

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 9 — CONQUEST OF THE
GANI ISLANDS, 1687-1696**

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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Abbreviations

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 [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.

Foreword

This volume contains 156 documents, translated from the Spanish, Latin and German, and covering the period from 1687 to 1696.

Gani was the native name for the Mariana Islands situated north of Saipan, which some modern colonists have sometimes referred to by the ridiculous name of Northern Northern Marianas. Their population began to answer the call of interim Governor Quiroga in 1695 for resettling in Saipan, where Father Bouwens built the first church at Fatiguan. As for the rebellious population of Saipan, Tinian, and Aguijan Islands, they were transported to Guam, following the Battle of Aguijan in August 1695. However, final resettlement of the whole native population of the Gani Islands did not take place until 1697-98.

Personnel news. When Governor Esplana left Guam in 1688 without permission, he was arrested and tried in Manila, but found not guilty and sent back to Guam the following year. His temporary replacement, Captain Medrano, could not get along with Quiroga and left Guam immediately, claiming sickness. The first trained surgeon in Guam was a Brother of the Order of St. John named Francisco Beltrán; he left Guam in the company of Esplana in 1688. Two years later, the first Italian Jesuit brother trained in medicine arrived; he was Brother Cundari from Sicily. Four years later, he was joined by another Italian surgeon, from Naples, named Brother Chavarri. More German-speaking Jesuit missionaries arrived in 1688 and 1689. The garrison soldiers mutinied against interim Governor Quiroga in 1688; they placed him in jail, but dissension among them led to Quiroga's release. The repentent Captain Rodriguez was badly treated by Quiroga, but the missionaries defended him. When Governor Esplana died of dropsy in August 1694, Quiroga became interim Governor once again.

Shipwreck and another mutiny in 1690. The patache Pilar, which accompanied the galleon Santo Niño in June of that year, got too close to Cocos Islet off the southern tip of Guam and crashed mercilessly, because the pilot refused to heed the warning of the Filipino crewmen. Luckily, nobody lost his life and there was plenty of time to recover whatever valuables had been on board her. The main silver was aboard the galleon, that left the next day, leaving 95% of the people stranded on Guam, where they stayed for many months. The 20 or so Franciscan friars were accommodated by the local Jesuits, but the convict soldiers from Mexico were put to work by Governor Esplana. They plotted to kill all of the Spanish, including the missionaries, and to take over the incoming Manila patache in September, in order to escape to parts unknown. However, one of their numbers revealed the plot during confession, and they were all arrested. Most were executed, and the rest shipped to Manila in chains.

Government and administration. Fr. Morales, who had served in the Marianas, presented a memorial to the King of Spain for the preservation of the Mission. In it, he undiplomatically accused the members of the Council of the Indies of being cool in their efforts to support the Mission, but he got some action, along with some resentment. Fr. Bouwens made some recommendations for the good government of the islands, but Fr. Bustillo complained that some of his ideas were not practical. The missionaries often disagreed on the qualifications required of a good governor. During this period, the Council passed a law making the use of the Spanish language compulsory in the schools of the Indies. Mexican families were encouraged to move to the Marianas, to bolster the diminishing native population, but none ever came. The first true census of the native population took place in October 1693; at that time there were only 1,631 Chamorros left on Guam, but, in 1695 they were joined by 4,000 displaced Tinianese. Beginning with this volume, we have financial reports on the yearly subsidy sent from Mexico; it amounted to approximately 50,000 pesos per year.

Other ships, more discoveries, and disasters. English pirate Captains Swan and Dampier visited Guam in 1686 and were made welcome by Esplana, although Fr. Cuculino was kept hostage aboard Swan's ship. The Island of Yap, or Carolina, was re-discovered in 1686 by two Spanish galleons, but its location was so badly recorded that two expeditions from Guam, led by the Chamorro Chief Soón in 1689 and 1690, were futile. In 1694, a certain Captain Arriola left Manila for Acapulco in a small boat, and he chanced to discover Marcus Island in the North Pacific; a previous sighting of this island was probably what had given rise to the legendary Islands of Gold and Silver mentioned in earlier volumes. During this period, there usually was one patache arriving from Manila every autumn, and leaving in the early part of the following year. There was a study made in Manila to try and have two voyages per year, but that was simply impossible, mostly because of the seasonal winds. There were the usual disasters, with the patache turning back in distress, bypassing Guam, or being burned while at anchor. Another setback was the complete destruction of Guam on 20 November 1693 by a giant typhoon. Fr. Bouwens wrote the first detailed description of such a natural disaster, in Latin.

Chamorros in the news. This volume introduces many more virtuous and not-so-virtuous natives, with family names such as: Aguaya, Ama, Ami, Apan, Assion, Chafán, Chuguu, Curu (who travelled at least as far as Mexico), Ecay, Eguegue, Enna, Etaqui, Eyiya, Guay, Inete, Inoc, Mamia, Mananga, Oranug, Ressu, Saigua, Sátigun, Saurri, Soón, Taypirus, Tátifi, Tenni, Tirsi, Yao, and Yay. Two of Fr. Strobach's unnamed assassins were captured and executed.

...

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, October 1997.

Acknowledgments

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Errors and corrections

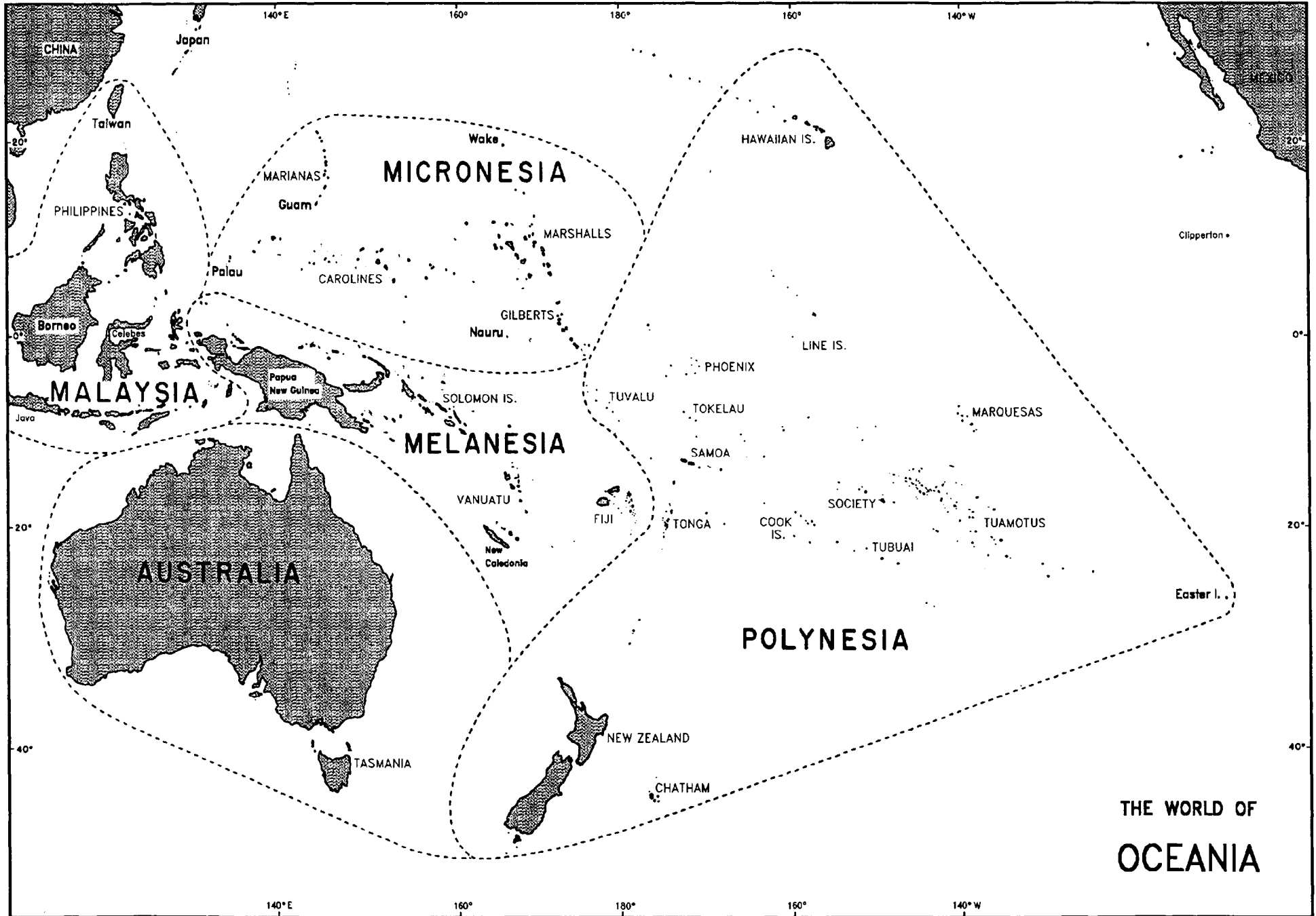
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on sources

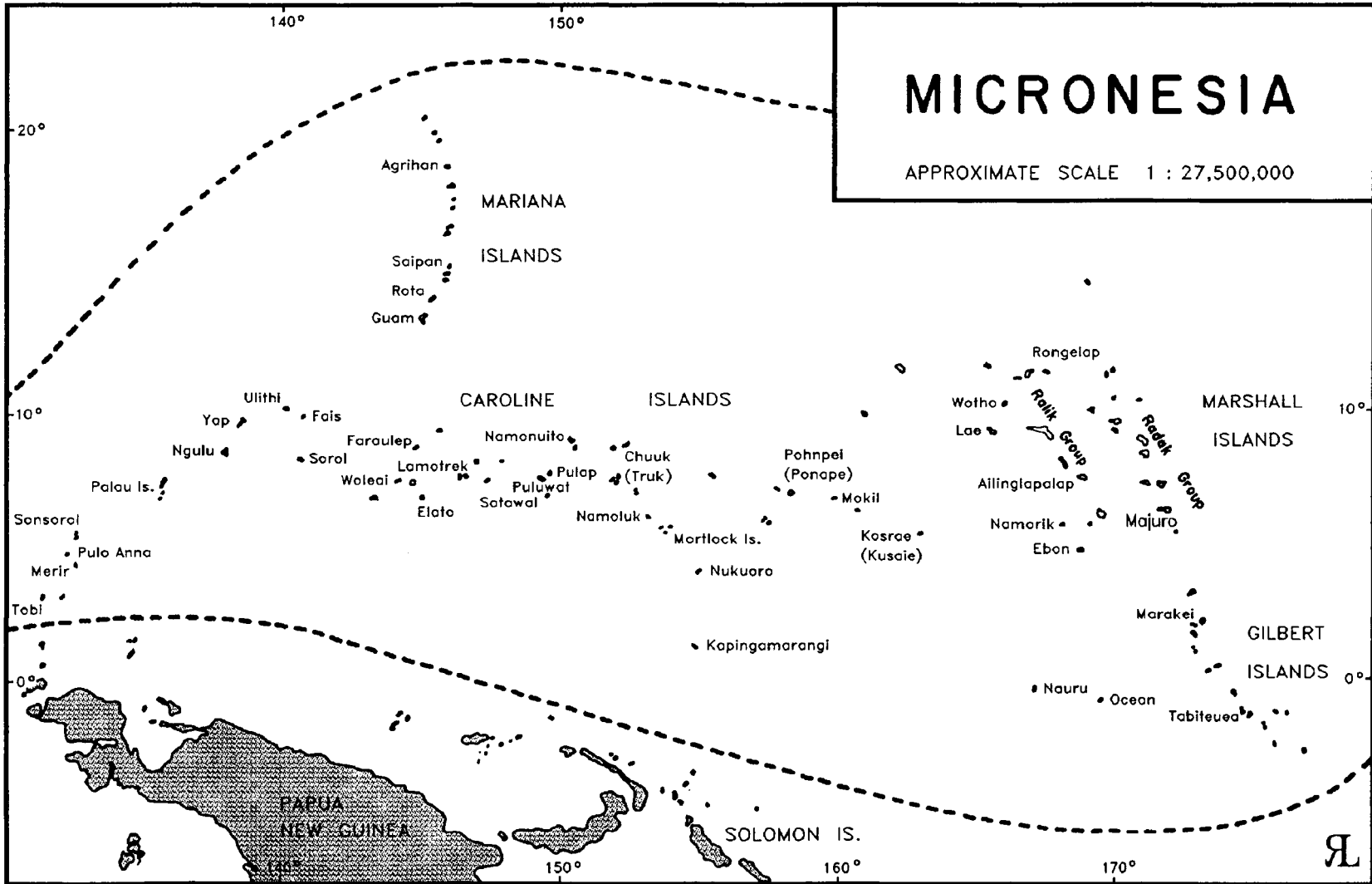
The documents drawn from AGI are from the *Filipinas* bundles, unless otherwise indicated.

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.



THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA



Document 1687B

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. García in Madrid, dated Guam 12 May 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1958, p. 224).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
Fresh misfortune has come upon us this last year on account of our having lost all the supplies [of 1686]... You will have heard of it already from others; I have written a report of it to the Duchess [of Aveiro] and to avoid wearying you I refrain from repeating it here. Suffice to say that the fault, as that of all our other calamities which have been causing us grave distress here during the last three years, is entirely the Governor's, Damian de Esplana...

It would be nice if the Father Procurator, Luis de Morales, could negotiate from there His Majesty's reward for this **disservice**. Time will show; also whether he will leave for Manila in the galleon, as he says he will against all opposition even if there be no successor to him, whether the Supreme Court [i.e. Audiencia of Manila] gives him permission or not.

Would that he had never been sent here at all, since his stay here has almost brought about the entire ruin of this Christian mission.

If it is true that he will leave, there is at present no candidate for the post, for there is no doubt that the Supreme Council, having given this governor this appointment, in the manner which you well know, acted with the intention of assisting us. For anyone hearing this individual relating the exploits which he says he has achieved, boasting of more soldiers than the warrior Cid,¹ would imagine there was no braver man in all the Kingdom. But God has revealed to us all, that he is not the gentleman he thinks himself...

1 Ed. note: Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, famous in the early history of northern Spain.

His not having done anything useful in the three years he has been here, is not attributable as he says to his habitual indisposition, but rather to the mortal fears which he suffers, without cause; this is the reason why he does not go out.

...

In spite of all the good suggestions offered to him by Don Joseph de Quiroga, it has not been possible to induce him to do anything honorable, or even to amuse himself in the decorous manner which befits his station; but he only thinks of going about like a farmer or a foreman of works, the interior of the fort being no more than a pig-stye.

Last year he built a dwelling house for himself, and now after four months, he has demolished it, retiring to one of the bastions in the fortress. His greatest concern is the breeding of pigs, whose styes he inspects—unworthy action!—more than six times daily; and he does the same with regard to melons and water-melons; never taking the slightest military exercise, as though there were no such thing as a garrison here...

[Then follows a catalog of faults:]

First, he does not allow the good Don Joseph de Quiroga to proceed with the conquest of what he himself allows to be lost. Secondly, he discredits him among the soldiers, as though he were good for nothing, when in very truth, the existence of the remnants of this mission is entirely due to Don Joseph. Thirdly, he greatly enrages him by his manner of speaking to him. Of all this I complained to His Excellency, as well as of the things in which he had annoyed us... but to no purpose.

[The writer suggests that the Supreme Council should lay down rules as to the qualifications required for the post of future governors; and a ruling as to what attitude the clergy should adopt with regard to cases similar to the present. He also asks that authoritative instructions may be sent in the event of Don Joseph de Quiroga's appointment, adding:]

You cannot ignore some little things which, when the said Don Joseph governed here, displeased my predecessor, the Venerable Father Manuel Solorzano.¹

Etc.

1 Ed. note: He refers to Quiroga's habit of not asking the Fathers for advice.

Document 1687C

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to the King, dated Guam 20 May 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 7-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 63 pounds (Cat. N° 442, item n° 1953, p. 219).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

Sire:

Among the many calamities which have befallen us in the Mariana Islands these last three years, not the least has been the loss of the supplies in the year 1686, although on 9 June the galleon had happily appeared to us on its return to Manila, and had brought us relief at your Majesty's request. The misfortune is attributable to the lack of goodwill on the part of our Governor, Damian de Esplana. I relate the case for Your Majesty's information.

[Description of the English pirate ships]

On 31 May, two vessels arrived here; the larger of the two, which was a medium-sized frigate,¹ carried 10 pieces of iron artillery and four swivel guns; the smaller, without artillery, was a very small boat.² The crew which manned both ships together numbered some 140 men. The Captain and a few others of his company, seemed honest merchants, but the rest were pirates, who had robbed and sacked certain places in Peru and had met the Captain, who had voyaged to those parts with the intention of trading his goods, as before, among the Portuguese in Brazil. Being English like themselves, this Captain and owner of the frigate, they compelled him to throw his merchandise overboard, for which they promised him compensation, on consideration that he received these people and the booty which they had stolen.³

Among the negroes and mulattos of that crew was a Spanish half-caste, who had helped and guided them in their thefts—they themselves confessed that in a naval

1 Ed. note: The Cygnet, Captain Swan, with Captain Dampier as mate.

2 Ed. note: It was called a bark by the English; it was under the command of Captain Teat.

3 Ed. note: This was a good yarn woven by Captain Dampier.

encounter in which they had unsuccessfully fought the people at Lima, they would have been unable to escape at all, had not their conquerors magnanimously waived their rights as victors. The Englishman, seeing how badly matters were shaping for him, decided to flee, but as he was unable to navigate the Northern sea by which he had arrived, word having been passed along the coast warning them of the pirates, he resolved to cruise along the coast of New Spain, intending to carry out his further plans as it suited his convenience.

He sacked I know not what place, paying for the robbery with 40, some said 60, of his men who were killed; then sailed towards the Hermosa Island¹ where they say his countrymen had a factory...

There were days when they suffered great privations so that they were forced to make for this group of Islands, and had they not found them, they would most assuredly have perished, for every 24 hours, they and even the Captain, had nothing to eat beyond a handful of corn boiled in water. The worst of it was that there was much dissension among them, between the rabble on board and the Captain, who deplored his lot and even despaired of his life. None of them showed him the slightest respect or obedience; and thus there came to the Governor's hands, so opportune a weapon for proving the merits of Your Majesty's arms, had he known with sagacity, military courage and mature judgment how to avail himself of the opportunity.

Less than a month before, the Governor, accompanied by 50 soldiers, had awaited the galleon on the west coast, due to arrive with Your Majesty's Royal allowance, from New Spain, on its way to the Philippines. He had decided to embark for Manila, and says he will do so this year without hindrance from anyone, even though your Majesty should not send a successor, or your Royal Council should withhold their permission.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: Today's Taiwan.

Document 1687D

**Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr.
Mansilla, dated Guam 20 May 1687**

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, item n° 1956, p. 222).

Letter to Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla in Mexico**Extract from the Maggs Catalog.**

...
Without doubt you must have heard, although none of us has written, how last year we remained without our usual relief, although it had been so well within our reach. This act on the part of the Governor, Esplana (which some people who are not aware of the facts of the case, will praise as a signal service to the King), was nothing of the sort, but merely a new blunder to his discredit, and to our prejudice, as you will appreciate from the letters enclosed with this one, for His Excellency the Viceroy. I beg you to hand them to him so that he may be informed of what Esplana, had he been a man, could have done; but he spoils everything by not investigating or taking anybody's advice.

He will not exert himself to retrieve in some degree the very much that he has lost. His sole occupation is to hunt pigs, and inspect them three or four times daily here in Agaña, and very often keeping his pig-styes in the majority of ranches on the other islands, which were established by the rebels after emerging suddenly from their hiding-places, or having returned from other islands whence they had fled. Maybe that the hunting and breeding of pigs is, in the judgment of this, their judge, sufficient punishment for all their transgressions against sacred and civil laws. I think so, for he has not meted out justice to any one who has been caught, and the others have fled.

He has no better control over his soldiers than over the Marianos; they have all lost fear of him, and the poor gentleman, finding his authority gone, does not dare to punish whatever evil practices they perform. He affects to ignore their misdeeds, and whenever I bring any case to his notice, he pretends not to understand, be the information

by word of mouth or in writing. I have no satisfaction, beyond clearing my conscience in the matter.

In the meantime we can only deplore the lamentable plight of the natives, soldiers and missionaries with the stay of him, who ought never to have set foot here, at all. God save us from him, if He will, and spare you for our common good and comfort, for well we need it.

...

Document 1687E

Letter from the King to Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Madrid 20 May 1687

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 215-215v, pp. 457-458.

Note: Regarding the case against Lazcano. As a follow-up to Doc. 1683B and 1685R2.

Inquiring about the case against Captain Lazcano

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas que remita al Consejo la causa que se hizo a Francisco Lezcano sobre su biage a las Marianas y lo que se gastó.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del orden de Santiago de mi Consejo de Guerra mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

En carta que me escrivisteis en treinta de Maio del año pasado de mill seiscientos y ochenta y çinco disteis quenta de estar fenecida la causa que se hizo a Francisco de Lezcano Cavo de la valandra que vuestro antezesor despachó a las Islas Marianas por aver buuelto sin entrar en ellas. Y deçis fue absuelto y que se sastisfaçieren las adiciónes puestas a lo gastado que ymportó ocho mill tresçientos y siete pesos seis tomines y nueve granos de que remitisteis testimonio.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que pidió mi fiscal de el se à hechado menos no constar que el de esa mi Audiencia apelase de la sentenzia pronunçiada por vuestro antezesor en esta causa, la qual por su calidad y gastos que en ella se hiçieren era digna de que por este medio se hiviase traydo al dho mi Consejo. Y assi os mando que en la primera ocassion que se ofrezca me la remitais à el para que enterado mas por menor de su monta(?) provea lo que combenga.

Fha en Buen Retiro à veinte de Maio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y siete años.

Yo el Rey.

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,
Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.
Señalada del Consejo.*

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines, telling him to send the file of the case against Francisco Lezcano regarding his voyage to the Marianas, and what was spent on it.

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, of my War Council, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter that you wrote to me on 30 May of the past year 1685, you reported that the case that was made against Francisco de Lezcano, commander of the sloop that your predecessor despatched to the Mariana Islands, for having returned without having made it overthere, was closed. And you said that he was absolved and that the additional expenses made, which amounted to 8,307 pesos 6 tomins and 9 grains, about which you remitted the record of proceedings.

And when this was seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal requested about it, it was realized that my Audiencia has missed the opportunity to appeal the sentence pronounced by your predecessor in this case, which was worthy of being appealed and brought to the attention of this my Council, on account of its merit and the expenses involved. And so, I order you to send it to my Council at the first opportunity that presents itself, to enable them, once they have taken cognizance of its relative importance, to provide whatever may be appropriate.

Made at Buen Retiro, 20 May 1687.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.
Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1687F

Letter from the King to Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Madrid 5 June 1687

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 223-223v, pp. 473-474.

Regarding the cost of the 1683 voyage

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas que ynforme los gastos que causó la embarcacion que su antecesor despacho a las Islas Marianas el año de 1683.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del orden de Santiago de mi Consejo de Guerra mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

Don Juan de Vargas vuestro antecesor en carta de diez de Junio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres me dio quenta de haver despachado aquel año un bagel a las Islas Marianas.

Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que acerca de ello dixo mi fiscal en el ha parecido mandaros (como lo hago) me ynformeis los gastos que esta embarcacion hizo y para haverle con las notiçias que combiene pidireis os subministren las que huviereis men[este]r el contador de quentas y resultas y mis ofiçiales Reales de esas yslas para cuió efecto mandareis à este contador buelva a reveer las quentas y que saque las glosas que hallare avria restituzion de lo que ymportaren proçedereis dandome quenta con los autos de lo que en esto obraredes.

Fha en Madrid à çinco de Junio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y siete años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines, telling him to report on the costs caused by the vessel that his predecessor despatched to the Mariana Islands in the year 1683.

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, of my War Council, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

Don Juan de Vargas, your predecessor, in a letter dated 10 June 1683, reported to me that he had despatched that year a vessel to the Mariana Islands.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal there declared about it, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to report to me the expenditures made on this vessel and in order to do so with notices that seem appropriate, you are to ask for them from the Accountant of accounts and revenues and my royal officials of those Islands; to this effect, you are to order this accountant to review the accounts and make extracts of the entries that he might find with regards to restitution of what they amount to, and you are to give me a report, complete with the declarations of what you have done about this.

Made at Madrid, 5 June 1687.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora,
Countersigned by the Council.¹

1 Ed. note: There had been frauds. See Doc. 1689G for the answer.

Document 1687G

Letter from Fr. Ahumada to the Duchess, dated Guam 27 May 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. cited in Reid's Bibliography of Guam; offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, item n° 1959, p. 225).

The last letter of Fr. Ahumada¹

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
The troubles which the Almighty has seen fit to send us these years of 1686 and 1687 are well-nigh indescribable, and have been sent to test our patience and purify it, and make us worthy Ministers in His service; for since our work is to seek souls and win them for God, so has He ordained that we should follow Him and pass through the fires of tribulation as He did to Saint Paul.

We have not been spared calumny and false witness without the slightest foundation, and imputations which have reached to the depths of the heart... but all this we have borne with exemplary patience, without any manifestation of ill-will towards the slanderers; thus complying with what our Lord demands of us.

Many times have we found ourselves within the arms of the figure of Death, through mismanagement on the part of the Government, judging ourselves to have reached our last hour; and Our Lord has delivered us, for He desires that our crown shall be purified further, so that we may in His Divine sight be yet more precious, *ecce vivimus*.² We are prepared to receive the blows which His Divine Majesty cares to send, praying for those who persecute us, and doing all in our power to bring enlightenment to those souls regarding their Maker. We thus regard as our benefactors those who cause our material privations, and implore our Lord to give us the grace to bear it, that we may not fail in our obligation to do all for all, to win all.

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Ahumada's last letter to the Duchess, as he died the following October 1687.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Here we are, alive."

In every way God has desired to try us. We have lacked all human consolation, and it is now three years since we have had any letters from Spain, nor do we know of the state of the Church or of the Monarchy; neither have we had a single letter from our Superiors. For when the **Santo Niño** arrived [in 1685] with our benefactor, Don Antonio Nieto, on board, all our despatches were lost, we knew not how.

Last year the expected vessel did not reach port, as you have probably heard, through the fault of the Governor. This year we do not know how we shall fare; we have no other recourse but pray to God, through whose guiding hand all things pass; and resign ourselves to His Holy will...

What we most deplore, my Lady, is the loss of these souls, as I tell in another letter. It breaks our heart and crucifies us to see how wasted has been the precious blood which our Lord spilled for the sake of these Indian brethren. May His Divine Majesty take compassion on them, and send us a worthy Governor who will work for the glory of God and the good of these poor souls.

I do not wish to dilate further on the subject, for the Father Vice Provincial gives a full account to you; nevertheless, in the **diary** which I am forwarding to Father Francisco García, from the year 1684 until 1687, you will find entries touching upon all the events which have occurred, and which you may take it from me, represent the absolute truth, however incredible they may seem.¹

...

San Ignacio, 27 May 1687.

1 Ed. note: These dates would seem to indicate that Fr. Ahumada came back to Guam in 1684, rather than 1683. In any case, Doc. 1687L confirms his presence in 1684.

Documents 1687H

Memorial by Fr. Morales, for the preservation of the Mariana Island Mission

Source: AGI Ultramar 562, colección Simancas; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 336-340.

H1. The “offensive” memorial of April 1687, addressed to the Queen Mother

*Note: This memorial must have originated from a rumor circulating in the Court at Madrid that the Council was planning to abolish the Spanish colony in the Marianas. Fr. Morales’ memorial, channelled through the Queen Mother, was considered offensive by the members of the Council of the Indies, because it accused them of being lukewarm in their support of the propagation of the faith. During the days of the Inquisition, such an accusation was not to be taken lightly. The reaction of the Council was smart; they told the King that the accusation had been directed at **him**, unfairly.*

Original text in Spanish.

Señora

Luis de Morales de la Compañía de Jesus y su Procurador General por la Provincia de Filipinas, en nombre de ella, y de las Apostolicas Misiones que la pertenecen:

*Dice que habiendo entendido que **algunos de los Reales Ministros se entivian en el fervor con que S.M. ha asistido hasta ahora á la conversion de las Islas Marianas** representa.*

*Lo **primero** que ninguna demostracion hay mas evidente de cuan perfectamente cumple el Rey Nuestro Señor con la obligacion de dotrinar á los bárbaros de la América, que el ver que sin otra esperanza que la del aumento de la fé, empleé su real hacienda en la salvacion de aquellos indios que en todo lo descubierto son los mas pobres, y mas desamparados.*

*Lo **segundo** por que en la combersion de dichos naturales han padecido martirio trece religiosos de la Compañía, y diez y nueve de los seglares que les acompañaban, y no es justo que se malogre la sangre de tantos mártires, ni desampare dichas comber-*

siones, estando para cogerse el fruto así de las trece islas reducidas, como de las muchas cercanas, y muy pobladas que se esperan reducir al gremio de nuestra Santa Iglesia.

Lo tercero por que siendo esta Mision tan Apostólica, y tan agena de sospecha de todo interes humano, es la mas clara prueba del Celo Católico de S.M. y sirve de confusion á los que con menos piedad anteponen interes humano á la salvacion de las Almas.

Lo cuarto por que qualquiera fundacion real de Capilla, Hospital, Combento, ó obra pia, se conserva sin revocarse, por el decoro de tan soberano Patron; y siendo de tanta mas importancia la Cristiandad de tan grande número de Islas, no es decente que la dotacion se quite principalmente no excediendo de veinte y cinco mil pesos todo el gasto de obra tan grande.

Lo quinto: Por que habiendose comenzado esta Mision con el amparo y nombre de V.M. no es justo que se borre tan gloriosa memoria de la piedad, celo, y religion de la Augustissima Casa de Austria.

Lo sexto por que siendo tantas las persecuciones, que por impedir esta gloriosa Mision ha levantado el Demonio en las sublevaciones de aquellos bárbaros, con la falta de medios, y otras grandes dificultades, y trabajos que han sobrevenido será de gran gloria de Dios que no salga con su intento, y que la constancia y celo de la Magestad Católica venza á su pertinacia, y malignidad.

Lo septimo, por que si bien no pocos han faltado y conjurado contra la fé dando muerte cruel á sus Predicadores, y á los que cooperaban con ellos; han sido muchos mas los que han perseverado firmes y constantes exponiendose á la muerte con gran valor en defensa de la fé de sus Padres espirituales y de los Españoles, y portandose con tal fervor, y fineza en la lealtad que profesan á Dios y al Rey será de muy mala consecuencia y de gravissimo desconsuelo el que en tan manifiesto peligro de cuerpo y alma, les falta la proteccion de S.M.

Lo octavo por que si por razon de las persecuciones, martirios, trabajos y gastos se hubiera de desistir de la predicacion de la fé entre gentiles apenas habria Cristiandad que hubiese perseverado, ni se hubiese conseguido el propagar el Santo Evangelio hasta los últimos términos del mundo con tanta gloria de Dios.

Lo nono, por que la esperiencia enseña que es verdadero el dictamen de los que sienten que los gastos empleados en la predicacion de la fé, son los que principalmente conservan y aseguran los Reynos de las Indias, y aumentan el beneficio de sus riquezas; y parece que lo que se gasta en estos presidios espirituales no conduce menos para la defensa que lo que se emplea en exercitos, y armadas.

Lo decimo por que parece afectada piedad la exageracion de las necesidades, afanes, y peligros que en las Marianas padecen los Misioneros; por que no faltandoles aliento ni fervor á los que se dedican á Ministerio tan santo para perder la vida si fuere menester por la salvacion de aquellos pobres naturales, no deben ser atendidos los que con mal fundada compasion los quieren apartar de su apostólico empleo.

Lo undecimo porque habiendo llegado á tanto aumento aquellas Cristiandades, que pareció necesario eregir iglesia Catedral en ellas, y habiendo pasado el Rey N.S. á elegir y proponer Obispo por las razones que en Roma han parecido suficientes seria impropiedad el suspender la ejecucion, y mucha desgracia que se arruinasen aquellas iglesias cuando se habian de restablecer y perpetuar.

Lo duodecimo, y último por que no tienen solidez ni subsistencia alguna las razones que procuran alegar los poco afectos á estas Misiones, diciendo se debiera atender á las conversiones mas cercanas de la nacion de los Chichumecos en la nueva Vizcaya, y de los que se hallan en los montes de Cerro Gordo, cerca de la Ciudad de Mexico, y de los gentiles llamados Sambales que estan en los montes cercanos á la Ciudad de Manila; por que dichos gentiles mas se deben llamar foragidos públicos de los caminos como lo son en España los Gitanos en Sierra Morena, Guadarrama, Torozos, y otras partes los salteadores; y asi como no se han dexado las conversiones del Nuevo Mundo por atender á estos; no se debe atender al Celo paliado de los que con pretesto de asistir á aquellos pretenden divertir la piedad Católica de tan gloriosas Misiones como las Marianas, donde sus naturales viven en forma politica en Pueblos, tienen iglesias, y admiten la predicacion del Santo Evangelio; todo lo cual no se hallará en las naciones que procura alegar la desaficion y emulacion de los Celosos.

Lo otro por que si tan corto número como el de siete discipulos que se le agregaron al Apostol Santiago en su primitiva predicacion de España no fué motivo para que desistiese de tan gloriosa empresa, no se debe desistir de la prosecucion en las conversiones Marianas, donde se hallan reducidos tantos millares; y principalmente siendo su suma pobreza el mayor crédito de la piedad Católica.

Por tanto: Suplica á V.M. sea servida de interponer su Autoridad, para que el Rey Nuestro Señor mande que no se desista del empeño de dichas conversiones Marianas, y que se aplique nueva actividad para la ejecucion de los medios que se han dispuesto para este fin Santo, asi en la conservacion del Presidio, como en la ereccion de la Catedral, y principalmente en el efecto de señalar ramo fixo, en que situar el gasto de la embarcacion, en que S.M. por repetidas y apretadas cédulas tiene mandado que todos los años despache el Gobernador de Filipinas con el socorro de las Marianas. En que asi dichas Misiones como el suplicante espera recibir merced del Patrocinio y piedad de V.M.

Translation.

Madam:

Luis Morales of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, on its behalf, and for the Apostolic Missions that belong to it:

Declares that, having understood that **some of the Royal Ministers are becoming lukewarm in the fervor with which H.M. has assisted until now to the conversion of the Mariana Islands**, and represents:

Firstly, that there is no demonstration more obvious of how perfectly the King our Lord complies with the obligation of indoctrinating the barbarians of America, than

the realization that, without any other hope than that of the propagation of the faith, he employs his royal treasury in the salvation of those Indians who are the poorest and the most abandoned among all those discovered.

Secondly, because in the conversion of said natives 13 religious of the Society and 19 civilians assisting them have suffered martyrdom, and it is not right for the blood of so many martyrs to fail, or for said conversions to be abandoned, at a time that the fruit, not only from the 13 reduced islands, but also from the many other islands nearby, very populated, that we hope can be reduced to the fold of our Holy Church.

Thirdly, because, since this Mission is so apostolic, and so devoid of the slightest human interest, it is the clearest proof of the Catholic zeal of H.M., and serves to confuse those who with less piety place human interest before the salvation of souls.

Fourthly, because any royal foundation of chapel, hospital, convent, or pious work, is preserved without revocation, on account of the honor of such a sovereign Patron; and the fact that the Christian community in such a great number of Islands is much more important, it is not decent to remove its endowment, specially since the total cost of such a great enterprise does not exceed 25,000 pesos.

Fifthly, because, since this Mission began with the protection and name of Your Majesty, it is not right that such a glorious memory of the piety, zeal, and religion of the most August House of Austria be erased.

Sixthly, because, since there have been so many persecutions raised by the Devil to impede this glorious Mission in the uprisings of those barbarians, with the lack of means, and other great difficulties, and hardships that have occurred, it would be to the greater glory of God to ensure that he will not succeed in his plan, and that the constancy and zeal of the Catholic Majesty will win over his persistence, and evil.

Seventhly, because, even if not a few have sinned and plotted against the faith by giving cruel death to their Preachers and to those who cooperated with them, there have been many more who have persevered, firm and constant, by exposing themselves to death with great valor in defence of the faith of their spiritual Fathers and of the Spanish, and behaving with such fervor, and finesse in the loyalty that they profess to God and to the King, it would be of very bad consequence and of very serious disconsolateness if the protection of H.M. should fail them, in such an obvious danger to body and soul.

Eighthly, because, if on account of the persecutions, martyrdoms, hardships and expenses, one were to desist from preaching the faith among the heathen, there would hardly be a Christian community that would have survived, and neither would the Holy Gospel have been propagated to the farthest places on earth, with so much glory to God.

Ninthly, because experience teaches us that those who say the following are right: the expenses made in preaching the faith are those that mainly preserve and assure the Kingdoms of the Indies, and increase the benefit derived from their riches; and it appears that what is spent in these spiritual garrisons serves for defence as well as what is spent in armies, and fleets.

Tenthly, because it appears that only affected pity can exaggerate the needs, worries and dangers that the Missionaries suffer in the Marianas, because those who dedicate themselves to such a holy ministry do not lack the desire nor the fervor to lose their lives, if necessary, for the salvation of those poor natives; therefore, those who want to take them away from their apostolic work, out of a badly-founded compassion, must not be paid attention to.

Eleventh point, because the progress of those Christian communities had flourished so well that it appeared necessary to erect a Cathedral church therein, and that the King our Lord had gone so far as to elect and propose a Bishop¹ for the reasons that appeared sufficient in Rome, it would be improper to suspend its execution, and very disgraceful to have those churches become ruins, when they should be re-established and perpetuated.

Twelfth and last point, because the reasons alleged by those with little affection for these Missions are without firmness nor substance, for instance, when they say that the much closer conversions of the nation of the Chichumecos in New Vizcaya should be attended to, and others in the hills of Cerro Gordo, near the city of Mexico, and those of the heathens called Zambales who live in the hills in the vicinity of the City of Manila; because said heathens should be called public fugitives and wanderers, like the Gypsies of Spain who are highwaymen in the Sierra Morena, Guadarrama, Torozos, and other places; and so, as the conversions of the New World have not been abandoned in favor of these people, neither should attention be paid to the pallid zeal of those who, under the pretext of assisting those, they pretend to divert the Catholic piety from such glorious Missions as the Marianas, where the natives live in a civilized manner in towns, with churches, and accept the preaching of the Holy Gospel; all of this will not be found among the nations that the lack of affection and rivalry of the Zealous try to allege.

Besides, because, if such a short number as the 7 disciples that the Apostle St. James gathered around him in his first preaching in Spain were not motive enough for him to desist from such a glorious enterprise, one must not desist from the prosecution of the conversions in the Marianas, where so many thousands have been reduced; and mainly because their extreme poverty is much to the credit of the Catholic piety.

Therefore: He begs Your Majesty to please intervene with your Authority, so that the King our Lord may order that said Mariana conversions not be desisted from, and that a new activity be applied for the carrying out of the means that have been arranged for this holy purpose, not only in the preservation of the Garrison, but also in the erection of the Cathedral, and mainly to make sure that a fixed budget item be reserved for the cost of the vessel that H.M. has repeatedly ordered in his decrees, that should be despatched every year by the Governor of the Philippines with the succor of the Marianas. In this, said Missions as well as the supplicant, hope to receive as a favor from the sponsorship and mercy of Y.M.

1 Ed. note: The King proposed to make Fr. Xaramillo the first Bishop of the Marianas, but this intention was not made official until the following year (see Doc. 1688D).

H2. Decree of 10 April 1687

Original text in Spanish.

Remito al Consejo de Indias el memorial incluso de Luis de Morales Procurador General de la Compañía de Jesus de Indias para que sobre lo que representa y suplica me consulte lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere.

[Signature of the King]

En Madrid á 10 de Abril de 1687,

Al Marques de los Velez.

Translation.

I remit to the Council of the Indies the enclosed memorial of Luis de Morales, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Indies, for a consultation on what should be done with respect to what he represents and requests.

[Original signed by the King]

In Madrid, 10 April 1687.

To the Marquis of Los Velez.

H3. Outrage in the Council of the Indies

Original text in Spanish.

Consejo á 11 de Octubre de 1687.

Sobre las Misiones de Marianas de que hizo relacion el Relator Vallejo se acordó.

*Consulta con el decreto de 10 de Abril contenido del memorial que se incluye y dicho antecedente que no tiene decreto, y la carta del Provincial [sic] de las Misiones que visto todo en el Consejo ha debido reparar en la suplica que hace el Padre Morales de que S.M. le encargue no desista del fomento de estas combersiones, por que no reconoce, ni discurre motibo ni fundamento por donde este Religioso halla podido hacer este juicio tan ajeno de la atencion, ánimo y celo con que el Consejo ha mirado y mira esta materia pues (aqui satisfacen con el hecho refiriendo lo pedido y pretendido por este Religioso y concedido S.M. á representaciones y consultas del Consejo y Junta) en que se manifiesta lo insustancial de el recelo, y haber tenidole impropriamente este Religioso, faltando á la verdad en lo que insinua, pues no solo se le ha propuesto á S.M. todo lo que ha pedido, y concedidoselo, si no aun mas, pues en el punto de la **infanteria** para el Presidio pidiendo aumento de 20 soldados se le concedieron 90 por considerar la Junta por necesario este mayor numero para asegurar y llevar adelante los progresos de aquellas reducciones, que no obstante el mal estado en que quedavan estas Misiones por los accidentes y reboluciones que se refieren en la citada carta, mirando á la mayor necesidad de que al presente se las socorra, asista y fomente, es de parecer que la **embarcacion** que está resuelto pase todos los años para asegurar su efecto se costee de los efectos que propone el Padre Morales pero con calidad de combertirse en este coste y*

gasto lo que resultare del beneficio que se hara del buque que se daba en la Nao á la Religion, y lo que faltase se cumpla de aquellos efectos, previniendo que no esceda el Buque de la embarcacion de la calidad y porte que fué la última que pasó y que no le han de poder aumentar.

Que al Capitan y Piloto que hizo el primer viage el año de 83 se le recomiende al Gobernador para que le premie con alguna encomienda.

Que el Señor Virey se le ordene que procure que voluntariamente vayan algunas familias, y las embie como propone el Señor Fiscal.

Que al Gobernador de Filipinas se le participe lo del alzamiento de Marianas ordenandole se informe de lo que ha pasado, y como obró el Gobernador, y de cuenta de lo que hallare, y si pudiere lo haga con autos.

Rubricado.

Señores: S.E.; Castellar; Fresno; Cañalejas; Valdés; Dicastillo; Cerdeño; Veytia; Camargo.

Translation.

The Council, 11 October 1687.

Agreed with the report submitted by the Reporter Vallejo regarding the Mariana Missions.

Consultation with the decree dated 10 April on the contents of the memorial enclosed therein, and said precedent that has no decree, and the letter from the Provincial [sic] of the Missions.¹ The Council, having seen all, has decided to focus on the petition presented by Father Morales to the effect that H.M. should entrust the Council not to desist from these conversions, because it does not recognize nor finds a motive or foundation by which this Religious could have come to this judgment, one so foreign to the attention, spirit and zeal with which the Council has looked and continues to look after this matter; indeed, suffice for them to rely on the facts, by referring to what is asked and presumed by this Religious and granted by H.M. at the recommendations of the Council and Committee, to show how insubstantial is the reason for his distrust, and how improper was this Religious who failed to uphold the truth by making insinuations. In fact, the Council has not only recommended to H.M. everything that he has requested, and granted it to him, but even more than he asked; for instance, on the point of the **infantry** for the garrison, he asked for an increase of 20 soldiers, but was granted 90, because the Committee considered this larger number to be necessary to proceed forward with those reductions. Also, despite the bad state of these Missions after the accidents and revolutions that are mentioned in the above-mentioned letter, with an eye on the greater need at present to succor, assist and develop them, it is recommended that the **vessel** that was ordered sent every year, the better to ensure its effect, be costed from the revenues proposed by Fr. Morales, but on the condition that a contribution to these costs must come from the benefit [of the sale] of the

1 Ed. note: They refer to the letter from Fr. Bouwens (see below).

lading space that was given to his Order aboard the galleon, with the remainder coming from those revenues, provided that the design capacity of the vessel in question should not exceed the loading capacity of the last vessel that succeeded in making the voyage, and they must not increase it.

That the Captain and Pilot [i.e. Gomez] who made the first voyage in 1683 be recommended to the Governor to receive a reward in the form of some land-grant.

That the Viceroy orders him to procure the voluntary emigration of some families, and to send them as the Fiscal has proposed.

That the Governor of the Philippines be informed of the uprising of the Marianas, and ordered to hold an inquiry on what went on, and how the Governor behaved, and to report on his findings, and if he can, to annex the record of proceedings.

Original signed.

Gentlemen: H.E.; Castellar; Fresno; Cañalejas; Valdés; Dicastillo; Cerdeño; Veitia; Camargo.

H4. The Council briefs the King, 27 October 1687

Original text in Spanish.

Marques de los Velez; Conde de Castellar; Marques del Fresno; Conde de Cañalejas; D. Bernardino de Valdés; D. Miguel de Dicastillo; D. Luis Cerdeño; D. José de Veitia; D. Francisco Camargo.

Señor.

Con decreto de 10 de Abril de este año se sirvió V.M. remitir á este Consejo un memorial dado á la Reyna Madre Nuestra Señora por Luis de Morales, Procurador general de la Compañía de Jesus en las Filipinas y Marianas, para que sobre su contenido se consulte á V.M. lo que se ofreciere y pareciere.

El Memorial se reduce: a que entendido que algunos de los Ministros de V.M. se entibian en el fervor con que su Real y católico ánimo ha asistido á la conversion de los gentiles de las Yslas Marianas, con cuyo motibo pondera latamente el gran fruto espiritual que en ella se ha conseguido, los muchos Mártires que han padecido en las trece Yslas reducidas, y que se espera se ha de coger mayor en las cercanas á ellas, y que cuando otras fundaciones de Capillas, Hospitales, conventos, ú obras pias se conservan sin revocarse es mas importante la de aquella Cristiandad, llegandose á esto ser empresa comenzada á nombre de la Reyna Madre Nuestra Señora, y que la esperiencia enseña que los gastos empleados en la predicacion de la fé son los que principalmente conservan y aseguran los Reinos de las Indias, y les aumentan sus riquezas; y con diferentes argumentos discurre contra los desafectos á esta Mision, y cuan justo es atenderla antes que á otras que no tengan tanto adelantado, asi por la sangre de los mártires, que alli se ha derramado, como por el gran gentio que se halla reducido, y el que promete lo hagan. Y concluye con que V.M. se sirva mandar, no se desista del empeño de estas combersiones, y que se aplique nueva actividad, á la ejecucion de los medios que se han dispuesto para tan santo fin asi en la conservacion del Presidio como en la ereccion de la Catedral y principalmente, en el efecto de señalar ramo fixo en que situar el gasto de la embarcacion que V.M. tiene mandado al Gobernador de Filipinas despache todos los años con el socorro á las Yslas Marianas.

Al tiempo que vajú este decreto y memorial al Consejo, se hallaba en el una carta presentada por este Procurador escrita á V.M. por Gerardo Bovens, Vice-Provincial de la Mision Mariana, de la Compañía

de Jesus desde Agaña (una de aquellas Yslas) á 15 de Mayo del año de 1685, dando cuenta por menor del alzamiento general que hicieron los naturales Marianos empezado á 24 de Julio de 1684 por el Pueblo principal, en que residia el Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana, á quien descuidado y sin armas cortaron la cara y dieron de puñaladas (de que no murió) y que nos habian muerto muchos Misioneros y soldados, y que á no ser por el valor, crédito y oposicion que hizo el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga (á quien aprueba con singulares elogios) se hubiera estinguido aquella Mision a cual dice quedaba ya con algun reparo. Pero que por la omision del Gobernador Esplana, en no aplicar los medios á este daño, temia no pasase adelante.

Habiendose visto en el Consejo con los papeles concernientes al fomento que se ha dado á esta Mision hace reflexion á V.M. que á consulta de la Junta de Guerra de 23 de Agosto del año de 1685 con el motivo de las Cartas recibidas del Gobernador de Filipinas, y de D. Antonio de Saravia, que lo fué de las Marianas, se sirvio V.M. resolver se embiase orden (como se hizo con la inmediata ocasion que hubo) al Gobernador de Filipinas para que remitiese á las Marianas 50 Arcabuces, 40 Mosquetes, una docena de Pinzotes, y la pólvora, balas, tinajas de salitre, azufre, pez, aguardiente y hierro que le habia pedido el Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia, advirtiendole que en los géneros que no señalaba cantidad fija, se gobernase practica y prudencialmente conforme al mas inmediato conocimiento que le asistiria para ver lo que combendria embiarle de cada género, y eso le remitiese luego, y se le encargó mucho cuidase de aquellas Yslas y de sus asistencias socorriendolas con todo lo que en lo venidero se le pidiese para asegurar su conservacion y aumento de nuestra Santa fé en ellas. Y al numero de 40 soldados que tenia señalado el Presidio le aumentó V.M. hasta 130 embiando la orden necesaria al Virrey de Nueva España para sus asistencias.

Y en vista de las representaciones hechas por este Procurador, asi que llegó á España de las Yndias en que se puso especial atencion á todos los puntos de ellas fué V.M. servido resolver en consulta del Consejo de 28 de Enero de 1686.

En quanto á la embarcacion (sobre que insta) que se repitiesen las órdenes dadas al Gobernador de Filipinas añadiendose la despachase todos los años habiendola precisamente por los meses de Abril y Mayo, por ser los tiempos oportunos, y que con testimonio diese cuenta de haberlo ejecutado asi. Y en defecto de faltar á remitirla le fuese cargo en su residencia.

Que se pidiesen informes al Virey, Audiencia, y Arzobispo de Mexico, en lo tocante á la limosna de trigo, lienzo, ropa, y otras cosas que pidió este Religioso.

Y con la reflexion que hizo el Consejo de las repetidas órdenes que V.M. tiene dadas para el fomento de la Mision de estas Yslas, conservacion y aumento de aquella nueva Cristiandad y cuan del agrado de V.M. ha sido quanto se ha dispuesto á este fin, no habiendo tenido carta posterior de D. Antonio de Saravia, Gobernador que fué de ellas, desde la que se recibió el año de 1685 del de 683 (en el cual murió), hizo llamar á este Procurador y se le preguntó que necesitaban aquellas Yslas, asi para la estension de la fé Católica en ellas, como para su conservacion, y adelantamiento en lo temporal sobre lo cual presentó un papel de varios puntos que los que tocaron al Consejo se vieron en el y se redugeron:

—A que para la siembra del algodón, entablar telares y buscar Maestros que enseñen á fabricar la ropa, necesitaba de algun tiempo, y para que los recién convertidos puedan cubrir su total desnudez, sin que con el tributo se les haga pesado el suave yugo del Santo Evangelio, se relevase de tributo por 40 años á los adultos convertidos, y que á los demas no se les cobre aunque esten casados hasta haber cum-

plido veinte años de edad, reservando de él á los ancianos en llegando á la de 50 años; lo cual fué V.M. servido conceder limitando tan solamente que fuesen 20 años los 40 que pidió.

—Que en conformidad de lo que se estila en otras nuevas combersiones de Yndios mandase V.M. proveer á cada una de las 12 iglesias que allí se han hecho, con un ornamento, y campana; á que resolvió V.M. se le diese para que se embió despacho á la Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla. Y por no haber tenido efecto, se le ha librado á la Compañía este año de 1687 en la Caja de Mexico, la que se reconoció importaria el coste de estos ornamentos y campana[s] que fueron 2,600 pesos.

—Que para la gratificacion y premio de los que en los primeros años asistieron con mas trabajos, arriesgando sus vidas con el Venerable Martir Diego Luis de S. Vitores, ponía en la memoria de V.M. al Capitan D. Juan de la Cruz, Indio principal de la Nacion Tagala que con su familia pasó desde Manila á dichas Yslas, siendo uno de los primeros pacificadores y que por haber muerto, se sirviese V.M. lo-grasen el premio tres sobrinos suyos huerfanos que dexó llamados D. Ygnacio Pagtacotan, D. Julian y D. Juan de la Cruz, residentes en Filipinas, concediendoles V.M. reserva de tributo[,] polos, y demas servicios personales; V.M. lo tubo á bien, con calidad que solo fuese por sus personas.

—Que tambien fué de los que concurrieron en la primera entrada el Alférez Andres de la Cruz, Indio principal de Nacion Pampanga, y despues de siete años que sirvió en dichas Misiones bolbió á Filipinas donde se halla pobre y necesitado, por que propuso se le diese reserva de tributos, polos, y servicios personales, para sus hijos y dos hermanas suyas, y á los hijos de estas; en que V.M. le concedió esto solo para su persona.

—Que V.M. honrrase con titulo de Ciudad, al primer y principal pueblo de dichas Yslas nombrado S. Ygnacio de Agaña (que es donde reside el Gobernador y Presidio) y que para que participasen las demas islas del favor de V.M. que en cada Ysla se hiciese Villa el Pueblo mas principal; y uno y otro lo concedió Vuestra Magestad.

En 29 de Enero del mismo año de 1686 hizo la Junta de Guerra consulta á V.M. de los puntos del referido papel que tocaron verse en ella cuyo contenido fué:

—Que V.M. se sirviese crecer el número de la Guarnicion y gente del Presidio en lo cual halló V.M. lo tenia resuelto en la Consulta citada de la Junta de 23 de Agosto de 685 aumentando noventa plazas mas á las 40 que tenia.

*—Que V.M. mandase dexar en el Presidio las piezas de artilleria que el Gobernador juzgase necesitaba de las que se estaban sacando de las que se perdieron el año de 1635 [rather 1638] con la Nao la **Concepcion** en la quinta Ysla Mariana, llamada Seypan: á lo cual asintió V.M. aplicando esta artilleria al fuerte que fabricó D. Antonio de Saravia.*

—Por lo cual mereció el referido Indio D. Juan de la Cruz por ser muerto recayga el premio en los dichos sus tres sobrinos les honrrase V.M. á cada uno con su Real cédula, y la insignia de los Cavalleros de la medalla: á que V.M. resolvió se les diese esta, omitiendo la espresion, y término de Cavalleria siendo de plata sobredorada, con las efigies de V.M. y la Reyna nuestra Señora.

—Que el dicho Alférez Andres de la Cruz se le premiase con el baston de Maestre de Campo, ó el de Sargento mayor de su Nacion, con el sueldo en el Puerto de Cavite, haciendole tambien la honrra de la medalla y cédula de agradecimiento y recomendacion, en que V.M. resolvió se le diese la graduacion de Sargento Mayor, y la medalla, y que se le recomendase al Gobernador de Filipinas para que le atendiese y acomodase adelantandole cuanto pudiese en los empleos de su profesion, y entre los de su nacion.

—Que honrrase V.M. á D. Antonio de Ayihi Indio principal de la Ysla de S. Juan de las Marianas haciendole y á sus descendientes Cavalleros de la medalla por haber sido el que en la primera entrada del Venerable Diego Luis de S. Vitores asistió y defendió en quanto fué necesario con muchos y continuos riesgos de su vida, en cuya consideracion el Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia le dió el baston y titulo de Teniente de Capitan general de los Indios cuyo nombramiento propuso este Religioso le confirmase V.M. en los honores, y que en los actos publicos se le honrrase con asiento prehemimente gratificando tambien su lealtad con cédulas y los honores de Cavallero de la medalla; y V.M. le confirmó el grado de Teniente de Capitan general de los Indios, concediendole la insignia de la medalla para el hijo mayor ó el que eligiese.

—Que serviria de aliento á aquellas nuevas Cristiandades que V.M. mandase repartir entre los que hallasen mas venemeritos algunas insignias de la medalla á los principales de dichas islas que mas se hubiesen señalado en la lealtad, y cristiano celo, á juicio del Gobernador y Misioneros de ellas. A que V.M. mandó que informase el Gobernador para que hallandolo por combeniente y avisandolos que juzgase por dignos, resuelva V.M. á quienes se hubiere de dar. Y en el interin permitió V.M. al Gobernador, pudiese repartir por si, una, ú dos y no mas de estas insignias, advirtiendole que aun esto lo habia de ejecutar en caso muy preciso, y que concurriese en la persona á quien la diese algun relevante motivo de merito ó servicio muy particular á fin de evitar no se haga menos apreciable este honor.

—Por que desde Noviembre del año de 1683 en que murió el Gobernador D. Antonio Saravia estava gobernando en interin las dichas islas D. Damian de Esplana con celo y buen exemplo, asistiendole D. José de Quiroga en el empleo de Sargento mayor con mucho crédito suplicaba á V.M. confirmase á D. Damian de Esplana la propiedad del Gobierno. Y á D. José de Quiroga la futura de el señalando á uno y á otro el salario fixo en la Caxa de Mexico dandoles tambien esperanzas de promocion al Gobierno de Filipinas, alentandoles en el interin con cedulas de agradecimiento y alguna merced. Y á esto tubo V.M. por bien, confirmar al primero en el Gobierno de las Marianas, y al segundo el puesto de Sargento Mayor con la preheminencia de que si sucediese faltar el primero gobiernese en interin este, en el entretanto que el Gobernador de Filipinas da providencia en quien sirva en interin el dicho Gobierno de las Marianas, mientras V.M. le da en propiedad, y en quanto á los sueldos mandó V.M. al Virey de Nueva España les señalase, el que juzgase preciso y mas ajustado á proporcion de los empleos, pidiendo para ello informe al Gobernador de Filipinas, y que avisase de lo que ejecutase.

Y en quanto á la ereccion de iglesia [catedral] tiene V.M. resuelto en otras consultas de este Consejo, y de la Cámara, se crie Obispo titular, y á presentado V.M. á Su Santidad á Antonio Xaramillo de esta Religion, cuyo punto está pendiente en Roma, y se espera el breve segun las últimas noticias que dió desde aquella Corte D. Francisco Bernardo de Quirós, cuyos gastos en las sacas de las Bulas, y la manutencion de este nuevo Obispo han de salir de la Real hacienda.

De otros puntos cuya determinacion tocó al Consejo dió la providencia necesaria, como fué conceder á este Procurador pasasen de España con el aviamiento acostumbrado diez Religiosos á las Marianas, para subrogar los que habian faltado. Que el Virrey señalase á esta Religion buque competente en la Nao, cuando buelbe á Filipinas, para que lleve á las Marianas lo que remitieren á sus Misioneros. Y que á los que de estos pasaren vayan socorridos de Mexico con la limosna de un año.

[Summary and conclusion]

De todas estas resoluciones, se ha dado á este Procurador los despachos, no solo de lo que toca á su Religion, sino á los demas interesados, de lo cual resulta reparar el Consejo en la suplica que hace en su ultimo memorial de que V.M. le encargue no desista del fomento de estas combersiones, por que no reconoce ni discurre, motivo ni fundamento, por donde este Religioso halla podido entrar á hacer este juicio tan ageno de la atencion, ánimo, y celo con que el Consejo ha mirado, y mira esta materia, pues en cuanto ha pedido está tomada resolucion, tan á su favor, como se califica no solo de lo espresado por las consultas citadas, sino por lo demas que su providencia tocó darla al Consejo de que se manifiesta lo insustancial de su recelo, y haberle tenido impropriamente faltando á la verdad, en lo que insinua, y aun en el punto de la Ynfanteria, para el presidio, aumento de 20 plazas, estaba ya dado el crecimiento de noventa, por la consideracion que hizo la Junta de ser necesario este mayor número, para asegurar y llevar adelante los progresos de aquellas reducciones.

Y no obstante el mal estado en que quedaban estas Misiones, por los accidentes y rebolesiones que refiere la carta citada del Vice-provincial de ellas, del año de 685: mirando como siempre ha atendido á que se les socorra y asista con cuanto pueda conducir á su fomento: es de parecer el Consejo que la embarcacion que está resuelto pase de Filipinas todos los años á las Marianas para asegurar que se ejecute, se costee su gasto de los efectos que en otro memorial ha propuesto este Religioso, que son (el aumento de mas de 20,000 pesos que D. Gabriel de Cruzelaegui, Gobernador de Filipinas ha dado á las pesquerias del Rio de Manila, los juegos de los Sangleyes, y á los Almojarifazgos) cuyo producto entra en aquella Caxa pero que en la orden que se diere se advierta se ha de aplicar á este coste y gasto, lo que resultare del beneficio que se haga del buque que se daba en la Nao de Filipinas á esta Religion para la conduccion de lo que remite de Mexico á las Marianas y que lo que faltare se cumpla de los referidos tres efectos, previniendo al Gobernador de Filipinas no permita exceda el buque de la embarcacion, sino que sea de la calidad y porte que fué la que pasó el año de 83 sin poderle aumentar.

Que el Capitan y Piloto Pedro Gomez, que hizo el primer viage, se le recomiende al Gobernador de Filipinas, para que le premie con alguna encomienda de Indios.

Que al Virrey de Nueva España se ordene procure que voluntariamente vayan á las Marianas algunas familias.

Y que al Gobernador de Filipinas con el motivo del alzamiento de las Yslas Marianas se le ordene, se informe de lo que pasó en el, y como obró el Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana, y que de todo de cuenta, y si pudiere lo haga con autos; con lo cual (viniendo V.M. en ello) se da tambien providencia á los tres puntos que este Procurador espresó en otro memorial, que ultimamente presentó en el Consejo.

V.M. mandará lo que mas fuere su Réal voluntad.

Madrid á 27 de Octubre de 1687.

Hay ocho rubricas.

Membrete: Consejo de Yndias á 27 de Octubre de 1687. Acordada en 11: Satisfaciendo á un decreto de V.M. que vajo con Memorial del Procurador de la Compañia de Jesus sobre que no se desista de la conversion de las Yslas Marianas. Representa lo que se le ofrece.

Rubricado.

Como parece.

Rubricado.

A D. Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Translation.

The Marquis de los Velez; the Count of Castellar; the Marquis of Fresno; the Count of Cañalejas; Don Bernardino de Valdés; Don Miguel de Dicastillo; Don Luis Cerdeño; Don José de Veitia; Don Francisco Camargo.

Sire:

By a decree of 10 April last, Y.M. was pleased to send to this Council a memorial given to the Queen Mother our Lady by Luis de Morales, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines and Marianas, so that Y.M. be consulted about its contents and what to do about them.

The Memorial can be summarized as follows: that he considers that some of the Ministers of Y.M. are getting lukewarm in the fervor with which your Royal and Catholic spirit has attended to the conversion of the heathens of the Mariana Islands, and for this reason he goes on to talk at length about the great spiritual fruit that has been achieved there by the many martyrs who have suffered in the 13 reduced Islands, and that is expected will be gathered in the neighboring islands, and that when other foundations of chapels, hospitals, convents, or pious works are preserved without revocation, it is more important to maintain that Christian community, and finishes by saying that this enterprise was begun on behalf of the Queen Mother our Lady, and that experience teaches that expenditures made in the preaching of the faith are the main element in the preservation and security of the Kingdoms of the Indies, and in their increasing wealth; and with different arguments he discusses against those lacking affection for this Mission, and how right it is to attend to it, before others that have not progressed as much, not only on account of the blood of the martyrs, but also of the great mob that had been reduced, and the prospect for more. And he concludes by saying that Y.M. should be pleased to order that the enterprise of these conversions not be desisted from, and that new activity be applied, toward the execution of the means that have been arranged for such a holy purpose, not only in the preservation of the garrison but also in the erection of the Cathedral, but mainly that a fixed line of accounts be reserved for the expenses of the vessel that Y.M. has ordered the Governor of the Philippines to despatch every year with the succor of the Mariana Islands.

At the time that this decree and memorial came down to the Council, there was found among the papers one letter presented by this Procurator and written to Y.M. by Gerardo Bovens, Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Mission of the Society of Jesus from Agaña (one of those Islands) on 15 May 1685,¹ reporting in detail the general uprising of the Mariana natives that began on 24 July 1684 in the main town, where the Governor Don Damian de Esplana lived, whom they caught off guard and unarmed, cut his face and gave him knife wounds (from which he did not die) and that they killed many of our missionaries and soldiers, and that, if it had not been for the valor, credit and opposition made by Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga (whom he approves with singular praise), that Mission would not have survived, and he says that there remained

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685E1.

some hope, but that, on account of the failure of Governor Esplana in applying the means to recoup this damage, he feared that progress would not happen.

This matter having been seen in the Council, with the papers concerning the development that has been given to this Mission, Y.M. is reminded that in the consultation of the War Committee of 23 August 1685 prompted by letters received from the Governor of the Philippines and from Don Antonio de Saravia, the former Governor of the Marianas, Y.M. was pleased to decide to send an order (which was done at the first opportunity that came up) to the Governor of the Philippines, for him to send to the Marianas 50 arquebuses, 40 muskets, 1 dozen rudder mechanisms, and the powder, balls, jars of saltpeter, sulphur, fish, brandy and iron that Governor Don Antonio Saravia had asked him for, but warning him that for the goods for which no quantity was mentioned, he was to choose what practice and prudence called for, in accordance with the more immediate knowledge of the circumstances in order to decide on the appropriate quantity of each type of goods, and he was to despatch same, and he was entrusted to take great care of those Islands and to assist them by succoring them with everything that was requested of him in future, to ensure their preservation and the progress of our holy faith there. And the number of 40 soldiers in the established strength of the garrison was increased to 130 by Y.M., by sending the necessary order to the Viceroy of New Spain for their support.

And in view of the representations made by this Procurator, as soon as he arrived in Spain from the Indies, special attention was paid to all the points in them and Y.M. was pleased to decide in a consultation held in Council on 28 January 1686:¹

With regards to the vessel (about which he insists) that the orders given to the Governor of the Philippines be repeated, but adding that it must be despatched every year, more precisely during the months of April and May, as those are the opportune times, and that he should be asked to report on having obeyed thus. And failing which he was to be charged in his residencia.

That reports be asked of the Viceroy, Audiencia, and Archbishop of Mexico, in the matter of the alm for wheat flour, cloth, clothes, and other things that this Religious asked for.

And after the Council pondered upon the repeated orders that Y.M. has already issued for the development of the Mission of these Islands, the preservation and progress of that new Christian community and how much Y.M. was pleased at the many arrangements taken for this purpose, in the absence of any posterior letter from Don Antonio de Saravia, the former Governor there, after the one dated 1683 (the year he died) that was received in 1685, this Procurator was called and he was asked what those Islands needed, not only for the extension of the Catholic faith there, but also for their preservation, and progress in things material, and that prompted him to submit a paper

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1686AC & AD.

with various points;¹ the points that concerned the Council were reviewed and they can be summarized as follows:

—That for the cultivation of cotton, the setting-up of looms and the recruitment of master tailors to teach how to make clothes, some time was needed, and in order for the recently-converted to be able to cover their total nudity, yet to prevent the tribute from causing them to resent the sweet yoke of the Holy Gospel, the converted adults should be relieved of the tribute for 40 years, and the others should not be subject to it, though they be married, until they reach the age of 20 years, and exempting the old people upon their reaching the age of 50; this Y.M. was pleased to grant entirely, except for the time limit which was to be 20 years instead of the 40 years that he asked.

—That in accordance with the custom of other new conversions of Indians, Y.M. should order that each one of the 12 churches that have been built there be provided with one set of ornaments and one bell; Y.M. responded to this request by ordering the House of Trade in Seville to send them. And, since there was no cash, the Society was given a note of credit this year 1687 drawn on the Treasury of Mexico, in the amount that these ornaments and bells might cost, which was estimated at 2,600 pesos.

—That for the award and reward of those who participated in the first years with more hardships, risking their lives with the Venerable Martyr Diego Luis de San Vitores, he placed before the memory of Y.M. Captain Don Juan de la Cruz [sic], an Indian chief of the Tagalog nation who with his family went from Manila to said Islands, being one of their first peace makers and, because he has died, Y.M. should be pleased to grant the reward to three of his nephews who have thus been orphaned, to wit: Don Ignacio Pagtacotan, Don Julian and Don Juan de la Cruz, residents of the Philippines, by having Y.M. grant them an exemption from tribute, poll taxes, and other personal services; Y.M. accepted, on the condition that it be restricted to their persons.²

—That one of those who took part in the first conquest was Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz, an Indian chief of the Pampango nation, and after 7 years of service in the said Missions he returned to the Philippines, where he lives now, poor and destitute, and that is why he proposed that he be given an exemption from tributes, poll taxes, and personal services, for his children and two sisters of his, and their children; Y.M. granted it, for his person only.

—That Y.M. should honor with the title of City the first and capital town of said Islands named San Ignacio de Agaña (where the Governor resides and the garrison is located), and in order for the other Islands to participate in the largesse of Y.M., in each Island there the most important place should be designated a Town; Your Majesty granted both requests.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1685V1 & V8.

2 Ed. note: In other words, not be hereditary.

On 29 January of the same year 1686, the War Committee met to consult Y.M. on the points of the above-mentioned paper that concerned it, whose contents were as follows:¹

—That Y.M. be pleased to increase the number of the garrison and men of the post, but it was found that this matter had already been decided in the above-mentioned consultation held by the Committee on 23 August 1685, when 90 positions were added to the 40 that it had.

—That Y.M. should order that the guns that the Governor judged necessary be left with the garrison, from those that were being salvaged from the guns lost in the year 1635 [rather 1638] with the galleon **Concepción** at the fifth Mariana Island, named Seypan; Y.M. agreed to this and applied these guns to the fort that Don Antonio de Saravia built.

—That, on account of the merits of the above-mentioned Indian Don Juan de la Cruz—he having died—the reward should fall upon the said his three nephews, and Y.M. was to honor each of them with your Royal decree and the distinction of the Knights of the medal; Y.M. decided to give it to them, omitting the mention of the word Knighthood, the medal being of gold-plated silver, with the effigies of Y.M. and of the Queen our Lady.

—That the said Second Lieutenant Andrés de la Cruz be rewarded with the staff of Master-of-camp, or that of Sergeant Major of his nation, with the salary paid out of the port of Cavite, honoring him also with the medal and decree of thanks and recommendation; Y.M. decided that he be given the rank of Sergeant Major, and the medal, and that he be recommended to the Governor of the Philippines so that he would be assisted and accommodated by future promotions within his profession, and among those of his nation.

—That Y.M. should honor Don Antonio de Ayihi, an Indian chief of San Juan in the Marianas, by making him and his descendants Knights of the medal, for having been the man who assisted and defended the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores at the first entrance, when it was necessary, with many and continuous risks to his life, for which consideration the Governor Don Antonio Saravia gave him the staff and title of Lieutenant of Captain General of the Indians, and whose appointment this Religious proposed be confirmed by Y.M. with the corresponding honors, such as a place of honor at official ceremonies, and also by rewarding his loyalty with a decree and the honors of Knight of the medal; Y.M. confirmed him in the rank of Lieutenant of Captain General of the Indians, granting him the distinction of the medal for his eldest son, or the son he would select.

—That, the better to encourage those new Christian communities, Y.M. should order the distribution among the most worthy chiefs of those Islands of a few distinctions of the medal, those who might have stood out by their loyalty and Christian zeal, at the discretion of the Governor and missionaries there. Y.M. responded by ordering

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1685V9.

that the Governor submit a report on whether it found it appropriate, and if so, to advise on the worthy ones, in order for Y.M. to decide who should get them. And, in the interim, Y.M. allowed the Governor to distribute one, or two, but no more of these distinctions, and he was warned that even this he was to do in very precise cases, and there should exist some relevant reason based on merit or very special service, to make sure that such an honor would not be discounted.

—That, since November 1683, when the Governor Don Antonio Saravia died, the Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana was governing said Islands on an interim basis, with zeal and good example, with the assistance of Don José de Quiroga who acted Sergeant Major with great merit, he beseeched Y.M. to confirm Don Damian de Esplana with the effective ownership of the title of Governor. And Don José de Quiroga with that for the next governorship, and fixing both their salaries in the treasury of Mexico, giving them also some hopes of promotion to the Governorship of the Philippines, and encouraging them in the meantime with decrees of thanks and some favor. And this was accepted by Y.M., confirming the former in the governorship of the Marianas, and the latter in the post of Sergeant Major with the pre-eminence that, failing the former, the latter should govern by interim, until such time as the Governor of the Philippines should decide who should serve in said Government of the Marianas on an interim basis, until Y.M. should give it permanently, and as far as the salaries were concerned, Y.M. ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to fix for them the salaries that he thought fit and more in line with the positions in question, and asking him to inform the Governor of the Philippines and to report on actions taken.

And as far as the erection of a cathedral, Y.M. has already decided in other consultations of this Council, and of the Chamber, on the creation of a titular Bishop, and Y.M. has presented Antonio Xaramillo of his Order to His Holiness, but this point is pending in Rome, and the brief is expected, according to the last notices sent from that Court by Don Francisco Bernardo de Quirós, whose expenses to cover the official copies of the Bulls, and the maintenance of this new Bishop must come out of the Royal treasury.¹

Among other points whose resolution was taken by the Council and provisions made, there were: the concession to this Procurator of the passage from Spain with the usual outfit of 10 Religious to the Marianas, to make up for those who were no more there; that the Viceroy should give adequate space aboard the galleon to this Order, upon her return to the Philippines, to accommodate what they sent to their missionaries in the Marianas; and that the missionaries in question should be succored with the alm for one year when they pass beyond Mexico.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1688D. However, having received news of the utter destruction of all the churches in the Marianas in 1684, common sense soon prevailed, so that the idea of a Bishop was quietly dropped the following year (1688). Already Fr. Salgado had reported that the population base just did not warrant it (see Doc. 1683N). The first census would prove that the original population estimates had been grossly exaggerated, there being only 1,600 people living in Guam 5 years after the proposal was made for the creation of a diocese (see Doc. 1693C).

[Summary and conclusion]

Copies of the despatches for all these resolutions have been given to this Procurator, not only those regarding his Order, but all those sent to other interested parties. Therefore, the Council cannot fathom the petition that is contained in his last memorial, to the effect that Y.M. should entrust us not to desist from the development of these conversions, because we do not recognize, not find any motive, or basis, that might have led this Religious to make such a judgment, so foreign to the attention, care, and zeal shown by the Council in considering this matter. Indeed, whenever we could take a decision, it was taken, so much in his favor, as can be seen not only by the contents of the above-mentioned consultations, but also in the other provisions that concerned the Council. His distrust is shown to be unfounded, and he had improperly failed to tell the truth, in his insinuations, and even in the point regarding the infantry for the garrison, the request for 20 positions was increased by 90, in view of the consideration made in the Committee that such a larger number was required, to secure and encourage the progress of those reductions.

And notwithstanding the bad condition affecting these Missions, on account of the accidents and revolutions referred to in the above-mentioned letter from the Vice-Provincial there, dated 1685: considering as always that they must be succored and assisted as much as possible to foster their development, it is the opinion of the Council that, in order to ensure that the vessel that was established for the passage every year from the Philippines to the Marianas should do so, its expenses should be charged against the revenues, mentioned in another memorial presented by this Religious,¹ (as coming from an increase of over 20,000 pesos that Don Gabriel de Cruzeláegui, Governor of the Philippines, has collected from the fisheries of the Manila River, the gambling of the Chinese, and customs duties) which accrue to that Treasury, but in the order that was given him, he was warned that he must apply to this cost and expense what might result from the sale of the lading space aboard the Philippine galleon that used to be given to this Order for the transport of what Mexico remitted to the Marianas, and the remainder was to be made up from the three above-mentioned sources, warning the Governor of the Philippines not to allow the excessive loading of the vessel in question, but that it be of the same type and capacity as the one that made the voyage in 1683, and not more.

That the Captain and Pilot Pedro Gomez, who made the first voyage, was being recommended to the Governor of the Philippines, for a reward of some land-grant of Indians.

That the Viceroy of New Spain be ordered to try to have some families go voluntarily to the Marianas.

And that the Governor of the Philippines, as a result of the uprising of the Mariana Islands, be ordered to hold an inquiry about the events there, and about the actions of the Governor Don Damian de Esplana, and to report on everything, and if at all

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1686AC1 & AC5.

possible enclosing records of proceedings; then of late, Y.M. has intervened for that provision be also made for the three points that this Procurator expressed in another memorial, that has been presented to the Council.

Y.M. will order what pleases your Royal will.

Madrid, 27 October 1687.

There are 8 signatures.

Endorsement:

The Council of the Indies, on 27 October 1687. Discussed on the 11th, to satisfy a decree of Y.M. that came down with a Memorial from the Procurator of the Society of Jesus regarding the non abandonment of the conversion of the Mariana Islands. The Council presents its recommendations.

Original signed.

Concur.

Original signed.

To Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Document 1687I

Jesuit annual report for 1686-1687, by Fr. Bouwens

Source: Present location unknown; 33-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 105 pounds, i.e. \$525 (Cat. N° 1952, item n° 1953, pp. 217-218).

Report sent to the Duchess, dated Guam 18 May 1687

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
At a time when we most needed the assistance which we have learned to rely upon from you, we were unable to send the despatch dated last year. This was all the fault of our Governor as also the loss of our supplies. This case is worthy of note, since it is an opportunity that might not have occurred in a hundred years for one who desired to gain soldiers' honor and benefits; but this gentleman not being such a man, loses everything, with no less discredit to himself than to his position as Commander in the service of his Divine and Royal masters.

Among the many calamities that have befallen us, these past three years, not the least has been our remaining without our supplies in the year 1686; although on 9 June, the ship had been sighted on its way to the Philippines carrying on board the many things which His Majesty had ordered to be sent to us. Pending the construction of a special ship for the Marianas, the King had ordered that the vessels sailing from New Spain should call at the Marianas on their way to the Philippines, and leave supplies for the Mariano people. It was also to convey passengers who desired to sail for Manila; but on this occasion, the Governor had, for reasons of his own, scared away the captain of the ship, who had turned about and made straight for the Philippines without waiting to land the stores which the Missionaries had been awaiting.

[On 31 May of the same year 1686, he says that **two English vessels** arrived at the Islands. They appeared quite harmless, and the Captain and a few of the crew...]

...seemed quite honest, while others were pirates, who had sacked I do not know how many places in Peru, whither the Captain had taken... and they were aided in the

piracies by a Spaniard, who had played the traitor to his King and country, and had acted as guide to the pirates, assisting in their robberies... There were days when they found themselves so gravely in want of sustenance, that they were obliged to search for this group of Islands, and not finding them readily, many of their crew perished of starvation. Indeed, they only ate but once in 24 hours, and even the Captain managed with only a handful of corn for his daily meal. The worst of it was that the Captain and his rabble of a crew were on such bad terms, that he even despaired of his life. They would not obey him, they did not respect him... from all of which it is easy to conjecture what a favorable opportunity had arrived at the Governor's very door, if with a little sagacity, prudence, courage, and mature judgment... he had taken advantage of it, for the use of the Divine and Royal service.

Less than a month later [rather before], our Governor accompanied by two Missionary Fathers and 50 soldiers was stationed on the western coast—a thing unheard of before—awaiting the ship, with the intention of embarking for Manila, and he says he will do it this year without any interference from anyone, whether he leaves a successor or not, with or without permission from the Council... On the approach of the aforementioned two vessels, the Governor thought they were from Manila with our supplies,¹ but seeing the wind was so much against them, gave up hope of their landing the articles and consequently ignored their plight...

One of the Missionary Fathers² volunteered to set out in a barque from land, and board the vessel, although fully aware of the danger of his enterprise... It was late at night when His Reverence arrived on board, and was courteously received by them, who, being natives of Peru and New Spain, spoke the Castilian language.

Arrived on board, he soon discovered he was on no ship of His Majesty's (as our Governor had stated) whose Captain informed him of their great need of supplies, and begged in the name of Christianity, for help... They wanted at any price, rice and meat to keep body and soul together for two months, which they said they would require before they could reach Hermosa Island....

This case being somewhat perplexing, needed very careful handling and should have been left to the judgment of one such as Don Antonio de Saravia... but Don Damian de Esplana, being so presumptuous, neither deliberates with his own mind, nor listens to the advice of others, and this was not the least cause of so many resultant disasters, which are notorious...

1 Ed. note: The pirates may have been flying the Spanish flag, as Captain Eaton had done the year before.

2 Ed. note: This was Fr. Cuculino.

[Further censure follows, in which the writer piously observes that the Governor was under no moral obligation to render assistance to the pirates “who should have been punished as they deserved, for having robbed His Majesty’s ships”, but as Governor and in the interest of the community, he should have taken the trouble to find out whether it was worthwhile examining the pirate ships and rendering a thoroughly-interested assistance.]

The Governor... continued with his imprudent behavior, abusing the soldiers, and his Father Confessor refused to absolve him, for persisting in awaiting the vessel on the western shore.¹ The written notices from the Confessor² he showed to the Military Commandant and others; finally he sent a servant to the church for one of the Fathers, and spent more than an hour and a half with him. The following day, which was Easter, his Reverence went to see him at his house and spoke a further two hours with him. Later, the Governor sent for the priest from church once again... and the day after that, he took Communion.

On 13 April, His Excellency set out in a disorderly manner for the western shore, having promised the Fathers all assistance in securing the supplies for the Mission. God bring the ship safely here!—and take him safely away, now that he is firmly resolved to sail for Manila! And may he leave someone who will restore to us all we have lost... We would have been delighted to have had as Governor, Don Joseph de Quiroga (whose return to Manila when Master-of-Camp Don Antonio de Sarabia arrived here, was a misfortune both for him and for this community) as he himself confessed to me... to the great regret of myself and many others... and how we regretted that you did not say the word, which would have retained him here... Never have I met a gentleman more suitable for the post of Governor than he, so good, so brave, so indefatigable a worker, and so just; both feared and esteemed by all the natives, and respected by all his soldiers... Since we could not have a better Governor—or even one as worthy as he—may God dispose that he be elected as ruler here, to conquer again all that the other has lost...

Guam (San Juan), 18 May 1687.³

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- 1 It is difficult to appreciate the apparent enormity of this deed, since the Missionaries unanimously desired to give him his congé; but as most of his actions were interpreted as iniquities, even his obliging resolution to leave the Mariana Islands and sail for Manila, seems to have annoyed them also.
 - 2 Ed. note: His confessor seems to have been Fr. Bustillo. The other priest involved was Fr. Ahumada.
 - 3 Reading between the lines, the report reveals much of the bitter animosity that existed between the political and spiritual leaders of the people in the remote Spanish Dependencies at that time, and the satisfaction with which the Priests wrote home voluminous reports, censuring the folly, the wickedness or neglect of the Governor, as the case might be, and no doubt greatly exaggerating the magnitude of his misdeeds. This report is, in its way, extremely interesting, giving a full account of the events—disastrous and otherwise—which occurred during the creole Governor’s term of misrule. The style is quaint and very entertaining, and possesses much of the charm of old-world tales of adventure, with the additional interest of being the original manuscript of a true narrative of adventure in real life.

Document 1687J

Letter from Fr. Bustillo to the Duchess, dated Agaña 7 June 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 6-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, part 2 of item n° 1936, p. 202).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

[The second letter, dated June 1687, explains that owing to their misfortunes, the first letter (Doc. 1686J) was not despatched (in 1686, but only in 1687).]

As I find plenty of room on the back of this sheet, and paper is scarce, I am utilizing it for the continuation of my report...

God be praised for permitting us to live to see these early days of June... when our annual relief, which is sent by the munificence of our Catholic King, becomes due; and because His Divine Majesty has not permitted this Mission to perish at the hands of Don Damian de Esplana, who still rules as political and military Governor.

We have not yet had a visit from the promised sloop from the Philippines, although it was promised in your name by the Governor [of the Philippines], Don Gabriel Cruzeláegui... and what we lament most of all is that, notwithstanding the favorable winds, than which there have never been better these many years, no vessel of any description has arrived from Manila to remove Esplana from our midst.

[The English pirates Swan and Dampier, and the galleon Santa Rosa]

Last year, some little English vessels, which were driven off the American coast, put in at the port of Guan in these Islands, for provisions which they sadly needed; and as they had not set sail to proceed on their voyage (since the Governor had made no effort to assist them), they were still here when a ship from New Spain hove in sight on 9 June 1686 (in which my [1686] letter should have gone), and which obviously came to bring us supplies.

I tell you, the Governor sent this ship so ill-considered a message by word of mouth and in writing, exaggerating the danger to such an extent, that the Commander and passengers on board the ship were terrified. Without waiting to deliver the supplies, they sailed away, panic stricken, and with such precipitation that the soldier whom the

Governor had sent out with the message, was not allowed to land again, but was carried away in the ship to Manila, a married man, too, and with children!¹

[The unfortunate Mission was consequently left without new clothes, food and the many other things they had been eagerly awaiting.² This relation ends with the pious hope:]

God will soon remove this scourge [i.e. the Governor] with which He has punished us for three years.

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- 1 Ed. note: The galleon **Santa Rosa** was in sight of Cocos Island when she abruptly headed SSW, and soon ran over a shoal, known ever since as the Santa Rosa Bank. The damage did not prevent her from continuing her voyage.
 - 2 Solely on account of the artfulness of the Governor, whose anxiety to keep the Mariana Islands and any ship (which might become a possible conveyance for himself) at a respectful distance from each other, is better appreciated by an impartial reader of today than by the simple missionaries of long ago.

Document 1687K

**Certificate by Fr. Zarzosa for the skull
of Fr. Solorzano, dated Manila 9 June
1687**

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 31 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1955, p. 221).

**Fr. Zarzosa declares that Fr. Bouwens showed him
the skull of Fr. Solorzano¹****Extract from the Maggs Catalog.**

I, Father Diego de Zarzosa, of the Society of Jesus, do certify and swear (with the special permission which I have for this purpose from Father Pedro Oriol, Rector of the College of San Ignacio at Manila) that Father Gerardo Bouwens, Vice Provincial of the Mariana Islands, showed me in those Islands, a skull which is said to have been that of the Venerable Father Manuel de Solorzano, who was murdered by the Indian rebels during the native uprising which took place in those Islands in the year 1684, with the intention of putting an end once and for all, to all the Spanish priests and soldiers, and shake off the influence of our Holy Faith. The first of the Fathers whom they killed was the Venerable Father Manuel de Solorzano, with three wounds in the head, which are still visible [on the skull]. They almost completely severed the head from the body, and the right hand was cut off; and finally they ran a dagger through the back of his neck between the shoulder blades, the deep wound enabling him to breathe.

¹ Ed. note: Since Fr. Zarzosa left Guam in June 1685, Fr. Solorzano's body must have been exhumed within one year of his burial. It was then the Jesuit custom to send the skull of martyrs to the Province where they came from; the natives of Guam must have watched this exhumation with interest, considering their own former custom of venerating the skulls of their ancestors.

This happened on Sunday the 23rd day of June [rather July 1684] at 10 in the morning, and on the same night at about 9, he expired. I was present when this occurred.

[He further declares that Father Pavon¹ of the Society of Jesus was to have taken the skull to Father Antonio Xaramillo in the Philippines, but although he had already embarked on the galleon **Santo Niño** [in 1685], the Vice-Provincial...]

...ordered him to remain in the Marianas and should give me the skull to take to Fr. Xaramillo, Procurator General for this Province at Madrid and Rome... which I hereby do, and the said Procurator acknowledges the receipt of the same... and has offered to take it to Spain to present it to Don Christobal de Solorzano, the father of the Ven. Father Manuel de Solorzano²... I hereby place on record and certify the foregoing to be the truth and give my signature at this College... in the city of Manila.

Etc.

College of San Ignacio, Manila, 9 June 1687.

1 Ed. note: "Father" is an error in transcription. Brother Pedro Pavón was born in Passaron, near Plasencia, Spain in 1655. He arrived a Guam in 1674, and died there on 24 March 1686.

2 Ed. note: This gentleman presumably still lived in Fregenal, Andalusia.

Document 1687L

Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. García, dated Guam 10 June 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 42 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1954, p. 220).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
*Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum, et plorabo vulneratos et occisos hujus Marianæ Missionis...*¹

Indeed, among the barbarous conditions of the desert lands and the wilds, not only does one forget the Latin language but one's own native Castilian... Taking the last words of the above quotation, *plorabo omnes pariter in unius morte defecisse virtutes*,² I will explain that with the death of our Master-of-Camp, Don Damian de Esplana [rather Don Antonio de Saravia], we lacked well-nigh every good condition which we should be justified in expecting in him [i.e. Esplana] who governs the political and military elements in a State. It is patent that there is no holiness where the Governor fails in treating the wretched ones with compassion and particularly his own poor, very poor, soldiers; as our Esplana has failed his soldiers in every way, of which I give the Duchess of Aveiro some idea in my letter to her. If we had not succored the soldiers with some of our own simple food and clothing, they would have gone ragged and starving—particularly the sick ones who told us so with tears of gratitude.

Neither is there the semblance of holiness where the life led by the Governor is not free from vice. Esplana's mode of life being the very reverse of innocent, how can it fare with the flock he has charge of?—failing in virtue and scandalizing his subjects as he does? Well, until today, when I am writing this, he continues with his vices, trampling underfoot all sentiments Divine and human, in these Islands, at the sight of so much

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Who gave water to my head, and a font of tears to my eyes, and I lament the wounded and those killed in this our Mariana Mission."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "I lament as equally as death the lack of virtues."

wrong-doing... for, however wounded we may be in body and spirit, there is none in these Islands to whom we may appeal.

Be there never so many soldiers and priests murdered and threatened, the murderers are free to walk among us, without the justice of due punishment for their crime.

[Oranug the murderer goes scot-free]

An Indian of the name of Oranug, one of the murderers in Gani [the northernmost Mariana Islands] after having killed a soldier in the year 1684 and flung his body into the sea... sought to murder Master-of-Camp Don Antonio Ayihi and Father Comano, and would have done so, had they not been saved by a friend. The Indian, finding his plan frustrated, begged his accomplices in Gani to carry out the murder, assuring them that the soldiers were already killed... He came with musket and gunpowder to fire on us, one of his shots nearly killing Father Juan de Ahumada...

Bearing in mind all these deeds of Oranug, we have recently heard from a good Mariano, one Geronimo Guay, who had arrived in Agadña from his native village near Umatag, where the Governor is at present awaiting the ship, and told us that Oranug had been pardoned on account of the man's niece, Felipa Eyiya, a girl of 12 (as we know from her baptismal record)... In spite of the Governor's efforts to plead his cause with the child's grandparents, she refused absolutely to listen or consent to his evil proposition... Oranug, who had been prying into this matter, saw in it an opportunity for his own release from punishment, and put the matter to Felipa his niece... In return for her sacrifice, he would be free to walk abroad without fear of capture... and with this fine sermon ringing in her ears, the poor child consented.

Etc.¹

Agadña, 10 June 1687.

1 The writer gives a grimly arresting account of the Governor's disgraceful bargain with the Indian Oranug. It is a lurid human document, related with the dignity of simple truth, free from any attempt at dramatic effect.

Document 1687M

Letter from Fr. Jacinto García to the Duchess, dated Manila 12 June 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1957, p. 223).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
A tragedy is often the forerunner of many others, and this is what has happened in the affairs of the Mariana Mission, when it was all plain sailing under the administration of Don Antonio de Sarabia, with the assistance of Don Joseph de Quiroga. God took Don Antonio, and it was not given to us to have Don Joseph as his successor. A Governor was sent from Manila, and the happy state of the Mission began to wane, experiencing from the greatest to almost the lowest form of misery... Indeed, the uprising, revolt, disaster, deaths, losses and storms, are attributable to this initial error...

His Majesty, at the Court of Spain, is still unaware of the necessity of nominating Don Joseph de Quiroga to the Governorship—so eminently suitable for the post—and we here, are also unaware of it... and our Lord, whose ways are inscrutable, did not permit the vessel which was coming from Acapulco to deliver the despatches which it was carrying from the King—neither was it possible for the small boat to make the journey, though it left Manila with the relief for the Islanders... so that all our hopes were frustrated, and the Mission was left destitute of all human assistance...

It is the case that after the rebellion in those Islands, Father Diego de Zarzosa arrived from the Marianas in this city of Manila [in 1685], to give an account, to the Governor, of the events which had occurred there, and ask for relief... Not only was it not granted, but many excuses were put forward for delaying... and it seems that everything pertaining to the service of God and the King proceeds very slowly in these parts, while time and opportunities are lost... In these distant outposts, far from the Supreme seat of Government, our needs are not regarded with the sympathy which the occasion demands...

News at length reached this Island that the ship was due from New Spain, and that a Royal Decree had been despatched, ordering regular annual sailings to the Marianas

with the necessary supplies—and at the same time, the lamentable news came to us that that ship was prevented from landing the supplies which it was carrying to the Mariana Islands [in 1686].

[Further details are narrated of the unhappy state of the disappointed islanders, and the writer concludes:]

I omit other news of a more private nature regarding those Missions and the ones in China, because by word of mouth, the Procurators will tell you everything. They leave this year for the Courts of Spain and Rome, the first being Father Antonio Xaramillo, who, in spite of having been elected by the King as Bishop of the Marianas, was appointed Procurator by the Congregation which assembled here in the year 1687, his good qualifications and authority being indispensable. Accompanying him will be another Father named Alexo Lopez,¹ whom you will be pleased to meet.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: Alexo Lopez was born in 1645 in Albalate, Spain. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1662, and went to Manila in about 1666. He died on the return journey from Europe in 1693 (ref. B&R 39: 197).

