno de la jornada del Siervo de Dios à las Islas Marianas, que el dia que salió de Manila 31 de Julio de 1667 fueron tan temerosos los temblores de tierra, que ponian espanto, y miedo. Que el dia primero de Navidad, como à media noche, vispera dèl, en que llegó el Siervo de Dios à Acapulco, temblò la tierra en Mexico, y su Reyno tan formidablemente, que se tenian ya todos por perdidos.*

*5. El dia en que el Siervo de Dios aportò à las Islas Marianas se oyò un solemniísimo repique de campanas, sin aver ninguna en todas las Islas.*

## *Publica voz, y fama de Santidad.*

### *LII.*

*El Rey Felipe Quarto, el año ultimo de su Reynado, por estimacion de la Santidad del Siervo de Dios, mandò por su cedula al Governador de Filipinas, le diesse embarcacion, y todo el avio necessario para passar à las Islas de los Ladrones.*

*La Reyna nuestra Señora, por la misma estimacion, aprobò el gasto de 10,000 pesos, sacados de las Arcas de Mexico para el avio del Siervo de Dios, y sus compañeros, y recibió con devocion, y estima algunas Imagenes, y fragmentos de otras, que el Siervo de Dios la imbiò.*

*La misma Reyna, y el Real Consejo de Indias le concedieron quanto desde allà pidió para la conservacion de la Mission, fiando en despachos muy honorificos, de su prudencia, y zelo, el gobierno espiritual, y politico de las Islas Marianas.*

*El gran Siervo de Dios Cardenal Sandoval, Arçobispo de Toledo, hizo grande aprecio, y estimacion de la Santidad, zelo, y espiritu del Siervo de Dios.*

*Dentro, y fuera de la Compañia de Jesus, todos universalmente los que le trataron le tuvieron por varon perfecto, y Santissimo, y vaso de eleccion, y destos se divulgò à los que nunca le trataron.*



*Y ultimamente, la Santidad de Clemente IX Pontifice maximo, en breve particular para el Siervo de Dios le agradeciò sus trabajos, y zelo, en la dilatacion del Evangelio, embiandole su Apostolica bendicion, y cantidad de Medallas con Indulgencias, para repartir à los Fieles de aquellas Islas.*

## Synopsis and comments—Little-known facts about the life of Fr. Sanvitores, by R.L.

**Articles presented by the party, and its Procurator, in the cause of the inquiry before the Ordinary into the death, for the cause of the Catholic Faith, the virtues, etc. of the Venerable Servant of God, Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Religious of the Society of Jesus.**

Article 1. Fr. Andrés de Alava acted as Procurator, but the name of the church official is left blank in this printed version. The standard legal pronouncement at the end of every article can be translated as follows:

—“This the witnesses know, because it is public and notorious, and there is public talk and fame about it, as well as constant and indisputable opinion, specially among serious and trustworthy men, such that they have not heard, nor learned anything to the contrary, because they have read about it in letters, reports, and papers that say so, and for having learned from other informants with certain knowledge of the facts, and because it is manifest, and reputed as such by all, and nothing has been heard nor said to the contrary; neither can it be otherwise, because if it were, these witnesses, being well informed persons, would have heard of it, or learned through other means respectively.”

As a pseudonym in writing religious tracts, Fr. Sanvitores sometimes used his mother’s family names, and signed as Diego Alonso de Maluenda, a sure give-away to the modern historian, one that has been confirmed by Sommervogel.<sup>1</sup>

Article 2. Fr. Sanvitores’ mother was having a difficult childbirth. When a sample signature of St. Ignatius was applied to her, the child simply erupted and fell upon the bunk by itself, without the assistance of third parties.

Article 3. Fr. Sanvitores suffered a medical crisis as a child, when a combination of serious illnesses, including croup, hit him. He lapsed into unconsciousness for a few hours. A relic of a Spanish saint, **Saint Domingo Soriano**, was applied to him, and also, the water from a basin into which the relic had been dipped was sprinkled upon him. He was instantly cured, and without anyone telling him what had happened, he shouted that St. Domingo had saved his life. There is no further mention of this obscure saint later on in Fr. Sanvitores’ life.

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1 Ed. note: Carlos Sommervogel, S.J. “Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,” in 12 volumes, published by Alphonse Picard, in Paris, 1890-1900; reprinted in 1960.

Article 4. When studying in the Jesuit college at Madrid, he became a member, and then a leader, of the Sodality of Our Lady of Anunciation. This is probably the origin of his book on this devotion (see below).

Article 5. Little is known about his first regular confessor (called director of conscience) during his college days. Fr. Diego Ramirez—that is his name—was also his grammar teacher. Fr. Ramirez wrote a confidential note about his young charge at this time (1640), entitled: “Childhood, pretension, and admission into the Society of Don Diego de San Vitores.” In the 1680s, this document was still in the Jesuit archives at Alcalá, but it probably disappeared a century later, with the suppression of the Jesuit order, when the Jesuits destroyed their confidential papers.

Fr. Ramirez is known to have published a 4-page pamphlet entitled: “Relacion de un prodigioso milagro que San Francisco Xavier, Apostol de la India ha hecho en la ciudad de Napoles este año de 1634,” published by the King’s press at Madrid in 1634. It relates the physical healing of a Jesuit priest at Naples. One copy of this pamphlet was sold by Maggs Brothers of London in 1927 (Catalog N° 495). This book may have inspired Fr. Sanvitores to write a tract about St. Francis Xavier (see below).

Article 6. It was on the feast-day of the Annunciation (therefore, on 25 March) 1640 that he heard a statue of Our Lady of the Good Counsel tell him three times to join the Society.

Article 7. Another day, at about this time, he was praying before the crucifix located in the second chapel on the Epistle side of the church of the Imperial College when his eyesight, normally quite short-sighted, became sharply focussed and he saw the image of Christ open his eyes and bow his head twice, as if to grant his request. The Imperial College, and church, are still there, on Toledo Street, south of Plaza Mayor in Madrid. As a sign of our times, the church doors are kept locked outside of office hours.

Article 8. His mother thought he was too young to join the Society, and locked him up at home. He escaped and sought refuge in the Jesuit College.

Article 9. His mother went after him, and while she was waiting in her coach at the gate of the College for the Rector to come out, she had a vision (see Art. 51) which made her change her mind and she let him join the Society, but some relatives still disagreed.

Article 10. On the evening of 24 July 1640, his relatives had obtained legal orders for his “release” but he predicted that the next day he would be admitted into the Society.

Article 11. Eight days before, on Thursday 17 July, he and his mother had been praying before the altar of St. Ignatius in the church of the Jesuit College when his

mother said aloud: "Holy Father, I give you this son of mine, so that you may obtain my salvation from God." She died 17 years later, on the same date.

Article 12. General statements are here made about the years of his novitiate, that led to the priesthood.

Article 13. While he was teaching two art courses in the College of Alcalá, he still found time to run the Sodality of the students of that university, and to frequently visit the local jails and hospitals, specially the hospital called Antezana.

Article 14. At this time there died in said College, a Father Manuel Chacón, a theology teacher. He asked Fr. Sanvitores to remain at his bedside during his last moments.

Article 15. The Jesuits then owned a summer house called Jesus del Monte, located above the town of Loranca de Tajuña, not far from the place called Santorcaz.<sup>1</sup> Fr. Sanvitores and a companion walked to that place and gave missions in the villages along the way. One night he went out to urge the people to say the Act of contrition; he carried a cross aloft, shouting: "Look out, sinner, look out! Death is very near! Confess that sin. Do not still be damned when the sun rises tomorrow." One man listening to him scoffed, but arose during the night and sought Fr. Sanvitores at the inn; at dawn he took communion, but it was to be his viaticum, for he died suddenly before 10 o'clock that day.

Article 16. Other places where Fr. Sanvitores preached similar revival missions were at Barajas (the site of the present-day international airport), and Casarubios del Monte and other places in the vicinity of Madrid, then at Sigüenza (northeast of Alcalá beyond Guadalajara on the road to Zaragoza), and later on at Seville in Andalusia

Article 17. In the late 1650s, Fr. Sanvitores often thought about going to the missions in the Indies, but his superiors were not keen about it. I am sure that the details of this article come from Doc. 1659B (HM4: 115+), because the original draft of this letter was given by Fr. Sanvitores to his friend, Fr. Guillén, whose papers were used by the Fr. Procurator Alava.

A grave illness that occurred to him in November 1658 was the turning point. While he was sick he received a letter from Cardinal Sandoval exhorting him to dedicate himself full-time to the Missions. This was none other than Don Bernardo Sandoval y Roxas, Grand Inquisitor and Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo (whose see is still at Alcalá). With the permission of his immediate superior, he made a vow to go, if he were cured. He prayed to St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, and to the Venerable Father Marcelo Mastrilli, a Philippine missionary who had been recently martyred in Japan (see his bio-sketch in

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1 Ed. note: Santorcaz is located 14 km. almost due east of Alcalá. There seems to be an error in the distance between that village and the Jesuit summer house, as stated by Fr. Alava.

HM4:121). However, his superiors did not approve, supposedly due to the opposition of Don Gerónimo de San Vitores himself. So it is that, in September 1658, Fr. Sanvitores got another serious illness, involving fevers. This time he called on another Jesuit saint, Francis Borgia and renewed his vow. The results were that, on the feast-day of that saint (therefore, on 10 October 1658), the fever disappeared, and Don Gerónimo relented. He wrote to the Fr. General to ask permission, and this time the answer was affirmative. The original of this letter (probably not the Latin version sent to Rome, but the Spanish translation done by Fr. Sanvitores himself) was left with Fr. Guillén for safe-keeping.<sup>1</sup>

Article 18. As soon as the news spread among his Jesuit colleagues, many requested samples of his signature and pieces from his poor garments, as they thought that he was destined to become a martyr.

Article 19. Along the road from Madrid to Seville, he held continuous revival missions, even stopping to talk with farmers and other travellers. He spent two nights in the walled city of Toledo, so as to spend a full day of preaching in the streets. He saved one man who, three days before, had been on the verge of hanging himself. Once at Cadiz, he had more time to do a more elaborate mission.

Article 20. Aboard the ship for New Spain, he did not stop preaching, hearing confessions, and tending the sick, in addition to supervising the Jesuit Brothers, and the novices in their lessons, and exercises.

Article 21. He spent many months in Mexico City (two years in fact). Here too he spent much time doing revival missions, visiting jails and hospitals, etc. He restored the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier, that had been almost inactive. He was the one who introduced the practice of going through the streets at night, to have people recite the Act of contrition (the version of Fr. Lopez)—this had been a recent innovation in Spain proper.

Article 22. From Mexico he went to Acapulco (1662), where he embarked for the Philippines. Upon passing by the **Ladrones Islands**, he was deeply touched by the abandoned naked inhabitants. Soon after arriving at Manila, he went on to the town of Taytay, to learn the Tagalog language, which he learned in a few days (says Fr. Alava), at the great surprise of his colleagues. He taught theology in Manila for a while, then went out on various mission tours, including one to Mindoro Island, where he reduced 200 run-away Indians, and founded three visits, or church dependencies.

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1 See Doc. 1659B (HM4:115+). Fr. Guillén, a long-time friend of Fr. Sanvitores died at the age of 48 at Madrid on Saturday 19 February 1675. His biography by Fr. Francisco García, in Latin, is a 48-page manuscript in the Schwartz Collection of the Special Collections Division of the Georgetown University Library in Washington, D.C.

Article 23. He tried many times to interest the government of the Philippines, and his superiors, to let him go and found a **mission in the Ladrones Islands**, until he succeeded in getting a royal decree (in 1665) in which the Governor of Manila was ordered to give him a vessel. He went by way of Acapulco, and in New Spain he had difficulties in getting more resources from the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera. A miraculous earthquake made him change his mind, and the next day, although it was the Sunday before Shrove Tuesday and the beginning of a 3-day carnival, the Treasury Council met and approved the expenditure, after the Viceroy himself pledged his own money.