Document 1687N

Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Duchess, dated San Pedro 20 June 1687

Source: Present location unknown; 1-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 10 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1960, p. 226).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

...
Last year in 1686, I wrote to you,¹ and so I have little to add now, as I have not had news since from the Marianas, because the ship which arrived from Acapulco in that year did not cast anchor at the Marianas, neither did it touch there; for directly the Governor of the Islands sighted the ship, he advised the commander, by means of a boat, that near by there was a vessel full of pirates! No sooner had the commander heard this than he went off, and continued on his voyage—and the soldier who had been sent with the message, remained on board the big vessel. He told us that matters were progressing in the Marianas, if slowly, and that the Indians had murdered another Father, in addition to the four, about whom I have already informed you. This man's name was Pedro Comano, who was coming from the Islands of Gani; also Brother Pavon, who died of the wounds he received on the day of the native rising.²

The sloop that sailed from here to the Marianas last year 1686 returned to the port from which it had sailed, on account of its having been despatched too late, and at the wrong time, and for the same reason, the sloop which was bound for Acapulco arrived here as well.³

Now the Governor [of the Philippines] sends another sloop to the Marianas and they say it is a very nice one, and will leave here shortly.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1686R. He assumes that Fr. Rodriguez passed on his letter to the Duchess.

2 Ed. note: Error for Brother Dubois. Brother Pavon did not die in 1684, but he was taken off the 1685 galleon by Fr. Bouwens (see Doc. 1687K); he died in 1686.

3 Ed. note: As was often the case in Spanish at that time, the verb “arrive” is used to mean turning back to port, in distress.

The two Fathers, Diego de Zarzosa and Jacinto García, sail on it and will remain with that Mission.¹

The best news I can send you is that Father Antonio Xaramillo is going to Spain and Rome as Procurator, and will sail shortly for Acapulco. From him you will hear news of the events in the city of Manila, interesting, grave and extraordinary news.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: They still did not make it in 1687.

Documents 16870

The re-discovery of Yap in 1686

O1. San Bernabe Island, re-discovered by the galleon Santo Niño while cruising for enemy ships

Sources: RAH 9/2668 doc. 122; copy in NLA ms. 1300; published in B&R 39: 131-143.

Note: Although the original is undated and unsigned, the author was a Jesuit, despite the note on the cover of the document, which says (in Spanish): "Diary of Fr. Berart." Raimundo Berart was a Dominican and the hatchet-man of the Dominican Archbishop Pardo.

Original text in Spanish.

Diario de las novedades de Filipinas desde Junio de '86 asta el de '87.

*A 11 de Junio de 1686 descubrio el galeon **Santo Niño** 22 leguas de la Isla de S. Juan una nueva isla mayor que ningun de las descubiertas en Marianas y llamada de **San Barnabé** por haverse descubierto en día del santo.*

*A 11 de julio se repicó en Manila por la llegada del galeon **Santa Rosa**.*

A 12 ahorcaron a cinco Sangleyes culpados en el motin.

A 14, vino nueva de haver aportado a Cagayan salva toda la gente q. iva en la lancha q. se desgaritó en Marianas.

A 18 lleo el gentil hombre con el pliego [del galeon].

...

A 27 [de agosto] salió de Cavite la balandra para Marianas, y embarcados en ella los PP. Diego de Zarzosa y Jacinto García y el H^o Melchor de los Reyes.

...

A 13 de octubre entró la armada en el puerto de Cavite.

A 15 entro a ser Rector del Collegio de Manila el Pe. Antonio Xaramillo.

...

Año de 1687

A 21 de Henero de 1687 prendieron por orden del Sr. Gobernador al General D. Juan de Zelaeta y metieron en el calabozo del azufre. Item prendieron al Licenciado D. Miguel de Lezama y lo llevaron con dos pares de grillos al fortin de S. Gabriel.

...

Translation of the above excerpt.

Diary of new events in the Philippines, from June 1686 to June 1687.

On 11 June 1686, the galleon **Santo Niño** discovered, 22 [sic] leagues from the island of San Juan [Guam], a new island, larger than any of those discovered in the Marianas; it is named **San Bernabe**, because it was discovered on the day of that saint.

On 11 July, the bells were rung in Manila for the arrival of the galleon **Santa Rosa**.

On the 12th, they hanged five Sangleys, who were found guilty in the mutiny.

On the 14th, news came that all the people who were in the launch that lost its way in the Marianas had safely reached port in Cagayan.¹

On the 18th, the gentleman [courier] arrived with the mail.

...

On the 27th [August], the sloop for the Marianas sailed from Cavite; and Fathers Diego de Zarzosa and Jacinto García, and Brother Melchor de los Reyes embarked in it.²

...

On 6 October, Father José Lopez died in Palapag.

On the 12th, the Father Provincial Francisco Salgado, and the Father Rector, Luis Pimentel, were notified of the judicial decision by the archbishop...

On the same day, 12 October, it was decided in a provincial council that the paths of government should be opened. The first was entered by Father Geronimo de Ortega, and the second by Father Juan Andrés de Palavicino; but, on account of the death of both of these, Father Luis Pimentel—at the time, rector of the college of San Ignacio—began to govern.

On 13 October, the fleet entered the port of Cavite.

On the 15th, Father Antonio Xaramillo began to officiate as rector of the college of Manila.³

...

Year of 1687

On 21 January 1687, General Don Juan de Zalaeta was arrested by order of the Governor, and thrust into the sulphur dungeon. *Item*, they also arrested Licentiate Don Miguel de Lezama, and conveyed him, wearing two pairs of fetters, to the fort of San Gabriel.⁴

...

On 7 February, they arrested the auditor Don Diego de Viga...

1 Ed. note: The Santa Rosa's launch lost sight of the galleon at Santa Rosa Bank.

2 Ed. note: The sloop did not make it to Guam that year either.

3 Ed. note: However, he was sent to Europe as Procurator the following year, but his ship turned back. He tried again in 1688, and met Fr. Baraona at Acapulco in 1689 (Doc. 1690E). The King had wanted to make him first Bishop of the Marianas, but this idea was given up. He died at Ocaña, Spain, in December 1707.

4 Ed. note: Both Zalaeta and Lezama were exiled to Cagayan in June 1687.

On 26 February, the college of the Society of Jesus was surrounded [by soldiers], to remove thence the person of the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar...

On 17 March, the Father Procurator, Antonio de Borja, presented a petition to the Governor that he, as vice-patron, should take measures regarding the violent spoliation which the archbishop had inflicted on the Society...

On 18 April, Domingo Diaz came to give the Father Rector, Antonio Jaramillo, a copy of a petition by the Augustinians...

On 10 May, Father Antonio Borja presented before the royal Audiencia a plea of "fuerza", in order that he might make known the injury which the archbishop had done to the Society and the royal patronage...

On 8 June, the archbishop held a consultation with the royal Audiencia, asking its aid to arrest and punish Fathers Diego de Ayala and Pedro Cano...

News of this year of 1688...

1. The ship **Santo Niño** which sailed from Cavite last year 1687, put back to the port of Bagatao, to the grief of everyone, not only on account of the deterioration of property and the very considerable damages, but also this greatly delayed the remedy which is needed by the public calamities and the oppression under which this colony lies. The ship's return to port is attributed to the excessive ship's lading which it carried, to careless arrangements and lack of proper outfit, and to the undue timidity of those who had charge of the vessel.

...

6. The archbishop, since he came back from his exile, has not ceased to wage war on this city... All these acts proceed from the fury and partiality of Father Verart.¹

...

8. The archbishop forcibly took from the Fathers of the Society the administration of the village of Cainta and Jesus de la Peña [i.e. Mariquina] and give it to the Augustinian Fathers...

Appendix

1. The goods which the Governor shipped as contraband, of which the accountant made a written statement, are 235 packages.

2. The vessels which Endaya has built, with the authority he possesses, are two pataches and a champan.

3. The amount which the Governor received from the [Viceroy] Marquis of Laguna, in the **Santa Rosa**, was 100,000 pesos.

...

1 Ed. note: A French, or Catalan, Dominican friar.

10. How Father Pedroche, who had been banished from these islands, escaped from Acapulco, and came back dressed as a Recollect.¹

11. Of the Dominican friar who killed another in Cagayan.²

O2. Carolina Island, re-discovered by the galleon Santa Rosa

The opinion of Captain Burney.³

...
In 1686, a Spanish ship, being near the meridian of the Marianas, and a little to the South of the track usually sailed from New Spain to the Philippines, fell in with an Island, which her Commander [sic], Don Francisco Lazcano, named *La Carolina*, in honor of the King of Spain, Carlos II.⁴

According to Gemelli Careri,⁵ this Island was seen by Charles Joseph de Milan, who some time after was ordered to go in search of “the Southern Islands in this neighborhood, and especially of the one which himself had seen in 1686 and called Carolina; whence he was to bring one of the inhabitants, that further information might be obtained.”⁶

By others, the Island of 1686 was called **San Bernabe**, because it was discovered on the festival of that Apostle, and in some Spanish charts, an Island *San Bernabe* is placed to the South of Guahan; but the name *Carolina* prevailed, and it has been extended over all the space between the parallels of Guahan and 5° of North latitude, and Eastward of the Philippine Islands as far as to 35 degrees; every Island within those limits, whether known or not, having been comprehended under the general denomination of the Carolinas or Caroline Islands. But the particular Island which was first named Carolina in 1686, has not since been recognized.

Editor's comments.

During the reign of Philip V, the Carolines were sometimes called the New Philippines. According to Andrew Sharp (Discovery of the Pacific Islands, p. 88), “the details given [about Carolina] are not, however, enough to establish it beyond doubt as

1 Ed. note: The Dominican Father Cristobal Pedroche had been Provincial of his Order in Manila. In 1684, he was imprisoned in Cavite and sent to Mexico, but the Viceroy permitted him to return to the Philippines (ref. B&R 39: 177).

2 Ed. note: These items were meant as an aide-mémoire for a more extensive diary. Fray Raimundo de Rosa had supposedly killed his companion, Fray Juan Zambrano (ref. B&R 39: 240).

3 In his “History of Discovery in the South Sea”, vol. ..., pp. 410-411.

4 Ed. note: Lazcano was pilot, not commander. The name of the General in command of the Santa Rosa was Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla.

5 In his Voyage round the World, part IV, book I.

6 Voyage of Gemelli Careri, part V, book II.

Ulithi rather than Yap or Fais, which also lie southwest of Guam on the northern fringe of the Carolines.”

However, I have found some evidence that the island in question was not only large, but hilly as well. In the meeting of pilots held in Manila on 12 November 1708 (see Doc. 1709A10), there was revealed by General Elorriaga (a pilot) that he had seen the chart made by Thomas Endaya in 1686 and been told that the island then seen was “large and mountainous.” Its distance from Guam was unfortunately under-estimated (confused with that of the Santa Rosa Bank), so that boats sent from Guam in the years immediately following were unable to find it.

Documents 1687P

Pilot Francisco Lazcano seeks redress and recognition

P1. Petition by Lazcano to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Manila 12 June 1690 [rather 1687]

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1973, p. 236).

Notes: The Maggs Catalog is wrong in ascribing this letter to a "Father" Francisco Lazcano. This document and the next were carried to Madrid by Fr. Xaramillo.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

It being necessary to place at the Royal feet of the Queen Mother the **Report from the Mariana Islands which accompanies this letter**¹ so that it may reach her without the delays that are likely to occur if addressed to the King, I am obliged to submit it to you first... and I will impart information as to the real obstacles which have hindered the progress of that Christian community; offering suggestions for its development, in which you have ever assisted with your great piety and zeal; for it is under your sponsorship that I am the more likely to realize my wish, which is,

That His Majesty be notified, and assist with his sovereign power in ordering the execution of what I represent to him and judge to be of great benefit, so that the Mariana Islands shall not suffer from the same backwardness as is found here.

These Islands, my Lady, owe me no less a measure of affection than I profess for them in wishing to be instrumental in securing their prosperity, to which end, I have conducted the vessel which sails between the Philippines and the Marianas, having been the first who, under the patronage of the Apostle of the Orient, San Francisco Xavier, my guardian in all my voyages, travelled from [Cape] Engaño to Asia, though I had not thought it possible to navigate this Archipelago from the Philippines to the Marianas.²

1 Ed. note: P2 below. This is the report that will be discussed by Fr. Xaramillo in Doc. 1690C.

2 Ed. note: Referring to the unsuccessful voyage of the sloop San Francisco Xavier in 1680-81 (see Doc. 1683B).

And had it not been necessary to approach His Majesty without delay, I would have stayed in those Islands this last voyage, voluntarily sacrificing myself in the new discoveries which the islands of that region promise, and in the progress of those already discovered; but I live in hopes of realizing my desires. A happy beginning to the fulfilment of my wish would be the placing of this report before His Majesty, in which good work I crave your cooperation, by presenting it to the Queen Mother.

Etc.

P2. Letter from Francisco Lazcano to the King (through the Queen Mother), dated Manila 15 June 1687

Source: AGI Fil. 86-6-246.

Lazcano seeks recognition and redress

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Manila. A S.Mgd.*

Francisco Lazcano, Piloto, 15 de Junio.

—*R[ecivi]da por el correo de Andalucía a 19 de Junio de 90.*

—*Refiere que estando sirviendo en la Armada de Barlovento, le ordeno el Arco-bispo Virrey el año de 679 condugese (como lo hizo) una nao a Filipinas en donde emprendio un viage a las Marianas, y por no haverlas tomado, y buelto a Manila de arrivada, se le [tuvieron] preso mas de dos años [por] cuya causa salio abs[uelto] que despues hiço otro a la N^a Esp^a, en que asimismo [pade]çio grandes trava[jos]. Dize podra informar Antonio Jaramillo de la Comp^a de Jhs. Y concluye con que en aquellas Islas, solo es atendido, quien rinde las Potencias a Don Thomas de Endaya, que ya amena-zava, con el Governador sucesor, y que para el no ay mas hombres que Ingleses, y fran-zeses, por un Piloto Ingles, que trae en su navio.*

Señor

*El año de setenta y nueve estando sirviendo en la Armada Real del seno Mexicano, por orden del Pe. Maestro D. fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de Mexico y Virrey de la Nueva Spaña pase a estas Islas a traer, el Galeon S. Ant^o que estava ymposibilitado, en el Puerto de Acapulco por falta de Piloto mayor, y luego que llegue me opuse a toda esta Ciudad por el viage de Marianas que tenian excluido de poderse navegar y despues de haver pasado una tormenta de contradiziones, pase otra en la mar que fue milagro escapar con las vidas, fue forzoso el arriivar a Manila y luego que llegue sin atender a mis trabajos me metieron en un calaboso donde estube dos años con la culpa que en la sentencia se vid-- despues desto me embiaron en el Galeon Capitana **Sancta Rosa** a la Nueva España, y suçedio en dho viage la fatalidad tan grave que estubo perdido el Galeon en medio de la mar hecho el timon dos pedasos, fue Dios servido darme valor y*

yngenio para rem[fitirlo] todo, y conseguir el viage, y de a V.Magd. el Pe. Ant^o Xaramillo y consiguiente, hize otro viaje en dha Nao que aunque los peligros no fueron semejantes, fueron iguales pues estaban aguardando al galeon en la costa de Acapulco quatro navios Piratas con catorze piraguas y seis çientos escopeteros, y con la yndustria de haverme criado toda mi vida en la guerra, de la mar en servicio de V.Magd. escape el Galeon, asi en la llegada de Acapulco como de tornaviaje en las Islas Marianas donde nos estaban aguardando.

A la fha desta haze ocho años inclusive que estoy sirviendo a V.Magd. en estas Islas sin sueldo ni rasion, sin otros ocho años que serbi repartidos en la Armada Real, galeones de la plata, Armada Real del seno Mexicano, y aunque en este pais somos tanpoco estimados los españoles que voluntariamente pasamos a servir a V.Magd que parece nos daña pues se haze mas apreçio de qualquiera que sirve a un particular desta ciudad que a lo que serbimos a V.Magd. y mas en la era de oy que el que no rinde sus potencias a Don Thomas de Endaya, pereze, como me esta suçediendo a mi, y haze tanto apreçio de su poder que ya nos amenaza con el governador que esta por venir, y para el no ay mas hombres que ingleses y franceses, pues por un ingles que trae en sus navios [de] Piloto, no balemus nada todos los españoles, notable antipatia, parece que es herençia suya. No me queda mas[que] clamar a los pies de V.Mgd. a quien guarde Dios.

Manila y Junio 15 de 1687.

--- B. los pies de V.Mgd.

Francisco Lascano.

[Decision of the Council:]

Consejo.

Consejo a 23 de Junio de 1690.

Pidase informe sobre este contenido al Pe. Jaramillo.

Ex[ecuta]do el mismo dia.

Esta carta va respondida en el informe del Pe. Antonio Jaramillo de la Compañia Jesus su fha 30 de Junio de 1690, Madrid, y Agosto 30 de 96 [sic].

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Manila. To His Majesty.

Francisco Lazcano, Pilot, 15 June.

—Received with the mail from Andalusia on 19 June 1690.

—Refers to the fact that he was serving in the Windward Fleet when the Archbishop Viceroy ordered him in the year 1679 to navigate (as he did) a galleon to the Philippines, from where he undertook a voyage to the Marianas, but because he did not make it there, and was forced back to Manila in distress, he was arrested and kept in prison for over two years, but was finally absolved. Then he made another voyage to New Spain, during which he also suffered great hardships. He says that Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus could inform, and he concludes by saying that in those Islands, the only persons attended to are those who pay homage to the Powers of Don Tomás

de Endaya, who even threatens in the name of the future Governor, and according to whom, there are no better men than Englishmen, and Frenchmen, on account of an English pilot whom he brought in aboard his ship.¹

Sire:

In the year 1679, while I was serving in the Royal fleet of the Mexican Gulf, by order of the Fr. Master Don fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain, I went to these Islands to lead the galleon **San Antonio** that was in difficulty in the Port of Acapulco, for lack of a Pilot Major, and then, as soon as I arrived, I opposed the whole of this City in the affair of the voyage to the Marianas, whose navigation they thought was impossible, and after I had passed through a storm of opposition, I passed through another at sea, and it was a miracle that we escaped with our lives. It became necessary to turn back to Manila and then, as soon as I got there, without paying attention to my hardships, they put me in a prison where I spent two years with the blame that can be seen in the sentence. After this they sent me aboard the flagship galleon **Santa Rosa** to New Spain, and during said voyage there occurred the very serious misfortune that the galleon was lost in the middle of the sea with her rudder split in two pieces.² God was pleased to give me valor and talent enough to fix it all properly, and to proceed with the voyage, and I refer Your Majesty to Fr. Antonio Xaramillo for the rest of the story.³ I made another voyage in said galleon⁴ and although the dangers were not similar, they were equal; indeed, 4 pirate ships were waiting for the galleon on the coast of Acapulco with 14 canoes and 600 men with shotguns, and with the industry that comes from having lived all my life in war, at sea in the service of Your Majesty, I got the galleon safely through, not just to reach Acapulco but also during the return voyage where they were waiting for us at the Mariana Islands.⁵

As of this date, it has been 8 years inclusive that I have been at the service of Your Majesty in these Islands, without a salary or food allowance, not counting the 8 other years that I served aboard many ships of the Royal fleet, the silver galleons, the Royal fleet in the Mexican Gulf, and although in this country those of us Spaniards who voluntarily pass here to serve Your Majesty are so little esteemed that it seems that we are harmed by it; indeed, more appreciation is given to anyone serving an individual of this city than to those serving Your Majesty, and more so in these times when anyone who

-
- 1 Ed. note: Endaya, or Andaya, had quite a career in the Philippines (see B&R Index under his name). Briefly, he was a Basque from Andaye, in the Basque region of France, but right next to the border with Spain. He arrived at Manila with Governor de León in 1669, and was thrice commander of the Philippine galleon, a builder of ships, a friend of Governors Curuceláegui and Zabalburu (Basques like himself) and also Master-of-camp of the Philippines for many years, until his death which occurred in 1715.
 - 2 Ed. note: This happened on the Santa Rosa Bank, south of Guam, in 1686.
 - 3 Ed. note: Lazcano himself drifted off accidentally with the launch, while scouting for a clear channel over the shoal, and ended up in Cagayan, Philippines.
 - 4 Ed. note: This was on a previous voyage of the Santa Rosa, that of 1683-84.
 - 5 Ed. note: He confuses, perhaps intentionally, two different voyages.

does not pay homage to Don Tomás de Endaya perishes, as is happening to me, and he abuses his power so much that he is already threatening us with the next Governor who has yet to arrive, and according to him there is no men like Englishmen and Frenchmen; in fact, on account of an Englishman whom he brought aboard one of his ships as Pilot, all of us Spaniards are worth nothing. This noteworthy antipathy seems to be an inheritance of his.¹ The only thing left for me to do is to cry out [for justice] at the feet of Your Majesty, whom may God preserve.

Manila, 15 June 1687.

---Kisses the feet of Your Majesty,

Francisco Lascano.

[Decision of the Council:]

The Council.

The Council, on 23 June 1690.

Ask a report about the contents of this from Fr. Xaramillo.

Carried out the same day.

This letter has been answered in the report of Fr. Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, dated Madrid 30 June 1690, and 30 August 1696 [sic].²

1 Ed. note: Lazcano was Basque himself, but must have considered Endaya a Frenchman.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1690C. Lazcano had, in fact, already been promoted to the rank of Admiral when he wrote this petition (seen next document).

Document 1687Q

Study of the possibility of making two voyages from Manila to the Marianas every year

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 361-381; also in AGI Ultramar 562 (coleccion Simancas, Fil. 1586-1698).

Note: This case file was an annex to the letter from Governor Curuzelaegui dated 27 December 1687, postdated 31 May 1688. It arrived in Spain with the quicksilver ships of 28 December 1689.

Extracts from the case file

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio a la letra de los autos que precedieron en razon de si se pueden o no hazer dos viages a las Islas Marianas cada un año. 1ª Via, año de 87.

*El presente escrivano oficial mayor de esta Governacion y Guerra sacara testimonios a la letra por triplicado de todos los Autos y demas recaudos que por este superior Gobierno se an de remitir a su Magd. que Dios Guarde y su Real Consejo de Indias este presente año en el Galeon Capitana **Santo Niño** que a de hazer viaje con el divino favor al puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España por el situado real de estas Islas poniendo por caveza de los que así sacare el presente.*

Manila y febrero veinte de mill seiscientos ochenta y siete años.

...

Junta de pilotos y Generales de esta carrera.

En la Ciudad de Manila en quatro dia del mes de abril de mill seys cientos ochenta y siete años el Señor Almirante de Galeones Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del Orden de Santiago veinte y quatro de la Ciudad de Sevilla del Consejo de su Magestad en el supremo de Guerra Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y chancilleria Real que en ellas reside, &a.

En conformidad y cumplimiento del decreto de su Señoria dho Señor Governador su fha de dos del corriente que esta en esta dos foxas en que por el mando conbocar a

junta de pilotos para lo que en dho decreto se contiene y aviendose combocado para dha junta a los almirantes Antonio de Acevedo, Leandro Cuello, Francisco Lascano, Pilotos mayores y dhos Capitanes Bernabé Martin de Josés [sic], Juan Bautista Cascais, Carlos Joseph, Pilotos en sueldo y a el General Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla que lo a sido de uno de los galeones de esta carrera y no hallarse al presente en esta Ciudad otro algun General de los que an sido de los galeones de ella, y estando juntos y congregados en la sala de las casas reales para efecto de lo que en dho decreto se comtiene que yo el escrivano lo hizo notorio y asimesmo la Real sedula que en el se expreza y aviendolos sobredicho entendido lo contenido en dho decreto, y el contexto de dicha Real Cedula que en el se cita que les fueze leyda de mandato de dho Señor Governador para ma[s] intelencia de dicho su contexto su Señoria el Señor Governador por ante mi el escrivano les recivio juramento a los dichos pilotos unos y otros y dho General mencionados los quales lo hizieron por Dios nuestro Señor y la señal de una cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometieron decir verdad de lo que supieren segun su arte de tales pilotos y dicho general de lo que alcanza y saven razon de lo que se comtiene en dicho decreto y contexto de dicha Real Cedula y que debajo del dho Juramento davan y dieron sus botos y pareceres en la forma y manera siguiente.

Capitan Juan Bautista Cascaes, Piloto en sueldo.

El Capitan Juan Bautista Cascaes Piloto en sueldo: dijo que no se puede hazer cada un año mas que tan solamente un biaje de estas Islas a las Marianas y que el que se hiciere al mismo tiempo y con la misma colla de bendabales que sale de estas Islas cada un año el Galeon o galeones para el Reyno de la Nueva España por el situado Real de ellas, respecto de que no ay mas que un solamente una colla de bendabales que reyna en dho tiempo con la qual es presiso que para conseguir el viage a las dhas Islas Marianas se ayga de salir de estas con dha colla que es la mesma con que salen los galeones para la Nueva España y que con otro viento alguno no se puede de estas Islas hazer viage a las dhas Marianas ni de ellas se puede bolber de tornaviaje a estas sino es con brisas y que es presiso que para la buelta y aber de aguardar las brisas se ayga de estar en puerto seguro en dhas Marianas mas tiempo de quatro meses aguardando dichas brisas para dicha buelta en cuyo tiempo de ir a dhas Marianas y bolber de tornabiage a estas y estada en las dhas Marianas aguardando a dichas brisas es nesesario mas tiempo de ocho meses y que no haviendo como no ay mas colla de bendabales que una al año es la que lleva dho no puede hazer mas que un viaje cada año a dhas Islas Marianas. Y que en quanto a la declinazion a la parte del sur beniendo de tornabiage de dichas Marianas halle se a de riesgo, y conosido peligro respecto de los muchos bajos que estan hazia la parte del sur de dichas Islas y muy cercanos de ellas, y que esto es lo que alcanza segun su arte y que es su boto y parecer de bajo del juramento que tiene fho.

Cap. Carlos Joseph piloto en sueldo.

El Capitan Carlos Joseph Piloto en sueldo dijo que se conforma con el boto y parecer que tiene dado en esta junta el Capitan Juan Bautista Cascaes y que siente lo mesmo que dicho Capitan Juan Bautista segun la esperiencia que tiene de esta carrera[,] el arte

que profesa de tal piloto y debajo del juramento que tiene fho y que este es su boto y parecer.

Cap. Bernabe Martin de Joses piloto en sueldo.

... no se puede hazer de estas Islas a las Marianas cada un año mas que tan solamente un viaje...

Almirante Francisco Lazcano piloto mayor.

El Almirante Francisco Lazcano Piloto Mayor: Dixo que siente no se puede hazer cada un año a las Islas Marianas mas que un biaje desde estas, y que la razon es que para ello tiene son: constar de dos navegaciones la una desde el puerto de Cavite hasta salir al mar grande y que es de cient leguas mas o menos donde ay devercidad de estrechos y canales con muchas corrientes causadas de la multitud de Islas que ay en esta con la distancia y haver menester diferentes vientos para conseguir dho viaje por cuy[a] causa se rretardan los vajeles. Y que despues de salir a la mar grande que ha de ser antes del mes de Agosto para conseguir dho viaje que consta de tres cientas leguas de el embocadero a las Islas Marianas es menester gosar de bindabal muy recio para poder romper la corriente que ay en dho archipelago en contra de dho biaje y dando caso que lleguen en quinze dias a dichas Islas, se a de estar recojido y bien abrigado en puerto por durar los bendabales, quatro mezes, y luego entran los nortes vientos muy recios y dañosos y se a de aguardar a que pase su tiempo, y entren las brisas generales para poder bolber a estas Islas y que en este tiempo se ocupan ocho mezes por cuya causa no se puede hazer mas de un biaje cada un año. Y que en quanto a la buelta es de parecer que el que fuere alterar el situado de las Marianas arrime a la banda del sur las leguas que pudiere o quisiere para adquirir las noticias que su Magestad manda nabegando con el cuydado que se deve en mar que no a nabegado otro bajel y que lo queda alcanza por la esperienza y arte que profeza y debajo del dho juramento que tiene fho esta es su boto y parecer.

Almirante Antonio de Acevedo piloto mayor.

... tiene por cierto que cada un año no se puede hazer de estas yslas a las Marianas mas que tan solamente un biaje...

Almirante Leandro Cuello piloto mayor.

... Dixo que solamente un biaje se puede hazer de estas Islas a las Marianas... y que en quanto a la declinazion a la parte del sur beniendo de buelta de dhas Islas halla ser de mucho riesgo respecto de los bajos que estan al sur de dhas Islas y cercanas de estas, y que este es su boto y parecer...

General Don Francisco Gonzales Zorrilla.

... Dixo que no se puede hazer mas que un biaje al año à las Islas Marianas...

Resolucion de la Junta.

Con lo qual se acabo esta Junta y por todos los botos de esta se resolbio no poder hazerse mas que tan solamente un biaje de estas Islas a las de Marianas cada un año, y su Señoria mando se lleve esta Junta a la de Hazienda...

Junta de Hazienda.

En la Ciudad de Manila en quince dias del mes de Abril de mill seiscientos ochenta y siete el Señor Almirante de Galeones Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavalero del Orden de Santiago, etc. conboco Junta general de Hazienda a que asistieron los Señores Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis del Consejo de su Magd. fiscal en la Real Audiencia de estas Islas que despacha por Jues en ella por propia de otro algun Señor oydor, Capitan Juan de Angulo Promotor fiscal nombrado que por tal despacho en lugar de el dho Señor fiscal, y los Jueses ofiçiales de la Real hacienda de estas Islas, el Capitan Don Juan del Posso y Bovadilla Contador, el Sargento Mayor Don Juan Fermin de la Ortiga Thesorero, el Capitan Don Pedro de Verostigui Fator Veedor, a quienes su Señoria propuso diziendo que su Magestad que Dios guarde por sus Reales Zedulas le manda cuyde del fomento de las misiones de las Islas Marianas y que remita embarcasion con socorro a ellas, y por la ultimamente expedida assimesmo le manda que remita al Governador de dhas Islas algunos peltrechos de los que constan de dho ultima real çedula, y assimesmo encarga su Magestad por ella el que si se pudiesen haçer dos viajes a dhas Islas cada un año se hagan y lo demas que dhas Reales çedulas constan, y su Señoria mando a mi el escrivano las leyese, y aviendolas leydo de que doy fee, y entendido las dhos Señores su Señoria

*Dixo que en todo lo que su Magestad manda por dhas esas reales çedulas tenia dado procedençia el año proximo passado de seiscientos y ochenta y seis y echo remision a dhas Islas en la fl[r]egata nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Aransasu** que arivo y assi mismo tiene hecho Junta de Pilotos en razon de si se puede o no haçer los dhos dos viajes cada un año la qual assi mismo mando su Señoria a mi y al escrivano la leyese; y aviendola leydo de que doy fee su Señoria dixo que en rason, y sobre todo lo referido, y que los que se pueden causar en la remision del vagel que huviere de ir, y el que la mire de ser y de que efectos se an de sacar; y pagar dhos gastos den sus votos, y pareceres.*

Y tratado y conferido los dhos Señores de esta Junta dieron sus pareceres en la forma y manera siguiente.

...

Resolucion.

*Y quedó resuelto en esta Junta y se despache a las Islas Marianas este presente año la fragata nombrada **S. Gabriel** con la misma providensia que su Señoria el Señor Governor tenia dada en la que despachara el año proximo pasado de ochenta y seis en cumplimiento de lo mandado por su Magestad en sus reales çedulas.*

...

[Followed by signatures]

Translation of the above extracts.

Literal transcripts of the records of proceedings regarding the possibility of making two voyages per year to the Mariana Islands. Via Mail route n° 1, year of 1687.

The present notary, senior official of this Administration and War [Department] is to make exact transcripts, in triplicate, of all the Records of proceedings and other provisions that this superior Government must remit to His Majesty (whom may God save) and to his Royal Council of the Indies this present year aboard the flagship galleon **Santo Niño** that is to make the voyage to the port of Acapulco in New Spain, God willing, for the royal subsidy of these Islands, and the present order is to be placed at the beginning of same.

Manila, 20 February 1687.

[Signed by the Governor and by Quintanilla, the notary. The decree setting up this inquiry was as a result of the royal decree dated Madrid 9 August 1684.]¹

Meeting of pilots and Generals of this run.

In the City of Manila on 4 April 1687, His Lordship, Admiral of galleons Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James N° 24 of the City of Seville, member of His Majesty's War Council, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery there, etc.

To comply with the decree of His Lordship, said Lord Governor, dated 2nd of this month, shown here on two folios, in which he ordered the convocation of a meeting of pilots for the purpose explained in said decree, the following assembled for said meeting: Admirals Antonio de Azevedo, Leandro Cuello, Francisco Lascano; Chief Pilots and said Captains Bernabé Martín de Joses [sic = Hocés], Juan Bautista Cascais, Carlos José, salaried pilots and General Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla who has been general of one of the galleons of this run,² and, in the absence from this City of any other General from those who have been generals on this run, and being together and congregated in the hall of the royal court for the purpose stated in said decree, I, the notary, read this decree and also the Royal decree that is referred to therein, and having explained to them the contents of said decree and the context of said Royal decree mentioned therein that had been read to them by order of said Governor, in order to clarify said context His Lordship the Governor before me the notary received onto him the oath of said pilots, individually, and of said General, the above-mentioned, which they did with God our Lord as witness and the sign of the cross, according to law, and under this oath said pilots and said General promised to tell the truth of what they might know according to the knowledge of their profession about the import of what is contained in said decree and the context of said Royal decree, and under said oath they proceeded to tell and give their votes and opinions, in the following manner:

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1684M3.

2 Ed. note: Gonzalez was in command of the galeon Santa Rosa that diverted off Guam in 1686.

Captain Juan Bautista Cascaes, salaried pilot.

Captain Juan Bautista Cascaes, salaried pilot: declared that only one voyage from these Islands to the Marianas can be made every year and that such a voyage should be made at the same time and with the same season of the monsoon winds when the galleon or galleons leave these Islands every year for the Kingdom of New Spain for their Royal subsidy, given that there is but one season of monsoon winds that prevail in said time [of year]; therefore, it is necessary, in order to succeed with the voyage to said Mariana Islands, to undertake it with said monsoon which is the same as the one used by the galleons to leave for New Spain. And that, with any other wind, it is impossible to make a voyage from these Islands to said Marianas, nor from them is it possible to return, and in order to wait for the tradewinds, one would have to stay in a safe port in said Marianas for a period of time longer than 4 months, awaiting said tradewinds for said return. Now, the time necessary to go to said Marianas and return to these, and the stay in said Marianas to wait for said tradewinds, is over 8 months, and given that there is only one monsoon season every year, as mentioned earlier, one cannot make more than one voyage every year to said Mariana Islands. And regarding the deviation southward upon returning from said Marianas, he said that there are known and obvious dangers, on account of the many shoals that lie to the south of said Islands and very near them, and that this is what he had to say, according to his profession and that it is his vote and opinion given under the afore-said oath.

Captain Carlos José, salaried pilot.

Captain Carlos José, salaried pilot, declared that he agreed with the vote and opinion given in this meeting by Captain Juan Bautista Cascaes and that he thinks the same as said Captain Juan Bautista, according to the experience he has of this run, his profession as pilot, and under the afore-said oath, that such is his vote and opinion.

Captain Bernabe Martin de Joses [sic], salaried pilot.

... it is not possible to make more than one voyage per year from these Islands to the Marianas.

Admiral Francisco Lazcano, chief pilot.

Admiral Francisco Lazcano, chief pilot, declared that he thinks that it is not possible to make more than one voyage per year from these Islands to the Mariana Islands. The reasons for this opinion are: there are in fact two voyages to be made, one from the port of Cavite as far as the high seas, which is of 100 leagues more or less, during which there are various straits and channels with strong currents caused by the multitude of islands along this stretch, and the need for different winds to achieve said voyage, and that is why the vessels are delayed. And then, after going out to the high seas, which must be done before the month of August, one must enjoy a very stiff monsoon in order for said voyage to be successful, one that must be made over a distance of 300 leagues from the Entrance Strait to the Mariana Islands, in order to overcome the current that exists in said archipelago, in opposition of said voyage. Even then, supposing that this voyage be made in 15 days, one must seek a good shelter inside a safe port, for 4 months, in order to withstand the monsoon, and then the northerly winds that begin to blow very

stiff and harmful, and this time too must pass before the general tradewinds begin, in order to return to these Islands, and the whole thing takes 8 months; that is why only one voyage can be made every year. And, regarding the return voyage, he is of the opinion that, if the subsidy of the Marianas be changed, one could move a few leagues off to the south, as many as one can or wants in order to acquire the notices that His Majesty orders, by navigating with due care in a sea that no other vessel has sailed through before. And that is what his experience and profession have to offer, and under the afore-said oath, that is his vote and opinion.

Admiral Antonio de Acevedo, chiel pilot.

... he has it as certain that within any one year, it is not possible to make more than one voyage from these Islands to the Marianas.

Admiral Leandro Cuello, chief pilot.

... declared that only one voyage can be made from these Islands to the Marianas... and that, regarding the deviation southward on the return trip from said Islands, he thinks it is very risky on account of the shoals that lie south of said Islands and near them, and this is his vote and opinion...

General Don Francisco Gonzales Zorrilla.

... declared that one cannot make more than one voyage per year to the Mariana Islands...

Decision of the Meeting.

Thereupon this Meeting came to an end and all the votes led to the resolution that no more than one voyage can be made per year from these Islands to the Marianas, and His Lordship ordered the report of this Meeting to be sent to that of the Treasury...

Meeting of the Treasury.

At the City of Manila, on the 15th day of the month of April 1687, Admiral of galleons Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, etc. called a general Meeting of the Treasury which was attended by the following gentlemen: Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis, of His Majesty's Council, Fiscal of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands who stands in as Judge therein in the name of another Auditor whose position it is;¹ Captain Juan de Angulo, Attorney-General in said cabinet on behalf of said Fiscal, and the official judges of the Royal Treasury of these Islands, i.e. Captain Don Juan del Pozo y Bobadilla, Accountant; Sergeant Major Don Juan Fermin de la Ortega, Treasurer; Captain Don Pedro de Verostigui, Factor Inspector, to whom His Lordship explained that His Majesty (whom may God save) by his Royal decrees orders him to take care of the development of the missions in the Mariana Islands and to send a vessel with succor to them, and by the latest decree he also orders him to send to the Governor of said Islands equipment that are mentioned in

¹ Ed. note: Many of the oold auditors had been arrested by the Governor and a new Audiencia formed at the end of February 1687.

the royal decree in question, and also His Majesty entrusts him to find out if it is possible to make two voyages to said Islands every year and the rest that said Royal decrees state, and His Lordship ordered me, the notary, to read them, and having read them (of which I certify), and said gentlemen having heard them, His Lordship:

Declared that in everything that His Majesty orders by the said royal decrees he had given prosecution last year of 1686 and effectively sent a despatch to said Islands aboard the frigate named **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** that turned back and in addition he has held a Meeting of Pilots to find out whether or not it is possible to make the said two voyages per year, and His Lordship asked me, the notary, to read this one as well; and having read it (of which I certify), His Lordship declared that in view of everything referred to above, and as well as for the despatch of the vessel that might go, they are to look and see where the funds can come from, to pay said expenses, and give their votes, and opinions.

And, after discussion and consultation among themselves, said gentlemen of this Meeting declared their [individual] opinions in the following form and manner:

...
[After each of them had given their individual opinion, the final resolution was as follows:]

Decision.

And it was decided in this Meeting and it is despatched to the Mariana Islands this present year the frigate named **San Gabriel** with the same provision that His Lordship the Governor has already given, in connection with the despatch of last October 1686 in compliance with what His Majesty has ordered in his royal decrees.

...
[Followed by signatures].

Documents 1687R

The unsuccessful voyage of the frigate Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu in 1686

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 21-130, formerly in 12- 10-15; copy in AGI Ultramar 562.

R1. Extracts from the official report on this voyage, under the command of Major Miguel Martinez

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio a la letra de los autos de la arriuada de la fregata Nuestra Señora de Aransaso [sic] y San Ignacio que yba a las Islas Marianas este año de 87 [sic] del cargo del Sargento Mayor Miguel Martinez. 1ª Via. Año de 87.

Nº 13.

...

Decreto [del Gobernador].

Por quanto por cartas del Sargento Mayor Miguel Martines Cavo de la fregata Nuestra Señora de Aranzasu y San Ignacio, y Pedro Simoes de Carvallo Piloto de esta que salio del puerto de Cavite para hacer viaje a las Yslas Marianas con socorro se le da noticia a su Señoria que ocasionado de tiempos contrarios estando ya desem-bocado dicha fregata avia arriavado a la ensenada de Batangas donde varo haviendo le faltado las amarras con un temporal recio. Desde donde tiene noticia su Señoria salio para el referido puerto de Cavite y respecto de que por su Magestad en semejantes casos estan mandado se proceda a la aberiguacion de dhas arriadas, y si estas las occa-ciono el tiempo y sus accidentes[.] en atencion a hallar se en el puerto de Cavite el viejo el Señor Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis fiscal de su Magestad en esta Real Audiencia combaliendo de sus achaques y la falta de Señores Ministros que ay en ella daba y dio comission a dicho Señor Fiscal para que en su virtud proceda a la aberiguacion y pesquisa de dicho arribada[.] motivos y causas que interbinieron para ella y si estas fueron, ô no justificadas y resultando culpados procedira contra ellos por los terminos del Derecho substanciando y determinando dhas causas conforme a el que para todo ello lo anejo y dependiente le da su Señoria comission la que de Derecho

se requiere y es necesaria sin que por falta de ella dexé de obrar y actuara ante el Escribano que le pareciere y para este se le remitiran las cartas escritas a su Señoría por dicho Cavo y Piloto junto con este despacho[.]

Fecho en Manila a veinte y tres de Diciembre de mill seisciento ochenta y seis años.

Translation.

Literal transcript of the Record of proceedings about the return in distress of the frigate Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio that was going to the Mariana Islands this year of 1687 [rather 1686] under the command of Sergeant Major Miguel Martinez.—Via Route N° 1. Year of 1687.¹

N° 13.

...

Decree [of the Governor].

Whereas, through letters from Sergeant Major Miguel Martinez, commander of the frigate **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio**, and Pedro Simoens de Carvalho, Pilot of said frigate, that left the port of Cavite to make a voyage to the Mariana Islands with succor, His Lordship was notified that, on account of contrary weather, when said frigate had already left the Entrance Strait, it turned back and arrived at the bay of Batangas where it ran aground, when its moorings gave way during a stiff storm. It follows that His Lordship was notified that it had left for the said port of Cavite, and in view of the fact that His Majesty has ordered that in similar cases an inquiry must be held to ascertain how said returns occurred, and if these were caused by the weather and its accidents. In view of the fact that Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis, fiscal of His Majesty in this Audiencia, happens to be convalescing from his ailments at the port of Cavite the Old, and the lack of Ministers there, he was giving and did give a commission to said Fiscal so that, in his capacity, he proceed with the inquiry and investigation of said return, its reasons and causes that intervened in it and if these were justified or not, and if found guilty, he is to proceed against them according to law, substantiating and determining said causes in accordance with it. For it, and for ancillary business, His Lordship gives him the commission that is required by law and is necessary, though he should not stop acting for lack of it, and he is to act before a notary of his choosing, and to this effect he will be sent the letters written to His Lordship by said commander and pilot, along with this despatch.

Made at Manila on 23 December 1686.

¹ Ed. note: Aranzazu is a Spanish town about 50 km south of San Sebastián in Vizcaya.

R2. Letter from Pilot Pedro Simoens, dated Ticao, November 1686

Señor

Hallandome precissado a partiparle a Vss^a de mi viaje[.] lo ago agora por mayor y siempre que se ofreciere para que se reconosca mi buen celof[.] mostrarè por menor miz derrotas desde que sali de este embocadero hasta que volvi a el, y que sea avido alguna variacion en mi derrota ha sido falta de conocimiento de las corrientes de que no tengo experiencia porque de lo demas he hecho quanto a estado de mi parte[.] Pues ni me vasto haver savido a desembocar en dia de conjunccion[.] Pues en el mismo dia al ponerse el sol me entro un tiempo a donde padecimos lo bastante[.] pues alijamos asta los bastimentos que despues fue la peor tormenta[.] Y despues proseguimos nuestro viaje aunque con algun travajo por las muchas mares y contrastes. Y por otra parte la embarcacion me ha ayudado muy poco porque los vientos eran escasos del una y otra buelta, y ser preciso navegar con volinas sal[t]jadas en lo mismo que dexan la estela por la musa [i.e. monsoon] como la podra experimentar quien quisiere. Y de lo demas abordo ay personas que diran lo mismo: esto es quanto se me ofrece en quanto a esto[.] En quanto lo demas Vss^a me mande en quanto fuere de su gusto que lo hare con muy endida voluntad.

Nuestro Señor guarde a Vss^a muchos años[.]

*De esta ensenada de Ticao abordo de **Nuestra Señora de Aranzaso y San Ignacio** de(?) Noviembre de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis años.*

De Vss^a servidor que su mano besa.

Pedro Simoens de Carballo

Translation.

Sir:

I find myself with the obligation of letting Your Lordship know about my voyage. I do so now in general terms, but whenever I will be able to, in order to show my good zeal, I will show in detail my courses, from the time I left this Entrance Strait until I returned to it, and there may be some variation in my route for lack of knowledge of the currents which are unfamiliar to me. As for the rest I have done my best. In fact, on the same day, at nightfall, I was hit by a storm during which we suffered enough; indeed, we cast overboard even the food supplies, which afterwards caused us the worse hardship. And afterwards we pursued our voyage, although with some difficulty on account of the heavy seas and sudden shifts of wind. And on the other hand, the vessel did not help me much, because the winds were scarce, going and coming, and it became necessary to sail close to the wind with bowlines so tight that it left a wake behind on account of the monsoon wind, as anyone at all might experience. And about the rest, there are persons aboard who will say the same thing. This is as much as I can say about it for now. As for the rest, Your Lordship will please order me what to do, and I will do it most willingly.

May our Lord preserve Your Lordship for many years.

From this bay of Ticao [Island] aboard the **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio**, .. November 1686.

Your Lordship's servant who kisses your hand,
Pedro Simoens de Carvalho

R3. Letter from Major Martinez, dated Batangas 22 November 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

No se ha contentado la fortuna con haver nos hecho padecer muchos trabajos y sin fruto alguno pero para dar cumplimiento a ellos nos faltava esta que padecer. Pues el Jueves veinte y uno del corriente nos hallamos junto abante entre la ysla de Maricaban and tierra firme a vista de la parte de Santiago navegando con viento lesnordeste y nos salto al nor[ojeste por cuya caussa no podemos montar dicha Isla ni menos montar la parte de la ensenada de Balayan y a dos bordos que hicimos entre una y otra tierra con la marea de baciante y vamos a dar sobre Isla Verde por huir de ella nos tiramos a la ensenada de Batangas en busca de algun abrigo del viento vesnoroeste y dimos fondo en dha ensenada veinte brazas, y mientras duro dicho viento estubimos sin riesgo alguno hasta que salto por el soroeste a donde que bastante para perdirnos faltandonos aun mismo tiempo dos cables que teniamos en el agua y sin poderlo remediar nos hallamos varados y con vastante riesgo de las vidas pero fue nuestro Señor servido que no peligrase gente alguna [.] El navio no savemos a la ora de esta el daño que tiene aunque es verdad tiene mucha agua pero esa puede ser sea de la que ha entrado de las cubiertas, y juntamente con esta hago despacho â Taal al Alcalde Mayor para que me embia gente para hacer un camarin para la gente y vastimentos que no tenemos nada que comer. En abonanzando el tiempo procuraré sacar quanto pudiere de a bordo y ponerlo en tierra en el interin que Vss^a me manda otra cossa. Cuya vida guarde Dios nuestro Señor muchos años.

De esta ensenada de Batangas a veinte y dos de Noviembre de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis años.

Su menor servidor de Vss^a que su mano besa.

Miguel Martinez

Translation.

Sir:

Lady Luck was not content with simply making us suffer many hardships and bad outcome, but as a supplement to them, we had yet to suffer another disaster; indeed, on Thursday 21st of the current month, we found ourselves just past the Island of Maricaban and the mainland in sight of the part called Santiago, sailing with a wind from

ENE, when it jumped to NE [rather NW]. For this reason, we were unable to double said Island, not even the part of the bay of Balayan and although we tacked back and forth between one land and the other, with the ebbing tide we were headed for Isla Verde. To avoid it we steered for the bay of Batangas in search of some shelter from the WNW wind and we anchored in said bay in 20 fathoms. While said wind lasted, we were without any risk until it jumped to the SSW, and then we almost became lost because two mooring cables gave way at the same time and we were unable to remedy the situation. We wound ourselves aground and at great risk to our lives, but our Lord deigned to save all of us. At this time we do not know what damage the ship suffered, although it is true that much water has come in, but it might have come in through the decks [i.e. hatches]. And along with this message, I am sending another one to the Senior Mayor of Taal, asking him to send me some men and food supplies, as we have nothing to eat.¹ As soon as fair weather returns, I will try and remove as much as I can from the ship and take it ashore, until Your Lordship orders me to do otherwise.

May God our Lord preserve your life for many years.

From this bay of Batangas, 22 November 1686.

Your Lordship's least servant who kisses your hand,
Miguel Martinez

[Licentiate de la Fuente appointed Adjutant Juan Trujillo as notary public to write down the depositions. On 27 December 1686, Major Martinez was summoned to appear before the investigating Judge de la Fuente; he was recognized and swore to tell the truth, etc. The same thing was repeated with Pilot Simoens on the same date. They were asked to produce the lists of the crew and passengers, and the logbook.]

Exivicion de las listas de marineros y de soldados y del derrotero diario.

E incontinente en dicho puerto dicho dia mes y año, yo el escrivano requiri con el auto antecedente al Sargento Mayor Miguel Martines, y Capitan Pedro Simoens para efecto de que exhiban la lista y derrotero que en el se expreza y haciendolo entendido dicho Sargente Mayor hizo exivicion ante su Merced de dos listas en papel simple firmadas al parecer de su mano y letra de la gente de mar en que se contienen dies y siete personas entre oficiales, y marineros y la otra de la ymfanteria que fue embarcada en dicha fregata que contiene quarenta personas todas las quales: Dixo ser las que fueron en ella y vinieron hasta dicha ensenada de Batangas.

Y dicho Capitan Pedro Simoes asi mismo exivio un libro aferrado en badana [i.e. bandana] colorada que contiene catorce foxas en papel simple todas las que los menos la ultima estan diminutas y rompidas que al parecer la occaciono el haverse mojado. Y asi lo Dixo haver sucedido dicho Capitan quando varo dicha fregata en la [en]senada

1 Ed. note: Batangas is a bay of Luzon Island facing Mindoro Island. Taal, where the infamous volcano within a lake is located, lies about half-way between Manila and Batangas.

de Batangas todas las quales dichas foxas rubrico su Merced, y declararon dicho Sargento Mayor y Capitan Pedro Simoes con juramento que hicieron por Dios Nuestro Señor y señal de Cruz en forma de Derecho ser las dos listas de Ymfanteria y Marineros las que siempre ha tenido en su poder y que en ellas no se contienen mas personas de las que fueron y venieron en dicha embarcacion y dicho Capitan que el Derrotero diario, que tiene presentado es el mesmo con que se ha governado y observô el sol en el discurso del viaje y que asimesmo hace presentacion de un pliego de papel delineado a donde esta demarcada la Cordillera de las Yslas Marianas el qual Dixo se le havia dado el Almirante Leandro Coello al tiempo de su propartida por no haver tenido carta de marear que darle.] todo lo qual Dixeron ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que firme fecho en que se afirmaron, y ratificaron y la firmaron con su Merced de que doy fee.

Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis

Miguel Martinez

Pedro Simoens de Carvalho

Ante mi Joan Trujillo escrivano publico.

Exhibits—Crew lists and logbook.

At once, in said port, on said day, month and year, I, the notary, summoned with the above statement Sergeant Major Miguel Martinez and Captain Pedro Simoens for the purpose of having them exhibit the list and logbook that is mentioned therein. And, said Sergeant Major having understood, exhibited before His Grace two lists written on ordinary paper and apparently signed by him, of the seamen, in which appear 17 names, including officers and other ranks, the other list being that of the infantry that boarded said frigate, containing 40 names, all of whom he declared to have been those who were on board and came with it as far as said bay of Batangas.

And said Captain Pedro Simoens also exhibited a book wrapped in a colored kerchief, containing 14 sheets of ordinary paper, all of which, except the last one, being shrivelled and broken and seem to have been soaked. This is confirmed by said Captain, who declared that it happened when said frigate grounded in the bay of Batangas. His Grace initialled all of said sheets, and said Sergeant Major and Captain Pedro Simoens declared, under oath made with God our Lord as their witness and the sign of the cross according to law. The Sergeant Major declared that the two lists of the infantry and seamen were those that he had always kept in his possession and that they contain the names of only the persons who went and came back aboard said vessel, and said Captain declared that the logbook in question is the same one that he used during the course of the voyage to record it and the observations of the sun, and that he was also exhibiting a folded piece of ruled paper, upon which is drawn the archipelago of the Mariana Islands, which he declared had been given to him by Admiral Leandro Coello at the time of his departure, on account of the unavailability of a nautical chart to give him. All of which they declared to be the truth under the oath they had made, by which they affirmed, ratified and signed with His Grace, of which I certify.

Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.
 Miguel Martinez.
 Pedro Simoens de Carvallo.
 Before me, Juan Trujillo, notary public.

The lists.

- Salvador Samudio
- Joseph Martines (deserted)
- Joan de Dios
- Joan de la Peña
- Tomas de Espinosa
- Joan Nuñes
- Luis de Rivera (corporal, deserted)
- Joan de Sancta Maria
- Miguel de Cañas (deserted)
- Nicolas de Malpico
- Nicolas Joanes Cuernabaca
- Marcos Mendes
- Joan de los Reies
- Joseph de Arcaga
- Diego Ferel
- Leonardo Sunaco
- Miguel Martines

List of the infantry aboard the sloop [sic]

- Sargento Joan Antonio Romero
- Joseph de Seria, Corporal
- Joan de la Cruz
- Antonio de Cardenas
- Antonio de Lichana
- Phelipe de Santiago
- Joan Muñoz
- Joan Esteban de los Santos
- Bernardo de Betancor
- José Franco
- Joseph Meneses, Corporal
- Antonio de Peralta
- Nicolas de los Reyes
- Domingo Lopes
- Leonicio Salvador
- Francisco de San Miguel
- Joseph de la Cruz
- Pelallo [i.e. Pelayo] del Riego (deserted)

- Joan Cordero
- Joan Francisco Miño
- Antonio de Campos (corporal, deserted)
- Matheo Francisco Montalbo
- Alamo de la Quintana
- Miguel Baptista

List of the seamen who go aboard the frigate Nuestra Señora de Aransaso y San Ignacio to make a voyage to the Mariana Islands, as follows:

- Francisco de Acosta, coxswain
 - Luis Joseph, master's mate
 - Francisco de Paz, steward
 - Francisco Bohorques
 - Phelix Enriquez
 - Francisco de Acosta [another?]
 - Diego Velasco
 - Pasqual Tomal
 - Pedro Telmo (deserted)
 - Joan Navarro (deserted)
 - Francisco Almeyda (deserted)
 - Pedro Flores (deserted)
 - José Ramos (deserted)
 - Andres de la Cruz (deserted)
 - Joan de Olaes (deserted)
 - Joan de la Cruz (deserted)
- [Signed by:] Miguel Martines

...

R4. Deposition made by Major Martinez

Original in Spanish.

Declaracion del Sargento Mayor Miguel Martines Cavo de hedad de veinte y ciete años.

*En el puerto de Cavite en veinte y ocho dias [sic]¹ del mes de Diziembre de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis años el Señor Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis del Consejo de su Magestad y su fiscal en la Real Audiencia y chancilleria de estas Islas Philipinas para las declaraciones, mandalas hazer en el auto antesedentef.] hiço parecer ante sí al Sargento Mayor Miguel Martines cavo superior de la fregata nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** a quien su Merced recibio juramento que lo hiço por Dios*

1 Ed. note: The Ultramar transcript says 29, instead of 28.

nuestro Señor y señal de Cruz in forma de Derecho por el qual prometio de decir verdad de lo que supiere y fuere preguntado hiciendolo al tomar de dho auto.

Dixo que habiendo desemocado el dia diez y seis de Septiembre de este presente año en dicho dia le entro un tiempo a donde le obligo â echar al mar mucha parte de los bastimentos sin otras cossas que le pertenezan al barco, y no obstante proceguio su viaje haciendo las diligencias para conseguirlo y al mes y medio de navegacion fueron cargando los tiempos contrarios con bientos nortes nordestes y la mayor parte leste y en este mesmo tiempo faltaron los bastimentos en particular el agua que havia mui poca y le dijo al Piloto se hallava ducientas y veinte leguas de la tierra de Manila y ochenta de la Isla de Sarpana, y que con los tiempos arriva referidos no podia proseguir su viaje ni cojer Isla alguna de las Marianas y por esta ocasion y por la falta de vastimentos arriva referida y por ser el riesgo tan conocido en no coger la tierra en brebe les obligo a arribar a este puerto y que en el mesmo dia que cogieron la tierra les vino a faltar el agua y que esto responde.

Repreguntado si con los vientos que dice rimaron en los tiempos en que determinaron la arrivada pudieron grangear alguna cossa para su derecho viaje voltegeando de una y otra buelta ó haciendo otras diligencias [=maneuvers] para conseguirlo considerando que se arresgava tanto y se seguia tan gran perjuicio a las Islas Marianas en no hacer dicho viaje para socorrerlas diga &c.

A lo qual Dixo que no les fue posible el proseguir dicho viaje no obstante el haver voltegeado de una y otra buelta diverzas veses y hecho todas aquellas diligencias que se pudieron hazer en la occacion por razon de las corrientes que tiran al norreste y que para hazer su viaje necesitava hazer camino de leste y esto responde.

Repreguntado que siendo costumbre observada siempre en semejantes ocasiones de arrivadas el que les Cavos superiores antes de hacerlas conboquan a junta al Piloto oficiales y marineros inteligentes en el arte nautica para que dando cada uno su boto y parecer se resuelva lo que de terminare la mayor parte cuiâ diligencia se halla menos en los autos.

Dixo que para haver determinado dha arrivada no necesitava de hazer la junta referida respecto de haverle faltado los bastimentos y haverlos echado al agua con otras cossas como deja dicho arriva para alijar la embarcacion en occacion del temporal grande que tubieron el mismo dia que salieron del embocadero sin otros malos temporales que tubieron despues, y que no pudiendo coger las Islas ni hazer diligencia alguna para ello sin vastimentos y concurrir con esto el haverle dicho al Piloto, que con los vientos contrarios que corrian no era posible el pasar adelante a su derecho viaje por estas caussas que dexa referidas no comvoco â junta en forma si bien extra judicialmente se discurrio entre todos los de dicha embarcacion que convenia el que se arri-vase por dicha falta de vastimentos, y tiempos contrarios y esto responde.

Repreguntado que como se determino a echar al agua los vastimentos del Rey con que se avia de mantener y proseguir el viaje toda la gente que yba en dicha embarcacion quando primero que llegare â esta lanze havia de haver alijado y hechado al mar todo quanto venia en dicha fregata antes que tocaren los vastimentos.

Dixo que lo que echo al agua de vastimentos eran suyos que llevaba en su rancho y camara de dicho bajel y asimismo los que pertenecian a los Padres Jesuitas que yban en el con consentimiento de ellos viendo que se hallaban en gran peligro de las vidas, y que estaban anegados en dha camara de popa por la mucha agua del mar que en ella entraba y que no se toco en los bastimentos del Rey y esto responde.

Repreguntado que suponiendose como se deve suponer que el Rey da los vastimentos que son necesarios en tales ocasiones y que con ellos se pudieron racionar todos los que iban en dicho bajel hasta llegar a dhas Islas Marianas y dexando como dexa declarado que no se toco a los bastimentos del Rey como dice que por falta de bastimentos arrivo.

A lo qual Dixo que no obstante ser el viaje de quinze dias con los vientos favorables y llevar bastimentos del Rey para mas de un mes se mantubo con ellos mes y medio quitando la racion ordinaria, que se acostumbra dar que es una libra de viscocho y medio asumbre de agua¹ no obstante el haverze rompido y vaciado parte de la tenageria [i.e. tinajería] pues en todo un mes raciono a quartillo de agua² y hasta seis onzas de pan a su parecer medicas con el peso de tres balas de mosquete y por no haver podido en todo un mes haver ydo para abante desde el paraje en que se hallo a los quinze dias salido del embocadero le obligo a volver al mismo puerto de donde salio oy asi mesmo por haver tenido vientos contrarios como deja dicho en las preguntas antecedentes.

Fueron le fechas otras preguntas y repreguntas al caso tocantes y a todas dixo lo que dicho tiene en que se afirmo y ratifico so cargo del juramento que tiene dho y lo firmo con su Merced y en quanto a la hedad se remite a su primera declaracion de todo lo qual doi fee.

Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis

Miguel Martines

Ante mi: Joan Truxillo Escrivano Publico.

Synopsis.

[Major Martinez was only 27 years old. The Aranzazu left the mouth of the Strait of San Bernardino on 16 September 1686 and a storm hit that same day, forcing the crew to jettison the food supplies but nothing else belonging to the ship. After one and a half months at sea, some contrary winds from N and NE, but most from E occurred. Food ran scarce but the worst was the water shortage. The ship was 220 leagues from Manila and 80 leagues from Rota, when they were forced to turn back.]

[When questioned about detailed matter, he said that the currents ran from the NE, that no formal council was held before the decision was taken to turn back, that the food supplies thrown overboard belonged to the crew and not the King, that much of the food supplied by the King had been destroyed when many jars containing them broke open. Although the ordinary ration at that time was one pound of biscuit and

1 Ed. note: One "azumbre" was just over 2 liters, so that the daily ration was 1 liter of water.

2 Ed. note: This reduced ration was 1/2 liter.

1/2 asumbre [i.e. 1 liter] of water per man per day, they survived on a reduced ration of 1/2 liter of water and up to 16 ounces of bread; this quantity was weighed approximately by using a scale with three musket balls as weights.]

R5. Deposition made by Pilot Simoens, et al.

Original in Spanish.

Declaracion del Capitan Pedro Simoes Piloto de edad de treinta y siete años.

Yncontinente en dicho puerto dicho dia mes y año para la declaracion mandado haser en el auto proximo referido su Merced dicho Señor fiscal hiço parecer ante sí al Capitan Pedro Simoes Piloto de dha fregata al qual le recivio juramento que lo hiço por Dios nuestro Señor y una señal de Cruz en forma de derecho. Por el qual prometio de decir verdad.

Declaracion y reconocimiento del derrotero diario del Almirante Leandro Coello Piloto.

*En el puerto de Cavite en quatro dias del mes de Henero de mill seiscientos ochenta y siete años el Señor Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo la Fuente y Alanis del Concejo de su Magd. y su fiscal en la Real Audiencia y chancilleria de estas Islas Philipinas y Juez por comission en estas autos para efecto de thomar su declaraciones [sic] al Almirante Leandro Coello y Capitan Carlos Joseph Pilotos en sueldo y haçen el roconocimiento que por el Auto de la foxa antes de estas esta mandado hiço pareser ante sí a dicho Almirante a quien su mas recien juramento por ante mi el pressente escrivano que lo hiço por Dios nuestro Señor y señal de Cruz en forma de Derecho por el qual prometio de decir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado, y haviendo comparecido ante su Merced el mesmo tiempo el Capitan Pedro Simoes Piloto que lo fue de la fregata nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Aransasu** que arrivó el año proximo pasado a este dicho puerto para efecto de explicar lo que esta rompido en el derrotero diario que tiene presentado en estos autos le recivio su Merced asimismo juramento por ante mi el presente escrivano quando hiço por Dios nuestro Señor y señal de Cruz en forma de derecho por el qual prometio de decir verdad en dha explicasion, y haviendo lo su Merced dexado comferir primero a dichos Almirante y Capitan Pedro Simoes sobre la explicacion del diario referida y haviendose le mostrado despues a dicho Almirante la declaracion de dicho Piloto con su carta misiva, y derrotero diario con otro instrumento ô quarteron de carta de marear que le acompaña todo lo qual se halla en estos autos.*

Dixo dicho Almirante que segun lo que comfirio con dicho Capitan Pedro Simoes halla que el viaje se dejo de conseguir por los juracanes y tormentas que en el Golfo que ay entre las Marianas y estas Islas les sobrevinieron por cuya causa, y segun lo que pudo percibir del Diario y derrotero que trajo de su navegacion y de su declaracion y carta misiva no pudo dejar de hacer la arrivada como lo hiço y que hasta dicha fue haver conseguido el entrar en dicho puerte de Cavite con dicho bajel sin haverse perdido siendo lo mas rigoros del año, y que assi que el dicho Piloto se hiço propasado de dichas Islas Marianas fue por haverle dado mas leguas de comun al bajel de lo que caminaba, y que

como esta navegacion se hace casi por un paralelo, es muy ordinario engañarse los Pilotos en la fantasia principalmente quando no les da lugar el tiempo a aconsejarse con la aguja de demarcar de sol que es el instrumento de que mas se balen y el que mas ayuda y usan los Pilotos de esta carrera y que en quanto al quarteron de marear o carta nautica que dho Piloto llevaba no puede atribuirse defecto alguno porque tiene las dhas Islas Marianas cituadas mui conformes en la latitud y longitud con las que se hallan y estan de mano de este declarante puestas como dicho lleva en sus lugares y parajes por haverlas hallado asi ciertas en los bajos que por ellas aparedo pues si el tiempo lo hubiera sido favorable para navegarla buelta del este no podia dejar como tres, ô quatro diaz de navegacion por este rumbo de dar con alguna de dichas Islas aunque no llevara carta de marear que como por dicho paralelo huviese corrido como dicho lleva y el biento le huviera favorecido, y ni le sobreviniera como le sobrevino el viento por la parte contraria tan fuerte y riguroso; y criado tantas mares pudiera barlobentear con dicho navio y dar sus repiquetes y bueltas a la sombra de dhas Islas para abrigarse de ellas, pero habiendo sido el tiempo que le sobrevino tan furioso no pudo dexar de darle la popa, y correr con el como corrio, y que todo lo que lleva dicho y declarado es la verdad, y lo que tiene reconocido por dichos instrumentos so cargo del Juramento que tiene f[ec]ho en que se afirmo y ratifico y declarô ser de hedad de quarenta y nueve años y que no le tocan las generales de la ley y lo firmo con su Merced y dicho Piloto de que doi fee.

Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

Leandro Coello

Pedro Simoens de Carvallo

Ante mi Joan Trujillo escrivano publico.

Synopsis.

[Captain Simoens was 37 years old. The judge asked Admiral Leandro Coello (then 49 years old) and Pilot Carlos José to review his logbook and make their comments known. Both agreed with Simoens that the return in distress had been inevitable under the circumstances.]

R6. Sentence.

Original text in Spanish.

Autto definitivo.

*En el puerto de Cavite en quatro dias del mes de Henero de mil seis cientos ochenta y ciete años el Señor Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis del Consejo de su Magestad y su fiscal en la Real Audiencia y Chancilleria de estas Islas Philipinas, y Juez por comission en los autos en que ha estado entendiendo en este dicho puerto sobre la aberiguacion de los motivos que hubo para la arribada que hiço a el la fregata nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Aransasu** el año proximo pasado que havia sido imbiada en el mesmo con socorro a las Islas Marianas.*

Dixo que en atencion a hallarse provado en los autos por declaraciones de testigos y de Pilotos haver reinado bientos contrarios desde que desemboco dicha fregata y que con ellos no se pudo adelantar ni proceguir el viaje que llevaba a dichas Islas aunque por parte del Sargento Mayor Miguel Martines, y Capitan Pedro Simoes Cavo y Piloto de ella se hicieron muchas y varias diligencias para conseguirlo.

*Devia de declarar y declaro **la dicha arrivada por forzosa e inboluntaria**, y atendiendo a que dicho Cavo ometio el hacer junta de Piloto oficialies y otras personas yn-
teligentes para comferir entre todos si combenia ô no el que se arrivase y execcutar lo que votaze la mayor parte como se practica y utila en semejantes ocasiones para el mayor y mas seguro asierto abiendolo dicho el Piloto que con los tiempos que corrian no podia proceguir su viaje ni coger Isla alguna de las Marianas como lo confiesa dicho Cavo en su misma declaracion, devia de condenarle y condenô en las costas procesales causadas en la procecucion de este negocio cuia taçacion reserva su Merced para sí y se les levanta a dichos Cavo y Piloto la detencion mandada hacer por su Merced en dicho fregata y por este auto assi lo proveyo mando y firmo de que doi fee.*

Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

Ante mi Joan Truxillo Escrivano Publico.

Translation of the sentence.

Definitive edict.

At the port of Cavite, on the 4th day of the month of January 1687, Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis of the Council of His Majesty and his fiscal in the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of these Philippine Islands, and by commission Judge into the proceedings held in this said port regarding the findings as to the reasons why the frigate named **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** turned back this past year, after having been sent that same year with succor to the Mariana Islands:

Declared that, in view of the fact that the proceedings have proven, through declarations of witnesses and pilots, that contrary winds prevailed from the time said frigate left the Entrance Strait and they were the cause of delaying and preventing the voyage to said Islands, despite the various efforts made by Sergeant Major Miguel Martinez and Captain Pedro Simoens, commander and pilot respectively, in order to succeed.

He had to declare and did declare that **said return in distress was forced and involuntary**, and in view of the fact that said commander omitted to hold a meeting of the pilot, officers and other knowledgeable persons on board, in order to confer among themselves whether or not to turn back, and to carry out what most of them had voted for, as is the common practice on similar occasions for greater assurance, the pilot having told him that the prevailing weather made the continuation of the voyage impossible, and not having made any of the islands of the Marianas, as said commander has confessed in his own declaration, he had to condemn him and he did condemn him to pay the court costs caused by the prosecution of this business, but His Grace reserved

some time to determine the amount of the fine in question,¹ and he lifted the order of detention aboard said frigate that he had imposed on said commander and pilot. And by this edict he did provide, order and sign, of which I certify.

Doctor Don Esteban Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

Before me, Juan Trujillo, Notary public.

1 Ed. note: The amount of the fine, or court costs, was 22 pesos.

Documents 1687S

The unsuccessful voyage of the frigate San Gabriel in 1687

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, block 5, fol. 1-83v, pp. 189-358; also in AGI Ultramar 562.

Notes: This report was forwarded to Madrid with Governor Curuzeláegui's covering letter of 27 December 1687 (postscript dated 31 May 1688) and arrived in Spain aboard the Quicksilver fleet on 28 December 1689. The commander of the frigate was Major Juan de Toledo, the pilots were José de Iriondo and Carlos José. Enclosed was the logbook of the voyage, dated 30 June 1687.

Case file regarding the return [in distress] of the frigate San Gabriel that was on the way to the Mariana Islands last year, 1687

Original text in Spanish.

Decreto.—*El Capitan Juan de Quintanilla Oficial mayor de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Islas, y Theniente de Escrivano mayor de dicho Governacion sacará testimonio a la letra por triplicado de todos los autos y demas recaudos que por este Superior Gobierno se han de remitir al Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias, y a manos de su Magestad en el Galeon Capitana **Sancto Cristo de Burgos** poniendo por caveza y principio de los que sacare este Decreto.*

Manila y Marzo siete de mil seiscientos ochenta y ocho años.

...

Translation of the above.

Decree.—Captain Juan de Quintanilla, senior official for Administration and War of these Islands, and Deputy Chief Notary of said Government, shall make literal copies in triplicate of all the records of proceedings and other provisions that must be sent by this Superior Government to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies and placed in the hands of His Majesty, aboard the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, and this decree is to be reproduced at the beginning of said transcript.

[On 14 December 1687, Governor Curuzeláegui had ordered an inquiry and appointed Captain Juan de Angulo, whose regular job was that of the prosecuting attorney for the Audiencia, as special commissioner in charge of this inquiry. He in turn arranged to have the frigate inspected by Captain Vicente de Arambulo, Juan de Pineda, and Manuel Serrano, who were respectively shipyard manager, ship caulker, and shipbuilder employed at Cavite.]

S1. The Instruction that had been given to the Commander

Original text in Spanish.

Que dicha Instruccion se ha de guardar en el discurso del viage de ida[,] estada y buelta por los sobre dichos en la manera siguiente:

1.—*Primamente hara que toda la gente de mar y guerra y todas las demas personas que fueren y vinieren embarcadas en dicha fregata se confiesen y comulguen cumpliendo con la obligacion de Cristiano y de no haverlo hecho antes que lo hagan luego que se de a la vela lo mismo en el discurso del viage y hevitara que no ayga bando, disenciones ni se jure el Santo Nombre de Dios em bano ni de su bendita Madre ni ofender la Magd. divina castigando al que lo contravinere y los diaz que el tiempo diere lugar se dira Misa y la Salve por las tardes con la reverencia y devocion possible que haciendolo assi se conseguira muy buen viage y felises successo[s].*

2.—*Pasara muestra a toda la gente de mar y guerra que fuere en dicha fragata haziendo lista de todos y no permita passen ni se embarque en ella persona alguna de qualquier estado o calidad que sea sino fuere con lizenzia de Gobierno por escrito y los que en dicha muestra se hallaron sin ella los prendera y con informazion de ello los remi-tira a tierra pressos y a buen recaudo.*

3.—*Haviendo salido del Puerto de Cavite hara safar, y que vaya marinera la fregata y prevenida toda la gente artilleria y demas armas en toda forma para el anejo de ellas defensa y ofensa del enemigo en qualquier ocasion que se ofresca encontrarle para que no les coja desprevenidos señalando a los Cavos de los puestos lo que an de obrar llegado el Casso con la gente de su cargo.*

4.—*Y por quanto se ha tenido noticia de que el enemigo infesta estas costas de que se presume sera su disignio salir al enquentro a la nao que en esta ocasion haze viage a la Nueva España saldra en su conserva y la seguira hasta que juntas ayan desembo-cado y hasta tanto yra a la mira de sus movimientos para que se halle con ella en todo acontecimiento y estara y guardara los ordenes que se diese al General de ella en lo to-cante a las disposiciones de guerra y mas que se puedan ofrecer si llegare el casso.*

5.—*Hara se tenga todo cuidado con el fuego de los fogones, y no concienda se chupen tabacos sino fuere en ellos ni que aya luz sino fuere en la bitacora y si se llevare debajo de escotilla sea con linterna y perssona de satisfacion por que del descuydo no se oca-cione alguna desgracia.*

6.—*Si encontrare a la ida o la buelta qualquier Navio de enemigos que le pretendan apresar o hazer algun daño se defendera procurando hazer su viage sin perderle en lo posible usando de astucias para safarse del peligro divertiendo los mudando derota con el amparo de la noche y despues bolver a seguir la de su viage y donde no se [puede] se defendera sin entregar ni rendir dha fregata hasta morir y que no quede hombre sino cumpliendo con su obligacion obrando en lo uno y lo otro con valor y maña como quien a de tener el caso pressente.*

7.—*Ordenara al despensero que les raciones señaladas que dieron a la gente assi a la ida como a la buelta sea con medida por que no falte bastimentos.*

8.—*Desembocado que aya dirigira su viaje a la Isla de Guan o a la Sarpana grande y llegado a ella entregara al Governador de ellas el socorro que lleva para la infanteria Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que en ellas asisten y fecho procurara reconocer y sondear los Puertos que hubiere en una y otra Isla o en la parte que se hallare mas aproposito para surgir qualquier vajel de su Magestad poniendolo en derotero con claridad de sus demarcaciones y su fondo assi a la entrada como dentro y a que viento tiene resguardo todo con individualidad.*

9.—*Procurara saver el estado que tiene la saca de la Artilleria de la Nao **Concepcion** que se perdio en aquellas Islas y de haverse sacado la traera a esta Ciudad por lo mucho que importa al servicio de su Magestad.*

10.—*Haviendose informado del estado de aquellas misiones assi en lo espiritual como en lo temporal de que traera Razon y luego que aiga tiempo aproposito para navegar pasara muestra a toda la gente y se vendra al Puerto de Cavite no consintiendo se embarque en dicha fregata ningun soldado[,] oficial ni otra perssona de dichas Islas sin lizencia por escrito del Governador de ellas pena de Docientos pessos en que le doi por condenado luego que conste averse embarcado en dicha fregata alguna perssona de las referidas eseppto algun religioso de los de dicha Mision teniendo lizencia del Reverendo Padre Vize Provincial de ellas estando siempre tiempo para salir de ellas.*

11.—*Assi mesmo me traera Razon del numero fixo de Infanteria que tienen las dichas Islas Marianas y de la que necessita par su conservacion y defenza con toda individual, distincion y claridad, y para que sea en esta forma la pedira al Governador de dichas Islas por combenir assi a la voluntad de su Magestad que Dios guarde.*

Lo qual dicha Instruccion a de observar y guardar segun y como se contiene el dicho Sargento mayor Juan de Toledo hasta llegar a las dhas Islas Marianas y de buelta de viaje la a de observar y guardar la perssona que en su lugar byniere por Cavo de dicha fregata de las nominadas y expressadas en esta Instruccion.

Dada en esta Ciudad de Manila en veinte diaz del mes de Junio de mil seiscientos y ochenta y siete años.

Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola.

Por mandado de su Señoria,

Juan de Quintanilla Escrivano publico.

Translation.

Said Instruction must be observed during the course of the forward voyage, the stay, and return voyage by the above-named in the following manner:

1.—Firstly, he is to make sure that all the seamen and soldiers and all the other persons slated to go on board said frigate go to confession and take communion, complying with their duty as Christians, and if they should not do so beforehand, they are to do so as soon as it has set sail, and during the course of the voyage as well. He is to prevent the formation of factions, or dissensions, and the taking in vain of the Holy Name of God and that of His blessed Mother, and any offence to the Divine Majesty, by punishing whomever contravenes this order. On days when the weather permits, a mass shall be said and the Salve [Regina] in the afternoons, with as much reverence and devotion as possible; to do so will ensure a very good voyage and happy outcomes.

2.—Muster shall be taken of all the seamen and soldiers aboard said frigate and a list made of them all, and he shall not permit the passage or embarkation of any person whatever of any status or rank who does not already have a written permission from the Government; during the roll call, those who do not have such a permission shall be arrested and, after investigation of same, they are to be remitted ashore as prisoners and kept under guard.

3.—Having left the port of Cavite, he shall clear the deck and make the frigate and all the men ready to fight, and all the weapons and accessories in full readiness for eventual defence and offence of any enemy, on any occasion of meeting him that may present itself, so as not to be caught unaware, by instructing the Corporals of the stations on what they have to do in such a case with the men serving under them.

4.—Whereas news have been received that the enemy infests these coasts, and it is presumed that his plan is to come out and attack the galleon [Santo Niño] which on this occasion is making the voyage to New Spain, he shall go out as her escort and follow her until both have left the Entrance Strait, and until then he is to keep watch on her movements in order to be with her in every encounter and he shall obey the orders given to him by her General concerning the arrangements for war and everything else that might come up in the case.

5.—He shall ensure that full care is taken of the fire in the fire-boxes, and not allow the smoking of cigars unless it be therein, and the only burning light should be in the binnacle and whenever one is taken below decks it has to be with a lantern and a trustworthy person, to prevent a mishap due to carelessness.

6.—If, during the forward or return voyage, he should meet with an enemy ship that tries to capture him or do some harm, he shall defend himself and try to pursue his voyage as much as possible by employing tricks to get away from the danger, getting away from them by changing course under cover of darkness and afterward return to the proper route. When that is not possible, he shall defend himself, refusing to surrender said frigate until the death of the last man, but rather, complying with his duty, and carrying out both voyages with valor and cunning required of anyone under the present circumstances.

7.—He shall order the steward to dispense the rations earmarked for the crew during both forward and return voyages with a measure, to prevent the lack of food supplies.

8.—After leaving the Entrance Strait, he shall direct his course to the Island of Guan or that of Sarpana the Great [i.e. Saipan] and, after arrival there, he shall deliver to their Governor the succor that he carries for the infantry and the Missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus who live there. Having done that, he shall try and reconnoiter and take soundings in the ports to be found there for any vessel of His Majesty, by recording his findings about the most appropriate anchorage with clarity as to its demarcations and its bottom, not only at its entrance but also inside it, and the wind against which it offers protection, everything with full details.

9.—He shall try and find out the status of the salvage of the cannon from the galleon **Concepción** that was lost in those Islands and, if they have been salvaged, he shall bring them to this City, given their importance to the service of His Majesty.

10.—Having informed himself of the condition of those missions, in things spiritual and temporal, of which he is to bring back a Report, and as soon as the weather becomes suitable for sailing, he shall pass muster of all the men and shall head for the port of Cavite, refusing the boarding of said frigate by any soldier, officer or any other person from said Islands who does not have written permission from the Governor there, under a penalty of 200 pesos that I prescribe for this case, as soon as any such person boards said frigate, except for any Religious belonging to said Mission holding a permission from the Reverend Father Vice Provincial there, as long as the weather permits a departure.

11.—Besides, he shall bring me back a list of the fixed number of the infantry based in said Mariana Islands and a list of the required infantry for their preservation and defence, with complete details, distinction and clarity, and to make sure it is in proper form, he shall ask the Governor of said Islands for same, given that such is also the will of His Majesty (whom may God save).

The above-said Instruction is to be observed and obeyed in accordance with its contents by said Sergeant Major Juan de Toledo until he reaches said Mariana Islands and on the return voyage it must be observed and obeyed by the person who might come in his stead as Commander of said frigate from the men named in this Instruction.

Made at this City of Manila on 20 June 1687.

Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

By order of His Lordship,

Juan de Quintanilla, Notary public.

S2. Crew list of the frigate **San Gabriel**

In the port of Cavite aboard the frigate **San Gabriel** in June 1687 the roll call was taken... The names of the members of the crew were as follows:

Officers

- José de Iriondo—Pilot
- Captain Carlos José—Pilot
- Domingo Baez—Boatswain
- Juan Augustin—Boatswain's mate
- Nicolas Marquez—Steward
- Domingo de la Cruz—Carpenter
- Diego Maranan—Caulker
- Pasqual Rabelo—Surgeon
- Juan de la Cruz Surita—Master gunner

Gunners

- Alvaro de Villalobos
- Matheo de Burgos
- Francisco Majarros
- Juan Payan
- Antonio Flores
- Manuel Lopez

Seamen

- Juan Navarro
- Francisco Ferrel
- Francisco Gomez Cubano
- Diego Muñoz
- Cristoval Coello
- Domingo Rosario
- Joseph Baltierra
- Nicolas de Contreras
- Juan de Villalobos
- Juan Carrillo de la Peña
- Juan Chassin
- Diego Ramires
- Manuel Fernandez de la Oliva
- Nicolas de Segovia
- Simon Verdugo
- Alberto Maria
- Luis Losano
- Alonso Perez
- José Francisco
- Sebastian Jimenez

Spanish ship's boys

- Antonio de Vargas
- Mathias de Osorio
- Lucas Mendes
- Nicolas de la Cruz
- Matheo Francisco
- Lazaro Ramos
- Juan de Salcedo
- Pascual Mendes
- Manuel Rosario
- Bartolome de Vera
- Antonio de Leon
- Lucas Lopez de la Cruz
- Diego Rosario de la Vera Cruz
- Francisco Ramos
- Lazaro de los Reyes
- Joseph Rodriguez
- Juan Guillermo
- Francisco de la Cruz
- Juan de Maranan de la Cruz
- Miguel de Peralta.

[The full text of the logbook kept by Captain Carlos José is reproduced on pp. 212-341 of this bundle in the archives. The frigate accompanied the galleon **Santo Niño** as far as the exit of the Strait of San Bernardino. The ships left Cavite on 24 June and separated on 3 August. The storm hit the frigate on 7 August, as follows:]

S3. Extract from Captain Carlos José's logbook**Original text in Spanish.**

7 [August:] Jueves no tuve sol altura por fantasia trece grados y treinta minutos vientos des[h]echos por todas partes y de apartamiento para el este doze leguas toda la noche se paso con turbonadas de agua y viento a la [=hala?] seguro [=se aseguro?] gaviás y aferrando y al amanecer entablo por el norte con aguacero y el viento muy recio con solo los dos papa[h]jigos a las diez del dia se ario el mastelero de proa y luego la vego(?) de[s]carga la mayor y se aseguro la verga y eran los balances tan grandes que no se pudo cebar el mastelero de popa abajo el viento fue cargando con tanta fuerza que se aseguro la verga del trinquete a los dos tercios pasado el medio dia se corto la messana para que no se atormentasse el navio y visto que escupia el bonote de todas las costuras hazia mucha agua que con las dos bombas apenas se podia venzer[.] salto al nordeste con tanta fuerza que el trinquete la vela ya se bazia pedazos y no podia pasar la gente a proa a poner una boneta para reparo de la bela, y visto nos sin remedio y que en llevando-

nos la vela del trinque[te] se havia de atravesar la fregata y a buen librar echar los costados fuera yo y el Capitan Iriondo en nombre de su Magestad se echo el palo abajo y esto fue como a las quatro de la tarde y al instante se llevo el viento la vela del trinque[te] y siempre se corrio a popa a la media noche remató el viento en el sur sueste y las bombas nunca se dejaron de la mano metiose una boneta por aplacar algo el viento y assi quedo corriendo.

...

Translation.

Thursday 7 [August 1686:] I did not see the sun. Latitude estimated was 13°30'. Winds very strong from everywhere but made gain eastward 12 leagues. The whole night was spent with sudden squalls of water and wind. The topsails were lowered and furled and by morning the wind become northerly during a shower, and the wind [becoming] very stiff [we sailed] with only the lower courses. At 10 in the morning the fore-topsail was lowered and then the mainsail was relieved and its yard made fast. Rolling was so bad that the mizzen topsail could not be taken down.¹ The strength of the wind increased so much that the yard of the foresail was [also] made fast. At 12:20 p.m. the mizzen [mast] was cut so that the ship would not be so tormented and in view of the fact that the coir [caulking] was flying off all the seams, there was so much leakage that the two pumps could hardly suffice to the task. The wind then jumped to NE with so much force that the foresail was already being torn to pieces and the men could not go forward to put up a bonnet in order to relieve the sail. And seeing ourselves without a remedy and that the frigate would swing sideways if the foresail was carried off, and could very well capsize, I and Captain Iriondo, in the name of His Majesty, had the [main-]mast cut down and this happened at about 4 in the afternoon. Immediately the wind carried off the foresail. We ran before the wind until midnight, when it ended up blowing from SSW. And the pumps were continuously worked. A bonnet was put on to placate the wind a little and thus we continued running before the wind.

...

[The frigate went counter-clockwise around the northern end of Luzon Island and was back at Cavite on 6 October. The logbooks were ordered examined to ascertain if the return had been fortuitous or malicious. One of the pilots who examined the logbooks was Francisco Lazcano who had previously suffered the same fate.]

S4. Declaration of Admiral Francisco Lazcano

Original text in Spanish.

En la Ciudad de Manila en tres diaz del mes de febrero de mil seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años el Señor Capitan Juan de Angulo Promotor fiscal de la Real Audiencia de

¹ Ed. note: The frigate was therefore three-masted.

estas Islas Juez de esta averiguacion para efecto del reconocimiento de los Diarios de la pericia a quien se cometio por haverlos ya visto segun dho hizo parecer ante si al Almirante Francisco Lascano Piloto mayor en sueldo de quien por ante mi el presente Escrivano recivio juramento que lo hizo por Dios nuestro Señor y una señal de la cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometio de dezir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendolo al tenor del auto de la fecha antes de esta y del contexto del reconocimiento que tiene fecho de los quadernos de diarios que se le entrego:

Dixo que segun parece de los dos diarios que tiene reconocidos el uno del Captain Carlos Joseph que consta de diez y ocho foxas numeradas con numeros guarismos desde trece hasta treinta y la foxa treinta no esta plena y en Relacion diaria enpiezo desde veinte y quatro de Junio del año de mil seiscientos y ochenta y siete y acava en catorce sin dezir el mes y el otro de Joseph Iriondo que consta de trece foxas de a quartillo numeradas con numeros guarismos desde treinta y dos hasta quarenta y quatro y empieza su Relacion diaria desde veinte y quatro de dho mes de Junio hasta veinte y ocho de Septiembre[,] halla no podieron hazer mas diligencias de las que hicieron en Relacion a conseguir su viage forzados de los tiempos y vientos tan recios que para escapar las vidas y el vagel se vieron obligados a cortar el palo mayor y la mezana y passada la tormenta ser el viento les sueste como consta por dichos Diarios y el vagel desarbolado no tuvieron otra cossa que hazer mas combeniente al servicio de ambas Magestades que buscar puerto donde aremediarse para proseguir dicho viage y como no pidian hazer lo que quisieron con el vagel por la falta de palo mayor fueron a dar con Cavo de Engaño donde surgieron a los veinte diaz del mes de Agosto y trataron de aprestarse para seguir su viage[.] salieron de dicho puerto a diez y ocho de Septiembre y por mas diligencias que hicieron escasso imposible desde dicho paraje y a veinte de Septiembre cinco leguas al nordeste del Cavo Engaño poder hazer dho viage y lo mas acertado fue recogerse a puerto segunda vez por no desgarrarse y quando quisieron para parte alguna sino a donde las aguas los llevaran y estaban aresgados a perecer en la mar, y que buelve a dezir que lo que obraron fue quanto el arte puede estenderse en lo especulativo y practico y que esto es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo y ratifico y lo firmo con su Merced dho Señor Juez de Comission del que doi fee.

Juan de Angulo Juez de Comission

Francisco Lascano

Antemi Don Francisco Belmonte Escrivano publico.

Translation.

At the City Manila on 13 February 1688, Captain Juan de Angulo, prosecuting attorney of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands, Judge of this inquiry for the purpose of expertly reviewing the Logbooks. This expertise was carried out by Admiral Francisco Lazcano, salaried Chief Pilot, as he had already seen them. He was cited before me, the present Notary, and he was sworn in according to law, taking God our Lord as a witness and making the sign of the cross, and under said oath he promised to tell the truth

of what he knew or were asked. Having learned the contents of the above declaration of same date and of the context of the revision that he has done of the notebooks containing the log that he was loaned:

He declared that, having read the two logbooks that he has surveyed, one from Captain Carlos José which consists of 18 sheets numbered with [Arabic] numerals, from 13 until 30 (page 30 is not full), and in the form of a Journal begun on 24 June 1687 and ended on the 14th (with the month not shown), plus that of José Iriondo which consists of 13 small-size sheets numbered with numerals from 32 to 44 wherein the journal begins on 24 June and covers until 28 September, he finds that they could not have made greater efforts than those they made in order to achieve their voyage, forced as they were by the weather and winds so stiff that, in order to save their lives and the vessel, they saw themselves obliged to cut the mainmast and the mizzenmast. Once the storm was over, the wind being ESE as stated in said Logbooks and the vessel dismasted, they could not do anything but do what was most appropriate for the service of both their Majesties, that is, to seek a port where to repair in order to pursue said voyage. However, as they could not do what they wanted with the vessel, for lack of a mainmast, they ended up at Cape Engaño where they anchored on 20 August and they tried to make ready to pursue their voyage. They left said port on 18 September and no matter how they tried they found it impossible to pursue their voyage from said neighborhood—they were [only] 5 leagues NE of Cape Engaño on 20 September and the best thing they could do is return to said port a second time, in order not to drift off, which they tried to prevent, somewhere else wherever the wind might take them, and where they would be at risk of perishing in the high sea. And he repeats that what they did was as much as one can expect from the art of navigation, speculatively and practically speaking, and that is the truth under the afore-said oath, which he affirmed, ratified and signed along with His Grace, said Lordship Judge Commissioner, which I certify.

Juan de Angulo, Judge commissioner.

Francisco Lascano.

Before me, Don Francisco Belmonte, Notary public.

S5. The sentence

Original text in Spanish.

Auto. En la Ciudad de Manila en nueve diaz del mes de Febrero de mil seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años el Señor Almirante de Galeones Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero de el orden de Santiago veinte y quatro de la Ciudad de Sevilla del Consejo de su Magestad y del Supremo de Guerra Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas y Pressidente de la Real Audiencia de ellas:

*Haviendo visto y reconocido los autos en que en virtud de Comission de este superior Gobierno a estado entendiendo en el Puerto de Cavite el Capitan Juan de Angulo Promotor fiscal de dha Real Audiencia sobre la averiguacion de los motivos y causas que hubo para los dos arivadas que hizo la gregata nombrada **San Gabriel** el año pass-*

ado de ochenta y siete que en el mismo avia sido enviada con socorro a las Islas Marianas la primera al Puerto de Cavo de Engaño y la segunda a Pangasinan y visto las declaraciones fechas por los Pilotos de esta carrera con vista y reconocimiento de los diarios que exivieron los de dicha fragata:

Dixo que devia de declarar y declaro las dhas arivadas por forzossas e inboluntarias y atendiendo a que el Sargento Mayor Juan de Toledo Cavo principal que fue de dha fregata en el instrumento que exivio con nombre de Junta hecha se refiere que esta a foxas doze de los autos omitio el autorizarlo con su firma pues sin ella no consta que fuesse dho Cavo quien conboco a dha Junta la qual era de su obligazion hazerla mediante el requirimiento que le hicieron los Pilotos de su fregata a foxas once ni tampoco puede constar de ello por fee de escrivano pues no lo avia en ella cuyo instrumento presentado ansi que se halla al tercer firmado de uno de dhos Pilotos del contramaestre y de algunos marineros no pueden subsanar sus firmas el defecto de las de dho Cavo para entenderse que fue dha Junta hecha de su mandato, y en su pressencia por lo qual lo devio de condenar y condeno en las costas procesales causadas en la averiguazion de dha arivada y en la paga del salario del Alguacil de bara que nombro dho Juez de Comission para las diligencias de dha averiguacion con un pesso en cada un dia el qual se la modera en seis tomines al dia cuya tazacion de costas procesales se haga por el Chanciller de la Real asesoria para lo qual se lo lleven los autos y por este assi lo proveyo mando y firmo con el parecer del Señor fiscal su asesor en este expediente.

Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis

Antemi Juan de Quintanilla Escrivano publico.

Synopsis.

[On 9 February 1688, Governor Curuzeláegui read the report of the Judge Commissioner and agreed that the return voyage had been fortuitous and involuntary. However, since Major Toledo had not held a consultation before turning back, he was fined to pay the court costs, which amounted to 1 peso per day, including the salary of the court constable. However, he was sentenced to pay only 6 tomins per day. Major Toledo was officially notified of this sentence on 20 February 1688.]

Document 1687T

Letter from the King to Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Madrid 30 December 1687

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 260, p. 547.

How did Major Esplana behave during the 1684 rebellion?

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governor de Philipinas que se ynforme de lo que passó en el alzamiento de los naturales Marianos y como obró el Governador Don Damian de Esplana y de todo de quenta.

Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Cavallero del orden de Santiago de mi Consejo de Guerra mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

En mi Consejo de las Indias se ha tenido notiçia del alzamiento qual que por Julio del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y quatro hiçieron los naturales de las Islas Marianas. Y porque quiero saver lo que pasó en el por la presente os mando que luego que la recibais soliçitais informaros de ello y de como obró Don Damian de Esplana mi Governador y Capitan General en aquellas Islas que se entiende no proçedio bien y que de todo y del estado en que se hallare al presente la pacificazion de dhas Islas me deis quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca y pudiendo haçerlo con autos me los ymbiareis.

Fha en Madrid à treinta de Diziembre de mill seiscientos y ochenta y siete años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines for him to inform himself of what happened during the uprising of the Mariano natives and how Governor Don Damian de Esplana acted and to report on everything.

Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Knight of the Order of St. James, of my War Council, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In my Council of the Indies, news has been received about the uprising, the one by the natives of the Mariana Islands that took place in July 1684. And because I wish to know what happened in it, by the present I order you, as soon as you receive it, to try and inform yourself about the matter and find out how Don Damian de Esplana, my Governor and Captain General of those Islands, acted, as it is understood that he did not perform well. And you are to report to me about everything and about the present condition of the pacification of said Islands at the first opportunity that may present itself, and if you could enclose the record of proceedings, so much the better.

Made at Madrid, 30 December 1687.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otorola.

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1688A

Letters from Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Manila December 1687, postdated May 1688

A1. Letter dated 26 December 1687, with a postscript dated 29 May 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-7, pp. 1-10.

Note: The Governor reports, via India, on the lack of galleons in the past two years.

Original text in Spanish.

De el Governador de Philipinas

1. Haze relacion a V.M. de diferentes subcesos contrarios, que se an padecido en aquellas yslas, y de su necesidad y cortedad, en que quedan, por la falta de dos años, que no ha echo viaje Galeon de ellas a la Nueva España, y de diferentes puntos, y en particular de la contingencia, en que estubo aquel Gobierno: con certificacion a n° 1.

Por haber despachado en el mes de henero passado de este año de ochenta y ocho, por dos vias las principales y mas precisas noticias del estado de estas yslas, a la costa de Choromandel, para que dirigidas de alli, passen, por Flandes, Olanda, o Inglaterra [sic], a essa corte, remito a V.M. en esta ocaasion las copias de ellas y de la siguiente, y reducire a las que les acompañan los demas subcessos de los dos años antecedentes, conforme a las relaciones, que de ellos tenia echos a V.M. para que ya que la dilacion las atrasse no las oculte a la piadosa providencia de V.M.

Señor.

...

El haver faltado la comunicassion, y despacho a la Nueva España del año pasado de ochenta y seis a caussa de haver apercevido el Galeon destinado para este viaje, para que saliese de armada, con otros vajeles a buscar a los enemigos, de que por menor en otra hago relacion a V.M., lo qual fue motivo, para que una fragata, que estava aplicada para Marianas, se commutasse para que hiciesse viaje a la Nueva España, por el Real situado, supliendo la falta de dho Galeon.

Al arribada de otra fragata nueva, que para suplir la falta de la referida, despache en tiempo, y apercevi con brevedad, para que hiçiesse viaje a dhas yslas Marianas, la qual despues de dos meses al mar, bolvio a estas, mui maltratada y desarbolada, a que se añade, ser esta desgracia a tiempo, que havian padecido aquellas yslas, el flagelo del alzamiento de sus naturales.

Otra arivada de la dicha fragata, que despache a la Nueva España que habiendo gosado de los propios tiempos, que lo antecedente, se ygualo con ella, en el subçesso, y menoscavo.

*Otra arivada, que por el mes de Septiembre pasado de este año, hizo a estas costas tercera fragata, que despache a su tiempo regular con el Galeon **Santo Niño**, para que reiteran dicho viaje de Marianas y por ser a la costa de la Nueva Segovia y en puerto donde tenia algo granjeado, para [=pero?] el haviendola reparado, y haviado bolvio a salir y segunda vez à arivar, sin poder adelantar una legua, para seguir su rumbo a dhas yslas.*

*Otra arivada y sobre todas sensible que por el mes de Noviembre antecedente a este, hizo dho Galeon **Santo Niño** al envocadero de estas yslas, mui maltratado, y con doce palmos de agua, despues de mas de tres meses y medio, de navegacion, a cuió daño se añade el de la mucha haveria, que dizen trahe.*

...

Guarde Dios muchos años como la Christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Diziembre 25 de 1687 años.

[Postscript not reproduced]

Manila y Maio 29 de 1688 años.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

1. He relates to Y.M. various contrary incidents that have afflicted those Islands, and their need and shortage in which they remain, for the failure in two consecutive years of their galleon sent to New Spain, and various points, specially about the contingency in which that Government was in; with a certification marked n° 1.

During the month of January of this year 1688, I made two despatches by two different ways to the coast of Coromandel, about the main and most particular news about the condition of those Islands, for them to be mailed from there and might pass to that Court by way of Flanders, Holland, or England. On this occasion, I remit copies of them and of the next one, and I will limit the news of the other events of the previous two years to those that accompany them, as per the reports that I had already made to Y.M., but in case they are delayed, I do not wish to hide them from the merciful providence of Y.M.

Sire:

...

When the contact and despatch to New Spain in the past year 1686 failed, as a result of the re-assignment of the galleon that had been destined for this voyage, for her to go out in a fleet, with other vessels, to look for the enemies—about which I have given a detailed report to Y.M.—this being the reason why a frigate, that was destined to the Marianas, was re-assigned to make the voyage to New Spain, to get the Royal subsidy, to make up for the lack of said galleon.

When another new frigate turned back,¹ which I had despatched on time, to replace the lack of the above, and had assigned quickly to make the voyage to said Mariana Islands, but after 2 months at sea, it returned here, very battered and dismasted. What makes this mishap worse is that it happened at the time that those Islands had suffered the flagellation of the uprising of their natives.

Another return in distress of the said frigate² which I despatched to New Spain. As it enjoyed the same weather as the previous one. It had a similar outcome, and ill effect.

Another return in distress, during the month of September last, by a third frigate³ that I despatched at the regular time with the galleon **Santo Niño**, to once again attempt said voyage to Marianas. It was then on the coast of New Segovia [i.e. Cagayan] and in a port where they somehow managed to repair and resupply it, but having gone out once more, it turned back a second time, unable to progress a single league in the direction of said Islands.

Another return in distress and the most deplorable of all, which occurred during the month of November last, was that of said galleon **Santo Niño** back at the Entrance of these Islands, very battered, and with 12 palms of water [in her hold], after over 3-1/2 months at sea. To this damage is added the great damage to the cargo, which they say it has.

...

[There follows a long list of tragedies ashore in the Philippines also, e.g. earthquakes, diseases, deaths of important people, native and Chinese immigrant disturbances, etc.]

...

May God keep [Y.M.] for many years as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 December 1687.

[Postscript not reproduced here.]

Manila, 29 May 1688.

G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

1 Ed. note: The Aranzazu.

2 Ed. note: The Santo Tomás (see below).

3 Ed. note: The San Gabriel.

A2. Letter dated 27 December 1687, with a postscript dated 31 May 1688

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, pp. 1-14; also in Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, folios 15-21; copy in AHN Fil. 5854; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 350-361, with transcript of legal file in pp. 494-722, and also in Fil. 18, fol. 22 et seq.

Note: The first part of this letter is a repetition of Doc. 1686A2.

Original text in Spanish.

De el Governador de Philipinas

15. Haze relacion a V.M. del alzamiento que hicieron los Indios de las Islas Marianas el año de 1684, los muertes y estragos que cometieron, y el estado en que quedaron. Y como a despachado dos fragatas y ambas an buelto ha arivar maltratadas. Con diferentes Recaudos a n^o 13.

Señor

*En el despacho del año passado de ochenta y cinco di quenta a V.M. del buen estado en que halle a las Islas Marianas y de los progressos de nuestra Santa fee que se yban experimentando assi en la de San Juan de Guajan como en la de Rota y otras nuevamente conquistadas y al tiempo que escribir lo referido (segun las nuevas que trujo el galeon **Santo Niño** de buelta de la Nueva España ya tenían los ministros misioneros[,] governador y demas gente de ellas larga experiencia de muchos trabajos[,] muertes y desdichas que senti como devo, y al passo que zelebre lo primero.*

*Fue el casso, Señor, que al tiempo que estava ya sujeta la Isla grande de Seypan, y otras tres proxima de la banda **del norte y algunas pidiendo paz para rendirse por el miedo de las armas**¹ y bautissados muchos niños de ellas el enemigo comun viendo que yba tan de cayda su partido trazo de ynstigar los Indios de San Juan y [tramar con ellos] una conjuración diabolica en que prerrumpieron Domingo veinte y tres de Jullio de ochenta y quatro despues de missa, y envistieron una quadrilla de ellos en primer lugar al governador Don Damian de Esplana, a quien cojieron descuidado, a cuerpo, y sin armas paseandose fuera de su cassa y le dieron nueve heridas, algunas penetrantes, y le hubieran acavado a no llegar un ayudante, que atraveso con una lanza al caudillo principal, con cuya muerte se auyentaron los compañeros dejando por muerto al governador y con los demas alzados passaron a buscar a los religiosos y en su cassa e Iglesia hirieron de muerte a seis, de los quales tres saçerdores y un coadjutor murieron aquella tarde, y entre ellos, el Padre Manuel de Solorzano, sujeto de grandes prendas de virtud, y letras y Viçe provincial actual [sic]² de aquella mission y mataron hasta diez y siete soldados que cojieron en la Iglesia y Real, quemaron dicha Iglesia, y cassa, y las demas de aquella Isla, rovando todo lo sagrado, y profano, y el collegio, que ser-*

1 Ed. note: Someone in Madrid underlined this passage. See later decision by the Council of the Indies, ordering that Governors should be reminded that Spanish laws forbid religious conquests by force of arms.

2 Ed. note: In fact, Fr. Bouwens had replaced him one month earlier.

vía de seminario, donde se criava la jubenitud de ella, y despues de haver executado tanta maldad, como apoderados y señores de todo, juntos con los demas que [r]estaban de la Isla fueron dando avisso y conspirando a los naturales de las otras, para que hiziesen lo propio, y matassen, a los misioneros y soldados que estaban repartidos en ellas, como lo executaron en quanto pudieron y lo intentaron hazer en la de Seypan donde se hallava el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Lozada, con quarenta hombres, que havia llevado para la conquista y saca de las piezas de Artilleria, que faltavan quien no solo se defendio, sino es que les hizo mucho daño, en dos meses y medio que le hizieron guerra la gente de tres Islas que se juntaron para ello, portandose con grande valor y prudenciales operaciones al cavo de los quales tubo avisso de lo que havia passado en dicha Isla de Guajan, y orden del governador para que pasase a ella, por hallarse todavia con aprieto y guerra [y] muy encendida con dhos naturales como la tubo por mas de quatro meses sin poder salir con los soldados que le habían quedado de la fuerza, que defendio tambien con muerte de algunos de los alzados.

Llego dicho Sargento Mayor a veinte y tres de noviembre de dicho año al Real de Agaña de dichas Islas haviendo perdido en el viaje tres embarcaciones chicas (con quinze hombres) de ocho que trahia a caussa del mal tiempo, y luego que le vieron junto con el governador y su gente consibieron tanta horror los enemigos que se retiraron desamparando el Real[,] sus pueblos[,] cassas y sementeras con que çesso el aprieto en que les tenian y la guerra que havia sido muy sangrienta hasta entonçes.

Libre de sus heridas dicho governador trato de hazer dos barcos, con que salir a buscar a los naturales de aquella Isla entre las demas, a fin de aquietarlos y reducirlos a ella, y a cada uno en la suya, y aseguir a los principales motores para castigarlos haviendoles quitado las banquillas que pudo, y de que ussan para que no tubiessen con que alejarse pero (segun escribieron) a muchas diligencias, que se hicieron solo pudieron juntar en ella hasta dosientos de los labradores, que sembravan en los montes, con que quedavan prosiguiendo en esta reduccion, y de las demas Islas aunque con pocas fuerzas respecto de haverseles muerto[s] hasta sesenta soldados y siete religiosos segun lo que hasta entonçes habían averiguado.

Assimismo en dichas relaciones se haçe mençion, de como el navio pirata de que doy quenta a V.M. en otra llego a dichas Islas a veinte y quatro de março del año passado [1685], y como alli se mostro amigo, y andubo generosso hiço leña y agua y passo a estas de que en la referida hago larga relacion a V.M.

*A que se siguió el que el galeon Capitana **Santo Niño** de buelta de la Nueva España toco en dhas Islas y su general atento a su neçessidad les dejó quarenta y quatro hombres de socorro y algunos generos con que pudieron reaçerse por entonçes el qual trujo consigo al Padre Diego Sarsossa uno de los misioneros, con dos relaciones del governador y Vice provincial, que yncluyen dichas noticias y remitire a V.M. a su tiempo.*

En cuya atencion y de considerarles en tal estado y aprieto arimandome a las Reales cedulas de V.M. en que ha sido servido de mandar a mi antecessor fomentase a dichas Islas, tenia ya dispuesta una fragata, acavada de fabricar y de buen porte, para que les

llevase su socorro con dicho religioso, y otros dos que ynviava su religion, y estando ya muy bien peltrechada y aviada de gente, con todo lo necessario a cuyo gasto (echo en virtud de junta de Real hazienda) ayudo la religion de la Compania con mill pesos que ofrecio para ello de su voluntad, tube aviso de que se havian visto en las costas de estas Islas siete navios de guerra, y enemigos, por cuya razon y lo resuelto en junta unibersal, que celebre sobre dicho aviso, para que fuese con mayor acierto se suspendio el viaje de dicha fragata, y se aplico para que lo hiçiese a la Nueva España, por el Real situado a caussa de suspenderse tambien el del galeon, que estava destinado, y presto al mismo tiempo, para salir a dicho reyno, y no tener otra defensa estas Islas, que disponer a este de guerra con otras embarcaciones de particulares, para que saliesen a pelear con el enemigo, en la forma que en otra hago relacion a V.M.

[The frigate Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu sent instead, but turned back]

*Despachado dicho galeon y vajeles de armada en la mejor forma, que pude y haviendo tenido noticia de que el galeon **Santa Rossa** que bolvio de la Nueva España el año passado de ochenta y cinco havia llegado a un puerto de estas Islas, y que no havia tocado en aquellas, por apartarse del riesgo de otros vajeles piratas, que se hallavan en ellas cuyo aviso le salio al encuentro, estando a vista de la de Guajan, que fue bien misterioso, entre [en] consideracion de su necesidad, y aprieto y el que tendria[n] faltandoles sobre el, el socorro, que les trahía dicho galeon, lo qual hizo tanta fuerza en mi que ynstataneamente puse todo esfuerzo para que se concluyese **otra fragata** que se estava fabricando, y se consiguio y previno dentro de treinta dias, para despacharla como estava previsto, y determinado, por junta general de hazienda de veinte y cinco de mayo de dicho año, a cuyo tiempo, entre las demas reales çedulas, que reçevi me halle con dos en que V.M. me manda les acuda con las armas[,] municiones, y demas generos, que neçesitaren para su conserbacion; que previniese vajeles que haga viage a dichas Islas, una vez, o dos al año, si ser pudiere; y que informe a V.M. del numero fixo de los soldados, que tienen, y pueden dejar las naos de esta carrera en ellas, de passo de la Nueva España, sin perjuicio de la que se conduce para estas Islas, en cuyo cumplimiento, y por que no se omitiesse circunstançia de las referidas, hiçe convocan junta de pilotos, que se celebre en ocho de agosto de dicho año, en que se declaro por tiempo competente, para la salida de dicha fragata llamada **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio**, a dicho viaje, asta el fin de dicho mes de agosto, y assimismo segunda junta de hacienda, en diez y nueve del, en que se resolvió, con vista de dhas reales çedulas, se despachase, costeandose de la Real hacienda, como estava resuelto, en la primera; en cuya conformidad, y haviendose embarcado en ella con la gente necessaria los arcabuses [,] municiones [,] polvora [,] salitre y los demas generos, que V.M. mandava, se hizo a la vela el dia veinte y seis de dicho mes, y haviendo desenvocado, y salido del riesgo de entre Islas, con buen tiempo tube por sin duda el que se lograrse el viaje, y el muy catholico çelo de V.M.; pero la divina lo despusso de otra manera, permitiendo el que (como tambien a la fragata **Santo Thomas** que salio para la Nueva España) le faltase el vendabal favorable, y le entrasen rigurosos tiempos contrarios, que la desar-*

*bolaron y maltrataron, de manera, que por bolver de arriuada tan travajosa vino à barar en el pueblo de Batangas, veinte leguas de esta çuidad, a veinte y uno de noviembre de dho año, desde donde tube el avisso, y acudiendo luego con lo necessario para que no se acavase de perder se preserbo el casco de naufragio, y se salvo la gente con que se vino a ygualar este subçesso, con el de la dicha fragata **Santo Thomas**, por que una y otra participaron de los propios tiempos, sobre que tambien las ygualen en la averigaçion, del casso de que no resulto culpa alguna, de os que yban en ella, como informaran a V.M. los autos que remitire a su tiempo.*

[The first voyage of the frigate San Gabriel was also a failure]

*Llevando adelante Señor mi justa y devida obediencia, a lo que V.M. tiene mandado bolví a repetir junta de pilotos, y de Real hacienda en quatro y quinze de abril de este año, y por lo que toca a esta resolvió, se bolviese hazer el despacho a las Islas Marianas, en dicha forma en cuya conformidad despache por Junio de el, otra fragata nueva de mediano porte, que hize fabricar en el Real de Solsogon, donde se fabrica el nuevo galeon, de que tengo dado quenta a V.M. en cuya fábrica puse todo cuidado y en haverla de todo lo neçesario, que pudo conducir a mayor seguridad y çerteza del viaje y para que se lograrse mejor salio el dia veinte y quatro de Junio con el galeon **Santo Niño**, y uno y otro, apercevidos por lo que podia subceder segun las notiçias, que teniamos de los vajeles de enemigos, que ynfestavan estas costas, y con el socorro, y prevenciones, de que llevo echa relacion a V.M. y con lo que assimismo remitian los podatarios de aquella mission, de los generos, y reales que estavan detenidos el año antedentes, para ella.*

*Y en quanto a la de pilotos, fue sobre la segunda parte de dicha Real çedula, açerca de que siendo possible se hagan dos viajes al año, para aquellas Islas los quales unanimes concordaron, en que era ynpossible, respecto de que por estas partes, solo corren vendabales, desde mayo hasta septiembre, y aun con alguna variacion, que son con los que solo se puede haçer viaje a ellas, en dicho tiempo, a que se siguen despues nortes y otros vientos, con que no se pueden bolver a cojer estas Islas, hasta que prebalescan las brizas, que son vientos generales, por cuya razon **sera neçesario dilatarse de siete a ocho meses en cada viaje regular, con que ni queda tiempo, ni lo hay aproposito, para repetir el segundo, mas no obstante, como se puedan continuar todos los años, y por otra parte toquen los galeones en ellas, me persuado a que tendran bastante asistencia, salvo lo que fuere de la real voluntad de V.M.**¹*

*Conferiose assimismo en ella el tercero puncto, en que V.M. manda dé orden, a los cavos para que declinen a la parte del sur a fin de reconocer aquellas Islas, y conbinieron todos los dichos pilotos, en que por haver açia aquel paraxe muchos bajos era muy ariesgada esta declinacion, y reconozimiento, lo qual experimento el galeon **Santa Rossa**, apartandose açia dicho rumbo quando tubo el avisso referido, donde haviedo tocado diferentes vezes el timon, estuvo muy a pique de perderse, por apartarse de*

¹ Ed. note: This last part was underlined by the Council of the Indies for special consideration.

la Isla de Guajan; respecto de lo qual tendre por conbeniente el rehussar este riesgo mientras V.M. no mandare otra cossa sobre lo referido; a que ayuda el considerar, que puestas las Islas Marianas en buen corriente desde ellas, con embarcazion mas manual, y menos riesgo, se podra haçer, en que pondre de mi parte todo esfuerzo y lo que fuere necessario, y assi se lo adbertire al governador ynterino para que de la suya procure se haga esta diligencia.

Previstos dichos puntos hize el despacho de la dicha fragata en dicha forma y con todos los requisitos prevenidos, y mandados por V.M. y remiti veinte y cinco soldados en ella, de este campo, con orden para que haviendo necesidad de ellos, en aquellas yslas se quedasen todos en ellas, y assimismo perssona de satisfaccion, por cavo de dicha fragata y nombramiento de Sargento Mayor de aquellas yslas en lugar del Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, a quien tambien ynbie nombramiento de governador ynterino de ellas por sus muchas prendas, y lo bien que se ha exerçitado, en serviçio de V.M. y por haver hecho deaçion de aquel oficio del Sargento Mayor Don Damian de Esplana, que le tengo açeptada por las caussas que tiene representadas, acudiendo a todo sin que me faltase circunstancia de las que podian conducir a mayor alivio y regimen de aquella Infanteria y mission, de que quede satisfecho por entonçes.

Pero fue Dios servido de que tampoco se lograsse este despacho y viaje por sus justos juicios a caussa de haverles acometido desde luego que desenvoco dicha fragata tan recios temporales que le maltrataron y desarbolaron, obligandola despues de muchos riesgos de la vida que padeçio la gente ha arivar a un puerto de la costa de la Nueva Segovia de estas Islas llamado Cavo de Engaño donde se bolvieron a reh]aser, y con nuevo adereso, aliento y disposicion, salieron segunda vez ha yntentarle y encontraron la propria dificultad, y resistencia de vientos, sin dejarles granjear una legua del rumbo que havian de seguir para su viaje, con que les fue forçosso haçer segunda arivada a dha costa cuya averiguacion, y a los subçessos, que tubieron procurara hasta con todo el rigor, que dicta la razon, neçessidad, y gravedad del casso, y con los demas autos citados remitirelos que resultaren de ella en el despacho siguiente.

En lo rreferido Señor reconoçera V.M. mis buenos deseos y que mediante ellos es forzosso tenga el sentimiento, que devo de que en este tiempo ocurran subçessos tan adversos pero sobre todo me queda la confianza, de que V.M. juzgue que he cumplido con lo que ha estado de mi parte pues lo demas no esta en mi mano y no obstante esto y lo rreferido no he perdido el animo de bolver a reçevir [reiterar] otro despacho como los expressados a su tiempo regular el año que viene si la cortedad en que queda esto no lo inpide, y hallo medios para cumplir con esta y las de mas obligaciones preçissas, teniendo siempre por tales las que fueren de mayor serviçio de V.M. C.C. y R.P. Guarde Dios muchos años como la Monarquia necesita.

Manila y Diziembre 27 de 1687.

Añadido

Haze relazion a V.M. de como remite los autos çitados en la antecedente y otros nuevamente echos sobre la venida del governador de las Islas Marianas a las Philipinas.

Señor

*Remito a V.M. los autos citados en la antecedente acerca de las diligencias, y juntas echas para los despachos [h]echos a las yslas Marianas y la primera arivada de la fragata **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio** de que llevo echa mençion como asimismo los de las otras dos arivadas, que hizo el año passado de 87, la fragata **San Gabriel** que con parecer de asesor declare por ynvolutaria y casual en atencion a lo que consto por las pruebas diarios observaciones y demas recaudos presentados, en que a mi parecer no se ha omitido diligencia digna de executar segun y como el caso pedia.*

[Governor Esplana jailed in Manila for leaving his post in the Marianas]

*Y lo que de nuevo Señor se me ofrece de que dar quenta a V.M. es que por febrero de este año llego a estas yslas, el Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana governador de aquellas y haviendome dado quenta de ello desde el enbocadero, y de como havia motivado su venida, su enfermedad, y falta de socorro en los dos años antecedentes[.] por persuadirme, a que havia faltado a su obligacion en desanpararlas, en el estado en que las considerava, le hice traer y poner presso en el castillo de Santiago de esta ciudad que se le enbargasen sus bienes, y que se asegurasen algunos soldados Españoles y Philipinos, que trahia en un **pequeño barco**, en que vino y se le substancio la caussa con acussacion en forma del promotor fiscal y haviendo corrido todos los lanzes judiciales que se practican, con vista de los papeles presentados, y de possiciones de testigos, por donde consto haver sido su venida, con comunicacion de las personas de mas suste [justo?] de dhas yslas, y del Vice provincial, y misioneros, y ser la causal para el efecto, el [en]cargarsele en comun, la falta de socorro del año de 86, por el aviso, que dio al general de **Santa Rossa**, para que se extraviessse como lo executo, y llevo referido, en la antecedente el no saver el estado de estas, y jusgarlas ariesgadas, por respecto de los enemigos que havian passado por aquellas, y ser tan urgente la necessidad que le obligo a no fiar la accion de otro alguno; no estar ligado con pleito omenaje, y otras que alego, y provo, por sentençia pronunciada en catorze del presente con parecer de asesor que lo fue el Fiscal de V.M. le absolvio de la culpa ynutada por dha acussacion; y le declare por buen soldado, y digno de que V.M. le honrre en mayores puestos, de que constara a V.M. por el testimonio de los autos, que con los referidos remito a esse supremo y real consejo a numero 17 [13?] con que visto tambien como quedava pendiente su enfermedad, y la deaçion que antecedentemente tenia echa, y lo estava admitida se queda en estas yslas aunque se ofrecio a bolver â aquellas.*

[The 1688 voyage of the San Gabriel]

*No obstante, Señor, el aprieto, y necessidad en que queda este gobierno, e yslas persuadiendome de lo rreferido, y experimentado, a que aquellas han llegado a la extrema, no he querido faltar a hazer el servicio de Dios, y a V.M. de socorrerlas en la ocassion presente, para cuyo efecto, tengo ya dispuesta, y aprestada la dha fragata **San Gabriel** haviendola fortalecido y carenado con todo el cuidado, que se requiere, y*

queda prompta para hazerse a la vela dentro de quatro, o cinco dias, anticipandole el tiempo, por jusgar este, por el mas apropossito, lleva el socorro proprio de aquellas yslas, que remitian los podatarios, en los despachos antecedentes y de mi parte, tambien, los que V.M. me tiene mandado, y constan por la memoria de ellos, que correponde a esta, con los demas recaudos mencionados, los dhos religiosos y otro mas que trajo [consigo dho] Esplana.

Los quales me han informado de como quedava toda la ysla de Guajan sujeta, y la gente repartida en tres Iglessias y ministerios, que dan buenas muestras del caracter, que ha ynpresso, en sus coraçones, el bautismo y predicacion del evangelio, y respecto de neçessitar las demas de esta, tienen por çierto, el que con ayuda de alguna gente, se paçificaran, y sujetaran todas de nuevo con que se habran de quedar los treinta hombres, que remito.

*Continuo, Señor, el nombramiento de Governador en el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga cuyas noticias de su buen proçeder, cada dia sobresalen mas, en cuyo lugar, y por dejazion del que havia nombrado, va el **Capitan Don Juan de Medrano Messia**, sujeto de calidad y satisfaccion, que es todo quanto puedo haçer, y esta en mi mano, dejando, lo demas a las divinas dispossiciones de Dios, de quien confio, se ha de lograr en esta ocassion, el servicio de V.M. y remedio de aquellas almas su providencia lo disponga assi. Y Guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad, neçessita.*

Manila y Mayo 31 de 1688.

G. Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

15. He reports to Y.M. on the uprising of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in the year 1684, the killings they committed and the havoc they created, and their resulting condition. And how he has despatched 2 frigates, but both turned back in battered condition. With various provisions under N° 13.

Sire:

In the despatch of last year 1685, I reported to Y.M. on the good condition [in June 1684] of the Mariana Islands ...

...

[The part that is a repetition of Doc. 1686A2 is not repeated here]

...

[The frigate Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu sent instead, but turned back]

Having despatched said galleon [Santo Niño] and vessels of the fleet in the best manner that I could, and having heard that the galleon **Santa Rosa** that came back from New Spain last year 1685 [rather 1686] had arrived at a port of these Islands, and that she had not stopped at those Islands, because it got away from the danger of other pirate vessels that were found there, about which she was forewarned by an advice boat that came out of them, as she was already in sight of the Island of Guajan, something that was very mysterious indeed. When I was made aware of their need and fix they

were in, and the greater need and fix they would be for lack of the succor carried by said galleon, it made such an impression on me that I instantly made all efforts to complete the construction of **another frigate**, and it was finished and outfitted within 30 days, in order to despatch it as has been planned, and decided in a general meeting of the treasury on 25 May of said year, at which time, among the other Royal decrees that I received, I found two in which Y.M. orders me to assist them with weapons, ammunitions, and other goods they might need for their preservation; that I should make ready a vessel to make the voyage to said Islands, once, or twice a year if I could, and to report to Y.M. on the fixed number of soldiers serving there, and those whom the galleons of this run can leave there, when passing by from New Spain, without prejudice to the force brought to these Islands, in whose compliance, and so as not to omit any of the above-mentioned circumstances, I called a meeting of pilots, that took place on 8 August of said year, in which it was declared that the timing was right until the end of said month of August for the despatch of said frigate named **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio** for said voyage. There was also a second meeting of the treasury held on the 19th, in which it was decided, in view of said royal decrees, to despatch it at the expense of the Royal treasury, as previously decided in the first meeting. To this effect, and the necessary men having boarded it with the arquebuses, ammunition, powder, saltpeter and other goods that Y.M. has ordered, they set sail on 26th of said month. Having left the Entrance channel, and made it past the dangers among these Islands, with good weather, I had no doubt that the voyage would be successful, and so the Catholic zeal of Y.M.; however, His divine Majesty decided otherwise, and allowed the favorable monsoon wind to fail it (as it did the frigate **Santo Tomás** that left for New Spain) and rigorous contrary weather to set in, which dismasted it and battered it in such a way that, upon returning from such a rough encounter it ran aground at the town of Batangas, 20 leagues from this city, on 21 November of said year, from where I was advised, and then by rushing in with the necessary help, so that it would not be lost completely, the hull was saved from shipwreck, and the men were saved. This outcome turned out to be the same for the said frigate **Santo Tomás**, as both of them shared the same weather. They also shared in the inquiry of the case, the result of which was no blame on the part of anyone aboard it, as Y.M. will see from the records of proceedings that I will submit in due course.¹

[The first voyage of the frigate San Gabriel was also a failure]

To carry on, Sire, with my just and proper obedience, with what Y.M. has ordered, once again I called a meeting of pilots, and of the Royal treasury on the 4th and 15th of April of this year, and on this point in question, it was decided to again make the despatch to the Mariana Islands, in said form, and to this effect, in June I despatched

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1687R.

a new frigate of average size that I had ordered built at the Royal camp of Sorsogon, where the new galleon is being built,¹ as I reported to Y.M. already. I took great care to have this construction done and to have it supplied with everything necessary that might lead to greater assurance of the voyage, and in order to increase this possibility, it departed on 24 June with the galleon **Santo Niño**, and both of them forewarned and ready for any encounter with the enemy ships that infested these coasts, and with the succor and provisions, of which there is a report for Y.M.,² as well as supplies sent by the procurators of that mission, that is, the goods and reals destined for it that did not make it last year.

As far as the meeting of pilots, it dealt with the second part of said Royal decree, that is, whether it is possible to make two voyages per year to those Islands. The unanimous opinion was that it was impossible, because in these neighborhoods the only prevailing winds are monsoon winds, from May to September, and even with some variation, they are the only ones that can be used to make a voyage overthere, in said season, as it is then followed by northerlies and other winds that prevent a return to these Islands, until the tradewinds come in, for they are the general winds. Therefore, **it will be necessary to count on 7 to 8 months for each regular voyage; hence, no time remains, nor is there a suitable weather, to make a second voyage. Nevertheless, as they can be made every year, and on the other hand the galleons visit them, I am persuaded that they will get enough assistance, unless the royal will of Y.M. wishes otherwise.**³

In addition, the third point [of the royal decree] was also discussed, in which Y.M. orders me to order the commanders to divert southward in order to explore those Islands. All said pilots agreed that, on account of the presence of many shoals in that neighborhood, this delay, or exploration, was very risky, and the same thing happened to the galleon **Santa Rosa**, when she diverted to said course, when she received the above-mentioned advice; her rudder hit a few times and she came close to becoming a shipwreck, when she diverted away from the Island of Guajan. Concerning this point, I will therefore refuse to admit it, as long as Y.M. orders me to do otherwise. Another consideration, which might be of some help, is that the Mariana Islands are better placed with respect to them and it could be done with a more manual craft, and with less danger, and I will do my utmost to achieve this; that is why I have warned the interim Governor there to try and achieve this [exploration] on his own.⁴

1 Ed. note: The **Santo Cristo de Burgos** which was to make her maiden voyage to Acapulco in 1688.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1687S.

3 Ed. note: This last part was underlined by the Council of the Indies for special consideration. See Doc. 1687Q for details of this paper.

4 Ed. note: He did, by sending Guam-based canoes under the command of the Chamorro Chief Alonso Soón, in 1689 and then in 1690, but unsuccessfully.

Once these points had been decided, I made the despatch of said frigate in said form and with all the requirements foreseen and ordered by Y.M. I sent 25 soldiers over there, from this camp, along with an order saying that they could all be kept in those Islands, if there was a need for them, and also a trustworthy person as commander of said frigate and an appointment as Sergeant Major of those Islands¹ instead of Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, whom I also sent [back] with an appointment as interim Governor, on account of his many qualifications, and the good results he had achieved in the service of Y.M. and because that post had become vacant following the resignation of Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, whom I accepted, for reasons that he had put forward, and I took care not to miss one opportunity that might lead to the greater relief and management of that Infantry and mission, and was satisfied that I did at the time.

However, God was pleased to have this despatch and voyage fail once more, for some unfathomable reasons of His; indeed, as soon as it had left the Entrance channel, said frigate was attacked by storms so fierce that they battered it and dismasted it, then forced it, after many life-threatening situations, to turn back to a port on the coast of New Segovia of these Islands, called Cape Engaño, from where they tried to make another voyage, after some repairs, some respite and preparations. They departed a second time to try it but they met with the same difficulty and resistance from the winds, which did not let them gain one league in the direction that they had to follow for their voyage. Therefore, they were forced to make a second return to said coast. I will try to hold a rigorous inquiry into the events in question, and their causes, in accordance with the seriousness of the case, and I intend to remit the results with the records of proceedings in the next despatch.²

In the above, Sire, Y.M. will recognize my good desires and, in spite of them, I am obliged to feel sorry for the many adverse happenings occurring recently, but above all I remain with the trust that Y.M. will think that I have done my part; indeed, the rest is not of my doing. Nevertheless, I have not lost the courage to make yet another despatch, as the previous ones, at its regular time this coming year, if the shortages of this government do not prevent it, and I find the means to comply with this, and other more urgent obligations, by always keeping in mind that they be for the greater service of Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for many years, as the monarchy demands.

Manila, 27 December 1687.

Postscript.

He relates to Y.M. how he submits the above-mentioned records of proceedings and others newly-made regarding the coming of the Governor of the Mariana Islands to the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: Major Juan de Toledo.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1687S.

Sire:

I submit to Y.M. the records of proceedings mentioned earlier, concerning the efforts made, and meetings held, for the despatches to the Mariana Islands and the first return in distress of the frigate **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Ignacio** which I have mentioned, as well as those of two other returns made by the frigate **San Gabriel** last year 1687. My legal adviser declared them to have been involuntary and casual, inasmuch as the proofs are in the logbooks, observations and other cautions presented, and it is my own opinion that no effort was spared that was worthy to try, under the circumstances of the case.

[Governor Esplana jailed in Manila for leaving his post in the Marianas]

And, Sire, what is new for me to report to Y.M. is that, last February, Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of those Islands, arrived at these Islands and, having advised me of it from the Entrance channel, and given as a reason for his coming his illness, and the lack of succor for the last two years. In order to find out for myself if he had failed his duty in abandoning them in the condition that he considered them to be in, I had him arrested and made prisoner in the castle of Santiago of this city, had his property seized and had some Spanish and Filipino soldiers kept under guard, whom he had brought along in a **small boat** that he travelled in, and the case was substantiated following an accusation made by the prosecuting attorney. All the usual legal proceedings took place, the papers presented reviewed, witnesses heard, and the result was that his coming was justified, based on a communication from persons of more judgment in said Islands, and from the Vice Provincial and missionaries. Because of the failure of the succor in 1686, on account of the advice that he gave to the General of the **Santa Rosa**, they all begged him to go off, as he did, and he claimed during said trial that he did not know of the condition of these Islands, and thought them in danger, on account of the enemies that had passed by those Islands, and that the need was such that he did not trust anyone else to act [on his behalf], that he was not bound by an oath of allegiance, and other reasons that he alleged, and proved, according to the sentence pronounced on the 14th of the present month, and the opinion given by Y.M.'s Fiscal. He was found not guilty of the accusation imputed in the case, and was declared to be a good soldier, one worthy of being honored by Y.M. with more important posts, as Y.M. may learn from the record of said proceedings that I remit to that Supreme and Royal Council under n° 17.¹ Therefore, in view also of his pending illness, and the resignation that he had already submitted, and that was allowed him, he now remains in these Islands, although he volunteered to return to those Islands.²

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1688C.

2 Ed. note: Out of spite, and much to the chagrin of the Jesuits, he was ordered back to the Marianas the following year, 1689.

[The 1688 voyage of the San Gabriel]

Notwithstanding, Sire, the present fix and need that this Government and Islands find themselves, I became convinced by the above events and experience that those Islands had arrived at the last extremity, and I did not want to fail the service of God and that of Y.M. by succoring them at the present time. To this effect, I have already arranged for said frigate **San Gabriel** to be made ready, after it was reinforced and careened with the full care that is required. It is ready to set sail within 4 or 5 days, ahead of the time that is thought to be the most appropriate. It carries the succor meant for those Islands, remitted by their procurators in the previous despatches, and the succor that I am sending as well, those that Y.M. ordered me to send, and the list of them is given in full, along with the other provisions mentioned earlier, plus the said religious, and one more whom said Esplana brought along with him.¹

Said missionaries have told me how the whole Island of Guajan was subjected, and the people distributed among three churches and ministries, that they give good signs of the character that has been impressed in their hearts by baptism and the preaching of the Gospel, and as far as the other Islands are concerned, they are sure that, with the help of some men, they will all be pacified and subjected again. That is why the 30 men that I am sending will have to remain.

I maintain, Sire, the appointment as Governor of Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga, about whom I keep receiving more and more notices of his good behavior, to replace the one who left this post, and to replace Quiroga, I am sending **Captain Don Juan de Medrano Messia**, an individual of quality and satisfaction, and that is as much as I can do, and is within my purview. I leave the rest to the divine arrangements left to the providence of God, whom I trust will favor this voyage, which is to the service of Y.M. and the remedy of those souls, and so will save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 31 May 1688.

G. Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

Minutes of the Council of the Indies.

To His Majesty.

N° 15.

Governor Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui.

Received via the quicksilver fleet on 28 December 1689.

He reports necessarily on the uprising of the Indians of the Mariana Islands in 1684, the deaths and the deprivations they caused, and the state in which they were left, and how he despatched two frigates and both turned back in damaged condition, about which he encloses two case files.

That Don Damian de Esplana came to those Islands, that he had him seized and charged, for considering that he had abandoned the islands, and about which he also

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Cuculino, or Kuklein.

remits case files. He says that as a result of the charges, he was found not guilty because his coming had been to get the subsidy that had not been delivered for two years, and that he was absolved of the charge against him and declared that he was a good soldier and zealous in the royal service.

That he again despatched another ship to those Islands in which he sent weapons and munitions that appear on the enclosed list.¹

Having learned about this uprising from one Jesuit religious² a decree was issued to the Governor of the Philippines on 30 December 1687, ordering him to give a detailed report about it and Governor Don Damian de Esplana's role in it, but there is no reply.

[The Council examined this letter with enclosures on 28 February 1690 and referred them to the Fiscal for an opinion, which was the following:]

The Fiscal, in view of this letter from the Governor of the Philippines dated 27 December 1687 [and] four case files that he remits with it, says that, on 23 July 1684, some Indians of the Mariana Islands joined in a mutiny and they gave Don Damian de Esplana 9 wounds and killed 4 priests, one of whom was Fr. Manuel de Solorzano of the Society of Jesus, and 17 soldiers, burning the church, and the college for boys where all the youths were being taught. He also refers to his having despatched on two occasions a vessel which by royal decree of your Majesty is ordered to the Governor of the Philippines to send to the Mariana Islands for the succor and communication of these Islands, that each year the vessel turned back to those Islands after much time, that he had held a council of pilots to ascertain the best time to make the voyage to, and from those Islands to the Philippines; all agreed that eight months were necessary. That Governor Don Damian de Esplana had come from the Mariana Islands, so that he had had him charged and placed in prison in Fort Santiago in Manila, and in view of the papers which he had presented, wherein his contention was that he had come from the Mariana Islands only for the purpose of soliciting succor for them, with the agreement of the residents and that of the Missionary Fathers; this was reinforced by the fact that he had not made any promise to remain in those Islands or sworn statement to serve for any specified length of time; the sentence was pronounced on 12 May 1688 and the Fiscal of the Audiencia declared him free.

Regarding the note made by the Secretary that the reports asked of the Governor of the Philippines about the actions of this Governor have not come, the Fiscal has nothing to say on the matter, but could only refer to the answer given to a letter of his dated 15 June 1690, concerning the question that, in some Missions, such as in the Mariana Islands, it appears that weapons have been used, as was mentioned by the Governor of the Philippines in his letter, so that a decree should be issued to the Governor of the [Philippines] to the effect that new discoveries or reductions should take place in accordance with what has been ordered by Law N^o [hole in paper] in the Revised Code for the Indies and other royal laws.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1688B1.

2 Ed. note: That of Fr. Bouwens (see Doc. 1685E).

[Your Majesty] should decide what is most convenient.

Madrid, 28 August 1696.

To the Reporter, Licentiate Villagutierrez

Seen. Pass it to the Secretariat.

Madrid, 11 September 1696.

Lic. Villagutierrez

Document 1688B

The voyage of the frigate San Gabriel to the Marianas in 1688

List of the goods sent to the Marianas aboard the frigate San Gabriel in 1688

Sources: AGI Fil. 13-1-10, p. 1 ; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, folio 21; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 361-362.

Note: There is a note in the file that says that this list was enclosed with a letter from the Governor dated 27 December 1687, with a postscript dated 31 May 1688 (Doc. 1688A2). It was brought to Spain by the quicksilver ships returning from Veracruz and received at Madrid on 28 December 1689.

Original list in Spanish.

Memoria de los generos que el almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola Governador de Phelipinas remite a las yslas Marianas en la fragata San Gabriel, este pressente año de 1688.—

- Cinquenta arcabuzes*
- Cinquenta mosquetes*
- Quarenta tahalies de bandolas de oja de lata de doze cargas cada tahali; los veinte para arcabuços, y los otros veinte para mosquete*
- Doze esmeriles*
- Cinquenta arrovas de polvora*
- Ocho mil balas de arcabuz*
- Otras ocho mill de mosquetef[s]*
- Dosçientas cinquenta balas para esmeriles*
- Dies tinajas de salitre blanco*
- Ocho tinajas de azufre*
- Dos tinajas de agua ardiente de Castilla*
- Cinquenta y quatro arrovas de fierro entre limpio*

—*Treinta chuzos*
 —*Veinte medias lunas*¹
 —*Diez arrovas de cuerda*
 —*Diez y seis arrovas de vino de Castilla para celebrar [misas]*
 —*Treinta cestos de pez,*
y ademas de lo referido lleba treinta soldados para que se queden de socorro en aque-
las yslas.
Manila y Junio 1° de 1688 años.

Translation of the list.

List of the goods that Admiral Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, Governor of the Philippines, is sending to the Mariana Islands aboard the frigate San Gabriel, this year of 1688.

—50 arquebuses
 —50 muskets
 —40 bandoliers of tin plate, each to carry 12 charges, 20 for arquebuses and 20 for muskets
 —12 falconets
 —50 arrobas of gun-powder
 —8,000 balls for arquebuses
 —8,000 balls for muskets
 —250 balls for falconets
 —10 jars of white saltpeter
 —8 jars of sulphur
 —2 jars of Spanish brandy
 —54 arrobas of iron, half-clean
 —30 pikes
 —20 half-moons²
 —10 arrobas of rope
 —16 arrobas of Spanish wine to celebrate with
 —30 baskets of [dried] fish,
 and in addition to the above it carries 30 soldiers who are to remain in those islands as reinforcements.

Manila, 1 June 1688.³

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- 1 Ed. note: Wrongly transcribed "lanas" in the Pastells version.
 - 2 Ed. note: Chinese halberds whose business ends were shaped like half-moons. They were of three types: upturned half-moon; upside-down half-moon; and upside-down with upturned tips. Sample of the first two types can be found at the Army Museum in Madrid.
 - 3 Ed. note: The commander aboard the San Gabriel on the eastbound part of the voyage was the new Sergeant-Major Medrano, but it seems that he did not stay at the Marianas, because he could not stand the company of Major Quiroga (see Doc. 1689B1). The chief pilot was Lazcano and his mate was Carlos José.

Documents 1688C

The case against Governor Esplana for leaving Guam in February 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-9, block 7, pp. 385-615; also in AGI Ultramar 562, col. Simancas 2, fol. 42-94; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 1, pp. 364+

Note: This is the case file, or record of proceedings, sent to Spain with Governor Curuzeláegui's letter of 27 December 1687, with postscript dated 31 May 1688 (Doc. 1688A2), which were received at Madrid on 28 December 1689.

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio a la letra de los autos criminales sobre la venida del Sargento Mayor Don Damian de Esplana Governador de las Islas Marianas; destas sin lizenzia dexando su Gobierno a cargo del Sargento Mayor de aquella plaza, &a.

*Decreto. El Capitan Juan de Quintanilla oficial mayor de la governacion y guerra de estas Islas y theniente de Escrivano Mayor de dicha governacion, sacara testimonio a la letra por triplicado de todos los autos y demas recaudos que por este superior gobierno se han de remitir al Real y Supremo Conssejo de Indias y a manos de su Magestad en el galeon Capitana **Santo Christo de Burgos** poniendo por caveza y principio de los que sacare este decreto.*

Manila y Marzo siete de mil seisscientos ochenta y ocho años.

Translation.

Literal transcript of the criminal proceedings regarding the coming of Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of the Mariana Islands, for having left them without permission, leaving their government in the hands of the Sergeant-Major of that post, etc.

Decree. Captain Juan de Quintanilla, senior officer for administration and war of these Islands and deputy senior notary of said government, will make a literal transcript of all the proceedings and other provisions that this superior government has to submit to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies and into the hands of His Majesty aboard the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, placing this decree at the beginning of said transcript.

Manila, 7 March 1688.

C1. Letter from Major Damian de Esplana, dated Albay 24 February 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Doy parte a V. Señoría de mi venida de las Islas Marianas[.] la caussa assido el hallarme tan achacoso y empedido, y no haver remedio en aquellas Islas ni quien lo haga; y tambien el ver la necesidad que se estava pasando assi Padres Misioneros como la infanteria, y por la falta de dos años de socorro, y no tener de que poder socorrerlos[.] estas caussas me obligaron a determinarme el venir a las plantas de V. Señoría dejando en mi lugar a mi Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga persona capaz, y de buena diziplina para la Infanteria y mayor aspecto en lo que toca al gobierno de aquellas Islas.

Tambien doy parte a V. Señoría de como la isla grande de San Joan queda pazifica, y redusida en tres partidos en que son administrados[.] en quanto a las otras no se ha podido obrar en ellas por ser necessario fuerça de gente; Yo quedo conualeciendo de algunos achaques en este Pueblo de Albay y luego que me halle algo mejor con licencia de V. Señoría yre a postrarme a los pies de V. Señoría a quien guarde nuestro Señor muchos años para ampara de todas estas provinçias y pobres entrando un criado de V. Señoría en parte de su mucha piedad.

Albay y febrero veinte y quatro de mil seisçientos ochenta y quatro [sic] años.

Criado de V. Señoría, que su mano besa,

Damian de Esplana

Decreto.

Manila y Marzo ocho de mill seisçientos ochenta y ocho años.

Despachese mandamiento de prision y secuestro de bienes contra el Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana dirigido al General Antonio Nietto mi theniente en los cargos de Capitania General en las provinçias de Tayabas, Camarines, y Albay, quien presso y a buen recaudo remitirá a la persona de dicho Sargento mayor al Castillo y Fuerza de Santiago de esta Ciudad donde se pondra en prigion a cargo del Castellano de el y los bienes los depositara por imventario em perssona abonada y de esta carta se de vista al Promotor fiscal de la Real Audiencia.

[Original signed by Governor Curuzeláegui]

...

Peticion del Promotor fiscal.

El Capitan Joan de Angulo Promotor fiscal de la Real Audiencia a la vista que se le dio de la carta misiva del Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana superior y Governador de las Islas Marianas de donde dejando dicha plaza se vino a estas Islas sin licencia, ni sucesor que le fuese para poder lo hazer, y oy se halla en la provinçia de Albay, y lo demas que de dicha carta consta: Dice...

[There follow many pages of charges and explanations]

... que todo lo qual el Promotor fiscal lo acusso civil y criminalmente y por lo demas que pudiera acontecer y aconteciere en perjuicio de dicha plaza, y sus Reales haveres y pide se castigue segun leyes, y disposiciones militares sin mas cuerpo de delito que la misma accion del hecho de venirse y dejar dicha plaza sin liçensia ni sucesor a quien la entregase y confession de los frivoles motivos que notiçia por lo

que se haze exequible la execusion de su pena[.] por tanto a V. Señoria pide y suplica assi de su providencia en justicia y en lo necessario sentencia.

...

Translation.

Sir:

I report to Your Lordship my arrival from the Mariana Islands. The reason has been my being so sickly and invalidated, and the lack of any remedy in those Islands or anyone to administer it; and also the realization of the necessity under which they are, not only the missionary Fathers but also the infantry, and because of the lack of succor for two years [in a row], and the impossibility of being able to succor them. These reasons have obliged me to take the decision to come and place me at the feet of Your Lordship, leaving in my place my Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, a capable person, and of good discipline for the infantry and of high regard in matters concerning the government of those Islands.

I also report to Your Lordship that the big Island of San Juan has been pacified and reduced to three districts where they are ministered to. As for the others, operations there have been impossible because a military force would be necessary. I remain convalescing from some attacks in this town of Albay and as soon as I feel somewhat better, with the permission of Your Lordship, I will go and prostrate myself at the feet of Your Lordship, whom may our Lord save for many years for the protection of all these provinces and poor people, including this servant of Your Lordship who relies on your great mercy.

Albay, 24 February 1684 [rather 1688].

Your Lordship's servant, who kisses your hand,

Damian de Esplana

Decree.

Manila, 8 March 1688.

Let a writ be issued for the arrest and seizure of property against Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana and address it to General Antonio Nieto, my Lieutenant in the post of Captain General for the provinces of Tayabas, Camarines, and Albay, who is to seize, and bring under guard the person of said Sergeant-Major to the Castle and fort of Santiago of this City where he is to be incarcerated under the care of the Warden of said fort and his property is to be inventoried and left with a designated person, and let the prosecuting attorney of the Royal Audiencia see this letter.

[Original signed by Governor Curuzeláegui]

...

Petition of the prosecutor.

Captain Juan de Angulo, prosecuting attorney of the Royal Audiencia, having seen the letter that was handed to him, which is a message from Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, superior and Governor of the Mariana Islands, who left said post to

come to these Islands without permission, without leaving a successor who could replace him, and today is found in the province of Albay, and the rest that is stated in said letter: declares that...

[There follow many pages of charges and explanations]

... all of which he is accused of by the prosecutor, according to civil and criminal law, and as far as the rest that might happen in prejudice of said post, and its Royal property, he asked that he be punished according to the laws, and military regulations, without any more proof needed besides the act of coming and leaving said post without permission, without a successor to whom he could have delivered it, and the confession of frivolous motives that he notices, hence the execution of his punishment becomes applicable. Consequently, he begs and beseeches Your Lordship to interpose your justice and if necessary his sentence.

C2. Order of imprisonment, dated 30 March 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Carta orden.

Señor Sargento mayor Don Pedro de Orisolo.

Por quanto por auto de este Superior gobierno esta mandado prender la perssona del Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana y embargar todos los bienes que se hallaren ser suyos para que se remitio mandamiento al General Antonio Nietto al Real de Sorsogon el qual no devio llegar a tiempo su puesto que dho Sargento mayor se halla en ese Puerto habiendo venido de su propio motivo, y sin priçiones para que tenga cumplimiento lo mandado por dicho Auto que la presente ordeno a V. merced que luego que la reziva prenda la persona de dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana y embargue todos los bienes que se hallaren ser suyos y a el con buena guardia y custodia remita al Castillo de Santiago de esta Ciudad a entregar al Castellano de el y a los bienes a poder de los juezes ofiçiales Reales poniendo las diligencias que executare V. Merced en continuasion de esta orden.

Y por quanto la gente que dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana trae de dichas Islas estava en sueldo en ellas dispondra V. Merced el que todo se asegure en el Castillo, o en otra parte donde no pueda hazer fuga.

Guarde Dios a V. Merced muchos años.

Manila y Marzo treinta de mill seisçientos y ochenta y ocho años.

Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola.

Translation.

Written order.

[To] Sergeant-Major Don Pedro de Orisolo.

Whereas, in accordance with a decree of this Superior government, it is ordered to seize the person of Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana and to seize all properties that might be found to be his, reason for which an order was sent to General Antonio Nieto to the Royal camp of Sorsogon, which must not have gotten there on time, because said Sergeant-Major happens to be in that port [of Cavite] where he came on his own, and

without shackles, in order to carry out the orders given in said decree, the present is an order for Your Grace to seize the person of said Sergeant Major Damian de Esplana, as soon as you receive it, and to seize all the belongings that might be found to be his, and to take his person under a good guard to the Castle of Santiago of this City, into the hands of its Warden, and the belongings turned over to the Royal official judges, and finally entering the proceedings of Your Grace into the record hereunder.

And as far as the men whom said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana brought from said Islands who are salaried personnel, Your Grace is to make arrangements for them to be held securely in the Castle, or some place else from where they cannot escape.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

Manila, 30 March 1688.

Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

C3. Arrest of Major Esplana and his companions in Cavite on 30 March 1688, and list of property seized

Original text in Spanish.

Prision de la perssona de D. Damian de Esplana, y embargo de sus bienes.

En el Puerto de Cavite en treinta días del mes de Marzo de mill seiscientos ochenta y ocho años como a oras de las dies de la noche en las cassas de vivienda del General Lucas Matheo de Urquiza donde posa el Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana el Señor Sargento mayor Don Pedro de Orisolo Governador Castellano y justicia mayor de dho Puerto en virtud de carta orden que tubo de su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas su fecha de oy día mes, y año la qual doy fee de haverla visto, y tenerla en mis manos, y debuelto la a su Merced en que su Señoria manda prender la perssona del dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana, y que embarguen todos los bienes que se hallaren ser suyos para cuyo cumplimiento y por ante my el presente escrivano hizo el embargo en la manera siguiente:

—Primeramente se embargaron dos coletos

—Iten, una petaca [de junco] de bejuco de poco mas de una bara de largo, y mas de media de alto, y en ella lo siguiente:

—un vestido de mamparela¹ con dos pares de calsones, el uno de ellos bordado con hilo de plata,

—un calson de grana bordado con hilo de plata,

—una chupa de belfa [velfalla?] amusca [amusga] bordada con hilo de plata,

—una sobre cama de grana, y en medio de ella bordado con hilo de plata,

—un tajali de ante bordado con hilo de plata y oro,

—una almilla de grana usada aforrada en manta blanca,

—un calson de sayasaya ancho labrado con seda,

—seis pares de medias de lana usadas,

1 Ed. note: Written “lamparela” the second time the list is reproduced in the file. Lamparilla, according to an old dictionary, was a coarse camblet.

- seis pares de medias de çeda blanca usadas,
 —veinte y un pares de calsetas de algodón usadas.
 —Yten otra petaca de mas de tres quartas¹ de largo y poco mas de una tercia² de alto con su çerradura y llave y en ella lo siguiente:
 —Primeramente dies y seis camissas con onze pares de calsones blancas todo usado,
 —quatro chupas blancas usadas,
 —una doçena de bragueros [ya] servidos,
 —cinco paños de manos [de lienzo],
 —dos pares de mangas de jubon blancas con bara(j)undas,
 —tres pañuelos llanos usados,
 —quatro balonas³ de puntas usadas,
 —una montera de grana,
 —dos agujones de marear pequeños.
 —Yten una escrivania del Japon embejucada con su çerradura y llave y con seis caxones, y en ellos:
 —un libro enquadernado con su pergamino intitulado “Lista de la compañía Española. Vale desde el año de mill seisçientos, y ochenta en adelante” escripto en veinte foxas y las demas blancas.
 Iten otro libro intitulado “Lista de los Governadores Capitanes Generales, y demas ofiçiales de la primera plana. Vale desde el año de mill seisçientos setenta y ocho en adelante” con todas las foxas blancas.
 —un legajo de papeles de serviçios, titulos, ordenes, listas, y padrones contiene en cinquenta y ocho pliegos,
 —y quatro quarterones de papel.
 —Yten otro legajo de serviçios[,] certificaciones y plantas, y contiene cinquenta foxas escriptas en todas, y en parte,
 —quatro legajos de cartas de gobierno, y de diferentes personas,
 —otro legajo de cartas que contiene onze pliegos, y medio,
 —dies cartas cerradas y sobre escriptas de diferentes personas para Manila, Santiago y Madrid,
 —otra carta abierta intitlada al Illustrissimo Señor Don Francisco de Aguiar y Señas,
 —otro legajo de cartas abiertas de diferentes personas,
 —Un tintero,
 —una salvadera,
 —y un sello para zerrar cartas, todo de bronze,
 —dos pares de tixeras pequeñas,
 —un librito pequeño de razion,
 —un bagajon [agujon] pequeño de marear de marfil,
 —un ant[e]jojo de larga vista pequeño,
 —un pedazillo de piedra yman en una petaquilla de bejuco,
 —otra petaquilla de lo mesmo con unos pedazillos de plata vieja quebrada,

1 Ed. note: 1 cuarta = 8 inches; 3 cuartas = 24 inches approx.

2 Ed. note: 1 tercia = 1/3 yard.

3 Ed. note: Word not in Cuyás' dictionary.

—y una de los seis gavetas con unas chucherias [de] menudenzias y piedras de escopeta.

—Yten otra petaca mediana de bejuco con manteles, y servilletas, y unos platos de peltre, y sapatos.

—Yten una cama traspontin[,] sabanas[,] almohadas y pavellon.

—Yten una champasilla mediana.

—**Yten un parao de Marianas.**

—Yten una banca grande que dijo dicho Sargento mayor Damian Esplana la trae fletada y perteceze al Alcalde mayor de Albay.

Con lo qual se concluyo dicho embargo por no haver hallado mas bienes que pertenezcan a dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana, y dicho Señor justicia mayor entrego y hizo cargo de todo a el Capitan Joan de Herrera soldado de este Puerto, y le ordeno le lleve a la Ciudad de Manila, y los entregue a los juezes oficiales reales para que los tengan por via de deposito y assi mismo dicho Capitan Joan de Herrera aviendose hecho cargo de todo ello se hizo cargo de la perssona del dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana para entregarlo por preso en el Castillo y fuersa Santiago de la Ciudad de Manila al Castellano de dicho Castillo para que lo tengan por tal presso e interin que su Señoria le ordena otra cossa.

[Arrest of Esplana's companions]

Y para el entero cumplimiento de dicha carta orden y lo contenido en ella dicho Señor Justicia mayor y Castellano de este dicho puerto hizo poner pressos en el Castillo San Phelipe de este Puerto a las personas siguientes:

—Al Ayudante Francisco Asparria,

—Ayudante Sebastian Luis,

—Al Alfez Francisco Antonio Risueño,

—Y a Francisco Beltran professo en la Religion de San Joan de Dios.

—Todos cinco [sic] soldados Españoles, y assi mismo a cinco personas Indias gente de plaza en las Marianas que son:

—al Capitan Pedro Vasques con su muger,

—al Ayudante Matheo de Vara,

—A Bernardo al Carpio [sic],

—y a Joan de la Cruz de Cavite,

para que en dicho Castillo esten asegurados hasta que dicho Señor Governador, y Capitan General mande lo que fuere servidof.]

Con todo lo qual su Merced dixo que dava y dio cumplimiento a lo mandado en dicha carta orden y lo firmo su Merced, y dicho Capitan Joan de Herrera como persona que sea entregado de todo como dicho es de que doy fee.

Pedro de Oriosolo

Joan de Herrera Valdes

Ante my Joan de Trujillo Escrivano publico.

...

Translation.

Arrest of the person of Damian de Esplana, and seizure of his property.

At the Port of Cavite on 30 March 1688, at about 10 p.m. in the living quarters of General Lucas Mateo de Urquiza where the Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana was lodged, Sergeant Major Pedro de Orisolo, governing Warden and senior justice of said Port, by virtue of a written order that he received from His Lordship the President, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, of today's date, which I certify as having seen, held in my hands, and given back to His Grace. In it, His Lordship ordered the arrest of the person of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, and the seizure of all the goods that belong to him, in whose compliance and before me the present notary carried out the seizure in the following manner:

—Firstly, there were seized 2 doublets [i.e. jackets].

—Also, 1 woven-rattan suitcase, a little over 1 yard in length, and over 1/2 yard in height, and inside it the following:

—1 suit of camblet with 2 pairs of trousers, one of them embroidered with silver thread;

—1 pair of breeches of flax embroidered with silver thread;

—1 waistcoat of brown velvet(?) embroidered with silver thread;

—1 bedspread of flax, the center of which is embroidered with silver thread;

—1 shoulder-belt of chamois, embroidered with silver and gold thread;

—1 military jacket of flax, used, lined with white blanket [material];

—1 pair of breeches of "sayasaya," wide, embroidered with silk;¹

—6 pairs of woolen stockings, used;

—21 pairs of drawers, of cotton, used;

—Also, another suitcase of over 2 feet in length and a little over 1 foot in height, with its lock and key, and inside the following:

—Firstly, 16 shirts with 11 pairs of white trousers, all used;²

—4 white waistcoats, used;

—1 dozen jock straps, [already] used;

—5 linen handkerchiefs;

—2 pairs of sleeves for doublets, white with suspenders(?);

—3 plain handkerchiefs, used;

—4 frilled collars of lace, used;

—1 cloth cap of flask;

—2 small magnetic compasses;

—Also, 1 writing desk from Japan [i.e. lacquered], encased in woven rattan, with its lock and key and with 6 drawers, inside which were:

1 Ed. note: Sayasaya itself was a type of Chinese silk (ref. B&R 44:267), more like taffeta (Doc. 1707E).

2 Ed. note: There were only 9 pairs left when the royal officials took charge of the property a few days later.

—1 record-book bound with parchment and entitled: “List of the Spanish company. Valid as of the year 1680 and after,” with writing on 20 sheets and the rest blank;

—also, another book entitled: “List of the Governors, Captains General, and other officers of the first order. Valid as of the year 1680 and after,” with all its sheets blank;

—1 bundle of service documents, appointments, orders, lists, and censuses, consisting of a total of 58 folios;

—and 4 quarter-pounds of writing paper.

—Also, another bundle of service papers, certificates and plans,¹ a total of 50 sheets, all written, and in part:

—4 bundles of government letters, and from various persons,

—another bundle of letters that fill 11-1/2 folios;

—10 sealed letters, addressed to various persons in Manila, Santiago [de Chile], and Madrid,

—another letter, open, addressed to His Most Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas,²

—another bundle of letters, open, from various persons,

—1 inkstand,

—1 pounce-box [or sand-box for writing],

—and 1 seal to seal letters, all of bronze,

—2 pairs of scissors, small,

—1 very small ration book,

—1 small nautical compass, of ivory,

—1 small telescope,

—1 small piece of loadstone inside a small rattan box,

—another small box of same material with a few small pieces of old broken silver,

—and 1 of the 6 drawers full of trinkets of all sorts and stones [flints?] for shotguns,

—Also, another average-size rattan suitcase with table-cloths and napkins, and some pewter plates, and shoes.

—Also, 1 folding bed [i.e. camp cot], bedsheets, pillows, and a bed canopy.³

—Also, 1 average-size camping chair.

—**Also, 1 canoe from the Marianas.**

—Also, one large double-outrigger canoe that said Sergeant-Major Damian Esplana has chartered and it belongs to the Mayor of Albay.

This concluded said seizure, because no other goods belonging to said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana were found, and said Senior Justice handed it over to Captain Juan de Herrera, a soldier of this Port, who took charge of them, and he ordered him to take them to the City of Manila, and deliver them to the royal official judges, for them to hold in store. And also, said Captain Juan de Herrera, having taken charge

1 Ed. note: One of them was probably the plan of Fort Guadalupe in Agaña.

2 Ed. note: Archbishop of Mexico, and relative of Quiroga. The letter was probably from Quiroga.

3 Ed. note: Or bed-tent, possibly with mosquito netting.

of everything, took charge of the person of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana in order to deliver him as prisoner to the Castle and Fort Santiago of the City of Manila, to the Warden of said Castle, to be held there as prisoner, until His Lordship orders otherwise.

[Arrest of Esplana's companions]

And for the full compliance of said written order and the contents thereof, said Senior Justice and Warden of this said Port ordered the incarceration in the Castle of San Felipe of this port of the following persons:

—Adjutant Francisco Asparria,

—Adjutant Sebastian Luis,

—Second-Lieutenant Francisco Antonio Risueño,

—and Francisco Beltrán, a professed member of the Order of St. John of God.¹

—All five [sic]² are Spanish soldiers, and also five Indian persons, men posted to the Marianas, who are:

—Captain Pedro Vasquez with his wife,³

—Adjutant Mateo de Vara [rather Ibarra],

—Bernardo de Carpio,

—and Juan de la Cruz of Cavite,

in order for them to be kept in said Castle until His Lordship the Governor and Captain General orders what he pleases.

Consequently, His Grace declared that he was giving and did give compliance to what was ordered in said written order and His Grace signed it, and said Captain Juan de Herrera as the person who has assumed responsibility for everything, as declared, of which I certify.

Pedro de Orisololo

Juan de Herrera Valdés

Before me, Juan de Trujillo, Notary public.

C4. Declaration of the surgeon, fray Francisco Beltrán

Original text in Spanish.

Declaracion de Francisco Beltran cirujano, y reçien venido de las Islas Marianas con el Governador de ellas, de 36 años.

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- 1 Ed. note: This religious hospitaler was a native of Manila. He served as interim Superior of his Order in the Philippines from August 1697 to August 1698 (ref. B&R 47:193).
 - 2 Ed. note: Error of omission in this copy; the fifth soldier was Bartolomew Rivera (see particulars below).
 - 3 Ed. note: His wife was a native of Guam (see Doc. 1689B2). Father Kuklein, or Cuculino, also came, but was not directly concerned in this affair.

En la Ciudad de Manila en tres días del mes de Abril de mil seis cientos ochenta y ocho años ... hize parecer ante my a un hombre que dixo llamarse Francisco Beltran y que avra tiempo de dos menses a lo que se quiere acordar que salio de las Islas Marianas de una de ellas que llaman Guaja [sic] a donde estava en plaza de Zirujano al qual yo el presente escrivano en virtud de la Comision a mi dada por dicho decreto le rezivi juramento...

Al thenor de la carta... remittida desde la Provincia de Albay por el Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana Governador de las Islas Marianas...

*Dixo que a lo que se quiere acordar el día siete u ocho del mes de febrero passado de este presente año el dho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana Governador de dichas Islas Marianas aperçivio a este declarante y a un Ayudante vivo de dho Presidio de Marianas y a dos Ayudantes reformados y luego dixo quiera un Ayudante y un Alférez reformado, y un soldado estos todos Españoles y luego Dixo que se acordava avian salido tambien otro Ayudante y otro Alférez reformado que por todos eran con este declarante siete Españoles y assi mismo otros seis soldados Pampangos en que se incluyen un Capitan, un Alferes y un Ayudante reformados que estaban sirviendo sus plazas en el presidio de dhas Islas Marianas Gobierno de dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana, y que dicho Sargento mayor como tal Governador de dichas Islas los aperçivio a todos para venir en su compañía a esta Ciudad de Manila como de hecho se embarcaron en un barco pequeño dicho Sargento mayor y las personas referidas en que trayan armas de fuego como son escopetas y que llegaron a la Provincia de Albay todos assi dicho Governador de dichas Islas como las demas personas que tiene referidas, y que desde la provincia de Albay se vinieron en una banca dejando alla la dicha embarcacion y que este declarante se hallo en dichas Islas al tiempo y quando dicho su Governador hizo la propoçion para venirse a esta çiudad y le oyo [decir] que su venida era a curarse por hallarse emfermo y a saver si estas Islas estaban perdidas o que estado tenían y que para aver de venir lo comunico con diferentes perssonas de las de su pocesion que se hallan en dichas Islas Marianas y que esto y assi mismo para de buelta de viage llevarse el situado de aquellas Islas le motivo al dicho Governador el venir a esta Ciudad porque se hallava aflixido por que le achacavan que la falta de socorro en ellas havia sido el haver escrito a la Nao **Santa Rossa** no llegase al Puerto porque estava alli el enemigo, y que todo lo que dicho tiene es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo y ratifíco y declaro ser de hedad de treinta y seis años, y que no le toca en las Generales, y lo firmo de que doy fee.*

Françisco Beltran.

Ante my Joan de Quintanilla Escrivano publico.

Translation.

Declaration of Francisco Beltrán, surgeon, recently arrived from the Mariana Islands with their Governor, of 36 years of age.

In the City of Manila, on 3 April 1688... I summoned to appear before me a man who said his name was Francisco Beltrán and that about two months ago, as far as he can recall, he left the Mariana Islands, from one of them called Guaja [sic] where he filled the post of Surgeon, to whom I, the present notary, by virtue of the Commission given to me by said decree, administered the oath...

To the tenor of the letter... sent from the Province of Albay by Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of the Mariana Islands...

He declared that, as far as he can recall, on the 17th of the month of February last of the present year, said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of said Mariana Islands, sent for this declarant and one Adjutant in service in said Garrison of the Marianas, and two reclassified Adjutants and then he declared to them that he wanted one serving Adjutant and one reclassified Second-Lieutenant, and one soldier, all of them Spanish, and then he Declared that he recalls also that another Adjutant and another reclassified Second-Lieutenant had left, plus six more Pampango soldiers as well, among whom were one Captain, one Second-Lieutenant and one Adjutant, all reclassified, who were serving in their posts in the garrison of said Mariana Islands, Government of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, and that said Sergeant-Major, in his capacity as Governor of said Islands, warned them all to prepare to come in his company to this City of Manila, as in fact happened. Said Sergeant-Major and the above-mentioned persons boarded a small boat, aboard which they brought firearms, like shotguns, and that they all arrived at the Province of Albay, not only said Governor of said Islands but also the other persons that he has mentioned, and that from the province of Albay they came aboard an outrigger canoe, leaving there said boat, and that this declarant found himself in said Islands at the time, and when the said his Governor proposed to him to come to this city and he heard him say that his coming was to cure himself, on account of his being sick, and to find out if these Islands had been lost or what condition they were in, and that since he had to come he communicated with various persons under his authority who reside in said Mariana Islands and for this [reason] and also in order to bring back the subsidy of those Islands on the return voyage, motivated said Governor to come to this City because he was afflicted, on account of being worried by the lack of succor there and that, by his writing to the galleon **Santa Rosa**, he caused her not to stop at the Port [of Umatac in 1686] because the enemy was there, and that everything he has said is the truth, under the oath he made, which he affirmed, ratified and he declared to be of 36 years of age, and that he is not involved with the courts,¹ and he signed it, of which I certify.

Francisco Beltrán.

Before me Juan de Quintanilla, Notary public.²

...

[Synopsis: Another witness was Bartolomé de Rivera, 22 years old; he also said that there were 13 military people in the boat (7 Spaniards and 6 Pampangos) and also 4 servants. He professed to know nothing of the possible motives that Esplana may have had in coming to the Philippines. The next witness was the Filipino soldier, Matheo Ibarra, 29 years old; nothing new. The next was the Filipino Captain Pedro Vasquez, 30 years old, and illiterate; he added the detail that the group boarded the outrigger

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- 1 Ed. note: In other words, either he has no criminal record, or at least he is not wanted, or perhaps not involved in any other legal suit.
 - 2 Ed. note: It seems incredible that the so-called surgeon was not asked one single question as to the real status of Esplana's health. Beltrán, however, had obtained permission from his Superior, Fray Antonio de Robles, the Prior of the Convent of St. John of God, to make this declaration.

canoe at a place called Cagaal. Bernardo de Carpio, 25 years old, was another Pampango witness; nothing new. Juan Bautista, 25-year-old, added nothing new. Adjutant Sebastian Luis, 25-year-old, was similarly vague. Lieutenant Juan [or Francisco]Antonio Risueño, 34, repeated the same short story. Adjutant Francisco Asparri [or Asparria], 32, was not much use either. So, the prosecuting attorney proceeded to take Esplana's confession. The latter was summoned on 7 April.]

C5. Confession of Major Esplana

Original text in Spanish.

Confesion del Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana de hedad de 51 años.

En el Castillo y Fuerza de Santiago de esta Ciudad de Manila en siete dias del mes de Abril de mill seis cientos y ochenta y ocho años haviendo venido yo el presente escrivano publico y oficial mayor de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Islas a dicha Fuerza y Castillo de Santiago para efecto de tomarle la confesion al Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana que se halla presso en ello y en virtud de la Commission que para dicho efecto se me da por el decreto de Su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas su fecha de seis del corriente que esta a foxas dies, y ocho de estos autos y en virtud de dicha Commission hiço parecer ante my a un hombre que se halla presso en dicha fuerza al qual le rezivi juramento que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de una cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometio de desir verdad de lo que supiere en lo que se le fuere preguntado y siendo lo como se llama[,] de donde es natural[,] que ofiçio y hedad tiene:

Dixo llamarse el Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana y ser natural de la çiudad de los Reyes en el Peru y que su ofiçio ha sido y es servir a su Magestad en plazas militares de treinta y siete años a esta parte hasta llegar hazer Governador actual de las Islas Marianas como al presente lo es, y Theniente General de Governador de estas Islas Philipinas en los cargos de Capitan General en virtud de proviçion Real que para exerçer dichos cargos tubo emanada de Su Magestad de que haze presentaçion en debida forma, y pide a mi el escrivano la acomule a esta su Confesion la qual dicha Real proviçion exçivio ante-my el escrivano y queda acomulada a esta Confession de que doy fee. Y que es de hedad de cinquenta y un años y esto responde.

Preguntadole si save la causa de su priçion[,] dixo que no la save. Y esto responde.

Preguntadole como niega no saver la caussa de su priçion quando consta estado por aver faltado a la obligasion que deven observar y guardar los buenos soldados y en particular los que se hallan en puestos de tanta graduasion como en el que se hallava de Governador de dichas Islas Marianas y a cuyo cargo estavan y aver dejado dicho su Gobierno y sin licencia averse venido a estas Islas sin tenerla de su Magestad ni de su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador, y Capitan General de ellas.

Dixo que la merzed que se le hizo de Governador de dichas Islas Marianas y theniente General de Governador de estas Philipinas en los cargos de Capitan General se enzierra el atender y acudir a los reparos de la nezciedad assi de aquellas Marianas que estava gobernando como de estas Philipinas y que en atension a haver le faltado el socorro en dichas Islas Marianas tres años y no tener notiçia alguna de el estado de estas Islas Philipinas ni aver visto en todo este tiempo navio de ella de los que van y vienen por el çituado Real de unas, y otras, y antes si aver adquirido notiçias de que muchos enemigos piratas avian passado a estas costas, considerando se hallarian estas Islas en algun peligro y teniendo las de su Govier-

no del confessante en estremas neceçidades por la falta de dichos socorros por aclamaciones grandes de todos los Padres Ministros de dichas Islas Marianas y del Padre Vice Provincial de ellos se determinó el confessante a pasar a estas a dos vissos el primero como theniente General de estas Islas en los cargos de Capitan General de el Señor Governador de ellas para saver el estado en que estaban y si en casso de hallarlas en alguna afliccion pudiera emplearse en el servicio de su Magestad, y obligazion de dicho su cargo, y en casso de hallarlas como las ha hallado en quieta paz suplicar a su Señoria el Señor Governador le socorriese con lo necessario del zituado de dichas Marianas, y volverse luego al punto a ellas para aliviarlas de la mucha necesidad que oy estan padeziendo por falta de dicho socorro y que para aver de hazer dicha salida y pasar a estas Islas sin embargo de la obligazion por razon de dicho su título hizo junta general con todos los religiosos ministros de dichas Islas Marianas y se resolvió en ella ser preciso el embiar persona de entera satisfacion por socorro a estas Islas por la estrema neçesidad en que se hallavan aquellas y que biendo el comfesante la resolusion de dha junta y que no avia en todas las dhas Islas Marianas persona alguna a quien poder remitir a estas para dicho efecto sin embargo de hallarse el confesante falto de salud se determino a venir en perssona assi por dicho socorro para lo que lleva confesado y que para mayor conprovacion haze presentasion de la dha junta general, y pidió a mi el presente escrivano la acomulase a esta confesion y esto responde.

Regreguntado que persona deço en su lugar que governaçe dichas Islas por su auçiençia.

Dixo que dexo al Sargento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga que lo es en dichas Islas Marianas como persona consignada en los mesmos cargos de Governador de dichas Islas Marianas y theniente General de estas, en los cargos de Capitan General como de dicho su título consta y esto responde.

Regreguntadole como dize que en dichas Islas Marianas no avia persona de entera satisfacion que poder embiar a estas por dicho socorro quando consta por esta su mesma confesion aver tenido entera satisfacion del dicho Sargento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga para entregarle su Gobierno, y no la tubo para que viniese por dicho socorro.

Dixo que aunque tubo entera satisfacion para entregarle en su lugar el Gobierno a dicho Sargento mayor, y que la tenia tambien para embiarlo por dicho socorro atendio primero a la caussa principal que era el mal estado en que jusgo hallar estas Islas y que de embiar a dicho Sargento mayor hallandose como se hallava el confesante enfermo en casso de falleçer no avia en dichas Islas Marianas quien pudiese ocupar su lugar y assi atendiendo a esto como a tocarle por derecho la susesion de su persona le dexo en su lugar y no le embio por dicho socorro y esto responde.

Preguntadole que recaudos tiene o tubo para entrar a exercer el cargo de tal Governador de dichas Islas Marianas.

Dixo que no tubo mas recaudo que la Real proviçion que tiene manifestada y aver entrado a exercer dicho cargo en virtud de ella por muerte del Maestre de campo Don Antonio Saravia Governador que era de dichas Islas y esto responde.

Preguntado lo que si no save que ningun soldado puede dejar la plaza o puesto que es de su cargo y en espeçial un Gobierno de un reyno sin que tenga expresa licencia para ello y mas quando tiene hecho pleyto [ho]menaje de aquella plaza.

[Description of Agaña in 1688]

Dixo que en manera alguna tiene hecho ni hizo pleito [ho]menaje ni tenia para que hazerlo lo primero por no haver fuerza alguna en dichas Islas Marianas de que se huviese hecho cargo ni pleyto [ho]me-

naje de ella por que es una cossa supuesta y tan solamente de nombre el dezir ay fuerza en dichas Islas[,] pues mas se pudiera decir un corral compuesto de una zerca de lodo a modo de vallado que no sirve mas que para recojer en ella la infanteria que ay sin que ayga artilleria ni otros peltrechos de guerra algunos mas que tan solamente las armas que tiene cada soldado, y que en quanto a lo demas que la pregunta contiene se remite a lo que dicho tiene y esto responde.

Preguntadole como dize que passo a estas Islas con los pretextos y por las razones que tiene confessadas en esta su confession quando de su mesma carta que esta a foxa primera de estos autos que remitio a su Señoria el Señor Governador consta de lo contrario.

Dixo que de la misma carta consta haver venido por socorro para dichas Islas Marianas y que en ella no avia de poner todas las çircunstançias que tiene confessadas ni devio ponerlas sino que representarlas a voca a su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas al tiempo de versele la mano y en casso necessario entonces haria presentacion de los mesmos recaudos que tiene al presente exsividos y esto responde.

Y siendo le fechas otras preguntas, y repreguntas tocante al casso a todas Dixo: que se remite a lo que tiene dicho y confessado en esta su confesion y que todo es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo, y ratifico, y lo firmo de que doy fee.

Damian de Esplana

Antemy Joan de Quintanilla Escrivano publico.

Translation.

Confession of Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, 51 years old.

In the Castle and Fortress of Santiago of this City of Manila, on 7 April 1688. I, the present notary public, and senior official for administration and war of these Islands, having come to said Fortress and Castle of Santiago for the purpose of recording the confession of Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana who is kept as a prisoner there, and by virtue of the Commission that for said purpose was given me by the decree of His Lordship the President, Governor and Captain-General of these Islands dated 6th of the present month, as appears on folio 18 of this record of proceedings and by virtue of said Commission, I summoned before me a man who is presently a prisoner in said fortress. He was sworn in, and did so by taking God our Lord as witness and with the sign of the cross, according to law, and under said oath he promised to tell the truth of what he might know in answering questions, and being asked for his name, his birth place, and what occupation he has and how old he is:

He declared that his name is Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana and was born in the City of the Kings [i.e. Lima] in Peru and that his occupation has been to serve His Majesty in military posts for the past 37 years¹ until becoming the present Governor of the Mariana Islands, as he is at present, and Lieutenant-General of Governor of these Philippine Islands in his functions of Captain-General by virtue of a Royal provision to exercise said functions that was issued by His Majesty, of which he makes a presentation in due form, and requests me, the notary, to add it to this his confession;

¹ Ed. note: If so, he started out as a boy soldier, at 14 years of age!

said provision he exhibited before me the notary and it is annexed to this confession, of which I certify. And that he is 51 years old, and so he answers.

When asked if he knows the reason for his imprisonment, he declares that he does not know. And this he answers.

When asked how he can say that he does not know the reason for his imprisonment when it is stated that it is for having failed in the duty that good soldiers must observe and obey and specially those who fill posts of such high rank, as is that of Governor of said Mariana Islands, and in whose charge they were and had left this his Government and had come to these Islands without permission from His Majesty or from His Lordship the President, Governor and Captain General of them.

He declared that the favor done to him of the governorship of said Mariana Islands and Lieutenant-General of Governor of these Philippines in his functions of Captain-General implies taking care and paying attention to the need, not just of those Marianas which he was governing but also of these Philippines, and that as far as the lack of succor for three years in said Mariana Islands is concerned, and his not having received any news of the condition of these Philippine Islands, nor having seen in all this time any of their ships that go and come for the Royal subsidy of the ones and the others, but rather having received news that many enemy pirates had passed to these coasts, considering that these Islands might be found in some danger and having those under his own government in extreme necessity for the lack of said succors, on account of the great reclamations by all the Father ministers of said Mariana Islands and by their Father Vice-Provincial, the confessant decided to come to these Islands with a double purpose: the first one was as Lieutenant-General of these Islands in his functions of Captain-General of the Governor of them to find out the condition they were in and, in case he found them with some affliction, to see if he could be employed in the service of His Majesty, and to do the duty of his position, and in case he found them, as he has found them, at peace, to beg His Lordship the Governor to succor him with necessities from the subsidy of said Marianas, and then return immediately there to alleviate the great need that suffer under presently for lack of said succor. And that in order to make said departure and passage to these Islands, notwithstanding the duty by reason of his title, he held a general meeting with all the religious ministers of said Mariana Islands and it was decided in it that it was necessary to send a person of entire satisfaction to these Islands for the succor, on account of the extreme necessity that they were under and that, when the confessant saw the decision of said meeting, and that the absence in all the said Islands of any person whom he could send to these Islands for said purpose, notwithstanding the confessant's bad state of health, still he decided to come in person for said succor and this he confesses, and that for greater comprehension he makes a presentation of said general meeting, and requested me the present notary to annex it to this confession, and so he answers.

When asked again to say what person he left to govern said Islands in his place in his absence:

He declared that he left Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga who acts as such in said Mariana Islands, as a person assigned the same functions of Governor of said Mariana Islands and Lieutenant-General of these, in his functions of Captain-General as mentioned in his letter of appointment, and so he answers.

When asked again why he says that in said Mariana Islands there was no-one of entire satisfaction whom he could send to these Islands for said succor when he states in this his confession that he had gotten enough satisfaction from said Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga to turn over his Government to him, but he had not enough to send him for said succor:

He declared that although he had enough satisfaction to turn the Government over to said Sergeant-Major, and that he had also enough to send him for said succor, he paid attention first to the main reason, that was the bad condition that he thought might be affecting these Islands and that if he had sent said Sergeant-Major, while he the confessant was sick, in case of his death, there would not have been in said Mariana Islands anyone who could have occupied his place and so, for this reason, and for the fact that he legally has a claim on the succession, he left him in his place and he did not send him for said succor, and so he answers.

When asked what provisions he has or had for beginning to exercise the function of Governor of the Mariana Islands:

He declared that he had no provision other than the Royal provision that he has exhibited and he had begun to exercise said function by virtue of same, on account of the death of Master-of-camp Don Antonio Saravia, the former Governor of said Islands, and so he answers.

When asked if he did not know that no soldier may leave the post assigned to him and specially the government of a kingdom without an express permission for it, and specially so when he has taken an oath of allegiance in that post:

[Description of Agaña in 1688]

He declared that in no way did he make or swear an oath of allegiance, nor did he have reason to do so, firstly because there was no army at all in said Mariana Islands that he could have taken over nor an oath of allegiance received from it, because it is well known that **the fort in said Islands is a fortified place in name only; in fact, one could say better that it is but a enclosure made up of a wall of mud [i.e. adobe bricks] in the style of a stockade** used only to collect the existing infantry inside of it, without any gun emplacements nor any other war equipment, except the weapons that each soldier has, and as far as the rest of the question is concerned, he refers to what he said earlier, and so he answers.

When asked how it is that he came to these Islands with the pretexts and for the reasons that he has already confessed in this his confession when in his very own letter, which is on folio 1 of these records that he sent to His Lordship the Governor, he states the opposite:

He declared that the letter in question states that he has come for the succor of said Mariana Islands and that in it he did not have to put all the circumstances that he has confessed, nor did he have to write them all, but he intended to present them verbally to His Lordship the President, Governor and Captain-General of these Islands at the time he would kiss his hand, and in case it was necessary then, he would have presented the same provisions that he has exhibited at present, and so he answers.

And after other questions were asked of him, and answered, concerning the case, to all he declared that he refers to what he has already said and confessed in this his confession and that it is the whole truth, under the oath already taken, which he affirmed, and ratified, and he signed it, of which I certify.

Damian de Esplana

Before me, Juan de Quintanilla, Notary public.

C6. Letter of appointment of Governor Esplana

Original text in Spanish.

Titulo Provision Real.—Don Carlos Por la Grazia de Dios Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalem, de Portugal, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valenzia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Cordova, de Corçiga, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Argarves, de Algezira, de Hibraltar, de las Islas de Canaria, de las Indias Orientales, y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme, del mar oceano, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, de Brabant y Milen, Conde de Abspurg, de Flandes, de Tirol y Barzelona, Señor de Viscaya, y de Molina, &ca.

*Por quanto es contingente que aya fallecido o fallestca el Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Zaravia que nombre por Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas conbiene a mi real servicio proveer persona que por su fallestimiento entre a gobernar la que sea de todo satisvaçion y confianza y de las partes que se requieren practica, y experiensia militar[.] por concurrir estas en la de Vos el Sargento Mayor Damian de Esplana que vais embarcado en la Balandra **San Francisco Xavier** a dichas Islas por Cavo superior de ella he tenido y tengo por bien de os elegir, y nombrar como por el presente os elijo y nombro con acuerdo del Maestro de Campo Don Joan de Vargas Urtado Cavallero del Orden de Santiago de mi Consejo mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi real Audiencia de ellas por Governador de las Marianas y theniente General de dho mi Governador de Philipinas en los cargos de Capitan general para que los vieis, y exersais en todos los cassos, y cossas a ellos anexas, y perteneçientes segun y como lo han usado pueden y deven usar los Governadores nombrados por el suso dho Maestro de Campo Don Joan de Vargas Urtado a quien he ordenado y encargado por repetidas cedulas el fomento, y cuydado de aquella mision, y Presidio y os conzedo todas las onrras[.] gracias[.] merçedes[.] libertades[.] prerrogativas[.] exempçiones[.] inmunidades, y todos los honores y preheminençias que por razon de ellos os son devidos y perteneçientes sin que os falte cossa alguna.*

Y todos los ofziales mayores, y menores de guerra[.] infanteria y demas personas que viven y residen en las dichas Islas Marianas os ayan rezivan, y tengan por Governador y tal y theniente General en ellas y os acaten[.] obedezcan, y respeten[.] guarden, y cumplan Vuestros ordenes en los terminos y solas penas que impusieren que para executarlas en los inobedientes os doy plena facultad, y poder bastante.

Y por falta de dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana os mando a Vos el Capitan Don Joseph de Quiroga entreis a exercer dichos cargos en caso de fallecimiento de dicho Maestro de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia como si con Vos hablase de que dareis noticia a dicho mi Governador de Philipinas para que me de quenta.

Dado en la Ciudad de Manila en primero de Julio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres años.

Don Joan de Vargas Urtado.

Yo el Capitan Mateo Lopez Perea escrivano mayor de la Governazion y Guerra de estas Islas Philipinas la fise [=hice] escrivir por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, su Presidente y Governador y Capitan General en su nombre,

Chansiller Joan Lopez Perea, y Abalos.

Translation.

Appointment by Royal provision.—Don Carlos, by the grace of God King of Castile, León, Aragon, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordoba, of Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies, the Islands and the Mainland, the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant and Millen, Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol and Barcelona, Lord of Biscaya, and of Molina, etc.