Article 24. In Mexico City, many pious persons also contributed alms, in the form of money and precious articles, for the Mariana Island Mission. The Sodality of St. Francis Xavier alone raised 10,000 pesos.

Article 25. After a prosperous voyage, he arrived at said **Ladrones Islands** on Saturday 16 June 1668. With the first sermon that he preached, he converted 1,500 heathens [sic]. But the Devil soon intervened by means of a Chinaman named Choco who had remained there after a shipwreck. He spread the rumor that the water of baptism killed babies. After many efforts, Fr. Sanvitores succeeded in converting Choco, who then retracted everything he had said.

Article 26. Before the year 1672, he had visited 11 Islands, renaming them the **Marianas**, had founded churches, all named after the Virgin Mary, in her various appellations, had baptized heathens, confirmed those who were already Christians. While walking up and down hills, because of his short-sightedness, he was led with a short rope, (quote) “in which were tied certain knots, and this is how he could tell when the slope was upwards, or downwards.” (Unquote).

Article 27. The witch-doctors of the Marianas raised other persecutions against him. Many times, he was in danger of being killed, being stoned and receiving spears. Choco himself, before his conversion, had inflicted two wounds on his head.<sup>1</sup>

Article 28. An army of 2,000 Marianos kept the Fathers and 30 soldiers under siege for 40 days, from 12 September to 20 October 1671. Through the prayers of Fr. Sanvitores, supernatural cases happened, for example, fire-brands were thrown on top of thatched buildings, but they did not catch fire. A promise was made to St. Michael, which included naming the first fort that would be built after him.<sup>2</sup> On 8 October, a ty-

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1 This incident is not told anywhere else.

2 Ed. note: The first fort was to be made of adobe bricks by Captain Juan de Santiago, as of May 1672, but the path to the clay pits was blocked by natives. The first real fortress, built in 1683, was not named after St. Michael, but after Our Lady of Guadalupe. What is called fort, or fortress, in the present document refers only to the first stockade, or enclosure, which was a rectangular palisade, with two corner towers.

phoon blew down the church, without hurting the Fathers and Christian soldiers inside; it also uprooted breadfruit trees, etc. A bold sortie by the soldiers on 20 October forced the natives to sue for peace.

Article 29. The siege being lifted, the missionaries spread out throughout Guam, but after a few months, some catechists were killed and Fr. Sanvitores ordered everyone to return to the safety of the enclosure in Agaña once more. He was the last to return but along the way he stopped at Matapang's place, where he was insulted by Matapang, and another Indian named Hirao. They first killed a Visayan boy who was Fr. Sanvitores' assistant [i.e. Pedro Calonsor]. Then they turned to Fr. Sanvitores. One aggressor pierced him with a spear; the other inflicted two blows with a half-size machete: **one blow was on the head next to the ear and penetrated part of the throat, and the other was one arm.**<sup>1</sup> Their deaths occurred on 2 April 1672.

Article 30. Sanvitores was brought up a Catholic and remained so until his death.

Article 31. He penetrated the foundations of the mysteries of our Holy Faith, being very expert in theology, and the holy Scriptures.

Article 32. His virtue of hope is best proven in Articles 25-29. The same for his charity.

Article 33. He showed prudence and wisdom by consulting difficulties with prudent, learned and saintly persons, specially his superiors.

Article 34. Early in life he was entrusted with serious errands. At the age of 10, in the absence of his father from Madrid, his mother would sometimes send him to talk to Prime Ministers, and the King.<sup>2</sup> It was political of him to have called the Ladrões the **Mariana Islands**, after the Catholic Queen.

Article 35. He very ably organized the civil and religious aspects of the Islands. He founded a seminary for girls, hoping that they would be a good means of spreading the Faith among the natives. He begged for, and obtained from the Queen permission for the Mission to have its own boat. He built a fort [sic] for the security of the Christian settlement in the Island of Guam, as he knew of the inconstancy, dissembling and treacherous nature of those natives; the importance of this work is proven by the events narrated in Article 29.

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1 These details are absent from earlier accounts.

2 This is an interesting detail that his biographers have missed. This might explain why he had no compulsion in approaching and dealing with Pope, King, Queen, Viceroy, and Governor, later in life.

Article 36. Justice: He was never known to have done any harm to another person, nor said any vengeful word.

Article 37. He showed so much respect to the Eucharist that when he was sick, he refused to take medicine after midnight, so as to be able to receive communion in the morning. He showed signs of particular devotion to the B.V.M., St. Ignatius (in whose honor he erected a chapel in the Hospital of Antezana in Alcalá, with alms received for the purpose, and he placed another portrait of him at the end of the main altar), St. Francis Xavier (for whom he restored the Sodality in Mexico), St. Michael (after whom he named one of the Mariana Islands).<sup>1</sup>

Articles 38 & 39. He was very obedient to his superiors. Fortitude: he undertook arduous enterprises that were full of difficulties, as shown in Art. 6-10 and 25-29.

Article 40. His patience was unconquered. He was never heard to complain during his illnesses, ill treatments, injuries, and wounds he received, or in the huge hardships that he suffered during his apostolic missions.

Article 41. Temperance.— This virtue is demonstrated by his honesty, and repugnance towards any turpidity. According to the paper written by Fr. Diego Ramirez about his childhood, he was a virgin, and remained so for the rest of his life. He preached against dishonesty with great fervor, and this was the most frequent subject mentioned during his missions among the Catholics. He was parsimonious with food; for instance, he ate only bread and broth, saying that it was the food eaten by the poor. Many times each year he would fast, on bread and water. He wore old clothes. He slept very little, and most of the time with his clothes on, but sometimes for greater mortification he undressed to sleep on a mat, or board. He made frequent use of hair shirts, and discipline, to such an extent that sometimes it became necessary to have him cured.

Article 42. His clemency and affability were such that everyone considered him a friend. Those who dealt with him referred to him as “the Angel” or “the Saint.”

**[Books written by Fr. Sanvitores]**

Article 43. He was gentle, docile, and benign towards sinners; once they confessed to him, they never wished to confess to anyone else. He was extremely studious, never losing a minute of time, even during holidays and rest periods. He wrote many learned tracts on the Holy Scriptures, Theology, Philosophy, and History, specially Church history. He wrote the book entitled “*Casos raros de la Confession.*”

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<sup>1</sup> This is obviously an error made by Fr. Alava; he meant to repeat that the first fort was to be named after St. Michael).

This book, whose title reads: "Rare cases of confession" was published in Mexico in 1660. It must have been done anonymously, because Sommervogel<sup>1</sup> mentions that later authors attributed the work to Fr. Cristobal de Vega, or Fr. Gerónimo Lopez, as well as to Fr. Sanvitores. However, Fr. Murillo Velarde, in his history of the Philippines (Book 4, chapter 8, paragraph 729) is formal: "This example can be read among the Rare Cases that Fr. D. L. Sanvitores began when he lived in Madrid..." He goes on to say that the booklet did contain statements made in 2-3 folios by Fr. Vega, to whom one particular case occurred, but he was not the author of the booklet itself. Furthermore, Fr. Murillo Velarde says that Fr. García (Fr. Sanvitores' biographer) was wrong in assigning the authorship to Fr. Lopez. In paragraph 734, he says: "He had this booklet on the Rare Cases printed, after he added many more examples, and in distributing it among many, had wonderful effects." I think that it was in fact the 5th edition, completely revised, of this work, begun by other Jesuits, and perhaps continued by other writers. I have not been able to locate a copy, not even in the library of the Jesuit General in Rome.

Fr. Alava continues: "In Mexico, he finalized the notes he had written during his holidays in Alcalá, and made them into a book which he published regarding the Patronages and Miracles of St. Francis Xavier; plus one exhortation and text for a Vow to the Immaculate Conception directed at the Army in Spain; the rules of the Sodality of Mexico, and many other loose tracts about various devotions."

The full notice regarding his book about St. Francis Xavier is as follows:

**Original title: "El Apostol de las Indias y nuevas gentes, San Francisco Xavier de la Compañia de Jesus..."**

Title, etc. translated: "The Apostle of the Indies and new nations, St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus. Epitome of his apostolic deeds, virtues, teaching, and old and new prodigies. The main contents are the Bull of his Canonization, which is literally translated from Latin into Spanish, and in the Letters and Instructions written by the Saint himself. The rest has been compiled from various authors, and authentic accounts, in which many miracles and new favors received from the Apostle of the Indies are mentioned, and the increase of his cult, and Patronages in various parts of Christendom these last few years, particularly from 1651 to 1660.—Dedicated to Her Excellency the Duchess of Albuquerque, the Marquise of Cadereita, etc. On behalf of the Sodality of San Francisco Xavier which is founded in the Parish of Santa Veracruz in this City of Mexico. By Licentiate Don Mathias de Peralta Calderon, Principal of said Sodality. With permission. Printed at Mexico, at the press of Augustin de Santistevan and Francisco [Rodriguez] Lupercio. Year of 1661. 4° size, in 4 parts numbering 101, 112, 100, and 164 pages respectively. There was another edition, Valencia, 1698. Sommervogel adds that he saw a copy with the same title, but whose Part 4 had only 96 pages, instead of 164."<sup>2</sup>

The full notice regarding his book about the Immaculate Conception is as follows:

**Original title: "Memorial al serenissimo señor don Juan de Austria, Gran Prior de la Orden de San Juan en los Reinos de Castilla, y Leon, Capitan General de las Armas Catolicas del Rey nuestro Señor en Cataluña, y Principe del Mar etc.**

1 Op. cit., vol. VII, columns 615-618.

2 Sommervogel ascribes another, anonymous, book on St. Francis Xavier printed by Rodriguez Lupercio at Mexico in 1665, whose title begins as: "*Harmonica guerra y marcial cythara que La Muy Illustre Congregacion, y Concordia de el Grande Apostol de las Indias el Señor San Francisco Xavier declara, y propone à todos los Fieles...*" but the evidence is circumstantial.



***en rason de la grande conveniencia del Voto de la Inmaculada Concepcion de nuestra Señora en la Esclarecida Orden de San Juan, y en los Exercitos Catolicos del Rey nuestro Señor...***"

Title, etc. translated: "Memorial to His Most Serene Lordship, Don Juan de Austria, Great Prior of the Order of St. John in the Kingdoms of Castile, and Leon, Captain General of the Catholic Arms of the King our Lord in Catalonia, and First Lord of the Admiralty, etc. concerning the great advantage of the **Vow to the Immaculate Conception** of Our Lady in the Illustrious Order of St. John, and in the Catholic armies of the King our Lord, specially in these times, in order for Christian piety to compensate for the enormous profanation of the Heretics, who are found among the enemies invading the Principality of Catalonia, and specifically the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. General motives are proposed to all the Faithful, and specific ones for the Sacred Order of St. John, and the royal Armies. Written by Diego Alonso de Maluenda, Slave of the Immaculate Mother of God. With privilege. In Madrid. By Pablo de Val, Year of 1655. 4° size, 245 pages.<sup>1</sup>

As for the revised constitution of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in Mexico, if found, it would probably bear the caption Mexico ca. 1661, may be anonymous or bear one of two pseudonyms used by Fr. Sanvitores (Dr. Diego Alonso Maluenda, and Dr. Diego Osorio y Peralta) and may have also been printed by Francisco Rodriguez Lupericio, and paid for by some of the Sodality members, the same as his better-known Memorial.<sup>2</sup> The loose tracts were probably anonymous and no record of them can ever be set straight. One of them was his versions of the Act of contrition, originally written by Fr. Gerónimo Lopez, and of which there were a number of editions, some of which are cited in some Spanish lists of rare books; however, Sommervogel mentions two of these: one version as published in Fr. Ortiz' Italian biography, in appendix, pp. 657-663, after the Errata section; and another version was in Tagalog (this he did at Taytay, ca 1663).