Whereas it is contingent that Master-of-camp Antonio de Saravia has died or might die, he who was named Governor and Captain-General of the Mariana Islands, it is convenient for my royal service, in case he should die, to provide for a person to replace him as Governor, one who would be of total satisfaction and trust, and experienced in the necessary military aspects. As these are found in You, Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, who is going to said Islands aboard the sloop **San Francisco Xavier** as its senior commander, I have decided to elect you and appoint you, as I by the present elect you and appoint you, with the agreement of Master-of-camp Juan de Vargas Urtado, Knight of the Order of St. James, of my Council, my Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia there, as Governor of the Mariana Islands and Lieutenant-General of said my Governor of the Philippines in his functions of Captain-General, in order for you to see and exercise them in all cases, and things connected with them, and belonging to them, according to what has been done and must be done by the Governors appointed by the above-said Master-of-camp Juan de Vargas Urtado, whom I have ordered and to whom I have entrusted by repeated decrees, the development and care of that mission, and Garrison, I grant you all the honors, favors, freedoms, prerogatives, exemptions, immunities, and all the honors and pre-eminences that on their account are due and belong to them, without anything being excluded.

And all the senior and junior officers of war, infantry, and other persons who happen to live and reside in said Mariana Islands, are to receive and accept you as Governor and as such and Lieutenant-General there and to heed, obey, respect and comply

with Your orders under the terms and under the penalties to be imposed only on those who do not obey, I give you full authority, and sufficient power.

And in the absence of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, I order You, Captain Don José de Quiroga, to begin to exercise said functions in case of the death of said Master-of-camp Antonio de Saravia, as if I were speaking with You, of which you are to notify the said my Governor of the Philippines, in order for him to report to me.

Made at the City of Manila on the 1st of July 1683.

Don Juan de Vargas Urtado.

I, Captain Mateo Lopez Perea, senior notary in the Administration and War Department of these Philippine Islands, had this drafted by mandate from the King our Lord, his President and Governor and Captain-General on his behalf,

Chancellor Juan Lopez Perea y Abalos.

C7. Letter from Fr. Bouwens, Agaña January 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Consulta.—*El Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana theniente de Capitan general y Governador de las Islas Marianas atendiendo a lo mucho que aca se necesita de los socorros que por quenta aparte de su Magestad al pasar por esta Isla de Guahan suelen traer las Naos haciendo su tornaviage para Manila; los quales socorros han faltado estos dos años de ochenta y seis, y ochenta y siete, y porque pudiera ser que en este de ochenta y ocho suçeda otro tanto con peligro evidente de perezar la gente sin poderlo remediar, pidio dicho Governador Don Damian de Esplana al Padre Gerardo Vovens por ser Superior de los suyos y Vice Provincial en esta mission le diese su parecer sobre si conbiene al bien publico de la dicha mission el que se despache la embarcacion que dicho Governador ya tenia hecha, y no cecesitaba mas de algunas obras muertas a fin de ir a soli[ci]tar en Manila lo necessario para mantener y adelantar al Real y divino servicio en estas Islas.*

Obedeziendo pues yo el dicho Padre Gerardo Bovens a dicha orden del Governador Don Damian de Esplana consulte la materia con los demas Padres misioneros, y de comun acuerdo jugamos todos no solo conbenir sino ser necessario el que se despache a Manila la dha embarcacion en la forma que mejor pareciere al dicho Governador Don Damian de Esplana el qual para mas asegurar a negoçio tan importante, y por no hallar a otro tan a proposito para el buen expediente y juntamente por ser tales los achaques de dicho Governador que necesitan de ponerse en cura la qual es cierto no lo ay aca determino de embarcarse en persona dejando con esperanza de conseguir lo que se desea para servicio de ambas Magestades y para que consta donde conviene ser assi verdad di la presente firmada de mi mano.

Agadña y enero de mill seiscientos ochenta y ocho. Gerardo Bovens

Translation.

Consultation.—Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, Lieutenant of Captain-General and Governor of the Mariana Islands, in view of the great need here for the succors that on a separate account of His Majesty are usually brought in by the galleons that pass by this Island of Guahan on their return voyage to Manila, said succors have failed [to arrive] these past two years of 1686 and 1687, and because of the possi-

bility that it may yet fail this year 1688, at the obvious risk of the people perishing without any remedy, said Governor Damian de Esplana asked Father Gerardo Bovens, on account of his being Superior of his people and Vice-Provincial of this mission, to give him his opinion on whether or not it is convenient for the public good of said mission to despatch the boat that said Governor had already made ready, and needing only some carpentry work, in order to go and seek in Manila the necessities to maintain and advance the Royal and divine service in these Islands.

Therefore, in obeying said order from the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, I, said Father Gerardo Bovens, consulted the matter with the other missionary Fathers, and the consensus was that it was not only convenient but necessary to despatch said boat to Manila in the best manner that said Governor could possibly do in order to achieve such an important business, and because he could not find another person as suitable as he for the good processing thereof, and jointly because the illness of said Governor was such that he needed a cure, and it is certain that such a cure is not available here, he decided to personally embark, leaving with the hope of getting what he wishes for the service of both Majesties and, to whom it may concern, and in faith whereof, I have signed the present with my name.

Agadña, January 1688.

Gerardo Bovens

[This is followed by a petition by Captain Juan de Angulo, the prosecuting attorney, in which he maintains the accusation, in spite of the confession and the two above-mentioned documents, and begs that justice be done. The presiding judge gave Esplana 9 days to hire himself a defending attorney or have one appointed by the court. He chose Captain Luis de Escobar to defend him. This was a good choice, as Escobar was Relator or Reporter for the Audiencia. He, in turn, called all the witnesses who had made depositions during the summary investigation, but only to have them ratify their earlier statements. Finally he presented a petition.]

C8. Extracts from Captain Escobar's petition to the court

Original text in Spanish.

Digo que sin embargo de todo lo alegado en ellos V. Señoría mediante justicia se ha de servir de absolver a dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana de la culpa que se le imputa declarando por justos los motivos de su venida y aver cumplido dicho Sargento mayor con sus precisas obligaciones por lo que de los mismos Auttos en su favor se halla que en lo general lo he por expreso repetido, y siguiente:

Lo otro por que todo lo alegado por partes de dicho Promotor fiscal recae en suposicion de la regla general de que el soldado no deve dejar el puesto sin orden del superior, cuya regla tiene muchas fallenzias, y exempçiones que latamente se expresan en las leyes militares y en terminos mas estrechos pues tratando de los que se alejan de su exercito sin licenzia del superior y las penas en que incurrn excluye de ellas entre otros al que se ausento por enfermedad o por ver a sus Padres de que se sigue que la general

prohibiçion de no desamparar el soldado el puesto, o el exercito padeze muchas limitaciones, y se conuenze que casso negado que la venida de dicho Sargento mayor fuese solo a curarse constando ser çierto el motivo le favorezca espresa desiçion de derecho con que asistiendo le a dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana mas justificados motivos para su venida y demas considerazion de los que expresan dichas leyes se sigue que constando dichos motivos no solo deve ser absuelto sino que como a soldado de asertada y zelosa resoluzion se le deve tener a bien y hazerse le mayores merçedes por su venida por averse seguido de ella el unico consuelo de la poca gente cristiana que con tanto desconsuelo estava en las Marianas.

...

... dicho Sargento mayor esta tan experimentado que de su esfuerzo, industria, y disposicion se deve la pacifiçacion y poblacion de las Marianas pues fue el primero que arbolo banderas de su Magestad y hizo alarde de las fuerzas cristianas en dhas Islas, y no haviendo havido quien consiga el llevar de estas a ellas socorro alguno es el unico que a fuer de dificultades rompio el mar en 1683, y metio el socorro que aunque en esta parte es la mayor la de la suerte essa solo basto para alentarle para venir y volver con el socorro con el favor de Dios que siempre lo imparte a los que con buena voluntad se emplean en tan Christianos hechos.

...

Lo otro que dicha venida se halla vestido de otro fundamento de mucha estimazion qual es el hallarse dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana con el titulo, y Real Provision que lo constituye no solo Gobernador de las Islas Marianas sino theniente General de estas en los cargos de Capitan General con cuyo titulo y las presumpçiones tan verosimiles de que estas dichas Islas estavan fatigadas de Piratas pudo y devio venir a reconocerlas, y saver de su estado, y en casso de invaçion emplear su perssona en su defensa con que por esta parte se justifica mas bien la venida de dicho Gobernador.

[False description of Agaña in 1688]

*Lo otro que los demas requisitos que dicho Promotor fiscal expresa de juramento y pleito omenaje no intervinieron ni an existido por que dicho Sargento mayor entro a gobernar dhas Islas Marianas sin alguna de essas solemnidades por lo que quedar ligado de **no haver fuerza[,] castillo[,] valuarte[,] ciudad ni muro ni plaza de armas sino una rancheria de quatro cassas de paja en una campaña sin artilleria ni plataforma que constituya fuerza** de que se sigue que por esta parte se consideraron mas estimazion los motivos de la venida del dicho Sargento mayor pues no se les puede oponer el juramento ni el pleyto omenaje, y tan previsto estava esto que siendo clausula ordinaria de los titulos que lo le quieren no se halla la contenga la dicha Real Proviçion con que ni aun la presumpçion de que se havia se puede fundar por estar constante la virtud prohibiçion en dicho titulo que es en tanto grado nezessaria la clausula en que se manda hazer el pleyto omenaje que quando no se señala el sugeto en cuyas manos se ha de hazer se pone se haga en la forma acostumbrada de lo qual se conuenze quedar desvanezido el fundamento contrario, y caso negativo que a dicho Sargento mayor se le huviese mandado hazer juramento y pleyto omenaje y que constase le huviese hecho tan poco era impedimento ni faltava a el en el caso presente por la nezesidad prezisa de su benida...*

...

6° Si saven que en dichas Islas Marianas no ay ciudad[,] villa o lugar alguno que tenga forma de republica ni de plaza de armas ni presidio por no aver ni sugetos de que se forman, ni fortifiçacion hecha

ni artilleria de que adornarla ni gente suficiente a su guarnizion sino que solo se compone de unas casillas de paja en despoblado...

7º Si saven que los Indios naturales de dichas Islas no tienen forma militar de hazer invaziones ni obediencia ni caudillos, ni aun de noche sino que solo se suelen valer de juntarse alguna tropa, y tiran algunas piedras y a vezes procuran introducir fuego, y que esto no es ordinario sino quando fingen alguna razon de sentimiento, y que quando dicho Governador salió no avia funzion ni rezelo de ella...

8º Si saven que el dicho Governador Damian de Esplana fue el primer Capitan que acaudillo los Españoles para la introduzion de los ministros evangelicos en dichas Islas, y pazificasion de los que los resistian poniendo su vida en muchos peligros, y que aviendose retirado a estas Islas y estado en ellas algunos años proseguendo el servicio de su Magestad en los puestos de Sargento mayor de Cavite y de este Real Campo[,] Governador de la Provinzia de Zebu y no haverse podido conseguir nunca el llevar socorro de estas Islas a las de las Marianas por aver arribado los que yban se hecho mano del dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana mediante cuya animocidad y persistenzia en las tormentas consiguió el llegar a ellas con el socorro...

9º Si saven que estando para volverse a estas Islas fallezio el Governador propietario de dhas Marianas por cuya muerte y en virtud de la Real Proviçion que dicho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana llevo suzedio y entró en dicho Gobierno sin solemnidad de pleyto omenaje ni juramento alguno porque ni se le mando en su titulo hazer ni hubo quien le requiriese le hiciese...

...

Translation.

I declare that in spite of all allegations in them, Your Lordship by virtue of justice must be pleased to absolve said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana of the accusation made against him, by declaring as just the reasons of his coming and that said Sergeant-Major has complied with his detailed obligations, as can be seen in the same Record of proceedings in his favor, confirming what the general statement that I have made, and the following:

Besides, because everything alleged on the part of said prosecuting attorney is based on the supposition of the general rule that a soldier must not leave his post without an order from his superior, but such a rule has many exceptions, and exemptions that are expressed at length in military laws and in terms more exacting; indeed, with reference to those who leave their army without permission of their superior and the penalties that apply, an exclusion is made for one who absents himself for sickness, or to see his parents, it follows therefore that the general prohibition of the soldier not abandoning his post, or the army, suffers many limitations,¹ and he is convinced that the case does not apply, as the coming of said Sergeant-Major was not only for a cure, though this is a certain motive and one in which the law specifically favors him, but said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana is assisted by even more justified motives for his coming and by a consideration other than those mentioned in said laws; it follows that, based on said motives, he must not only be absolved but as a soldier of certain and zealous res-

1 Ed. note: In other words, it was not a case of desertion, but (justified) absence without leave.

olution he must be well considered and given thanks for his coming, as from it ensued the unique consolation of the few Christian people who live in the Marianas with so much disconsolateness.

...
[The motives are reviewed and presented in a good light by the defending attorney, specially the fact that Esplana had warned off the Santa Rosa in 1686, and that, instead of abandoning his soldiers, he had proposed to help them personally, etc. Esplana also proclaimed that his intention had always been to return as soon as possible to the Marianas. Finally, Esplana tried his usual tactic of boasting about his exploits and claiming credit for the work done by others, for instance:]

...said Sergeant-Major is so experienced that the pacification and colonization of the Marianas are due to his efforts, industry, and disposition; indeed, he was the first one to raise the flags of His Majesty and to make a show of the Christian forces in said Islands, and there had not been anyone who managed to take the succor from these Islands to those, and he was the only one who overcame the difficulties and broke the sea in 1683, and delivered the succor, and although luck had a major role to play in that, it was enough for him to be encouraged that he could come and go back with the succor, with the favor of God who always imparts it to those who work in such Christian deeds with goodwill.

...
[More justifications follow, not the least of which was his claim to being N° 2 in rank after the Governor of the Philippines. This in itself was to be sufficient to ensure his being exiled as far away from Manila as possible.]

Besides, said coming was couched with another foundation of great esteem, that is, the fact that said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana holds the letter of appointment, and Royal provision that constitutes him not only Governor of the Mariana Islands but also Lieutenant-General of these Islands in the functions of Captain-General, whose title and the so likely assumptions that these said Islands were bothered by Pirates, he could and should come to reconnoiter them, and find out their condition, and in case of invasion to employ his person in their defence, and therefore for this reason the coming of said Governor is very well justified.

[False description of Agaña in 1688]

Besides, the other requirements that said prosecuting attorney mentioned, about the oath of allegiance, did not intervene, nor have they existed, because said Sergeant-Major obtained the government of said Mariana Islands without any of those solemnities which might have tied him down, because **there are no fort, castle, bulwark, city, nor wall or fortified place but only a hamlet consisting of 4 thatch houses**

in the countryside without gun emplacements nor platform that constitutes a fort.¹

Hence it follows that on this score the motives of the coming of said Sergeant-Major are considered with much esteem; indeed, the oath of allegiance cannot be used by the prosecution, and this had been so planned that, although such a clause is ordinarily found in letters of appointment, it is not found in said Royal provision. Hence, not even the presumption that it should have been can be used as a basis, because the virtue of such a prohibition in said letter can only have force if it appears therein as a specific clause ordering that the oath of allegiance must be taken. When it is not so stated, the individual in whose hands it must be taken, is usually mentioned in the usual manner. It follows that the contrary view-point has no basis, and so the negative case that pretends that said Sergeant-Major had been ordered to swear an oath of allegiance, and it appears that even if he had, it still would not constitute an impediment, or would be a fault, for him in the present case, on account of the precise need of his coming...

...

[The attorney goes on to mention the case of Governor Silva who had left his post in the Philippines, as commander-in-chief of a fleet that went as far as Malacca to fight the Dutch. Therefore, necessity was sometimes a good military reason for leaving one's post, temporarily. The attorney then petitions the court for permission to cross-examine the previous witnesses. A list of 10 standard questions was presented; they were designed to emphasize Esplana's exploits, for instance, the following questions:]

6° If they know that in said Mariana Islands there is no city, town or place that forms a civilized settlement nor a fortified place or garrison, because there are no individuals with whom to form it, nor built-up fortification nor cannon to adorn it, nor sufficient men to garrison it, except only a few thatch huts in an open field...

7° If they know that the Indians, native of said Islands, do not have a military organization capable of making invasions, with no obedience, no war chiefs, not even at night, but their usual tactic consists only of gathering some troop and throwing a few stones and at times to try and start fires, but this is not usual, but only when they have some reason to show ill will, and when said Governor departed, there was no battle nor fear of any...

8° If they know that said Governor Damian de Esplana was the first Captain that led the Spanish for the introduction of the gospel ministers in said Islands, and the pacification of those who resisted, by placing his life in many dangers, and that after he had retired to these Islands and been here a few years, pursuing the service of His Majesty in the posts of Sergeant-Major in Cavite and in this Royal camp, Governor of the Province of Cebu and, when it had never been possible to succeed in taking the succor from these Islands to those of the Marianas, on account of the returns in distress of

1 Ed. note: This was a bold lie, and an exaggeration at best, as Fort Guadalupe still existed, according to Fr. Kuklein's deposition below. This fort, which was on the beach, was later undermined by the sea during a typhoon and crumbled, during Esplana's later term of office.

those trying it, the said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana took hold of it and through his energy and persistence in the storms he succeeded in reaching them with the success...

9° If they know that he was about to return to these Islands when the officially-appointed Governor of said Islands died, and because of this death and by virtue of the Royal provision that said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana had carried, he succeeded in and took over said government without taking any solemn oath of allegiance, because it was not even ordered in his letter of appointment nor was there anyone who asked him to do so...

...
[Since Esplana himself had selected the people who had accompanied him from Guam, soldiers to whom he had given field promotions, none of them contradicted his contentions. Some testimonies are worth reproducing, as they are eyewitness reports on earlier events.]

C9. Extract from the testimony of Adjutant Sebastian Luis

Original text in Spanish.

...
*A la segunda pregunta: Dixo que save por averlo visto como soldado que fue en el Presidio de dichas Islas Marianas que el año passado de mil seiscientos ochenta y seis llegaron a dichas Islas, y en espeçial a la de Guaja donde esta la Cavezera, y Presidio de Españoles[,] dos navios de piratas Europeos el uno grande y el otro pequeño por principios del mes de Junio de dicho año a lo que se quiere acordar este testigo las quales dichas Piratas ni mostrando ser lo sino con pretesto de Paz[,] cogieron una embarcazion pequeña que salio de dhas Islas con un Religioso, y en que iba este testigo, y llevavan refresco para el General del Galeon que se esperaba dicho año del Reyno de la Nueva España por juzgar que dichos navios eran de los de estas Islas y sin que dichos Piratas les hiziesen daño alguno a los de dicha embarcazion cogieron el refresco que yva en ella, y embiaron a pedir al dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana les embiase mas refresco puesto que yvan de paz y sin intenzion de hazer mal alguno y dicho Sargento mayor visto que no davan ningun perjuicio les embio algun refresco aunque en muy poco cantidad y no obstante que dicho enemigo dio muestras de ir de paz rezeloso dicho Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana dispuso y señalo diferentes soldados para que en diferentes parajes estuviesen de sentinela y este testigo fue una de ellas con carta para el General que viniese en dho Galeon que se esperaba de la Nueva España partiçipandole de como dicho enemigo estava en dichas Islas por la parte del sur de la dicha Isla de Guajan y ofrezriendole si se determinada a llegar a ella el ayuda que pudiese para apresar a dicho enemigo y con efecto se logró la prevenzion de dicho Sargento mayor pues este testigo ha visto la nao **Santa Rossa** como sentinela que era, y fue a ella, y entregó la carta de dicho Sargento mayor su Governador al General de ella, y este con dicho aviso passo por la parte del norte [sic] de dicha Isla de Guaja sin que le viesse dicho enemigo y esto responde.*

...

Translation.

[Eyewitness report on the diversion of the galleon *Santa Rosa* in 1686]¹

To the second question: he declared that he knows about it because he saw it when a soldier as he was in the Garrison of said Mariana Islands. In the past year of 1686 there arrived at said Islands, and specifically that of Guaja [sic], where the capital and Spanish garrison are located, two ships of European pirates, one big and the other small, at the beginning of the month of June of said year, as far as this witness can recall. Said Pirates did not act as such, but they pretended peace. They captured a small boat that went out from said Islands with a Religious, and aboard which was this eyewitness, and they were taking refreshment to the General of the galleon that was expected that year from the Kingdom of New Spain, because said ships had been thought to be those of these Islands, but without said Pirates doing them any harm whatever to those aboard said boat, they seized the refreshment that was in it, and sent to said Sergeant-Major a request for more refreshment, given that they came in peace and without any intention of doing any bad things. Said Sergeant-Major, seeing that they were not giving any prejudice, sent them some refreshment, although in very small quantity and in spite of the fact that said enemy gave signs of behaving peacefully, said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana arranged for some soldiers to be posted at various neighborhoods as sentinels, and this witness was one of them who had a letter for the General who might come aboard said galleon that was expected from New Spain, in which he let him know how said enemy was at said Islands on the south side of said Island of Guajan and offering his help if he should decide to arrive there and capture said enemy. And in effect the foresight of said Sergeant-Major succeeded; in fact, this witness spotted the galleon **Santa Rosa** as the sentinel that he was, and went to it, and delivered the letter from said Sergeant-Major his Governor to her General, and the latter with said advice passed by the north [sic] side of said Island of Guaja [sic] without being seen by said enemy, and so he answers.²

...

C10. The testimony of Father Kuklein, S.J.

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio of Fr. Mathias Cuculino de la Compañía de Jesus misionero que es en las Islas Marianas y que vino en compañía del Sargento mayor D. Damian de Esplana de edad de 43 años.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Sebastian Luis was 27 years old and had spent 10 years in Guam, serving first as a private soldier, then squad Corporal, Sergeant, Second-Lieutenant, and finally Adjutant.
 - 2 Ed. note: No matter what is said by this eyewitness, who simply confirmed what Esplana had said, the galleon did not divert northward, to pass north of Guam, but rather went SSW and grounded on the Santa Rosa Bank soon after; the latter event is confirmed by her commander's testimony below. Besides, the real messenger was carried off by the galleon.

Incontinenti en dicha Ciudad de Manila en dicho día mes y año para la dicha su provanza el dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana presentó por testigo al Padre Mathias Cuculino religioso de la Compañía de Jesus que estava por missionero de las Islas Marianas y vino de ellas hasta esta Ciudad en compañía del Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana Governador de dichas Islas del qual yo el presente escrivano en virtud de la dicha Comission a mi dada y de la licencia que antemy exçivió del Reverendo Padre Luis Pimentel Provincial de su sagrada Religion en estas Islas que queda acomulada en estos autos le rezivi juramento que lo hizo in verbo sacerdotis puesta la mano en el pecho y so cargo de el prometio de dezir verdad de lo que supiere en lo que se le fuere preguntado y siendo lo al thenor del dicho interrogatorio presentado por parte del dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana:

1º A la primera pregunta: Dixo que conoçe a las partes tiene notiçia de esta caussa y que no le tocan las Generales de la ley, y que es de hedad de quarenta y ocho [sic] años poco mas o menos y esto responde.

[Fr. Kuklein was the Jesuit whom Captain Swan kept as a hostage for 9 days aboard the Cygnet in 1686]

2º A la segunda pregunta: Dixo que estando governando las Islas Marianas el dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana[,] por principios del mes de Junio del año passado de mill seis cientos ochenta y seis llegaron a dichas Islas dos navios y de mandato de su Prelado fue este testigo una noche a dichos navios jugando eran de los de estas Islas para rezevir las cossas que suelen traer para los religiosos que asisten en dicha mission y llevar de camino un poco de vino de que necesitavan para dezir missa y otras cossas presissas de que careçian y aviendo llegado este testigo a bordo del mayor de dichos navios reconoció ser de Europeos piratas quienes detubieron a este testigo en dicho navio hasta que el que le presenta le hubo de embiar para que le soltasen y dejasen volver a tierra un poco de refresco por haversele embiado a pedir dicho enemigo quien padezia mucha necessidad y falta de bastimentos como le reconoció este testigo y despues de aver rezevido dicho refrezco[,] soltó dicho Pirata a este testigo al cavo de nueve días que le avian detenido en dicho navio y le dexó bolver a tierra y dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana rezeloso de dicho Pirata dispuso el que huviesen varias sentinelas en la Isla principal de dichas Marianas para que descubriesen el Galeon que dicho año se estava esperando con el socorro de Nueva España y luego que una de dichas sentinelas vio dicho Galeon dio aviso de ello a dicho Sargento mayor quien segun oyo dezir este testigo de muy publico y notorio hizo despacho con carta para el General de dicho Galeon dandole avisso de dicho enemigo para que se asegurase de el lo qual se logro por haverse escapado dicho Galeon sin que le viese dicho enemigo ni reziviese de el daño alguno y este responde.

3º A la terçera pregunta: Dixo que por la ocaasion que lleva referido en la pregunta antecedenente se quedaron dichas Islas Marianas sin socorro dicho año y el siguiente de mill seiscientos y ochenta y siete por no haver havido Nao experimentaron la mesma falta por la qual oyo dezir de publico, y notorio en dichas Islas Marianas que los soldados de ellas culpaban a dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana en la falta de dicho socorro por el avisso que dió a dicho Galeon y considerando dicho Governador las males consequenzias que se pudieran seguir de no soçegar los animos de dichos soldados los animo y consolo prometiendoles venir personalmente por socorro y llevarse con lo qual dichos soldados se quietaron y esto responde.

4º A la quarta pregunta: Dixo que save por averlo visto que el dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana propuso al Reverendo Padre Provincial de su sagrada Religion de este testigo que assiste en

dichas Islas Marianas y a todos los demas Religiosos que asisten en ellas si convendria el embiar el barco que estava en dichas Islas a esta Ciudad a pedirse les embiase socorro y dichos Padres le respondieron que no solo conbenia el que se hiçiese sino que era muy necessario el que se hiçiese dicho despacho pidiendo el socorro en la forma que le pareciese mas conbeniente a dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana y fuese del mayor util de dichas Marianas y que esto es lo que sabe de lo que la pregunta contiene y esto responde.

5° A la quinta pregunta: Dixo que tiene por cierto este testigo quedarian consolados los de dichas Islas Marianas con la venida de dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana por las instancias que esperavan haria dicho Sargento mayor sobre llevar el socorro a dichas Islas y este responde.

6° A la sexta pregunta: Dixo que save por aver lo visto que en dichas Islas Marianas no ay Ciudad[,] villa ni lugar alguno que tenga formado republica por no aver sugetos de que se componga, y aunque ay fuerza en dichas Marianas es solo de piedra y lodo aunque ella suficiente para contra el enemigo que ay en dichas Islas y solas tres piezasuelas de artilleria y las cassas fabricadas de paja y esto responde.

7° Al la septima pregunta: Dixo que ha reconoçido este testigo que los naturales de dichas Marianas no tienen forma militar de hazer imbaziones ni obediencia, ni caudillos sino que solo se valen de juntar alguna tropa y tiran algunas piedras, y a vezes procuran introducir fuego no siendo esto muy ordinario sino solo quando fingen alguna razon de sentimiento, y que no tubo noticia este testigo que quando salio de dichas Islas el dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana hubiese en ellas ninguna funzion, ni rezelo de ella, y esto responde.

8° A la octava pregunta: Dixo que de publico, y notorio ha oido dezir este testigo que dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana fué de los primeros caudillos de dichas Islas Marianas, y que en estas Islas obtuvo los puestos que la pregunta refiere y vio este testigo que dicho Sargento mayor fué el primero que consiguio el llevar socorro desde estas Islas a dichas Marianas y esto es lo que save de lo que la pregunta refiere y esto responde.

9° A la nona pregunta: Dixo que estando para volverse a estas Islas dicho Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana[,] fallezio el Governador propietario de dichas Marianas por cuyo fallezimiento entró a gobernarlas dicho Sargento Mayor en virtud de Real Proviçion que llevo para ello sin que supiesse este testigo que haviese hecho pleyto omenaje ni juramento alguno por lo qual se persuade este testigo no se le mandaria por su titulo y esto responde.

10° A la dezima pregunta: Dixo que todo lo que lleva dicho y declarado es publico y notorio publica vos, y fama en dichas Islas Marianas y la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fho en que se afirmó y ratificó y lo firmo de que doy fee.

Mathias Cuculino.

Antemy Joan de Quintanilla.

Lizencia del Padre Luis Pimentel Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus.

[In answer to a request made by Captain Luis de Escobar]

Conzedo lizencia para que el Padre Mathias Cuculino deponga segun se pide por esta peticion guardando en todo los canones de nuestras congregaziones.

Santa Cruz y Mayo primero de mill seiscientos ochenta y ocho años.

Luis Pimentel.

Translation.

Declaration made by Fr. Mathias Cuculino of the Society of Jesus, missionary who is in the Mariana Islands and who came in the company of Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, and is 43 years old.

Immediately in said City of Manila on same date, for evidence purposes said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana presented as a witness Father Mathias Cuculino, religious of the Society of Jesus who was acting as missionary in the Mariana Islands and came from them to this City in the company of Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, the Governor of said Islands. I, the present notary, by virtue of said Commission given to me and of the permission that before me he exhibited, from Reverend Father Luis Pimentel, Provincial of his sacred Order in these Islands, which has been added to these records, received an oath from him which he did *in verbo sacerdotis* with a hand placed upon his chest and under said oath he promised to tell the truth of what he might know about what might be asked of him, and it being along the lines of the list of questions presented on the part of said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana:

1° To the first question: he declared that he knows the parties and has knowledge of this trial and that he is not concerned by the general terms of the law, and that he is of 48 [sic] years old more or less, and so he answers.¹

[Fr. Kuklein was the Jesuit whom Captain Swan kept as a hostage for 9 days aboard the Cygnet in 1686]

2° To the second question: he declared that when said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana was governing the Mariana Islands, at the beginning of the month of June of the past year 1686, two ships arrived at said Islands and by order of his Prelate [i.e. Fr. Bouwens] this witness went one night to said ships, thinking that they were from these Islands, in order to receive the things that are usually brought for the religious who work in said mission and to take along a little wine that they needed to say mass and other necessities that they lacked. When this witness arrived on board the larger of said ships, he recognized it as belonging to European pirates, who proceeded to keep this witness aboard said ship until the man here present had sent a little refreshment for them to release him and let him return ashore, because said enemy who suffered a great need and a lack of food supplies, as recognized by said witness, had sent someone ashore to ask for it, and after receiving said refreshment said Pirate released this witness at the end of 9 days that he had been in detention aboard said ship, and he let him return ashore and said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana, distrustful of said Pirate arranged for various sentinels in the main Island of said Marianas to look out for the galleon that was expected that year with the succor from New Spain, and as soon as one of said sentinels saw said galleon, he gave advice about her to said Sergeant-Major who,

¹ Ed. note: This is an error in the transcript. He was 43 years as mentioned at the top of his testimony, being born in the Czech Kingdom in 1645.

according to what this witness heard very publicly and was notorious, made a despatch with a letter for the General of said galleon, giving him advice of said enemy so that he would secure himself from him, which was achieved because said galleon escaped without being seen by said enemy nor did she receive any harm, and so he answers.

3° To the third question: he declared that on the occasion just mentioned in the previous question, said Mariana Islands remained without succor that year and the following year of 1687, as there was no galleon and they experienced the same privation. That is why he heard it say in public and it was notorious in said Mariana Islands that the soldiers there blamed said Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana for the failure of said succor because of the advice he gave to said galleon, and said Governor, considering the bad consequences that might follow if the minds of said soldiers were not calmed down, he encouraged them and consoled them by promising them that he would personally come for the succor and take it back, with which said soldiers calmed themselves down, and so he answers.

4° To the fourth question: he declared that he knows, for having seen it, that said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana proposed to Reverend Father [Vice-] Provincial of the sacred Order of this witness who works in said Mariana Islands and to all the other Religious who work there, whether or not it would be appropriate to send the boat that was in said Islands to this City to ask that the succor be sent and said Fathers responded to him that not only was it appropriate but that it was very necessary that said despatch be done to ask for the succor in the manner that seemed more appropriate to said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana and might be most useful to said Marianas and this is what he knows about the contents of the question, and so he answers.

5° To the fifth question: he declared that this witness knows for sure that the people of said Mariana Islands would be consoled with the coming of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana on account of the requests that they hoped said Sergeant-Major would make regarding the delivery of the succor to said Islands, and so he answers.

6° To the sixth question: he declared that he knows, for having seen it, that in said Mariana Islands there is no city, no town, nor place whatever that looks like a civilized settlement, as there are no individuals to form one, and **although there is a fort in said Marianas, it is only of stone and mud, though it is sufficient against the enemy existing in said Islands, and only three small cannon and the houses are made of thatch**, and so he answers.

7° To the seventh question: he declared that this witness has recognized that the natives of said Marianas do not have a military organization capable of making invasions, with no obedience, no war chiefs, but their usual tactic consists only of gathering some troop and throwing a few stones and at times to try and start fires, but this is not usual, but only when they have some reason to show ill will, and when said Governor departed, there was no battle nor fear of any, and so he answers.

8° To the eighth question: he declared that this witness has heard from the public and it is notorious that said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana was one of the first war leaders of said Mariana Islands, and that in these Islands he gained the posts that

the question refers to, and this witness saw that said Sergeant-Major was the first to succeed in taking the succor from these Islands to said Marianas and this is what he knows about the matter referred to in the question, and so he answers.

9° To the ninth question: he declared that, when said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana was about to return to these Islands, the officially-appointed Governor of said Marianas died. Because of this death, said Sergeant-Major became their Governor by virtue of the Royal provision that he brought in for that purpose, but this witness does not know if he did swear allegiance or not, that is why this witness is persuaded that it is not asked of him in his letter of appointment, and so he answers.

10° To the tenth question: he declared that all he has said and declared is public knowledge and a notorious public rumor in said Mariana Islands and the truth under the oath that he has given, which he affirmed and ratified and he signed it, of which I certify.

Mathias Cuculino.

Before me, Juan de Quintanilla.

Permission from Father Luis Pimentel, Provincial of the Society of Jesus.

I grant permission for Father Mathias Cuculino to make a deposition according to the request made in this petition, as long as he obeys all the canons of our congregations.

Santa Cruz, 1 May 1688.

Luis Pimentel.

C11. Declaration of General Gonzalez Zorrilla, commander of the galleon Santa Rosa in 1686

Original text in Spanish.

Declaracion del General Don Francisco Gonzalez Sorrilla de edad de 38 años.

En la Ciudad de Manila en cinco dias del mes de Mayo de mill seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años para la declarasion que se le manda hazer al General Don Franzisco Gonzales Sorrilla...

*Dixo que viniendo este declarante por General del Galeon Capitana **Santa Rossa** el año passado de seiscientos y ochenta y seis del Reyno de la Nueva España con el zituado Real de estas Islas haviendo llegado a la vista de las Islas Marianas serca del Pueblo de Umatag rezivio el declarante una carta con un despacho que lo llevo a dicho Galeon un Alferez vino del presidio de dichas Islas que la remitió el Governador de ellas Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana en que le participaba al declarante como tal General de dicho Galeon estubiesse en conoçimiento como quedavan dos navios de enemigos pirata junto a la Isla de Guan de la banda del sur como tres leguas de distanzia del dicho Puerto de Umatag y que assi le dava dicha notiçia para que determinase lo que mas conbiniese a la seguridad de dicho Galeon, y que este declarante con dicha notiçia, y comunicandolo y haziendo junta en dicho su Galeon y arrimandose a la instruccion de Gobierno se determino mudar de rumbo apartandose de la tierra como lo hizo y salvo dicho Galeon del peligro de dicho enemigo, y proseguio su viage hasta estas Islas por cuya*

caussa no deajo el declarante en dichas Islas Marianas el socorro que para ellas venia y que sí la carta original que le escrivio dicho Governador de Marianas la remitio el declarante a su Señoria el Señor Governador de estas Islas luego que cogio puerto en ellas para satisfazion de los motivos que tubo para no haver dejado el socorro en dichas Islas Marianas y que todo lo que tiene dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo y ratifico y declaro ser de hedad de treinta y ocho años, y que no le tocan las Generales de la ley y lo firmo de que doy fee.

Don Franzisco Gonzales Sorrilla.

Antemy Joan de Quintanilla escrivano publico.

Translation.

Declaration of General Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla, 38 years of age.

In this City of Manila on 5 May 1688, for the declaration that General Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla has been ordered to make...

He declared that when this declarant was coming as General of the flagship galleon **Santa Rosa** the past year of 1686 from the Kingdom of New Spain with the Royal subsidy of these Islands, he had arrived in sight of the Mariana Islands close to the town of Umatag when he received a letter with a despatch that was brought to said galleon by a Second-Lieutenant who came from the garrison of said Islands¹ and it was sent by the Governor of them, Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, in which he let the declarant, as such General of said galleon, know that there remained two ships of enemy pirates next to the Island of Guan on the south side about 3 leagues distant from [rather at] said port of Umatag² and so he was advising him so that he could decide what he thought more appropriate to the security of said galleon, and that this declarant with said advice, and having held a council aboard his galleon and with reference to the Instruction from the Government, decided to change course by diverting from the land, as he did and saved said galleon from the danger from said enemy, and pursued his voyage to these Islands. That is the reason why the declarant did not leave in said Islands the succor that was meant for them. As far as the original letter that said Governor of the Marianas wrote to him, the declarant says that he remitted it to His Lordship the Governor of these Islands as soon as he made port in them as a justification for his not having left the succor in said Mariana Islands, and that everything he has said is the truth under the oath that he has made, which he affirmed and ratified, and declared that he was 38 years old, and that he is not involved with the general terms of the law, and he signed it, of which I certify.

Don Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla.

Before me, Juan de Quintanilla, Notary public.

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- 1 Ed. note: Adjutant Luis was only a Second Lieutenant in 1686. However, the real messenger who climbed aboard, was carried off.
 - 2 Ed. note: Since the pirates were anchored at Umatac, it becomes clear that it was the galleon that was only 3 leagues away from there.

[This is followed by an attestation signed by Fr. Silvestre Navarro, Procurator General of the Jesuits, to the effect that Fr. Bouwens' signature, as it appeared on his letter, was genuine. The presiding judge then told the prosecuting attorney that he had 3 days to make a final presentation]

C12. The prosecuting attorney withdraws the charges against Esplana

Original text in Spanish.

*El Promotor fiscal de la Real Audiencia de estas Islas en los autos sobre la venida de el Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana a estas Islas hallandose de Governador en las Marianas: Dize que esta causa se halla en estado de definitiva determinazion, y con lo deduzido alegado y provado por parte de dicho Sargento mayor con muy diferente inspeccion de la que tenian al tiempo que el Promotor fiscal hizo sus acusaciones impulsado de aquellas primeras noticias del hecho que tan diminutas y desnudas de prueba, y fundamento se percivieron de la carta de dho Sargento Mayor y pues oy se hallan tan ajustados los prinzipales motivos de su venida y que estos naçieron de las quejas de los soldados de aquellas Islas por la falta de socorro de tres años y que el que esperaban, y tubieron a la vista en el Galeon **Santa Rossa** el año passado de mill seis cientos ochenta y seis se privaron de el por el aviso que por disposicion de dicho Sargento mayor Governador de Marianas se le avia dado de la parte donde estava el enemigo Pirata[,] reconoce el Promotor fiscal que la accion de dho aviso califica el fiel animo de dho Sargento mayor y quan servidor de su Magestad se mostro pues aver pusso el remedio de estas Islas a las muchas presentes, y vigentes neçesidades en que se hallava, y estas las solijito remediar con asegurar despues a los soldados vendria personalmente por socorro aun hallandose emfermo lo qual con la eleccion que se hizo de sugeto que dejo en su lugar que era el mismo señalado en su falta por la Real Proviçion presentada y aver consultado su resoluçion y conformandose con ella los sugetos que suponen en dichas Islas[,] con los demas adminienlos [sic] y sin constanzias que se producen de las imformaciones hechas[,] adjuntos los meritos serviçios y calidad de dho Sargento mayor Damian de Esplana le condignan no solo hazer absuelto sino premiado con ventajas y como se pidio su castigo antes de calificarse el hecho despues que sea reconocido su justificacion se deve instar por su condigno premio por ser la parte del fisco un pretenzor del cumplimiento de la Real Voluntad assi para el castigo en los cassos necessarios compara al galardon de los benemeritos en cuya atenzion V. Señoria siendo servido absolvera a dho Sargento mayor de la culpa que las primeras noticias le imputaron declarando por justificados los motivos de su venida y a dho Sargento mayor por bueno onrrado y leal vassallo y celoço de el serviçio de su Magestad[,] sobre todo el superior juiciçio de V. Señoria dara la determinaçion mas conbeniente.*

Manila y Mayo diez de mill seisçientos ochenta y ocho años.

Joan de Angulo.

Translation.

The prosecuting attorney of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands in the proceedings about the coming of Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana to these Islands when he was Governor in the Marianas:

Declares that this case has reached its final decisive stage, and considering that what was alleged and proven on the part of said Sergeant-Major is very different from what was deduced at the time that the prosecuting attorney made his accusations, impelled as he was by those first news of the fact were so defective and devoid of proof, and basis, as perceived from the letter of said Sergeant-Major, and then today the main reasons for his coming find themselves reconciled, as being the result of the complaints made by the soldiers of those Islands for the lack of succor during three years and the one they expected and had in sight aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa** the past year of 1686 they deprived themselves of it on account of the advice that by arrangement of said Sergeant-Major Governor of the Marianas was given her about the whereabouts of the enemy Pirate. The prosecuting attorney recognizes that the action of said advice qualifies the faithful mind of said Sergeant-Major and how well he showed himself to be a servant of His Majesty; indeed, he provided the remedy of these Islands ahead of the actual needs of his own, and these he tried to remedy later on by assuring his soldiers that he would come personally for the succor, even if he were himself sick, which he did, leaving in his place the very individual who had been planned to replace him by the Royal provision presented herewith, and he did consult on his decision, and the individuals who were in agreement are those one supposes are in said Islands. As for the rest [of the accusations?], they are recognized as unproven as a result of the investigations made. Given the merits, services and qualification of said Sergeant-Major Damian de Esplana, they make him deserving not only of being absolved but rewarded with advantages and, whereas his punishment was requested before the fact was clarified, now that his justification has been recognized one must press for a deserved reward, as it is the role of the fiscal to pretend to do His Majesty's will, not only in seeking punishments in cases requiring it but also seeking the recompense of those who deserve it. Therefore, Your Lordship should be pleased to absolve said Sergeant-Major of the crime that the first news imputed to him, by declaring as justified the motives for this coming and said Sergeant-Major to be a good, honored and loyal vassal and zealous of the service of His Majesty. Above all, the superior judgment of Your Lordship will decide what is most appropriate.

Manila, 10 May 1688.

Juan de Angulo.

C13. The written sentence

Original text in Spanish.

En el Pleyto y Causa Criminal que es entre partes de la una la Real justicia de ofiçio y el promotor fiscal de este Real audiencia y de la otra el Sargento mayor Don Damian de Esplana Governador de las Islas Marianas preso en el castillo y fuerza de Sanctiago de esta Ciudad y su defensor el Capitan Don Luis de Escobar relator de dicha Real audiencia sobre inputar la culpa a dicho Sargento maior en haver venido a estas Islas y dejado las de su Gobierno sin lizençia de este superior y lo demas que es la havia visto &a.

*Hallo segun los meritos de ella y lo provado por parte de dho Sargento mayor en el Plenario juicio que debo declarar y declaro por justificadas y en estas las caussas y motivos de su venida sin que por ella se le pueda ni deva atribuir es tiempo alguno deserçion ni desanparo de la miliçia que estava a su cargo en dichas Islas Marianas[,] antes si asistencia de vijilante de lo es el servicio de ambas Magestades[,] por quanto consta de los autos que hallandose dichas Islas en grandes consuelo y consume neseçidad de viveres la infanteria de ellas y los reverendos Padres miçioneros que alli reziden sin las asistencias presias para su conserbazion y empleo en la predicazion del santo evangelio por haverlos faltado dos años el de ochenta y seis, y ochenta y siete el anual socorro y Real zituado que por dispoçiones Reales y prebençiones de los Padres Jesuitas les dejan las naos de esta carrera al pazar por dichas Islas de torna-viage de la Nueva España cuya indigençia havia motivado en los animos de los soldados el que prorrumpiesen en publicas quexas de dicho Sargento mayor atribuyendole la causa de la miseria que padezian por razon de haver embiado despacho al General de la nao Capitana **Sancta Rossa** al descubrirla desde dichas Marianas el año de ochenta y seis notifiandole como dos navios de piratas Europeos estaban junto a la Isla de Guan de la banda del sur para que se resguardaze de ellos con cuió despacho y notiçia resolvió dicho General en virtud de junta que para ello hizo el mudar de rumbo y apartandose de la tierra proçeguió su viaje a estas Islas sin dejar en las Marianas el socorro acostumbrado y que conçiderando dicho Sargento mayor que entre otros inconvenientes que ocazionan la falta de viveres y pagas retardadas a los soldados el de mayor perjuicio y peores consequençias es el amotinarse aquellos y contra la disciplina militar perder el respectó y temor de que proçeden graves daños cuyos reselos de conspirazion las tiene calificadas la experiencia con los efectos en semejantes cassos consulto su venida con los sujetos de mas supociçion que ay en dichas Islas quienes se conformaron en que combenia executarla por su persona quedando como que daron quietos y consolados los soldados con las esperanzas de conseguir el socorro que deseaban por medio de la industria[,] animosidad y solicitud de su Governador y que a esto se junto el hallarse entónces enfermo sin esperansa de curazion en aquellas Islas cuya causa era pro si sola vastante conforme a derechos y leyes reales para que sin la nota y culpa de deserçion pudiese venir a ponerse en cura de sus achaques a estas Islas dejando como dejo en su lugar a quien por este superior Gobierno estava nombrado y aprobado desde el año de ochenta y tres para que le susediese en aquel a falta suya conforme a la Real Proviçion presentada de la qual no consta se lo mandase a dicho Sargento maior hiziese pleito omenaje ni juramento alguno ni haver havido costumbre de ello en dichas Islas Marianas con los Governadores y Capitanes que las han Governado y constar asimismo provado que al tiempo de su partida de ellas no havia funçion alguna de Guerra ni rezelo de que la hubiese en cuya consequenzia y de la notoriedad que de los autos consta de haver ido dicho Sargento maior el primer Capitan que acaudillo los Españoles para la introduçion de los ministros evangelicos en dichas Islas Ma-*

*rianas y Pacificacion de los que lo resistian exponiendo su vida a muchos riesgos y peligros para su consecucion y que conforme a derecho el que ha zido reputado por buen soldado se presume que lo es, y que llevara su obligacion cuya presumpcion de derecho elide y desbanese la contraria de haver venido dicho Sargento mayor a estas Islas con motibos pretextados quando no constase como consta provado que vino con las justificadas caussas que quedan referidas y corroborada dicha presumpcion de derecho la zelosa atencion que tubo en querer privarse de su mesmo socorro porque no le faltase el real situado de estas Islas en la ocasion arriva mencionada quando paso por las Marianas dicha nao **Sancta Rosa** debo absolver y absuelvo a dicho Sargento maior Don Damian de Esplana de la culpa que por acusacion se le imputo por el Promotor fiscal de esta dicha Real audiencia en su primer escripto dejando como dejo a dicho Sargento maior en su buen credito y opinion de buen soldado y leal vassallo de su Magestad y por digno de que le asienda a mayores puestos por sus relebantes como notorios servicios.*

Y mando sea luego suelto de la prigion en que se halla y se le desemarguen todos y qualesquier vienes que se le ubieren embargado por esta causa y se le entreguen por los juezes oficiales Reales (en quienes se hallan depositados) conforme a los imbentarios que estan en estos autos.

Y en quanto a las costas procesales y papel sellado se paguen del ramo de gastos de justicia ó no haciendolo del de penas de camara por haver sido dicho Sargento mayor exonerado de cargos de la culpa que se le imputo por su venida conforme a Reales disposiciones.

Y por esta mi sentencia definitiva juzgando asi lo pronuncio y mando con el parecer del Señor fiscal de su Magestad.

Don Gabriel de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

Doctor Don Estevan Lorenzo de la Fuente y Alanis.

Synopsis.

[The reasons put forward by the prosecutor for recommending a not-guilty verdict are repeated and retained. The judge ordered the prisoner released and his property returned. This sentence was pronounced on 14 May 1688, and Esplana was immediately released from jail. There is no mention of his companions having been released, but they must have been.]

Documents 1688D

Fr. Xaramillo's candidacy as first Bishop of the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 86-6-234, -235 (formerly in 68-1-44); cited by Astrain VI, p. 829.

D1. Letter from Fr. General Gonzalez to the Secretary of the Council, dated Rome 3 April 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Roma. Al Sor. Secretario 1688.

El General de la Comp^a de Jhs 3 de Abril.

—R[ecivi]da en 13 de Mayo.

—Acompaña la que escribe a S.Mgd., sobre la presentacion de obispo para las Islas Marianas, en Antonio Jaramillo, de su religion.

La carta de Su Magd. que Dios guarde que V.S. se sirvio remitirme, no se me entregó hasta el día 25 de Marzo por la noche, en que avia ya quatro días, que avia partido el Correo de España; y por esta causa no à podido ir la respuesta con la puntualidad, que pedia mi atenzion.

Remito a V.S. la respuesta logrando juntamente la occassion de ponerme a la obediencia de V.S. para los ordenes, que fuere servido darme de su maior agrado.

Dios guarde a V.S. muchos años como deseo, y le suplico.

Roma 3 de Abril de 1688.

De V.S. muy siervo en Xpto.

Thyrso Gonzalez.

[Al] Señor Don Antonio Ortiz de Otorora.

Translation.

Rome. To the Secretary 1688.

[From] the General of the Society of Jesus, 3 April.

—Received on 13 May.

—Accompanies the letter he writes to His Majesty, about the presentation of Antonio Jaramillo of his Order as bishop for the Mariana Islands.

The letter from His Majesty, whom may God save, that Your Lordship was pleased to send to me, was not delivered to me until 25 March in the evening, but the mail for Spain had already left 4 days earlier. That is why my answer could not be as timely as I had hoped for.

I am sending the answer to Your Lordship, and I take this opportunity to tell Your Lordship that I remain ready to obey any order that you may be pleased to give me and that would be welcome.

May God save Your Lordship for many years as I wish, and pray Him for.

Rome, 3 April 1688.

Your Lordship's most obedient servant in Christ,

Thyrso Gonzalez.

[To] Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

D2. Letter from Fr. General Gonzalez to the King, dated Rome 3 April 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Roma, a S. Mgd. 1688.

El General de la Comp^a de Jhs, 3 de Abril.

—R[ecivi]da en 13 de Mayo.

—Avisa el reçivo del despacho que se le dirigio en 20 de Enero proximo, para que si la eleccion de obispo Titular de las Islas Marianas en Antonio Jaramillo de su religion, no fuese contraria a su instituto, promoviese con su Santidad, su confirmazion, y si lo era, no resistiese su execuçion. Y rindiendo gracias por ella, dize no se opone, y que queriendo solicitar Audiencia con su Santidad, le previno el Marques de Cogolludo, lo suspendiese, hasta que le avisase, que lo hizo asi, y que dava aguardando el aviso, para executar lo que se le encargo; como de todo dara quenta el Embaxador.

Ojo. —Hasta oy 13 de Mayo, no se ha recibido carta del embaxador sobre esto.

La carta de V.Magd. de 20 de Enero se me entrego el dia 28 de Marzo quatro dias despues de despachado el Correo.

Recivila con el rendimiento, que pide mi obligacion a la Real Persona de V.M. y con toda la venerazion debida al Real y Catholico zelo, con que V.M. tiene siempre presentes en el cuydado de su Real providenzia los mayores aumentos de nuestra Santa Fé, y Religion Catholica, solicitando con tanto desvelo los medios mas efficaces de conseguirlos, aun en las mas remotas gentes.

En ella se digna V.M. significarme ser de su Real agrado, que en las Islas Marianas se erija una nueva Iglesia Cathedral que en execuçion del Catholico y Religiosissimo deseo de V.M. sirva para el consuelo, firmeza, y aumentos de aquella nueva Christianidad. Y con honra muy superior a todo nuestro merito se digna significarme tambien

ser de su Real agrado, que sea primer Obispo de esta nueva Iglesia el Pe. Antonio Xaramillo de nuestra Compañía, y me manda V. M. que, en esta eleccion, que V.M. se à dignado hazer, no fuere contraria al Instituto de nuestra Compañía promueva con su Santidad su confirmazion y si lo fuere, no resista a su execuzion, dexando a Su Santidad mas libre la dispensazion, que V.M. juzga necessaria para el mayor servicio de Nuestro Señor, y aumentos de la Christiandad en aquellas Islas; motivos ambos dignos de la piedad, y zelo de V.M. en sus Reales determinaciones.

Puesto a los Reales pies con toda la Comp^a doy a V.M. con humilde y reverente afecto las grazias por cuydado tan digno de su Real, y Catholico zelo, con que mirando solo a los aumentos de la Christiandad, y maior gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor, atiende V.M. al bien espiritual de tantas almas, que perezieran para siempre en aquellas Islas à no averlas prevenido Dios los medios de su salvazion en el Real Cuydado, y zelo Santissimo de V.M. Doy tambien a V.M. con rendidissimo reconocimiento, las grazeas por lo que se digna favorecer à nuestra Compañía, haziendola la grande honra de tan singular confianza, queriendo V.M. que un hijo de la Comp^a sirva de primer instrumento para la execuzion del zelo Catholixo, y religiosissimo de V.M.

Para la prompta obediencia del mandato que V.M. me dñó,] no puede mi rendimiento hallar dificultad alguna, pues la que podia ocurrir por parte de nuestro Instituto, y del Voto, que hazen los Professos de no admittir dignidades, la hallo del todo allanada con el exemplar de lo que en circunstancias mas unas mismas, que semejantes, hizo Nuestro Santo Fundador.

En el estado, que al presente tienen las Islas Marianas, la dignidad de Obispo en ellas, no la puede juzgar la prudenzia por honor, que sirva al lustre, esplendor, y conveniencias del sugeto, en quien reayere; sino de materia, y occasion de muy Apostolicas fatigas, de exessivos trabaxos, y de traer siempre la vida al continuado riesgo de perderla por la salud de las almas, y gloria de Jesu Xpto., y de su Santo Evangelio, y semejantes obispados tan negados à todo lustre, y conveniencia humana, y solo capaces de penalidad, y trabaxos por Christo no los resistio Nuestro Santissimo Fundador para sus hijos, pues sabemos por sus Historias, que si se echó a los pies de los Summos Pontifices para resistir à obispados de opulencia y esplendor, se echó tambien para proponer algunos de sus mismos hijos para los obispados de la Etyopia que los miraba negados à todo lustre, y conveniencia, y solo capaces de abundante materia de padecer por la gloria Divina, y propagazion del Evangelio.

Teniendo pues tan confirmado con las acciones de nuestro Santo Fundador lo que puedo hacer sin faltar a la obligazion de nuestro Santo Instituto (que V.M. por su Real benignidad, y piedad quiere que exactamente se observe) hallo, que sin faltar à ella, puedo obedecer à todo lo que V.M. se digna mandarme, y en orden a la execucion de su Real Orden hice luego las diligencias para obtener audiencia de su Santidad. Obtuvola primero el Marques de Cogolludo, Embaxador de V.M. y de la audiencia resultó el decirme el Marques, que no era aun tiempo de que yo hablase à su Santidad y que lo suspendiese hasta que me avisase de la oportuna occasion de hablar. La razon de todo

dara à V.M., y yo obedecere a V.M. luego que se me dè el aviso con la puntualidad, que pide la obligacion de rendidissimo basall[aje] de V.M.

Dios guarde a V.M. los muchos años, que la Christiandad à menester con las felicidades, que tan Real y Catholico zelo de la gloria Divina nos aseguran.

Roma 3 de Abril de 1688.

Señor,

Puesto humildemente a los Reales pies de V.M.

Thyrso Gonzalez.

Camara.

Camara à 24 de Mayo 1688.

Rvo. y Vis. y al Embaxador se le diga lo que avisa el General y se aguarda lo que aviasse ya executado y resultase de lo que en esta materia se le à encargado.

Ex[ecutad]o.

Translation.

Rome, to His Majesty 1688.

[From] the General of the Society of Jesus, 3 April.

—Received on 13 May.

—He acknowledges the receipt of the despatch that was sent to him on 20 January, regarding the selection of Antonio Jaramillo of his Order as Titular Bishop of the Mariana Islands, if his institute permits it, in order for him to promote it with His Holiness, in order to have it confirmed, and if so, asking him not to resist its execution. And giving thanks for it, he says that he is not opposed, and that he was about to seek an audience with His Holiness, when the Marquis of Cogolludo postponed it, until further notice, and he did; he is still awaiting the advice to carry out what he was entrusted to do. The Ambassador will give a report on the whole matter.

[Note in margin:] **Watch out!** Until today, 13 May, no letter has been received from the Ambassador about this.

The letter from His Majesty dated 20 January was delivered to me on 28 March, four days after the mail courier had left.

I have received it with the submission that my duty requires towards the Royal person of Y.M. and with all the veneration due to the Royal and Catholic zeal, with which Y.M. in your Royal providence keeps taking care of the continuous progress of our Holy faith, and Catholic religion, by seeking so carefully more efficient means to achieve them, even in the most remote of nations.

In it Y.M. was pleased to let me know of your Royal pleasure that there be in the Mariana Islands a new Cathedral church that would serve to carry out the Catholic and very religious wish of Y.M. for the consolation, consolidation and progress of that new Christian community. And with an honor very superior to all our merit, you were pleased to let me know also that it was your Royal pleasure that the first Bishop of this new Church be Fr. Antonio Xaramillo of our Society, and Y.M. orders me, unless this

election, which Y.M. was pleased to make, be contrary to the Institute of our Society, to seek its confirmation with His Holiness, and if it be approved, not to resist its execution, leaving His Holiness free to decide the dispensation that Y.M. thinks will be necessary, for the greater service of Our Lord, and the progress of the Christian community in those Islands; both of these motives are worthy of the piety and zeal of Y.M. in your Royal decisions.

Prostrated at the Royal feet with the whole Society, I give thanks to Y.M. with humble and reverent affection for the care so worthy of your Royal and Catholic zeal, with which Y.M., seeking only to increase Christendom and the greater glory of God our Lord, takes care of the spiritual welfare of so many souls that would otherwise perish forever in those Islands, if God had not foreseen the means to their salvation in the Royal care, and most holy zeal of Y.M. I also give thanks to Y.M. with the humblest of gratitude, for deigning to favor our Society, honoring it with such a special trust, by wishing that a son of the Society serve as the first instrument for the execution of the Catholic and most religious zeal of Y.M.

For the prompt obedience of the mandate that Y.M. gave me, my submission cannot find any difficulty; indeed, the difficulty that could occur on the part of our Institute, and the Vow that the Professed members make not to accept dignities, I find it completely ironed out with the example, given under circumstances more the same than similar, by our holy Founder.

Under the conditions presently existing in the Mariana Islands, the dignity of Bishop there cannot be prudently thought of simply as an honor to boost the luster, splendor, and advantages of the individual in question, but a matter and occasion for very Apostolic hardships, with a continuous danger of losing one's life for the salvation of souls, and the glory of Jesus Christ, and of His holy Gospel, and similar dioceses, so devoid of total luster, and human advantage, and only providing penalties and hardships for Christ, were not resisted by our most holy Founder on behalf of his sons; in fact, we know from his biographies that he did prostrate himself at the feet of the Supreme Pontiffs to resist dioceses of opulence and splendor, but he did so too to propose some of his same sons for the dioceses of Ethiopia, because he looked upon them as devoid of luster or advantages, and only providing an abundant source of suffering for the Divine glory, and the propagation of the Gospel.

Since the actions of our holy Founder have confirmed what can be done without failing the duty of our holy Institute (that Y.M., in your Royal kindness, and piety wishes me to scrupulously obey), I find that I can obey everything that Y.M. was pleased to order me to do, without disobeying it, and in order to carry out your Royal order, I then made some efforts to obtain an audience with His Holiness. The Marquis of Coggoludo, Y.M.'s ambassador, got his first, and the result of his audience was that the Marquis told me that the time was not yet ripe for me to speak with His Holiness and that I should postpone it until he advised me of the opportune moment to speak. The reason for the whole thing he will give to Y.M., and I will obey Y.M. as soon as he gives

me the go-ahead with the punctuality that begs the obligation of this Y.M.'s most humble vassal.

May God save Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs, with the successes that we expect from your so Royal and Catholic zeal for the Divine glory.

Rome, 3 April 1688.

Sire:

Humbly prostrated at the Royal feet of Y.M.,
Thyrso Gonzalez.

Privy Council.

Privy Council, 24 May 1688.

Seen and approved. Tell the Ambassador what the General advises and tell him to advise on what he has done and been entrusted with in this matter.

Carried out.¹

¹ Ed. note: There is nothing further in this file, but we know that the Pope did not agree with the idea, probably because it was then known in Rome that the revolt of 1684 had caused great destruction of churches, that the local population did not warrant it, etc.

Document 1688E

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 26 December 1687, postdated 8 June 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 13-1-15, pp. 1-12, 87+.

Original text in Spanish.

De el Governador de Philipinas

*21. Da quenta a V.M. de como por tener avisto de que andavan siete navios de enemigos en aquellas costas el año de ochenta y seis, despacho el galeon **Sto. Niño** que estava para haver viaje a la Nueva España a buscar a dhos navios con otros vajeles de armada y como tampoco hizo viage este año de ochenta y siete por haver arivado y remite diferentes auttos a numº 18.¹*

*Entre los subcessos, Señor, adversos que en estos dos años han acaezido en estas yslas, de que doi quenta a V.M. en esta ocazion, fue de mucho pesso y cuidado el de un aviso que tube el dia dos de Junio del año de ochenta y seis, (estando ya aperzevido el galeon **Santo Niño**, para salir al viaje de la Nueva España por el Real situado) de que en la contra costa de Mindoro distante de esta ciudad, cerca de treinta leguas se havian visto siete navios de enemigos, el qual me dio el corregidor de aquella ysla ymbian dome el proprio yndio, que las vio bastantemente capaz y ladino, con cuyos mottivos y ser en tiempo que esperamos de la Nueva España al galeon **Santa Rossa**, y por tal muy preçissa la matheria hize convocar luego a los oydores y fiscal de esta real audiencia, cabos superiores de guerra, y vezinos de esta ciudad, como ynterezados, a junta universal, que se celebros, despues de media noche para que se resolviessse en ella lo mas conbeniente, y haviendose conferido, y discurrido largamente sobre el casso, se resolvió por la mayor parte de votos con quien me conforme, el que dho galeon **Sancto Niño** no hiçiese dicho viaje, y se dispuçiesse, y armase de guerra, para que con dos vajeles de Macan que actualmente se hallavan en el puerto de Cavite (de que haré relazion a V.M., a su tiempo) o el que fuese aproposito de ellos, guarnecidos en forma con quatro champanes de fuego, saliessen luego al embocadero, a buscar al enemigo, y defender al dho galeon, **Santa Rossa**, por haverse juzgado el disignio suyo, solo podia ser, el cojerle, si pudiesse, y que supuesto el que dho galeon **Sancto Niño**, no podia hazer dicho viaje a la*

¹ Ed. note: A footnote says that a duplicate copy was sent via the coast of Coromandel, India.

Nueva España se despachase la fragata destinada para las yslas Marianas, para que fuese por el Real situado de estas yslas por ser de bastante porte para ello, y tan bien, el que por asegurar esta ciudad, respecto del ruydo de Sangleies (enemigo domestico) de que hago relacion a V.M., en otra (y de haver de salir gran parte de la infanteria, en la armada con lo qual quedaria menos guarnesida) se dieron forma para que saliessen luego, los champanes de ellos, con todos los que trujeron dicho año, y no tubiessen officio, como se executo luego.

Vista dicha resoluzion hize despacho a todos los alcaldes mayores, y cavos de guerra, de estas yslas, para que se previniessen, con toda la gente de armas, para resistir a qualquier ymbasion del enemigo, y di los ordenes necessarios a todas partes para su mayor seguridad; y pusse luego en execucion lo referido, disponiendo a dho galeon para dicho efecto, y para meterle hasta sesenta piezas de artilleria de bronce que pudiera cargar ciento, sino hubieran de hazer falta las demas, y a uno de dichos vajeles, veinte y dos, por no ser aproposito el otro, para esta faccion, sino solo para armarle de fuego, como se hizo, a este y otro de un particular, por no haverse hallado champanes para ello, guarneciendo a unos y a otros con lo mas luzido de la infanteria de este campo, y algunos reformados de satisfacion con que segun las fuerzas con que se hallava esto fue quanto cupo en ellas, y bien prevenidos de todo lo necessario, para esta faccion salieron de esta baya, para dicho efecto, el día diez y siete de Junio dho a cargo del General D. Thomas de Endaya, a quien de nuevo nombre por tal, por que esta realidad, es un sujeto, a quien solo se pudo fiar esta empresa, para quedar con buenas esperanzas de su buen subcesso, y por almirante en dicho vajele al Capitan Don Nicolas de Barrutia, que truje conmigo, por bien experimentado en los exercicios de mar y guerra, con que quede satisfecho de que era bastante prevenzion aunque corta en numero para tantos vajeles, por poderse confiar mucho del Galeon, gente y cavos, y de que se podrian señorear de todos sin que se les atreviesse ninguno a dar costado, por ser constante la calidad y fortaleza de la madera de estas yslas; y principalmente en que Dios supliria la falta de fuerzas que havia en ellas.

*Al rezelo de dho aviso coroboro lo que tengo representado a V.M. en la escripta sobre los piratas que han ynfestado estas yslas, y haverse visto antecedentemente en la provincia de la Nueva Segovia el uno de ellos sobre constar, por las noticias del año pasado de mill seis cientos y ochenta y cinco el que havian pasado al mar del sur siete o, ocho navios, y por la declarazion de un negro de el Piru de que hago relacion a V.M. en ella, el que estava esperando el referido a los otros seis y otra particularidad que añadir de que el intento, comunicado entre ellos era a presar el galeon, que havia de salir por juzgarle embarazado, y con el, y esta fuerza mas acometer al dho galeon **Santa Rossa**, con que crecieron los fundamentos que constaran a V.M., por testimonio que remitire el despacho siguiente a ese supremo y Real Consejo y a mi me pusieron en precissa obligacion de hazer dicho despacho, como debiera a uno siendo tantos, por asegurar a dho galeon puesta la mira en que fuera el que lo cojiessen, de las mayores fatalidades, y ruina de estas yslas que nos pudiessen subceder de que la providencia divina nos aseguro presto, pues llevo a esta ciudad a once de Jullio de dho año aviso, de que dho galeon estava ya en puerto seguro aunque fuera del envocadero en la contra costa de la provincia de la Nueva Cazeres, si bien con el contrapesso de otra noticia que participe del, de los dos navios que le vinieron siguiendo de la Nueva España y le aguardaron en las yslas Marianas como en otra refiero a V.M., los quales erraron el tiro pues ni a darle vista pudieron llegar navegando por el proprio rumbo; a que acudí luego con los ordenes necessarios assi por tierra como para dha armada, para que se asegurase la plata[,] gente y galeon hasta que pasado algun tiempo asegurarlo todo; y resuelto por diferentes juntas, di orden para que se retirase dicho galeon **Santo Niño** y demas vajeles como se executo; bolviendo al puerto de Cavite por no-*

viembre de dicho año; con buen subcesso, sin haver llegado a conseguir noticia alguna de dhos siete navios ni de otros que (segun aviso que tube) se havian descubierto y tocado en la costa de Aclan provincia de Panay de quienes se discurrio despues (por decir havian echo buen paraje a los naturales della) el que serian olandeses, que pasarian de Batavia o Malaca, a Therrenate, o Malayo, como lo han echo otras vezes, si no es que fueron los propios que se descubrieron primero, y van referidos, que fue possible.

[The frigate **Santo Tomás** despatched in 1686, under the command of Major Juan de Toledo, turned back to the Philippines]

Y bolviendo Señor al subcesso de la fragata referida que para suplir la falta del Galeon despache a la Nueva España por el Real situado quando entendi que pudiera haver de desenvocado y estar ya el mar afuera, y corriente en su viaje por haverla despachado en tiempo oportuno, no faltaron accidentes de vientos contrarios, que ayudados de un leve defecto del timon acortaron el animo de el Piloto y algunos marineros que juntos conbencieron al cavo de ella, porque bolviere a arivar a un puerto de esta baya, y haviendo acudido al reparo con la brevedad que el caso pedía y hecho junta de Pilotos para que se viese si por estar tan adelante el tiempo como mediado de Agosto podria hazer viaje se resolvió el que sí, en cui conformidad con nuevo piloto por haver hecho prender al primero, la bolve a despachar el día veintey uno de dicho mes, dejandome con buenas esperanzas de que se lograra mi cuidades y fundandolas con aviso que tube despues de dho cabo y piloto nuevo de las buenas experiencias y seguridad que havian reconisido de dha fragata, a que se siguió otro de que havia desenvocado el día seis de septiembre siguiente, que junto todo me prometió buen subçeso, y el alivio del socorro para su tiempo en cui curso perseverar hasta el día veinte de Noviembre siguiente en que tube nueva de que dha fragata se hallava de arivada en la yslla de Mariveles proxima a esta ciudad, despues de haver navegado dos meses por distintos rumbos por haverle faltado el vendabal, antes que pudiesse montar las ysllas Marianas, y haver padecido diferentes tiempos, baguios y uracanes que la desarbolaron y maltrataron de manera que milagrosamente (segun ponderaron escaparon con las vidas, sobre que se procedió a la averiguacion en forma, la qual cometi al Fiscal de V.M., y no resulto culpa alguna, antes sí se verificaron todas las circunstancias de su relacion conforme a los autos, que reetire a V.M.¹

[The galleon **Santo Niño** despatched in 1687 also turned back]

*Despues de lo qual, Señor, pusse todo conato en aderezar y disponer a dicho galeon **Santo Niño** para que hiziese su viaje a la Nueva España al tiempo regular, y assi se executó haziendose a la vela día de San Juan de este año,² y antes de salir del emvocadero en un puerto del, tubo un uracan que le puso en riesgo, con perdida de dos anclas y le obligo a tomar el de Solsogon, desde donde desenvoco de Agosto siguiente, que es lo mas corriente de estos viajes, con cui nueva por ser este el riesgo que mas se recela, quedamos con buenas esperanzas de que se lograra las quales perseveraron hasta veinte y uno de noviembre día de la presentacion en que le juzgamos ya por la mayor parte conseguido, pero fue Dios servido (porque assi debió de convenir por obrar mayor daño como ynsinuo a V.M. en otra) de que este día tubiesse el aviso de su arivada a dicho puerto de Solsogon, despues de haverse hallado en treinta y cinco*

1 Ed. note: The transcript of this investigation is to be found in the same source file, beginning on page 87.

2 Ed. note: St. John the Baptist's feast day is 24 June.

grados de altura y de setenta â ochenta leguas abante de las yslas de los Ladrones donde padecieron riguroso tiempo a que les ayudaron los valanzes del Galeon cuiâ falta con otras que tiene se atribuye a su fabrica y no ser con la quenta que se requiere con que bolvio mui maltratado, y con doce palmos de agua que fue mucho no creçiessen y que no fuese mayor la perdida, si bien se considera grande respecto de las haberias que con tanto fundamento se presumen, sobre que procedi a junta universal de los vezinos de esta ciudad y acuerdo, donde se resolvio se descargase, y reconoçiessen en dho puerto, y passare a las demas diligencias y averiguaciones, que el casso pide, y de lo que resultare dare quenta a V.M. en el despacho siguiente.

No es ponderable Señor el sentimiento general que oçassiono esta nueva por recaer sobre los demas subcessos referidos de la falta del despacho del año passado, y atrasamiento experimentado del comercio del antecedente, en que se quedo en aquel reyno la ropa de los vezinos por falta de feria, con que todos junto ha puesto a esta ciudad en la mayor miserias que se puede discurrir, y a mi en el aprieto, que se deja entender con la falta de los dos situados, y mas viendo a los ojos lo preçisso de las cargas de este gobierno y que aunque hasta aqui he podido vandearme a expenzas de la Real Hazienda y mi cuidado, y diligencia, desde oy sera necessario cargar algo de este pesso sobre los hombros de los vezinos bien a mi pesar por ser a tiempo que se hallan tan flacos de fuerzas; aunque con algunas esperanzas de que el Virrey de la Nueva España como V.M. tiene mandado despache algun vajel con los situados de estas yslas quiera Dios atienda a esta necesidad como no lo dudo, pero por lo que puede subceder por lo de adelante suplico a V.M. se sirva detener la presente para que ofreziendose despacho â aquel reyno deban estas yslas al recuerdo y suma providencia de V.M. el remedio que esperan, C.C. y R.P. Guarde Dios felizes años para ampara de mi y la Christiandad.

Manila y Diziembre 26 de 1687.

Añadido.

Da quenta a V.M. de como padecieron haberia 730 medios fardillos, y otras piezas en la aribada, y sentencio la caussa de ella, y quedan aquellas yslas con mucha nezessidad.

Señor:

Procediosse a la descarga de dicho Galeon para cuiò efecto, y el reconocimiento de registros, dispache a un oficial Real, de que resulto hallarse sobre sietecientos y treinta medios fardillos, y otras piezas de menos quenta de haberia gruessa, y yremediables con que sobre tantos malos subçesos, tubo esta vezinidad este mas que sentir, y añadir a su cortedad y habiendose substanciado la caussa, por comissiones que di para ello, se remitieron a este Gobierno los auttos, sobre los quales, hice prender y enbargar los bienes al general, Piloto y algunos oficiales, y se bolvieron a hazer de nuevo quantas diligencias pedia el caso, para sacar a luz la verdad, por ser materia tan grave y de tanto perjuicio a estas yslas: y por ultimo en atenzion, a lo que consto por los diarios, observaziones, recaudos presentados, e ynformazion con parecer de asessor que lo fue el Fiscal de V.M. declare por casual e ynvoluntario dha arivada por sentençia pronunciada en veinte y ocho de Mayo, passado, en que fueron condemnados dicho general y Piloto a mill ducados cada uno, aplicados para la camara de V.M., y gastos de fortificaciones por metad, y en las costas processales, por cierta negligencia, que cometieron, en haveriguar, y reconocer la agua, que hacia el Galeon, para hazer algun alijo en tiempo oportuno, conforme se les encarga por sus ynstrucciones; y haviendosele notificado al promotor fiscal dha sentencia, suplico de ella alegando diferentes razones en contrario; con cuiâ vista y de las que alegaron las partes, con parecer de diferente asessor, se

confirmo en revista; como ynformaron a V.M. los auttos, que con todos los demas çitados en la antecedente remito a V.M. y corresponden a ella.

En la qual llebo echa relacion a V.M. del miserable estado, en que quedan estas yslas, y como seria forçosso cargar algo del pesso sobre los hombros de los vezinos de que llegó el caso habra dos meses, y quando en muchas oçassiones de esta calidad (aunque no con dos años de falta de situado como esta) han contribuido quantiossas cantidades a la real Caxa, por via de prestamo; aun no se han podido recaudar 50 mil p[esos] entre ellos, y los Sangleies del Parian, supliendo este mas de las dos partes de la contribuzion; con que se prueba lo que llebo representado a V.M., y tan bien, el que con los socorros precissos de la gente de sueldo, y estos despachos, en que quedo entendiendo, concludidos, que sean, quedare con mayor necessidad y mas sensible, para el año siguiente, si el Virrey de la Nueva España, no anticipa el remedio dho; Dios disponga lo que mas convenga, y fuese del mayor servicio de V.M.

Manila y Junio 8 de 1688 años.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

Synopsis.

[The above report is effectively synopsized in the Notes below.]

Notes by the Council of the Indies.

Nº 21. [From] Governor Gabriel de Curuzelaegui. Received with the quicksilver ships on 28 December 1689.

[Summary:] He reports that, as a result of having been advised that 7 enemy ships had been seen in those coasts in 1686, he despatched the galleon **Santo Niño** (which was about to leave for New Spain) to look for the said ships with other vessels as a fleet; and that the galleon of 1687 did not make her voyage to New Spain either, as she turned back; also the measures taken by that government regarding the damage to 730 half bundles, and other pieces during the return, whose trial reached a sentence. He goes on to mention the dire straits into which those Islands have fallen. Regarding the above, he remits 3 big and thick volumes of records of proceedings.

[The Council examined the file on 10 April 1690 and referred it to the Fiscal. His minute follows:]

The Fiscal, having seen this letter and the court records, finds that their contents can be whittled down to the news given by the deceased Governor of the Philippines, Don Gabriel de Curuzaelegui [sic], that 7 vessels had been sighted on that coast and they were thought to belong to enemies and that he took measures by deciding to have the galleon named **Santo Niño** and another war frigate well supplied with men, weapons and munitions. With 4 champans they went out to capture the vessels and to defend the galleon **Santa Rosa** due in from New Spain. A short time later she arrived safe and the sails that had been thought to be enemies were lost from sight; they were thought to have been Dutch traders passing through on their commercial runs to the Kingdom of Ternate, or [the fort of] Malayo.

Since the time had then passed for the galleon **Santo Niño** to go out to New Spain, he decided to send a frigate to get the subsidy. After many days of navigation, it returned dismasted.

The following year he sent the galleon **Santo Niño** to New Spain, and when they considered her to be there already, she arrived back in distress, making 12 palms of water and with heavy damages to 700 half bundles [of cloth] and none to other types of goods, from which resulted a considerable loss to that commerce. He laments the great crisis that has taken hold of that Islands, for lack of the succor of the subsidy on account of these accidents, and if the Viceroy of New Spain does not foresee it and provide for it, there would be a greater tragedy. In the meantime, he says that he will be forced to obtain some loans from the residents, who were having tough times of their own, because of this crisis and because the lack of satisfaction they received on previous occasions.

He also tells of having brought up charges against the commanders and pilots to ascertain the causes of those aborted voyages; both that of the frigate and that of the galleon were considered due to stress of weather. Some negligence on the part of the pilot of the frigate, who lightened it during a storm, was fined 1,000 pesos and the General another 1,000.

Regarding the Viceroy who did come to their rescue during the conflict that affected these Islands, the Fiscal does not find for now anything to discuss. As for what he has borrowed from the residents, it has to be paid back, if it has not been done already, from the subsidies that would have been remitted since.

The Council will decide accordingly.

Madrid, 11 February 1693.

[The file was brought to the Council for review on 19 January by its reporter, Licentiate Serrano. The actions of the Governor of the Philippines in having retained the galleon **Santo Niño** and sent the frigate **Santo Thomas** instead were approved, on 29 October 1695. The present Governor was to be advised of this decision, for his guidance.]

Document 1688F

Letter from Fr. Tilpe to Fr. García, dated Umatac 24 May 1688

Source: Present location unknown; 1-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 10 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1964, p. 229).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

After having been here three years, practically shut in within the confines of Agadña, we proceeded to establish two Residences, one at Agat and another at Umatag, where Father Thomas Cardeñoso and I are very busy and there we shepherd more than 1,000 souls; while at Agadña, the four other priests look after a similar number of people.

The Commandant, Don Joseph de Quiroga, who after the departure of the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, took command of the garrison here, has made many successful expeditions into the hills and raided dangerous hiding-places; and we trust that after receiving relief—which we are at present awaiting—from the Philippines, this troublesome Mission will revert to a more peaceful state.

May God, whose will be done, dispose that matters should eventuate for His greater glory; and I pray that He may spare me you for many years...

I trust you will forgive the liberty I have taken in enclosing these letters, to be forwarded to the Province of Bohemia.¹

Etc.

¹ Ed. note: These letters were not published in Fr. Stöcklein's *Welt-Bott*, and can be considered lost.

Document 1688G

Letter from Fr. Cardeñoso to Fr. Xaramillo, dated aboard the patache San Fernando 30 June 1688

Source: RAH 9/2677.

Note: Fr. Cardeñoso left Guam aboard the passing patache. He had been sworn not to talk about the soldiers' mutiny that had taken place in Guam, but that did not prevent him from writing this note about it, and it was handed over to Fr. Xaramillo and Fr. Alejo, the new Procurators, when this patache met with the outgoing galleon bound to Acapulco.

First report of the soldiers' mutiny

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo

P. X.

Estos breves renglones serviran de saludar a Vuestras Reverencias haziendoles saber de como, e passado a estas Yslas trayendo conmigo al Hermano Ant^o de los Reyes con esperanzas de bolber a mis Marianas, pues a lo que bengo es à dar quenta al Padre Provincial de varios negocios, de dichas Yslas Marianas, Y de como se an alzado con las harmas y fuerzas los soldados de dicho pressidio poniendo en prision à Don Joseph de Quiroga su Governador habiendo querido lo matar a no nos allar nosotros[.] por M^o, al padre Maxino [i.e. Magino Sola] escrivio a Mexico, dandole quenta de lo suzedicho, para que alla lo sepa, el Señor ViRey que solezita, con todas Bires, el adelantamiento de aquella cristiandad, y para que las Naos, en casso que surjan en dichas Marianas echen con tiento la lancha, para tierra supuesto que la deste Navio con la Genten [sic], que yva en ella la prendieron, y detubieron toda una noche detenida, afin de que no se supiesse, su trayzion, y a pique de que ninguno de nossotros fuese a bordo para que no lo supiesen de nosotros, para lo qual echaron Bando, a los Indios, [so] pena de la vida, no echasen banca ninguna, para embarcar a ningun Padre, ni otra persona ninguna, y para que [no] lo consiquissemos nos pidieron hiziesemos Juramento de no hablar nada, de lo sucedido abordo desta nao como de echo lo hizo el padre Vize Provincial Gerar-

do Bobens, y su Reverenzia, nos lo intimo en virtud, de santa obediencia, no hablase-mos nada, de lo sucedido, assi de conseguir nuestro socorro: Si vien dicho Vize Provincial, escribe al Padre Provincial de todo lo ar[r]riba dicho, V.R. con su mucha caridad y eficacia bera lo que mas combeniere, supuesto pasa a Nueva España. No me dan lugar aser mas largo V.R. tenga muy buen biaje para bien y consuelo de aquellos aflijidos Padres en la prieto [sic] en que se allan, y salvazion de aquellas almas.

Avordo desta Nao Junio treynta de 1688.

De V.R. muy sierbo

+

+ *Thomas Cardeñoso* +

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo

Peace of Christ.

These brief lines will serve to salute Your Reverences and let you know how I have passed to these Islands, bringing along Brother Antonio de los Reyes but hoping to return to my Marianas; in fact, I am coming to give a report to Father Provincial about various affairs in said Mariana Islands. And how the soldiers of said garrison have taken up arms and forcibly placed Don José de Quiroga, their Governor, in prison, and would have killed him, had we not been there. In May he wrote to Father Magino [Sola] in Mexico, to report what happened, so that the Viceroy overthere would learn of it, and to solicit, with all his strength, the progress of that Christian community, and for the galleons, when they anchor in said Marianas, to send the launch ashore with caution. In fact, the launch of this ship, with the men who were aboard it, were seized and detained for one whole night, to prevent their treason from being discovered, and the danger that any of us might go on board and they might learn about it from us, they published an edict to the Indians, under penalty of death, to launch any canoe to carry any Father on board, or any other person. And in order to make sure that we would not manage it, they asked us to swear that we would not say anything on board this galleon about what happened; in fact, Father Vice-Provincial, Gerardo Bobens, did so, and His Reverence ordered us, on holy obedience, not to say anything about what happened, in order to get our succor. However, said Vice-Provincial writes to Father Provincial about everything that has happened. Y.R. with his great charity and efficiency, will do what is more appropriate, since you are on the way to New Spain. I have no more time to say more. May Y.R. have a good voyage for the welfare and consolation of those afflicted Fathers in the fix in which they find themselves, and the salvation of souls.

Aboard this galleon, 30 June 1688.

Y.R.'s faithful servant,

+

+ *Thomas Cardeñoso* +

Document 1688H

Letter from the Royal Accountant to the King, dated Manila 24 May 1688

Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 131.

Letter from Juan del Pozo y Bobadilla

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*El año pasado de '87 por el mes de junio salió de estas islas el Galeon **Sto. Niño** para el Reino de la Nueva España por el Real situado, a cargo de el General Lucas Matheo de Urquiza: Y está arqueado dicho galeon por el Almirante Francisco Lezcano Piloto maior de esta carrera por de mil y tresientas toneladas; Hallaronse a la carga de él en el puerto de Cavite, el Factor de la Real Hazienda Don Pedro de Verostegui, y quatro diputados nombrados por Ciudad y Gobierno, como siempre se acostunbra, y despues de haver salido de dicho puerto tubimos noticias extrajudiciales el Thesore-ro, y yo, de que iban en dicho galeon mucha cantidad de fardos y otras diferentes mercaderias fuera de Registro, y sin pagar a V. Mgd. sus Reales derechos.*

...

Manila y Maio 24 de 1688.

Señor,

Besa los Reales Pies de V.M.

Su Menor Vasallo, D. Joan del Pozo y Bovadilla.

Translation.

Sire:

Last year 1687, in June, the galleon **Santo Niño** left for the Kingdom of New Spain to get the royal subsidy, under the command of General Lucas Matheo de Urquiza. The said galleon is gauged by Admiral Francisco Lazcano, Pilot Major of this run, at a capacity of 1,300 tons. The Factor of the Royal Treasury, Don Pedro de Verostegui, and four deputies named by the City and Government were present during the loading

of her at the port of Cavite. After her departure from the said port, the Treasurer and I have received informal information to the effect that, in the said galleon, there was a large quantity of bundles, and various other merchandise, not listed in the manifest, and not having paid to Your Majesty your royal duties.

...

Manila, 24 May 1688.

Sire,

Your minor vassal,

who kisses the royal feet of Y.M.,

Don Juan del Pozo y Bobadilla¹

1 Ed. note: There is another letter, attached to the above document, dated January 1687, in the archives, in which he gives an account of everything found on board the two galleons, Santo Niño and Nuestra Señora de Guía, after they were forced back to Sorsogon. A total of 2,348 pieces were not listed in the manifests...

Document 1688I

Letter from Fr. Jacinto García to the Duchess, dated Manila 8 June 1688

Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1963, p. 288).

Extract from the Maggs Catalog

...

I shall be glad to know that this finds you enjoying the good health desired for you by me... My duties completed for the achievement of my desired end in the Marianas, my wishes are now frustrated—either by some mysterious and inscrutable decree of God, or, through some personal fault or failing of my own, I am deemed unworthy of employment in that glorious Mission... Implicit obedience forbids me to hanker after fresh desires, but prompts me to complete the last duties preparatory to my taking up the office (for which I have been sent to this uttermost corner of the earth), of Procurator of this College in the City of Manila, where I remain.

As you will know from Father Antonio Xaramillo and Father Alexo Lopez, having borne the trials of a stormy journey [in 1687], they turned back from the voyage they had embarked upon for Spain, as I, too, with my companion [Fr. Zarzosa], from the voyage we had begun to the Marianas, both greatly regretting the delay in the settlement of this Republic's affairs. You will doubtless have heard, at least in part, of the perturbed state of the Republic and of the causes which impede the development of that unhappy Mission. Indeed, since the year of the native uprising, no assistance has been rendered, for lack of ships to and from Acapulco, and only disjointed snatches of news have reached us regarding the state of those Islands, of certain English pirates, four of whom were caught in one of these ports, who said that all the Fathers and soldiers had been brought to the Island of Guam, which was now peaceful but without the means to continue their conquest of the other Islands.

[Governor Esplana and Father Cuculino left the Marianas early in 1688]

This confused piece of information has this year been cleared up and confirmed by the arrival of a barque (which has arrived in the Philippines from the Marianas), with the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, on board, accompanied by a German priest called Mathias Cuculino [i.e. Kuklein]. The Governor gave as the reason for his sudden advent in these Islands, his habitual indisposition, and desire for news of these Islands... a mistake on his part which may cost him dear, but nevertheless of advantage to the Mariana Mission, for on that account Major Joseph de Quiroga has been able to step into his shoes, and is unquestionably unique in his ability to further the interests of that Mission with his zeal, valor and capabilities... It is to his efforts, under God, that that Mission has not experienced utter ruin.

Etc.

Document 1688J

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 10 June 1688

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. 134.

Original text in Spanish

Del Governador de Philipinas—Informe a VM, de los Padres procuradores de la Compañía de Jesus q. pasan a essa corte y la de Roma, y sobre lo mucho que necessitan de llevar mission à aquellas Islas.

Señor.

*En esta ocassión, Señor, pasan dos religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, a essa corte y la de Roma, por procuradores de su provincia nombrados en la congregacion, que celebros el año passado de ochenta y siete (segun y como lo acostumbra haçer de seis a seis años) los quales son el **Padre Antonio Xaramillo**, religioso a quien califican, sobre sus muchas prendas, las experiencias del fructo, que ha echo en las Islas Marianas, y estas, con su asistencia de que tengo entendido, se hallaran en esse supremo, y Real Consejo, noticias, que confirmen la presente: Y en segundo lugar el **Padre Alexo Lopez**, tambien, de yqual predicamento, y exemplo; cuyo principal fin segun me ha consultado, por escripto, su provincial, es passar a la comunicazion de los negoçios de su religion, con el Pe. General en observancia de sus reglas, y representar a V.M. la necesidad, que esta provincia tiene, de mission, y sujetos, para los ministerios, que le estan encargados, en estas Islas, Islas de Marianas, que segun su relacion y conputo, que haçen, son cinquenta y nueve dichos ministerios y treinta y çinco vesitas, ademas de los que ressiden en los colegios que tienen en las provincias de Zebu, Yloylo, puerto de Cavite, y esta ciudad; para cuya administracion, se hallan con ciento y quatro sujetos; con que respecto de los que de estos estan ympedidos, viejos, y enfermos, y los queles han faltado en los años antecedenes, neçesitan de quarenta religiosos, para llenar este hueco, como ynformara a V.M. el testimonio de dha consulta, que remito, por tercera via de esta, en la primera del despacho, que en esta ocassion hago a V.M.; y como quiera, que por esta parte la pretenssion ha de depender de esse supremo y Real Consejo, tengo*

por de mi obligacion dar quenta de ela a V.M., y añadir lo que (quizas por ser en causa propria) se omite en dicha relación pues ademas de ser constante la cortedad de sujetos, que padeçe esta religion, por no haverles venido mission, en mi tiempo, y haver sido pocos (segun tengo entendido) los quele vinieron los años antecedentes, parece mayor la falta, a vista del mucho fructo, que hazen estos religiosos, en dichos ministerios, y en los demas exercicios de su Instituto, que se experimentan en ellos, y mui particular en esta çudad, con la enseñanza, y estudios de la jubentud, predicacion, y administracion de sacramentos, de que (sin perjuicio de los demas) son publicos, los buenos efectos, ademas del empleo de su constante mission en las Islas Marianas, donde han muerto gloriosamente algunos, y de que en casso de cessar los ynconvenientes, que oy se ofrecen, para que puedan passar al Reyno de China, no seran los postreros, que lo executen como V.M. tiene mandado: raçones, que juntas, con persuadirme, a que redundara en servicio de V.M., y bien de estas yslas, el que lo consigan, me obligan a suplicarlo así a V.M., como me sea mas licito, ya poner esta representacion en la superior consideracion de V.M. que mandara lo que mas convenga.

CC y RP Guarde Dios los muchos años, que la Christiandad necessita.

Manila y Juno 10 de 1688 años.

G. de Cucuzelaegui y Arriola

Translation

From the Governor of the Philippines—Report to Y.M. about the Fathers Procurators of the Society of Jesus who are going to that court and to Rome, and about their great need to bring a mission to those Islands.

Sire:

Upon this occasion, Sire, there go two religious of the Society of Jesus to that court, and that of Rome, as procurators for their province, appointed by the congregation that took place last year 1687 (in accordance with their usual practice every six years). They are: **Father Antonio Xaramillo**, religious whom they qualify, in addition to his many talents, with the fruitful experiences he has had in the Mariana Islands, and in these [Islands], with his assistance, about which, I am told, there exist notices in that supreme Royal Council that will confirm it; secondly, **Father Alexo Lopez**, with similar talents and good example, whose main purpose, according to what his Provincial has written me, is to go and conduct the religious business, in accordance with their rules, and to represent to Y.M. the need of this Province for a mission band of subjects for the ministries that they are in charge of, in these [Philippine] Islands, and in the Mariana Islands. As their relation and calculation say, there are 59 such ministries and 35 dependencies, in addition to those who reside in the colleges they have in the provinces of Cebu, Iloilo, port of Cavite, and in this city. To administer these, there are 104 subjects, and many are invalids, old, and sick; besides, they have not received any [new

ones] for the last years. They need 40 religious, to fill in this hole, as Y.M. will be informed by the enclosed consultation report, which will go by the third route, at the first despatch of mail that I will make to Y.M. As it is your wish that, for these parts, the request has to be channelled through that supreme Royal Council, I am obliged to report it to Y.M., and to add what was omitted in the said relation (perhaps because it is in their own interest). Indeed, in addition to the constant shortage of subjects in this Order, because none came during my term, and few came during the preceding years (as I am told), the need appears to be greater in view of the fact that these religious have had much fruit in their ministries, and in the other exercises of their institute in them, very specially in this city, with the teaching and education of the youth, the preaching, and administration of sacraments to the public (without prejudice to the other [orders]), the good effects, in addition to the work done by their permanent mission in the Mariana Islands, where some have died gloriously, and from which, should the present inconveniences cease, they could pass to the Kingdom of China; they would not be the last ones to do so, as Y.M. has ordered.

All the above reasons together are sufficient to convince me that they should carry on in the service of Y.M., and the welfare of these Islands, and this incites me to refer the matter to the superior consideration of Y.M., who will arrange what is most convenient.

May God preserve the Most Catholic and Royal Person for many years, to the benefit of Christendom.

Manila 10 June 1688.

G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola

Document 1688K

The voyage of the galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos* and a small ship in 1688

Sources: AGI Fil. 24-9-45, pp. 3-9; Fil. 24-9-49, pp. 1-2; Fil. 25-1-19, p. 1, 5-23.

Letter from the Governor of the Philippines to the King, dated Manila 21 May 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Sobre diferentes puntos de que dio quenta a su Magestad el año de 85; y 86 por la costa de Choromandel reducidos a breve relacion:

Por no cansar a V.M. con multiplicacion de cartas reducir en esta, en breve relacion algunos puntos, de que di quenta a V.M. el año pasado de ochenta y cinco, y por la costa de Choromandel, el año de ochenta y seis, y otros en esta manera.

*Como se concluyo la fabrica del Galeon **Santo Xpto de Burgos** con acierto y ahorro de costa:*

*Hace concluido la fabrica del Galeon **Santo Xpto de Burgos** en el Real de Solsongon con tan buen acierto, que segun su galego [=gálibo?], y la calidad de las maderas que compusieron su fabrica, a voz comun, es de los mejores que se han fabricado en estas yslas, cuia mejoría se puede regular tambien por el cuidado, que se ha puesto en el, y por el ahorro de la costa, que han echo otros de su porte de que dare quenta a V.M. en la primera ocasion, que se podía liquidar.*

Que hace viage dicho Galeon a la nueva España con otro vajel chico de un vezino y con este despacho, y los motivos que tubo para que baian dos. Con testimonio a n^o 16:

Hace viage al presente a la nueva España con otro vajel chico que va por su almiranta, fabricado por un vezino de esta ciudad, a caussa de que timidos, y obstinados, los demas de ella, de los subcesos, y arivadas antecedentes, y recelosos de exponerse a otra yqual, contingencia, que sin duda les acavara de aruinar, juntos en cavildo abierto, resolvieron el pedir en este gobierno por bien publico se hiciesse asi, a que concurrio el Dueño de dicho vajel ofreciendole de su voluntad, para que se despachase por

uenta de V.M. sin mas ynteres que una corta contribucion de las partes, que embarcasen en el, algunas piezas, o generos corrientes, por via de fletamento, afin solo de hazer este servicio a V.M. y bien a la republica, motivos, que en junta general de hacienda que celebre sobre el casso, se tubieron por muy urgentes; con que se resolvió en ella el que se despachase en dicha forma y no es dudable [sic] el que no haviendose rodeado assi, para hallarme con essas razones mas, p^a condescender con su pretencion no me atrebera a fiar de un galeon solo, el subcesso, de que depende el remedio de estas islas, y el peso del cuidado que carga sobre mi con mas extenssion que el de los vezinos, y hubiera descurrido y solicitado otro medio, para asegurar mas el acierto de este viaje, a no haver hallado este, que me ha parecido el menos costoso, para la real hacienda.

...

*Sacaronse del Galeon **San Telmo** en su desguaso 3,450 arrobas de fierro:*

*Del Galeon **San Telmo** que se desguaso en el dicho Real de Solsogon se aprovecharon asta 3,480 arrobas de fierro en que se puso expecial cuidado, para que se recaudase y se excusasse el gasto de el.*

...

C.C. y R.P. Guarde Dios muchos años como tan dilatada Monarquia necesita.

Manila y Maio 21 de 1688 años.

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola.

Translation.

Sire:

Regarding various points that he reported on to Your Majesty in the year 1685, and 1686 by way of the coast of Coromandel, summarized in this brief report:

So as not to tire Y.M. with a multiplicity of letters, I will briefly summarize here some points about which I reported to Y.M. this past year of 1685, and by way of the coast of Coromandel, in 1686, and others as follows:

How the construction of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** was successfully completed and with some savings:

The construction of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** was completed at the Royal camp in Sorsogon¹ in such good time that, according to its pattern/model, and the quality of the timbers used in her construction, the common opinion is that it is one of the best ships that have been built in these Islands. This improvement can be ascribed also to the care that was spent on it, and by the savings on costs, compared with others of its size, of which I will give a report to Y.M. at the first opportunity after the accounts have been finalized.²

1 Ed. note: That is, in the port of Bagatao.

2 Ed. note: The cost of building this galleon was 65,243 pesos (ref. AGI Fil. 25-1-19).

That galleon is making the voyage to New Spain with another small vessel belonging to a resident and with this despatch, and the motives that he had for sending two. With Record of proceedings N° 16.¹

She is on the way to New Spain with another small vessel that will act as her consort, that was built by a resident of this city, because the other residents, fearful and obstinate on the subject of the events and previous returns in distress, and fearing that they might be exposed to a repetition of this contingency, that would surely ruin them, had decided in an open meeting of the municipal council to ask this government to do this, in the interest of the public good. The owner of said vessel agreed to lend it willingly, to have it despatched at the expense of Y.M., without any other interest than a small contribution from the parties concerned in lading a few bundles, or current merchandise aboard it, by way of freight charges, in order to make this service to Y.M. and for the welfare of the republic, motives that in a general meeting of the Treasury that I held about this matter, were considered most valid; therefore, it was decided therein to despatch it in said manner and there is no doubt that if it had not been so arranged, I would have found myself with even more reasons to agree with their pretention, as I would not have dared to place the remedy of these Islands on the outcome of a single galleon, and I felt the weight of this worry more so than the residents could have, and I would have searched for another means to make sure that this voyage succeed, if things had turned out otherwise, but it has seemed to me to be the least costly [alternative] for the royal treasury.

...

The dismantling of the galleon **San Telmo** has produced 3,450 arrobas of iron:

When the galleon **San Telmo** was dismantled in the said Royal camp of Sorsogon, up to 3,480 arrobas of iron were salvaged. Special care had been taken in this operation, and many savings were made as a result.

...

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as this vast Monarchy needs.

Manila, 21 May 1688.

G. de Cruzeláegui y Arriola.

1 Ed. note: This testimony is in AGI Fil. 24-9-45. The owner of this private patache (named Pilar) was nominally Major Juan de Garaicoechea, but he had partners in the venture, one of whom was Tomás de Endaya.

Documents 1688L

Letters from Governor Curuzeláegui, dated Manila 9 July 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 14-1-4, pp. 1-5, 8.

L1. Letter to Secretary Antonio Ortiz de Otalora

Original in Spanish.

Señor mío

Haviendo aportado al puerto de San Jaçinto proximo al embocadero ó estrecho de San Bernardino un navio que remite el Ex[cellentiss]mo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España; y llegado a esta çiudad el Señor Don Francisco de Campos; despues de haver salido los cajones de pliegos para su Magestad me ha parecido participar esta notiçia en el Consejo, que lo executo en la ynclusa, y remitir al mismo paraxe del embocadero por si alcanzare a los vajeles que este año hacen viaje a la Nueva España, que se servirra V.S. de a bezarme de su vecino ordenandome quanto se le ofreciere de su obediencia[.]

Guarde Dios a V.S. muchos años como desseo.

Manila y Jullio 9 de 1688 años.

B[esa] la mano de V.S.

su humilde servidor,

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

[Al] Sr. D. Anttº Ortiz de Otalora

Translation.

My dear Sir:

A ship sent by his Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain has arrived at the port of San Jacinto, the nearest one to the Entrance of the Strait of San Bernardino, and from it there arrived at this city Don Francisco de Campos.¹

¹ Ed. note: The investigating Judge Francisco de Campos Valdivia.

Since I had already closed the crates containing the mail to His Majesty, it occurred to me to send you this latest news for the attention of the Council [L2 below] and to send it to the Entrance to catch the vessels that are making the voyage to New Spain this year. Your Lordship will please embrace your neighbor [for me] and I stand ready to obey any order you may have.

May God preserve your Lordship many years as I wish.

Manila, 9 July 1688.

Your humble servant who kisses the hand of your Lordship,

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola

[To] Mr. Antonio Ortiz de Otalora¹

L2. Letter to the King

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Filipinas

Da cuenta de haver aportado à aquellas yslas un navio de la Nueva España remitido por el Virrey de aquel Reyno y en el sesenta mill pesos de situado y D. Francisco de Campos con las comisiones que llevo de V.M.

Señor,

Despues de haverse çerrado y embiado al puerto los pliegos que remito en esta ocasion, me la da de escribir esta la notiçia que me sobrevino anti aier siete del corriente de haver aportado al de San Jacintho proximo al embocadero, o estrecho de San Bernardino un navio que remitió el Virrey de la Nueva España con sesenta mill pessos de situado, que aunque tan corto quanto le falta para ajustar el que V.M. tiene de [a]signado a estas Islas; pero estas se hallaban en tal extrema falta de socorro, que he estimado el referido como si hubiese sido mui aventajado, y finalmente pasare con el hasta el tornaviaje de los dos navios que despacho este año; y aunque por no haverlos havido el passado se hallaban estas Islas en el estado de su mayor neçessidad me yngeniara para mantenerlas hasta el tiempo referido, aunque faltase este año el socorro que trae dho navio en el qual vino D. Francisco de Campos con las comisiones que V.M. fue servido darle, y tal aceleracion que sin embargo de tener por todos los paraxes por donde acostumbran pasan las naos de Nueva España prevenidas espias de barias embarcaciones y otras centinelas burlo de tal modo su cuidado que solo un dia se me antiçipo la notiçia al de su llegada à esta ciudad, que fue ayer ocho del corriente y sin duda huviera sido del todo inopinada segun la diligencia que para conseguirlo puso, si fuera factible el ocultarse à las referidas atalayas.

Luego que llego se presento ante mi con su despacho, que obedeci con el debido rendimiento; y en su virtud le dare quanto auxilio y favor necesitare para la execucion de sus comisiones, a que inmediatamente dio principio en algunas diligencias que execu-

¹ Ed. note: This letter arrived at Madrid on 10 August 1689; it had come by advice boat from Veracruz.

to luego, y de que dara quenta a V.M. y en ellas se ha manifestado tan exacto en su Real servicio que me hallo mui gustosso con su venida como tan interesado en que aquel se consiga.

Y por que los pliegos de V.M. quedaren en el navio y hasta aora no han llegado, no puedo haver dado cumplimiento a los ordenes de V.M. que vendran en ellos[.] harelo luego que lleguen con el rendimiento que debo y en el entretanto no tengo otra novedad que poner en la Real notiçia de V.M. C.C. y R.P. guarde la divina en la felicidad que necessita su monarchia.

Mla y Jullio 9 de 1688 años.

G. de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

He reports that a ship from New Spain sent by the Viceroy of that Kingdom arrived at those Islands and aboard it 60,000 pesos of subsidy and Don Francisco de Campos with the commissions that he carried from Y.M.

Sire:

After I had closed and sent to the port the despatches that I am sending on this occasion, I must write this additional news that came to me the day before yesterday, the 7th of the current month. A ship has made port in that of San Jacinto next to the Entrance channel, or Strait of San Bernardino. It was sent by the Viceroy of New Spain with 60,000 pesos in subsidy which, though so short when compared with the amount assigned to these Islands by Y.M.; however, they were in such extreme lack of succor that I have esteemed said succor as if it was very useful, and finally I will make do with it until the return voyage of the two ships that I am despatching this year. And although these Islands were in the condition of greatest need on account of the lack of ships in the past, I might have endeavored to maintain them until said time, even if this year's succor had failed, the one brought in by said ship, aboard which came Don Francisco de Campos with the commissions that Y.M. was pleased to give him. He came with such speed that, in spite of the precautionary disposition of spies aboard various boats along the usual route taken by the galleons from New Spain and of other lookouts, he was so careful that he almost managed to outwit us completely; I heard of his coming only one day before he showed up at this city, which was on the 8th of the current month, and no doubt he would have arrived completely by surprise, in accordance with the effort he made to achieve it, had it been possible to hide himself from the above-mentioned watch-towers.

As soon as he arrived he presented himself before me with his despatch, which I obeyed with due submission, and by virtue of which I will give him as much assistance and favor as required for the execution of his commissions, to which he immediately gave a beginning in some proceedings that he then carried out, and about which he will report to Y.M. and in them he has showed himself so faithful in your Royal service that I find myself very pleased with his coming, as I am so interested in seeing it succeed.

And because the despatches from Y.M. might remain with the ship and they have not yet arrived, I cannot have complied with the orders of Y.M. that might come in them. I will do so as soon as they come with the submission that I must show and in the meantime I have no other news to report to Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may the divine Majesty save with the success that your monarchy needs.

Manila, 9 July 1688.

G. de Cruzeláegui y Arriola.¹

1 Ed. note: This letter to the King arrived at Madrid on 10 August 1689, with a letter from the Viceroy, the Count of Monclova.

Document 1688M

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to Antonio Ortiz de Otalora, dated Manila 3 December 1688

Arrival of the patache San Fernando sent by the Viceroy in 1688

Source: AGI Fil. 14-1-7, pp. 1-4.

Note: Antonio Ortiz de Otalera was the secretary of the Council of the Indies.

Original text in Spanish.

*Con la venida del vajel **Sancto Rey D. Fernando** a estas yslas, remitido en prevenzion y a falta de la comunicazion de los galeones de los dos años antecedentes, por el **Excellentissimo Señor, Conde de Monclova, Virrey de la Nueva España** con una porcion del situado, y socorro de ellas, he rreçivido cinco de V.S. las dos, de veinte y seis de Junio del año passado de mill seis çientos y ochenta y seis, remetidas por V.S. con ocassion de los azogues, que passaron a dho Reyno; otras dos de siete y veinte y tres de Junio de ochenta y siete con la flota; y la restante de cinco de agosto de dicho año, con las naos de Onduras; y con ellas todos los despachos y Reales Cédulas, de que V.S. haze mencion y contienen las indiçes, que las acompañan y cumpliendo, con lo que su Magestad tiene mandado y V.S. me ordena. Remito en esta ocassion la copia de ellos, recopilada en el que acompaña esta. Y asimismo el que corresponde a las que por esta via de la costa de Choro Mandel [sic], escribo a su Magestad suplicando a V.S. se sirva de disponer el que uno y otro, passe a esse supremo y Real Consejo, y de continuar a favorecerme con las nuevas, que celebro de la salud de V.S. por lo mucho que la desseo, y que me ocupe, en quanto por aca mereciere ser del agrado, y serviçio de V.S. que obedecere con pronta, y rendida voluntad.*

Dios guarde a V.S. felizes años.

Manila y Diciembre 3 de 1688 años.

B[esa] la mano de V.S.

su humilde servidor,

G. de Curuzelaegui y Arriola
[A] *Sr. Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora*

Translation.

With the coming of the vessel **Santo Rey Don Fernando** to these Islands, sent as a precautionary measure, on account of a lack of communication by galleons over the previous two years, by His Excellency the Count of Monclova, Viceroy of New Spain, with part of the subsidy and succor for them, I have received five from Your Lordship, two of which dated 26 June of the past year 1686 sent by Your Lordship by way of the quicksilver fleet that journeyed to said Kingdom; two others dated 7th and 23rd of June of 1687 aboard the fleet; and the remaining one dated 5 August of said year, aboard the galleons to Honduras. With them came all the despatches and Royal decrees that Your Lordship mentions and referred to in the list of contents that accompany them, and I am complying with H.M.'s orders and Your Lordship's orders as well. I am sending on this occasion a copy of them all, compiled on the enclosed paper. And in addition I am also enclosing another paper that lists the papers that I am despatching to His Majesty by this route of the coast of Coromandel, and I beg Your Lordship to please arrange for both to reach that supreme and Royal Council, and to continue to favor me with the news that I am glad to hear about the health of Your Lordship because of the great desire I have to do whatever might be deserving of your pleasure overhere, and the service of Your Lordship, that I might obey promptly, and very willingly.

May God save Your Lordship for happy years.

Manila, 3 December 1688.

Your humble servant,
who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,
G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.
[To] Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.¹

1 Ed. note: This letter was received at the secretarial office of the Council of the Indies in Madrid, via the mail from Andalusia, on 13 March 1690. This letter was seen in the Council on 4 April. Attached to it was a list of the decrees received from the King in 1688, and of his letters sent to the King on the same occasion.

Document 1688N

Four Pacific ships meet at Ticao Island in 1688

Letter from Governor Curuzeláegui to the King, dated Manila 3 December 1688

Sources: AGI Fil. 14-1-6, pp. 1-4; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 18, fol. 147 et seq.

Note: The four ships in question were: the frigate San Gabriel on the way to Guam; the galleon Santo Cristo on the way to Acapulco with Fr. Xaramillo aboard, along with the patache Pilar, which was owned by Tomás de Endaya & Co. (see Doc. 1690C2), plus the incoming patache San Fernando.

Original text in Spanish.

Del Governador de Phelipinas

Señor

[Carta N^o] 6. *Da razon a V.M. aunque no por extenso del estado de las yslas Marianas asta Junio de 1688 años.*

*Despues, Señor, de haver despachado la fragata **San Gabriel**, aviada en toda forma para las islas Marianas, como informe a V.M. en el despacho antecedenente, y de los demas exfuerzos que he puesto, para su socorro, y alivio de los malos subçessos anteriores; y estando ya en el puerto de Ticao, de los ultimos del enbocadero, con los dos que havian salido para Acapulco esperando tiempo para desembocar; con ocasion de haver llegado a el, el vaje! **Sancto Rey Don Fernando** de la Nueva España (de que en la primera [carta] hago relacion a V.M.) que toco en dichas yslas; tube aviso de cierta novedad, bien sensible, [lo] que ha subçedido en ellas y por justos motivos reservo para el primer despacho, pareçiendome solo digno de participar a V.M. en esta como el socorro que les trahia de dicho reyno, aquel vaje!, lo reçivieron los religiosos misioneros y que de estos passo a estas islas a dar las noticias del subçesso el Padre Thomas Cardeñosso uno de los mas antiguos de aquella mission, con otros ocho religiosos de diez que venian destinados para ella donde se quedaron los dos restantes.*

Y assimismo como desemboco dha fragata el dia diez de Agosto passado con las dos naos referidas sin que asta oy, se haia venido notiçia de ellas, que es buena señal para considerarla libre de arrivada y que Dios mediante habra conseguido su viaje y aque-

llas yslas nuevo socorro urgente, a quien tube tiempo para prevenir con este aviso, y para ynstruirla in los ordenes convenientes, y lo logre segun respuesta que tube del cavo principal de dha fragata de veinte y çinco de Jullio antecedente con que no dubdo de que con su llegada se remedie el perjuicio de la novedad y su buen subcesso.

Hallase en esta ciudad el Sargento Major Don Damian de Esplana con nuevo titulo de V.M. en que se sirve de hacerle merçed del gobierno de dichas yslas y no obstante la deyaçion echa del antecedente esta determinado, a bolver a ellas y usar del; para cuya deliberazion y obrar lo que fuere mas conforme al estado de dhas islas, es necesario esperar a que buelva la fragata y medir con el conozimiento del, las operaciones a que se hubiere de proçeder para hazer a su tiempo el despacho conveniente a ellas, y de lo que assi se executare y resultare de este viaje are quenta a V.M. en la primera ocassion C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios muchos años para amparo de la Christiandad.

Manila y Diziembre 3 de 1688 años.

G. de Cruzelaegui y Arriola

Translation.

From the Governor of the Philippines.

[Letter N^o] 6. He reports to Y.M., though briefly, on the condition of the Mariana Islands up to June 1688.

Sire:

Sire, after I had despatched the frigate **San Gabriel**, supplied quite properly, to the Mariana Islands, as I reported to Y.M. in the previous despatch, and about the other efforts I have made to succor them, and alleviate the bad outcomes of the past, it was still at the port of Ticao, one of the last ports of the Entrance channel, with two ships that had departed for Acapulco, awaiting weather to exit the channel. Then on the occasion of the arrival there of the vessel **Santo Rey Don Fernando** from New Spain (about which I report to Y.M. in my Letter N^o 1) that touched in said Islands, I heard of a certain novelty,¹ very deplorable, that had occurred there, which for just reasons, I reserve for the next despatch, but it seems to me that I should let Y.M. know in the present, how the succor which that vessel carried there from said Kingdom, was received by the religious missionaries and one of them, Father Tomás Cardeñoso, one of the oldest in that mission, came to these Islands, along with 8 other religious, from 10 who were coming destined for it, except two who remained there.²

And in addition, how said frigate exited on 10 August, along with the two above-mentioned galleons, and so far, we have not heard from them, which is a good sign as

1 Ed. note: He refers to the soldiers' mutiny in Guam.

2 Ed. note: Confused statement. Out of 10 missionaries waiting at Acapulco, only 2 destined to the Marianas made it in 1688; they were Fathers Aparicio, and Palavicino. In addition, an oblate layman, Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz, arrived aboard the San Gabriel from Manila in 1688.

it means that they may be free from a return in distress, and God willing they should have made it and those [Mariana] Islands would have gotten the new urgent succor, which I had time to arrange for with this advice, and to instruct it with appropriate orders, and I succeeded, according to the answer that I received from the main commander of said frigate dated 25 July previous. Therefore, I have no doubt that, with its arrival there, the prejudice caused by the novelty would have been remedied and succeeded well.¹

Sergeant-Major Don Damian de Esplana is found in this city, with a renewed letter of appointment from Y.M. in which you were pleased to favor him with the government of said Islands and in spite of his having resigned from the previous appointment, he is determined to return there and make use of it. In order for him to comply and to work towards an improvement in the condition of said Islands, it is necessary to wait for the frigate to return and, with knowledge of the situation, measure the operations that might be required in order to make a proper despatch to them, at the right time. And so, I will advise Y.M. of the eventual events and results of this voyage at the first opportunity.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years for the protection of Christendom.

Manila, 3 December 1688.

G. de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.²

1 Ed. note: In other words, the Governor sent a quick messenger to Ticao, and he got there before the 3 outbound ships had left that port. I have not seen a copy of this letter in the archives, nor the answer in question from the commander of the San Gabriel, Captain Juan de Medrano.

2 Ed. note: This letter was received at Madrid on 13 March 1690, and seen in the Council on 19 April.

Documents 16880

The soldiers' mutiny of 1688, as narrated by Fr. Bustillo

Source: RAH 9/2677. Note: As he says, he had just begun a term of office as Vice Provincial of the Mariana Mission, in replacement of Fr. Bouwens. He served in that post until 1694.

O1. First letter to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Agaña 20 November 1688

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Amantissimo Antonio Xaramillo Procurador General de Philipinas y Marianas a Madrid y Roma.

P.C.

A 26 de Agosto deste año de 88 llego a Marianas el Patache S. Gabriel y en el los PP. Mathias Cuculino, y Diego de Zarzosa y H^o Melchor de Santa Cruz [sic], y D. Juan de Medrano por Sargento Mayor deste Campo Mariano con la alegría que V.R. puede considerar de todos Nosotros.

Ya este día hacia 6 días que Nuestro Governador Quiroga estaba suelto; porque el que eligieron por Capitan los amotinados, se la pego a ellos mismos prendiendo al principal atizador y motor, soltando al Governador para cuyo mayor festejo y de su propia heroica accion disparò juntamente la artilleria y armas: y luego prendio a otros 3 de los mas malevolos, y con aprobacion del mismo Governador ajusticio, un día antes que apareciese la Balandra, al primero y a los otros 2, al uno un día antes, y al otro un día despues que dio fondo; dando aviso para mas quietud de los que solo merecian salir de Marianas y estan ya en el Patache para este fin. Otros 3 estan todavia presos.

Nuestra Balandra, o Patache S. Gabriel dio fondo en el nuevo y famoso Puerto de S. Francisco Xavier de Autan [sic] por cuya canal entro con todo el trapo hata abordar con la tierra y dar fondo donde lo dan las bancas de la tierra en lindo lama y lodo. No he tenido lugar de ir alla, pero Carlos Josseph aqui en Agadña me dice que caben Navios de alto borde, y el Padre Mathias que aqui en Autan caben 12 Naos y en el de Meriso, que es aun mejor, caben 20 todos de alto borde, y tan seguros (palabras son del Padre Mathias) que aunque perezia el mundo con qualquier viento, o Baguio, los galeones estan tan seguros en estos puertos, que no se pueden dessear mejores. Con que està Nuestro Lascano que no cabe

de contento por aver los descubierto, y dio fondo en el primero donde esta aora, al qual, por su gran devocion a S. Xavier, dio el nombre del Santo.

A 28 del dicho, 2 dias despues que se vio la Balandra, recibí cartas de Manila y entre ellas una de V.R. deste año, en la qual leyendo aquella clausula: **Si acaso Dios (me dice V.R.) dispusiese el que V.R. cuide de algo aunque sea mandando, no resista; sino baxe la cabeza, &c*** quedè muy pensativo, sobresaltado, y dudoso, diciendo entre mi: Que sera esto! porque ni por pensamiento pensè que significaba tanto. Abri una de un pliego, que me escribe el Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel, sin saber que era suya, porque aun no sabia que su Rev* era Provincial y leyendola vi que hablaba conmigo como si yo fuese aqui el Superior y su R* Provincial y mas quando lei a lo ultimo: **Haga V.R. (dice) que esta carta que le escribo aora quede en essa Residencia por orden de Provincial para que los que sucedieren executen los puntos que aqui advierto ett*** se me [h]elo la sangre temiendo lo que luego vi claramente por contenia otra con titulo de Vice Provincial de Marianas; pareciome no obstante que el buen viejo se avria equivocado al escribirlas, y cerrarlas, aunque por otra parte me hacia bateria la clausula de V.R., y mas quando adverti, en esta del P. Provincial de mismo pliego con dicho titulo, puntos tocantes a mi en particular, aqui fue quando con caso tan inopinado, y impensado se me elo la sangre totalmente y quede despavorido palpitando, temblando, y perdidos los pulsos de suerte que de repente parecia me avia asaltado un tremendo escalafrio poniendoseme la boca toda amarga como hiel[o] sin arrostrar a nada, ni a comer, ni a dormir, ni sosegar; aunque por otra parte me parecia sueño o quimera, o no se que me decia; porque parecia estar fuera de mi, o soñando; y como por otra parte veía los prenuncios de lo que avia de ser, por lo que se me escribia, no podia enjugar los ojos, que en esto hicieron bien su officio, ett* Procure hacerme fuerza, y reportarme, y sosegar el animo conformandome en todo y por todo con la voluntad de Dios, a cuya acogida siempre me he hallado bien: bendita sea su Divina Magestad.

Determinè en mi interior hacer todas las diligencias posibles para no admitir y renunciar quando se manifestase la Patente caso que hablase conmigo; y de no admitirme la renuncia, resolví asimismo en mi animo a irme quanto antes a Manila, y echarme a los pies del Padre Provincial aunque me diese la penitencia que gustase; porque en nada la tendria, aunque fuese qualquiera en comparacion de la que sentia en entrar en este triste officio. Pero para proceder con mas acierto, encomendandolo mui de veras a Dios y a su Santissima Madre, y a los Santos de Nuestra Comp* y a otros celestiales patrones mios, resignandome todo en las manos de Dios con la mayor indiferencia que pude, di parte a mi confessor, y a otro Padre en secreto de lo que me pasaba, y de lo que pensaba hacer, caso que, ett* Consolaronme con que todas las cosas las dispone Dios, y que si era asi; no resistiese a su Divina disposicion, ett* ni en renunciar, ni en irme a Manila porque no tenia razon para ello, y que el Padre Provincial lo sentiria a par de muerte: y asi que tuviese paciencia, y se lo ofreciese a Dios, que todos se hallarian bien conmigo, y me ayudarian en todo, porque todos me querian bien, y se hallarian mui contentos; y al contrario si no quisiese admitir, o irme a Manila lo qual no podia hacer por razones que me dieron, y que lo sentirian mucho los de la Mission ett* Con que huve de tragar saliba amarga, y procurarme quietar, y sacrificar a Dios mi voluntad en la de la santa obediencia en primer lugar, y luego en los desta Mission, a quienes todos deseo servir con todas mis potencias alma, vida, ett* aunque no como tan buenos y tan Angelicales y Apostolicos religiosos merecen que cierto de verdad me confunden todos viendo los tan fervorosos en el Servicio Divino, y observancia de Nuestro Santo Instituto, &c*

Manifestose pues la Patente el dia 10 de Septiembre (que si me coge desprevenido y de repente, sin saberlo yo antes, pienso que me caygo pasmado, o muerto) y a todo me huve de rendir y sujetar, cauti-

vando mi corta entendimiento en las disposiciones de Dios por medio de la Santa obediencia y cargando con temblor, y temor tan grande y tan grave peso sobre las fuerzas, ett^a del mas pobre y debil sujeto, que tiene la Universal Comp^a O pobre Mission Mariana a que estado tan miserable has llegado! Dios se duela de ti, y te rija, y gobierne todo el poder del Espiritu Santo, pues tienes por Superior y Cabeza Espiritual a quien no tiene rastro de espiritu, ni cosa buena chica ni grande! O espiritu Consolador *dulcis hospes animæ, dulce refrigerium: Accende lumen sensibus: Infunde amorem, infirma nostri corporis, virtute firmans perpeti, &c^a Ductore sic te prævio, &c^a*. Conocieron los PP. que se hallaron presentes a la manifestacion de la Patente, y despues los otros mi afliccion, y me consolaron, como los de arriba, y lo mismo el Governador que no cabia en si de contento, segun decian los soldados, los quales tambien, y Nuestros Marianos daban muestras de mucha alegria; y yo no se porque?

A 11 de octubre acabaron de llegar a Agaña los PP. que viven fuera, que hasta entonces no fue possible convocarlos a junta por la concurrencia de varias y precissas ocupaciones de la llegada del Patache, y acarreo del socorro desde el nuevo Puerto de S. Xavier de Autan hasta cabezera de Agaña. Y aviendo concluido a 14 del dicho con nuestra junta, y consultas que se ofrecieron, el día siguiente se volvieron a ir los 4 PP. asistentes en Santa Rosa de Agat Padre Juan Tilpe, ministro de alli y su comp^o Padre Francisco Palavicino para aprender lengua: y de S. Dionisio de Umatag Padre Basilio le Rouxl [sic], y su comp^o Padre Gerardo Bouwens, este para ir y venir desde Umatag a decir Missa y predicar los dias de fiesta a la gente del Patache en Autan, porque asi me lo pidio el buen zelo de dicho Padre Gerardo.

[The false news of Fr. Xaramillo as first Bishop of the Marianas]

No puedo significar a V.R. con palabras el sumo gozo que todos sus con-Marianos de V.R. hemos tenido en saber que a V.R. le aya Dios elegido por Procurador a Madrid y Roma desta Nuestra Provincia Philippina y santa Mission Mariana por parecernos, y con mucha razon, que V.R. ha de conseguir para mucha gloria de Dios y credito de Nuestra Comp^a lo que todos deseamos asi para Filipinas como para Marianas. Quiera Nuestro Señor y su Santissima Madre darle a V.R. mucha salud y vida como incesantemente se lo suplicamos hasta dejarnos le ver con el logro y aumentos conseguidos para toda esta Nuestra Provincia y Mission Mariana que V.R. lleba tan en las medulas de su corazon: para cuya fin ba V.R. con la experiencia de tantos años en una y otra parte bien enterado de los medios (como V.R. nos escribe) que se han de poner, y cosas, que se han de pedir en una y otra Curia para salvacion de tantas almas en el establecimiento desta su christiandad y Iglesia Mariana, para cuya primer Prelado y Fundador de Prelados y obispos della tube la primera noticia (que al instante participè a todos) en carta del Padre Ambrosio Ortiz de Napoles y 7 de Febrero de 87, que recibí por Junio deste año de 88 con el Patache Perulero S. Fernando, cuya nueva y palabras, que me cogieron bien de nuevo, y me causaron (y causò a todos) tanta alegria, y ternura, que apenas podia leerlas parando en ellas por dar lugar a los ojos empañados en lagrimas, y el corazon, que parece se me queria salir del demasiado afecto y contento, ett^a Son, digo, las que se siguen: “Añado (dice pues el Padre Ambrosio en dicha carta) que a 28 del mes pasado se vio en Congregacion consistorial de orden de su Santidad la instancia de su Magd. para erigir Catedral [sic] en las Marianas, y darles propio obispo, para lo qual nombra y presenta su Magd. al Padre Xaramillo, y pide que su Santidad se lo mande con precepto. El decreto fue como se sigue: “Die 28 Januarij 1687. Sacr. Congr^o censuit, esse locum erectioni, assignata prius dote per Regem Catholicum prout servatum fuit in Indijs Filipinis cum clausulis solitis. Et quoad personam P. Saramillo supplicandum SSmo. pro præcepto, attenta præcisa necessitate.”

*Y yo añado que atenta esta precisa necesidad, concedido esto por su Santidad como todos esperamos y rogamos a Dios y a su Santissima Madre es necessario **necessitate medij** para el aumento desta Christiandad y buena administracion destas almas; que se pida, y conceda su Magd. Catholica que si V.R., o otro qualquier Missionero Mariano que aya estado aqui y le duela esto, viene por obispo de Marianas venga juntamente por Governor y Capitan General dellas; y buelvo a repetir, que esto es tan necessario **necessitate medij** para que esta Christiandad se mantenga, y sea bien administrada, y bien tratados los Indios tan maltratados estos ultimos gobiernos con intolerables faenas destos Cabos militares, que sino, hallo dificultoso el buen regimen politico, militar, y espiritual, y el alibio destos pobres sacandolos de tantas cargas como V.R. sabe por experiencia que los han cargado y cargan estos Governadores seculares. Acerca de los quales, escaldado ya dellos por mas Santos que sean, no dare mi parecer en abono dellos para que gobiernen esto; porque **honores mutant mores; sed rarò in meliores**, y si son santos nos martirizan con cuchillo de palo y quieren sobrepujar en todo; aunque sea menospreciando a los Ministros Evangelicos y meterse en sus ministerios, y no ajustarse en las mas cosas con ellos, ett* porque lo tienen por menos valer: De lo qual se siguen desazones, y otras cosas que son mas para calladas que para escritas; de tal suerte que son intolerables en sus cosas, y aun exponen, aunque sin malicia, a que se pierdan algunas almas. Ai son de conciencia poco ajustada, resultan escandalos, muertes, y otras desgracias, y por el consiguiente la condenacion eterna de muchos, que es el peor de los males, y se frustra en parte la Predicacion Evangelica y celo Catholico de Nuestros Reyes.*

*Por todo lo qual juzgo que por ser este el unico punto y medio eficaz para lo que su Magd. tanto desea en Marianas y que por esto gasta sus reales averes, se ha de pretender lo dicho con el empeño possible hasta conseguirlo; porque sino **tota hæc maquina espiritual Mariana ruet, et corruct**. Pero ha de ser trayendo su Illustrissima uno de ciencia y experiencia militar que sea su Theniente General y execute las cosas criminales castigando delitos ett* que tocante a esto es menester necessarisimamente juez inmediato que rija y castigue con vara de hierro asi a los malos soldados, como a los Indios malevolos: que si no ay otro puede ser D. Josseph de Quiroga, que D. Juan de Medrano aunque parece que tiene valor, parece que, sino me engaño, sabe poco de militia, segun lo que aqui se ve, y su salud es delicada.*

*Parece que se viene a los ojos una pregunta, y es, que, supuesto lo dicho, porque se ha pedido a dicho Quiroga para que gobierne esto? A lo qual digo que sera **respectu diversorum, id est**, que en comparacion de Esplana es mejor Quiroga, **salvo meliori**, ett* diran los deste parecer, y que si se mudan los pareceres de aca sera porque se mudan estos hombres en entrando a gobernar conforme a lo de **honores mutant mores; sed rarò in meliores**, y sino tienen la capacidad sufficiente, ett* vienen a dar en lo del **stultus ut luna mutatur**, que con este son y mudanzas hace[n] baylar los dictámenes: con que **prudētis est mutare consilium**, sino tubiere lugar para escribir a la Señora Duquesa de Aveyro, a la Reyna Madre y al Rey N.S. para que lo dicho con efecto se consiga; en otra, queriendo Dios embiare a V.R. instrumentos para que si fuere necessario por parte y a peticion desta Mission amplamente lo pueda V.R. pedir, que aunque estoy bien cierto que V.R. por si estando con la masa entre manos, y tambien recibido, aun desde estas partes tan remotas, en Madrid lo conseguira facilissimamente; todavia, por si fuere necesario por lo menor **ad melius esse**, ira lo dicho para que por ninguna via se dexede conseguir cosa tan importante y de tan graves, y utilissimas consecuencias para el remedio total y eterno de todas estas pobres almas Marianas.*

Tres cartas he recibido de V.R. con esta Balandra una desde el pueblo de S. Miguel y Julio de 86, de dos pliegos y medio toda llena de caridad y afecto a este su inutil siervo, y de finezas obradas por esta su

amada Mission en todas partes y por todos modos, y medios ett^a Dios se lo pague una y mil veces a V.R., como tambien las nuevas que V.R. ha sido servido de embiarnos.

*Otra del mismo año y Manila 22 de Agosto, rotulada al Padre Gerardo Vice Provincial y a mi, tocante a lo de **Margarita** (muger de Zibuaur, difuntos) que era un fardillo de valor de 12 pesos convertidos en ropa, el qual no ha llegado; porque no se halla: sus parientes, para quienes venia esto, si tiene algunos; (por lo menos la muger de Ramirez era su Hermana) todos, hasta la dicha muger de Ramirez, estan huidos en otras Islas. Y como dice V.R. que si no tubiere parientes, se reparta entre algunos PP. suplicandoles la encomiende a Dios: esto encargare quanto antes, ya que no parece dicho fardillo.*

*A la otra de V.R., de que hago mencion arriba, cuya fecha es de Cavite y Junio 13 de 88, estando V.R. para embarcarse para Europa: digo que no se ha hallado mas que el un fardo de tabaco de los 2 grandes que V.R. dice nos remite pra repartir entre todos, y entre Ayihi y su muger, a quienes he dado el recado de V.R. con su buena cantidad de tabaco, y se alegraron mucho y de que V.R. baya a donde ba, de cuya buelta les he prometido grandes cosas en nombre de V.R. segun lo que V.R. escribe en esta: y de que Dios mediante le han de ver a V.R. por aca **achaártin Santo Papa, yan higuán achártin Rey; sa i Obispo, yan cau Gofnador, ya o ta dimói, yan ta ñiginñgi (iyug hami nga Pare) canoña: ya o sahñgi tihonña guihi i nga o hai Obispo, yan sahngi i nga o hai Gógofnador, ett^a con las quales palabras ponian tanto ojo y no caben de alegria como tambien Pedro Inog y su H[erman]o Cristobal, ett^a Dios por su infinita misericordia nos conceda el vivir hasta que lo veamos yan sorongta ara ngo o ta fan matay-mágof.***

Gran tormenta de persecuciones se nos han levantado en Manila: el Señor pague a V.R. lo que alli trabajo y mas siendo dignissimo Rector de aquel colegio quando le tenian cercado y con tantos soldados dentro y fuera del: las puertas que descerrajaron ett^a para sacar a Bolibar, ett^a Dios le de a V.R. fuerzas y salud para que de razon de todo, donde conviene ett^a.

Acabo esta sin poder desechar de mi la pena, que me causa este triste officio y por eso no puedo dexar de dar a V.R. mis cordiales y amorosas quejas en aver influido en Manila (que asi me lo sospecho con bastante fundamento) para que me diesen carga tan pesada. Por amor del Señor que V.R. me ayude a deshacer el yerro suplicando al P. Provincial como yo lo hago aora y nunca dejare, ni cessare de hacerlo en todas cartas le escribiere hasta conseguirlo para que me descargue; porque es cosa mui indigna que aviendo tenido esta Mission por Superiores tantos varones Apostolicos y de tanta virtud y letras, careciendo yo de todas estas prendas, este ocupando el mismo puesto: asi se lo suplico a su Rev^a por amor de un solo Dios, postrado a sus pies con lagrimas en los ojos, y que no quiera viva yo desconsolado negandome peticion tan justa.

En lo demas me remito a la relacion que ira, y a otra que quiza será forzoso escribir por lo que dixi arriba. Y despues quanto vengan las Naos de Castilla sera forzoso escribir lo que se ofreciere y cansar mas y mas a V.R., cuya vida y salud nos guarde el Señor muchos años como desseamos y hemos menester todos los que estamos en Marianas suplicandose, como tambien suplico a V.R. no se olvide deste su mal Hermano y peor siervo ante su divina Magd. en sus santos sacrificios y fervorosas oraciones ett^a

Agadña de S. Juan de Guan una de las Marianas y Noviembre 20 de 1688.

El peor Hermano y mas inutil siervo de V.R.

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dearest Father Antonio Xaramillo, Procurator General of the Philippines and Marianas in Madrid and Rome.

Peace of Christ.

On 26 August of this year 1688 the patache **San Gabriel** arrived at the Marianas and aboard it were Fathers Mathias Cuculino and Diego de Zarzosa, and Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz [sic], and Don Juan de Medrano as Sergeant-Major of this Mariano Camp, with the joy that Y.R. can imagine on the part of all of us.

On that day, it had been already 6 days since our Governor Quiroga had been freed, because the man whom the mutineers had elected as their Captain overthrew them himself by seizing the main disturber and prime mover, and releasing the Governor. To celebrate this feat better and his own heroic action he fired the cannon and the firearms together, and then he seized 8 more of the evil-doers, and with the approval of the Governor himself, he executed the first one, one day before the sloop appeared, and of the other 2, one was executed one day before, and the other one day after it had anchored, giving advice of it, the better to calm down those who only deserved to leave the Marianas and who are now aboard the patache for this purpose.¹ Three others are still in jail.

Our sloop, or patache **San Gabriel** anchored in the new and famous port of San Francisco Xavier of Autan [sic]² through whose channel it came in with full sail until it came near the shore and anchored where the local canoes do so in a pretty muddy bottom. I have not had the opportunity to go there, but [the pilot] Carlos José who is here in Agaña tells me that sea-going ships can fit in, and Father Mathias says that here in Autan there is room for 12 galleons and in the port of Merizo, which is even better, there is room for 20, all sea-going, and so safely (in the words of Father Mathias) that although the world perished with whatever wind, or storm, the galleons are so safe in these ports that one cannot hope for better ones. Therefore, our Lazcano ought to be happy for having discovered them, he who anchored first where it is now, and to which he had given the name of St. [Francis] Xavier, on account of his great devotion to the Saint.

On the 28th of the month, 2 days after the sloop was seen, I received letters from Manila and among them one from Y.R. of this year, in which, upon reading that phrase: "If perchance God (Y.R. says) should arrange for Y.R. to take care of something, though it be giving orders, do not resist it, but lower your head, etc." I was left very pensive, shocked, and doubtful, saying to myself: "What would this be? because I did not even think it possible that it could mean so much. I opened another one of the

1 Ed. note: Patache, sloop, or frigate. Small ships were not always described accurately, even by eyewitnesses.

2 Ed. note: This appears to be the same spot as the Aatan marked on the Coello map of 1856, as it was inside the reef connecting Guam with Cocos Island. The port of Merizo was also called Piga, even then (see Doc. 1684L). In fact, the new port was located between these two places, at Tachoc (see Doc. 1689B1).

letters, written to me by the Fr. Provincial Luis Pimentel, not knowing that it was his, because I did not know yet that His Reverence was Provincial, but while reading it, I realized that he was speaking to me as if I were Superior here and His Reverence Provincial, the more so when I came to the end: "Y.R. is to make sure (says he) that this letter that I am writing to you now remains at that Residence by order of the Provincial so that those who will eventually succeed you will carry out the points that I warn about here, etc." My blood froze, as I feared what I later saw clearly as another was addressed [to me] with the title "Vice-Provincial of the Marianas." Still, it seemed to me that the good old man had made a mistake in writing them, and sealing them, although on the other hand the phrase used by Y.R. was bothering me, and the more so when I noticed in the letter from Fr. Provincial, the letter with the title in question, points regarding me personally. Here is when my blood totally froze, at such an unexpected turn of events, and I was left breathless, with my heart pounding, shaking, and no more pulse so that it suddenly seemed as if I had been hit by a tremendous chill, that left my mouth completely bitter like ice, leaving me unable to do anything, not even for eating, sleeping, or resting. Although on the one hand it all seemed like a dream or a chimera, or I do not know what it was, because it seemed as if I were outside of myself, or dreaming, on the other hand I could see the signs announcing what it had to be, given what I was told by the letters, as my eyes could not trick me and were doing their work very well, etc. I tried to regain my strength, and to control myself, and calm my mind, by accepting everything completely as the will of God, in whom I have always found a good refuge. Praise be to His divine Majesty!

I decided within myself to make every effort possible to refuse and renounce the Patent whenever it might show up, in case it should mention my name, and if my renunciation not be accepted, I also decided in my mind to go as quickly as possible to Manila and throw myself at the feet of the Fr. Provincial, though he might give me the punishment that he liked, because I would have nothing to do with it, though it be anything else whatever, compared with what I would feel upon assuming this sad position. However, to proceed more assuredly, by recommending myself very sincerely to God and to His most holy Mother, and to the Saints of our Society and to other heavenly patrons of mine, and resigning myself completely in the hands of God with as much indifference as I could, I reported to my confessor and to another Father in secret about what was going on, and what I thought of doing, in case of, etc. They consoled me with [the idea that] God arranges all things, and if that was so, then I should not resist His divine disposition, etc. neither by renouncing, nor going to Manila, because I had no reason for doing so, and that Father Provincial would resent it as much as death itself. And so, I was to be patient, offer it to God, and they would help me in everything, because everyone liked me very much, and would be very pleased; otherwise, if I were to refuse, or go off to Manila, something I could not do for the reasons they gave me, those of the Mission would resent it, etc. Therefore, I had to swallow some bitter saliva, and try to calm myself down, and made a sacrifice of my will to God, first of all in the name of holy obedience, and then to those of this Mission, whom I wish to serve, all of them,

with all my powers, soul, life, etc. though not as well as such angelical and apostolical religious men deserve to be; true it is that they all confound me when it comes to fervor in the divine service and the observance of our Holy Institute, etc.

Well, the Patent appeared on the 10th of September (if it had caught me unaware and by surprise, if I had not known about it beforehand, I think I would have fainted, or died) and I had to submit and subject myself to everything, captivated as I was with trying to understand God's decisions through holy obedience and accepting upon my shoulders with trepidation and fear such a heavy and serious burden beyond the strength, etc. of the poorest and weakest subject that the Society has. O poor Mariana Mission! What miserable condition you have reached! May God have pity on you, and rule you, and may the Holy Spirit govern you with all his power! Because you have as a Superior and spiritual leader someone who has not the least trace of spirit, nor any good thing, small or great! O consoling Spirit *dulcis hospes animæ, dulce refrigerium: Accende lumen sensibus: Infunde amorem, infirma nostri corporis, virtute firmans perpet[ui], &c^a Ductore sic te prævio, &c^a*¹ When the Fathers who were present at the opening of the Patent, and afterwards the others, found out about my affliction, they consoled me, as those above, and even the Governor who was outside of himself with joy, as the soldiers were saying. They too, and our Marianos did show signs of being very happy, but I don't know why.

On 11 October, the Fathers who lived outside finished to arrive at Agaña. Until then it has not been possible to gather them for a meeting, on account of their various and necessary occupations in connection with the arrival of the patache, and the transport of the succor from the new port of San Xavier of Autan as far as the capital of Agaña. And after our meeting and some consultations were over on the 14th of said month, the next day the 4 Fathers assigned outside went home: Father Juan Tilpe, as minister assigned to Santa Rosa of Agat, with his companion Father Francisco Palavicino, to learn the language; and to San Dionisio of Umatag, Father Basilio le Roulx, and his companion Father Gerardo Bouwens. The latter is to come and go between Umatag and Autan, to say mass and preach on holidays to the men of the patache, because the good zeal of said Father Gerardo asked me so.

[The false news of Fr. Xaramillo as first Bishop of the Marianas]²

I cannot express with words to Y.R. how extremely pleased all your Mariano colleagues were in learning that God has elected Y.R. as Procurator of this our Philippine Province and holy Mariana Mission in Madrid and Rome, as it seemed to us, for many reasons, that Y.R. must succeed in what we all wish for the greater glory of God and

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- 1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Sweet host of the soul, sweet consolation: kindle the light of the senses: impart love, strengthening the weak parts of our body with constant fortitude, etc. Thus I warn you through a leader, etc."
 - 2 Ed. note: The King of Spain wanted to appoint him a bishop, but it did not make any sense, when there were fewer than 5,000 inhabitants in the Marianas at the time. When the Court heard about the near annihilation of the Mission in 1684, the matter of a bishopric was quietly dropped.

to the credit of our Society, not only for the Philippines but also for the Marianas. May Our Lord and His most holy Mother give Y.R. much health and live as we ceaselessly beg them for, until we can see you again, with what you will have managed to get for the progress of the whole Province and Mariana Mission, which Y.R. holds in the pith of your heart. For this purpose, Y.R. carries the experience of so many years in both places and are well aware of the means (such as those Y.R. wrote about) that must be put into place, and things, that must be solicited in both of those Courts for the salvation of so many souls in the establishment of your Christian community and Mariana Church, as her first Prelate and Founder of Prelates and bishops thereof. As soon as I received the first news about this, in a **letter from Father Ambrosio Ortiz dated Naples 7 February 1687, which I received this year of 1688 with the Peruvian patache San Fernando, I immediately told everyone.**¹ **This news and words, which grabbed me once more, and caused me (and caused to everyone) so much joy, and tenderness, that I could hardly read because my eyes were blurred with tears, and my heart seemed to want to jump out with too much affection and happiness, etc. The words in question were the following: “I add (says Father Ambrosio in said letter) that on the 28th of the past month, there was considered in a meeting of the Consistory, by order from His Holiness, the request from His Majesty to erect a Cathedral in the Marianas, and to give them their own bishop, for which post His Majesty appoints and presents Father Xaramillo, and asks His Holiness to oblige him with an injunction. The decree was as follows:**

“Die 28 Januarij 1687. Sacr. Congr^o censuit, esse locum erectioni, assignata prius dote per Regem Catholicum prout servatum fuit in Indijs Filipinis cum clausulis solitis. Et quoad personam P. Saramillo supplicandum SSmo. pro præcepto, attenta præcisa necessitate.”²

As for me, I add that “in view of this specific need,” once His Holiness has granted it, as we all hope and pray to God and to His most holy Mother, it is necessary “based on need” for the progress of this Christian community and good administration of these souls, that His Catholic Majesty be asked that if Y.R. or any other Mariano missionary who has been here and suffered from this, and is coming as bishop of the Marianas to come also as Governor and Captain General of them.³ I repeat that this is so necessary “based on need” in order for this Christian community to maintain itself, and to be well administered, and the Indians well treated, they who have been so mistreated by

1 Ed. note: When he wrote this letter, Fr. Ortiz had just finished publishing his translation into Italian of Fr. García's *Life and Times of Fr. Sanvitores*.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “On this day, 28 January 1687, the Sacred Congregation [of the Propagation of the Faith] has voted in favor of the erection, previously endowed by the Catholic King, for the benefit of the Philippine Indians with the usual clauses. And since the request to His Holiness specifies the person of Fr. Xaramillo, in view of the specific need.” Ed. comment: In fact, more than one year later, the decree has not yet been signed by the Pope (see Doc. 1688D).

3 Ed. note: This idea was not as bad as it sounds, considering that his role as bishop would have been a minor one, and that it was not against the Spanish custom to appoint Bishops and Archbishops as civil Governors or Viceroy.

these last governments, and ordered by these military Officers to perform intolerable chores. Otherwise, I find it would be difficult to achieve a good political, military and spiritual regime, and the alleviation of these poor people, by relieving them from so many charges that, as Y.R. knows from experience, have been placed and continue to be placed upon them by these secular Governors. Regarding which, already scalded by them as we are, no matter how saintly they may be, I will not give my opinion in their favor of their governing this, because *honores mutant mores; sed raro in meliores*.¹ If they are saintly they torture us with a wooden knife and they want to surpass in everything, though it be not appreciated by the Gospel Ministers and they meddle in their ministries, and do not agree with them on the majority of issues, etc. because they think them of less value. This results in annoyances, and other things that are better left unsaid than written down; so much so that they are intolerable in their affairs, and they even run the risk, though without malice, that some souls will be lost. When they do not have a just conscience, this results in scandals, deaths, and other misfortunes, and therefore the eternal condemnation of many, which is the worst thing of all, and the preaching of the Gospel and the Catholic zeal of our Kings are partly frustrated.

For all the above reasons, I think that this is the single point and efficient means that His Majesty has, to achieve what he wishes so much to achieve in the Marianas, and the reason why he spent his royal funds, and that one must seek this with all possible endeavor until one gets it, because otherwise *tota hæc maquina espiritual Mariana ruet, et corruet*.² However, Your Worship should bring along a man with military knowledge and experience to act as your Lieutenant-General and to carry out the criminal affairs, such as punishing the crimes, etc. regarding which, it is very much necessary that a judge be immediately available to rule and punish with an iron bar, not only the bad soldiers but also the Indian evil-doers. If no-one else is available, he could be Don José de Quiroga, because Don Juan de Medrano, although he appears to be courageous, seems, unless I am mistaken, to have little military knowledge, based on what I saw here, and his health is delicate.

It seems to me that a question might come to mind upon reading this, and it is that, given what was said, why was this Quiroga sent, if not to govern this place? My answer will be *respectu diversorum, id est*,³ when compared with Esplana, Quiroga is better, *salvo meliori*,⁴ some would say of this opinion. The truth is that if opinions change overhere, it will be because these men change once they become governors, according to the saying *honores mutant mores; sed raro in meliores*, and unless they have enough capability, etc. they end up as in the saying *stultus ut luna mutatur*,⁵ which

1 Ed. note: A Latin proverb meaning: "Honors change behaviors, but seldom for the better."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "the whole spiritual machinery of the Marianas might be ruined and fall apart."

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "with hindsight."

4 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "unless better ones [can be found]."

5 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "as foolish as a lunatic."

is what they are like and changes make them lose balance in their judgments. Therefore, *prudens est mutare consilium*,¹ unless there be an opportunity to write to the Duchess of Aveiro, to the Queen Mother and to the King our Lord, so that the above can be obtained. On the other hand, may God send Y.R. the instruments that might be required, so that, on behalf and at the request of this Mission, Y.R. may ask for it fully, because although I am very sure that Y.R., now that you are with hammer in hand, and made so welcome in Madrid, even from places so remote as these, you could get it very easily, still, if it were necessary to be even better yet, I will go on to say what I have to say, to make sure that such an important and so serious a business will succeed, one of very useful consequences for the total and eternal remedy of all these poor Mariana souls.

I have received three letters from Y.R. with this sloop. One, dated from the town of San Miguel in June 1686, is two and a half folios full of charity and affection towards this your useless servant and full of well-worded polite comments about this your beloved Mission, in all its parts and in all manners and ways, etc. May God repay Y.R. not once but a thousand times, as well as for the news that Y.R. was pleased to send us.

Another letter was dated Manila 22 August of the same year, and addressed to Father Gerardo, Vice-Provincial, and myself, and concerned the business of **Margarita** (the wife of Zibaur, both deceased), which was a small bundle worth about 12 pesos converted into clothing. This bundle has not arrived, because it is not there. Her relatives, to whom it was destined (at least the wife of Ramirez, who was her sister), have all fled, even the wife of Ramirez, to other Islands. And as Y.R. says, if she has no relatives, it is to be distributed among some Fathers, begging them to commend her [soul] to God; this I will do as quickly as possible, now that said small bundle seems lost.

With respect to the other letter from Y.R., which I mention above, and is dated Cavite 13 June 1688, as Y.R. was about to embark for Europe, I declare that only one bundle of tobacco has been found, out of the 2 large ones that Y.R. says he sent us for distribution among everyone, and among Ayihi and his wife. I have passed the message of Y.R. to the latter two, and told them where you are going, and I promised great things for them upon your return, on behalf of Y.R., in accordance with what Y.R. wrote in this letter, and that, God willing, they will see Y.R. again overhere *achaártin Santo Papa, yan higuán achártin Rey; sa i Obispo, yan cau Gofnador, ya o ta dimói, yan ta ñginñgi (iyug hami nga Pare) canoiña: ya o sahñgi tihonña guihi i nga o hai Obispo, yan sahngi i nga o hai Gógofnador*, etc.² Such words were said with so much care, and they are besides themselves with joy, and so are Pedro Inog and his brother Cristobal, etc. May God in His infinite mercy grant us that we may live until we see him again *yan sorongta ara ngo o ta fan matay-mágof*.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "it would be prudent to revise the counsel".

2 Ed. note: Chamorro phrase whose meaning seems to express joy at the Pope and the Spanish King having made Fr. Xaramillo Bishop, and perhaps Governor.

A great storm of persecutions has been raised against us in Manila. May the Lord repay Y.R. for what you worked toward there, specially when you were the most worthy Rector of that college when they surrounded it, with so many soldiers inside and outside; the doors that they wrecked, etc. in order to find Bolivar, etc. May God give Y.R. strength and health so that you may report on everything, where it is proper to do so, etc.¹

I conclude this letter, by repeating that I am sorry that I cannot rid myself of this sad post. That is why I cannot but let Y.R. know of my cordial and loving complaints for having influenced the process in Manila (at least that is what I suspect happened, with sufficient basis for saying so) for me to be given such a heavy burden to bear. For God's sake, Y.R. should help me undo this mistake, by begging the Fr. Provincial, as I myself do now and will never stop begging for in all the letters that I may write to him until I get him to discharge me, because it is unthinkable that someone like me, who lacks all the qualifications of the very apostolic and very virtuous Superiors that this Mission has had, be now in charge of it. So, I beg Y.R., for the love of our only God, prostrated as I am at your feet, with tears in my eyes. You should not condemn me to live a disconsolate life, by denying me such a just petition.

As for the rest, I am enclosing a report, and perhaps another letter which I might have to write, on account of what I said above. And afterwards, whenever the galleons come from [New] Spain, it will be necessary to write about the latest events, and bother Y.R. even more. May the Lord save the life of Y.R. for many years, as we wish and need, all of us here in the Marianas. They beg Y.R., as I do, not to forget this your bad Brother and worst servant before His divine Majesty in your holy sacrifices and fervent prayers, etc.

Agadña in San Juan of Guan, one of the Marianas, on 20 November 1688.

The worst Brother and most useless servant of Y.R.,

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+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

1 Ed. note: The author refers to Pedro de Bolivar, a member of the Audiencia of Manila, who, in February 1687, sought refuge in the Jesuit college, to avoid persecution from a vengeful Archbishop Pardo after he had returned from exile. The soldiers searched the building 11 times, even breaking locks, etc. but they did not find Bolivar. After 9 days, he came out of hiding, of his own accord, and was taken into internal exile on the Bataan peninsula, where his wife had been taken earlier (ref. B&R 39: 136).

O2. Second letter dated Agaña 1 December 1688

Original text in Spanish.

*Mi Padre Antonio Xaramilo Procurador General a Madrid y Roma por Filipinas y Marianas.
P.C.*

*Para que la Real Caja de Manila no padezca los gastos de embiar, y abiar Galeon para Marianas me parece que Nuestro Governor D. Josseph de Quiroga pide al Rey dos encomiendas de las que estuvieren vacas en Philipinas para mantener y conservar dicha embarcacion y comercio entre estas y aquellas Islas, que, me parece, ha de ser (a lo que he entendido del informe, que dicen hace desto dicho Governador Quiroga a su Magd.) que viniendo dicha embarcacion de Manila derechamente a Marianas, dejando aqui el socorro, prosiga su viage a Nueva España, y aqui tomando el socorro y dinero conveniente, vuelva otra vez a Marianas, y de aqui a Manila. Este arbitrio, sino me engaño, parece sugerido del Almirante D. Francisco Lascano a dicho Governador Quiroga, y a su Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Medrano, y me parece que Lascano se ofrece y dedica, segun tengo entendido, con mucho gusto a ser Piloto deste comercio, y de llegar mas breve a Acapulco que las otras Naos: asi me parece averlo oydo, y me parece con certeza que los 3 dichos entre si han conferido esta materia y que han resuelto lo que acabo de decir, y que dicho Governador informa dello al Rey pidiendo las dos encomiendas. Pero reparo que una embarcacion sola no podra executar esto cada año; sino un año si y otro no: el qual reparo no se si lo han hecho estos Señores; aunque es verdad que aquel año intercalar lo pueden suplir las Naos de la carrera como hasta aqui trayendo el socorro. Pero llegando aca (como ha llegado las dos veces que ha venido a 23 y 26 de Agosto) estandose aqui desde entonces que comienzan los baguios, y no ay brisa fija, hasta 5 de Diciembre (en que hubo baguio año de 86) y partiendo de aqui a Manila a primeros de Enero puede volver aquel mismo año, **ac per consequens** cada año.*

El motivo que parece tendran estos Señores de hacer lo dicho, esto es: llegando aqui de Manila con el socorro, y luego proseguir hasta Nueva España a traer de alli lo que da el Rey de su Real Caja de Mexico, sera por ahorrar los fletes de mar, y otras conveniencias, que hallaran, las quales yo no alcanzo; sino es que quieran emplear en Manila algo de su dinero en generos comprados alli, y luego estos llebados a Acapulco para beneficiarlos (como lo hacen los Republicanos de Manila) ganando esto mas para este Campo y Republica Mariana ya que no ay otra ganancia, o atractivo para Governadores oficiales, y Republicanos: de los quales oficiales algunos, y no pocos soldados estan ya casados, cuyas mugeres todas son Indias Marianas, de quienes no pocos tienen bastantes hijos de bendicion y cada dia se ban casando con ellas; y teniendo mas y mas hijos ban formando, y forman esta Nueva Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agadña, &c^a Oyo (digo) no se que me diga; porque no alcanzo mas; aunque si se me ofrece, que si esto fuese en menoscabo del comercio y ganancias mercantiles de la Republica de Manila con Nueva España, està a contingencia de que ella reclame, o dificulte esto.

Finalmente no dejara V.R. de saber alla en Madrid todo lo que este Governador de Marianas propone, o pide, e informa al rey, como tambien parece que informa a su Magd. de que aqui, para administrar esto son menester 24 Sacerdotes, y 6 Hermanos Coadjutores: y que si los Indios de las 8 Islas de Gani, por ser esteriles, y dificultosa su administracion por lo brabo de aquellos mares, no se pasan a vivir a estas 4 islas de Guan, Rota, Tinian y Saypan; seran menester otros 2 sacerdotes, que a sus tiempos las visiten, &c^a. Esto es lo que he alcanzado escribe Nuestro Governador al Rey; porque esto ultimo a lo menos de los sujetos que son menester, se lo ha pedido, dice, en secreto el Governador de Philipinas de

parte de su Magd por zedula que para esto le vino año de 86. Y asi el informe deste ultimo punto a lo menos ira remitido a dicho Governador de Filipinas para que este lo remita al Rey. Esto me ha parecido escribir en esto aparte para que V.R. este a la mira de todo y obre lo que mas le pareciere conveniente, segun la experiencia que V.R. tiene de Marianas.

*Nuestro Señor nos guarde a V.R. como deseamos y hemos menester, en cuyos santos sacrificios y oraciones mucho me encomiendo, &c**

S. Ignacio de Agaña de S. Juan de Guan una de las Marianas y Diziembre 1 de 1688.

El peor desta Mission y el mas inutil

Siervo de V.R.

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo, Procurator General in Madrid and Rome for the Philippines and the Marianas.

Peace of Christ.

So that the Royal Treasury in Manila may not have to bear the cost of sending and outfitting the galleon [sic] for the Marianas, it seems to me that our Governor Don José de Quiroga should ask the King for two land-grants from those that might become vacant in the Philippines in order to maintain and preserve said vessel and communication between these and those Islands. It appears to me—as I understand is mentioned in the report that they say said Governor Quiroga is writing to His Majesty—that said vessel could come directly from Manila to the Marianas, leaving the succor here, and pursue its voyage to New Spain, and after taking the appropriate succor and money there, return once more to the Marianas, and from here to Manila. This point of view, if I am not mistaken, appears to have been suggested by Admiral Don Francisco Lazcano to said Governor Quiroga, and to his Sergeant-Major Don Juan de Medrano, and it seems to me that Lazcano volunteers and dedicates himself, as I understand it, very willingly to become the Pilot of this run, and would get to Acapulco faster than the other galleons. So, that is what I have heard, and it seems to me that the above-mentioned 3 men have certainly conferred about this matter among themselves and that they have decided what I have just finished saying, and that said Governor is reporting it to the King, requesting the two land-grants. However, I caution that one single vessel could not carry this out every year; rather, it could do so in one year, but not the following year. I do not know if these gentlemen have taken the time to examine this objection, although it is true that during the intervening year, the galleons of the run can make up for it, as they have done until now, by bringing in the succor. However, upon arriving here (as did happen the two times that it has come on 23 and 26 August) they reach here when the storm season begins, and there is no longer a permanent trade-wind, until 5 December (when there was a typhoon in 1686) and departing from here to go to Manila at the beginning of January, they can return that same year, and consequently every year.

These gentlemen seem to have the following motive for doing this: upon arriving here from Manila with the succor, and then proceeding as far as New Spain to get from there what the King gives from his Royal Treasury of Mexico, would be to save the transport charges, and for other advantages they might find, that are beyond my understanding, unless it be that they might want to invest in Manila some of their money in goods purchased there, and then take them to Acapulco to sell them (as the residents of Manila do), thus making a profit for this Royal camp and Mariana government, since there is no other profit, or attraction for the Governors, officers and residents. Some of these officers, and not a few soldiers, are already married, and all their wives are Mariana Indians, and not a few of them have been blessed with a fair number of children, and every day they are marrying them, and as they beget more and more children, this new City of San Ignacio de Agadña is expanding, etc. I repeat what I have been told, because the rest is beyond me, although it seems to me that, if this is to the prejudice of the commerce and mercantile profits of the Republic of Manila with New Spain, they are bound to complain about this, and object to it.¹

Finally, Y.R. will learn overthere in Madrid everything that this Governor of the Marianas is proposing, or request from, or report to the King, including the proposal that he seems to make to His Majesty, that here, in order to administer this [mission], there is a need for 24 priests, and 6 Coadjutor Brothers; besides, if the Indians of the 8 Gani Islands, on account of their being sterile, and difficult to administer on account of the roughness of those seas, do not come to live on these 4 Islands of Guan, Rota, Tinian and Saypan, 2 other priests would be necessary to visit them periodically, etc. This is what I heard that our Governor is writing to the King, because on this last point at least, about the number of subjects required, he has been asked, he says, in secret by the Governor of the Philippines on behalf of His Majesty by decree to that effect that came in 1686. So, a report of this last point at least will be sent to said Governor of the Philippines so that he in turn may send it to the King. This I wanted to report to Y.R. separately, so that you may be aware of everything and react in the most suitable manner, according to the experience that Y.R. has of the Marianas.

May Our Lord save Y.R. as we wish and need, and I commend myself very much to your holy sacrifices and prayers, etc.

San Ignacio de Agadña in San Juan de Guan, one of the Marianas, 1 December 1688.
The worst of this Mission and the most useless servant of Y.R.,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

1 Ed. note: I have found no trace of such a report by Quiroga, or the Governor of the Philippines, although Streit & Dindinger, vol. 21, p. 57, cite a 2-page manuscript on trade and communication, but they give no date and no sources. They also say, pp. 56-57, that Fr. Pantoja wrote such a memorial to the King, ca. 1690, but again they give no proper reference to such a document.

O3. Third letter dated Agat 25 December 1688

Note: There are two copies of this letter in the RAH file, although the second is an unsigned extract, beginning with the second paragraph: "La gran necesidad..."

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Noticias sobre el alzamiento que yzieron los soldados de Marianas contra el Governador y fedilidad [sic] del Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez.*

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo, Procurador General de Philipinas y Marianas.

P. C.

*Esta es la 3ª que escribo a V.R., despues que entre en este triste officio, y servira de informar a V.R. del alzamiento destes soldados contra D. Josseph de Quiroga su Governador, dia de la Ascension 27 de Mayo de 88, seis dias antes que llegase a Marianas el Patache Perulero **San Fernando**, y tambien de la composicion, que despues huvo entre ellos y el mismo Governador quitandole los grillos, y volviendole el gobierno a 20 de Agosto deste mismo año de 88, seis dias antes que llegase a Marianas la Balandra, o Patache **S. Gabriel**, que dicen desemboco a 10 del dicho mes de Agosto y llego a 26, no tardando desde Philipinas a Marianas mas que 16 dias.*

La gran necesidad que causo el alzamiento destes Naturales y huida de mas de las 3 partes de los desta Isla de Guan a las otras: y juntamente la falta de socorro tres años arreo, y trabajar estos soldados continuamente por todo este tiempo, sin lograrseles la esperanza de verse alibiados deste continuo trabajo con la ida a Manila del que era su Governador D. Damian de Esplana, a quien sucedio D. Josseph de Quiroga, aunque es verdad que dicho trabajo no era tan excesivo como antes; esto no obstante por ser continuo, y no por entonces tan necessario causò, digo, a dichos militares horrible aburrimiento, y decian que el Presidio de Marianas era una esclavitud peor que la de Berberia, a que se junto por otra parte el cobrar algunos no se que ogeriza a D. Josseph de Quiroga con otros sentimientos y enfados, que dixeron les causaba su modo de gobernar con tanta soberania y gravedad, y condicion aspera y seca, y otras impertinencias intolerables, dicen ellos, de D. Josseph; y tambien por apurarlos demasiado en irles a la mano en la libertad, y demasias, que avian invalecido no sin perjuycio de las buenas costumbres; y por no tratarlos como se les debe, ni hacer mas caso de sus oficiales, que si fueran soldados rasos, ettª. Los mal sufridos y mas bulliciosos entre ellos trataban de executar, despues de la Nao, lo que 9 meses antes avian querido hacer alzandose con la Fuerza, en tiempo de Esplana, cuyo principal caudillo y cabeza de vando avia de ser un tal Manuel Salgado, hombre soberbio, mal sufrido, presumptuoso, mui inquieto, hablador, despechado, bullicioso, y siempre inclinado a hacer mal, de suerte que de Nueva España (de donde era criollo) dicen, iba condenado a galeras a Philipinas año de 85 en que se quedo en Marianas, y exçito, y movio en estas Islas tal espeçie de motines, o alzamientos.

Y antes de venir a lo que sucedio en el modo con que se executo dicho motin, o alzamiento se han de presuponer las cosas siguientes:

1ª Que me remito al informe que dara a V.R., como testigo de vista en Saypan el Padre Mathias Cuculino del Ayudante ya Capitan actual Nicolas Rodriguez alias Conejo, de como este se porto en la conquista de Saypan, y despues en el alzamiento y guerra de aquella Isla (aviendose alzado Guan y Tinian) en compª del Governador que es aora y entonces Sargento Mayor D. Josseph de Quiroga.

2ª Que jamas desde que llego dicho Capitan Rodriguez a estas Islas año de 82, se oyo que huviese queja alguna del ni entre soldados, ni entre Indios; antes si siempre se porto mui quieto y amado de todos,

y tan cuerdo, que llegandolo a conocer D. Damian de Esplana por experiencia y informe de dicho Sargento Mayor D. Damian de Esplana [rather Quiroga] y demas soldados, despues de la vuelta de Saypan le promovio hasta dejarlo hecho Ayudante.

3ª Teniendo ya este officio le encargaron algunas empresas de no poca monta, que pedian mucha diligencia, cuidado, discrecion, y sagacidad; en las quales se porto con tal valor y buen expediente, dando tan buena quenta dellas y con agrado de todos, que sin encarecimiento fue estimado de todos y amado mui en particular de dicho Sargento Mayor ya Gobernador Quiroga, asi por lo dicho como por su buen natural, docilidad, igualdad, buen trato para con los del Campo, y Indios, y zelo del Divino y Real Servicio.

4ª Por estas y otras buenas prendas fue, digo, tan amado del Sargento Mayor entonces y aora Gobernador D. Joseph de Quiroga, que este, ido Esplana a Manila, tenia intento de hacerlo Capitan en la primera ocasion, o día señalado que se ofreciese; porque de verdad lo merecia mas que otro ninguno.

5ª Trato dicho entonces Ayudante ya Capitan Rodriguez de casarse, aunque no lo consiguio, por mas que dello se huviera holgado mucho el Gobernador D. Joseph y todos nosotros, si se huviese efectuado, segun convenia a esta Mission y Christiandad que se arraygase en ella un mozo de tan buenas prendas para encaminar asi a soldados como a Indios, que no se conocia otro mas a proposito en todo para el manejo destas Islas, caso que les faltase su Gobernador.

*6ª Entre no pocos que a D. Joseph no querian bien por su enfadoso modo, y otras cosas harto ridiculas para quien se precia tanto de tan buen christiano y virtuoso, como de verdad lo es; y de cavallero y sangre ilustre, ettª nunca se oyo que dicho Conejo le tubiese mala voluntad; antes si lo contrario un amor tan entrañable que hacia y obraba cosas en servicio de D. Joseph tan finas como si fuera hijo suyo mui amante y salido de sus entrañas, y esto en todos los dichos y hechos de Conejo acudiendole con tan extraordinario cuidado, solicitud, y vigilancia a todo, y a todas horas como si fuera, no solo el menor soldado raso; sino como un mero criado, o como el menor indio a quantas faenas y cosas se mandaban, y mui en especial, si eran en servicio particular de dicho D. Joseph para animar a los demas con su exemplo; porque ya aburridos y como desesperados de tanto y tan continuo trabajo y sin socorro tantos años, ettª no acababan de ver la hora, en que le harian algun desayre. Y se ha oydo que dicho Conejo los detubo una y otra vez para que no le matasen; por lo qual andaba dicho Conejo con una carabina pequeña colgada al pecho, y un alfange en la mano al lado del Gobernador Quiroga guardandole contra qualquier malevolo que pudiese aver; de que no parece se atrevio Conejo a dar parte a D. Joseph, por tener su Merced tan raro natural, que aviendosela querido armar patentemente en Agadña el inquieto Manuel Salgado alzandose con la Fuerza, de que era cabo D. Joseph, estando el Gobernador Esplana en Umatag, y descubierto el tal Salgado se retiro a sagrado; refiriendole un Padre Missionero del modo que Salgado decia estando ya en sagrado como el y sus sequaces lo avian de executar; se indigno y enojo mucho el Señor D. Joseph contra el tal Missionero diciendo le (no con poca colera) **Padre eso no se ha de tomar en boca; porque, que podrian hacer esta gente vil? ettª Eso no se tome en boca Padre ettª** Pues si Conejo le avisara de lo que con bastante razon se podia rezelar, no podia temer prudentemente de que si se enoja con un Padre se enojara con el mas, y aun no sabemos si solo parara en enojo contra dicho Conejo? Son tales cavalleros de aquellos que se lateran y no quieren dar oydos, ni creer nada hasta ver el golpe sobre si; y en pasando este siempre se vuelven a sus trece, y juntamente dan en otro extremo contrario y quiza peor, de suerte que no ay medio ni remedio para con sus Mercedes en viendose en el gobierno honores mutant mores, sed raro in meliores, adagio que se esta verificando oy en*

Marianas hablando con la limitacion que pide la Christiandad y virtud de D. Joseph y su buen zelo en la salvacion destas almas. Con que Conejo temiendo quiza lo dicho como tan avisado y prudente andaba guardandole en la forma dicha, y caso que turbio corriese siempre tenia intento de avisar a tiempo y en tiempo que fuese creido.

Esto supuesto: digo, que antes que se cumpliese el tiempo de la venida de Nao de Acapulco, fue descubierta y publicada, por quien no debiera, aquella noche Vispera de la Ascension cierta flaqueza, en que como mozo y flaco cayo dicho Conejo, el qual viendose descubierto, y que su buena reputacion, y gracia, ya la havia perdido para con su Governador pues ya lo savia, y rezeloso juntamente de que no le castigase con algun castigo afrentoso, como el Don Joseph por semejantes materias lo suele hacer, no podia sosegar ni descansar aquella noche preocupado de la aflicion, y congoja, que esto le caussaba. Viendole assi los mal intencionados, a quienes parecio esta ocasion muy a proposito para salir con la suya, y como dicho Conejo por ser Ayudante tenia el mando de la Fuerça le supieron decir tanto contra Don Joseph por lo exasperado que estaban, y ogeriza que le tenian, que de man comun, quedandose ellos por dueños de la fuerça eligieron a dicho Conejo por su Cavo, obligandole, y forzandole a ello.

Avia 9 meses que se avia retraido a sagrado aquel Manuel Salgado que en tiempo de Esplana, como ya dixé intento de apoderarse de dicha fortaleza. Este como hombre bullicioso, inquieto, hablador, tumultuoso y atrevido a las voces de los que le llamaron salio del sagrado y juntandose con los mal aconsejados, reduxo el negoçio a tal confussion, que no sin algun riesgo se hubo el Governador de poner en cobro, como lo hizo desamparando su vivienda, y acogindose a la de los PP. Missionneros si bien al Padre Vice Provincial le avian dicho, que alla se podian estar dicho Governador sin meterse con la gente, por la mala voluntad que le tenian, no para en esto la contienda, que por todos los caminos posibles, busco trazas el bullicioso Salgado que ya huído del Sagrado para hazer su negoçio, y desfogando todo su odio, y rabia contra el Governador pervirtio a todos en tanta manera que sin poderselo estorbar el mismo Conejo, ni el Padre Vice Provincial con ruegos ni de palabra, ni por escrito, vino acompañado con gente armada aquel mismo dia de la Ascension a boca de noche estando los Religiosos en la Iglesia diciendo las Letanias de los Santos y con violencia saco al Governador de donde estava haciendose Caudillo de esta faccion.

Poco antes de suçeder esto, viendo Conejo tan alborotado Salgado y a los que el mismo Salgado avia convocado para esta funcion de sacar de nuestra Cassa al Governador dixo al Padre Vice Provincial que no estava en su mano, ni le era possible el estorvarlo, sinque el mismo corriese manifesto riesgo de su propia vida; pero que no nos diesse cuidado que estarría el Señor Governador en su cassa, sin que a su persona y alajas se hiziesse algun daño. Pero prevaleçiendo Salgado no se hiziesse casso de lo que pretendian los Padres y que si del Padre Vice Provincial llegase algun papel con mas suplicas, se hiziesse pedazos rompiendole, &a. Y assi fue el Governador llevado à la Fuerça, y detenido con un par de grillos[,] saqueada su cassa, y repartida entre ellos su ropa apropiandose assi Salgado la mejor, y el mejor vestido del Governador dando lo demas a sus aliados. De todo lo qual Conejo no queriendo nada[,] por conplacerlos finalmente tomò el vestido, y ropa mas ordinaria que nunca se lo pusso mas que una vez, que fue de alli a 4 dias Domingo quando Salgado, y los otros se vistieron de lo que avian tomadof[,] saliendo muy rosagantes a Missa, despues de la qual mando el perversidor Salgado desbaratar, y echar por tierra la cassa del Governador por mas que Conejo lo repugno, y los Ministros Evangelios no dejaron piedra por mover para que todo lo dicho no se executasse, y se compusiesen, y viniessen a mejor partido con su Governador prometiendoselo muy mejorado. Pero no se pudo conseguir, con hombre tan bul-

liciosso, y inquieto como era el tal Salgado sin permitir aun a Conejo la libertad para explicarse y conferir con el Padre Vice Provincial lo que ya bien arrepentido de lo hecho podia conducir para lo que con ansias deseava sobre el ajuste de la contienda, y bolver a libertad, y al gobierno al mismo Gobernador.

El Padre Vize Provincial y todos nosotros desde el principio reconociendo el buen animo, y intencion de Conejo, y siempre que le podiamos aver a solas, sinque nos oyesse Salgado y los mas enconados le animabamos a sus buenos Intentos, y que Dios le ayudaria a una cossa tan justa, y tan de su agrado, y que si ponía en libertad, y en el Gobierno al Gobernador no tenia que temer, ni perdida de su vida, ni de su officio de Capitan que le avian dado los amotinados, ni de su credito; sino que antes el Governador le confirmaria en el &a. si viendo la ocasion oportuna executase lo dicho, y que esto de no correr riesgo de su vida, y de la confirmacion del officio de Capitan por el Gobernador lo dexase por nuestra cuenta porque le assegurabamos debajo de nuestra palabra, que en estas dos cossas de su vida, y honrra las tendria luego de facto executada, y asegurada la libertad, y gobierno de Don Joseph. Todas estas propuestas, y ofertas, que siempre dandole nuestra palabra toda seguridad y honrra le hizimos a dicho Conejo las conservo muy bien en su coraçon; aunque el por entonces con mucha cordura, y discrecion no se dava claramente por entendido por andar para la execucion con grandissima cautela, y sagaçidad por el riesgo de su propia vida, y la del Gobernador.

*No es fuera de este informe el advertir aqui, que: el amarrar estos soldados en Umatag a los del navio **San Fernando**, no salio de Conejo, sino de çiertos malevolos. ó atronados, que comenzando de repente a gritar: **Amarremos a estos**; todos (por estar el caso tan fresco algunos tan feroçes, y otros alterados, y temerosos, y faltos de consejo) los siguieron con las mismas voces amarrando los de hecho, a que viendoles tan determinados, y alborotados no fue en mano de dicho Conejo el evitarlo; pero desde entonces estuvo muy mal con los tales por tan disparatado consejo, y al instante, que los dessamarraron para vengarse de tan malos aconsejadores del grande atizador Salgado embio Conejo orden apretado à Agadña para que luego al instante le quitassen los grillos, y soltasen, (como de hecho lo soltaron) al Gobernador aunque a los tres dias, que Conejo se los havia quitado alborotandose ellos otra vez se los bolvieron a hechar, y prohibieron, que ningun soldado fuese a nuestra Casa. De todo lo qual todos echavan la culpa à Salgado.*

Pero estos, y otros medios desatinados, y rigurosos, que para establecerse en su intruso gobierno sugeria Salgado a toda la parcialidad, y tambien la despotiquez, y osadia con que se lo queria mandar todo tratando a todos asperamente con palabras, y obras, como dueño absoluto, comenzaron a llevar mui mal todos los soldados y Conejo mas que ninguno. Y assi todos de man comun no podian sufrir ya las insolencias de dicho Salgado y por el contrario alaban a dicho Conejo de cuerdo bien hablado, benigno, prudente, y muy atentado &a y que con façilidad se pudiera reducir à atajar los gravissimos daños, que Salgado intentava; y a la composicion del pleito en que nosotros por ver, que el tal Salgado iba pon[ien]do el negocio de tan mala calidad, que amenazaba a todo esto su total ruina, y perdiçion; siempre que podiamos a solas, y por varios caminos no cesabamos de echar a Conejo nuestras indirectas de que si lo hacia, no solo le prometiamos, y empeñabamos nuestra palabra de perdon de su vida; sino de que ganaria gran honrra, y provecho haçiendo al Rey un tan gran sevicio. Y como Salgado andaba echo un argos para su total introduçion en el gobierno todo su ahinco era que Conejo no comunicasse con el Padre Vice Provincial sobre el ajuste, y por esto siempre que Conejo iba a nuestra cassa el mismo Salgado ó algun de sus aliados le iba acompañando para oír lo que se hablava.

*Viendo el Padre Miguel de Aparicio (Misionero fervoroso, que quedo del Patache Perulero **San Fernando**), que Salgado y otros con su gran inquietud, y ambiçion del gobierno desto yba cada dia poniendo las cossas de tan mal semblante, que claramente tirava a imposibilitar, qualquier composicion y por el consiguiente a la total perdicion desto; porque como despues se supo tenia intento entre otras cossas bien desatinadas, y contra toda razon &c. de matar secretamente al Governador sin que lo oliesse Conejo, el qual temio grandemente de que Salgado a traicion le quitase a el propio la vida: Publico digo, dicho Padre Aparicio el Jubileo de las Misiones, en que Conejo, en que Conejo [sic] no perdio sermon, ni platica ninguna y despues en su quartel se entretenia en oir desengaños para su alma de un libro, que el haçia le leyessen por no saberlo èl, de que saco singular fruto causandole generalmente en todos dicha Mission sino es en Salgado que no se le dava nada de todas estas platicas espirituales, ó sermones, asistiendo a muy pocas, ó, ningunas funciones destas.] comulgo Conejo, y todo el Campo en este Jubileo, excepto unos dos, y el mismo Salgado que no trato de esso. La noche antes, que confessase, y comulgase Conejo viendo tan buena disposicion en toda la gente, excepto en el bulliçioso Salgado se resolvió a romper con todo. Y assi la noche dicha a deshora, y sin que lo sintiesse Salgado se entro donde el Governador estava, y se le echo a los pies con tantos sollozos, y lagrimas, que no lo podia acallar el mismo Governador a quien pidio perdon de lo hecho, y le prometio de dar fin a sus trabajos entregando el gobierno **mas que a mi** (prosiguio Conejo) **me cueste la vida, y si V. Merced me lo quiere quitar restituído, ya su Gobierno aqui me tiene para que de mi haga lo que gustare &c.** Prometiosela el Governador y de confirmarle en el officio de Capitan **pero en el interin** (le dixo el Governador) **mire V. Merced que la mia para que esto no se pierda, que yo en governando mirare por la de V. Merced &c.** Y assi *ad vicem* hicieron pacto los dos entre si de mirar el uno por la vida del otro siempre que les durase la vida. Solo le rogo Conejo se sirviesse de tener un poco de paciència por que la prisa sin la debida cautela no hechase a perder sus intentos.*

Entretanto siempre que podia Conejo, y a deshora de la noche no çessaba de haçer visjitas al Governador y para haçer mejor el hecho, y condescender con el Salgado que apretava a que se fuesse a Umatag con gran prevençion de gente y armas &a. para si venia Balandra ressistir, y no dejar saltar gente en tierra se fue alla Conejo[,] unos 50 soldados, que este numero y los mejores siempre lo influio Salgado ofreciese a Conejo por su Compañia el Padre Miguel de Aparicio, a quien como con tanta gracia, y zelo avia hecho la Mission tenia Conejo cobrado mucho amor, y estimacion y assi pocos dias de llegados a Umatag comunico a su Rev^a Conejo sus buenos intentos, y le asseguro que haria quanto le avian dicho, y dicen los Padres en quienes dixo Conejo fiava su vida, y honor[.] prometioselo debajo de palabra el Padre Aparicio en nombre del Padre Vice Provincial y todos nosotros.

En el interin Salgado que havia quedado en Agadña, se havia desmandado mucho contra los ordenes de su Capitan Conejo a quien todos dieron quejas contra Salgado el qual en estas çircunstancias para divertir a Conejo de su cassamiento le escrivio no se que enredos, y como el con su inquietud no podia passar para poner mas calor en ressistir a la Balandra, si viniessse; partio a Umatag con 12 hombres mas, y un caxon de polvora &c. Luego que llevo alla pretendio meter çisma entre el Governador y Conejo refiriendo a este cossas en que indiçaba, que el Governador fraguaba algo contra Conejo, el qual no por esto dexo de hechar, como de hecho selos echo, un par de grillos al mismo Salgado privandole del puesto de Ayudante, y mando intruso, que se havia tomado. Pero como los soldados no pretendian mas que dicha privacion por ser tan aspero, y intolerable en el mando, le rogaron con instancias que se los quitase: hizolo assi Conejo para gratificar los mas para el buen fin de lo que intentava. Y dejandole orden

de lo que se avia de guardar partio à Agadña, donde averiguo mas cossas, y quejas de las que contra Salgado le avian dicho, y escrito, y que todo lo que dicho Salgado le avia contado en Umatag contra el Governador era falso. Viose con el mismo Governador con el Padre Vice Provincial y conmigo assegurandonos a todos, que presto estaria en libertad el Señor Governador y con el mando segun le avia venido por su Magestad. Y poco despues que Conejo se despidio de nosotros en nuestra Cassa, aquel mismo dia antes de las 12 de medio dia executo su intento, y quitados al Governador los grillos con salva de Artilleria, y mosqueteria le saco de la Fuerça entregandosela antes, y con ella el Gobierno dandole el baston (que se lo tenia guardado, y por mas que los malevolos quando se alçaron se lo puçieron en la mano a Conejo diciendole que El, y no otro avia de ser su Governador jamas lo quiso admitir ressiendose a ello muy fuertemente en razon tan discretas, y concluyentes, que no les dejo resquicio para que les aliessen con aquello otra vez) le fue acompañando, y festejando, digo, (sin çessar la salva de armas) a nuestra Cassa de donde Salgado le avia sacado por fuerça. Y queriendose quedar en ella por entonçes el Governador para encomendarse a Dios y darle graçias etc dejando la fortaleza al cuidado del Sargento y Cavo de Esquadra al instante Conejo se bolvio a partir para Umatag antes que alla llegase la nueva del echo.*

En todo lo qual se dio tan buena prissa, y maña, que echando mano a Salgado le mando poner en prisiones, y dio parte a todos de como avia puesto en libertad, y en su gobierno al Señor Don Joseph de Quiroga, y que su Merced havia de gobernar[,] pues assi lo mandaba su Magestad cuio orden avian de obedecer. Y esto dixo el Capitan Rodriguez, ó, Conejo, tan de corazon, que al oir andaban en Agadña mal contentos el Sargento y Cavo de Esquadra de lo hecho por su Capitan Conejo, y habiendo ellos metido al cepto a un Capitan reformado por haver ido a ver a su Governador a nuestra Cassa dejaron decir, que si dicho Governador se metiesse en algo, lo avian de sacar, y echarle otra vez grillos &c asi que tal supo Conejo al [a]nocheçer partio de Umatag a toda carrera, y a pie para Agadña donde llevo a media noche, y con riesgo de su vida entrando en la Fuerça se abalanzo sobre dicho Sargento y Cavo de Esquadra al tiempo que el uno estava cazando su escopeta, y el otro desembaynando su alfange luego que coumbraron [???? saw his shadow????] a dicho Conejo, que poniendolos en estrechas prisiones, y diciendole ellos que no querian por Governador a Don Joseph de Quiroga, luego en aquella hora juntan el mismo Conejo a todos de la Fuerça, les dixo, que qualquiera, que no obedeciesse al Señor Don Joseph de Quiroga por su Governador como lo mandava el Rey y nuestro Señor que al instante le echaria la cabeza a los pies, aunque supiesse que alli luego le hiçiesen pedazos; mandando, que de Umatag le truxesen a Salgado assimismo preso como estava.*

Todo lo qual obro dicho Conejo, o, Capitan Rodriguez (que ya le podemos llamar assi por haverlo acabado de confirmar por tal el mismo Governador desde que con tan generosa resoluzion y tan de repente, y con tan entrañable afecto le pusso en libertad, y el baston en la mano &c). Obro, digo, todo lo dicho el Capitan Rodriguez con tal sagaçidad, valor, presteza y vigilancia &c* que no se puede encareçer mas del pintado, en tanta que en cinco, o, seis dias, y noches apenas paro un instante cassi del todo sin dormir, sin comer, ni descansar volava a pie, y lloviendo continuante por estos caminos de Umatag para Agadña por razon de estar la gente dividida, y podersele malear entretanto que el ajustava el negoçio para lo qual le dio el Governador ampla facultad para que obrase en todo, y por todo conforme viesse, que convenia sin çessar por esto dicho Capitan de ir, y venir con singular humildad y obediencia y rendimiento a dar parte al Governador de lo que iba obrando para cuio mejor fin, y total composicion prendio dicho Capitan Rodriguez a otro aunque ya estava perdonado en el perdon general que dio a todos el Governador excepto a los tres de arriva presos que por mas, que en diferentes occassiones les*

prometio el perdón, nunca le quisieron aceptar, del Gobernador a quien luego aviso el Capitan desta otra quarta prission por ser el tal algo atronado, y ver en el señales de sentimiento por ver presos al Sargento y Cavo de Esquadra. Aviso tambien dicho Capitan Rodriguez al Gobernador que para mayor quietud, y paz en adelante convenia saliesen de Marianas (salvo el parecer de Su Merced) hasta unos 14.

Dio a Salgado sentencia de muerte, y le mando executar, como se executo con aprobacion del Gobernador; el dia antes, que se apareciesse la Balandra. Y despues de venida lo [sic] Balandra como ya dije dio assimismo con aprobacion del mismo Gobernador sentencia de muerte a los otros dos Sargento y Cavo de Esquadra. Y todos tres murieron tambien, tan arrepentidos, y con tantos desengaños, que ellos mismos predicaban a los soldados pidiendoles perdón de los malos exemplos, que les avian dado, y al Gobernador de lo que havian maquinado contra su Merced con tan fervorosos actos de contricion, que edificaron, y admiraron a todos.