Article 44. He loved the enemies he made through his preaching against sins, and false sects of the heathens, specially **Choco who gave him two wounds**, and whom he won over with kindness. He intervened to prevent the soldiers from shooting two field guns directly at the Islanders who had surrounded the Christian camp. He assisted Hurao, who had tried to kill him many times, by curing him when he was made prisoner, and by pleading with the soldiers to set him free. He forgave Matapang, his assassin.

Article 45. His poverty was extreme. He never kept any worthwhile personal possessions, even though they were allowed among the Religious. For most of his travels, he walked. His study notes were on scraps of paper salvaged from old letters, etc. and written very tightly, to save paper. Whenever he could not refuse some gifts, he did not rest until he had distributed them to the poor, with the permission of the Superiors.

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1 Sommervogel adds that Fr. Sanvitores also helped, under the same pseudonym, Fr. Nieremberg for his book entitled: "De perpetuo objecto festi Immac. Conceptionis" [=Regarding the perpetual appearance of the feast of the Immaculate Conception].

2 See details about this Memorial in HM4: 370+ The source of the ms. version is RAH 9/3735; the source of the printed version, among others, is ARSI 849, n° 5.

Article 46. His humility was obvious, as he always talked of himself in a very low voice. This humility made him seek hospitals, and hospices for the poor. While a student at Alcalá, he secretly helped a poor blind man living in the College, but getting his food from alms; he spent much time helping this man, until he died, by sweeping his small cell, emptying his toilet bucket, and even picking his body lice with his own hands. He did similar acts in all the colleges where he lived, helping the sick and invalids at home; when he became Master, and then Superior, he used his authority to prevent the others from interfering with his charitable acts. He spoke and wrote desparagingly about himself, e.g. in the letter he wrote to the Fr. General asking to be sent to the Indies, and the annual reports sent from the Islands, etc. where he would refer to himself with some general name: "There happened to a Father, to a Minister, to a Priest, etc." It was only through the testimonials of others that we know that he was involved.

#### [Prophecies of Fr. Sanvitores]

Article 47. The gift of prophecy was one of the supernatural gifts with which God honored his Servant:

1. He predicted that his mother was the one who would eventually help him join the Society (ref. Art. 9).

2. He predicted, when it was ordered by the Royal Council and by the Vicar of the City of Madrid that he be released, that he would not be released, but that the next day he would be admitted to the Order, as in fact happened (ref. Art. 10).

3. Two days after he arrived at the Novitiate, he predicted that his Confessor, who had been Father Diego Ramirez, would not cry when he would leave for the Indies, and it was so, because he had died a few years before the Servant of God left.

4. Before leaving for the Indies, he went to take leave of the Superior, and Nuns of the Convent of the Magdalene in Alcalá, to whom he had given a few spiritual talks of much fruit. There was present Sister Angela María de la Presentación, a novice, very afflicted, because Francisco Bravo, her father, had just met with such a great financial loss that there was no hope of him giving the dowry for the profession of his daughter. Sister Isabel del Espiritu Santo told the Servant of God about the affliction of the novice, and begged him to bless her and commend the remedy to God on her behalf, to which the Servant of God responded: "Hey! Don't feel bad. Within six months you will make your profession," and so it happened.

5. In said Convent in the presence of some Nuns, Sister Catalina de San Francisco, Superior, asked the Servant of God to please pray to God, so that some good soul might be moved to build them a church. He answered: "Perhaps the man who will do it is already born." And within a short time, Don Andrés de Villarán, Knight of the Order of St. James, and Secretary of His Majesty's Treasury Council, placed a daughter of his as a nun in said Convent, and built the good and beautiful church, and house, that said Convent now has.

6. When he passed by Cordoba on the way to board ship, there was in the College of the Society of Jesus a Brother who was studying philosophy, and wished to pass to

the Indies, named Luis de Medina. Upon seeing him, the Servant of God told him: “Look, we will become very great friends.” And that night, the Brother heard a voice saying: “You must follow that man.” This happened years later, when the Venerable Father Luis de Medina went to the Indies, and met the Servant of God in Mexico, as he had come back from the Philippines to go on to the Islands of the Ladrones. He took him along, and said Venerable Father Luis de Medina earned martyrdom there, speared for having preached the Faith in the year 1671 [rather 1670].

7. From Cadiz he wrote Father Juan Gabriel Guillén<sup>1</sup> to report on the Missions that he had carried out there, and the fruit that had followed, and he added: “But all of this is not more than a slight preparation for when Your Reverence will come to establish this more regularly. Do not think that this is a prophecy for a mission in the Indies; rather, the mission meant for you could be of another kind.” Not then, nor for a few years afterwards, could said Father Guillén have tried to go on mission tours, nor did it seem possible by human conjecture to see himself on mission tours in Andalusia, because it was not usual for the missionaries of one province to be transferred to another; however, all of it happened, with the fruit that is well known, of the Missions that said Father Guillén, accompanying Father Tirso Gonzalez, made in Seville, Cadiz, etc.