A la primera Nueva de la Balandra, que se vio (como ya dije) el dia inmediato siguiente despues que murio Salgado se hallava el Capitan Rodriguez en Agaña assiendiendo a su Gobernador y sirviendole de guardia despues de haverle entregado segunda vez la fuerça, y en ella aparejadole, y alajado su quarto; y estando el Gobernador con rezelo de que la nueva de Balandra no fuese ardid de los soldados que se havian quedado en Umatag para armar alguna emboscada al Gobernador y al mismo Capitan si acaso partiessen para alla oyendo tal nueva, porque los tales soldados rehusaban bolver à Agaña por mas que el Capitan se lo avia mandado porque tambien ellos se rezelaban de si estaban las cosas tan seguras en Agaña como les avian dicho. Ofreciose dicho Capitan al Gobernador de que si era gusto de su Merced se iria el traerlos desengañandolos de sus rezelos etc. y juntamente nueva çierta de si era verdad lo que se avia dicho de averse visto Balandra, o Navio. No vino en ello el Gobernador por lo que a dicho Capitan pudiera acontecer estimando en mas para su seguridad el tener consigo a solo el Capitan que a los demas, que hasta 20 quedaban en Umatag. Pero acordando a que fuesse alla el Padre Miguel de Aparicio para hablar y desengañar a dicho soldados de sus rezelos, y tras de su Reverencia una firma del mismo Capitan Rodriguez, y despues nueva çierta de dicho Padre Aparicio de qual ya estava alli a la vista la Balandra, y que todos aquellos soldados aun antes de aparecerse la Balandra, muy rendidos, y obedientes a todo lo que el Señor Gobernador quiciesse haçer dellos: y con la nueva çierta del Navio yendo alla el mismo Gobernador acompañado del mismo Capitan Rodriguez, se acabo **in totum** de ajustar todo hasta el mismo cassamiento del mismo Capitan con **Maria Táyitifi**, colegiada, cuñada del Capitan Francisco Masónson; y corridas las amonestaciones se çelebro alli en Umatag la boda, y cassamiento siendo padrino el mismo Gobernador que no hallando cossa mas prompta para agradecerle tantas finezas, que el exerçer esta açcion se ofrecio a ello con mucho consuelo suyo, y de todos.*

Y al presente se porta el buen Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez como mui bien cassado, y con tanta cordura humildad y sujeçion y rendimiento en quanto le manda el Gobernador que fuera del Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Medrano no ay otro de quien mas se fie el Gobernador; y, a falta de ambos, el es, a quien sobre todos, se pudiera encargar el manejo de las armas. En nombre de Su Magd. Catholica le perdono el Gobernador y lo confirmo y graduo de Capitan, y vive contentissimo con su muger queriendo e mui mucho los dos, y estan en Tumon con otros casados, donde el Gobernador les levanto casas para que para el alibio del Campo, y de tantas bocas de Balandra y Presidio como tiene a que acudir y sustentar dicho Gobernador por no averle venido ningun socorro de mantenimientos ni tener esta Isla Indios que acudan con lo suficiente: cuiden alli de sementeras, cazar, y sacar vino, que solo a dicho Capitan pudo

fiar el Governador estos trabajos y tareas, en que se ocupa y trabaja como si fuera un mero criado o esclavo suyo con especialissimo gusto; y aunque le mantiene con la plaza de Capitan vivo haciendo sus marchas quando los dias de fiesta y otros viene a missa como Capitan de guardia del mismo Governador; no obstante varias veces se ha echado a los pies del Governador pidiendole con ahinco que se sirva de reformarle y que solo le mande como a propio criado suyo, y para mas firmeza en esto, con el mismo ahinco le ha suplicado repetidas veces de lo intimo de su corazon que se sirva por amor de Dios de no solo tratarle como a su mero criado, sino de herrarle por esclavo suyo que no tendra mayor consuelo en esta vida que verse marcado por tal para que todos sepan la obligacion y deseo que tiene de entregar, como de hecho entregaba a su Merced toda su libertad y voluntad a todo y en todo quanto su Merced quisiese emplearla. Y no es decible los extremos que hace y se deshace por darle gusto en todo; aunque pienso, si prosigue en el gobierno, que no ha nacido quien totalmente acierte a darselo. Segun es el natural, impertinencias, y delicadezas, ett^a del Señor Don Juan de Medrano, tan virtuoso como su Merced, mal apenas avia puesto los pies en tierra, quando ya no le podia, ni es possible que pueda (dice el mismo Medrano) aguantarle, ni darle gusto por mas que lo pretenda, sino es que Dios haga, dice, un milagro.

Aora pues mi Padre Amantissimo en Christo y Maria, Ignacio, Xavier, ett^a ya ve V.R. por este informe, y tambien por lo que el Señor Visitador y Oydores, que pasaron a Philipinas en el patache Perulero viendo las cosas tan enconadas destos soldados contra su Governador D. Josseph contra quien solamente por las intolerables cosas de su Merced, decian ellos, y no contra el Rey N.S. avian hecho lo que hicieron: Dixeron, digo, dichos Señores Visitador y Oydores al Padre Vice Provincial de Marianas [i.e. Bouwens] en dicha Nao Perulera, que su R^a procurase componerlos con dicho su Governador: y que de qualquier manera que lo compusiese su R^a teniendo sus Señorías la noticia de la composicion, dixeron que darian parte a su Magd. que en todo y en la manera que dicho Padre Superior y Vice Provincial lo compusiese, por ser de su Real Servicio lo daria por bien hecho: y sugeriendo el Padre Vice Provincial a dicho Señores el medio que podia aver para dicha composicion, que fue como se deseaba, lo aprobaron y dixeron aquellos Señores que no avia otro, y que el Rey lo agradecería mucho si se executase (como lo executo Conejo aun mejor y con mas eficacia y medios de los que por entonces se pudieron ofrecer y discurrir en dicha Nao) de que ellos dichos Señores dijeron se harian Procuradores y Protectores patrocinando y pidiendo favores para el que lo compusiese en la informacion que desto dieseen al Rey, ett^a Ya se ve pues, digo, por lo referido en este Informe lo empeñado que estamos con dicho Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, pues todos le dimos la palabra de asegurarle su vida, honrra, y provecho. Y para que si otra vez sucede el mismo lance por otro (que del dicho ni por sombra ay que temer nada) lo qual Dios no quiera ni permita; aunque es possible aqui, o en otra parte donde se pueda saber nuestra palabra dada, como es factible se sepa en muchas partes los medios y dicha palabra nuestra empeñada que interpusimos, si huviere alguno, digo, que aunque tenga parte en cosa, o caso semejante, que lo pueda componer, se fie de nosotros para ello viendo que a este otro se la guardamos fidelissimamente; porque sino ya se ve, que, si como dixere, y no es impossible, suceda lo dicho; ninguno en ninguna parte que lo pueda componer aviendo tenido parte en ello, saldra a componerlo, sino que desesperado con los demas, sin fiarse jamas de nosotros, proseguiran hasta dar con todo en tierra; antes que aya, o venga otro remedio tan dificultoso en partes tan remotas y mucho mas en Marianas.

Por todo lo qual suplico a V.R. en nombre de todos, que si por la noticia de lo sucedido peligrase dicho Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez por Decreto de su Magd. o de su Real Consejo, o le viniese algun castigo, aunque no sea mas que de destierro; ruego a V.R. con toda la instancia que puedo se sirva de in-

terceder interponiendo su autoridad con eficacia por medio de las personas de suposicion y poderosas que puedan con su autoridad impetrar, y sin duda ninguna se impetrara y conseguira por medio de la Exq̄ntissijma Señora Duquesa de Aveyro y de las Piadosissimas Magestades Catholicas de las Serenissimas Señoras Reynas Madre y Reynante que dicho Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, o por mal nombre Conejo (que asi le llaman los soldados y aun el mismo Governador ett^a de cuyo linage dice tener parientes dicho Conejo) sea, digo, dicho Capitan perdonado segun y como le prometimos todos y prometieron tambien dicios Señores Visitador y Oydores; y segun y como le cumplio ya esta promesa dicho Governador Quiroga perdonandole como le perdono y graduo de Capitan en Nombre del Rey N.S. dignadose su Magd. Catholica de que sea merecedor de su Real Clemencia, no solo por aver restituído (con peligro de su propria vida y a costa de mucho trabajo) a su Governador en su libertad y puesto; sino tambien por aver hecho justicia de los tres que mas obstinados no quisieron acomodarse a lo que la razon pedia para el Divino y Real Servicio y encarcelado a otros, avisando fidelissimamente a su Governador con mucho secreto, diligencia, y cuidado de todo lo que iba obrando para la conclusion del negocio, y de lo que de otros para la mayor paz y quietud se avia de hacer. Y tambien porque a nosotros los Religiosos aviendole dado palabra, si seguia nuestros consejos, de toda seguridad en todo fiados en lo que dixeron al Padre Vice Provincial dichos Señores Visitador y Oydores, y en que el Governador D. Joseph segun su promesa a dicho Conejo y pacto con el avio de mirar por su vida y honrra perdonandole y honrrandole, como de hecho le perdono y honrró en nombre de su Magd. fiado tambien en la indubitable aprobacion y confirmacion de su Catholica clemencia por cuyo Real y Divino Servicio obro tan firmamente dicho Capitan Rodriguez componiendo la cosa: que a no ser asi se huviera perdido esto sin remedio, o por lo menos nos huvieramos visto en bastantes aprietos y desgracias: No nos tengan, digo, asi a Nosotros como a los dichos Señores Visitador y Oydores, y a dicho Governador D. Joseph aqui en estas Islas, y en las partes donde se supiere; por gente engañadora y que no guardamos palabra en los pactos, ett^a De lo qual se originaria que en qualquier parte que nosotros, en especial los Religiosos, nos hallasemos, y sucediese algun motin, o cosa semejante; no tubiesemos credito ni autoridad alguna para la composicion, de que se seguirian los males y desgracias, ett^a que luego se vienen a los ojos. Por todo lo qual no solo esperamos conseguir de su Magd. y de su Real Consejo la confirmacion y aprobacion de las gracias sobre dichas, sino otras mas para dicho Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez por medio de la eficaz intervencion, zelo, y exquisitas diligencias de V.R., a quien N.S. conceda larga salud y vida, &c^a.

Sta. Rosa de Agat de S. Juan de Guan en las Marianas año de 1688 a 25 de Diciembre dia de la Natividad de N.S. Jesu Christo, en que se piden perdones y comienzan los aguinaldos que pedimos a su Magd. Catholica en su Real Consejo por dicho Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez con firmissima esperanza de conseguirlo para el mayor bien y aumento desta su Catholica Christiandad Mariana y de otras.

Muy siervo y todo de V.R. y que en nombre de todos los desta Mission suplica lo referido para el mayor servicio de Ambas Magestades en el aumento de esta su Christiandad Mariana, &c^a.

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+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation

[Endorsement:] News of the soldiers' mutiny against the Governor of the Marianas and the luck of Captain Nicolás Rodríguez.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo, Procurator General of the Philippines and Marianas.

Peace of Christ.

This is the third letter that I write to Y.R. after taking over this sad office, and it will serve to inform Y.R. of the uprising of these soldiers against Don José de Quiroga, their Governor, on Ascension Day 27 May 1688, 6 days before the arrival at the Marianas of the Peruvian patache **San Fernando**, and also of the agreement that later took place among them, with the same Governor being unshackled, and getting back the government on 20 August of this same year 1688, 6 days before the arrival at the Marianas of the sloop, or patache **San Gabriel**, which they say exited [the Strait of San Bernardino] on the 10th of said month of August and arrived on the 26th, covering the distance between the Philippines and the Marianas in just 16 days.

The great need that resulted from the uprising of these natives and the flight of over two-thirds of the people of this Island of Guan to the other islands, plus the lack of succor for three years in a row, and the continuous labor imposed on these soldiers throughout this period, without ever seeing in sight the possibility of getting relief from this continuous labor, with the departure for Manila of the man who was their Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, and his replacement by Don José de Quiroga, although it is true that said labor was no longer as excessive, it nevertheless remained continuous, though it was not then so necessary. This, I say, caused a terrible malaise in said soldiers, and they were saying that the Garrison of the Marianas was a slavery posting worse than that of Barbary. Added to this, on the other hand, was the fact that some of them held a grudge against Don José de Quiroga, plus other ill-will and anger, which they said had been caused by his manner of governing with so much severity and seriousness, and a rough and dry condition, and other intolerable impertinences committed by Don José, they say; and also because he did push them too hard when they were off work, and checking the excesses that they had gotten used to, not without prejudice to the good customs; and for not treating them as he should, not paying attention to his officers but treating them as mere recruits, etc. Those with more grievances and the more rebellious ones among them planned to carry out, after the passage of the galleon, what 9 months before they had tried to do, i.e. taking over the fort, at the time of Esplana. **The main coup leader and the band leader then was a certain Manuel Salgado**, an arrogant man, vindictive, presumptuous, very disquieting, talker, enraged, brawler, and always inclined to do evil, so that from New Spain (where he was a locally-born Spaniard) they say he had been condemned to the galleys in the Philippines in 1685, the year that he disembarked in the Marianas, and he incited and moved in these Islands this type of mutinies, or uprisings.

But before coming to the events that took place during said mutiny, or uprising, the following things must be mentioned:

1° I refer to the eyewitness report that Father Mathias Cuculino will make to Y.R., about Nicolás Rodríguez, then Adjutant but now Captain, alias Conejo [i.e. the Rabbit], and how he behaved during the conquest of Saypan, and afterwards in the uprising and war of that Island (when Guan and Tinian had rebelled) in the company of the present Governor who was then Sergeant-Major [of the garrison], Don José de Quiroga.

2° Ever since said Captain Rodríguez had come to these Islands in the year 1682, no complaint about him was ever heard, either from the soldiers or from the Indians; rather, he had always behaved very calmly and was loved by all, and so prudent that when Don Damian de Esplana learned by experience and from a report by said Sergeant Major Don Damian de Esplana [rather Quiroga] and by the other soldiers, after they came back from Saypan, he promoted him repeatedly up to the rank of Adjutant.

3° When he was already in this position, he was entrusted with a few enterprises of some importance, requiring much effort, care, discretion, and sagacity, and he did carry them out with such courage and good despatch, giving such good account of himself, at the pleasure of everyone, that one can say without exaggeration that he was esteemed by everyone and loved very particularly by said Sergeant Major, now Governor, Quiroga, not only on account of what I said, but also for his good character, docility, steadiness, good dealings with those inside the Camp, and the Indians, and his zeal for the divine and royal service.

4° For these and other good qualities, he was, as I said, so beloved by the then-Sergeant-Major, now Governor, Don José de Quiroga, that he, once Esplana had gone to Manila, planned to make him Captain at the first occasion, or suitable day for this purpose, because in truth he deserved it more than anyone else.

5° Said Adjutant, now Captain Rodríguez, tried to get married, although he did not succeed, even though the Governor, Don José, and all of us, would have been very pleased if he had succeeded, because it was advantageous to this Mission and Christian community if a lad of so many qualities would settle permanently here, to lead not only the soldiers but also the Indians, as there was no-one else with such overall qualifications more suitable than he to manage these Islands, should their Governor disappear.

6° Said Conejo was never heard to hold ill-will against Don José, and he was not among the many who disliked Don José for his annoying manner, and other things completely ridiculous for someone who took so much pride in being a good Christian and virtuous, as he truly is, and a gentleman, one with good family ties, etc. Rather, he showed the opposite, a love so close that he did his best always to serve Don José so well, as if he were his own son, very loving, and of his own blood, and this was obvious in everything that Conejo said and did, with such extraordinary care, solicitude, and vigilance in everything, and at all hours as if he were not just the lowliest of recruits, but as a mere servant, or the least Indian, ordered to do so many chores and things. For instance, if these things were for the personal service of said Don José, he took part in them in order to animate the others with his example, because they were already fed up and almost desperate with so much and such continuous labor and without succor for

so many years, etc. that they did not give up the idea that some day they would do him some slight. And it has been said that said Conejo stopped them from killing him once or twice already; that is why said Conejo was going about with a small rifle slung over his chest, and a cutlass in the hand at the side of Governor Quiroga, to guard him against any possible attacker. However, it seems that Conejo never reported the incidents to Don José, because His Grace had such a rare character. For instance, when the troublesome Manuel Salgado tried to foster an open mutiny in the fort of Agaña, whose commander was Don José, at the time that Governor Esplana was at Umatag, the plot was discovered and said Salgado sought refuge inside the church. A missionary Father then referred to the manner of speaking of this Salgado, then under protection of the Church, saying how he and his followers wanted to execute him. Don José then became indignant and angry with this Missionary¹ and he told him (with quite some anger): "Father, that kind of talk cannot be tolerated, because who is to know what these vile people might do? etc. Do not tolerate this kind of talk, Father, etc." Indeed, if Conejo had advised him to be on his guard, that he had reason to fear for his life, there was sufficient reason to believe that, if he could get angry with a Father, he would get angry with him, and who can tell if he would stop at just being angry with said Conejo? There are gentlemen like him who put on blinkers and refuse to hear or believe anything, until the coup is right on top of them, and once the storm blows over, they always return to their stern manners, and also take up the extreme position, and perhaps worse, so that there is no middle ground, or remedy, to deal with their Graces, because upon becoming Governors *honores mutant mores, sed raro in meliores*,² a proverb that comes true today in the Marianas, though the situation must be viewed through the reality of the Christian behavior and virtue of Don José and his good zeal for the salvation of these souls. Therefore, Conejo, perhaps fearing the above-mentioned reaction, as the man so wise and prudent that he is, was walking around as I said, and acting as his bodyguard; in case of real trouble, his intention had always been to advise him on time, but at the time that it became credible.

Now that I have given this background, I go on to say that before the time of the arrival of the galleon from Acapulco had come, a certain weakness was discovered in said Conejo, as the weak lad that he was, and was rumored publicly by someone who should not have divulged it, that night, which was the Eve of Ascension Day.³ When Conejo saw that he had been discovered, and that his good reputation, and favor, were already lost with his Governor, because the latter had already been told about it, he became fearful also that he might be punished with some shameful punishment, as Don José usually did under similar circumstances, he could not calm himself down nor rest that night, preoccupied as he was with the affliction, and anguish, that this was causing him.

1 Ed. note: From the context, I guess that this was Fr. Bouwens, then Superior.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Honors change behaviors, but seldom for the better."

3 Ed. note: This fault must have been relatively serious, and sexual in nature; perhaps Conejo had been caught having sex with his fiancée inside the barracks. A priest may have unwittingly revealed some confidential information about him.

When the plotters saw him this way, he seemed to them that the time had come for their plan to succeed, and given that said Conejo, as Adjutant, was in charge of the fort, they found the right words to say against Don José, on account of their being desperate, and holding a grudge against him. So, together they took control of the fort and elected said Conejo as their Commander, obliging him and forcing him to accept.

Nine months had passed since that Manuel Salgado had sought refuge in the church, at the time of Esplana, as I have said, when he had tried to take over said fortress. When this troublesome brawler, bragger, rebellious and bold man heard voices outside calling him, he abandoned his refuge and joined the badly-advised soldiers, and reduced the business to such a confusion that the Governor had to hide, not at some risk to his life; he did leave his residence, and sought refuge in that of the missionary Fathers, where the Father Vice-Provincial had been told that the Governor would be safe, if he did not meddle with the men, on account of the ill will that they had towards him. However, this did not put a stop to the contention, that by every possible means, was pursued by the riotous Salgado who, as soon as he escaped from under the Church's protection, pushed for his business, and by giving vent to all his hate, and rage against the Governor, he perverted everyone in such a way that even Conejo was unable to prevent it, nor the Father Vice-Provincial, either with spoken or written words. He came with armed men that same Ascension Day right after nightfall, when the Religious were inside the church reciting the Litanies of the Saints, and with force took out the Governor from where he was, and made himself the Leader of the mutiny.

A little before this happened, when Conejo saw that Salgado was so rebellious and that the men that Salgado himself had gathered for this operation of extracting the Governor from our House, he told the Father Vice-Provincial that he was taking no part in it, but that it was not possible for him to stop them, not without running an obvious danger to his own life; however, we were not to worry because he would take in the Governor in his own house, and no-one would harm his person or touch his prized possessions. However, Salgado prevailed and no attention was paid to what the Fathers wanted, and whenever some paper would come in with more requests, he simply tore them to pieces, etc. And so, the Governor was taken to the fort, and detained with a pair of shackles; his house was sacked, and his clothes distributed among them, with Salgado getting the best ones, including the best uniform of the Governor, giving the rest to his allies. Conejo wanted no part of them, but to please them he finally accepted the uniform, and the more ordinary clothes which he never wore except once, and that was 4 days later, a Sunday, when Salgado and the others put on the clothes that they had taken, and very pompously came out with them to attend mass, after which Salgado the pervertor ordered the house of the Governor dismantled and taken down, much to the disgust of Conejo, and the Gospel ministers. The latter left no stone unturned to prevent that from happening, and to have them make up and come to a better agreement with their Governor, by promising them a better deal. However, nothing could be gotten from such a quarrelsome and troublesome man as this Salgado, who did not even allow Conejo the freedom to explain himself, and to confer with the Father Vice-

Provincial, and reveal that he had already repented for what he had done and where it could lead, and was anxious to come to a settlement of the dispute, and to restore freedom to the Governor, and even his government.

The Father Vice-Provincial and all of us from the beginning recognized the good spirit and intention of Conejo, and whenever we could speak with him in private, without being overheard by Salgado and the more rankled among them, we encouraged his good intentions, by telling him that God would help him in such a just cause, one that would be so pleasing to Him, and that if he freed the Governor and restored him to his government, he had nothing to fear, not the loss of his life, nor the loss of his rank as Captain that had been given to him by the mutineers, nor of his good name; rather, that the Governor would confirm him in it, etc. if he carried out the aforesaid when the time was ripe. This promise of not risking his life and of getting a confirmation from the Governor of his rank of Captain, he was to leave it to us, because we assured him and gave our word that, in these two things—his life and honor—he would effectively get them later on, once Don José had been given back his freedom and government. All these proposals, and offers of security and honor, that we all made by always giving our word, said Conejo kept very well in his heart, although he then acted with much prudence, and discretion, and did not reveal himself openly but he would do whatever he did with very great care and sagacity, so as not to risk his own life, or that of the Governor.

It would not be outside the terms of this report to mention here the idea of these soldiers in Umatag to tie up those of the ship **San Fernando**, which was not Conejo's doing, but of certain evil-doers, or reckless ones, who began to shout: "Let us tie them up." All of them (because the event being so recent then, and some so ferocious, and others disturbed, fearful, and lacking counsel) followed them with the same shouts, and in fact they did tie them up.¹ When he saw them so determined and disturbed, said Conejo was unable to avoid it; however, from then on he was on bad terms with the men for such an absurd counsel, and as soon as they were released, in order to avenge himself of such bad advisors of the great disturber Salgado, Conejo sent a specific order to Agadña for the shackles to be immediately removed from the Governor, and to free him (and they did release the Governor) although three days after Conejo had removed them, they in turn rebelled once more and put him in shackles again, and they prohibited any soldier from coming to our house. Everyone said that Salgado was responsible for everything.

However, these and other foolish and rigorous means that Salgado proposed were partisan, and to establish himself intrusively into the government, and also the despotism and boldness with which he wished to order everything, treating everyone with harsh words, and deeds, as an absolute leader, began to irk all the soldiers, and Conejo above all. And so, to a man they could not suffer any more the insolences of said Sal-

1 Ed. note: The ship's launch was detained ashore overnight, so that the news of the mutiny would not prevent the supplies from being unloaded.

gado, and on the contrary, they were praising said Conejo and spoke of him as being wise, benign, prudent, and very cautious, etc. and that he could easily manage to stop the very serious harm that Salgado might do, and to bring the matter to trial. On our part, as we saw that Salgado was carrying on the business so badly, that he threatened the total ruin and loss of this [colony], whenever we could speak alone with him, and by various channels, we did not cease to transmit our hints to Conejo, to the effect that if he did pull it off, not only did we promise and gave our word that he would get a full pardon, but also that he would gain great honor, and advantage by rendering such a great service to the King. And, since Salgado was watching like an Argus, intent on completely taking control of the government, he was very eager to prevent Conejo from contacting the Father Vice-Provincial regarding a reconciliation, and that is why, whenever Conejo would go to our house, either Salgado himself or one of his allies would accompany him to listen to what was said.

When Father Miguel de Aparicio (a fervent missionary who arrived aboard the Peruvian patache **San Fernando**) saw that Salgado and other were very troubled, and ambitious for governing, and that every day things worsened so much that he could clearly see that some kind of accommodation might become impossible, and therefore lead to the total loss of it, because, as was learned later, he had intended, among other foolish things, and against all reason, etc. to secretly kill the Governor, without implicating Conejo, and the latter greatly feared that Salgado might kill him by surprise also. Well, as I was saying, Father Aparicio proclaimed a Mission Jubilee, in which Conejo did not miss one sermon, or one talk, and afterward in his barrack room, he would entertain himself by listening to the plain truth read to him from a book (as he does not know how to read) for the benefit of his soul, and from which he derived singular fruit. Said Mission generally caused it in everyone, except in Salgado who got nothing out of all these spiritual talks, or sermons, and he attended very few of them, or none of its ceremonies. Conejo took communion, and the whole Camp too, during this Jubilee, except two men, besides Salgado, who took no part in that. The night before he confessed and took communion, Conejo saw such good disposition in all the men, except in the worrisome Salgado, that he decided to make a clean break of it. So, at an unexpected time at night, and without being noticed by Salgado, he went where the Governor was, and threw himself at his feet, with so many sobs and tears that the Governor himself could not silence him. He begged pardon for what he had done, and promised him that he would put an end to his hardships, by delivering the government “even if it cost me my life (continued Conejo), and if Your Grace should wish to take my life once restored to power, here I am and you can do whatever you like with me, etc.” The Governor promised it to him and to confirm him in the rank of Captain “but in the meantime (the Governor told him) Your Grace should look after mine, to make sure that this succeeds, and once I am governor again, I will look after that of Your Grace, etc.” And so, reciprocally they made a pact between themselves, to look after the other’s life, as long as they remained alive. Conejo only asked him to please be patient for a while, so that speed without due caution would not jeopardize their plan.

In the meantime, whenever Conejo could, and at odd times of the night, he did not stop making visits to the Governor and the better to succeed, and to agree with Salgado who was importuning him to make him go to Umatag with a great show of men and weapons, etc. to resist in case the sloop came, or to prevent any person from landing, Conejo went overthere, with about 50 soldiers, but this number and the best ones, who were under the influence of Salgado, volunteered to go with Conejo and Father Miguel de Aparicio too. Since he had come to the Mission with such grace and zeal, Conejo held him close to his heart, and in esteem. So, a few days after arriving at Umatag, Conejo communicated his good intentions to His Reverence, and assured him that he would do what the Fathers had told him, and were still telling him, and Conejo said that he trusted his life and honor to them. Father Aparicio promised him again, and gave his word on behalf of the Father Vice-Provincial and all of us.

Meanwhile, Salgado who had remained in Agaña, had not followed the orders given by his Captain Conejo, to whom everyone complained so much against Salgado that under the circumstances, in order to divert Conejo from his wedding plans, he wrote to him I don't know what mischievous lies, and how it was that he with his concern could not go there to add more vigor to any resistance to the sloop, if he came. He left for Umatag with 12 men more, and one crate of powder, etc. As soon as he got there, he tried to create a schism between the Governor and Conejo, by telling the latter that there were signs that the Governor plotted something against Conejo, but that did not prevent him, as he in fact did, from placing Salgado himself in irons, and depriving him of the post of Adjutant, and the intrusive command that he had taken over. However, as the soldiers wished only for him to be deprived of his command, as he was so rough and intolerable, they begged him earnestly to release him. Conejo obliged, to win over the good graces of the majority for the purpose he had in mind. And leaving orders on what to do, he left for Agaña, where he investigated some things, and other verbal and written complaints he had received against Salgado, and found out that everything that said Conejo had told him about in Umatag against the Governor was false. He had an interview with the same Governor, in the presence of the Father Vice-Provincial and myself, and he reiterated his promise to all of us, that he would soon restore freedom to the Governor and his command, in accordance with the royal appointment for same. And a little after Conejo said goodbye to us in our house, on that same day before noon he carried out his plan, and took out the shackles from the Governor, with a gun and musket salute; he took him out of the fort, but first he turned the fort over to him and gave back the staff (that he had kept in a safe place, and no matter how much the evil-doers when they mutinied had placed it in his hand, Conejo's, telling him that He, and no-one else had to serve as their Governor, he never accepted it, and resisted it very strongly with such discrete reasoning, so final that he gave no-one the opportunity to bring the matter up again). He accompanied him and celebrated him, as I said (while the firing salute continued), as far as our house, from where Salgado had taken him by force. And, as the Governor then wished to remain there, to commend himself to God and to give Him thanks, etc. leaving the fort in the care of

the Sergeant and Squad Corporal, Conejo immediately left for Umatag, before the news of the event reached there.

He made such good time, and used so much cunning, that he was able to grab Salgado and ordered that he be placed in irons, before he gave everyone a report about how he had given back Don José de Quiroga his freedom and his government, and that His Grace had to govern, since His Majesty wanted him to, and that order had to be obeyed. And this Captain Rodriguez, or Conejo, said with so much heart that when he heard that the Sergeant and Squad Corporal were acting like discontented persons in Agaña, unhappy with what their Captain had done, and that they had placed a retired Captain in irons, for having gone to see the Governor in our house, they sent words to him that if said Governor were to meddle in anything, they would take him out and place him in shackles once again, etc. This Conejo learned at nightfall. He immediately left Umatag in a hurry, and on foot, but he reached Agaña at midnight, and at the risk of his life, he entered the fort and threw himself upon said Sergeant and Squad Corporal at the moment when one of them was reaching for his light musket and the other was pulling his cutlass from his scabbard, which they started to do as soon as they spotted the shadow of said Conejo. He placed them into tight shackles, and when they told him that they did not wish to have Don José de Quiroga as Governor, right there and then Conejo himself gathered up everyone in the fort and told them that anyone not obeying Don José de Quiroga as their Governor, as the King and our Lord ordered them to do, he would instantly cut their heads off, although they might later cut him to pieces. He also ordered that Salgado be brought from Umatag, under guard as the prisoner that he was.

In all of this, the said Conejo, or Captain Rodriguez, acted (now we can effectively call him by that rank as the Governor himself had already confirmed him in it, since he had made the generous decision, so suddenly, and with such deep affection, to return him to freedom and to place the staff in his hand, etc.). Captain Rodriguez did everything, as I was saying, with so much sagacity, courage, promptness and vigilance, etc. that one cannot over-emphasize the description. For example, during 5 or 6 days, and nights, he hardly ever stopped for one instant, almost always without sleeping, eating, or resting; he would fly along these roads leading from Umatag to Agaña, on foot, and under continuous rains, because the men were divided, and the loss of time could have lessened the chances of a successful settlement. The Governor gave him ample authority to do what he wanted to reach this settlement, but that did not stop said Captain from continuously coming, with singular humility, obedience, and submission to report to the Governor about what he was doing. To make sure that his purpose would be achieved, and a total settlement reached, said Captain Rodriguez arrested another soldier, although he had already been pardoned in the general pardon that the Governor gave to all, except to the three above-mentioned prisoners who, in spite of promising them a pardon on various occasions, they never wished to accept it from the Governor. The Captain then advised the Governor about this fourth prisoner, whom he thought was somewhat reckless, and showed signs of sorrow at seeing the Sergeant

and Squad Corporal in prison. Said Captain Rodriguez also told the Governor that for greater calm and peace in future, it would be proper that up to 14 men leave the Marianas (subject to the opinion of His Grace).

He sentenced Salgado to die, and ordered that he be executed, and it was carried out with the approval of the Governor, one day before the appearance of the sloop. And after the arrival of the sloop, as I have already said, he also carried out the death sentence, with the approval of the same Governor, on the other two, the Sergeant and the Squad Corporal. All three died so well, and so repentant, and with so many disillusionments that they themselves preached to the soldiers, asking them to be forgiven for the bad examples that they had given them, and to the Governor for having plotted against His Grace, with so many zealous acts of contrition that they edified and surprised everyone.

At the first news of the sloop, which was seen (as I said) on the day immediately following the death of Salgado, Captain Rodriguez was in Agaña assisting his Governor and serving him as a bodyguard, after he had handed over the fort to him a second time; in it he had prepared and furnished an apartment for the Governor. As the Governor was worried that the news of the sloop might be a trick on the part of the soldiers who had remained in Umatag, to set up an ambush for the Governor and the Captain as well, if both left to go overthere upon hearing said news, because the soldiers in question refused to return to Agaña, in spite of the orders of the Captain, because they too were distrustful of what they had been told, that things were so secure in Agaña. Said Captain volunteered his services to the Governor, if His Grace so wished, to go and bring them back, by disillusioning them from their fears, etc. and to find out as well for certain if it was true what they had said about having seen the sloop, or ship. The Governor did not agree, on account of what might happen to said Captain, thinking that it would be better to trust his own security in the Captain alone, rather than in the others, as up to 20 remained in Umatag. However, they agreed to send Father Miguel de Aparicio overthere to talk to said soldiers and disillusion them about their distrusts, and to back up His Reverence with a signed note from Captain Rodriguez himself, and after receiving a confirmation from said Father Aparicio that the sloop was in sight overthere, and that, even before the sloop appeared, all those soldiers had been very submissive and obedient to everything that the Governor wished to do with them. With the confirmed news of the ship, the Governor himself, accompanied by Captain Rodriguez, went overthere, and a final settlement of the whole affair was reached, and it was crowned by the marriage of the Captain with **Maria Táytifi**, a college girl, and sister-in-law of Captain Francisco Masónson. Once the bans were proclaimed, the wedding took place overthere in Umatag. During the marriage ceremony, the Governor himself acted as godfather, as he had not found a better way to show his gratitude for so many kindnesses than to exercise this action; he volunteered to do so, and was very pleased by it, and so was everyone else.

At present the good Captain Nicolás Rodríguez is behaving like a good husband, and with so much prudence, humility and submission in carrying out whatever the Governor asks of him.¹

Besides the Sergeant-Major, Don Juan de Medrano, there is no-one else whom the Governor can trust, and in the absence of both, he alone could be trusted with the handling of weapons. In the name of His Catholic Majesty, the Governor pardoned him and confirmed him in his rank of Captain, and he now lives very happily with his wife—both are in love with each other—and they are in Tumon with other married couples, where the Governor has built houses for them, for the purpose of relieving the Royal camp, and to feed the many mouths in the sloop and Garrison, that said Governor must take care of and maintain, because he has received no succor in the form of food supplies, and this Island has not enough Indians to supply him. There they look after garden plots, hunting, and drawing wine.² The only person that the Governor can trust with these jobs and chores is said Captain. He keeps busy at them and work as if he were a mere servant or slave of his, with very singular pleasure. And although he maintains him in his post as an active Captain, acting as Captain of the guard of the Governor himself, during their marches on holidays and other days when they come to mass, nevertheless, many times he has thrown himself at the feet of the Governor, asking him earnestly to please put him on the retirement list, and to order him simply as to his own servant, and to show that he was serious, with the same earnestness he has begged him many times from the bottom of his heart to please for the love of God treat him, not only as a mere servant, but also to brand him as a slave of his, that he could not get a better consolation in this life than to see himself branded as such, so that everyone would know of his obligation and desire to turn over, as he effectively did, his whole freedom and will in everything and for everything to His Grace for whatever he might want to employ them. And it is indescribable to what extremes he acts and endeavors to please him in everything, although I think, if he continues as Governor, no-one else could possibly give himself over to him so completely. Given the impertinent nature and the delicate health, etc. of Don Juan de Medrano, and the great virtue of His Grace, these two can never agree; no sooner had Medrano stepped ashore, that already he could not stand him, and neither will it be ever possible for Medrano (as he says himself) to suffer him, or please him, no matter how he tries, unless, says he, God makes a miracle.

Now then, my very beloved Father in Christ and Mary, Ignatius, Xavier, etc. Y.R. now sees by this report, and also by that of the Visiting Judge and members of the Audiencia who passed here on their way to the Philippines aboard the Peruvian patache, when they saw that the business of these soldiers against their Governor Don José was so aggravated because of His Grace being so intolerable, they said that what they had done was not against the King our Lord. Indeed, I repeat, said gentlemen Visitor and

1 Ed. note: The second copy, better said, extract in RAH stops here.

2 Ed. note: That is, collecting “tuba”, by tapping the coconut flower stems.

Auditors told the Father Vice-Provincial of the Marianas [i.e. Bouwens] aboard said Peruvian galleon, that His Reverence should try to arrange a settlement between them and their Governor; and no matter what method His Reverence chose, their Lordships said that, upon receiving the news of the settlement, they would report to His Majesty and back up whatever said Father Superior and Vice-Provincial had done, and his method, as it was in the interest of his Royal service. When the Father Vice-Provincial suggested the means that could be used for said settlement to said gentlemen, which turned to be as he wished, they approved it and those gentlemen said that there was no other, and that the King would be pleased very much if that was done (in fact, Conejo did it better and with more efficiency and with means that were then available and discussed in said galleon) and said gentlemen said that they would be Advocates and Protectors by sponsoring and begging favors in any inquiry that might be held when reporting to the King, etc. Now then, from what I have said in this report, one can see how obligated we are to said Captain Nicolás Rodríguez; indeed, we all gave him our word that his life, honor, and promotion would be saved. And in case the same trouble ever occurs, from someone else because there is not the slightest possibility of him doing so (may God not allow it), although such a thing is possible here, or in other place where it can be learned that our word, once given, it is possible that it be learned in many other places that the methods and said given word of ours, once we intervened; if there were someone, I repeat, somewhere, who might become involved in a similar thing, or case, he might be able to settle it, by trusting us to do it, considering that in this other case we very faithfully kept our word, because one can see, if, as I have said, and it is not impossible, this happens, no-one anywhere who could settle it would dare come out and take part in negociations, but would rather despair of others, and never trust us, and proceed [by himself] until everything has been destroyed, before a better solution was found, or another remedy came from outside, something that is very difficult in places so remote, and even more in the Marianas.

For everything, I beg Y.R. on behalf of all of us, should the news of the event place said Captain Nicolás Rodríguez at risk by a decree from His Majesty, or from his Royal Council, or that some punishment was addressed to him, though it be no more than an exile, I beg Y.R. with all the energy that I can to please intercede by interposing your authority with efficiency through persons of rank and power who might obtain by entreaty with their authority, and there is no doubt at all that it could be obtained by entreaty through Her Excellency my Lady the Duchess of Aveiro and their most Pious Catholic Majesties, the Most Serene Queen Mother and Queen Regent, so that said Captain Nicolás Rodríguez, otherwise known as Conejo (that is how the soldiers call him, and even the Governor himself, etc. in whose line said Conejo says that he has relatives) be pardoned, in accordance with what we all promised him, and also as promised by said gentlemen Visitor and Auditors; and in accordance with the promise of said Governor Quiroga who effectively kept his word by pardoning him, and promoting him to Captain in the name of the King our Lord. Thus His Catholic Majesty would be pleased to make him deserving of his Royal clemency, not only for having

given back (at the risk of his own life and at the cost of many efforts) to the Governor his freedom, and post, but also for having carried out justice upon the three of the most obstinate ones, who did not want to come to reasonable terms in the interest of the divine and royal service, and having made others prisoners, keeping his Governor very faithfully informed with much discretion, energy, and care about everything that he was working on, toward the conclusion of the business, and about everything else he had to bring back peace, and calm. And also because we the Religious have given our word, to the effect that if he followed our advice, he would be safe in everything, trusting on the words of said gentlemen Visitor and Auditors given to Father Vice-Provincial, and that of the Governor Don José, according to the promise he made to said Conejo and the pact reached, the better to secure his life and honor, by pardoning him and honoring him, as in fact he did pardon him, and honored him in the name of His Majesty, trusting also in the indubitable approval and confirmation of his Catholic clemency, in whose Royal and divine service said Captain Rodriguez acted so finely, by settling the issue. If he had not done so, this [colony] would all have been lost without a remedy, or at least we might have seen ourselves in dire strait and with some misfortunes. May no-one ever say of us, as well as said gentlemen Visitor and Auditors, and said Governor Don José, here in these Islands, or anywhere else where they might hear of it, that we are tricky people and that we do not keep our word given in pacts, etc. The result would be that wherever we might find ourselves, specially we Religious, and some mutiny might arise, we would have no credit nor any authority to achieve a settlement, and bad things and misfortunes might ensue, etc. that would later surface. For all the above reasons, not only we hope to get from His Majesty and from his Royal Council the confirmation and approval of the above-mentioned favors, but many more for said Captain Nicolás Rodriguez through the efficient intervention, zeal, and exquisite efforts of Y.R., to whom may Our Lord grant health and a long life, etc.

Santa Rosa of Agat in San Juan of Guan in the Marianas, year of 1688, on 25 December, the feast-day of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, when the pardons are requested and the gift-giving begins, such as we ask from His Catholic Majesty in his Royal Council on behalf of said Captain Nicolás Rodriguez with the firmest hope of obtaining it, for the greater welfare and progress of this his Catholic and Christian community in the Marianas and elsewhere.

Y.R.'s most devoted servant, who on behalf of all those in this Mission begs for the above for the greater service of both Majesties toward the progress of this your Christian community in the Marianas, etc.

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Document 1688P

Some news for 1688 and 1689

Source: RAH 9/2668, documents 124 bis & 124.

P1. Anonymous letter from Manila, ca. 1688

The westward voyage of the patache San Fernando.

...
When all the islands were suffering from the disconsolateness and affliction mentioned in last year's letter, there arrived at the beginning of July [1688] the patache that was sent to New Spain to get the subsidy. The rumor then spread that there was an entire Audiencia aboard it and a Visitor¹ who, after landing at Bagatao, left with extreme hurry bound for this City aboard a frigate belonging to the Mayor of Leyte, leaving an order with the patache to the effect that nobody was to disembark or write [ahead]. He arrived at Manila in a short time and, stepping ashore at Cavite, where he was received with a gun salute and, after spending three-quarters of an hour with Don Fernando [Valenzuela] and no-one else, proceeded towards this City where he arrived at two in the afternoon and was received with a gun salute and, aboard the coach of the Governor, made his entry by the gate of Fort Santiago. He arrived at the palace, before which a squadron had been standing; they received him with a general discharge of the firearms. He was alone with the Governor for about one hour, showing his commissions and, while this was going on, various opinions and possibilities were being discussed [outside] because a rumor began to the effect that what the Archbishop [Pardo] had put in the works had all been approved...

Once the patache had made port, and the Members of the Audiencia had arrived at this City, they opened various letters from His Majesty and it turns out that the remedy applied will be worse than the disease itself...

¹ Ed. note: This special judge was Don Francisco de Campos Valdivia (see Doc. 1689B2).

P2. Various news sent by Fr. Thomas de Andrade to Fr. Luis de Morales in Rome

News from the Philippines and New Spain

With the arrival of the Philippine galleon in New Spain [in 1688], a flood of news had also disembarked...

On 19 December 1689, the galleon **Santo Niño** anchored at Acapulco... His Lordship the Viceroy, the Count of Galve then appointed Don Juan de Garaicochea as her General.

...

Document 1689A

Letter from Fr. Juan Tilpe to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Agat 28 January 1689

Source: RAH 9/2677.

News of some Guam natives in Manila and beyond

Original text in Spanish.

Mi padre Procurador Antonio Xaramillo

P.C. ett^a

*Recibila de V^aR^a su fecha 13 de Jun. de 88 y le agradezco a V.R^a el favor que me haze de acordarse de mi indigno, y juntamente le agradezco a V.R^a la piedad y caridad, que ha tenido, con **Yai, Mananga, y Margarita** assi vivos como difuntos; y la que tiene con **Joseph Curu** llevando lo consigo a la Corte Catolica y Romana. Quiere Dios sepa el moço estimar un beneficio tan sin par. La mala inclinacion de **Luis Ama** siento mucho, y para dezir la verdad, siempre he reparado en el un natural doblado, y traidor. Dios lo haga suyo.*

Desde que bolvimos a entablar las Casas de Agat y Umatag, he estado ya en la una, ya en la otra, segun las mudanzas; que ha avido: despues de ido el Padre Thomas a Manila, bolvi de la de Umatag a la de Agat, adonde assiste con el Padre Vice Provincial. Porque su R^a escogio esta Casa para vivir en ella fuera de Agadña? De su R^a entenderà assimismo las novedades, que ha avido aqui, y mientras el Galliego empuñara la bara jamas faltará paciencia, en Marianas estamos, a quien quarto modo(?) proprio es el padecer. Quiera Dios, venga presto quien buelva por el decoro que se debe a Sacerdotes, y ministros Evangelicos. No dudo sino, que me entenderà V.R^a y hará concepto, que digo? pues ya lo tendrá hecho, de la soberania [rather soberbia?] que ya tenia todo esto muy arriesgado, y ojala no lo arriesgue mas, porque el escarmiento es nulo. Pero por avernos librado Dios de un peligro tan grande por medio del Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, suplico por quanto puedo à V.R^a se sirva de bolver por dicho Capitan en lo que le pudiesse ser perjuizio, que aunque cayò como flaco, y se dexò llevar de la corriente, turbado y perdido, bolvio sobre si, y con señalados servicios deshizo lo mal

*hecho, y solo el nos pudo valer como lo hizo en un reves tan peligroso, como era aquel; y si no uviera otra cosa mas, los buenos terminos con que siempre nos ha tratado, y procurado de servir, merecen, que sea por todos los caminos defendido y favorecido. Como lo hará V.R.^a interponiendo toda su autoridad, por valerse a esta su oveja, a quien no dexarán de amenazar muchos lobos, pero escaparáse de sus garras, puesta sobre los ombros de tan buen Pastor; a quien Dios nos guarde, y dexé ver presto como lo deseamos para el aumento y adelantamiento de esta Christiandad tan hija suya, como lo somos todos, **qui in illa portamus pondus et æstum.***

Agat, y Enero 28 de 1689 años.

Muy siervo de V.R.^a

Juan Tilpe

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator Antonio Xaramillo

Peace of Christ, etc.

I have received the letter of Y.R. dated 13 June 1688 and I thank Y.R. for the favor that you made me in remembering my unworthy self, and also I thank Y.R. for the mercy and charity that you have shown towards **Yai, Mananga, and Margarita**, alive or dead,¹ and those shown to **José Curu** by taking him along with you to the Catholic and Roman courts.² May God grant us that the lad will esteem such an extraordinary benefit! I am very sorry about the bad inclination of **Luis Ama**, and to tell you the truth, I have always been weary of his uneven and treacherous character. May God take care of it!

Since we have re-established our residences in Agat and Umatag, I have been sometimes in one and sometimes in the other. After Father Tomás [de Cardeñoso] left for Manila, I returned from that of Umatag to that of Agat, where I assisted Father Vice-Provincial. Why did His Reverence choose this residence to live in, outside of Agaña? From His Reverence you will also hear about the happenings that have taken place here. As long as the Galician [i.e. Quiroga] holds on to the stick, there will always be a need for patience; in the Marianas our lot is to suffer. May God allow that the decorum due to priests, and Gospel ministers, comes back soon! I have no doubt that Y.R. will understand what I mean and will figure it out. What am I saying? Indeed, you would have grasped it already, I am talking about the arrogance that had endangered this whole colony, and let us hope that he does not endanger it in future, because the warning was for nothing.³ However, since God delivered us from such a great danger through Captain Nicolás Rodríguez, I beg Y.R. as hard as I can to please repay said Captain, in anything that might prejudice him; although he fell into a weakness, and let himself

1 Ed. note: As Fr. Bustillo has reported already (Doc. 1688O1), Mrs. Margarita Zibuaur had died in Manila.

2 Ed. note: There is no further news about this Curu having gone to Europe. He may be the same Curu who is reported as serving in Pago in 1691 (see Doc. 1691C).

3 Ed. note: He is complaining about Quiroga, of course.

by carried off by the current, confused and lost, he did recover and with distinguished services undid the damage, and only he saved us as he did from a dangerous setback, as this one was. And if he had done nothing else, the good relationship that he has always maintained with us deserves to be defended and rewarded by all the means at our disposal. This I am sure Y.R. will do, by interposing your whole authority, to benefit this your lamb, whom many wolves will no doubt want to threaten, but he will escape from their clutches, on top of the shoulders of such a good shepherd, to whom God may preserve, and let us see you as we wish for the progress and advancement of this Christian community, that is so much a daughter of yours, as we all are, *qui in illa portamus pondus et æstum*.¹

Agat, 28 January 1689.

Y.R.'s devoted servant,
Juan Tilpe.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “[We] who bear the burden and the commotion.”

Documents 1689B

Two letters from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Agaña 12 May 1689

Source: RAH 9/2677. Note: Reports written at the request of the new Superior, Fr. Bustillo, who had replaced him in that post some 8 months before.

B1. First letter containing complaints against Governor Quiroga

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador de Provincia para Madrid y Roma Antonio Xaramillo

Pax Xrj

Fue finalmente Dios servido, que llegando felizmente a los principios de Setiembre 88 la balandra, y en ella los Padres ambos a dos con el H^o donado, se hallase compuesta la pendencia, que como supo V.R. en el embocadero, se avia armado entre los soldados, y su Governador D. Josef de Quiroga. Incono [Intento?] el pleyto cierto Cryollo de Mexico, y lo redujo de terminos de imposibilitarse el ajuste, si no intermediase la cordura, prudencia, y valor de aquel mismo, de cuya flaqueza se avia originado, abusandola unos mal intencionados para lograr la traycion, que dicho Cryollo de Mexico, por ser mozo inquieto, y bullicioso, avia urdido 9 meses antes sin poder lo executar. No cansare a V.R. con particularizarle los sustos, y peligros que hemos pasado asi nosotros (y yo mas que otro ninguno) como D. Josef en el interim, que durò el motin. Complidamente refiere la historia el Padre V.-Provincial, que como sabe V.R.^a lo es el Padre Lor[enzo] Bustillos [sic], a cuya relacion me remito contentandome con rogar a V.R., ya que el Governador aconsejado de los de la balandra no miro bastantemente por la seguridad, de quien a costa de su peligro aviendo hecho el ajuste, borrò la culpa de lo originado por su flaqueza, se sirva V.R.^a de volver por el y desempeñandonos todos le alcance (porque sin encarecimiento lo merecio el mozo) no solo el perdon (que se le dio el Governador en nombre del Rey) sino tambien el, que ya casado no se embie a Philipinas con su muger, como de hecho le embio D. Josef sin atender al riesgo, a que iba espuesto de perder la vida, o quando menos, de que se hechasen à galeras los que saben alla el delito, que muchos le acumularian, callando lo bien, que procedio en el ajuste. Grandes ofertas le tenia hechas el Governador sin pedirle mas el mozo (y esto con lagrymas y de rodillas) que el perdon de su delito; del qual (segun el mismo D. Josef me dijo repetidas vezes) estava muy arrepentido. Di lo que yo me rezelava (como quien

conocía ya al Caballero y era) que despues no diese oydos a los que le debían ser sospechosos; los unos, porque quizás se quisieran vengar de lo padecido mientras las cosas andaban revueltas; y los otros por congraciarse con el Gobernador, aunque fuese hechando a perder al que todos avían de ayudar para acreditarse. Rogue pues al Gobernador salido ya de sus trabajos, anduviere advertido; y su Merced presente el ahora V. Provincial me lo prometió y bajando a la yglesia, donde por su orden se avía juntado la infantería impuso a todos silencio so pena, que hechò entonces, si alguno hablase de lo acontecido: y en señal de que perdonava a quantos avían intervenido en ello (excetuando solos tres que estaban ya presos) dijo lo avía el de sepultar en perpetuo olvido: y vuelto a mi aposento me asevero, que en adelante no se avía de menear sin aconsejarse conferiendo la materia: Pero nada cumplió menos, que lo prometido: pues no pasaron 4 meses quando ya lleno de fantasia reformò a su libertador, aviendole antes hecho Capitan, y le apartò de sí, por no faltar de la balandra, quien así se lo aconsejó, embiandole con su muger (que es hermana de la de Masonson) a Tumhum para que allí viviese juntamente con otros tres casados, y le cuydase de sus puercos, sementeras etc.

Pareció al Padre Vice Provincial desacerle de tal resolución y todos los Padres sin discrepar ni uno, juzgaron lo mismo: yo añadí los inconvenientes, que de ai se pudieran originar: y al oír que Lazcano tenía gana de llevarlo a Manila todos rogamos al Padre V. Provincial estuviere a la mira que tal no se hiciese[.] vióse el Capitan ya reformado con el Padre V. Provincial insinuandole, que cada día le iba el Gobernador most[r]ando menos afecto. Consolò su R^a al mozo asegurandole de lo mucho, que el Gobernador le estimava: por tanto no dudase de sus buenas entrañas; porque mirando: por su bien, y conveniencia le avía quitado de entre el ruido de los soldados, y puesto, donde viviese quieto con su muger. Entretanto ya escudriñando el Gobernador, ya admitiendo cuentos sobre lo sucedido: como, quando, porque causa, por quien etc. se avía comenzado; que cobrando tanta aversion al mozo, que a solo verle (segun el mismo se dejó decir) se le revolvia la sangre revestiendo de colera.

He aquí lo que yo me avía temido. Mucho se recatava de nosotros el buen Cavallero, para que no oliésemos su designio. Alla se confería con uno, o dos; que llenandole quizás la cabeza de no se que especies, le supieron decir tanto, que le pareció no complerìa con la leyes de la nobleza, con la obligacion de su persona, con el servicio del Rey etc., si no embiase a Manila al Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez (que así se llama) y que con esto recobraría su honra. Aquí de la promesa: que **no se avía de menear sin aconsejarse con nosotros sobre la materia.** Pero como estava cierto, que con toda eficacia le avíamos de disuadir lo que intentava; su cuydado fue, ejecutarlo à la sordina: y así a media noche para el domingo 30 de Enero mandò[le] se embarcase dicho Capitan con su muger, sin que viesen, ni hablasen a nadie de los Padres dandole de escolta dos oficiales, para que le entregasen al Admirante [Lazcano] en la balandra, la qual a 3 de Febrero avía de hacerse a la vela. A la mañana del día siguiente dio noticia, no se quien de lo pasado aquella noche. Fue grande el sentimiento, que uvo sobre el caso diciendo, quien acababa de confesar al Gobernador, **que si lo hubiera sabido sin absolverle le ubiese remitido a su Theologo** (estas eran sus formales palabras) **que alla tenía consigo** (y le nombrò por su nombre) **para que aviendole dado la resolución, le hechase tambien la absolucion.** Llamònos a consulta el Padre Vice-Provincial y fue parecer de dos Padres, que yo, por averme dejado el Señor Visitador pasando por aca, autoridad bastante para componer el motin, asegurandome, que juzgavan todos, avía de correr peligro. Pero yo tal rehusè, alegando razones; y por estar ya aviado el Padre Antonio Cerezo con bastantes noticias de todo: que su R^a el caso lo que fuese conforme a la Charidad y Justicia.

Entretanto parece, que Dios N.Sr. quiso, que no lograrse el Governador su intento; porque al emparejarse el Capitan embarcado, con la balandra donde su casa (que la tenia en frente) le hacia señas el Admiral [al] Sargento maior D. Juan de Medrano, que tambien se embarcaba de vuelta para Manila. Todo se le iba al Admirante en ofertas con mil preguntas, que engendraban sospecha, y para safarse el Capitan de contingencias, mandò a su mujer hablandola en la lengua que los demas no entendian, se quedase alli hasta volverse el; que iba a despedirse de los Padres y ver quien dellos se embarcaria por Capellan de la nao: fingio luego en buenos terminos, no se que achaque, y bajando desaparecio, sin que tal pensasen los, que le tenian combidados. Al andar por altos y bajos se le lastimò un pie, y fue causa, que no podia aquella noche llegar a Agaña; acogiose pues al Padre Basil[i]jo [LeRoulx] en Umatah; de donde al instante despachò su R^a la noticia de lo que pasaba al Padre Vice-Provincial. En el camino de Hagat para alla alcanzò la nueva al Governador, que sin hablar a ninguno de nosotros ya se avia ido a despedirse de los amigos en Tachuc, donde estava surta la balandra en un puerto (que ya se llama de San Francisco Xavier, tan abrigado de qualesquiera vientos, y mares; que me dijo el Admirante, podia su Magd. pagarlo en dos millones de plata, si tal puerto uviera en la Vera Cruz. Luego, que oyo el Governador la nueva, embio unos oficiales y soldados en busca del desaparecido con orden (como yo lo supe despues) de sacarlo de la yglesia, si en ella lo hallaren. Preguntaron al Padre Vice-Provincial, que estava en Agaña, si alla avia aportado, a quien ellos buscaban: con esta ocasion, y con la que juntamente recibia su R^a del Padre Basilio, llegamos a saber la historia; y rezelando, no hiciese el Governador otro disparate maior con sacarle violentamente del Sagrado (como avia con engaño sacado a Garzia, y con grillos a el y a otro, casados entrambos embiaba juntamente con sus mugeres a Philipinas. Con el parecer de los Padres me despachò a mi el Padre Vice Provincial con orden espresa, y por escrito, se lo estorbase so pena de la descomunion, que para el caso señala el derecho.

Llegando su Merced a Umatah, y oyendo, que alli estava el Capitan deço de querer le sacar. Disuadioselo el Padre Basilio [LeRoulx] hasta que viniese la respuesta del Padre Vice-Provincial ya informado del caso: y asi desistiendo su Merced pasó adelante, para la balandra. Yo entretanto con mi comision, llegue a Umatah a donde su Merced llegó de vuelta aquella misma tarde, mejor al parecer aconsejado; pues por su orden vino embarcada la mujer con los trastos. Yo dissimulando la causa de mi venida (que no avia ya para que decirsela) adverti por su modo de hablar el desafecto que tenia al dicho Capitan. Todo era achacarle el motin. Ibale yo deslumbrando, como tambien el Padre Basilio, diciendo no avia de mirar al mozo por lo mal hecho al principio; pues esto ya perdonado merecia olvido, que le mirase por lo que obrò con tanto valor y acierto para componer la pendencia, como la compuso tan a satisfacion suya, y nuestra. Pero el quedando en sus trece replicò, que su arrepentimiento no fue verdadero. Aqui le concluy con esta simul: Si Judas despues de vendido, y entregado a JESU Christo, le uviera otra vez sacado de entre las manos de los Judios, y vultole su libertad, y credito, quien dudara de lo verdadero de su arrepentimiento? Convinciole la instancia; si bien como mal aficionado el Capitan, dio a entender, que lo bien que obrò, avia sido no por el amor, que devia a su Merced, sino por temor del riesgo, que corria su misma vida, y por ajustar su casamiento: y si a esto siguió, el darse fin a la revolucion, y a su prision, se le tenia el pagado con perdonarle culpa, guardandole la vida. Mostrè a su Merced el riesgo, que della corria en Manila: Replicò, que con la, que le diò de favor para el Governador de Philipinas, iba seguro. Juzguelo V.R^a porque yo no dudo, sino que era carta de Urias. He la aqui a la letra:

[Letter from Governor Quiroga to the Governor of the Philippines]

“El Portador desta es el Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, Principal motor del tumulto, que sucedio en estas islas entre los soldados; al qual en nombre de su Magd. he perdonado por razon de averse mostrado en el ajuste de dicho tumulto arrepentido, y obrado en el ajuste del. Y asi viendo esta, estimare tenga V. Señoria a bien dio perdon, que en ello recibire merced de la grandeza de V. Señoria cuya vida guarde Dios muy felices años. Agaña, etc.”

*Vea V.R^a si con tal carta iba seguro con su mujer el dicho Capitan 1^o por nombrarle el mismo Governador, el Principal motor del tumulto. 2^o Por no decir en su abono mas, que **averse mostrado arrepentido, y obrado en el ajuste**: ay tal sequia de escribir para asegurar a uno la vida? ya que su Merced le achacò, como al principal motor, la culpa del tumulto: No le alabara tambien, como al instrumento principal, y unico del ajuste? y como dice, que se mostrò arrepentido, no dijera (siquiera) que con lagrymas, y de rodillas mas de una vez le avia pedido perdon, promitiendole de dar fin a la pendencia, y de sacar a su Merced con bien, aunque fuese a costa de su misma vida; y que así lo ha cumplido con tal prudencia, valor, y vigilancia; que si dello fuese informado su Magd. no solo tendria a bien el perdon, que en su Real nombre le dio, sino, que le mandara premiar las finezas, que arrepentido de su yerro obrò en su Real servicio; en cuyo nombre recobrando la fortaleza con prendimiento de los rehaçios en su delito, se la entregò a su Governador ya puesto en libertad; y castigò en forma de Justicia militar a tres, que revoltosos no querian venir en el ajuste. Si dejere su Merced todo esto, y mucho mas, no encareciera la cordura del mozo, como ella lo merece. Es juicio comun de todos nosotros, que los Cabos de la balandra metieron al Governador en eso, que le embiase a Manila, como quien de otra suerte no cumpla con la Ley de Cavallero: Porque su Merced muy pagado de dicho Capitan y de lo prudente, y bien intencionado, que procedio en ajustar el pleyto, estimava, y queria entrañablemente al mozo, açiendole singulares agasajos; por inducion agena lo cobro poco despues de llegada la balandra tal desafecto, que aviendole asistido de Padrino al casarse, dadole la bengala, y con singular confianza tenido a su lado, le reformò a las 4 meses, y apartandole del Campo le mandò cuydar de sus milpas, puercos etc. y finalmente con tanto disimulo le desterrò para Manila con su mujer en Comp^a de otros 14 de los que el mismo Capitan Rodriguez avia dicho al Governador, por ser de malas entrañas, embiase a Philipinas.*

*Quien no ve el riesgo, que corria dicho Capitan embarcado con esos, teniendo contra sí, aunque se lo disimulavan, a los Cabos de la balandra, sin mas favor de parte de su Merced, que de una carta, en que acusandole el mismo Governador de aver sido el principal motor del tumulto, no de en su abono mas, que averse mostrado arrepentido, y ayudado para su ajuste; remitiendo al parecer del Governador de Philipinas, el pasar (o no) por el perdon, deteniendo à su ahigado (asi lo llama) informar muy por menudo a la Real Audiencia, y aun a su Magd a favor de dicho encareciendo las finezas, que obrò para ajustar la pendencia, y como finalmente la ajustò con tanto valor y prudencia, rogar a su Alteza, y a su Magd. tuviesen a bien no solo el perdon, en su Real nombre le avia dado; sino que tambien le confirmasen el puesto de Capitan, que al presente servia con tales muestras de lealtad, que no ay, quien le lleva la ventaja. Estas y otras alabanzas pudiera, y debiera escribir el Governador a favor de quien el mismo llama Ahijado, y nosotros todos le llamamos su Libertador. El no alabar asi al buen mozo, segun lo he oyo, y tambien lo juzgo, tiene resabios de venganza; de la qual bien lejos avia de estar, quien se precia de virtuoso, y caritativo refleja sobre el modo, con que se portò, para con nosotros, para con emendar dijera con el recuerdo de sus trabajos: **Justus es Domine et rectum Judicium tuum.***

Entretanto quedòse el Capitan Rodriguez con su mujer en Umatah con singular demostracion de los mejor casados, que ay en el campo. Todos los Padres le alaban de quieto, cuerdo, prudente, y tan apropiado para esta mission, que a faltarle Governador, no ay aca otro como el; de quien hechar mano.

[Fruitless search for Caroline Island from Guam in 1689]

A los fines de Abril pasado, salio una y otra vez, ya con dos, ya con tres bancas, en busca de la isla, que vio Lascano haçia el sur. Pero por no estar bien informado del rumbo, no dio con ella, aunque la 1ª vez se alegò mas de 20 leguas; y la 2ª mas de 40 llevando el (como Caudillo) la orden del Governador con titulo, que le dio por escrito, de Cabo del descubrimiento, que se pretendia hacer en nombre de su Magd. Con esto puede ser, que vuelve el Governador a cobrarle mas afec[?]to: porque de verdad, no tiene de quien mas se puede fiar; ni quien quiera mejor a su Merced, que al dicho Capitan cuyo abogado ha de ser V.R. para que se le asegure no solo la vida, sino tambien la libertad y honra, segun y como lo pudiese el Padre Vice-Provincial, pues yo por ser subdito aunque en mi tiempo se hizo el ajuste, no tengo ahora, que meter macula; que toca a los Superiores. Y asi doy fin a esta con rogar a Dios N.Sor. que nos guarde a V.Rª en cuyos Santos Sacrificios mucho me encomiendo.

Agadña y Mayo 12 de 1689.

*De V.R. muy siervo aunque el mas inutil de los Marianos,
Gerardo Bouvens.*

Translation.

My dear Father Provincial Procurator at Madrid and Rome, Antonio Xaramillo.
Peace of Christ.

Thank God, the sloop finally arrived successfully at the beginning of September 1688, and aboard it came both of the two Fathers with the oblate Brother.¹ The pending matter, that Y.R. heard about in the Entrance channel, that had been fomented between the soldiers and their Governor, Don José de Quiroga, has been resolved. The dispute was kindled(?) by a certain Spaniard born in Mexico, and he reduced it to such limits as to make the settlement impossible, if the wisdom, prudence, and courage of that very person whose weakness had started it, when some men with bad intentions abused his weakness in order to carry out the treachery, which said Spaniard from Mexico, since he was a troublesome and brawling lad, had fomented 9 months before but without success. I will not tire Y.R. with details of the shocks and dangers that we passed through, not only us (and myself more than anyone else) but also Don José as long as the mutiny lasted. I refer you to the report of Father Vice-Provincial, who is Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, for complete details of the story, contenting myself with begging Y.R., now that the Governor listened to the counsels of the people of the sloop and did not pay sufficient attention to the safety of the person who risked his life to achieve a settlement, erased the fault of what he had begun out of weakness. Y.R. will please defend him and discharge us all and obtain for him (because the lad deserves it without exaggeration) not only the pardon (that the Governor gave him in the name of the King)

¹ Ed. note: Cuculino, Zarzosa, and Santa Cruz (Doc. 1688O).

but also that he, who has since married, not be sent to the Philippines with his wife, as in fact Don José sent him, without paying attention to the risk to which he was exposing him of losing his life, or at least, of being sent to the galleys by those who might investigate the crime overthere, as many would pile it on top of him, and not mention the good things he did in getting a settlement. The Governor had made a great many promises to him but the lad had only asked to be pardoned for his crime (and this with tears and on his knees), about which, according to what Don José himself told me many times, he was very remorseful. I told him then what I feared (as someone who knew the gentleman already, and that was) that afterwards he should not listen to those who would necessarily be suspicious of him; some, because perhaps they wished to take revenge for what they had suffered while the affairs were upside down, and others in order to ingratiate themselves with the Governor, although it might result in the perdition of the man whom they should all have helped in order to gain credit for themselves. I therefore begged the Governor, when he was no longer under duress, to be on his guard, and His Grace, in the presence of the one who is now Vice-Provincial, promised it to me, and going down to the church, where by his order the whole infantry had been assembled, he imposed silence on everyone, under a penalty which he stated then, if anyone ever talked about the past event. And, as a sign that he pardoned anyone who had intervened in it (except for only three who were already in prison), he said that he would bury the matter in a perpetual oblivion. And back in my cell, he assured me that in future he would not manage without first taking counsel on the matter. However, he did nothing of the sort; in fact, not 4 months had passed when, already full of conceit, he placed his liberator on the retirement list, after he had first made him a Captain, and he sent him away, probably according to advice he received from someone belonging to the sloop, sending him and his wife (who is the sister of Masonson's wife) to Tumhum, so that he would take care of his pigs, plantations, etc. overthere, along with three other married men.

The Father Vice-Provincial was of the opinion that this decision should be reversed and all the Fathers unanimously thought the same. I pointed out the disadvantages that might ensue. When he heard that Lazcano felt like taking him to Manila, we all begged the Father Vice-Provincial to be on his guard to make sure it did not happen. The Captain, already retired, went to see the Father Vice-Provincial, and insinuated that the Governor was showing him less affection from one day to the next. His Reverence consoled the lad, by assuring him how much the Governor esteemed him; hence, he should not doubt his sincerity, because it was for his own good, and advantage, that he had taken him away from the noisy soldiers, and the post, to a place where he could live quietly with his wife. In the meantime, the Governor was either scrutinizing or accepting tales regarding the events: how, when, what cause, by whom, etc. it had started; he came to acquire so much aversion towards the lad that the sight of him (according to what he was heard say) was enough to make his blood boil with anger.

Here is what I had feared would happen. The good gentleman kept much from us, so that we would not guess what he was up to. Overthere, he would consult with one,

or two. Perhaps they filled his head with I do not know what, but they knew how to use the right words to make him realize that he would not be complying with the laws of the nobility, with the duty of his station, with the service of the King, etc. if he did not send to Manila Captain Nicolás Rodríguez (that is his name) and that was how he would regain his honor. That is how he fulfilled his promise that **he would not manage without consulting with us on the matter**. However, since it was certain that we would have tried to dissuade him of his plan with all our might, he took care to carry it out on the quiet; so, at midnight on Sunday 30 January, he ordered said Captain to embark with his wife, without being seen nor talking with any one of the Fathers, placing him under the escort of two officers and delivering him to the Admiral [Lazcano] aboard the sloop, which was scheduled to set sail on 3 February. On the morning of the next day, someone (I do not know who) gave notice of what happened that night. We were greatly saddened by the case. The Father who had finished confessing the Governor said **that if he had known about it, he would not have given him the absolution but referred him to his Theologian** (these were his exact words) **who was with him overthere** (and he gave the specific name)¹ **as the man who had led him to this resolution, and should now give him the absolution**. The Father Vice-Provincial called us to a meeting and it was the opinion of two Fathers that I, to whom the Visiting Judge had given sufficient authority to settle the mutiny when he passed by here, should intervene, as everyone assured me that the settlement was in danger. However, I refused, giving my reasons; and Father Antonio Cerezo was provided with sufficient details about everything, and was urged to act in accordance with charity and justice.

In the meantime, it seems as if God our Lord willed that the Governor's plan did not succeed, because, when the Captain was preparing to go on board, it happened that the Admiral was waving to the Sergeant Major Don Juan de Medrano, who was also boarding the sloop to return to Manila, from his house on shore (which was directly in front). The Admiral was receiving gifts that raised a thousand questions and generated suspicion. So, the Captain, to get out of these contingencies, ordered his wife (by speaking to her in the local language that no-one else understood) to remain there until he himself returned, saying that he was going to say goodbye to the Fathers and find out who would board the sloop as Chaplain of the galleon. He then faked very well, I do not know what sickness, but once ashore, he disappeared, without his hosts suspecting that he had [escaped]. However, while walking up and down, he hurt his foot, and this was the reason why he could not reach Agaña that night. Therefore, he took refuge with Father Basilio [Le Roulx] in Umatah. His Reverence immediately despatched a notice of what was going on to Father Vice-Provincial. Along the road between Hagat and there, the news reached the Governor who, without talking to any of us, had already gone to say goodbye to his friends in Tachuc, **where the sloop was in a port, which is now called Port of San Francisco Xavier**, and is so well sheltered from any wind, and sea that the Admiral told me that His Majesty would pay him 2 millions in silver,

1 Ed. note: Perhaps a reference to Fr. Cerezo (his regular confessor), who left aboard this patache.

if such a port existed in Veracruz. As soon as the Governor heard the news, he sent some officers and soldiers to look for the disappeared man, with an order (as I learned later) to take him out of the church, if he was found therein. They asked the Father Vice-Provincial, who was in Agaña, if the man they sought had made port overthere. With this, plus the notice that His Reverence had received from Father Basilio, we were able to piece the story together and, fearful that the Governor might cause another major blunder, such as taking someone out of the sacred refuge by force (as he had done, by tricking García out, and sending him, with fetters on, and another one, both married, together with their wives to the Philippines. At the advice of the Fathers, the Father Vice-Provincial sent me with an express order, and in writing, to stop him from doing so, under penalty of excommunication, according to the law provided for this case.

When His Grace arrived at Umatah, and heard that the Captain was there, he was heard to say that he wanted to take him out. Father Basilio dissuaded him from doing so, until the answer from the Father Vice-Provincial, already alerted, was received. So, His Grace desisted and went off to the sloop. In the meantime, I arrived with my commission at Umatah where His Grace came back that same afternoon, but seemingly better advised, because the [Captain's] wife was there too, in the boat with her baggage. I hid the cause of my visit from him (as there was no longer a reason to tell him), but I noticed by the way he talked that he disliked said Captain; he kept imputing the whole mutiny to him. I began to enlighten him, and Father Basilio as well, by saying that he should not pay attention to how badly the lad had acted at the beginning, since this was already forgiven and deserved to be forgotten, that he should pay attention to what he had done with so much courage and assertiveness to settle the pending dispute, and he had effectively settled it and so much to his satisfaction, and ours. However, he stood firm and replied that his repentance was not sincere. In turn I concluded by telling him this analogy: What if Judas, after he sold and delivered JESUS Christ, had changed his mind and extricated Him from the hands of the Jews, and in exchange been given his freedom, and credit, who would doubt the sincerity of his repentance? The example convinced him so well that, remaining badly intentioned towards the Captain, he gave to understand that the good things he had done were not out of love for His Grace but for fear of running the risk that his own life would be at stake, and to be successful with his marriage, and that was why he had finished the revolution, and freed him from prison, and that he had repaid him by pardoning his fault and keeping him alive. I pointed out to His Grace the risk that he would run in Manila. He replied that with the letter of recommendation that he gave him, addressed to the Governor of the Philippines, he was safe. Let Y.R. judge it for yourself; as for me, I have no doubt that it was like the letter of Urias.¹ Here it is word for word:

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Old Testament (II Kings 11) in which King David sent Urias with a letter to Joab telling the latter to place Urias on the front line in battle, because he coveted the man's wife. Thus, he effectively sent him to his death.

[Letter from Governor Quiroga to the Governor of the Philippines]

“The bearer of this letter is Captain Nicolás Rodríguez, the prime mover of the tumult that happened in these Islands among the soldiers. I have pardoned him in the name of His Majesty because he showed himself repentant in the settlement of said tumult, and worked at finding a settlement. And so, when Your Lordship sees this letter, I would be obliged if you approve of my having pardoned him, as I would consider it a favor from the greatness of Your Lordship, whose life may God save for many happy years. Agadña, etc.”

Y.R. may judge if such a letter would have made said Captain safe with his wife, when 1) the Governor himself called him “the prime mover of the tumult” and 2) said in his favor only that “he showed himself repentant in the settlement of said tumult, and worked at finding a settlement.” Is this penury of words enough to make the life of the man secure, now that His Grace has accused him of the crime of mutiny, as its ring leader? Should he not have praised him also as the main and single instrument in the settlement? He did mention that the man showed remorse, but why not say that he asked for pardon more than once, with tears, and on his knees? And promised to bring the pending matter to a close, and to free His Grace for sure, even if it cost him his life? And that he did effectively do so, with such prudence, courage, and vigilance that if His Majesty were informed of it, he would not only think it just to approve the pardon given in his Royal name, but also would order that his fineness be rewarded, the one he performed in his Royal service, once he repented from his mistake? It was in the royal name that he recovered the fort, by arresting those who were stubborn in their crime, and turned it over to his Governor, already freed, and punished by court martial three rebellious men who did not want to accept the settlement. If His Grace omitted to say all of this, and much more, he would not extol the wisdom of the lad, as much as it deserves to be. It is the common opinion of all of us that the officers of the sloop had a hand in convincing the Governor to send him to Manila, as otherwise he would not comply with the Law of Gentlemen. Why is it that His Grace, once very pleased with said Captain and how he had proceeded so prudently and so well intentioned in the adjustment of the dispute, when he had esteemed the lad and loved him tenderly, and gave him special attention? It was due to foreign influence that, after the arrival of the sloop, he acquired such a dislike for him that, having once stood by him as godfather in his wedding, given him the Bengal light,¹ and with special trust kept him at his side, within 4 months he retired him and removed him from the Camp, ordering him to take care of his cornfields, pigs, etc. until finally, with so much dissembling, he exiled him to Manila with his wife, in the company of 14 others, the same men whom Captain Rodríguez himself had pointed out to the Governor, as being of bad disposition, and deserving of being sent to the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: Literally, after giving him the sparklers, meaning, having feasted him.

Who cannot see the risk that said Captain ran in boarding [the same sloop] as these men? And with the officers of the sloop being against him, although they hid their feelings? Without any other favor on the part of His Grace than a letter, in which the same Governor accused him of being the prime mover of the tumult, and saying only to his benefit that he had showed remorse, and helped with the settlement; hence, apparently leaving it to the Governor of the Philippines to rule (or not) on the pardon, having him detain his godson (so he called him), [instead of?] informing the Royal Audiencia in great details, and even His Majesty in favor of said man, extolling the fineness with which he acted to settle the dispute, and how he finally settled it with so much courage and prudence, to beg His Highness, and His Majesty to please recognize not only the pardon given to him in his Royal name, but also confirming him in the post of Captain, which he presently served with such signs of loyalty, that no-one could do it better. These and other praises could have, and should have been written by the Governor in favor of the man whom he called his Godson, and all of us called his Liberator. Not praising the good lad in this way, according to what I have heard, and think plausible, seems like vengeance. Much more was expected of someone who thinks of himself as being virtuous, and charitable. Anyone reflecting on the manner of his behavior towards us could recall his actions and, by way of a reprimand, say aloud: *Justus es Domine et rectum judicium tuum.*"¹

In the meantime, Captain Rodriguez and his wife, remained at Umatah and they behaved like the best married couples in the camp. All the Fathers praise him as being quiet, wise, prudent, and so suitable for this mission that, in the absence of the Governor, there is no-one here better than he to succeed him.

[Fruitless search for Caroline Island from Guam in 1689]

At the end of last April, he went out once and a second time, now with 2 canoes, then with 3, in search of the Island that Lazcano had seen toward the south. However, on account of not being well informed of the direction, he did not find it, although the first time he went farther than 20 leagues, and the second time over 40. As the leader of the expedition, he carried a written instruction from the Governor that referred to him by the title of Leader of the exploration, which was undertaken in the name of His Majesty.² Now, perhaps the Governor will once again show him more affection, because in truth he has no-one else in whom to trust, nor anyone other than said Captain who loves His Grace more. Y.R. must become his advocate, to make sure that not only his life, but also his freedom and honor, are safe, in accordance with and in the manner that the Father Vice-Provincial may choose, since I am now but a subject, although the settlement took place during my term; I have no reason to involve myself one bit in

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Just thou art O Lord, and right is thy judgment!"

2 Ed. note: The following year, 4 canoes departed Guam for the third time, looking for Carolina Island, i.e. Yap, also unsuccessfully; this expedition was led by the Chamorro chief, Alonso Soón. It is obvious that Lazcano had not made notes from his 1686 logbook, and given wrong verbal directions, from memory.

things in the purview of Superiors. So, I put an end to this letter, by begging God our Lord to save Y.R. for us, in whose holy sacrifices I commend myself very much.

Agadña, 12 May 1689.

From Y.R.'s servant, although the most useless one among the Marianos,
Gerardo Bouvens.

B2. Second letter containing recommendations for the good government of the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

*Mi Padre Procurador de Provincia para esas Cortes de Madrid y Roma, Antonio Xaramillo.
Pax Christi.*

En otra sin formar quejas de D. Josef, di parte a V.R.^a de lo, que se desea de ver emendado, en quien esto governare. En esta, que asi me lo manda el Padre Vice-Provincial, pongo algunas cosas, que sirvan de materiales para las ordenanzas, que V.R.^a nos ha de solicitar en forma de Leyes, que ayan de guardar estos Gobernadores conforme al estylo de los demas Governos, que su Magd. provee en las Indias.

1º Mirando el Gobernador por el decoro de su puesto, nombre en forma competente a sus Cabos para lo militar, y oficiales para lo Politico con la debida subordinacion, y con instruccion bastante de lo que cada uno tubiese a su cargo, sin que el mismo Gobernador im[m]ediatamente se meta en todo; sino, que dejando correr las cosas por mano de aquellos, que uviere nombrado para el manejo, a tiempo señalado les tome la cuenta como en otras partes se estyla. Gran falta uvo en esto con sinsabores, y quejas, de muchos contra el decoro de los Gobernadores.

2º A los tales Cabos, y oficiales guarde el Gobernador, y mande guardarles las devidas cortezias asi de palabra, como de obra, tratando a cada un segun lo pide su puesto, o oficio. En este particular no uvo menos que reparar en D. Josef, que en Esplana. En caso de no tener estos Cabos, y oficiales sueldo particular, sean mejorados conforme a Justicia, por razon de sus ofiços, o puestos, en el repartimiento de ropa, hacienda de la tierra, y racion para el sustento.

3º Para resguarda de su persona tenga el Gobernador hasta 12 de la mejor gente y estos al salir de casa vayan con sus armas acompañandole de escolta: descuydòse en esto Esplana, y por poco ademas de los daños, que se han padecido en el alzamiento, le costò la vida. Quando saliere el Gobernador a pueblos mas remotos, o a visitar la isla, lleve consigo bastante gente por lo que pudiere acontecer; y procure de antemano, no les falte el avio necesario, sin ser tan cargoso a los pobres Indios, que todo se le traen de valde; y mas a vezes de lo que buenamente pueden.

4º La vivienda del Gobernador nunca estè sin cuerpo de guardia, como lo tenia el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia. Quitòlo Esplana; y en esto le siguió D. Josef: quiças para el desastre, que a uno y otro sobrevino, ayudo el descuydo: y asi lo ay el dia de oy. Las guardias (con harto descuydo va esto) entren y salgan cada dia. Los ejercicios de armas se entablen segun las Leyes de la milicia; pues raro es el, que llega aca soldado hecho. De mes a mes ayga reseña de armas, y vestuario, que con cuenta; y razon se uviere repartido a la infanteria para su uso; sin que a nadie sea licito jugar; o, de qualquier modo agerarlo. Esta reseña se estila, donde esta en vigor la observancia militar, y aca es mas necesaria, que en parte ninguna; por no aver reclamo sino a lo que se reparte a cuenta de su Magd. a lo qual si cada uno

mal baratarse, como se le antoja, siempre andaran los soldados hechos unos andrajos; y los vestidos, que avian de ponerse para la decencia, iran (como ya consta por la experiencia de tantos años) a parar entre las Indias en paga de sus torpezas. Mucho ay que decir aun oy día deste asunto.

5° Esta desorden de jugar, y en agenaar esta gente sus propios vestidos se podra emendar con repar-tirles de mes a mes alguna (que llaman) hacienda de la tierra por modo de socorro, para que compren entre año las menudencias, de que necesitaren como son: frutas, sal, aceyte etc. que no saliere del al-mazen. En esta reparticion proçeda el Governador (si fuere posible) respetivamente segun las plaças y puestos. Este es el estylo, que se guarda en los Reales Presidios, donde estos socorros se libran en plata, y el no ajustarse aca estos Governadores a esta forma, ademas de ser injusticia, es y ha sido materia de quejas, formandolas (y con razon) algunos por ver, que los gobernadores no suelen atender mas, que a su afe[c]to; como si fueren ellos dueños absolutos de lo que por justicia se debe a cada uno segun su Magd. lo ordena.

6° Mandò D. Juan de Bargas, que en el distribuir la hacienda, y socorros se tubiese especial cuydado con los soldados, que se fueren casando con estas Naturales particularmente en lo que mira al sustento de sus familias. Pero estos (quando menos en lo del sustento) fueron los peor librados. El remedio se pide en la forma, que mas conviniera para que tambien sus mujeres y hijos participen de la racion, vestuario, y reparticiones de hacienda; pues estos casados ni tienen caudal, ni trato de mercancias, ni otro util para sustentar sus obligaciones. Al llegar aca los 90 soldados, que nos mando su Magd. para aumentar este presidio, pudiera borrarse la plaza a estos casados y avezindandoles en esta ciudad de Agadña señalar-les su Alcalde, dandoles alguna forma de policia en orden a las buenas costumbres. Asi mismo pudiera repartirles algunas tierras con obligacion de beneficiarlas a favor de sus familias: y ellos por via de buena policia criando gallinas, puercos, etc. al pasar por aca la nao pudieran hacer como los de Puerto Rico, alguna feria, ayudandolos para ello el Governador, segun pudiere. Y supuesto que su Magd. fue servi-do de honrar al pueblo de Agadña con los Privilegios y preeminencias de ciudad, es bien asistan alli todos los casados, sin desmembrar los para rancherías; como al presente desmembrò D. Josef a quatro dellos poniendolos en Tumhum, donde le sacan vino, crian puercos y labran sementeras con daño manifesto de la buena policia; y peligro mas que mediano de mil desordenes, y maldades. Otro fuera, si algun ca-sado de buena vida y costumbres (siendo necesario) viviera en algun partido, o isla para mas seguridad del Padre Ministro Evangelico: Pues manda su Magd. que a los Padres sirvan de escolta los soldados.

7° Supuesto, que no ay aqui letrados (y no sera facil averlos por la suma pobreza de la tierra) siendo asi, que se ofrecen casos, en que peligro la conciencia con deservicio de Dios, y de su Magd, sea obliga-do con orden espresa y apretada del Real Consejo, el que aca governare, de conferir, quando menos con-sultivamente las materias mas graves antes de formar resolucion sobre ellas. Y si ser pudiere, venga espresado que tales sean esas materias, v.g.: ir a nuevas conquistas: pasar con notable parte de la infan-teria a otras islas: mudar de sitio al Real desamparando al de Agadña: haçer, o deshaçer pueblos: exac-ciones, que se hazen a estos pobres Indios de quanto tienen: los precios que conforme a justicia se uvieren de tassar para los generos de arroz, pescado, rayzes etc. y para los servicios personales.

8° Asi mismo a tiempos señalados entre año junte el Governador a sus oficiales y Cabos para infor-marse de lo que en lo Politico, o militar necesitarlo de remedio, y tomeles su parecer en orden a las or-denanzas, que se uvieren de haçer para atajar escandalos, y entablar buenas costumbres, asi entre los soldados, solteros, y casados; como entre los Indios. Esta es traça para facilitarse la observancia de las dichas ordenanzas sin malquistarse el Governador, a quien los oficiales y Cabos viendo que los estima

el Governador le han de cobrar amor, y afe[c]to. Dichas ordenanzas han de ser pocas, bien consideradas, y sobre cosas muy sustanciales. La pena, si alguna se espresara, sea moderada, y antes, menor de la que mereciere la culpa. Pero tal, que sea bastante para conseguir el intento; y por tanto hase de ejecutar sin que en ello se dispense.

9º Gran exceso ha avido desde unos años a esta parte en atarear a esta infanteria con trabajos bien agenos de la milicia, obligando a los miserables para buscar a costa de su sudor lo que avian de comer, siendo asi que esto se les debia a cuenta de lo que el Rey les manda librar para su sustento, y vestuario[.] sea su Magd. servido de mandar con eficacia y aprieto al que esto governare haga buen empleo del Real Situado para esta Infanteria proveendole de lo bastante, y aun sobrado para vestir, y sustentar a todos, y para repartirles entre año la hacienda necesaria segun lo apuntado [en el] Nº 5, y entre los puntos, de que cada año ha de escribir el Governador a quien, y en la forma, que su Magd. le mandare, de cuenta de dicho empleo expresando por maior las partidas, que montaren los generos para vestuario, las para el sustento, y los para repartir entre año, y para pagar a los Indios su trabajo y sus generos.

10º Desta manera podrase tambien emendar el exceso, que tienen estos Governadores en sacar de balde a esta pobrisima gente quanto tienen en caso de aver estos pobres de contribuir algo de su cortedad para el Real, sea moderada la cantidad, y tassada segun su mucha pobreza: Ni se pida a nadie directe, o indirectamente mas de lo asi tassado; sino es quedando los Indios con lo que necesitan ellos para sí, y pagandoseles el justo precio de cada especie segun en el arancel se hallara espresado: y muy en particular se les paguen sus trabajos en ir a cazar semanas enteras sin mas comida de la que hallasen en los montes: techar casas, limpiar sementeras, vogar en el barco, cargar, etc. a todo lo qual se junta el uso de sus embarcaciones sin paga alguna, y aun de ordinario sin darles de comer: porque o lo traen consigo, o lo buscan entre sus amigos. El tassar los precios en ropa, y otros generos, de que necesitaren estos pobres, para que sea conforme a Justicia, sera bien se haga con intervencion del Padre que fuere Vice Provincial y para que todo sea con concierto, aya uno de los vezinos mas abonados, que le ayuden, corra con el manejo destas cosas de pagar y comprar: y el Governador a sus tiempos le tome razon, y cuenta de quanto tubiere a su cargo.

11º Entrojuo el Governador Esplana (y con rigor indispensable lo guarda D. Josef) que los muchachos grandicillos del rezo vayan de a 4, 6, y 8 leguas, a limpiar tierra, escardar, dar de comer a los puercos, sacar tuba para vinagre, y vino, que le estan cojiendo en Tumhum; y para otras mas fahenas, deteniendolos al principio un mes, o seis semanas, pero ahora se remudan cada semana. Dudase, si tienen lo que baste para comer; o si ellos mismos se lo ayan de buscar: iten si tienen, donde recogerse noche; porque algunos volvieron enfermos, y llegaron a pique de morirse. Este abuso se ha de quitar con eficacia: y con un aviso muy serio sea obligado el Governador a guardarlo, que acerca desto ordena su Magd. para qualquier parte de las Indias. No hace fuerza lo que alega D. Josef para justificar el llamarse los muchachos en vez como el dice de sus Padres, 1º porque no todos tienen padres: y algunos los tienen ya escusados del trabajo, o por enfermedad, o por viejez, 2º sus Padres aunque sanos, y robustos no tienen obligacion de acudir a tales trabajos y menos sin paga; y asi en su lugar no ay derecho para llamar los hijos, 3º Ni aun sus Padres estan libres de muchas fahenas para el Campo, 4º a trueque de librarse de sus fahenas tributan los Padres destes muchachos de sus pescas, y cosechas mucho mas de los que en Justicia, y buena conciencia se les puede pedir, aunque fuese notoria (que no lo es) su obligacion de pagar tributo. Y de hecho tributan mas, que ningun Indio de Philipinas; pues dan arroz, y algunos dan muchos

fardos: Dan todo genero de rayzes, aceyte, sal, cuerda, esteras, y otras veinte cosas sin que ni una se las paga.

12° Grandes son los inconvenientes que continuamente se experimentan, en que del todo se quita las esperanzas de salir de aca los que no se resuelven a casarse en esta tierra, estuvieren ya casados antes de llegar a ella. Con madurez consulte el Governador este punto, y sobre el se confiera con el Padre Vice-Provincial y ambos a dos convengan en la forma, en que se aya de dar licencia a los que, o no pudiendo, o por razones que tubieren para ello, no quisieren casarse en estas islas pretendiendo de pasar a Philipinas. La licencia, que se diere, sea por escrito y firmada del Governador, y sin ella ningun Cabo de los galeones, que pasaren por aca, aunque fuese el mismo General, sea osado llevar algun soldado deste presidio, so pena de ser por ello residenciado.