8. The prophecy that he made to Don Diego de Salcedo, Governor and President of Manila is illustrious. This gentleman begged the Servant of God with insistence to obtain with his prayers that he'd be given his Purgatory during his life. He got no response then, nor on two other occasions when he renewed his request, but on the same day that the Servant of God was scheduled to leave, he again renewed his request with tears in his eyes. The Servant of God asked him if he would find it acceptable to suffer bodily, in his finances, and in his honor whatever God might be pleased to arrange. When the President answered in the affirmative, and that it was what he was looking for, the face of the Servant of God brightened like red-hot coals and, taking him by the hand, he told him: “Very well, good soul, because Your Lordship will suffer much” and, this said, he took his leave, thanking him for his good offices in making arrangements for his journey, and the despatch of the ship **San Diego**. As of this time, this gentleman began to feel the effects of unfaithful acts against him, dangers to life, and false declarations, with the result that violent attempts took place (as stated in the authentic record of proceedings of the Holy general Inquisition: he was taken prisoner by the Ministers of the Holy Tribunal, and with great hardships he was carried off from one place to another, in chains, with bothersome shackles, with great vexations, and seizures of his property, until he was finally placed on board a ship, where he died with great acceptance of the will of God, and the memory of the Servant of God, by means of whose prayers he knew that the pains of the other life had been commuted to this one. Thankful for this favor, he left in his testament 10,000 pesos for the Mariana Island Mission. After the death of this gentleman, his innocence, and the malice of his oppo-

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1 Ed. note: Since Fr. Sanvitores left Madrid for Cadiz in the middle of February 1660 and sailed on 14 May, this letter must have been written in April or May 1660.

nents, were clearly recognized, as well as the proceedings attempted against him by the Ministers, of which the Holy general Inquisition [in Madrid] gave a very honorific testimonial. In this same case, another prophecy is included, because, the Servant of God being in the meantime in the Mariana Islands without any human contact by which to learn about it, he wrote to the Great Inquisitor, through his father, Don Gerónimo de Sanvitores, on behalf of Don Diego Salcedo, in which he undid one by one the charges that they were making against him—a fact that was of great importance for the good outcome.

Article 48. He had a wonderful gift in giving counsels, beyond human prudence. From Cadiz he wrote to Fr. Juan Gabriel Guillén, and in talking about the Missions, he advised him to get in touch with Fr. Tirso Gonzalez, when the two of them were in distinct provinces, busy with Chairs in Theology, and did not know one another,<sup>1</sup> with these words: “Your Reverence should write to him right now, and should know that this correspondence is very important.” It was so important that from it resulted their leaving their Chairs, and dedicating themselves to revival Missions, with the example and fruit that is known all over Spain, and specially in Andalusia.

#### [Miracles]

Article 49. God honored His Servant with the testimonial of supernatural deeds:

1. In the town of Fecuña<sup>2</sup> of the Island of Santa Ana [i.e. Rota], in the residency of San Francisco Xavier, died a male child without baptism, because his parents were hiding him, and after six hours had passed, he was already stiff, cold, and anointed with oil, ready to be buried. Taking him in his arms, the Servant of God offered him with tears to the B.V.M., whose mass of the Immaculate Conception he had just said on that day, which was a Saturday, and offered it for the special increase of our Holy Faith, and divine glory, and in honor of the B.V.M., and the salvation of that child, by offering to give him the name of St. Francis Xavier, whose vigil and eve he was celebrating with a fast...<sup>3</sup> This was confirmed by the sworn declaration of Don Francisco de Mendoza, an eyewitness, and the main Interpreter of those Islands.<sup>4</sup>

2. In Sumarrago, a town of the Island of San Francisco Xavier [i.e. Agrigan], he resuscitated a female child who had died without baptism.

3. In the town formerly called Muchon, and now San Francisco Xavier, in the Island of Santa Ana, a Christian named Francisco Nufa, had almost died twice already of long illnesses. Both times he recovered suddenly when the Servant of God applied to him a medal of St. Francis Xavier. This too is proved with the sworn statement of said Interpreter, Don Francisco de Mendoza.

1 Fr. Guillén was then at Alcalá (see HM4:132) and Fr. Gonzalez lived at Salamanca.

2 Misprint for Fucuña. Note that this settlement was one of the villages depending on the parish of San Francisco Xavier, whose church was located in another village, called Muchon (see below).

3 The story of these miracles es extracted from an annual report (see HM4: 514-515; 556-558).

4 Mendoza was a Filipino brought to Guam by Fr. Sanvitores (HM4: 392).

4. To the town of Agadña in the Island of Guan, now San Juan, a married couple came from the town of Fuña with an 8-month-old baby boy suffering from dropsy (an illness from which many die in that region). His parents had prevented him from being baptized, as they had been persuaded by Choco the Chinaman that this illness came from the water of the Christians, and that the illness was made worse in those who already had it. They feigned that the child was baptized and asked for other remedies for the illness. The Servant of God, applying various relics to the child, read a Gospel for him, but with the illness growing worse by the day, they returned and confessed that he was not baptized. After he was baptized by the hand of the Servant of God, within a few days he was again well, and healthy.

5. In Taraifac, a town of the Island of San Juan, the Servant of God found a woman near death. She had been mute for five days, and was thus unable to ask for, and receive Holy Baptism, which he had resisted before. He followed God's inspiration and applied to the sick woman a relic from the entrails of St. Francis Xavier, saying his prayer, after that of the most holy name of Mary. The sick woman instantly gave signs of consciousness and spoke, repeating the Act of contrition, and clearly asking for Holy Baptism not just once, but twice. And answering to basic instruction, she received it. She kept the ability to talk the whole of that afternoon, but she lost it afterwards.

6. In Piggug, a town of the same Island, in the year 1669, the Servant of God found a deaf woman, over 100 [sic] years of age, who had been hidden by her relatives, so that she would not receive baptism. Applying a relic of the True Cross to her ears, he recited the prayer to St. Joseph, whose feast-day it was, and the deaf woman could immediately hear, so that she was able to respond to the instruction for baptism, and she received it, and she retained the ability to hear afterwards, at everyone's surprise.

7. In Tumhon of the Island of St. Joseph [i.e. Saipan], he found a woman with clear signs of being possessed by the Devil, who had all those of that town under his spell. The Servant of God made the ordinary conjurations prescribed by the Church, and added other, special, and devout efforts inspired by the Lord, applying various relics, and reciting prayers to the B.V.M., to St. Joseph, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier. This is how he freed the body of the woman of the bad spirit, and the residents of the town from their obstination.

8. In Opian, a place on said Island, the Servant of God baptized a paralytic woman, who did not have the use of her limbs, and this was sufficient to leave her in perfect health.

9. In Oprao, in the same Island,<sup>1</sup> with a few words written by St. Ignatius, which the Servant of God applied to a woman who had labored for a day and a half with a child-birth with a backward presentation. Once the prayer to the same Saint was recited, and his engraving tied to her right-hand wrist, and after promising to give the name of the

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1 Oprao was not on the same Island, but on Agrigan (see HM4).

Saint to the creature, a baby girl was born easily. She was then baptized and named Ignacia.

10. A soldier named Damian<sup>1</sup> from the 30 defending the fort [sic], and church of the Island of San Juan, during the attacks by the heathens, went out with others to look for food, and was wounded by the enemies who were waiting in ambush with three mortal wounds from spears, in the head, belly, and a leg, but the Servant of God cured him perfectly by invoking the Virgin Mary, and other Saints.

11. There were two enemy camps of Indians stoning one another. The Servant of God, to exhort them to peace, placed himself in between, holding a cross. They began to shoot stones at it, but they fell at his feet, and broke up, without doing any harm.

12. There arrived at the Convent of the Magdalene in Alcalá de Henares some engravings of the Servant of God,<sup>2</sup> at the time that Sister Isabel del Espiritu Santo, a Religious of the same Convent, was suffering some terrible pains from arthritic gout, and upon applying one of said engravings, the pain subsided.

13. In the same convent, and on the same day, Sister María de San Buenaventura hurt herself in one eye with a strong blow from an iron handle, and she was losing a great quantity of blood, and upon applying one engraving of the Servant of God, the flow of blood stopped, and the pain subsided.

Article 50. God gave His Servant a great efficiency with words, for example:

1. In Casa-rubios del Monte, a town of the Archdiocese of Toledo, with one sermon he put a stop to a feud between two parties who had disagreed about who should carry the poles of the pall in procession during the feast of Corpus Christi. Without either Fr. Sanvitores leaving his pulpit, or his companion moving from his place, all of a sudden the two parties in church attendance arose and embraced one another. The order of the belated procession then took place, with places arranged by Fr. Sanvitores, and acts of contrition were recited various times along the way, instead of chants.

2. In the town of Barajas, on the temporary stage of a comedy act that had just taken place in the main square, after a brief exhortation he convinced the whole population to follow him, thus converting the hilarity of a profane feast into tears, and cries of contrition.

3. In the town of Nisihan in the Island of San Juan, it was by miraculous circumstance that all the residents were converted by the Servant of God. Three times he had tried, but failed, and the last time he went away with two wounds. A short time later, on the feast-day of St. Francis Xavier, he was moved to return to this quest and, recommending it to the B.V.M., the special and universal Patron of those Islands, through the intercession of the Holy Apostle of the Indies, whose name he offered to give to the town, he proceeded in his prayers until December 10th, the octave of the Apostle, and,

1 His last name was Bernal. This Tagalog Filipino archer was wounded in ambush in 1671, but was later killed at Tumhon (see HM5: 403-404; 425-427; 502).

2 These can only be copies of the sheet printed in Mexico by Fr. Sanvitores in 1668 (reproduced in HM4:541-542).

having said a mass for the purpose, he intrepidly arrived at the town. God put so much force and authority in his mouth, and words, that suddenly everyone changed their mind, and received our Holy Faith. The whole town was baptized during the week that followed the feast of the Conception of Our Lady.<sup>1</sup>

4. The events described in Art. 23 belong under this heading, of efficiency given to his words, which moved the Viceroy, and his ministers in Mexico.

**Article 51. Forebodings of the fruit of his Mission, and of his lucky death:**

1. Father fray Luis de Amezquita, an Augustinian friar, Prior of the Convent and residence of Taniguay [sic],<sup>2</sup> was a man held to be of high virtue, had a vision, when the Servant of God was preparing to leave Manila for the Mariana Islands... He begged his Superiors to go with the Servant of God, but His divine Majesty prevented it, by rewarding the hardships of his life, and his good wishes, with death, a lucky one (we hope), that took place at Manila.

2. The vision that his mother had, mentioned in Art. 9, happened the following way: she saw in a ray of light the Patriarch St. Ignatius who was leading the Servant of God by the hand, and was dressed in the usual habits of the Society (though he had not yet been admitted, and was far from the site of this vision). The Servant of God had his head bathed in blood, and had his throat almost cut off. His mother then shouted to her servants: "Look! there goes my son; bring him to me." They went in where she said he was, but found no-one. His mother then heard St. Ignatius telling her: "Do not try and take away your son. I want him in my house for a Saint."

3. When he was a Novice, the Servant of God and two other novices, his companions, had a wonderful dream one same night, and all its details were the same. They saw the scene of the Last Judgment taking place somewhere; they heard their own sentences, and those of others, given out by Christ Himself. Come morning, they three remembered only their own sentence and that of another companion novice, and then they all decided to keep the matter quiet, and not to tell another soul about their dream: the sentences in question given out by Christ were that the Servant of God would go straight to Heaven, but the two others would go to Purgatory, while the fourth novice, the one who had not had any dream, would go to Hell. In fact, this last one, within a few days, and for no apparent reason, and against the advice of the Master of Novices, left the Order.

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1 This entire episode should be properly credited only to Fr. Luis de Medina (see HM5:93).

2 The proper spelling of this Filipino town is Tanaguan. This story comes from a letter that Fr. Sanvitores sent to Fr. Guillén at his arrival at Guam in 1668 (see HM4:452-453).

4. There were forebodings of the unhappiness that the voyage of the Servant of God to the Mariana Islands caused in Hell. On the day that he left Manila, on 31 July 1667, some fearsome earthquakes hit the place, and were indeed frightful. On the first day of Christmas, at about midnight, on Christmas Eve, when the Servant of God reached Acapulco, the earth shook in Mexico, and its kingdom so forcefully that everyone thought he was doomed.<sup>1</sup>

5. The day of the arrival of the Servant of God at the Mariana Islands, a very solemn ringing of church bells was heard, although there were none in all the Islands.<sup>2</sup>

Article 52. Public esteem, and reputation as a holy man.