*13° Lo dicho en el N° antecedente no se ha de entender con los aca casados, o se fueren casando con estas de la tierra por aver de ser ellos y sus hijos los que arraygen a esta Christiandad: y asi a estos de ninguna manera dara el Governador licencia que salgan de aca ni solos, ni con sus familias. Porque saliendo solos avra peligro, y aun certeza de no volverse, y asi quedaran desamparadas las mujeres y criaturas. El exemplo tenemos en Pedro Salas, que con la buena disposicion de Esplana pasando a Manila el año de 86 no ha vuelto aun quedando por puertas la pobre mujer con 4 criaturas sin tener de que hechar mano para pasar la vida. Si al salir de aca los maridos llevasen consigo a la mujer y hijos, como podran sustentarlos en Manila sin mas caudal, que de un peso y medio al mes, que reciben de socorro? Y huyendoseles alla, (como lo hacia tantos) o moriendo el marido, que haran la mujer y hijos sin caudal, sin oficio para pasar la vida? sin parientes, sin amigos, y fuera de su tierra, que se puede presumir dellas, pobres, desamparadas, y mal criadas? o que anden perdidas segun su mala inclinacion al vicio; o que desesperadas se ahorquen. Mal hizo Esplana en abrir esa puerta dando licencia al Biscayno, con su mujer y hija. Ambos a dos murieron bien presto, y en esto les hizo el Señor mucha merced y la viuda, entretanto con la hija donde uvieran ido a parar, si Dios no les depositase el remedio en la mucha caridad de V.R^a A la sombra de Esplana salio despues con su mujer el bueno [Pedro] de Vazquez en pago quiza de los grandes servicios, que hizo a su amo (*intelligenti loquar*) el tiempo dira en que avran parado. A dos con sus mujeres desterrò D. Josef en la balandra: tal no uviera hecho, si se aconsejara con quien debiera. Pero su Merced ya salio del aprieto; y olvidado de lo mucho que entonces nos prometio (asi lo guardara para su mismo bien) mas caudal hizo de lo que le supo decir; no se quien (sin saber; donde la aprieta el capato) que del quanto le aconsejaremos todos nosotros juntos. En Manila pasan por tantos Tribunales los que con licencia del Governador pretenden de salir para Mexico: No sera pues contra el decoro de estos nuestros Governadores, mandarles su Magd. que no dejen pasar a Manila ninguno de los aca casados con estas naturales sino es interviniendo en ello el Padre Vice-Provincial; y este a dichas licencias resista quanto le fuere posible por ser en daño manifiesto desta nueva Christiandad, la qual se iria deste modo desarrayando, y se estorvara un medio tan conveniente, como es el casarse aca estos soldados: Porque temiendo estas mujeres, no las saquen por fuerza de su tierra (lo qual es injusto) no avra quien quiera casarse.*

14° Conocida es la pobreza de los que aca se casaren in esperanza de poderla remediar; por no aver cosa en estas islas, que se pueda beneficiar. Sea pues su Magd. suplicado, que alguna limosna se aplique a los dichos casados por cuenta aparte a modo de ayuda de costa. Dos modos se me ofrecen de hacerse esto sin cargar de nuevo la Real hacienda. 1° Si su Magd., como dueño mandara que del situado para esta infanteria se quitaran mil, o dos mil pesos, segun fuere creyendo en numero de los casados, y con

este socorro se acudiera a los casados proratandose les conforme al numero de la familia, o calidad de las personas: porque unos casados son Españoles, y otros Indios Philipinos. 2º En caso de quitarse el Colegio de las Niñas (sobre este particular sabra V.Rª la mente de nuestros Superiores, si bien yo juzgo se debiera conservar la limosna de los dos mil pesos que se da a dicho Colegio) se pudiera aplicar a los que aca se fuesen casando. Y como este socorro particular a los casados es obra pia, el Señor Obispo (si le uviere) o el Padre Vice-Provincial pudiere correr con este manejo en la forma que pareciere mejor.

15º Si el Colegio de las niñas se uviere de conservar (pues puesto en forma es de mucho fruto) hase de cautelar qualquier peligro, que de parte de los soldados pudieran correrlas, que en dicho Colegio se criaren. Entablòse dicho Colegio el año 74, y aquel mismo año se uvo de quitar por inquietar lo tanto los del campo. Volviolo a restaurar el V. Padre Manuel de Solorzano, y como uvo mas vigilancia en el Governador que fue el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia, no se oyo cosa mal tonante contra el decoro de dicho Colegio. Pero como no todos se asemejan al dicho Maestre de Campo, V.Rª se sirva de procurar: venga de alla una Ley penal a favor de dicho Colegio, espresando la pena contra los delinquentes, y se manda guardar con todo rigor. Venga asi mismo orden (si no es que sin ella se pudiera conseguir por medio de los nuestros en Manila) a que de Philipinas se nos embien dos, o tres Indias Principales de buena edad, vida y costumbres conocidamente exemplares; que teniendo buenas habilidades, quales se requieren para la crianza, y enseñanza destas niñas, corran con este colegio señalandoles en los dos mil pesos (si no uviere otra lymosna) bastante estipendio, vestuario y sustento honrados[.] si en vez de estas dos, o tres principales, uviere una o dos familias asi mismo honradas, siendo el marido buen escribiente y musico, y la muger de las habilidades requisitas, seria mejor porque el marido pudiera correr con la enseñanza de los muchachos y la mujer con la de las niñas, quedando la superintendencia de ambos Colegios al Padre que viniere señalado por su Refc]tor.

*16. Lo mucho, que estos naturales trabajan en sus labranzas; la falta que tienen de instrumentos, y animales que se lo faciliten, son causa de ser tan cortas sus cosechas. Su Magd. sea servido de mandar se nos embien de Philipinas hasta 50 labradores con sus familias e instrumentos de labranza en particular unos arados, para que enseñen a estos Marianos su modo de labrar las tierras. Y ellos veniendo a poblar aca sean reservados de qualesquiera imposiciones, y servicios personales. Y por via de buen gobierno se hagan estos naturales al uso de los Philipinos en su labranza; para lo qual los ayude el Governador conforme pudiere tassandoles pro rata la cantidad, que cada familia ha de vender al Real, a los Padres, y a los Colegios de la juventud: y sea esta cantidad **infra quam non**. Pero si ellos teniendolo, y sin que para ello sean violentados, quisieren vender maior cantidad, Nadie se lo estorve.*

*17º Es grande la incomodidad, y necesidad, que por falta de **hospital** padeçe qualquier soldado, que caere enfermo: Ni colchon ay, ni ropa, ni cosa alguna de que hechar mano para la decencia, limpieza, o regalo. Aun les faltara a vezes, que comer, si no se les embiara de nuestra casa. Al presente no ay en el campo obra mas necesaria, que un quarto para enfermeria. Encargese al Governador, lo mande levantar, y lo provea segun pudiere de alajas necesarias, y las mande guardar limpias. Cuyde asi mismo, que juntamente con los medicamentos se aparten algunos regalos para los que se enfermaren entre año, y mande a los naturales, que con cuenta y razon crien algunas gallinas para los enfermos, y vea V.Rª si para no ser cargosos a la Real caja, se puede conseguir, que del situado en monton para esta infanteria, se empleen unos 500 pesos para este hospital por cuenta aparte.*

18º No consienta su Magd., que el Real situado para esta infanteria se remita aca en plata, como ya algun Governador lo avia mandado: sino, que venga empleado en generos de comer, vestir, y con que

socorrer a la gente de mes a mes conforme a lo dicho N° 5 y 9. Deste modo viviran los soldados contentos, bien asistidos, y sin necesidad de mantener la vida a costa de su sudor con tan excesivos trabajos en escardar, cazar, etc, que algunos se juzgan por de peor condicion, que los mismos Galeotes. El dinero (como ni corre, ni conviene que corra tan presto en una tierra, donde no viene ningun empleo) no sirva a esta gente mas que para juegos, y hurtos continuos entre si; fuera que por alli se dejan temer otros inconvenientes maiores dado caso, que llegara aca un Gobernador codicioso. Ya sabe V.R^a que uvo Cabo años a, quien en 7, y quiças mas reales vendio cada oja de tabaco. Quien pudiera estar segunda, y tercera mano; y abriendo feria agarra toda la plata des[pl]olliendo a estos pobres y vendiendoles los generos al precio, que el quisiera tassar. Y para colorear su injusticia, traeran exemplos de Gobernadores, que asi lo hacen en partes, donde el remediar esos ladronizos es mas facil, que no aca, si una vez ubieren en valecido. A D. Josef queda por averiguar, donde paran unos 15 mil pesos que en tiempo de Esplana pasaron a Manila. No embargante lo dicho podrase remitir al Gobernador, si lo pidiere, alguna cantidad moderada de mil o dos mil pesos para repartirlos entre la gente, y mas entre los casados, a que compren algunas cosillas en la nao de las que no se les suelen racionar a cuenta del comun socorro.

19° Supuesto, que a cuenta de su Magd. y por su Real orden se nos aya de embiar cada año un bajel de Manila, sera bien, que para mas util destos soldados, se les hagan en adelante sus provisiones en Manila, y no en Mexico, donde valen los generos mucho mas caro. De Mexico le embien aquellos generos tan solamente, que no se hallaren en Philipinas: y los embarguen en Acapulco los Cabos de la nao Capitana que ubiere, de acer viage para Manila: y al pasar por esta isla de Guahan, los hechen en tierra sin pedir, ni llebar fletes por el embarque, o desembarque de dichos generos, por ser contra la real cedula, en que manda su Magd. se nos embarquen dichos generos, y se nos dejen aca sin pagar fletes. Y este estilo siempre se ha observado desde los principios de la mision hasta el año 81, quando el General Losada extorcio [sic] estos fletes, y no sè como se los pagò el V. Padre Manuel de Solorzano. Reclamò el Maestre de Campo, y le respondió D. Juan de Bargas, que a Lozada mandaria hacer restitution. Uno y otro han muerto sin saber el efe[c]to cosa alguna: y desta manera se nos llevan injustamente estos fletes, que sin atender a lo que dichos Cabos llevan de refresco (que ellos valia mas de mil pesos) nos sacan otros mil, y mas de do[s]cientos pues de fletes. Yo contra escrivi valientemente a Manila, a Mexico y a Madrid: acudiendo al Gobernador, y al Virrey por medio de nuestro alla Padres Procuradores; y por medio de la Señora Duquesa al Real Consejo de Indias, para que se nos mande guardar la cedula de su Magd. En caso de no averse conseguido el intento, acudimos a V.R para que con eficacia nos alcance esta merced: y para que se nos atajen nuevas dificultades sobre el embarque del dicho nuestro socorro, sea su Magd. servido de mandar, le lleve a su cargo, quien llevare los generos y Real situado de Manila. Pues la misma razon milita a favor del Presidio Real en Marianas no menos que en Philipinas: y como alla no se pagan fletes ni de la plata, ni de los generos, que el Rey embia en su misma nao, y por los que tiene pagados en Acapulco; tan poco no se han de pagar aca por las mismas razones. El remedio mas eficaz para atajar esta desorden, sera que mande su Magd. al General, o al Capitan y Maestre embarque todo el socorro asi en plata como en generos, que a cuenta de su Magd. se remitiere para las Marianas, **so pena de mil, o dos mil pesos, y de ser inhabil para qualquier puesto en esta carrera, si acaso o no lo embarcare, a llevare fletes a titulo de averlo embarcado, o traído a su cargo al dicho socorro. Vera V.R^a como con este freno se dejan encaminar los Cabos de la nao, y se contentan con el refresco, que se les dara entonces muy cumplido.**

20. Haga el Gobernador algunas ordenanzas Politicas tambien para los Naturales de la tierra en orden a las buenas costumbres v.g. de no andar desnudos en sus pueblos en particular las mujeres: de no traer armas por los caminos etc. y con solemnidad se las mande promulgar en sus pueblos, y procure con eficacia las observen. Les administre justicia contra qualesquiera que les ubieren agraviado en la honra, hacienda, salud, o vida. Y muestreles el modo, y forma de solicitar sus desagravios sin inconveniente. Introdujo Esplana, y lo imita D. Josef, que a los Indios, que se reducen, o se sacan de los montes, se quiten sus hijos, y se crien en casa de los soldados. Esto parece violencia. En caso de necesitar los tales hijos de enseñanza, mejor se entregaran a los Padres Ministros, y mas aviendo Colegios para que alli se crien y se sustenten con las lymosnas que para ella señala su Magd.

21° El Gobernador se confiera, si y en que forma se pudieran atraer, y conducir a Guahan los que viven en las demas Islas del Norte: y en caso de hallarlo practicable, no perdone a diligencia alguna para conseguirlo: que asi se facilitara su do[c]trina; y escusaranse los grandes riesgos que ya se han experimentado en atravesar estas mares en embarcaciones tan debiles, como son las destas islas. Si para la dicha conduccion de aquellos isleños fuera necesario el bajel de Manila, que por orden de su Magd. se nos ha de despachar todos los años, sea obligado dicho bajel con sus Cabos, y gente de ayudar a nuestro Gobernador, y de estar a su orden hasta acabarse este negocio.

22° Las ordenanzas, que de alla embiare el Consejo para estos nuestros Gobernadores, sean perpetuas, y vengan autorizadas en tal forma, que a ninguno destos Gobernadores sea licito eximirse dellas, ni mudar, ni enterpretarlas por su antojo: sino, que las aya de entender en el sentido legitimo de las palabras segun lo favorable, o lo odioso de la materia por ellas espresada: y en caso dudoso sobre el averse de entender las palabras, aconsejese con quien para esta, y otros lançes de marca, le viniera señalado.

23° Casos de residencia (la qual a juicio comun de todos, es bien se tome al Gobernador, que acabare su oficio, segun y como se estyla en otras partes) vea V.R. si pudieren ser los siguientes: 1° Si, y como guardò las ordenanzas, que de parte de su Magd. le embiare el Consejo de Indias. 2° Como empleò el situado, que su Magd. embia para la Infanteria; si y como socorrio la gente entre año. 3° Si hizo empresas nuevas, o viajes peligrosos a otras islas sin aconsejarse antes. 4° Si uvo notable y peligroso descuydo en las armas, disciplina militar, etc. 5° Si uvo notable descuydo en procurar de Manila, y Mexico lo bastante para el sustento, y vestuario de la infanteria, traiendola por esta razon indecentemente vestido, o atareada con labranzas, o hambrienta? 6° Si agravia a los Naturales contra la justicia pidiendoles mas de lo que por orden del Rey deben contribuir de su cosecha, y pesca. 7° Si procurò de remediar los escandalos publicos, o si los uvo por su descuydo culpable, o mal exemplo. 8° Si administrò justicia a instancia de la parte agraviada. 9° Si embio a Manila algun casado, sin, o con su muger y hijos; y por que causa. 10° Si quitò de nuevo pueblo alguno sin intervencion del Padre Vice-Provincial. 11° Si por el exceso en los trabajos, exaciones, o malos tratamientos se ayan amotinado los soldados, o alçadose los Indios? y en que forma, y con que testigos esto se aya de provar, para que hagase la averiguacion. 12° Si a los vajeles de estranjeros, que, como ya ha sucedido, aportaren aca, procurò de reconocer, y sabiendo, o sospechando prudentemente ser de Piratas, que pasaje les aya hecho? Si teniendo posibilidad de ofenderles, lo hizo? Si les abastecio etc. fuera de caso inescusable, y a mas no poder: y como esto ha de probar en su abono? V.R.* sabra añadir otras cosas, que juzgare convenientes, o necesarias; y como confiamos, alcanzaranos mas, de lo que nosotros nos atrevieremos a pedir.

24° Lo que mas se desea, es: que V.R.* al exemplo del Padre Alonzo Sanchez nos solicita y busque alla un Gobernador, que le juzgare V.R. mas apropósito para este gobierno, si acaso quien al presente lo

tiene, se ubiere de mudar por lo que quizás escrivieren otros. Yo sin forjar quejas, confío de ver emendadas en quien esto governare, las faltas (quien no las tiene?) que se han reparado. Apunto las calidades, que en el se requieren: 1° Sea buen Christiano, exemplar en su vida, y costumbres: que a no serlo, bien sabe V.R.^a que no pudiendo refrenar ni a los suyos, ni a estos naturales tan dados al vicio, el solo mas escandalizara con su mal exemplo, que podremos edificar nosotros todos juntos. **expertus loquor!** 2° Sea de buena salud y fuerzas para acudir en persona a los trabajos, que le permitieren el decoro de su puesto, y pidieren las empresas, que se ubieren de intentar para la conservacion y aumento del divino, y Real servicio en estas islas. 3° No sea codicioso: porque a falta de dar esta tierra lo que apetece la codicia, pudiera ser lo busque del Real situado, que se cobra para esta Infanteria traiendola desnuda, y muerta de hambre, o obligandola a la labranza para que a costa de su sudor sustenta la vida, llenandose el la bolsa. 4° No aspire luego a gobiernos mas pingues: achaque comun de los que alla se imaginan ser mas de lo que son estas Marianas; para cuyo gobierno no se ha de escoger persona muy ilustre: baste ser de buena sangre, y mejor vida. Ni se ha de buscar persona de meritos muy relevantes (que es cierto no se premiaran con un tan desdichado gobierno, sino es teniendo juntamente la futura de otro mejor) sea tal, que en la milicia aya servido a su Magd. fiel, y honradamente con algun puesto de Capitan. Porque este quedará muy mejorado con el sueldo de tres mil pesos al año, con el titulo que su Magd. le diere para honrarle. 6° Sea hombre tratable, y reconbenible; no vano, no caprichoso, mal acondicionado; tal que oyga, y aun pida a otros, sus pareceres; pues esto no perjudica a su autoridad, y puede ayudarle para el acierto de sus determinaciones. En este particular erraron grandemente Esplana, y D. Josef con daño conocido destas islas. 7° Sea Justiciero; para que con el temor del castigo segun la culpa lo mereciere, tenga a raya no menos los del Campo, que los naturales de la tierra: Pero no tenga resabios de crueldad, que lo hagan aborrecible. 8° Sea prudente, no arrojado, premeditando con madurez, y consultando con el debido secreto las cosas de mas monte, que ubiere de obrar en el servicio de Dios y del Rey: Porque aunque al Governador toca el resolver las cosas; conviene para acertar mejor, oyga antes a los que para ello le vinieren señalados en la forma, que mejor pareciere. Y estos asi señalados: y con el parecer dellos para que el Governador no aggrave su conciencia se decidan, y ordenen las cosas, que tocaren al bien comun desta Christiandad: Porque en caso de no hacerlo asi, abra los disparates, y desaciertos con los daños y menoscabos, que uvo estos años pasados, quando mandò el Governador a sus soldados: matasen a todos quantos hallaren, grandes y chicos; sanos y enfermos, hombres y mujeres: Ellos asi lo ejecutaron matando a sangre fria una tullida; otra preñada, algunos niños del rezo, a uno por no ser para el trabajo, a otra, que ya se avia dado por prezo.

Definio iten aquel mismo Governador que no avia obligacion de restituir a los Padres las alajas de sus casas, no siendo cosas sagradas; dando por razon, que se avian quitado en guerra viva. Estos y otros disparates hablan, y obran estos Governadores por ser Cavalleros sin letras. No digo nada del buen pasaje, que se ha hecho los años 85, y 86 a los Piratas sin consultar cosa alguna. Si a estos desaciertos se añade el dictamen de D. Josef: que **aca no ha de aver mas ordenanzas, de las que hiziere, quien esto gobierna;** que se podra esperar; sino la total ruina de la Christiandad Mariana: Para cuya conservacion y aumento, vea V.R.^a en que forma se aya al Governador de tomar la residencia antes de salir de estas islas: iten en que forma aya a su sucesor de entregar el Gobierno. Ultimamente dado caso, que el Governador se hallase inutil para el Gobierno, o incapaz del, o notoriamente escandaloso en grave daño del divino y Real servicio: quien, quando, donde y en que forma se abra de solicitar el remedio.

Destos materiales sabra V.Rª quales se ayan de entresacar y en que forma, para que sirvan de instruccion a estos Gobernadores por modo de Leyes autorizadas en el Consejo Real de Indias, de suerte que obliguen a su observancia. Dios N. Sr. se sirva de dar a V.Rª su Santo favor y gracia para que nos consiga quanto se desea para su Santo servicio; y a V.Rª nos lo guarde, y trayga con bien para el comun consuelo, y alivio de toda nuestra Provincia, y en particular desta su mision Mariana; donde me tiene V.Rª con grandes instancias de pasar quanto antes a la isla recién descubierta al Zur; de donde fio en Dios, dare a V.Rª todas las particularif[da]des, que en la suya me mandò inquirir. Ya dos vezes se salio de Guahan por el mes de Abril en demanda de dicha isla, sin averse dado con ella. Antes de llegar la nao (si Dios fuere servido) se hara la tercera intentona. Quiera la Virgen Santissima favorecerla para acudir al remedio de tantas almas como estan alla desamparadas. V.Rª no se olvide dellas, y a mi me tenga muy presente en sus Santos Sacrificios.

Agadña, y Mayo 12 de 1689.

De V.Rª muy siervo el mas inutil de los Marianos,

Gerardo Bovens.

[Postscript:]

Sabra V.Rª si en lugar de los mil pesos que a nuestros ya cargò el Padre Procurador en Mexico por cada sugeto de los que para aca se aviavan, determinò el Padre Provincial la forma, en que devia aviemos de acudir con alguna cantidad para ayuda de costa, quando de Europa se condujeran sujetos. En caso de necesitar este punto, ventilarse delante de N. Padre. No sea la decicion qual fue la de los 10 mil pesos de D. Diego Salcedo, que a instancia del Padre entonces Procurador; se nos descontaron. Pero V.Rª como Mariano, en la cantidad, si se uviera de tassar, avogara por nuestra necesidad y pobreza!

Y no se olvide de pedir y alcanzarnos de [su] Santidad alguna indulgencia particular etc. a favor de la mision en general, y de cada Padre y Hº en partficjular.

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator of the Province in those Courts in Madrid and Rome, Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ.

In another letter, without formulating complaints against Don José, I reported to Y.R. about what is desirable in the way of amendments in the person governing this [colony]. In this letter, as requested by Father Vice-Provincial, I mention a few things that could provide material for ordinances, that Y.R. should solicit on our behalf in the form of Laws that these Governors must obey, a normal thing provided for by His Majesty for other governments in the Indies.

1º Concerning the Governor, on account of the decorum of his position, he should appoint in a competent manner his officers for things military, and officials for things political with due subordination and with enough instructions to guide everyone on his task, without having the Governor himself meddling directly into everything; rather, he should let things run through the hands of those to whom he would have delegated the management, and at a predetermined time review their performance, as is usually done elsewhere. There has been a great failure in this, with displeasures, and complaints, from many against the decorum of the Governors.

2° With such officers and officials the Governor should use, and order them to use, due courtesies, not only in words but also in deeds, by treating everyone in relation to their post, or office. On this subject, Don José behaved not better than Esplana. In case these officers and officials do not have a special salary, they should be paid more in accordance with justice, as per their offices, or positions, during the distribution of the clothing, local products, and ration for their sustenance.

3° For his personal protection the Governor should take up to 12 of the best men and they should accompany him as an armed escort when he leaves his house. Esplana neglected this, and he almost paid with his life, in addition to the harm that was suffered during the uprising. Whenever the Governor might go out to more distant settlements, or to visit the island, he should bring along enough men to face whatever might happen, and to arrange beforehand as many food supplies as necessary, so as not to burden the poor Indians so much, as it is too much for them, and at times it is way beyond their capacity.

4° The house of the Governor should never be without a security guard, such as the one that Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia had. Esplana removed it, and Don José did the same. Perhaps carelessness helped to bring disaster on both of them. That is why there is one now, but the guardsmen are changed every day (and this changeover is done carelessly). Weapon drills should be carried out regularly in accordance with the Laws of the militia; indeed, it is a rare case when a soldier arrives here fully trained. Every month there should be an inspection of firearms, and uniforms, that might have been distributed among the infantry for their use, and it should not be lawful for anyone to gamble them away, or to alienate them for any reason. This physical inspection is normal wherever military practice is followed, but here it is more necessary than anywhere else, because there is no recourse to anything except what is distributed in the name of His Majesty. In this respect, if every one were allowed to trade this away, as he sees fit, there would always be some soldiers walking around in rags; their clothes, which they should put on for the sake of decency, end up (as experience has taught us throughout so many years) among the Indian women, as payments for their turpidity. Much can be said about this subject matter even now.

5° This gambling disorder, and the alienation of their own clothes by these men could be rectified by distributing to them every month some of the supplies which they call local products, as a kind of assistance, so that they might buy during the rest of the year the small goods that they might need, that is fruits, salt, oil, etc. that would not come out of the [government] store. In this distribution the Governor should proceed (if at all possible) with respect to and according to the roll and positions. This is the practice observed in the Royal garrisons, where these succors are paid out in silver, and since the Governors here do not follow this procedure, besides being unjust, it is and has been a source of complaints. Some have complained (and with reason) that the governors do not look to anything but their own advantage, as if they were the absolute owners of what is in all justice owed to every one, in accordance with royal orders.

6° Don Juan de Vargas ordered that, in the distribution of the goods, and succors, special care be taken with the soldiers who might be married with these native women, specially regarding the sustenance of their families. However, they (specially regarding sustenance) have received the worst payoff. A remedy is requested in a better procedure, by which their wives and children might share in the ration, clothing, and distribution of products; indeed, these married men have no source of income, and no merchandise to trade, nor anything that could be used to maintain their obligations. At the arrival here of the 90 soldiers that His Majesty has ordered to enlarge this garrison, one could strike out the positions held by these married men and have them become residents of this city of Agaña, appointing a mayor for them, and giving some form of civil government to maintain good customs. In addition, some plots of land could be distributed to them with the obligation that they be cultivated for the benefit of their families. They in turn could be brought to raise chickens, pigs, etc. So, when the galleon passes by, they could, as the people of Puerto Rico, hold some trade fair. The Governor could help as much as he can to establish and maintain these fairs. Furthermore, supposing that His Majesty be pleased to honor the town of Agaña with the privileges and pre-eminences of a City, it would be a good thing if all the married men would reside there, and not have them settle elsewhere in various farm sites, as Don José is doing now with four of them whom he sent to Tumhum, where they draw *tuba* for him, raise his pigs and work the plantations, with an obvious harm done to a civilized way of life, and more than average risk of a thousand disorders, and evils. Another thing, if some married man of good habits and customs (if necessary) could reside in some district, or island, for the greater security of the Father who is Gospel Minister; in fact, His Majesty has ordered that soldiers should serve as escorts to the Fathers.

7° Supposing the absence of legal counsel here (and I do not see how there could be some, on account of the poverty of the country), if some cases ever come up affecting good conscience and being disservices to God and His Majesty, whoever might be acting as governor should be obliged by an express and specific order from the Royal Council to consult, at least on an advisory basis, the more serious matters, before formulating a decision about them. And if at all possible, such matters should be so specified, e.g. going on new conquests, transferring a notable part of the infantry to other islands, moving the site of the Royal camp and abandoning that of Agaña, creating or dismantling towns, levies made on whatever property of these poor Indian people, prices that might be fixed on the value for tax purposes of goods such as rice, fish, root crops, etc. and for personal services.

8° In addition, at specific times during the year, the Governor should gather his officials and officers to inform them of what needs a remedy in things civil, or military, and to collect their opinions regarding the ordinances that might be necessary in order to prevent scandals, and to establish good customs, not only among the soldiers, married and unmarried, but also among the Indians. This is the scheme by which the observance of said ordinances would be enhanced, without the Governor becoming alienated; thus, the officials and officers, seeing that the Governor esteems them, should

then respect and love him. Said ordinances should be few in number, well studied, and concern things of high importance. The penalty, if any be specified, should be moderate, and somewhat less than the guilty party might merit; however, it should be enough to achieve the purpose intended, and it should be carried out without any exception.

9° A great excess has taken place during the last few years in these parts, and it is to load this infantry with work that is foreign to the military, by obliging these miserable men to look for something to eat at the cost of their own sweat, although this food was owed them from what the King orders be paid out to them for their sustenance, and clothing. His Majesty should be pleased to order with efficiency and specificity that whoever might be governing make use of the Royal subsidy for this Infantry, by supplying it with enough food, and even a surplus by way of clothing and food for all, and to have a distribution made to them during the course of the year of some necessities, in accordance with point N° 5 above. This should also be one of the points upon which the Governor has to write to His Majesty every year. To whom such a report should be made, and in what format, should also be specified. He should report on the said expenditure [of the subsidy], by stating the total amount spent in each of the major accounts, such as the prices of the goods [used in trade] for clothing, those for the sustenance, and those to distribute during the year, and to pay the Indians for their labor and their goods.

10° In this way there could also be provided some measure to do away with the abuse of these Governors who impose excessively on these very poor people, when these poor ones have to contribute something to the Royal camp in spite of their own shortages. The quantity should be moderate, and assessed in accordance with their great poverty. Neither should anything be asked of them, directly or indirectly, over and above what has been thus assessed. Rather, the Indians should be left with enough for their own needs, and a just price should be paid them for every kind of goods, in accordance with the tariff to be included therein. Above all, they should be paid for their labor, for instance, when they are sent to hunt for weeks on end without any food other than what they might find in the bush, when they thatch houses, weed plantations, sail the boat, carry loads, etc. To top it all, their canoes are used without any payment in return, and usually without giving them their food, either because they carry their own, or look for some among their friends. Now, the setting of prices for the clothing, and other goods that these poor people might need, for this exercise to be just, it would be well that it be done with the intervention of the Father who is Vice-Provincial and, for everything to be done in cooperation, let one of the more trustworthy residents help them by acting as intermediary in buying and paying for these things; the Governor could regularly review what he does, and get a report on what he might have in his care.

11° Governor Esplana introduced the custom (which is kept with undeniable rigor by Don José) of sending the tallest lads among those attending prayers some 4, 6, and 8 leagues away, to clear land, weed it, give food to the pigs, draw *tuba* to make vine-

gar, and wine, which they are cooking [sic] for him in Tumhum;¹ and for other chores. At first, they were detained for one month, or six weeks, but now they are called upon every other week. It is doubtful that they have enough food to eat, or if they themselves must look for some. The same thing for a place to sleep at night, because some have come back sick, and they came close to dying. This abuse must be effectively stopped, and the Governor should be given a clear warning to obey what His Majesty has ordered regarding this, in any part of the Indies. What Don José alleges as an argument for calling on the boys, instead of calling on their fathers (as he says) is not a valid one. Firstly, because not all of them have fathers, and some have them either already exempt from labor, or sick, or too old. Secondly, their fathers, though healthy and robust, are not obliged to take part in such tasks and even less without payment; therefore, it is not right to use the sons instead of their fathers. Thirdly, not even their fathers are exempt from many chores for the Royal camp. Fourthly, in exchange for freeing these boys from their chores, their fathers must contribute some fish, or harvested products, much beyond what could justly be asked of them, though it be obligatory for them (which it is not) to pay tribute. In fact, they contribute more than any Indian in the Philippines. Indeed, they provide rice, and some give many bundles of it; they give all sorts of root crops, oil, salt, rope, mats, and 20 other things without being paid for any of them.

12° There are great disadvantages, long lasting in their effects, when the hope of leaving this place is denied completely to those who decide not to get married locally [or] might already be married before they get here. The Governor should consult wisely on this point and hold a formal consultation with the Father Vice-Provincial; both should agree on the procedure for giving permission to those who, either cannot, or for reasons of their own, will not marry in these Islands, and who wish to go to the Philippines instead. The permission that they might be given should be in writing and signed by the Governor, and without one, no Commander of galleons that pass by here, though he be the General himself, should dare take away any soldier of this garrison, under penalty of being accused of same in the management audit at the end of his term.

13° What is said in the previous point should not apply to those already married locally, or who might marry the local women, because they and their children must be those who will establish this Christian community; therefore, the Governor should not give them permission to leave, under any circumstances, to them alone, or with their families, because, if they leave alone, there would be the risk, and even a certainty, that they may never return, and so, their wives and young children would be abandoned. We have the example of Pedro Salas who, thanks to the good decision of Esplana, passed to Manila in 1686 and has not returned.² His poor wife has had to go begging from door to door with her 4 children, and they have nothing to fall back on to stay alive. If the husbands should take their wife and children with them when they leave,

1 Ed. note: This is clear evidence for the early manufacture of "aguardiente" in Guam.

2 Ed. note: He was one of the lookouts who went with a boat to warn the galleon Santa Rosa of the presence of pirate ships in Umatac. He stayed aboard the galleon.

how could they possibly sustain them in Manila with only their salary of one and a half pesos per month, that they receive from the subsidy? What if they abandon them over there (as so many have done)? What if the husband dies? What will the wife and children do without an income, without a job to earn a living, without relatives, without friends, and far from their country? What could happen to such women, poor, abandoned, and badly brought up? Either they become lost by following their bad inclination to vice, or becoming desperate they hang themselves. Esplana was wrong to have opened that door, by giving permission to the Basque, with a wife and daughter. Both of them soon died,¹ and the Lord would have been merciful toward them by this, because in the meantime, where would the widow and her daughter have ended up, if the great charity of Y.R. had not found a remedy? It was also with the consent of Esplana that the good [Pedro] Vasquez left with his wife, perhaps as a payment for the great services that he did to his master (if I may speak intelligently).² Time will tell what might happen to them. What about the two men whom Don José exiled along with their wives aboard the sloop? He might not have done so, if only he had sought counsel as he should. However, His Grace had by that time come out of his fix, and had already forgotten the many things that he had promised to us then (to keep for his own welfare) but he gave more weight to one who knew how to tell him the right words (without knowing the reason why he had gotten into a fix in the first place)³ than to the many words of advice that we all together had told him. At Manila, those who try to go to Mexico have to pass through many tribunals to get a license from the Governor. Therefore, it would not be against the decorum of these our Governors for His Majesty to order them not to let any of those married here pass to Manila with these native wives, unless the Father Vice-Provincial had a say in the matter, and the latter should resist as much as possible, as it is obviously damaging to this new Christian community; otherwise, it would deteriorate and a very useful means of establishing it, such as local marriages, would be removed. Also, there might not be any of these women willing to marry them, out of fear that they might be taken away from their country (something that is not right).

14° It is well known that those who might marry here cannot escape poverty, because there is nothing in these Islands that they might take advantage of. His Majesty should therefore be begged to apply some alms to said married people, on a separate account, by way of a subsidy. Two methods come to mind, and they would not be an additional burden on the Royal treasury. Firstly, His Majesty, as the giver, could order that 1,000 or 2,000 pesos be set asides from the subsidy for this infantry, in step with the increase in the number of married men, and with this succor would be distributed among the married men in line according to the number of children, or the rank, of the persons in question, because some of the married men are Spaniards, and others are Filipino

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- 1 Ed. note: This was Margarita Zibuaur, who probably hanged herself in Manila after the death of her husband, although the cause of her death is not clearly reported.
 - 2 Ed. note: He refers to the sexual favors provided by Mrs. Vazquez to Esplana, with her husband's tacit approval.
 - 3 Ed. note: Approximate rendering of a barbarous phrase.

Indians. Secondly, in case the College for Girls be abolished (about this specific point, Y.R. should find out what our Superiors think, although I think that we should keep the alm of the 2,000 pesos that are given to said College), the sum could be applied to those who get married here. And, since this specific subsidy to the married men is a pious work, the Lord Bishop (if there be), or the Father Vice-Provincial might be involved in the management of this fund in the manner that might be best.

15° If the College for Girls be preserved (indeed it is of much fruit if properly run), precautions should be taken so that the girls who might be raised therein will not be at risk with the soldiers. Said College was first set up in 1674, and that same year it had to be removed because those of the camp were bothering them too much. The Ven. Father Manuel de Solorzano re-opened it, and, as there was more vigilance on the part of the Governor, who was then Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, nothing untoward was heard against the decorum of said College. However, given that not everyone is of the caliber of said Master-of-camp, Y.R. will please try and get a criminal Law from there to benefit said College, with a clear penalty against delinquents, and an order that it be rigorously applied. There should come another order (unless one could be got through our people in Manila) to the effect that from the Philippines should be sent two, or three prominent Indian ladies of good age, life and customs that are known to be exemplary; they should have good skills, such as are required for the upbringing and education of these girls, to take over the management of this college. Enough money for honorable stipends, clothing and food allowances, should be specified for them within the 2,000 pesos (unless other alm be available for this purpose). If instead of two, or three prominent ladies, there be one or two families, honorable as well, with the husband having a good penmanship and being a musician, and his wife with the required skills, it would be better, because the husband could look after the boys and his wife after the girls, leaving the overall supervision of both Colleges in the hands of the Father who is assigned this task by his Rector.

16° The reason for the small harvests of these natives, in spite of the hard work they put into their cultivated plots is the lack of tools, and [work] animals to make it easier. His Majesty should be pleased to order that up to 50 laborers be sent from the Philippines with their families and tools to work the land, specially a few ploughs, so that they could teach these Marianos their method of ploughing the earth. Those who would come to settle here should be exempt from any kind of taxes, or personal services. And, by using the methods of good government, these natives should be made to adopt the customs of the Philippines in their cultivation. For instance, the Governor could help them by fixing an appropriate amount, pro-rated to each family, forcing them to sell [their products] to the Royal camp, to the Fathers, and to the Colleges for the youth; this quantity should be stated in terms of "not less than" so and so. However, if they have more to sell, and without any obligation on their part, they could sell more, and nobody should prevent them from doing so.

17° The discomfort and need suffered by any soldier who might become sick for the lack of a hospital are great. There are no mattress, no blanket, nor anything that can

be had for the personal care, cleanliness, or special food. They would sometimes be without food to eat, if such was not sent to them from our house. At present there is no structure more necessary in the camp than quarters for an infirmary. The Governor should be ordered to build one, and to provide it as much as he can with basic furniture, which he should order be kept clean. In addition, he should be ordered that, besides the medicine, some special foods be set asides for those who become sick during the course of the year, and the natives should be ordered, within reason and accountability, to raise some chickens for the sick. And if Y.R. could see to it that, without unduly burdening the Royal treasury, some money from the amount given to this infantry could be set asides, about 500 pesos, for this hospital, in a separate account.

18° His Majesty should not agree with the Royal subsidy for this infantry to be sent here in silver, as some Governor has requested before. Rather, it should come in the form of food supplies, clothing, and with enough succor to maintain the men from month to month, as explained in points N° 5 and 9 above. This way the soldiers would live happily, be well supplied, and without the need to maintain themselves alive at the cost of their sweat with so many excessive labors in weeding, hunting, etc. that some may be thought to suffer a worse fate than galley slaves themselves. Money (because it is not used as currency here, nor is it useful that it becomes so in a land so devoid of any job) is not useful to these men for anything other than gambling, and for continuous thefts among themselves. Besides, other greater disadvantages could be feared, if some greedy Governor should ever come here.¹ Y.R. will remember that there was an officer here years ago who was selling each leaf of tobacco at 7 or more reals. He could do this through second and third parties, and by opening a fair, these poor ones could be despoiled of all their silver, by selling the goods at whatever price that he liked. And to excuse their injustice, they would cite examples of Governors who do the same in other places, where the remedy for these thefts would be more at hand than here, once they are prohibited. Don José has yet to find out the whereabouts of some 15,000 pesos that went to Manila, bypassing the Islands, during Esplana's term. Notwithstanding the above, the Governor, who requests it, could be sent some moderate sum of from 1,000 to 2,000 pesos to distribute among the men, and more among the married men, for them to buy aboard the galleon some small things that they do not usually receive as part of the common subsidy.

19° Supposing that every year a vessel be sent from Manila at the expense of His Majesty and by his royal order, it would be more useful for these soldiers to get their food supplies from Manila in future, and not in Mexico where the goods are much more expensive. From Mexico should be sent only those goods that are not found in the Philippines, and these should be loaded in Acapulco by the Commanders of any flagship galleon making a voyage to Manila and, upon passing by this Island of Guahan, they should put them ashore without asking for, nor taking away transport charges for either

1 Ed. note: This advice was a very good one, but it was not retained, and much grief was to come to the Marianas as a result.

the loading or unloading of said goods, as this would be against a royal decree in which His Majesty orders that said goods should be loaded for us and left here without the payment of transportation fees. This method of doing things was observed from the beginnings of the mission until the year 1681, when General Losada¹ extorted these fees, and I do not know how the Ven. Father Manuel de Solorzano paid them. The Master-of-camp put in a claim but Don Juan de Vargas answered that he would ask Losada to make restitution. Both of them have since died without any follow-up action; that is how we are unjustly charged these fees, which, not counting the refreshment that said Commanders take away (worth over 1,000 pesos) they extract another 1,200 or more pesos in transport charges. I did courageously write against this practice to Manila, to Mexico and to Madrid, and applied to the Governor and to the Viceroy through our Fathers Procurators there, and through my Lady the Duchess [of Aveiro] to the Royal Council of the Indies, in order to have orders issued in respect of the decree of His Majesty. In case the plan has not yet succeeded, we resort to Y.R. to please effectively get us this favor. And to prevent new difficulties from arising regarding the loading of our succor, His Majesty should be pleased to order the same person carrying the goods and royal subsidy of Manila to carry ours at his expense. Indeed, the same reasoning should apply to the royal garrison in the Marianas, not less than that of the Philippines. And given that overthere they do not pay transport charges, neither in silver nor out of the goods that the King sends aboard that same galleon, and for those paid in Acapulco should there be a need to pay for overhere, for the same reasons. The most effective remedy to stop this disorder would be for His Majesty to order the General, or the Captain and Master, to load all the succor, not just the silver but the goods as well, that go at the expense of His Majesty, and remit same to the Marianas, **under a penalty of 1,000 or 2,000 pesos, and the prohibition from serving in any capacity aboard this run**, whenever either he does not load it but charges fees as if he did bring said succor at his expense. Y.R. will see how with this restriction the Commanders of the galleon accept the situation, and content themselves with the refreshment, which in such a case will be given to them in generous amounts.

20° The Governor should also make a few political ordinances for the local natives regarding good customs, e.g. not to walk around their settlements naked, specially the women; not to carry weapons along the roads, etc. and he should be ordered to have them solemnly proclaimed in their settlements, and insist that they be obeyed. He should administer justice against anyone who might prejudice them in their honor, property, health, or life. And he should show them how they can solicit their indemnification without any disadvantage. Esplana introduced a practice, which Don José continued, to take away the children of the Indians who are reduced, or are removed from their inland refuge, and to have them raised in the houses of the soldiers. This seems like violence. If such children need to be educated, it would be better to deliver them to the

1 Ed. note: F. Enriquez de Losada was in command of the galleon San Telmo that brought Governor Saravia to Guam that year.

Father Ministers, and better yet, there being Colleges, they should be raised there and maintained with the alms that His Majesty gives for that education.

21° The Governor should hold a conference to decide if and in what manner those who live in the other Islands of the North can be attracted and led to Guahan, and in case of finding it feasible, he should do his utmost to achieve it, because their indoctrination would thus be made easier, and the great risks involved, and that have already been experienced, in crossing these seas in craft as weak as those of these Islands would be avoided. If the Manila vessel that must be sent to us every year by order of His Majesty is required for said transportation of those islanders, said vessel with its officers and seamen should be obliged to help our Governor, and to remain at his orders until this business is completed.

22° The ordinances that the Council might send from there for our Governors should be permanent, and they should come authorized as such, so that none of these Governors could lawfully exempt himself from them, nor change or interpret them as he pleases; rather, the words should be understood in their legitimate meaning, whether they express something favorable or odious, and in doubtful cases, regarding the meaning of words, he should take counsel from someone else designated for this, and other important incidents.

23° In cases of *residencia* [or audit] (it is the common opinion of everyone that one should be made for a Governor completing a term of office, in accordance with the current practice in other places), Y.R. may consider the inclusion of the following points: 1) if and how he obeyed the ordinances that were sent to him by the Council of the Indies on behalf of His Majesty; 2) how he spent the subsidy that His Majesty sends for the Infantry; if and how he succored the men during the course of the year; 3) if he carried out new enterprises, or dangerous voyages to other Islands without first consulting on the matter; 4) if there was a noteworthy and dangerous negligence in [the management of] firearms, military discipline, etc.; 5) if there was a noteworthy negligence in obtaining from Manila, and Mexico, enough supplies for the sustenance and clothing of the infantry, with the result that the men are indecently dressed, or burdened with work, or hunger; 6) if he prejudiced the natives against justice by asking them for more than is ordered by the King in contribution in kind from their harvest, and fishing; 7) if he tried to remedy the public scandals, or if he caused them by his guilty negligence, or bad example; 8) if he administered justice when requested by the injured party; 9) if he sent to Manila some married man, with or without his wife and children, and for what reason; 10) if he dismantled any new town without the intervention of the Father Vice-Provincial; 11) if on account of work, impositions, or bad treatment the soldiers have mutinied, or the Indians revolted, and in what manner, and with what witnesses this must be proven, to carry out an investigation; 12) in the case of foreign ships that might make port here, as did happen already, if he tried to reconnoiter them, and upon learning or prudently suspecting that they are Pirate ships, what reception he gave them; if he had a chance of attacking them, did he do it? if he supplied them, etc. beyond what was considered unavoidable, and no more, and how this is to be proven

to his benefit? Y.R. will know how to add other things that you might judge useful, or necessary; we trust that you will be able to get more than what we dare ask.

24° What we wish the most is that Y.R., following the example of Father Alonso Sanchez,¹ solicit on our behalf and look overthere for a Governor whom Y.R. might judge to be the most appropriate one for this government, if perhaps the man presently in charge is considered deserving of being transferred, something others might write about. As for myself, I trust that I will see improvements in the man who might eventually govern with regards to the defects (who does not have any?) that have been observed. I will point out the qualifications that might be required in him: 1) he should be a good Christian, be exemplary in his life and habits, because if he is not, Y.R. knows well that he will not be able to refrain neither his men nor these natives who are so given to vice, and he alone would scandalize more by his bad example than all of us together could build (I speak as an expert!); 2) he should be in good health and strong enough to personally lend a hand to the manual tasks that the decorum of his office might allow, and required by the enterprises that might be attempted for the preservation and progress of the divine and royal service in these Islands; 3) he should not be greedy, because although this country cannot offer anything attracting greed, he might look for it in the Royal subsidy that is paid out to this Infantry, the result being their nakedness and death from hunger, or their being obliged to work the land at the cost of their sweat to stay alive, while he would fill his purse; 4) he should not aspire to get more profitable governments, the common ailment of those who imagine overthere that these Marianas are more than they really are; for their government, one must not select a very illustrious person; it is sufficient that he be of good blood, and better behavior; one should not seek a person of very pertinent merits either (as it is certain that they would not be rewarded by such an unlucky government, unless he at the same time would get a future appointment to a better one); he should be such that he has served His Majesty faithfully and honorably in some position as Captain in the army, because such a man would then be rewarded with a salary of 3,000 pesos per year, and the rank that His Majesty might give him to honor him; 6) he should be an approachable man, one who can accept criticism, not vainglorious, not capricious, or ill-disposed; one who asks others for their opinions, and listen to them; indeed, this would not prejudice his authority but could help him in taking wiser decisions; in this respect, Esplana and Don José were very much at fault and these Islands have been harmed by it; 7) he should be righteous enough that the fear of punishment, in line with the offence, would keep within bounds not only those of the Camp but also the local natives; however, he should show no trace of cruelty, which would make him despicable; 8) he should be prudent, not rash but premeditated and mature, and should consult with due secrecy on matters of importance that he might undertake in the service of God and the King, because

1 Ed. note: With Fr. Sedeño, he was one of the earliest Jesuits in the Philippines. Born in Mondejar in 1547, he died at Alcalá in 1593. In 1586, he was commissioned by the Governor and residents of Manila to go to Madrid and Rome on their behalf. His proceedings at the Spanish court are fully recounted by Concepción in his *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. ii, pp. 103-148.

although the Governor is responsible for decisions, it is proper that in order for him to make better decisions, he ought to listen first to whomever might be assigned to him as advisors; and the latter, once assigned as such, should give their opinions so that the Governor does not load his conscience, when he makes decisions and regulates affairs that might concern the common welfare of this Christian community, because otherwise there would be blunders made, and disagreements resulting in harm and detriments, such as occurred in past years, when the Governor ordered his soldiers to kill anyone they found, big and small, healthy and sick, men and women. They carried out this order, killing a crippled woman in cold blood, another pregnant woman, some children attending church, one as being unfit to work, and another, a girl, who had already given herself up as a prisoner.

Besides, that same Governor [i.e. Esplana] decided that there was no obligation to retribute to the Fathers their belongings, except for sacred things; he gave as a reason that such had been looted during a live war. These Governors made such blunders, and others, when speaking or acting, because they are uneducated gentlemen. I say nothing of the good reception he gave in 1685 and 1686 to the Pirates, without consulting on anything first. If to these errors, one adds the viewpoint of Don José, that "overhere there is no need of more ordinances than those made by the man governing this [colony]," what can then be expected, if not the total ruin of the Christian community in the Marianas? For their preservation and progress, Y.R. will see how the final audit for each Governor should be made, before he leaves these Islands; also, in what form he should hand over the government to his successor. Finally, in the case a Governor finds himself incapacitated for governing, or incapable of it, or notoriously scandalous with a serious harm done to the divine and Royal service, who, when, where and in what manner a remedy should be solicited.

From the rambling notes given above, Y.R. will know which one to extract and the form in which they should be written, in order to use them as an Instruction for these Governors, to become Laws authorized by the Royal Council of the Indies, in such a way that their observance will become obligatory. May our Lord deign to give Y.R. His holy favor and grace so that you may obtain for us as much as is desirable for His holy service, and may He save you for us, and bring you back safely for our common consolation, and the relief of our entire province, and specially of your Mariana mission, where I remain ready and very eager to go on as soon as possible to the recently-discovered island to the south, from where I hope to God I will be able to write to Y.R. a detailed description in the report that Y.R. has asked me to write in your letter. Twice already some people left Guahan during the month of April in search of said Island, but they did not find it. Before the galleon gets here (God willing) a third attempt will be made. May the most holy Virgin favor it, to bring a remedy to so many abandoned souls living overthere. Y.R. should not forget them, and may you keep me in mind during your holy sacrifices.

Agadña, 12 May 1689. From Y.R.'s devoted but most useless servant among the Marianos, Gerardo Bovens.

[Postscript:]

Y.R. will know what to do about the 1,000 pesos that is given to the Father Procurator in Mexico for every individual being outfitted to come here. The Father Provincial decided the manner in which he had to outfit them, by discounting some amount from us as a contribution toward expenses, when individuals are conveyed from Europe. If need be, this point should be laid out before our Father [General]. Please see to it that it will not be the same decision as that taken about the 10,000 pesos that Don Diego Salcedo had given us, that were debited at the request of the Father who was then Procurator. However, Y.R., being Mariano, regarding the sum that ought to be charged, should plead for our necessity and poverty!

And do not forget to ask for and obtain for us from His Holiness some special indulgence, etc. in favor of this mission in general, and for each Father and Brother in particular.

Documents 1689C

Four letters from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Agaña May 1689

Source: RAH 9/2677.

C1. First letter dated 17 May 1689

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador Provincial Antonio Xaramillo.

P. C.

*En carta de 25 de Diciembre de 88 que fue en la Balandra **San Gabriel**, informe a V.R. del modo del motin, y la composicion, que despues hubo entre estos soldados y D. Joseph de Quiroga su Governador. Aora quisiera en esta dar parte a V.R. de como dicho Governador descubrio en visperas de despachar la Balandra, el agradecimiento que por fin y postre quiso dar a su Libertador Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, inducido a esto dicho Governador de los Señores que vinieron y volvieron en dicha Balandra **S. Gabriel**.*

Venida pues la Balandra, como ya escribi, a 26 de Agosto de 88, a 30 del mismo, hizo Nuestro Governador dos Capitanes de Infanteria, de los cuales en primer lugar fue nombrado, dandole titulo en forma de Capitan de Infanteria Española, que el mismo Governador y su Sargento Mayor decian ser de la Guardia del Governador sellado con sus armas, y firmado de su Nombre, y de D. Juan de Medrano, que hizo officio de Secretario al Capitan D. Nicolas Rodriguez (asi le nombra el titulo). En segundo lugar nombro, y dio titulo de Capitan de Infanteria a D. Geronimo Arias; y luego en primer lugar marchó dicho Capitan Rodriguez en toda forma con pica al hombro, ett. Y el día siguiente el otro Capitan Arias en la misma forma. Y el tercer día marchó la Comp* del Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Medrano, presidiendo en esta marcha el official mayor desta Comp*. Y asi desde entonces por turnos un día uno, y otro día otro, marcharon estas tres compañías, gobernando todas tres marchas el mismo Sargento Mayor Medrano; aunque entonces no pienso llegaban los soldados por todos a 100 y oy ida la Balandra, no pasan de 90 en numero aunque en valor hartó sera que lleguen a 40.*

Corrió esto así hasta mediado Octubre, en que, aviendo le metido en la cabeza a Nuestro Governador los Señores de la Balandra no se que fantasias ridículas contra dicho Capitan Rodriguez juntas con el naturalillo pundonoroso de dicho Governador comenzo a titubear si le echaria de Agaña, o no, po-

niendole en Tumon, y de hecho se lo dixo a dicho Capitan que iria a vivir a Tumon con otros casados para cuidar alli de sementeras, y de cazar, y hacer vino, ett^a para ayuda de sustentar tanta gente. Allegose a esto que Lascano combido a dicho Capitan para llebarse a Manila, ett^a De todo lo qual, como dicho Capitan no es lerdo, vino a mi, y me dio parte diciendome, saltandosele las lagrimas de los ojos, que de buena gana tomara morir luego, si con su muerte huviese de alegrar y dar gusto al Señor Governador. Consolele, y dixele, que no dudase de que el Governador le tenia afecto y que si le queria embiar a Tumon seria por verse apretado de comida para tanta gente, y que como el tenia tan buena maña para todo, se querria valer del para que siendo cabeza de los casados que iban, pudiese dar prisa a las sementeras de maiz, y agenciar puercos, ett^a para ayuda del sustento de tanta gente. Fuese consolado diciendo que estaba prompto a obedecer al Señor Governador aunque le dixese que se echase, o arrojase de un risco abajo por solo darle gusto.

*No obstante como era tiempo, en que yo avia juntado los PP. para leer las cartas y nuevos ordenes que nos vinieron en la Balandra, propuse a todos sus Reverencias en junta lo que me avia dicho el Capitan Rodriguez, y añadí lo que se le prometio por Nuestra parte y por la del Governador (quando estaba preso) a dicho Capitan que fue su honrra, y vida, si disponia soltarle, y entregarle el Gobierno ett^a. Lo qual todo cumplió el Capitan Rodriguez con mucha fineza, trabajo, y aun riesgos de su propia vida, como confiesa el mismo Governador, prendiendo, y ajusticiando con aprobacion de dicho Governador a los que resistieron, aconsejandole de los que avia de embiar de aqui para ob[er]viar qualquier inconveniente, 2^o que si esto no se le cumple a dicho Capitan si sucede otra; no nos creeran a nosotros ni al Governador para la composicion, 3^o que el Señor Visitador y Oydores que pasaron a Filipinas en el Patache **S. Fernando** proponiendoles el Padre Vice Provincial Gerardo Bouvens, mi antecessor, la composicion que podria tener, que fue la que ha avido, prometiendo seguro de vida y honrra a dicho Capitan Rodriguez, la aprobaron, y dixeron a dicho Padre Vice Provincial que procurase con todo empeño componerlo asi, y que ellos se empeñarían con el Rey para que lo aprobase, y que, si surtia efecto su Magd. que Dios guarde lo agradecería y daria por bien hecho, y lo premiaría, 4^o que, segun esto, del Rey vendria la resolucion conforme el buen informe de aca, ett^a.*

*A lo qual todos los PP. respondieron, que en todo caso se le cumpliese a dicho Capitan lo prometido, pues executo con mucha destreza y cuidado lo que pormetia, sin faltar ni en un apiz [sic]. Y asi todos los PP. **nemine dempto** respondieron en favor de dicho Capitan y que en conciencia, dixeron algunos estaba obligado el Governador a lo que le prometio de mirar por su vida y honrra. Y generalmente dixeron los PP. que no convenia fuese a Manila, ni a Tumon, ni que le apartase de su lado el Governador (volvieron a decir algunos PP.) ett^a. Y que convenia avisarle al Governador de todo esto. Con que [me fué a] darle parte de todo lo dicho con amistad, y el mejor modo possible, como lo h[ic]e] y asintio a ello, y dixo que no le embiaria a Tumon. Pero pasadas unas semanas, como aquellos Señores no cesaban de aquellas fantasticas baterias, a que cooperaban algunos del Campo, unos por limpiarse de lo passado, y entre ellos 6 (de los 14 que avian de salir de aqui) que desde luego los depositaron en la Balandra y alla se entendian con Lascano; otros del mismo Campo por congraciarse, ett^a el buen Governador sin reformar a dicho Capitan Rodriguez lo embio a Tumon, y el buen Capitan viendo era su gusto vino con el mismo gusto alegre a despedirse de Nosotros. Y no es decible lo que alli trabajo en sementeras, cazar, sacar vino, criar gallinas, y pavos, ett^a todo para el Governador trabajando como un negro, o esclavo con extraordinario gusto y contento suyo deshaciendose por solo dar gusto al Governador. Y siempre que venia a Missa los días festivos marchaba con su pica y entraba guardia, hasta que prosiguiendo aquel-*

las pundonorosas sugestiones, y llegando a Agaña Lascano (que fue la primera vez) a 1 de enero deste año de 89; a 5 de dicho mes, vispera de Reyes reformo el Governador al Capitan Rodriguez, que aunque este se alegrò de ello por verse mas fuera de las cosas del Campo, y ser solo gusto del Governador a nosotros nos peso, pero sin saber, como supimos, ida la Balandra que tantas sugestiones y cosas al Governador contra dicho Capitan (todas sin fundamento ninguno) huviesen llegado a tanto; que juntas con el pundonor de dicho Governador averle sucedido lo que le sucedio, llegase este a decir, que siempre que el tal Capitan se le ponía delante se le revolvia la colera contra el, &c.*

Y publicada la ida de la Balandra para 2 de Febrero el dia 29 de enero Sabado, aviendo venido dicho Capitan como solia de Tumon con su muger aquella tarde, para oír missa el dia siguiente Domingo 30 (bien ageno de lo que le esperaba) este dia por la mañana supimos de un soldado que vino en la Balandra, y se vino aquel dia a despedir para volverse en ella, el [lla]mado Fulano Chacon, que decia ser Frayle huido de su Religion: Supimos, digo, de dicho Chacon lo que yo entonces escribi al Padre Provincial por estas palabras:

[Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. Provincial, dated 30 January 1689]

“Mi Padre Provincial.

“P. C. &c.

“Aora a las 8 de la mañana oy Domingo 30 del corriente, despues de aver escrito las ultimas a V.R. acabamos de saber como anoche a la una de la mañana llamo el Governador al Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, y de repente lo mando amarrar y llebar a la Balandra, o Patache con su muger, y las de otros dos a quienes echo grillos a esta misma para que pasen a Manila por mas que las mugeres, por ser Indias no quieran.

“Nueva que verdaderamente nos ha causado a todos grandissimas amarguras por las gravissimas consecuencias, que deste hecho se siguen. Al instante vinieron todos los PP. a mi aposento, y se ofrecieron dos o tres de sus Reverencias para pasar a Manila a defender no solo la causa del mozo; sino nuestro credito y palabra empeñada, como tambien el credito y palabra empeñada y poder que dieron in nombre del Rey los Señores Visitador y Oidores al Padre Vice Provincial mi antecesor de tener por bien hecho y por gran servicio del Rey con toda confianza y aseguracion de vida y honores para dicho Capitan Rodriguez, si este con la direccion de dicho mi antecesor compusiese, como fielmente y con riesgo de su propia vida compuse el pleyto entre soldados y dicho Governador, en que su Merced nos puso con sus cosas, y su palabra que tambien empeño como digo en el informe que doy a V.R., y otros infinitos propositos, ofertas, y promessas, a todo lo qual, viendose ya en el mando, comenzo a faltar el Governador poco a poco en mucho, o casi todo; sino es en proseguir honrrando a dicho Capitan hasta vispera de Reyes, en que lo reformo, y aora con este hecho totalmente desesperamos de sus aciertos. El hombre con el gobierno se ha desvanecido, o envanecido tanto que tememos que no solo se le ha de volar el juycio, de que parece da indicios, sino que por mas que embie a todos de quienes tiene rezelo, y por mas buenos que sean los soldados se han de enfadar con su natural, impertinencias, y soberanias, y otras cosas que no son explicables en carta, y lo han de volar, y quedarnos a buenas noches. Cosa que D. Josseph, quando es particular, parece increíble, y mal apenas entra en el gobierno quando enfada a todos, y puede enfadar a los santos del cielo, si estuvieran debajo de su gobierno. No digo mas por la prissa, remitiendome al Padre Cerezo para que a boca informe a V.R. para atajar tantos daños ett*. Nuestro Señor remedie todo como puede y me guarde a V.R., ett*

“Agadña, y enero 30 de 89.

“Al firmar esta hemos sabido que el caso referido sucedio como a las 8 de la noche, y que no le mando amarrar, ni prender no; sino que le exorto a que se fuese a Manila con el Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Medrano; porque alla estaria mas seguro, y le daria dicho Sargento Mayor en llegando 200 pesos para su avio; y con esto aviandole de calzado, y vestido ett* a esta hora con su espada en cinta y sin prision ninguna se embarco dicho Capitan con su muger; aunque esta no queria, ni las otras dos de los dos presos dichos.

[Note in margin:] *Esta, para el Padre Provincial ley en consulta el mismo día de la fecha de ella, y todos los PP. dixeron estaba mui buena, y mas si añadia el Poder del Visitador ett* que no lo avia puesto, y asi lo añadí como ba en ella.*

Hasta aqui esta al Padre Provincial. Y antes de pasar adelante digo que todo lo dicho es ya cierto se executo a media noche, sin que nosotros oliemos nada de tantos desayres y ingratitudes para con dicho Capitan Rodriguez. Ahora vea V.R. en que pararon tantos propositos y promesas como quando salio de su trabajo a costa de los desvelos de dicho Capitan y Nosotros nos hizo este hombre a todos, y que no avia de hacer cosa sin consultarla con Nosotros, y que no avia de negar jamas lo que alguno de Nosotros le pidiese: y asi que todos en adelante aviamos de ser Gobernadores.

Pero el dicho Capitan Rodriguez se la pego a todos ellos, por una cosa que sucedio bien acaso, y fue que al llegar al puerto de S. Xavier tirando la banca, en que iba dicho Capitan derecha para la balandra, le llamo Lascano desde su casa en tierra haciendole señas para que fuese alla, como lo hizo, y desembarcandose el Capitan y su muger en dicha casa de Lascano, este le hizo tales ofertas en llegando a Manila con tales palabras acerca de su muger, y del mismo, que entrando en rezelos, junto con lo que avia precedido.

1° La sospecha que le causo el ver que sin saberlo ningun Padre le embarcaban a media noche para embiarlo a Manila, y sin dejarle despedir de ningun Padre por mas que pidio licencia al Gobernador para esto.

2° Que como no sabe leer, aunque la llebaba abierta; no sabia lo que contenia la carta, que para el Gobernador de Philipinas llebaba de el de aca, aunque este le decia, que era carta de favor con la qual iba seguro, ett. Juzguelo V.R., que alla ira su copia; porque aca a todos nos ha parecido era la de Urias.*

Determino, digo, en su animo dicho Capitan Rodriguez, por sus bien fundidos rezelos, ver si podia, antes de embarcarse en la Balandra, verse conmigo, o con algun otro Padre aunque fuese retrayendose a Sagrado. Y asi no entendiendo ninguno de los circunstantes esta lengua, hablo en ella a su muger diciendole que se estuviese quieta alli, ett y como que iba a otra cosa se ausento de Lascano, y tomando la vereda para Agadña (donde yo estaba) torciendosele un pie y no pudiendo caminar con ligereza, torcio el camino, y se entro en Umatag a verse con el Padre Basilio, el qual luego me avise del tal huesped, con cuya noticia todos nos alegramos muchissimo. Y haciendo yo consulta sobre lo que se avia de hacer, caso que el Gobernador lo quisiese sacar de la Yglesia para embiarlo desterrado con su muger (que a par de muerte sentia ausentarse de su tierra, Madre, y Hermanos) resuelto en la consulta que en tal caso se le avia de intimar al Gobernador la descomunion, que pone el Derecho, acordè de embiar al Padre Gerardo a Umatag avisando antes al Padre Basilio que no dexase salir al Capitan ni que ninguno le sacase de Sagrado so pena de la Descomunion, que pone el derecho.*

Y aunque el Gobernador tenia este intento, avisado por el Padre Basilio que no lo podia hacer; no lo saco, sino que pasando a despedirse de la Balandra, y luego de vuelta por Umatag, despues de varios dares y tomares con dichos PP. Basilio y Gerardo, hablando el Gobernador mal de dicho Capitan y los PP. defendiendole, se bolvio el Gobernador a Agadña, diciendo que el tal Capitan se quedase alli con su muger (que ya a esta sazón avia llegado a Umatag con sus trastos y los de su marido) viviendo cerca de la Iglesia hasta que determinase otra cosa.

[Unsuccessful search for Yap in 1689]

Hizose asi, y ha vivido dicho Capitan alli portandose con mucha cordura y humildad sin salir ni un punto de lo que el Gobernador [words missing?] de su buen proceder fue a Umatag, y le dio un titulo honorífico para que fuese por Cabo de unos 5 soldados, que en 3 bancas embio a ver, si podia descubrir la Carolina. Fue una y otra vez, y no aviendo descubierto nada, por no saber gobernar, ni avia quien entienda la derrota, alejandose ya 20 ya 30 leguas a la mar afuera, se volvieron, con orden que quando volviere se viniese a Agadña, para donde el Gobernador luego que dicho Capitan salio a este descubrimiento embiando por delante la muger de dicho Capitan para que en el interim estuviese con su Hermana, la muger de Masonson, y vuelta a Agadña el Gobernador volviendo tambien dicho Capitan de su viage a Agadña, segun dicho orden, se esta todavia aqui con su muger, y en mas gracia con el Gobernador que ya le volvio a dar espada, y arma, de lo qual con su licencia avia hecho dexacion dicho Capitan volviendoselo al Gobernador sin querer traer consigo ni un cuchillo quando todos los Indios andan cargados de machetes de a 4 quartas, que si estas armas trugeran tan al descubierto el día del alzamiento no huvieran dejado en Agadña piante ni mamante.

Y asi se esta el buen Capitan Rodriguez y asiste a todo quanto le insinua el Gobernador con notable rendimiento, obediencia, promptitud, y con mas lealtad y voluntad que otro qualquiera[,] con que prendado y desengañado con su buen modo de proceder parece se le han sosegado aquellas tempestades y pundonores ett que contra dicho Capitan le metieron en la cabeza semejantes seculares por mas virtuosos que sean siempre tiran por su rumbo y sin atender a lo que los Religiosos dicen, ni a la amistad, que, dicen, gloriandose dello, tienen con ellos, y a las obligaciones, que jactanciosos dicen, tienen de cavallos ett* y que como tales no faltaran a su palabra, en fe de lo qual fiandonos asi de Nuestro Gobernador como de otro, que no avian de hacer una cosa tan fea como hicieron con dicho Capitan Rodriguez, sin tener la menor causa para ello, como despues de ida la Balandra, si el Gobernador quiere darse por entendido, se ha avergonzado y desengañadole del yerro, que cometio contra su palabra contra tantas promesas como nos hizo a Nosotros y a dicho Capitan de mirar siempre por el, por su vida y honor, ett* en donde mejor podia cumplir esto que teniendole consigo, pues bien sabe, y lo ha confesado que no tiene de quien echar mano, ni de quien fiarse en todo para todo el manejo y cosas, sino es, le decimos nosotros, que de dicho Capitan pues ninguno tiene las prendas, expedicion, ni aun mas lealtad, que el.*

Por lo qual, digo, que sin presumir nosotros que tales cavallos avian de violar su palabra como en dichos y hechos daban a entender asi acerca de lo dicho, como del caso siguiente. Cierta cavallerete de puesto principal en este Campo, que ya se volvio a Manila vino con sus 11 de obeja a sacar del Sagrado, a uno de los dos casados, que con sus mugeres fueron en la Balandra: dandome palabra de parte suya y del Gobernador que no iria, pero que si entendiese, añadió, que el Gobernador le quisiese embiar al destierro, me avisaria a mi, y al tal casado para que se volviere a la Yglesia y no haciendolo asi, ni aun despidiendose de Nosotros, despues que tanto le agasajamos, obrando lo contrario y embiandole yo a

reconvenir con mis quejas de su palabra quebrantada, ett he ha [de lo?] dicho que respondio, que no tenia mas palabra que el servicio del Rey como si el servicio de Su Magd. Catholica no fuese el que se guarde el respeto y inmunidad debida a la Yglesia queriendonos zaherir con esto que solos ellos, y no los Religiosos miran por el servicio del Rey, sin advertir con sus aseglaradas theologias que en lo mismo que dicen se condenan asimismos.*

Esperamos que lo suplique en nombre de todos en el Informe que hice a V.R. de dicho Capitan Rodriguez nos lo ha de conseguir V.R. pues no solo lo ha merecido por lo que digo en dicho informe; sino que cada dia lo merece mas y mas. Y digo otra vez que caso que faltase Governador no ay otro como dicho Capitan para el manejo asi de soldados como de Indios. Y un mozo que esta ya arraygado aqui y casado por lo mucho que nos ha de ayudar en esta Misssion todos somos de parecer que de nuestra parte hemos de mirar por el, ademas de las ofertas y palabra que juntamente con el Governador le dimos quando le volvio el gobierno en la forma que escribi en aquel Informe y digo aora en la relacion que ba aprobada y vista de los PP. consultores a quienes en consulta ley dicha Relacion y Informe.

En los diez primeros años de la fundacion desta Mission no es decible lo que padecemos por no hallar cabo, o cabeza entre estos soldados que los pudiese gobernar con el acierto que quisieramos. Y aora digo, que si entonces tubieramos a este mozo no le podiamos desear mejor para este fin, y mas estando ya casado por que todos los que se casan son con intento de vivir siempre en esta tierra, y el que ayan ido a Manila los que han ido, fue por Esplana. Y harto violentos fueron los dos que fueron en la Balandra. Y asi cada casado aqui es mas permanente y estable que cada Missionero. Y siendo esto asi, y teniendo un casado arraygado ya en este Campo y de las prendas de dicho Capitan Rodriguez, parece que se sigue si llegara el caso, que manejara mejor esto, que otro que viene para volverse. El Señor Sarabia hombre desengañado, y exemplar, y a un año de gobierno rabiaba por dejarlo, y D. Josseph que si le viene sucesor, se ira al desierto.

Con que un casado aqui con familia lo mirara como si fuera su Patria, y a la verdad el que lo goberna; sino lo hace asi, todos padecemos. Y aqui caso que un casado por ser casado y arraygado en la tierra de las prendas dichas manejase esto, no por eso avra los inconvenientes que en otras partes por muchas razones, y mas por ser estas Islas tan pobres, y que raro apetece el gobernarlas con tan pocas miras, y ser esto un desierto, ett. Vea V.R., si por lo menos puede conseguir del Rey confirmacion de Capitan para dicho Nicolas Rodriguez, o, si viene V.R. por obispo el que se lo de V.R. para agregarle a los de su familia, o si esto no se puede, que nos le aplique su Magd. a Nuestro gremio de PP. porque nos servira de mucho para acompañar, y ayudar a qualquier Padre en un Partido, ett* o como V.R. mejor viere, o lo dispusiere de suerte que ningun Governador lo pueda echar de Marianas. Dios nos de acierto en nuestros conceptos, quos passim vexatio dat y disponga lo que fuere de su mayor gloria y nos guarde a V.R. con mucha salud y vida como todos deseamos, y hemos menester, y pido a V.R. no se olvide deste mal siervo en sus santos sacrificios ett**

Es nunca acabar con este Gallego. Acabo de saber como el Governador volvio a embiar a Umatag con su muger al Capitan Rodriguez, a quien antes dijo: (refiriomelo en secreto ayer el mismo Capitan Conejo (le dixo) mire que se ha de ir en esta Nao, temo que estos PP. lo han de echar a perder. Y que le respondio: Señor V.S. haga de mi lo que gustare, que no tengo otro gusto mas que el de V.S. Yo no puedo hacerles bien (prosiguio el Governador) porque diran los soldados que es como comerse buñuelos el hacer lo que Conejo hizo. Pues Señor, le respondio, para escarmiento de todos y que pague mi delito, echome V.S. una cadena como a galeote por 8, o, 10 años para que amarrado a ella y arrastrandola por

todo este campo sirva yo a V.S. en lo que gustare. Dijole que lo consultase con su confesor, y lo viese bien, que el tambien veria, si convenia, pero no (volvio a decir el Governador) que no le quiero embiar a Manila. Yo le dare aora un papel firmado de mi nombre en que diga que no le quiero embiar a Manila sino que se quede aca porque algunas veces estoy desta cabeza no se como. Dixole el Capitan que lo agradecia mucho y que no era menester papel; porque bastaba su palabra. Pues mire Conejo (le volvio a decir) no diga nada a los PP. de lo que hemos hablado aora, guarde secreto, y baya aora a Umatag y alli cuidara de la carga que nos truxere la Nao, y despues volverà a Agaña y ira conmigo a Saypan. Y esto ultimo me dixo el otro dia el Governador que no le embiaria a Manila que lo dexaria aca, y lo pondria con un Padre en la 1ª Isla donde huviese Padre.

Oy estubo conmigo el Governador y en suma me dixo algo colerico que avia estado por echar un par de grillos a Conejo y embarcarle en la Nao, porque un hombre (dixo) que me rompio la cabeza dividiendomela en 2 partes haciendo lo que hizo; y aora me la ha querido curar? pero por no faltar a mi palabra que le di, ni a mi conciencia no lo hago, ettª

*Vea V.R. mi Padre Amantissimo que paciencia es menester con este hombrecillo tan pundonoroso que no acordandose del ultimo; sino de lo 1º que hizo este mozo, nos dice aora estas cosas. Dios [sabe el] sufrimiento que harto tube al oir estas cosas sin fundamento mas que su pundonor y cavalleria por ver lo que le sucedio sin atender a que fue por su natural altivo, insufrible, ettª ni a lo que el mozo obro con tanta fineza, trabajos, riesgos propios por sacarlo del poder de los que mal le querian y aun de venganza, y que quisiera verle arcabuceado como los otros 3 que refiero en el informe, y relacion; o no se que me diga, **hago marati a sayna ngu i hinaron D. Josseph.** Y asi basta con decir que dicho Capitan hizo dexacion otra vez de espada y arma de que no le ha pesado al Gallego. Harto he cansado a V.R. y el tiempo es corto no sea nos cojer la Nao y ay mucho que despachar. M[is] adios ut supra.*

Agaña y Mayo 17 de 1689.

Muy siervo de V.R.

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator Provincial, Antonio Xaramillo.
Peace of Christ.

In a letter dated 25 December 1688 that went aboard the sloop **San Gabriel**,¹ I informed Y.R. of what happened during the mutiny, and the settlement that afterwards took place between these soldiers and Don José de Quiroga, their Governor. Now I would like in this letter to report to Y.R. how said Governor discovered on the eve of the departure of the sloop a good way to get rid of his Liberator, Captain Nicolás Rodríguez. Said Governor was urged to do this by the gentlemen who came and went aboard said sloop **San Gabriel**.

Well, as I have said already, the sloop came in on 26 August 1688. On the 30th of the same month, our Governor created two captains of infantry. The first one he appointed was given the position of Captain of Spanish Infantry, which the Governor

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1688O3.

himself and his Sergeant Major were saying that it formed part of the Governor's Guard, was sealed with his arms, and signed with his name and that of Don Juan de Medrano. Captain Don Nicolás Rodríguez was named therein as official Secretary (the title given him in the letter of appointment). On the other hand, he appointed and gave the rank of Infantry Captain to Don Gerónimo Arias. Afterwards, and in the first instance, said Captain Nicolás Rodríguez marched past wearing a pike on his shoulder, etc. and the next day, the other Captain, Arias, marched past in the same manner. And on the third day, the company of Sergeant-Major Don Juan de Medrano did the same, with him at the end of the parade as senior officer of this Company. And so on, from then on, each one took his turn. One day it was one company, and another day it was another, all three companies in turn, and all three marches being led by the same Sergeant-Major Medrano, although at that time I do not think that the number of soldiers reached 100. Now that the sloop is gone, there are no more than 90 of them, although in courage one should not count on more than 40.

This went on until the middle of October, when the gentlemen of the sloop succeeded in putting into our Governor's head I don't know what ridiculous fantasies against Captain Rodríguez. This, plus the punctilious character of said Governor began to waver about whether he should send said Captain away from Agaña or not, to live in Tumon with other married men in order to take care overthere of plantations, and to hunt, make wine, etc. to help feed so many men. This went as far as Lazcano inviting said Captain to come along with him to Manila, etc. The result of all this, since said Captain is not dull-witted, was that he came to me and reported to me, telling me, with tears coming out of his eyes, that he would be willing to die then, if his death could please and give pleasure to His Lordship the Governor. I consoled him and told him that he should not doubt that the Governor had affection for him and that if he wished to send him to Tumon, it would be because of the need to feed so many men, and that, given that he had so much skill for everything, he wanted to take advantage of him to be in charge of the married men who were going there, and he could expedite the corn plantations, and promote the breeding of the pigs, etc. to help with feeding so many men. He went off consoled, saying that he was ready to obey the Governor, though he might tell him that he should jump off a cliff, just to give him pleasure.

Nevertheless, as it was time for me to gather the Fathers, to read to them the letters and the new orders that came to us with the sloop, I reported to all their Reverences present at the meeting what Captain Rodríguez had told me, and added what we had promised said Captain on our part and what the Governor promised on his part (when he was a prisoner), that is, his honor and his life, if he released him, and handed over the Government, etc. All of which Captain Rodríguez complied with, with much fineness, effort, and even risks to his own life, as the Governor himself admitted it, by seizing and carrying out justice, with the approval of said Governor, on those who resisted, and advising him of those he had to send from here to prevent any disadvantage. Secondly, [I mentioned] that if this promise to said Captain did not come true, another mutiny would happen, and they would not trust either the Governor or ourselves for a

settlement. Thirdly, that if the Visiting Judge and members of the Audiencia who passed on their way to the Philippines aboard the patache **San Fernando** and, at the proposal made by Father Vice-Provincial Gerardo Bouvens, my predecessor, regarding a possible settlement, which was the one that took place, by promising said Captain Rodriguez to save his life and honor, they approved it, and told said Father Vice-Provincial to make every effort to try and settle it thus, and that they would bind themselves to plead with the King for it to be approved, and that, if it pleased His Majesty (may God save him) to accept it as well done, he would reward him. Fourthly, that, according to this, the King's decision would come back, in tune with the good report from here, etc.

To which all the Fathers answered that, in all cases, what was promised to said Captain ought to be complied with, because he had in fact done what he had promised with much skill and care, without omitting a single iota. And so, all the Fathers *nemine dempto*¹ answered in favor of said Captain and some said that in conscience the Governor was obliged to what he had promised, to look after his life and honor. And generally the Fathers said that it was not proper for the Governor to send him to Manila, nor to Tumon, nor to send him away from his side (as some Fathers repeated), etc. and that it was proper to advise the Governor of all of this. Therefore, I went to report to him about it all, in a friendly way and with the best possible manner. He assented to it and said that he would not send him to Tumon. However, a few weeks later, as those gentlemen did not cease to badger him with those fantasies, with the cooperation of some men in the Camp, some in order to get a clean slate for themselves, 6 of whom (out of the 14 who were to be sent away from here) came to an agreement with Lazcano as soon as they were placed aboard the sloop; others from inside the Camp itself did so to gain favors, etc. The good Governor, without retiring said Captain Rodriguez, sent him to Tumon, and the good Captain, seeing that it was his wish, came with the same pleasure, to take leave of us. And it is undescribable how he labored there in the plantations, hunting, making wine, raising chickens, and turkeys,² etc. everything done for the Governor, working like a negro, or slave with extraordinary pleasure and contentment, striving hard to please the Governor. Whenever he came to mass on holidays, he marched with his pike and mounted guard, until those punctilious suggestions took their effect, soon after Lazcano came to Agaña (which was the first time) on 1 January of this year 1689. On the 5th of said month, the eve of Epiphany, the Governor retired Captain Rodriguez. Although the latter was happy about it, because he would be farther from the business of the Camp, and it was only to please the Governor, it saddened us. Still, we did not know then, what we learned later on, when the sloop was gone, that so many suggestions and things that had been said to the Governor against said Captain (all without foundation) would get that far; that, besides the punctiliousness of said

1 Ed. note: Latin expression meaning "without exception."

2 Ed. note: I have transcribed this word as "pavos", which means turkeys. On second thought, perhaps the word was "patos", which means ducks, something more likely, I think.

Governor, so much would happen as it did, he going so far as to say, whenever said Captain appeared before him, that he felt anger at him, etc.

When the departure of the sloop was announced for the 2nd of February, on Saturday 29th January, said Captain having come from Tumon with his wife that afternoon, to hear mass the next day, Sunday 30, but (far from what he had hoped for) on this day in the morning, we learned from a soldier who came with the sloop and came that day to take leave of us before boarding it, a certain man named Chacón, who was saying that he was a former Friar, we learned, as I have said, from said Chacón what I then wrote Father Provincial about, in the following words:

[Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. Provincial, dated 30 January 1689]

"My dear Father Provincial.

"Peace of Christ, etc.

"Now, at 8 a.m. on this date, Sunday 30th of the current month, after I had already written my last words to Y.R., we have just learned that last night at 1 a.m., the Governor called Captain Nicolás Rodríguez, and suddenly ordered him seized and taken to the sloop, or patache, with his wife, and those of two other men who had also been placed in fetters at the same time, in order to have them deported to Manila, in spite of the protest of their wives, who are Indians.

"This news has truly caused us all some very great sorrow, because of the very serious consequences that might result from this event. All the Fathers came instantly to my cell, and two or three of their Reverences offered themselves to go to Manila to defend, not only the cause of the lad, but also our credit and our pledge, as well as the credit and pledge that the Gentlemen Visitor and Auditors gave in the name of the King to the Father Vice-Provincial, my predecessor, to respect as a good deed and great service to the King, in good faith to insure the life and honors for said Captain Rodríguez, if he were, under the supervision of the said, my predecessor, settle the dispute between the soldiers and said Governor, as he did in fact settle it, faithfully and at the risk of his own life; that His Grace had involved us in this affair and given his word that he also pledged, as I say in the report that I am sending to Y.R., and in other infinite propositions, offers, and promises. In all of them, the Governor began to fail little by little, in much, if not all, though he had continued to honor said Captain until the eve of Epiphany, when he retired him. And now, with this happening, we totally despair of his ability. The man in charge of the government has become vain and conceited, so much so that we fear that not only his judgment might fly off, which he shows signs of doing, but also that as long as he continues to send away all those whom he fears, and no matter how good the soldiers are, they might eventually become fed up with his character, impertinences, arrogance and other things that cannot be explained in a letter; they might fly off their handle, and send us to kingdom come. It is true that Don José, when he is peculiar, it seems incredible, but as soon as he takes over the government, he annoys everybody, and could annoy the saints in heaven, if they were serving under him. I say no more, because of the hurry, but I remit myself to Father Cerezo who will give

Y.R. a verbal report, to prevent so much harm, etc. May our Lord remediate everything as He can and may He save Y.R. for me, etc.

“Agadña, 30 January 1689.

“[P.S.] After I had signed, we learned that the above-mentioned case took place at 8 o'clock last night, and he did not order him tied up, nor arrested, no; rather, he convinced him to go to Manila with Sergeant-Major Don Juan de Medrano, because he would be safer overthere, and said Sergeant-Major would give him 200 pesos for his travel expenses upon arrival. Then, at that specific time, he was given some shoes and clothes, etc. and, wearing his sword and without fetters, said Captain embarked [aboard a canoe] with his wife, although she did not want to, and neither the other two wives of the above-said prisoners.”

[Note in margin:] This letter to Father Provincial I read during the meeting held on the same date, and all the Fathers said that it was very good, but that I should add the power-of-attorney of the Visiting Judge, etc. that I had not mentioned. That is why I have since added it.

Thus far the letter to Father Provincial. And before I go on to other things, I declare that the whole incident has now been ascertained to have taken place at midnight, without us having vent of so many slights and lacks of gratitude towards said Captain Rodriguez. Now Y.R. will see the results of so many good intentions and promises that he made, when he relieved of his fix at the cost of the wakefulness of said Captain, to him and to us all, for instance, that he would not do a thing without consulting it with us, and that he would never again refuse any thing that one of us would ask him to do; and that henceforth we were to be the Governors.

However, said Captain Rodriguez made fools of them all when he had a chance, and it happened this way. Upon arriving at the port of San Xavier, as his canoe was headed straight for the sloop, Lazcano signalled him from his house ashore to come over, which he did. And when the Captain and his wife had disembarked and were in his house, Lazcano made him so many offers to him and his wife, saying with so many words that, upon arriving at Manila, etc. that he became suspicious of this, and what had happened earlier.

1° The suspicion was caused by his learning that no Father was boarding at midnight for Manila, and when he was denied permission by the Governor to take leave not even of one Father, in spite of his insistence.

2° Then there was the letter that he carried for the Governor of the Philippines from the Governor here; though he had been told that it was a letter of recommendation, to insure his safety, etc. and it was not sealed, he did not know how to read. Y.R. should judge it for yourself, as a copy will go overthere. As for us here, we all think that it was like the letter of Urias.

Said Captain Rodriguez decided within himself, on account of well-founded suspicions, as I said, to see if he could, before boarding the sloop, get an interview with at least one Father, though he might have to seek refuge in the church. So, because none

of the people standing around could understand the local language, he spoke to his wife in it, telling her to stay quietly there, etc. and, acting as if he was busy at something, he left Lazcano, and while walking along the trail that leads to Agadña (where I was) he twisted his ankle and, since he could not walk gingerly, he sort of bent his route and went into Umatag to seek an interview with Father Basilio. The latter then advised me about his guest; we were all very happy when we received this news. And after I held a consultation about what should be done, in case the Governor wished to take him out of the church [by force] to send him into exile with his wife (who felt that to leave her country, mother, and brothers was like a death sentence), it was decided in the consultation that the Governor should be warned about the excommunication that the Law provides for such a case, and I agreed to send Father Gerardo to Umatag, but first I sent an advice to Father Basilio not to let anyone take him out of the church, under the penalty of excommunication provided by law.

And although the Governor had this intention, when he was advised by Father Basilio that he could not do it, he relented, and went ahead to take leave of the sloop, and then he came back to Umatag. After some give and take with said Fathers Basilio and Gerardo, with the Governor speaking badly of said Captain and the Fathers defending him, the Governor returned to Agadña, saying that the Captain in question was to remain there with his wife (who in the meantime had already arrived at Umatag with her baggage and that of her husband) and live near the church until he decided otherwise.

[Unsuccessful search for Yap in 1689]

This was done, and said Captain has lived there, behaving with much prudence and humility without detracting one point from what the Governor [has ordered]. The Governor of his own volition went to Umatag and gave him an honorific title¹ and he sent him as Commander of 5 soldiers, aboard 3 canoes, to see if he could discover Caroline Island. He went twice, but did not discover anything, because he does not know how to navigate and had no-one who could understand the route. The first time they went 20 leagues off and the second time 30 leagues.

When they returned, there was an order for them to come to Agadña. Already, as soon as said Captain departed on this voyage of exploration, the Governor had sent his wife ahead to Agadña, so that in the meantime she would be with her sister, who is Masonson's wife. After the Governor had returned to Agadña, when said Captain returned from his voyage, he also came back, as a result of the order in question, and he is still here with his wife, and in the good graces of the Governor, who has given him back his sword and firearm, which said Captain had given up voluntarily, with the Governor's permission, but now he gave them back to the Governor, refusing to carry even a knife, when all the Indians go around loaded with machetes with 3-foot [80-cm] blades,

1 Ed. note: That of Leader of the exploring expedition.

so much so that if on the day that the mutiny was discovered they had brought these weapons to Agaña, not one soul would have survived.

So, that is the way the good Captain Rodriguez really is. He attends to the slightest whim of the Governor with notable submission, obedience, promptitude, and with more loyalty and goodwill than any other person whatever. Therefore, [the latter] was disarmed by his good proceedings, and it seems as if those storms and punctiliousness, etc. that he had against said Captain have calmed down, those that similar laymen had placed in his head, because, no matter how virtuous they are, they simply pull in their own direction and not pay attention to what the Religious say, nor to the friendship that they say (taking pride in it) they have with them, nor to obligations that they say, boastfully, they have as gentlemen, etc. and that as such they have to keep their word, in faith whereof we had trusted our Governor as well as another [gentleman], never thinking that they would do such an awful thing as they did with said Captain Rodriguez, without having any reason for it. After the sloop was gone, the Governor admitted that he was embarrassed and disillusioned of the failure to keep his word, contrary to so many promises made to us and to said Captain, of looking after his life and honor, etc. something which he could better comply with by keeping him close to him; in fact, he knows very well, and he has admitted it, that he has no-one on hand whom he can trust with everything for the management of affairs, except said Captain, as we have told him. In fact, no-one has the qualifications, expedition, or even more loyalty than he.

That is why, I say, we had not foreseen that such gentlemen would violate their word, as they had given us to understand in words and deeds, not only in the above-said case, but also in the following case. A certain little gentleman with a principal position in this Camp, who has already returned to Manila,¹ came with his 11th ewe² to take one married soldier out of the church, one of the two who left with the sloop. He gave me his word, on his part and on the part of the Governor, that he would not be sent off, but if he came to learn, he added, that the Governor wished to send him into exile, he would let me know, and let the soldier in question know, so that he could return to the church, but he did not do so, and he did not even come to take leave of us, after we had made him so welcome. He did the opposite. When I sent him a message, remonstrating him for having failed his word, etc. he answered that he had no other word than the service of the King, as if the service of His Catholic Majesty did not include respect for the immunity due to the Church. Thus, he wished to upbraid us by telling us that only they, and not the Religious, look after the interest of the service of the King; they do not even realize that, by following their secularized theologies, they incriminate themselves with their own words.

We hope that what I begged for on behalf of everyone in the Report that I made to Y.R. about said Captain Rodriguez, Y.R. will surely get for us, not only because he

1 Ed. note: A reference to Major Medrano.

2 Ed. note: Seems like a colloquial expression of unknown meaning.

deserves it for reasons that I mention in said report, but also because every day he deserves it more and more. And I declare once more that, should the Governor go missing, there is no-one like said Captain for the management not just of the soldiers but also of the Indians. Regarding this lad, who is already settled here and married, for the simple reason that he will help us in this Mission, all of us agree that on our part we should do our utmost to look out for him, besides the offers and word that we gave him, jointly with the Governor, when he returned the latter to his government in the manner that I wrote about in that Report, which I now repeat in the accompanying report, which was seen by the consulting Fathers, to whom I have read both reports during the consultation meeting.

During the first 10 years of the foundation of this Mission, it is incredible what we have suffered for the lack of a commanding officer among these soldiers, one who could govern them with the skill that we would have liked. And now I declare that if we would have had this lad then, we could not have wished to have anyone else for this purpose, specially since he is already married, because all those who get married here have the intention of remaining in this country forever; if any have gone to Manila, it is Esplana's fault. The two who went aboard the sloop were forcibly taken away. Thus, any married man here is even more permanent and stable than any missionary. This being the case, and given a married man already rooted here in this Camp, and possessing the qualifications of said Captain Rodriguez, it follows that, if need be, he would manage this [colony] better than someone else who comes, only to leave again. Mr. Saravia was a disillusioned man, an exemplary one, but after one year here, he raved to leave it. As for Don José, he says that if a successor comes, he will go into retirement.¹

Therefore, someone who marries locally and has a family will always look upon this country as his own. Unless this also applies to the Governor, we will continue to suffer. And here, if a married man with said qualifications were to manage this [colony], the fact that he is married and established in the country would not necessarily bring in the disadvantages that exist in other places for many reasons, specially because these Islands are so poor, and that few people would aspire to govern them as they offer few prospects, and because they are so isolated, etc. Y.R. will please try and obtain from the King the confirmation of Captain for said Nicolás Rodriguez, or, if Y.R. should come as bishop, the rank that Y.R. will give him in order to please his family members, or, if this is not possible, His Majesty should attach him to our missionary guild, because he would serve us much, for accompanying and helping any Father in some district, etc., or, as Y.R. will see fit, so that no future Governor will ever be able to expel him from the Marianas. May God favor our plans, *quos passim vexatio dat*² and arrange it accordingly for his greater glory and may He save Y.R. for us with much health

1 Ed. note: This prediction did not happen; time and again Quiroga was supplanted in his interim post as Governor, but he remained in the Marianas until he died of old age, without ever marrying a local woman...

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "which distress throws off at random."

and life as we all wish, and need, and I ask Y.R. not to forget this bad servant in your holy sacrifices, etc.

It is a never-ending business with this Galician.¹ I have just learned that the Governor has just sent Captain Rodriguez back to Umatag with his wife. Before he did so he told him (according to what the Captain himself told me in secret yesterday):

—“Look, Conejo (he told him), you will have to go with this galleon, before these Fathers can wreck you.”

Then he answered him:

—“Sir, Your Lordship may do with me as you please. Nothing would please me more than to please Your Lordship.”

—“I cannot satisfy them very well (continued the Governor) because the soldiers would say that what Conejo did was a piece of cake.”

—“Well, Sir, he answered, if you wish to make an example of my crime, Your Lordship may place me in chains, like a galley slave for 8, or even 10 years, keep me chained and dragging my ball all over this camp, and have me do whatever you please.”

Then he told him that he should consult with his confessor, and to think it over, and that he too would think it over, if it was proper, but then (the Governor changed his mind) and said:

—“I don’t want to send you to Manila. I will now give you a piece of paper signed with my name, saying that I don’t want to send you to Manila, but to keep you here, because sometimes I have these fancies in my head, that I can’t explain.”

The Captain told him that he was very thankful but that there was no need of a piece of paper, because his word was enough.

—“Well then, Conejo (he told him), don’t say anything to the Fathers about what we have just talked about. Keep it secret. Go now to Umatag and overthere you will be in charge of the load that the galleon brings us. After that, you will come back to Agaña, and go with me to Saypan.”