—King Philip IV, in the last year of his reign, out of esteem for the holiness of the Servant of God, ordered the Governor of the Philippines by royal decree to provide him with a boat, and all the necessities for travelling to the Mariana Islands.

—The Queen our Lady, for the same esteem, approved the expenditure of the 10,000 pesos that had been drawn from the Royal Treasury of Mexico for the despatch of the Servant of God, and his companions, and received with devotion and esteem some Images, and fragments of others, that the Servant of God sent to her.

—The same Queen, and the Royal Council of the Indies, granted him whatever he requested from overthere for the preservation of the Mission, entrusting, in very honorific despatches, to his prudence, and zeal, the political and spiritual government of the Mariana Islands.

—The great Servant of God, Cardinal Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo, held a great appreciation and esteem for the Holiness, zeal, and spirit of the Servant of God.

—Inside, and outside, the Society of Jesus, everyone who ever came into contact with him held the universal opinion that he was a perfect man, and very holy, and a choice receptacle, and they would describe him as such to others who did not know him.

—And finally, His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff, Clement IX, in a special brief addressed to the Servant of God, thanked him for this work, and zeal, in propagating the Gospel, and sent him his Apostolic blessing and a quantity of medals with indulgences, to distribute among the Faithful of those Islands.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 There is a confusion of date here. Fr. Sanvitores reached Acapulco only on 5 January 1668 (see Doc. 1668A).
  - 2 This incident is not told anywhere else, although Fr. García, and later Fr. LeGobien, told about bells ringing all over Spain at the hour of his martyrdom, an incident not mentioned in the present document.
  - 3 It was not a papal brief as such, but a letter from one of the Pope's secretaries, in Spanish, as Fr. Bustillo reported to Fr. Alava himself from Guam (Doc. 1681N), and the letter in question was in answer to Doc. 1668G.



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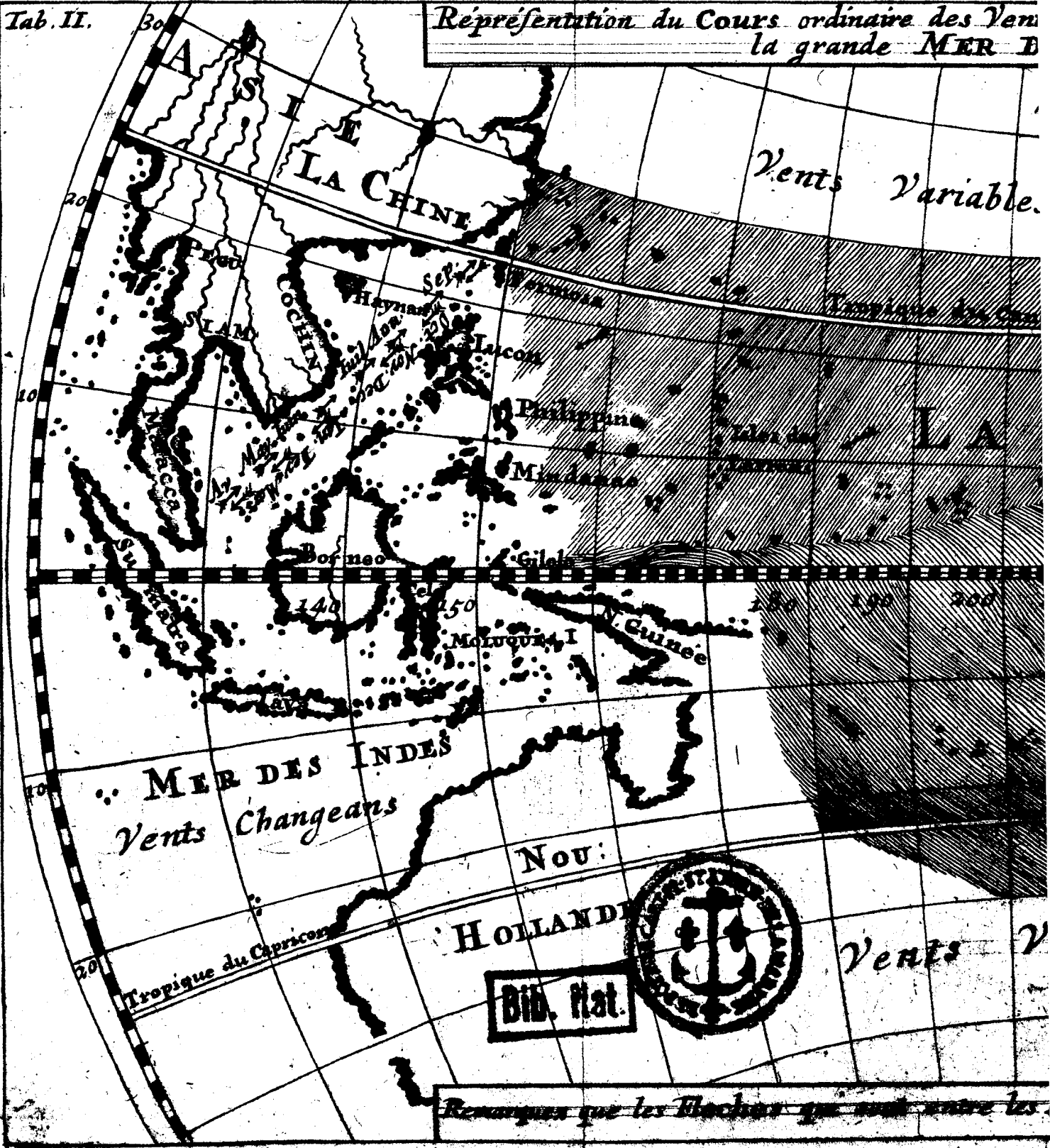
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Tab. II.

*Réprésentation du Cours ordinaire des Vents  
la grande MER D*



*Remarque que les Flèches qui sont entre les*