This happened after the Governor had already told me that he would keep him here, and would place him with a Father at the first Island where a Father would be stationed.

Today the Governor was with me and in summary he told me that “he had been somewhat irascible and on the verge of placing a pair of fetters on Conejo and to send him with the galleon, because he is a man (said he) who had split my head in half when he did what he did, and now he wants to heal it for me? But, so as to keep the word that I gave him, and to please my conscience, I am not doing it, etc.”

Now you can see, my dearest Father, what patience is needed with this small man, so punctilious that he does not remember the last, but the first, deed that this lad did, and now tells us these things. God only knows how painful it was for me to hear these things without basis, other than his punctiliousness and chivalry, in the light of what had happened to him, and not paying attention to the fact that it was caused by his haughty and insufferable character, etc. nor that the lad proceeded with so much fine-

1 Ed. note: That is, Quiroga.

ness, efforts, and personal risk to get him out of grasp of those who wanted to do him harm and even avenge themselves, and who wanted to have him shot by arquebus like the other 3 mentioned in the reports; or I don't know what he told me, *hago marati a sayna ngu i hinaron D. Josseph*.¹ Suffice to say that said Captain has had to relinquish his sword and firearm once more, something that must have pleased the Galician. I have made Y.R. tired and the time is short before the galleon gets here, and there is much to despatch. For my goodbyes, see above.

Agadña, 17 May 1689.

Y.R.'s devoted servant,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

C2. Second letter dated 17 May, about the Colleges

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Xaramillo.

P. C.

Aunque lo material de los Colegios, o Casas de Niños y Niñas falto, por averse quemado con lo demas en el alzamiento y baja para 5 años, en los quales solos dos años tubimos socorro; no por eso han faltado los Colegios, o Casas vivas, que es la juventud del rezo, que tenemos en esta Isla, en lo qual mientras yo ultimamente corri con lo de dichos Colegios; aunque fue en tiempo que falto el socorro, ademas de lo que di a los soldados y a sus Governantes para ellos, por dicha falta de socorros, emplee lo que avia en cubrir la desnudez de dicha juventud, meramente lo que bastaba para la decencia de venir al rezo y missa; porque no hubo para mas.

Venida la Balandra, y sucedídome el Padre Miguel de Aparicio (por no aver otro mas experto a quien poner en este offiio por la eleccion que hice en dicho Padre por comission del Padre Provincial) como Bago quiso luego tener Colegio de Niños, sin reparar en que no avia medios, por lo qual le dixé, que aunque fuese poco (como lo ha sido, el socorro que vino con la Balandra, por las averias de las arribadas) repartiase para la debida decencia, a la juventud de los pueblos, por ser la que cada día esta a vista de los PP. Doctrineros, viniendo a rezar y a Missa, ett; alguna ropa para cubrir la desnudez, porque el socorro nuestro, ni de los soldados no es possible dar abasto para esto. Y que con esto se emplearia en Colegios vivos lo que viene para ellos, mientras se iba a la reduccion de las otras Islas, y entonces edificarlo material de dichos Colegios, porque si aora quisieramos hacer esto, fuera despoblar los partidos de la poca juventud que ay en ellos, y dexar a los PP. espirituales y Naturales sin ella. Ademas de que estos padres Naturales tienen por las otras Islas otros hijos, porque en la fuga general cada uno procuro huir por donde pudo, y tambien los delinquentes, sus vecinos y parientes se los arrancaron y llevaron consigo.*

Con que siendo esto asi, y no poder, ni nosotros, ni los soldados cubrir dicha desnudez, por ser escaso nuestro socorro, bien me parece que no es contra conciencia, antes sí muy conforme a ella, y a la mente

1 Ed. note: Chamorro phrase.

del que lo da, que es el Rey, el que esta juventud, que vienen a ser Colegios, o casas vivas de Dios, sean socorridas del Rector de Colegios de Niños y Niñas hasta que los medios de edificar lo material destos y poner en ellos juventud, se efectue. De lo qual se saca:

1° que el poco socorro que le ha venido a dicho Padre Rector se socorre como se ha de socorrer a dicha juventud dando a cada persona dos vestidos uno para fiesta y otro para trabajo, le vendra a quedar poco, o nada, y mas si quando se casaren concurre con algun donecillo de las otras alajas, por ser tan pobres sus padres.

2° que no es possible que aora, ni en ningun tiempo, ni nosotros, ni los soldados podamos acudir y vestir a tanto pobre desnudo.

3° que si dicho Padre Rector edificados estos dos Colegios con juventud en ellos, cumple bien con su officio en vestirla, assistirla con comida, y otras cosas, y dar dotes de alajas, ett quando se casan, como es necessario lo haga y hasta aora se ha estilado; y si ha de agasajar a sus padres naturales desta juventud con algunas dadivas de ropa, ett* como esta encargado de los PP. Provinciales por la suma pobreza destas gentes. Ytem supuesto que ni nuestro gremio, ni el de los soldados puede bastar a cubrir tanta desnudez de niños y niñas de los pueblos, y ha de dar para esto alguna cosa dicho Padre Rector bien se ve que avra menester los 5 mil pesos. Y esto sin entrar lo de otras limosnas, que en tierra tan pobre es necesario que haga a todos. Y tambien el gasto para las fabricas de dichos Colegios sin contar aqui tanto soldado ya casado con estas Naturales, y con bastantes hijos, sin tener ni para sus mugeres ni hijos de que echar mano para el vestido y sustento, ett* porque lo que el Rey da de situado no alcanza. Y asi la necesidad destos, y de sus mugeres y hijos viene a equivaler a la que ordinariamente padecen los que llamamos huérfanos y desvalidos, que fue el motivo de la fundacion de dichos Colegios y tambien para que la juventud criada en ellos fuese la levadura desta Christiandad y dichas familias procediendo como proceden y avecindandose y poblando esta nueva Ciudad de Agaña, y criandose sus hijos como se crían en dicha Ciudad, sin tener traza de que parar, no es la menos principal levadura de toda esta Christiandad que la de los Colegios dichos.*

Esto escribo para que V.R. este enterado de quan bien se pueden emplear dichos 5 mil pesos que da el Rey para dichos Colegios acudiendo el Rector dellos a socorrer y mirar por todo lo que conduce a hacer una buena levadura desta Christiandad y socorrer a todos los que son tenidos por huérfanos de necesidad que fueron los dichos dos unicos motivos de la fundacion de dichos Colegios con los 5 mil pesos que el Rey embia de socorro cada año en generos por no correr aqui moneda. Y asi digo en suma:

1° que desde dicho alzamiento aca todo lo poco que ha avido de dichos Colegios se gasto en lo que tengo dicho.

2° que volviendose a reducir estos Naturales con los medios, que digo en la Relacion, esperamos con la Nao de Acapulco se volveran a fabricar los Colegios materiales y criar en ellos niños y niñas.

3° que acerca de lo que digo de las familias de los militares casados en este Real Campo y Ciudad de Agaña, vea V.R., si el Rector que fuere de dichos Colegios, alcanzando su fundacion de los 5 mil pesos los pueda socorrer con buena conciencia y asistir en lo que pudiere, pues en esto se mira al fin y motivo desta fundacion como tengo dicho. Y pienso que en quanto al poder físico bien lo podra hacer recibiendo menos juventud en los Colegios de que se sacaran tres alibios: 1° el socorrer a dichas familias, 2° la gran penalidad que cuesta sacar dicha juventud de sus PP. Naturales, ignorantes de tanto bien, aunque se puede esperar que en adelante no cueste tanto, y mas si ay buen presidio a quien tengan respecto, y ellos iran reconociendo este gran bien que se hace a sus hijos, 3° el gran trabajo, que tiene el Rector en

adquirir y buscar comida en tierra tan falta della para el sustento de tanta juventud, que aunque este trabajo parece que tambien tendran las tales familias; no es asi, porque ellas socorren con generos tienen mas conveniencias y medios para buscar y adquirir alimento.

Veintiun años ha que entre en estas Islas con el Ven. Padre San Vitores a la fundacion desta Christianidad. Cinco años estube ausente, en los demas años que he estado aqui, he tenido el manejo de casas todos los officios y ministerios desta Mission y entre ellos mas de 6 años cuide de dichos Collegios y por eso he escrito esta carta y nunca sera de parecer que se quite ni el Collegio de niños, ni el de niñas, por el gran bien que en esto interesa esta Christianidad. [Di]gan otros especulativos lo que dixerén, que pienso no son m[as de] dos PP. Gerardo Bouvens, y Miguel de Aparicio este algo especulativo [en el pa]sado, aunque Bago y sin ninguna experiencia y el otro bien conocido especular tanto que lo mas no es reducible a practica.

Y asi mientras yo, aunque tan indigno, tenga este officio de [Ve. Prov. de] la Mission en viniendo los medios que estamos esperando con esta Nao de Acapulco para la reduccion destos Naturales, lo 1º que hare con el Governador sera poner calor para fabricar dichos Colegios reducidos ya a esta Isla los que eran della y andan desparramados por las otras. De lo qual reduccion con el favor Divino resultara una buena cosecha de Colegiales y Colegialas para criar en ellos.

El Señor por quien es nos de luz a todos para acertar lo que es mas de su agrado y nos guarde a V.R. quanto este su menor siervo desea.

Agadña, y Mayo 17 de 1689.

Muy siervo de V.R.

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Address:] Al Padre Antonio Xaramillo Procurador General de la Comp^a de Jesus para Philipinas y Marianas a Madrid y Roma, &c^a, Madrid.

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General, Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ.

Although the material side of the Colleges, or Residences for Boys and Girls, has suffered a decline in the 5 years since they were burned down, and during which we received the succor for only 2 years, it is still true that the virtual Colleges, or Residences, as represented by the youth attending church in this Island, were not missing. Of late, when I was in charge of said Colleges, although it was at the time that the succor failed [to arrive], in addition to what I gave to the soldiers and their Governors for themselves, given the lack of succors, I spent what I had in covering the nakedness of said youth, simply what was sufficient for the sake of decency to allow them to come to prayers and mass, because there was not enough for more.

Once the sloop came, Father Miguel de Aparicio (whom I chose for this position on behalf of the Father Provincial as there was no-one else more expert than he) wanted to re-open the College for Boys, in spite of the lack of means. That is why I told him, though the succor be small (and the succor that came with the sloop was small, on account of losses caused by returns in distress), to distribute some clothing among the

youth of the villages, because they are those who appear every day before the missionary Fathers, to pray or hear mass, etc., to cover their nakedness, because neither our succor nor that of the soldiers is sufficient to supply this basic need. So, the little we receive for the Colleges will be spent on the virtual Colleges, while the reduction of the other Islands is going on, and then we will be able to rebuild the material side of said Colleges, because, if we wished to do this now, the districts would have to be depopulated of their few remaining youth, and their Spiritual and natural fathers would be left without them. Furthermore, these natural fathers have other children on other Islands, because during the general flight each individual fled as best he could; also, the criminals, their neighbors and relatives, grabbed them and took them along with them.

As long as the situation remains as is, and neither we nor the soldiers can cover said nakedness, for the shortage in our succor, it seems to me that it is not against conscience, but rather very much in agreement with it, and with the intention of the person giving it, that is the King, that this youth, who make up these virtual Colleges, or living residences of God, be helped by the Rector of the Colleges for Boys and Girls until the means to rebuild them materially and place the youth therein become available. Hence, to put it another way:

1° the small succor that has come to said Father Rector is to be used to assist said youth, by giving each one two sets of clothes, one for holidays and one for work; there will be little or nothing left over, except perhaps for some small gift when they get married, such as other furnishings, because their parents are so poor.

2° it is not possible for now, or at any time in future, for us or for the soldiers to manage to clothe so many poor and naked people.

3° if said Father Rector, once these two Colleges have been rebuilt with youth therein, complies well with his position by clothing them, assisting them with food, and other things, and to give dowries of furnishings, etc. when they get married, as he must do and has been the practice so far; and if he must reward the natural fathers of these youths with some gifts of clothing, etc. as we have been asked to do by the Fathers Provincial, on account of the extreme poverty of these peoples. Besides, supposing that neither our guild nor that of the soldiers can suffice to clothe so much nakedness in the boys and girls of the settlements, and said Father Rector must give something for this purpose, it stands to reason that the 5,000 pesos will be necessary. And this does not take into account the other alms necessary to clothe the rest in such a poor country. Also the cost of the construction of said Colleges, in addition to the many soldiers already married with these native women, and with many children; they have nothing they can call upon for clothing and feeding their wives or children, etc. because what the King gives in subsidy does not cover it. So, their needs, and those of their wives and children amount to what is equivalent and ordinarily is suffered by those we call orphans and invalids, and this was the motive behind the foundation of said Colleges, and also the youth raised in them were supposed to be the leavening of this Christian community; said families, proceeding as they do and settling in and populating this new City of Agaña, raising their children as they do in said City, and giving no sign of

slackening, are no less the main leavening of this whole Christian community than that of said Colleges.

I write this so that Y.R. will be informed of how well can be spent said 5,000 pesos that the King gives for said Colleges, when their Rector takes care of assisting and looking to everything that might lead to make a good leavening out of this Christian community and to assist all those who are held to be orphans in need, as these were the two unique motives behind the foundation of said Colleges, with the 5,000 pesos that the King sends every year as succor, in kind, because money as such is not used here. And so, to summarize:

1° since said uprising here, the whole of the small amount received for said Colleges was spent as I said above.

2° once these natives have been reduced, through means that I mentioned in the Report, we hope with the coming of the Acapulco galleon to be able to rebuild the material aspects of the Colleges and to raise boys and girls therein.

3° with respect to what I said about the families of the married soldiers in this Royal Camp and City of Agaña, Y.R. should decide if the Rector of said Colleges, once he has obtained the 5,000 pesos in their foundation money, should support them in good conscience and [also] assist [others] as much as he can, because in doing so he would look to the objective and motive of this foundation, as I have said. And I think that he will be able to physically do so, by taking in fewer youths in the Colleges; this would result in the following three alleviations: 1° the succor of said families; 2° the great penalty that is born when said youth is taken from their natural parents, ignorant of so much welfare, although it can be hoped that in future it will not cost as much, specially if there is a good garrison which they would respect, and they come to recognize the great benefit done to their children; 3° the great labor that the Rector has in acquiring and looking for food in a land so devoid of it for the maintenance of so many youths; although this labor seem to be as great for said families, it is not so, because they provide local food products and have more facilities and means to look for food and come by it.

Twenty-one years have passed since I came to these Islands with the Ven. Father San Vitores to found this Christian community. I was absent for five years [1671-76], but the rest of the time, I was here. I have held the management of all the positions and ministries in this Mission and among them for over 6 years I was in charge of said Colleges. That is why I have written this letter and I will never be of the opinion that the College for boys, or that for girls, be abolished, because they entail such a great benefit for this Christian Community. Others might make speculative suggestions, though I think that only two Fathers, Gerardo Bouvens, and Miguel de Aparicio, are involved; the latter has been somewhat speculative in the past, even though he is presently idle and without experience, and as far as the former is concerned, it is well known that he speculates so much that most of it cannot be reduced to practice.

So, while I, though very unworthily, am in charge of this office of [Vice-Provincial of] the Mission, as soon as the means for the reduction of these natives, that we are

expecting aboard the galleon from Acapulco, the first thing I will do with the Governor will be to pressure him to build said Colleges, once those belonging to this Island who are presently scattered throughout the other Islands have been reduced to it. From this reduction, God helping, the result should be a good harvest of boys and girls to raise in the Colleges.

May the Lord, for whom this is meant, enlighten us all, to achieve what may be more to His liking. May He save Y.R. for us as much as this your smallest servant wishes.

Agadña, 17 May 1689.

Y.R.'s devoted servant,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Address:] To Father Antonio Xaramillo, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines and Marianas in Madrid and Rome, etc., at Madrid.

C3. First letter dated 18 May 1689, about previous reports

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Xaramillo.

P. C.

Del Informe que, digo en otra, embie a V.R. en la Balandra acerca del Capitan D. Nicolas Rodriguez; digo en esta, que el tal Informe lo saque de los puntos, que para hacerle, pedí a los PP. que nos hallamos en esta Mission y tambien de los Diarios, que yo escribi cada dia de lo que iba passando. Y aviendolo acabado lo vieron los PP. Consultores, y unos de sus Reverencias dixeron que estaba estremo de bueno, y otros que estaba tan bueno que ni avia que añadir ni que quitar ni una letra.

Ytem la Relacion que va desde Junio de 85 hasta de Mayo de 89 la saque de los apuntamientos que todos los PP. me dieron por escrito, y de los dichos Diarios que yo hice, en que apunte en todo el tiempo dicho lo que cada dia iba passando. Y hecha la Relacion se leyo a los PP. Consultores en tres veces que nos juntamos para esto; y todos sus Reverencias dixeron que estaba muy buena, y que si llegaba a manos del Rey, no dudosemos de que el Capitan Rodriguez vendria por lo menos confirmado Capitan por su Magestad.

Esto escribo, porque se que cierto sugeto de aca, bien conocido de V.R., y de todos, escribe a V.R. una carta de 4, o mas pliegos, y en ella ban cosas no conformes a la realidad de la verdad que ba bien autenticada, como dicho tengo, en dho Informe y Relacion. Las quales cosas falsas, aunque con buena retorica y garvo pintadas, no especifico aqui; porque V.R. viendo la tal carta y la Relacion y informe facilmente sacara en limpio quales cosas sean las que se oponen, o no convienen, ni concuerdan a la verdad de lo que ba escrito de tan autenticado y aprobado en dicho Informe y Relacion. Y mas digo que si esta carta no fuera a V.R., que es tan fino Mariano la suprimiera, o detubiera costara lo que costara. Aunque sacado lo que no concuerda a la verdad de dicha Relacion y Informe, y a todo lo bien, fiel, valerosa, fina y sagazmente con mucho desvelo, trabajo, y peligro que obro dicho Capitan Rodriguez, y otras cosas como el veneno, ett que no son verdaderas ni tampoco que soldado de la Balandra lo aya*

estorbado; porque el tal fue un fulano Chacon, frayle Apostata, que, por boca del mismo que escribe dicha carta, es grandissimo embustero, enredador, o cosa semejante, que asi lo definio aun estando escribiendo dicha carta. Vea V.R. que autor tan veridico el que cita. Ni tampoco es verdad que soldado alguno m[---]¹ al Gobernador el dia del motin sino fuera por el Padre Gerardo; porque yo viendo todo lo que passo tambien como veo esto que escribo, y no vi [que] huvo tal cosa. Tambien es mucho decir que si no viene la Balandra [se] pierde esto; lo que sé decir es, que si viene antes de los 6 dias de la [compo]sicion, y soltura del Gobernador y prission y muerte de Salgado, que muri[o un] dia antes de aparecerse la Balandra, es muy contingente que se huviera [suc]edido, o que los aliados del tal Salgado huvieran muerto al Gobierno. [Por] lo menos huvieran sucedido bastantes alborotos y desgracias, antes [el] contrario porque la venida de la Balandra en parte no nos ayudo mucho [---] para aquella total paz y composicion, que deseabamos. Ni es verd[ad] que despues de su venida se prendieron tres y que estos se arcabucaa[ron] o ajusticiaron, porque el tal sugeto, autor de la tal carta, oyo ca[llar] el gallo y no supo, o no advirtio donde. Et sic in alijs illius ep[istola] que no me es posible especificar mas por falta de tiempo. Solo digo es menester ir con muchissimo tiento para creer muchas cosas de tal carta, por dejarse llebar del torrente de su afluencia, vevrosidad, sencillez, bondad, y buenas creederas que parece tiene el que la escribe, pero ursu peti; porque ban otras cosas dignas de que V.R. lo vea y observe, en especial las cosas de Quiroga y Medrano, que con todas son asi como las refiere, y muy en particular el mucho [malo] por tanto bien, que en vez de muy debidos agradecimientos dieron al buen Sor. D. Nicolas Rodriguez, cuyas proezas y hazañas, buen proceder, [cor]dura, raro porte, y cortenasia, y demas excelentes prendas, que rep[resen]ta] la tal carta son asi, y merecedoras de la afluencia de tal pluma que asi como ellas son las pinta verdaderamente sin hyperbole.

*No mas, sino que el Señor de a V.R. mucha salud y vida, ett**

[Agad]ña y Mayo 18 de 1689.

Tuus ex corde, aunque el peor de los Marianos,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ.

Regarding the Report which, as I have said in another letter, I sent to Y.R. aboard the sloop, about Captain Don Nicolás Rodríguez, I want to add here, that such a report I compiled from the points that for this purpose I had asked the Fathers present in this Mission for, and also I made use of the Diaries that I have written of what was going on every day. And after it was finished, the Fathers saw it during consultation, and some of their Reverences said that it was extremely good, and others said that it was so good that not one letter should be added or taken out.

The same thing can be said of the **composite report for the period from June 1685 until May 1689**. I compiled it from the points that all the Fathers gave me in writing, and from said Diaries that I have kept, wherein I noted what was going on for

1 Ed. note: Original copy is somewhat mutilated.

every day of the whole period in question. This Report was also read to the Fathers in consultation, in the three meetings that we held for this purpose; and all their Reverences said that it was very good, and if it ever got into the hands of the King, we did not doubt that His Majesty would at least accept to confirm Captain Rodriguez in his rank.¹

I write this, because I know that a certain subject from here, well known of Y.R., and of everybody, is writing to Y.R. a letter of 4, or more sheets, and in it there are things that are not in accordance with the reality of the truth that is well authenticated, as I have said in the above-mentioned Reports.² Such false things, though crafted with a good rhetoric and grace, I will not specify here, because Y.R., once you have seen said letter and the Reports, will easily be able to discriminate between things that might be contrary, or improper, or untrue in it, as compared with what I have written, which is well authenticated and approved, in said Reports. Furthermore, if this letter were not addressed to Y.R., who is such a fine Mariano, I would suppress it, or detain it, at any cost, even if what does not correspond to the truth of said Reports were omitted, dealing with the good and faithful Captain Rodriguez, who behaved so finely and sagaciously, with so much care, effort, and risk, and other things such as the poison, etc. that are not true, the same as the story about a soldier belonging to the sloop who had prevented it; because he refers to a certain Chacón, the apostate friar, who, from the mouth of the writer of the letter himself, is a very great trickster, busybody, or some similar word he used to describe him, even when writing said letter. Let Y.R. judge the veracity of the author of what he cites. It is not true either that some soldier [went to see]³ the Governor on the day of the mutiny, except for Father Gerardo, because I myself saw everything that went on, and I write what I see, and I did not see any such thing. Also, it is excessive to say that if the sloop had not come, this [colony] would have been lost; what I know and can say, is that if it had not arrived 6 days before the settlement, before the release of the Governor and arrest and death of Salgado, who died one day before the sloop appeared, it is very probable that, either the same thing would have happened, or the allies of this Salgado would have killed the Governor. There would have been enough disturbances and misfortunes; rather, it is the opposite, because the coming of the sloop in part did not help us as much [to reach] that total peace and settlement as we wished. It is not true either that after its arrival, three men were arrested

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- 1 Ed. note: The report about Captain Rodriguez is Doc. 1688O3. As far as the composite report is concerned, it was later edited by Fr. Morales; however, it is so long (about 200 pages, depending on which copy) and repetitive that I have preferred to reproduce only the individual letters and reports. Two versions of this composite report are extant, and are to be found in the Jesuit archives in Sant Cugat del Vallès, under #E-I-c5-(b) & (c), with photocopies kept at MARC.
 - 2 Ed. note: He refers to the letter that Fr. Zarzosa sent to Fr. Xaramillo by the same ship (Doc. 1689D). Nowadays it remains on file, right next to the present document in the archives.
 - 3 Ed. note: Unfortunately, the right-hand edge of the manuscript, beginning at this point, is missing, about 2 cm. at the top and bottom of the page, and a little less at the center of this mutilated sheet. My guesses as to the missing words appear in square brackets.

and that they were shot by arquebus or executed, because the subject in question, the author of said letter, heard the rooster crow and did not know what, or how, it happened. *Et sic in alijs illius ep[istola]*¹ and I have no more time to be specific. I will only say that it is necessary to give and take to believe many things said in that letter, if one lets himself be carried by the torrent of the fluency, verbosity, simplicity, kindness, and gullibility that its writer seems to possess, but *ursu peti*,² because there are other things worthy of being seen and read by Y.R., specially what he says about Quiroga and Medrano, which are as he says they are, and very specially the great [harm] done to the good Don Nicolás Rodríguez, in exchange for so much good, instead of due thanks, for his prowess and deeds, good proceedings, wisdom, rare conduct, courtesy, and other excellent qualities that the letter refers to, are correct, and deserving of the fluency of such a pen, for he describes them truly and without hyperbole.

That is it, except to say: May the Lord give Y.R. much health and life, etc.

[Agad]ña, 18 May 1689.

Tuus ex corde,³ although the worst of the Marianos,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

C4. Second letter dated 18 May

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Xaramillo.

P. C.

Esta es ya la 4ª y ultima que escribo a V.R. (antes de aver despachado con las del Padre Provincial) en que digo que quando tan de repente se promulgo la ida de la Balandra, estaba escribiendo a V.R. una que contenia los mas principales puntos de cosas que V.R. nos ha de hacer caridad de alcanzarnos del Rey N.S. en su Real Consejo. Y aviendo llegado al 12 punto, nos tocaron a rebato de que la Balandra se iba; y no aviendo concludido con las ultimas al Padre Provincial y despacho para la ida del Padre Cerezo, y otras cosas que necessariamente no menos necessarias; y el cerrar las cartas escritas, ettª. huve forcosamente de cesar en proseguir aquella.

Ida la Balandra, por las instancias de los PP. Provinciales, que piden los puntos para carta annua, que de aca avia años no se embiaba. Y [quando oí del Padre Ambrosio]⁴ Ortiz desde Napoles en carta de 7 de Febrero de 87 me [esta diciendome que procure con el Padre Superior de Marianas y con [otros] los particulares de las Residencias, que noten, y escritan diligamente todo lo que fuere sucediendo en adelante; desde Mayo de 85 remitiendo las Relaciones bien llenas al Padre Procurador General de Indias en Madrid; afin de que se prosiga la Historia de Marianas explicando los individuos de personas (que por eso las he puesto a la margen de dicha Relacion) y tierras; porque servira, dice dicho Padre Am-

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "And so on in other parts of his letter."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "look out for the bear."

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Cordially yours."

4 Ed. note: Most of the line is missing, but this is my guess.

brozio, de gran direccion al Historiador por alla. Y el Padre Luis de Morales desde Madrid dice lo mismo, y que no se dexa de poner en las relaciones por minima que sea, porque por alla hace una armonia del cielo: Me enfrasque, digo, ida la Balandra, en hacer dicha Relacion, que pensando acabarla luego; no pudo ser hasta entrado este mes de Mayo, y leida en consulta se ba trasladando a un mismo tiempo de 4 escribientes tales quales, aunque bien ocupado por que tiene 16 pliegos de mi mala letra. Y no la he puesto fecha, por si acaso se ofrece que añadir algo sobresaliente, hasta acabarla de trasladar y sacar los exemplares necesarios y corregidos, [à] estos pondre la gesta mala firma; si bien boy observando, y apuntando desde aqui?] lo que ba acaeciendo, por no ser cosa que pide ir en esta, para la del año que [viene].

*Digo pues, que viendome tan falto de tiempo y con tanto que hacer de Relacion y Cartas, ett^a rogué al Padre Gerardo, porque no tengo otro que lo haga con el estudio y aplicacion que su Rev^a, me hiciese caridad de escribir de nuevo poniendolo a su modo y estilo aquellos puntos en carta para V.R. de lo que se necessita pedir en Madrid para esta Mission y Christiandad. Hizolo el Padre y ya me ha enseñado la carta de dichos puntos y cosas que necessitamos nos efectue V.R. a quien pido por amor del Señor se sirva de perdonarme tantas impertinencias y de efectuar lo que el buen Padre Gerardo nos ha hecho caridad de escribir, en que V.R. como tan experto Mariano eligira añadiendo, o quitando **quod melius** ett^a que en sustancia todo, y lo demas que V.R. añadiere sera menester.*

A que añado que se ha de servir V.R. de hacer buen hincapie en el medio eficaz que se puede elegir para tomar una muy buena Residencia a estos Nuestros Señores de Marianas porque mientras esto no se hace como se ha de hacer, nunca tendremos cosa estable, ni entablada Christiandad como desea su Magd. en Marianas, y mas con la maxima de D. Jossep[h] de Quiroga: de que no ha de aver aqui mas ley, ni gobierno que el que quisiere quien esto governare. Y andamos bien abra[saj]dos con estas maximas, pues carga tanto a los Indios chicos y grandes y de ambos sexos de trabajos, y [impuestos?] en los modos y de todas las especies de generos que da la tierra, y otras cosas insufribles, y sin paga, que no se como los pobres no se huyen, o se ahorcan, aunque destos ya ban y en poco tiempo este año unos quantos; todo es gemirnos y llorarnos, sin poderlo nosotros remediar; porque si le hablamos para la moderacion, ett^a como es tan temoso lo hace peor, y resulta en mayor daño de los pobres, y de todos; harto le digo quando se ofrece ocasion con el mayor tiento y modo possible y con toda amistad y benevolencia dandole a entender que se hara mas amable de todos; pero ni por eso, ni por esotro. El tendra sus razones para no incurrir en cosa grave, pero si mal no me engaño bien sabe ay cedula que lo prohíbe, pero si no se le embia, o no le viene a el, es cosa vidriosa el decirle esto; aunque espero la ocasion para ver si puedo conseguir el fin.

Sea pues esta Residencia que el sucesor la tome rigurosa al antecesor, aunque este se aya de detener aquí un año como al Governador de Philipinas que acaba se detiene un año y a veces mas para esto, que aun el de Marianas no se detendra tanto; porque si viene Balandra, de vuelta della se puede volver por Manila y Mexico, &c^a.

Este es punto importantissimo para que esto tome el ser que su Magd. tanto desea; porque sino, lo que un Governador hace; otro lo deshace, y es un continuo y per[pe]tuo texer y destexer, y frustrarse los gastos de Su Magd. perecer tanto soldado, y Misionero a mano de ba[rbaro] que en viendo la suya para cobrar su barbara lib[ertad] logran puntualissimamente sin ponerseles delante los daños futuros a que se exponen de pagar ellos con la vida, y aun ahogandose en el mar huyendo y ahorcardose por sus mismas manos temerosos de no ser cogidos para pagar sus delitos, aburridos de los trabajos en que cada dia los cargan estos gobernadores sin piedad, ni misericordia como oy esta sucediendo, que algun Govern-

ador piensa que solo el fornicar, y no mas es contra conciencia. No digo aqui lo que hicieron [a] estos soldados por quererlos gobernar con leyes y modos inauditos y nunca usados de gobernadores en otras partes con tan intolerables impertinencias, y soberanias, que pudieran apurar a los Santos del Cielo si vivieran debajo deste duro y molesto gobierno tratandolos como a esclabos, o cautivos en Berberia, y aun peor dicen estos soldados pues aquellos aunque trabajen, y los maltratan tienen lo bastante que comer.

*Baste lo dicho remitiendome en lo demas a lo del estilo de la carta sobredicha del Padre Gerardo. A Dios que insta el tiempo, y su Divina Magd. nos guarde a V.R. hasta dexarnos le ver y besar, prostrados por estos suelos el Sagrado y nupcial anillo desta su tierra y afligida esposa Yglesia Mariana puesto en ese dedo y mano Apostolica para tanta gloria de Dios en el aumento de dicha Santa y amada Esposa, que con ansias lo desea por aca para el sumo bien y consuelo de todos, que con su Illustrisima y Venerable vi[da] interesan, ett**

Agadña y Mayo 18 de 1689.

Si a V.R. le parece que es cosa digna de que N.P. General ve[ya] la Re[la]cion, V.R. se servira de mandar sacar un traslado, y llebarselo remitirselo a Roma, par hago ha marati; cinco exemplares [para] los que tendre, uno para el Archivo de aca, otro para embiar a Manila, otro para Mexico, y otro para Madrid, y otro me piden los PP. de Alemania para el Señor Emperador, que sabe Castellano, y se alegrara infinito, dicen, de ver dicha Relacion, aunque si dichos Padres se resuelven a traducirlo en Latin, y por esto sobrare el 5º siempre aunque sea de mala letra lo embiare a V.R., a cuyos pies esta rendido.

Este siempre inutil siervo,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Postscript:]

Finalmente ba el exemplar dicho en Castellano; y no en Latin (porque se les hace dificultosa la traduccion) al Señor Emperador por medio de su Confessor, a quien la remiten, y el Señor Emperador dicen, la conferira muy alegre con el Embajador de España. Y asi V.R. se servira de acomodarse con la que embio al Padre Magino [Sola] si V.R. esta en Mexico, o sino en Madrid con la que ba al Padre Pedro de Espinar Procurador General de Indias en aquella Corte.

[Address:] *Al Padre Antonio Xaramillo Procurador General de la Compª de Jesus de Philipinas &cª, Madrid.*

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ.

This is the 4th and last letter that I write to Y.R. (before I despatch them along with those for the Father Provincial) to say that when the departure of the sloop was suddenly announced, I was writing to Y.R. a letter that contained the most principal points that Y.R., for the sake of charity, ought to obtain for us from the King our Lord in his Royal Council. I had reached the 12th point, when they rang the alarm for the actual departure of the sloop. As I had not put the finishing touch to the letters to Father Provincial and despatch for the passage of Father Cerezo, and other things that were no less

necessary and urgent, I had to close the letters already written, etc. and was forced to set that one asides.

Once the sloop was gone, at the insistence of the Fathers Provincial, who ask for points for the annual report, that had not been sent from here for years. And given that I had been asked by Father Ambrosio Ortiz, in a letter dated Naples 7 February 1687, to try, with the Father Superior of the Marianas and with others, to write the details of the Residencies, that we were to take notes, and diligently write everything that happened in future, as of May 1685, and to remit the detailed Reports to Father Procurator General of the Indies in Madrid,¹ to enable the **History of the Marianas** to be continued, and specifying the names of the individuals (that is why I have placed such names in the margin of said Report) and Islands, because they will be very useful, says Father Ambrosio, in guiding the historian overthere. And Father Luis de Morales writes the same thing from Madrid, and to please give all details, no matter how small, in the Reports, because overthere they are like the echo of a heavenly chant. I involved myself, as I said, once the sloop was gone, to write this Report, and I thought at the time that I would soon finish it, but I could not do so until the beginning of this month of May. After it was read during the consultation, it is now being copied, as is, by 4 different copyists at the same time, and they are very busy because it contains 16 sheets full of my bad handwriting.² And I did not put a date on it, in case I had a chance to add something outstanding, until it is completely transcribed and the necessary copies have been revised; then, I will place my bad signature on them. In the meantime, I am observing, and noting what is going on here, but as it is not something that must necessarily go in this report, I will keep it for next year's report.

Well, as I was saying, when I saw myself short of time and with enough to do, writing the Report and letters, etc. I begged Father Gerardo, because I have no-one else to do it with the study and application that his Reverence uses, to please do me the favor of re-writing those points, placing them in his usual manner, in a letter addressed to Y.R., regarding the things that Y.R. ought to ask for in Madrid on behalf of this Mission and Christian community. Said Father did so, and he has just shown me the letter with said points and things that we need, and that Y.R. should carry out for us, and I beg Y.R. for the love of the Lord to please forgive me for so many impertinences, but Y.R., being such an expert Mariano, will know what to add, or remove, the better to substantiate everything, and the rest that Y.R. may add that may be necessary.³

I add that Y.R. should be pleased to lay great stress on an effective means that can be chosen to take a very good *residencia* to these our Governors of the Marianas, because as long as this is not done, as it should be done, we will never have anything stable, nor will the Christian community become settled as much as His Majesty wishes it to

1 Ed. note: Fr. Pedro de Espinar (see below).

2 Ed. note: However, the two extant copies are said to cover 196 and 218 pages respectively. The original 32 folios must either have been written quite tightly, or, more likely, the additions were quite extensive.

3 Ed. note: He refers, of course, to Doc. 1689B2.

be, and the more so because we have the maxim of Don José de Quiroga, to the effect that "there is no need here of a law, or government, other than what the man in charge of it wishes it to be." And we are fed up with these maxims; in fact, he overloads the Indians, big and small, and of both sexes, with work, and [contributions?] in the types and quantities of all the local products, and other unbearable things, and without payment; I don't know why the poor ones do not flee, or hang themselves, although some of them did leave and a few of them have fled this year within a short time. Everything is deplorable and enough to make us cry, but we can do nothing to remedy the situation, because if we speak to him about some moderation, etc., given that he is very obstinate, he does it worse, which results in more prejudice to the poor people, and everyone else. It is hardly sufficient for me to tell him, when an opportunity presents itself, and with the greatest care and manner possible, and with friendship and goodwill, making him understand that he would make himself more lovable to everyone, but to no avail. He would have his reasons for not getting into serious trouble, but unless I am mistaken, he knows very well that there is a decree prohibiting it; however, unless it be sent to him, or as long as it is not addressed to him, it is a touchy issue to discuss with him, although I am waiting for an opportunity to try again to achieve the purpose.

Whoever succeeds as Governor should rigorously take the *residencia* of his predecessor, although the latter be detained here for one year, as happens to the Governor of the Philippines who finishes his term and is detained for one year and at times more than that for this purpose, but the Governor of the Marianas would not be detained so long, because, if the sloop comes, he can return to Manila when it goes back there, and go on to Mexico, etc.

This is a very important point, in order for this [colony] to take the form that His Majesty desires so much, because otherwise what one Governor does, another undoes, and it is a continuous and perpetual weaving and unravelling, the investments made by His Majesty are frustrated, soldier as well as Missionary perish at the hands of the barbarians who, upon seeing their chance to recover their barbarian freedom, will grab the chance immediately without paying attention to the future prejudice to which they expose themselves, such as paying for it with their life, and even by drowning themselves at sea while fleeing and hanging themselves with their own hands, fearful of being picked up and having to pay for their crimes, fed up with the manual tasks that every day these pitiless Governors load upon them, as is happening now, as a certain Governor thinks that only one thing is immoral, and it is to fornicate, and nothing else is. I will skip over what they did to these soldiers, because they wanted to administer them with unheard of laws and proceedings never used by Governors anywhere else, with so many intolerable impertinences, and haughtiness, that could purify the Saints in Heaven, if they lived under this harsh and bothersome Governor, because he treats them as slaves, or captives on the Barbary Coast, and even worse, as these soldiers say, but they at least, though they work and are mistreated, have enough to eat.

Enough said. I rely for the rest on the contents of the above-said letter by Father Gerardo. Goodbye, time is pressing. May His divine Majesty save Y.R. for us until He

lets us see you and, prostrated upon these floors, lets us kiss your sacred and nuptial ring in this your land and afflicted spouse, the Mariana Church; it has been placed on that finger of your Apostolic hand for the greater glory of God in the progress of said holy and beloved Spouse, anxiously awaiting you here, for the supreme welfare of everyone, who has an interest in your most Illustrious and Venerable life, etc.

Agaña, 18 May 1689.

If Y.R. should think it worthwhile for our Fr. General to see the Report, Y.R. should please order that a copy be made, and should carry it or remit it to Rome, *par hago ha marati*,¹ The distribution of the five copies will be as follows: one for the archive here, one to send to Manila, another to Mexico, one for Madrid, and one asked of me by the Fathers from Germany, for the Emperor, who knows Spanish, and would be infinitely pleased, they say, to see such a Report, although if said Fathers should decide to translate it into Latin, the fifth copy would then be an extra one, though it be in a bad hand I might send it to Y.R., at whose feet there remains submissive,

This forever useless servant,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

[Postscript:]

In the end, the copy in question is being sent to the Emperor in Spanish, not in Latin (because they find its translation difficult) care of his confessor, to whom they remit it, and the Emperor, they say, will very happily discuss it with the Spanish Ambassador. So, Y.R. will please accommodate yourself with the copy sent to Father Magino [Sola] if Y.R. be still in Mexico; otherwise, in Madrid with the copy addressed to Father Pedro de Espinar, Procurator General of the Indies in that Court.

[Address:] To Father Antonio Xaramillo, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines, etc. at Madrid.

1 Ed. note: Chamorro phrase.

Document 1689D

Letter from Fr. Zarzosa to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Marianas 22 May 1689

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Note: This letter, or report, was written independently and somewhat in opposition to a similar report by Fr. Bustillo, the new Superior (see Doc. 1689C).

A criticism of Quiroga's government in 1688-89

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

*Pax Christi ett**

Esta carta aparte escribo a V.R.^a para darle noticia del genio estravagante del Governador Don Joseph de Quiroga, y para que considerando V.R.^a de espacio los puntos, que en ella se contienen, se sirva de solicitar se nos embie un Governador de las prendas, que requiere este puesto tan apartado del influxo, que puede darle su Magd., en los casos que pueden ocurrir, disponiendo esta materia de suerte, que sin nombrar Persona determinada, tengamos un Governador que cumpla con las obligaciones de su puesto, y tenga a los Sacerdotes aquel respeto, que por su dignidad se merecen.

Y comenzando por algunas particularidades, que an sucedido despues que le restituyeron el baston, digo: que este Cavallero no es aproposito no solo para este gobierno, sino para ninguno otro, porque con el azar, que a tenido deste levantamiento está como enagenado, y fuera de sí, aunque muy frio, y dispierto [sic] para todo lo que tendiese a vanidad, y estimacion de su Persona. Yre contando algunos casos particulares que califiquen esta verdad.

El mismo dia que le restituyeron el baston, salio de la fuerza para ir al Pueblo de los casados deste Presidio, a no se que diligencia: no avia dado quatro pasos fuera de la fortaleza, quando reconociendo que nadie le acompañaba, como un leon desatado volvio a la fuerza, y delante de todos los soldados comenzo a dar grandes voces, diciendo: que milicia era aquella; que como no tenian repeto a su Governador; y le dexavan ir solo? con otras palabras bien asperas, y desabridas, que alterando notablemente los animos de los soldados calaron todos las cuerdas resueltos a matarle. Hallose presente a este caso el Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, y fue bien menester todo su valor y prudencia para sosegar los soldados, y que no sucediese alguna desgracia: mandá que 20 hombres de los que no avian tenido parte en el levanta-

miento acompañasen al Gobernador hasta tanto que el despusiese otra [cosa]. Fue este uno de los lanzes mas apretados en que se a visto este Presidio y que mas confirmó, ó acrecentó en el pecho de los soldados el odio, que tenían al Gobernador, conociendo por esta accion, y furia intempestiva el rescoldo de indignacion, que contra ellos tenía, y añadian: si este hombre despues de tres meses de prision con grillos tiene esta soberbia, y altivez, que hara si se ve con socorro de Balandra? que castigos no executara en nosotros, quando se ve asistido de los socorros de fuera, y de gente que viniendo vana gloriosa con el titulo de libertadores del Gobernador, y vasallos leales del Rey; les provoca naturalmente acá el nombre de traicion? Estos y otros muchos discursos hacian, y no mal fundados, temiendo su ruina y perdicion; y estos mismos les incitaban a intentar y poner por obra la del Gobernador; pero fue Dios servido que por las buenas diligencias, brio, valor y prudencia del Capitan se sosegasen, y el Gobernador cayendo despues en la quenta conoció el disparate que avia hecho, y aun tuvo hartos rezelos de que le sucediese alguna desgracia.

El origen de todos estos alborotos, viene muy de atras[,] desde el gobierno de Esplana, que hallandose falto de Indios por las muchas faenas de su genio, a consumido a estos pobres soldados a puros trabajos, haciendolos salir a sementeras y chiqueros de puercos desde que Dios amanecia hasta que cerraba la noche. Abominaba Don Josef destos dictámenes de Esplana, y en lugar de poner remedio a semejantes desordenes, luego que partio Esplana a Manila, que quedó con el mando fue prosiguiendo y continuando con mayor rigor aquellos mismas faenas, sin darles lugar a resollar, ni a tomar un poco de descanso, con tanta desesperacion de los pobres soldados, que maldecían a gritos el día en que nacieron, la tierra que habitavan, y los Padres que los engendraron; y añadian, que mas quisieran estar en las mas morras de Berberia que en las islas Marianas, porque en aquellas aunque trabajasen, tendrian sus horas de descanso y les darian bien de comer, y que aca les faltava uno y otro. De aqui se originó el que varias voces intentasen el matar al Gobernador, de que Dios le libró milagrosamente, hasta que por ultimo desesperados, y como fuera de sí le prendieron y pusieron prisiones. No alavo, ni nadie tendra por buena una accion tan indigna e infame como prender a un Gobernador que representa la Persona del Rey; pero es cierto que de lo dicho, y otras cosas que e savido a tenido mucha culpa dicho Gobernador porque los soldados haviesen cometido tan grande desacierto.

Este lance de la fuerza, que e referido, y el aver caido en otros yerros, de que le an avisado los Padres, en lugar de corregir, y morigerar [sic = mejorar] su condicion, le an hecho mas duro y terco en sus dictámenes, sintiendo en extremo qualquier aviso que le dan los Padres deseosos de su mayor bien, y de que no se vuelva a perturbar la paz, y tranquilidad, que con no pocos desvelos nuestros se ba continuando: y es cierto que si tan a tiempo no ubiera llegado la Balandra, esto se ubiera perdido, y acavado.

Dos circunstancias milagrosas e de representar a V.R en el socorro de la Balandra. La primera el que no llegase dicha Balandra antes que le quitasen las prisiones, y restituyesen el baston: porque algunos de los mas culpados (que ni querian composicion ni admitir socorro sino alzarse con la tierra) tenían ya concertado de darle con caravinazo al Gobernador dentro de la fuerza, luego que tuvieran noticia de que avia llegado la Balandra. El discurso que hacia era este: en primer lugar nos vemos ya totalmente libres del gobierno de Don Josef, que tanto aborrecemos: en segundo lugar tenemos por muy probable, de que llegando la noticia de su muerte a los que de nuevo vienen a socorrer al Gobernador y restituirle a su puesto, an de desmayar, y escusar el saltar en tierra; porque si el fin que les podia alentar a desembarcar en tierra era restituir al Gobernador, estando este muerto, no pueden conseguir el fin que pretenden, y forzosamente a de cesar el desembarcar, medio que no les es ya de provecho para conseguir el fin que de-*

seavan; y por el consiguiente tanpoco an de descargar en tierra el socorro que traían para el dicho Governador, porque no lo an de entregar a quien a alzado con la tierra; y de aqui inferian por cosa muy probable, que llegando a su noticia la muerte del Governador, se volverian a Manila sin intentar cosa en contra de su deslealtad. No iba fuera de camino este discurso, pero Dios con su alta providencia dispuso, que seis dias antes que llegase la Balandra, se estovase semejante maldad, dandole medio al Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez porque pusiese en libertad al Governador, intento que muchos dias antes no poco le desvelava, discurrendo los medios mas suaves, que podian conducir a su execucion.

La segunda circunstancia milagrosa que sucedio, despues de restituido el Governador a su puesto, fue la llegada de dicha Balandra, que con el socorro de soldados y marineros que desembarcò en tierra, y con la presencia del Sargento mayor Don Joan de Medrano, y Almirante Lezcano, fue de mucho aliento porque se prendieran otros tres malhechores, y los arcabuceasen; y echando prisiones a otros catorze los desterraron a Manila, donde a buen librar iran a las Galeras. Y asi todos concuerdan, que la llegada de la Balandra fue el total remedio para la composicion, y ajuste destes alvornos, porque segun iban las cosas, a otro levantamiento la primera diligencia, que hicieran los amotinados fuera quitar a Don Joseph la vida y alzarse con la tierra. Pero no obstante que la llegada de la Balandra sosego los animos en quanto a nuevos alvornos, no empero en quanto a otras resoluciones, en alguna manera mas dañosas, y perjudiciales, a que no fuera facil poner el conveniente remedio. Considerando el Governador la falta de bastimentos, por averse perdido las sementeras, determino que los soldados hicieran otras muy grandes de nuevo: y sin atender que el rescoldo de la conspiracion pasada no estava del todo apagado, instava mucho, en que se hiciesen estas sementeras: sentian los Padres estas nuevas resoluciones, y no se atrevian a manifestarle su parecer, por la dureza de juicio, que tiene, que parece no a sacado desta prision otra cosa, que confirmarse mas en ella; pero dispusolo Dios mejor, valiendose de la piedad de un buen soldado, que vino en la Balandra para estorvar el que le quitasen la vida al Governador con veneno. Hallose este soldado en conversacion donde asistian tres deste Presidio, los quales cansados de los trabajos pasados, y viendo la resolucion del Governador de hazer nuevas sementeras, intentavan hacer con industria, lo que ya no podian por medio de las armas: resolvieronse todos tres a dar veneno al Governador en la comida: disimulo con ellos este soldado, que e dicho, y quando nadie le vieron nos vino a dar parte al P. Miguel de Aparicio y a mi; y disponiendo con prudencia las materias, disuadimos al Governador (sin darnos por entendidos) de que por entonces no convenia que los soldados hiciesen sementeras, sino que se encargasen de los Indios en varios partidos: hizose asi; y teniendo ya concluido este punto, llamamos aparte a los complices en este delito, y poniendoles por delante muchos y graves inconvenientes, los quales aviendolos bien considerado desistieron de su intento, y arrepentido, nos pidieron perdon, y que guardasemos el secreto: aseguramosles, que no se sabia, ni correrian peligro sus Personas, con que del todo se sosegaron; pero no nos atrevimos aun sin dar parte de las Personas, a manifestar al Governador este intento, por conocer, que seria bastante a quitarle el juicio, que le tiene lleno de mil apreensiones quimericas, y de otros muchos embarazos, que no es facil explicarlos en la brevedad de una carta.

En estos, y otros muchos peligros se a visto, y de todos ellos le a librado Dios por medio de los Padres, pero el dicho governador, digolo asi es tan ingrato, que aunque los reconoce en su interior no los manifiesta en lo publico por no decir, y confesar que nos es deudor, pero lo cierto es que no los puede negar, porque son notorios y lo publican a voces los soldados. El primer dia del motin, que se retiro a Casa, le venian siguiendo los reveldes caladas las cuerdas, y llegando uno muy cerca de su Persona, alzado ya el gatillo de la escopeta para tirarle, se abrazo con Don Joseph el Padre Gerardo, y el soldado

se detuvo, venerando la Persona de dicho P. Gerardo, y diciendo que por su respeto no lo matava; y todos los amotinados decian a voces en la Yglesia, que ellos no tenia nada en contra del Rey N. Sor. por quien derramarian toda la sangre de sus venas; pero que no querian por Governador a Don Joseph de Quiroga; y levantando mas el grito decian, que los Padres los governasen, y les obedecerian como esclavos, a quanto les mandasen. Es cierto, que era admiracion el respeto y reverencia que en medio de su mayor furia tubieron siempre a los nuestros, que a no ser asi se hubiera perdido infaliblemente la Mission.

Esto es en suma lo que puedo brevemente referir a V.R.^a acerca de los peligros en que se a visto esta Mission, y la vida de Don Joseph. Vamos aora a las particularidades de su genio, que son tantas, y tan exquisitas, que haran perder los estrivos al hombre mas cuerdo: porque si estas estravagancias las usara un hombre de vida, y costumbres depravadas, no nos causara admiracion; pero que un hombre que frequenta dos vezes en la semana los sacramentos, descubra a cada paso tantas ideas fantasticas de vanidad, sin dejar de la mano **los libros de Santa Teresa** y el repetir a cada paso, yo no vine a otra cosa **que a seguir mi vocacion**, es materia o para apararnos la paciencia, o para decirle con libertad cristiana muchos desengaños, que le escuezan. En tantas ocasiones como se an ofrecido de hablar acerca de las diligencias, que se hicieron en Manila para que le nombrasen Governador, y de lo bien que se avia escrito de su Persona, y hechos a Madrid, jamas nos a dado el menor agradecimiento, juzgando que eso, y mucho mas merece, y que no lo pedimos en Manila por otro motivo, sino porque lo aviamos menester.

Luego que salio de la prision quiso divertir sus melancolias, haciendo varios **rumicaos** a varios partidos, y para dar a entender a los Indios, que es el mayor **Magarrabi** de toda la isla, lleva por delante un clarin ridiculo y mucha comitiva de soldados cinco delante y otros a la cola del cavallo; llegando a tanta soberbia que en estas ocasiones considera [=concede?] a los Padres para que se bayan a holgar, pero yo por mi cargo de Rector de Agaña, no lo e permitido, y me [a] en esto obligado a embiarle un recaudo con el P. Antonio Cerezo, diciendole que quando me embie otro cavallo me ire a pasear con su Merced, y que advierta que los Sacerdotes de Christo, no son sus esclavos para llevarlos a la cola de su cavallo. A este recaudo dio grandes satisfacciones, diciendo, que su intento no era ese, sino que me acompanaran primero el Capitan con los soldados, y que despues de aver yo llegado al Pueblo, iria su Merced a cavallo. Con la ocasion deste recaudo, y por cierto repiquete que tuvo el P. Zerezo con dicho Governador le dixo el Padre que si le dava licencia, le diria como su Confesor algunos desengaños, y los reparos que hacian los soldados, y los que no lo eran acerca de su Persona; y concedida esta licencia, soltó Dios su ira, y le dixo quanto acerca de sus cosas se avia notado, desde el año de 79 que saltó en tierra: v. g. **acerca de sus Cavallerias, de su vocacion, de que no venia mas que para llevar el misal de los Padres, de que todo el bastimiento de la isla lo queria abarcar, para que los Padres le fueran a pedir limosnas: de que los Indios no se atrevian a traer un razimo de plantanos a nuestra Casa, porque decian se enojava el Governador;** y a este tono le fue diciendo otras infinitas cosas, que en todas lineas se avian notado, y en particular de la poca estima que haze de los Padres, para que los Indios se persuadan, que él es el todo de la isla. Oyo todo esto con harta impaciencia el Governador; echose en la cama, y tiró la gavardina, diciendo, que todo aquello eran aprehensiones nuestras. Despidiose el P. Zerezo, y nos contó muy por menudo todo lo que avia dicho al Governador, que nos quedamos admirados de oirle. Mas de todos estos avisos, no sacó otra enmienda, que proseguir en sus treze, como dicen, y ostentar mas la soberania de su puesto, de que està tan vano, que le parece que tiene el Virreinato de Nápoles, o el gobierno de Flandes, intitulandose en las licencias que da para pasar a Manila a los soldados, Governador y Capitan General de Marianas; y aunque se lo an advertido responde que tiene licencia del

Rey para serlo, no admitiendolo Esplana: y replicandole que de donde save que Esplana no lo a admitido? responde que la razon misma lo dicta, pues se fue a Manila.

Los dias pasados le presentó el P. V. Prov. Bustillo un[a] silla, y porque yo le presente otra a Don Joan de Medrano, que no tenia en que sentarse, no quiso tener en su Casa la del P. Vice Provincial y la embio al P. Tilpe a Agat, diciendo que a su Merced no le faltava de que hazer sillas; y al punto mando hazer dos de baqueta de moscova [rather vaqueta de Morocco], y gravó en una dellas las armas reales, con labores de seda de varios colores, y la estreño el Jueves Santo.

*Todos los dias que viene a Missa, manda que se pongan los soldados en ala, y que le batan la vandera, y al volver se haze lo mismo. Rabia por que los Padres le den Señoria, pero ninguno se le a dado ni se la dará, hasta tener la patente de Capitan General; y porque visitandole el P. Gerardo le dixo Merced, le respondi[.] Entre V. Señoria, P. Gerardo.—Tubo muchas desazones con el P. Gerardo en el tiempo de Su Gobierno, y diciendole el P. que tratara su Merced de guardar las ordenanzas del Señor Don Joan de Vargas, respondi: que el gobierno de Marianas no estava sugeto al de Filipinas, y dado caso que lo estuviera, no tenia obligacion de observar dichas ordenanzas, que no eran del Señor D. Joan de Vargas, sino dictámenes sugeridos del P. Xaramillo. Valiente razon! Lo mismo podia decir aunque viera la firma del Rey, si supiera que otro dictava las dichas ordenanzas, y hiciera muy mal sino las obedeciera. Y por lo que dizisteis del P. Xaramillo, sepa V.R^a que este **Guningumio** no a podido tragar su asignacion de V.R^a (a quien no cozera de nuevo esta novedad) y a mostrado mal gesto q[uando] se trata desta materia: bien save V.R^a el porque, y yo tambien.*

El deseo que tiene de gobernar es imponderable, y cierto que si tubiera entendimiento ninguna cosa menos avia de desear, sino retirarse donde pudiera servir con quietud a Dios, libre de tantas pensiones como aqui tiene, y del odio de los soldados, que ingenuamente confieso a V.R^a, le aborrecen de corazon; y es cierto, que en ninguna ocasion pudiera mejor retirarse a servir a Dios, que en las circunstancias presentes, asi por tener bien acreditado su partido en materia de valor con las conquistas de Saipan, Tinian, y Rota, como por la circunstancia deste levantamiento, y odio que le tienen los militares, dando por razon, que no quiere exponer otra vez esta Christiandad a semejante peligro; mas lo menos que le pasa por la imaginacion es dejar el gobierno, y este ansia de permanecer en el, es tan grande, que aun a los mismos Indios no se les esconde.

*Dixome los dias pasados que seria bien embiar en la Balandra dos padres a Manila y otro a Mexico, para que fuesen procuradores de la mission, y que su Merced los sustentaria: yo le respondi que por aora no podia ser lo que su Merced pedia, y que si vinieran 12 Padres todos eran menester para asistir a los Indios en biniendo el socorro de gente, que los a de conquistar, y restituir a esta isla; fuera de que aunque estuvieran dichos Padres en Manila, y Mexico, no se avian de encargar del situado del Campo, y que ya estava eso por muchos inconvenientes. A esto me dio grandes quejas, diciendo que no cuidando los Padres del situado, no puede el Presidio tenerlo cabal, ni cumplido, y que cada año se iria arrivando. Y le respondi los soldados, aun los Cabos deste Presidio nos an obligado a esta resolucion, pues conociendo ser verdad lo que V. Merced afirma, nos llamavan de ladrones; y aun estuve por decirle: mañana vendra otro que gobierne, y diga, que escribia al P. **Francisco Salgado una Carta, como si fuera a un negro; pero me reprime, y le desengañe en esta materia. Es cierto que por los inconvenientes, que V.R^a save, no conviene que este a nuestro cargo el situado de los soldados, pero tambien lo es, que este Presidio a de padecer mucho, no teniendo quien con legalidad les embie de Mexico el socorro, que el Rey le da: y la experiencia nos enseña, que lo emos de lastar [=lascar?] nosotros, y que nos an de pedir los ojos***

de la cara, como lo e experimentado este año, que de noche y de día no se vacia la Casa de soldados, diciendo venga esto, venga lo otro, con tan intolerable molestia, que estamos ya aburridos de tantas peticiones; y lo peor de todo es que no se puede del todo excusar, porque sino lo damos de grado, nos lo hurtaran, como lo han hecho no pocas veces, sin aver quien ponga remedio a semejante intolerancia: y quien en esta materia de pedir se avantaja a todos es el mismo Governador Don Joseph, que parece no piensa en otra cosa que en averiguar lo que tenemos en la despensa, para embiarlo a pedir. Muchas cosas le e dado este año por no chocar de una vez, y otras le e negado; y estos confirme resolucion de si me pide alguna cosa en viniendo la nao, embiarle a decir que se pase con lo que el Rey le da, y nos dexé vivir en paz porque de no moderarse, nos irimos todos a Filipinas. Tenga V.R.^a por cierto, que se lo embiare a decir, y se lo dire cara a otra si me da algunas queexas, que quien no tiene verguenza para molestarnos, no la a de aver de nuestra parte, para darle a entender sus proserias. Yo e hecho tambien proposito firmissimo de no pedirle nada de su situado, porque no tenga ocasion de decir, que si el nos pide, tambien nosotros le pedimos.—

*El deseo que tiene de perpetuarse en este Gobierno se puede encarecer, con palabras, y a cada paso nos lo da a entender, diciendo, que ninguno que no tenga su vocacion, no es a proposito para Marianas; y es cierto que por no darle de nuestra parte ocasion de quebrar con nosotros, no le e respondido: qualquiera que tubiere deseos de andar, es muy a proposito para estas islas, que esta, y no otra es su vocacion de V. Merced. Con estas ideas que tiene de gobernar, fundió de plata un grande escudo, donde gravó las armas de Quiroga y Losada, para sellar las provisiones que da: y porque en una ocasion el Secretario, que le asiste, no imprimió bien el sello en la oblea de una provision que dava, se impacientó mucho, y le dio muchos gritos, diciendole que de aquel la suerte y modo de sellar, no sobresalian en la oblea los tres lagartos, que son las armas de Losada; y de aqui tomo asilla para declararle los timbres, y blasones de las dos Casas de Quiroga, y Losada, con otras infinitas vanidades, de que el Secretario, **Mattheo de Ibarra** (que es harto entendido) quedo aturdido haciendose cruces de ver tanta locura, y vanidad en un hombre, que se precia de virtuoso, y temeroso de Dios.*

*Llevado destas mismas ideas de gobierno perpetuo a embiado a pedir a Mexico una bazilla de plata de valor de 500 pesos, y un Relox para el Campo de los mas exquisitos que hallare, aunque cueste tres mil pesos; advirtiendole al P. Magino [Sola], que en los gastos deste relou, no quiere que entre el situado de los Padres.—Brava boveria! como si fuera necessaria esta advertencia, o tubieran los Padres obligacion de gastar de su situado, para concurrir a las vanidades, y boverias que se le ofrecen. Se podía decir deste hombre, lo que dixo un Politico en España de un Cavallero, que tenia un buen puesto en la milicia: **Señor, ese cavallero es el mayor tonto, que sustenta el Rey.***

*Con estas mismas aprehensiones deste gobierno fantastico, se a dexado decir, que en viniendo la nao **Santo Christo de Burgos**, no a de admitir todo el socorro de soldados que embia el Virrey de Mexico, sino los que a el le parecieren mas a proposito; y menos a los **Capitancillos**, que serán quatro vanillos hijos de **Mercadelillos** de Mexico: con este desprecio habla dellos. El motivo que tiene para decir este dicho, lo discurren algunos de los nuestros, y es: que como este Governador esta vano, y fantastico, no quiere que aya en Marianas Persona de quien se haga caso y estimacion sino es de la suya; y a trueque de ser el unicamente el estimado y respetado, dara por muy bien empleado el verse sin tales Personas en Marianas, (rodeado de Zaramullos) aunque padisca el rezelo y miedo de otro levantamiento, del qual no dudo sino se admitieran tales Personas. Discurren mas los Padres que el Governador, conociendo las impertinencias de su natural a todos insufrible, conoce con evidencia, que ninguna Persona de suposi-*

cion puede venir a Marianas, a quien no le desagraden sus dictámenes, y que por esta razon teme algun choque con dichos Capitanes, los quales o por escrito o pasando a Manila, verificaran, y calificaran por ciertas las quejas, que de su Gobierno tienen todos los soldados. Todo esto discurren los nuestros, y yo lo tenia muchos dia[s] avia premeditado; mas la principal razon que yo hallo por no querer recibir los Capitanes, es el rezelo que tiene de que los an de estimar mas que a su Persona, como sucedio con D. Joan de Medrano, (de quien despues hablaré) y juntamente siente mucho, que tales Personas conoscan el conjunto de tanta vanidad con tanta frecuencia de sacramentos: tanta soberania y deseo de mandar, con decir que no vino sino a llevar el misal de los Padres, y servir de Monacillo etc Esto es lo que le aprieta la zandalia, y esto siente que lo conoscan personas seglares de suposicion, que de los padres se le da muy poco el que lo reparen, y menos se le da que lo murmuren los zaramullos.*

Sobre esta resolucion de no admitir los Capitanes e hablado al P. Vice Provincial, y le e dicho, que si llega el caso, le diga con toda resolucion, que no tiene facultad para no admitir todo el Presidio que le embia su Magd., y principalmente los Capitanes y que advierta su Merced, que si no los admite desampararemos la Mission: y si el P. Vice Provincial no gusta decirselo, se lo dire yo y añadiré: sepa V. Merced que lo que conserva los soldados en las leyes de la milicia, y en el debido respeto a sus Governadores, son los Cavos, y gente de importancia que a estos les asisten, y le hazen espaldas; con cuyo valor y prendas se refrenan las insolencias de los particulares; y que por no tener V. Merced gente desta calidad, le a sucedido la desgracia, de que tanto se lamenta. Sepa tambien V. Merced que no es eterno, y que mañana se puede morir; y siendo esto cierto, vea si falta su Persona quien entrara a suplir sus vezes? Quien se encargara del gobierno? Un zaramullo azotado, o quitado de la horca? Un hombre de pocas obligaciones, a quien no respeten, ni obedescan los soldados, quedandoles licencia ampla para sus desafueros, se venga de una vez a perder la mission? Todo esto le dire si se ofrece el lanze, y aparte le contare si fuere necesario, como lo quisieron matar con veneno, para que de una vez se desengañe, que no es a proposito para gobernar, y se resuelva a irse, o a admitir los dichos Capitanes para asegurarse del todo.—Certifico a V.R^o que no acavo de admirar la poca capacidad deste Cavallero, y deseo de gobernar, aviendole sucedido un lanze tan apretado, junto todo esto con las inconsecuencias, que todos sabemos. Brava desgracia de Mission! y notable cuchillo de palo para nuestro tormento! Dios por su misericordia nos embia quien con Christiandad, y cortesia gobierne.

Añada V.R^a sobre todas estas prendas tan plausibles, a descubierto un genio de malicioso que ay cosa por minima que sea de que no se recate, y sospeche. A todos teme, de todos se rezela, todo lo averigua, procurando saver, e inquirir todo quanto hablan de su Persona; y lo peor de todo es, que muchas vezes oye bien de su derecho, porque los soldados no se descuidan en esta parte, y se rezelan muy poco de hablar, conociendo el miedo que les a cobrado. Hazese despreciable para con ellos, porque o sea por agasajo fingido, o por darles a entender que no les tiene mal afeto, se hace muy comun entre ellos, llamandoles a su Casa para que canten Xacaras, para que bailen, con que con esta comunicacion tan frecuente, y con averle ya una vez perdido el respeto, hazen el dia de oy muy poco caso de su Persona, y se ban muchos sin licencia a los Pueblos que quieren a pasearse, sin tener valor para castigar [sic] semejante atrevimiento.

[Major Medrano and his short stay in Guam]

La fineza, que hizo Don Joan de Medrano de dexar a Manila por asistirle, se le a pagado con mucha ingratitud: porque aunque es verdad, al principio se alegro mucho con su venida, por no aver pasado

mas que seis días, que le avian quitado las prisiones, y juzgar que necesitava de su asistencia, para reprimir la insolencia de los amotinados; con todo luego que reconoció el lugar y estimación que se hizo con los soldados Don Joan de Medrano, se sintió formidablemente, juzgando, según por los efectos se coligia, que toda aquella estimación y amor de los soldados, cedía en descreto [sic] de su persona: de aquí resultó el no darle mano en muchas cosas, y estorvarle otras pertenecientes a su oficio, que murmuravan los soldados, y el Don Joan se dava de la trampa, y aun estava muy arrepentido de aver venido a Marianas.

Con ocasión de estos disgustos, se venia todos los mas días Don Joan a mi aposento, y allí de represa soltava contra el Gobernador, todo lo que el reparava, y todo lo que oía a los soldados: pero yo con la experiencia, que tengo de los que an pisado el suelo Filipino, me iba con grandissimo tiento, (y lo mismo hacían los Padres), y sin murmurar del Gobernador, procurava consolar a Don Joan; hasta que un día por el discurso de la conversacion, me vi obligado a declararme: porque irritado dicho Sargento mayor de las impertinencias de Don Josef (que cierto eran demasiadas) me dixo que aviamos los dos de informar al Rey nuestro Señor, y al Visitador de Filipinas, como Don Josef no era a proposito para este gobierno, y que tambien aviamos de informar a V.R. porque pusiese el hombro a esta materia: yo le respondí:] Señor mio, que siento lo disgustos, y pesadumbres de V. Merced, lo puede creer de mi amistad, y afecto a su Persona, pero que yo aya de informar al Rey nuestro Señor, o al Visitador contra Don Josef desengañese V. Merced, que no hare tal así por mi estado, ageno de semejantes informes, como porque tenemos expreso mandato de nuestro Padre General, para que ni en pro, ni en contra de ningun Gobierno informemos, por los muchos inconvenientes que trae esta materia: y añadió, y porque si V. Merced mañana fuera Capitan General destas islas, y estuviera aquí otro Sargento mayor mi amigo, a quien desagradase el gobierno de V. Merced, juzgara V. Merced que haria yo contra su Persona lo mismo que V. Merced me aconseja aora contra Don Josef. No me puedo sacar desta respuesta por mas diligencias que hize, y cada día me confirmo mas en el recato, con que emos de tratar a semejantes Personas, y me asiente admirablemente el dictamen de S. Francisco Xavier, que aconseja, que a los Gobernadores los tratemos con aquel recato, como si algun día ubieran de venir a ser grandissimos enemigos nuestros.*

Con esta ocasión tambien dare a V.R. noticia de la Persona de Don Joan de Medrano. Es este Cavallero de bastante capacidad, como V.R.* conoce, muy cortés, y afable; y con esta cortesía y afabilidad nos a tratado todo el tiempo que estuve aquí; pero con el tiempo, que es el mayor maestro para conocer los hombres, e reparado, que no le pesa de aver nacido, y le e reconocido notables humos de hombre pequeño, junto con unos deseos vehementes de ser Capitan General destas islas. No ay hombre cuerdo a cavallo, y particularmente los que an vivido en Filipinas, donde se les pega la roña de medrar, y conseguir sus pretensiones, caiga quien cayere.—Luego que saltó en tierra, juzgo que en afianzar bien su partido consistia toda su estimación en adelante; y así juntava a un mismo tiempo gran afabilidad, junta con el rigor quando lo pedía el lance y ocasión, particularmente en las cosas pertenecientes a la milicia, por cuya falta, o descuido les dio muy buenos palos a algunos de los que sobresalieron en el motin; y en particular un día corrió con la espada a un Ayudante, que fue uno de los que mas aversos se mostraron a Don Josef.—Con la muestra destes brios, y con la maña de usarlos a tiempo, y ocasión, de que si alguno se alterara, tubiera quien le socorriera así de los soldados que truxo de Manila como de Lezcano, y de los Marineros, en cuya presencia executara estos lanzes, vino a cobrar entre los soldados opinión de hombre de valor, y resolución, sin perder un punto del concepto que avian hecho, de que era hombre afable, y que aquel castigo no le salia de mala voluntad: reconocia Don Joan este concepto, en que le tenían los*

*soldados, y no perdiendo punto de perfeccion para su negocio, luego que corregia el yerro les mostrava mucha afabilidad, y agrado, con que los dexava totalmente satisfechos, y muy pagados, y afectos a su Persona. Hallavase el Governador presente a estos lanzes, y como no se po[dia] dar por entendido, por ver que justamente castigava las faltas, rallavale las tripas el ver que el Sargento mayor tuviese valor para executar, lo que el por lo arriba apuntado, ya no se atrevia, y le estorbaba juntamente la estimacion, y amor que al Don Joan le cobravan los soldados; como si esto le quitara el gobierno, o no cediera en mas seguridad de su Persona. Con semejantes artificios se grangeo estimacion Don Joan de Medrano, y le lloran el dia de oy los soldados por averse ido a Manila, (de que despues hablare) pero yo dudo mucho de sus brios, por muchas cosas que a mis solas noté y observé en su Persona con grandissimo cuidado, y viene a sacar dellos, que todo era oropel, y nada de sustancia. No me puedo declarar mas acerca deste punto, por el Peligro, que corre una carta; solamente digo que no es aproposito para estas islas en el exercicio de qualquiera puesto: porque como V.R.^a sabe, esta tierra quiere hombres de robusta salud, exercitados en trabajos: prompts para acudir a todos tiempos a las necesidades, que ocurren, por mar, por playas, por montes: sufridores de hambres, y demas incomodidades, que trae una tierra tan desamparada, y falta de medios. Ninguna destas circunstancias concurren en Don Joan de Medrano: porque es de complexion delicada, y tan delicada que todo le hacia mal. El puerco no lo podia tragar: gallinas no las avia, y los echava menos: las raizes las aborrecia de corazon, y solamente se sustentava con un poco de arroz, que harto poco ay en la isla, y con beber al dia seis o siete vezes chocolate, gastandole al Governador todo el que tenia, y a nosotros muy buena parte, hasta que conociendole la flor de pedirnos lo **tertio quoque die**, le embie a decir, que si tubiera muchos tibores mios, se los embiara todos, pero que el chocolate de los Padres no se lo podia dar. Quando iba à algun partido si caminaba a pie se cansava, si a cavallo se apeava muy presto, porque decia que le molia los guesos, con que los pobres Indios lo pagavan, llevandole continuamente en hamaca: de aqui le resultó cobrar poco concepto de valiente con esta gente, porque como no juzga la valentia por el corazon, sino por lo que ve, hacia notable burla a sus solas, celebrando la valentia del nuevo **Magarrahi**, que andava en hamaca.*

De todo este conjunto de cosas, y de otros infinitos disgustos, que tuvieron entre sí, el Governador y Don Joan de Medrano, vino a resultar, que el uno al otro no se podian tragar, y lo que mas atormentava al Governador era ver el amor que al Sargento mayor tenian los soldados, y el poco caso que hacian de la Persona de Don Josef, que en esto es notablemente desgraciado: porque si agasaja, dicen que es miedo, y que no le sale de corazon; si reprehende, dizen que es odio, y que tiene muy vivos en su pecho los agravios; y asi no le pueden tragar; no obstante, que reconoce todo esto, herre, que herre que a de gobernar, y que ninguno que no tenga su vocacion, es aproposito para Marianas. — Enfados pues los dos entre sí mismos, no oia Don Joan de Medrano la hora de salir de Marianas, ni el Governador de echarle dellas. Presentole Don Joan un memorial, diciendo, que se hallava con muchos achaques, y que necesitava de ir a Manila a curarse; y aunque es verdad, que los tenia, juzgo que el Governador considerando que esta ida en la Balandra a Manila era para informar contra su Persona, y viendo tambien, que no se la podia negar, porque en la realidad se hallava malo, y aqui no avia regalo, ni medicinas con que asistirle, quizo ganarlo para sí, y gratificarle. Dixole que no le presentase memorial, que el le daria un despacho, embiandole a negocios del Campo con retencion del puesto de Sargento mayor, y que desta suerte iba mas condecorado. Fuera desto le dio una letra de 500 pesos para que pudiera pasar en Manila y le ofrecio mil si volvia con la Balandra, y añadió; que la buelta no seria para quedarse en Marianas, si no gustava dello, sino para volverle a Manila, donde podria tener a su cargo el situado deste Presidio.

Estimole D. Joan el agasajo al Governador, y este quedó muy gustoso de aver dispuesto asi la materia, lo uno porque le echava de Marianas, lo otro porque con este agasajo le parecia, que no a de hablar contra el: mas yo juzgo con muchissimos fundamentos lo contrario; porque como el Sargento mayor no es lerdo, y conoce muy bien que todo esto es para deslumbrar, y que no malicie contra su Persona; y asi por lo que aca nos decia, como por el deseo vehemente que tiene de gobernar, tengo por certissimo, que asi al Governador, como Visitador, a de hablar, y persuadir que Don Josef no es apropiado para este govierno, y que está esta Christiandad a evidente peligro de perderse. Que dira esto, y alegara por su Persona, lo tienen por cierto todos los mas de los nuestros, y aun ninguno duda dello, pero yo dudo, que aunque consigue el que quiten a Don Josef, consiga para sí el Gobierno; porque ninguno de los nustos escribe nada en su abono, ni el Visitador es tan poco experimentado, que no conosca, que Don Joan no es apropiado para semejante puesto; y crea V.R.^a, que a descubierto aqui tales ideas, y dictámenes, que aun peor que Don Josef avia de ser, y en materia de sangre de chinche, y pedirnos lo que se le ofrece, no se llevan el, y el Governador un adarme.

Una de las principales comisiones que lleva el Sargento mayor a Manila, es contra Esplana, pidiendole una notable cantidad de pesos, y otras cosas. Tambien ba contra Lezcano, porque pedia aqui recivo de cosas, que no avia entregado. Acerca de Lezcano escribiré a V.R.^a un papel aparte.

Quisiera concluir las cosas de Don Josef, y no se como hazerlo, porque se ofrece a cada paso tanto material, que no se por donde cortar ni acabar. El otro dia le pidió un soldado, que le sirve de cocinero, licencia para irse a Manila: dixole, que en yendose el se lo llevaria consigo, porque tenia determinacion de pasar a España, y retirarse al desierto a hazer vida solitaria. Yo no se qual esta vocacion deste hombre, ni que mayor desierto que Marianas, para ser ermitano. Muy bien viene todo esto con embiar a pedir a Manila, estrivos plateados, tres esclavos clarineros para que bayan delante del cavallo, a quien esta haciendo un freno muy curioso con todos los hierros de plata; y a Mexico por puntas de Milan, y Flandes.— Mareado considero a V.R.^a de leer tanta maquina de disparates, mas es fuerza referirlos, (que todos es imposible) para que V.R.^a ponga particular enpeño con el Rey nuestro Señor, suplicando a su Magd. se sirva de embiarnos un Cavallero Christiano, y cortés, que nos gobierne con paz, y tenga veneracion a los Ministros Evangelicos: mas en lo que V.R.^a a de poner singular cuidado es, en que se embien ordenanzas para los de aqui governaren, porque no digan, lo que dize este Santo varon, que en Marianas no a de aver mas ordenanzas e instrucciones, que lo que juzgare el que esto gobierna. Lo mismo puede decir de todos los Reynos de su Magd., que si a eso estuvieran sugetos andarian muy bien gobernados.

Por ultimo echo el fallo, y acabo ya, y digo, que lo que a rematado al Governador, y le a hecho perder el credito con todos los que tienen algun discurso, es; la ingratitude con que a correspondido, al Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez Conejo, que le quitó las prisiones, y restituyó a su Puesto. Fue este Capitan la Caveza del motin, y aunque la accion tan indigna que hizo de levantarse contra el Governador que representa al Rey, no se le puede alavar, si se le puede alavar, y aun agradecer el sentimiento que mostro de lo hecho. El yerro fue grande, pero el realze que a dado para dorar ese yerro, el arrepentimiento que a mostrado, y el bien que a hecho a toda esta Christiandad, no tengo palabras que devidamente le puedan encarecer. Certifico a V.R.^a que no es ponderasion quando dixere de su Persona, y prendras [sic]; ni se que hombre ninguno de la Europa, pongame V.R.^a quien quisiera, con tan pocos medios como aqui ai, compusiera mejor las materias, ni les diere mejor corte. Las prendas que concurren en su Persona, de valor, prudencia, secreto, sagacidad, Christiandad, compasion, generosidad, y despejo, no las e conocido iguales en ninguno de quantos e tratado. No son hiperboles estos, sino verdades notorias, que con-

fiesan, y admiran todos quantos Padres tiene el dia de oy la mission, y los mismos soldados no las niegan. Quando restituyo al Governador a su puesto, concitó contra sí la indignacion de todos los mas del Presidio (que no todos fueron traidores), y se expuso varias vezes a peligro que le matasen, arrojandose a las armas de los contrarios, que iban contra el halando las cuerdas, y quitandose las de la mano, molió a palos a muchos dellos, y a quatro arcabuceo, con tanta admiracion de su valor en los contrarios, que todos se le rindieron, temiendo sus bravas resoluciones.

En todo el tiempo de la prision de Don Josef (que el no fue quien le prendio) no tubo pensamiento, que no fuere muy christiano enderezado al bien de la christiandad, y libertad del Governador, ni hizo cosa que no la consultara con los Padres. Cinco vezes libro de muerte al Governador, que intentaron darsela, mientras estava ausente sosegando la isla. Varias vezes se echó a los pies de Don Joseph, diciendo, que si gustava le quitase por su delito la vida, que lo tendria a gran dicha para satisfacer a Dios por su pecado; o que le pusiese dos pares de grillos, con su cadena, por espacio de dies o mas años para escarmiento de los demas. Ninguna destas finezas, ni muestras de arrepentimiento an sido bastantes para que el Governador tenga generosidad para perdonarle con lisura, y sin darle muestras de rezelos, diciendonos que se le reboata la colera en viendolo. En el tiempo de la prision le dio palabra el Governador de que si componia las materias, le perdonaria, y miraria siempre por la seguridad de su Persona, y por esta causa le dio titulo de Aijado, y fue su Padrino en el casamiento que hizo este Capitan con hermana de la muger de Masongsong; y a nosotros nos dixo dicho Governador que todo lo que dispusieramos, y concertariamos con dicho Capitan lo daria por bueno.— Pidionos el Capitan que le aseguramos la vida y perdon para adelante: dimosle palabra dello: holgose el Governador de las diligencias que por este medio hizimos en orden a su libertad, y confirmó nuestra palabra con muchos encarecimientos, diciendo, que el era un barbaro, y que en saliendo de la prision nosotros aviamos de gobernar la isla, y que no avia de hazer cosa por minima que fuese, sin consultar [sic] a los Padres. Todas estas promesas an salido vanas, porque cada dia está mas duro de caveza, mas altivo, y amigo de su parecer. Disimuló con el Capitan, hasta el tiempo de que se fuera la Balandra; y la vispera le llamó, y le dixo que convenia para el bien destas islas, que se fuera a Manila, que el le dará carta de favor para el Visitador, y Governador (era esta carta tan seca, tan mal digerida, y de tan poco enpeño, que vista no dudo el que le diese garrote). Pidióle licencia para despedirse de los Padres, y no se la quiso dar; y asi a las doze de la noche le embarcó para Umatag: el mozo considerando por una parte las finezas que avia hecho por la cristiandad, y por otra viendo esta resolucion repentina, temio alguna zalagarda, y luego que llegó a Umatag saltó en tierra, y se metio en Sagrado en Casa del Padre Basilio. Alborotose mucho el Governador con esta accion: fue a Umatag: hablóle el Capitan con el mayor rendimiento que se puede encarecer, diciendo, que no recelase su Merced de su Persona, que ninguno en la Isla le era, ni seria mas leal servido: que no se avia casado para vivir inquieto, y andar perdido por los montes con su muger expuesto a las inclemencias del cielo, sino para servir a Dios muy de veras; y que sino se satisfacía de lo hecho, y de su palabra, que luego al punto le diese garrote, o lo herrase por su esclavo, que lo tendria a gran dicha. Saltaronsele las lagrimas al Governador, porque no puede dejar de conocer lo mucho que deve al Capitan; pero tanpoco puede olvidar el genio de Gallego menguado, y poco generoso para olvidar de una vez los agravios. **Dexolo en Casa del P. Basilio, y despacho la Balandra a Manila.**

Luego que se fue la Balandra nos dio a todos el Governador con dos quexas de que favoreciamos a un traidor: respondieronle los Padres Vice Provincial, y los demas muy al caso; y yo un dia que le fui a ver, tocandome este punto le dixé mui a las claras mi sentir. En primer lugar que con la accion que avia

intentado de embiarlo a Manila faltava a la palabra de Cavallero, aviendole prometido de asegurarle la vida. 2º faltava tambien a la que nos dio de dar por bueno todo lo que dispusiesemos con dicho Capitan, y consiguientemente hacia que faltasemos a la que le dimos de asegurarle la vida con su Merced. 3º que de aqui resultava que nadie de aqui adelante se fiaria de su Merced, ni de nosotros. 4º El peligro que con semejante accion a toda la Christiandad, y que si otra vez la intentavan, que la avian de lograr, y que de su palabra ni de la nuestra no se avian de fiar mas con este exemplar.

Finalmente por acavar de una vez, digo que nos an pasado tantas cosas con este buen varon, que fuera nunca acabar el escrivir las por menudo, y cansar a V.Rª, que ya estara molido de leer tanto disparate, tan mal concertado y escrito, lleno todo de mentiras; V.Rª supla esta falta y perdone, porque e escrito esta con tanta priesa y fatiga, y como se me venian las especies, que no e tenido lugar de colocarlas donde deven estar, escribiendo esta tan tarde que no e tenido lugar de repararla, ni enmendarla. V.Rª lo suple todo, y vea por ese papel de listas que este Cavo embia a Mexico, si acaso le pasa por la imaginacion ir al desierto a ser ermitaño: en particular repare V.Rª en las doze alabardas que pide, que yo juzgo son para guardia de su Persona quando salga a cavallo; y para que tenga cumplida autoridad embiele V.Rª desde Madrid una carroza con seis cavallos frisones. Dios nos libre de semejantes torres de Babel, y a V.Rª le guarde muchos años como deseo.

Marianas, y mayo 22 de 1689.

Siervo y amigo de V.Rª

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Diego de Zarzosa.

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ.

I write this separate letter to Y.R. to inform you of the extravagant temperament of the Governor, Don José de Quiroga, and for Y.R., after due consideration of the points contained therein, to please solicit for us the despatch of a Governor with the qualities required by this post, so remote from the influence that His Majesty can have upon him, during events that might occur, and arranging this matter in such a way that, without naming a determined person, we may get a Governor who complies with the obligations of his office and give the priests the respect to which they are entitled.

Beginning with some detailed examples that have occurred after they gave him back his staff, I declare that this Gentleman is not suitable not only for this government, but also for any other, because the misfortune that befell him in this uprising has left him somewhat alienated, and outside of himself, although very cold, and alert to anything that might lead to vanity, and self-esteem. I will mention a few special cases that qualify this truth.

On the same day that they gave him back his staff, he left the fort to go to the town where the married men of this Garrison live, on some errand that I do not know about. He had not walked more than four steps outside the fort when he realized that no-one was accompanying him. Like a lion just released he went back to the fort, and before all the soldiers he began to shout, saying: "What army is this? How come you have no

respect for your Governor? And you let him go alone?" with other very harsh and unsavory words, that notably swayed the minds of the soldiers. They were about to give free rein to their emotions and kill him, but Captain Nicolás Rodríguez was present, and used all his courage and prudence to quiet them down, and prevent some misfortune. He ordered 20 men who had not taken part in the uprising to accompany the Governor, until he decided otherwise. This was one of the most risky incidents that this Garrison has seen, one that confirmed, or increased, in the heart of the soldiers the hatred they have for the Governor. This action, and untimely fury, revived the embers of resentment that they held against him, and they were saying: "If a man after spending three months shackled in jail can be so naughty, and haughty, what might he do, once he gets reinforcement from the sloop? What punishments might he not carry out upon us, once he sees himself assisted with reinforcements from outside, with men who might be given the vainglorious title of liberators by the Governor, and loyal vassals of the King, and might provoke us naturally by calling us traitors?" Such words they said and many other convictions were held by them, not badly founded either, as they feared for their ruin and perdition; these convictions themselves incited them toward making an attempt on the life of the Governor. However, God was pleased to have them quiet down, thanks to the good efforts, flair, courage and wisdom of the Captain. Later on, the Governor realized that he had blundered, and even showed real fear that they might do him some harm.

The origin of all these disturbances began way back, during the government of Esplana, who, finding that he did not have enough Indians to do the many chores of his invention, employed these poor soldiers as mere laborers, making them go out to cultivate plantations and tend pigpens, from the break of dawn until sunset. Don José abhorred these decisions of Esplana, but instead of remedying such disorders, after Esplana left for Manila and he took over the command, he pursued and continued with greater rigor those same chores, without giving them time to breathe or take a little rest, at the great despair of the poor soldiers who were shouting curses all day long against the day they were born, the country they lived in, and the Fathers who founded it. And they added that they would prefer to be in the Moorish dungeons of the Barbary Coast than in the Mariana Islands, because overthere at least, though they would have to work, they would get some hours of rest and would be given something to eat, but here they lacked both. This was the origin of an outcry calling for the death of the Governor, but God delivered him miraculously, until at last they became desperate and, acting as if outside of themselves, they seized him and placed him in irons. I am not praising, and no-one should praise, a deed so unworthy and infamous as the arrest of a Governor who represents the person of the King, but what I am saying is true, and other things that I have learned, about the great blame of said Governor, who provoked the soldiers into committing such a great blunder.

This incident at the fort, mentioned above, and his having fallen into other mistakes, which the Fathers pointed out to him, instead of correcting and improving his condition, have made him tougher and stubborn in his decisions, because he is resentful of

any advice given him by the Fathers who only wish his own welfare, and to prevent a disturbance of the peace and tranquility, that are going on amid many worries on our part. And it is true that if the sloop had not so timely arrived, this [colony] would have been lost, and finished.¹

I must point out two miraculous circumstances to Y.R. regarding the succor of the sloop. The first one was that the said sloop did not arrive before they took out his shackles, and gave him back his staff, because some of the more guilty ones (who did not want a settlement nor to accept the succor, but to take over the country) had already agreed to execute the Governor by firing squad inside the fort, as soon as they received notice that the sloop had arrived. The discourse they held was as follows: "In the first place, we are now completely free of the government of Don José, whom we hate so much; in the second place, we think it very probable that those who are again coming to succor the Governor and restitute him to his post, upon hearing of his death, will falter and have an excuse not to step ashore, because if the objective they have in stepping ashore is to restitute the Governor, once he is dead, they cannot pursue the objective they had, and must necessarily stop disembarking, the means which they can no longer take advantage of to achieve their desired purpose. Consequently, there is no reason either for them to unload the succor that they are bringing for said Governor, because they do not have to deliver it to anyone who has taken over the country." From this, they went on to infer that it was very probable that, upon hearing of the death of the Governor, they would go back to Manila without attempting anything against their disloyalty. This discourse was not far-fetched, but God in His high providence arranged that, six days before the arrival of the sloop, such an evil deed was hindered, and a means given to Captain Nicolás Rodríguez to set the Governor free, an attempt that he was very anxious about a few days earlier, when he discussed the softest means that could lead to its achievement.

The second miraculous circumstance that happened, once the Governor was back at his post, was the arrival of said sloop, which, with the reinforcement of soldiers and seamen who disembarked, and with the presence of Sergeant Major Don Juan de Medrano, and Admiral Lezcano, was of much relief because three other evil-doers were arrested, and they were executed with arquebuses; and after placing 14 others in shackles, they exiled them to Manila, where they will likely be sent to the galleys. And so, everyone agrees that the arrival of the sloop was the total remedy for the settlement, and adjustment of these disturbances, because as things were moving toward another uprising, the first action that the mutineers would have taken would have been to take the life of Don José and take over the country. However, in spite of the fact that the arrival of the sloop calmed down the minds as far as new disturbances were concerned, it did not prevent other decisions, some of which were more harmful, and prejudicial, to which it might not be easy to put a remedy. When the Governor noticed the lack of food supplies, on account of the loss of the plantations, he decided that the soldiers

1 Ed. note: In the previous document, Fr. Bustillo disagreed with his assessment of the situation.

would make new and larger ones; and without paying attention to the smoldering remains of the previous conspiracy which was not completely extinguished, he insisted very much on the planting of these crops. The Fathers were sorry about these new decisions, but did not dare to tell him their opinions, on account of the harshness of the judgment that he shows, and it seems that he has derived from his imprisonment only one thing, and it is to become more stubborn in his judgment; however, God arranged it much better, by making use of the piety of a good soldier who came with the sloop to prevent the taking of the Governor's life by poisoning.¹ This soldier found himself in the middle of a conversation in which three men from this Garrison took part. They were tired of the past labors, and when they saw that the Governor had decided to make new plantations, they tried to achieve with cunning what they had been unable to do by means of firearms. All three decided to give poison to the Governor through his food. This soldier, whom I have mentioned, dissembled with them, and when no-one noticed him he came to report to Fr. Miguel de Aparicio and myself. And by arranging subject matters carefully, we convinced the Governor (without revealing our reasoning) that it was not proper then for the soldiers to make plantations, but that they be entrusted to the Indians in various districts. This he did, and after this point had been resolved, we took apart the accomplices and placed before their eyes the great and serious disadvantages of their proposed crime; after due consideration, they desisted from their attempt, and once they had repented, they begged us to forgive them and keep the matter secret. We gave them our word, that it would not become known, that their persons would not be at risk; henceforth, they quieted down completely. However, we did not dare not to report this attempt to the Governor, but without mentioning any names, as we knew that this would be enough for him to lose his mind, which he had so full of a thousand chimerical apprehensions, and with many other obstructions, which are not easy to explain within the confines of a letter.

He has found himself in the midst of these and many other dangers, but God has freed him from all of them by means of the Fathers, but said Governor, I declare, is so ungrateful that although he recognizes it within himself, he does not show it in public, so as not to have to say, or confess, that he owes them something. However, it is true that he cannot deny the dangers, because they are notorious and the outcry of the soldiers is public. On the first day of the mutiny, when he withdrew to our House, the rebels, giving free rein to their passions, pursued him there. One of them, in fact, got very close to his person, and had already cocked the trigger of his shotgun to shoot him, but Father Gerardo embraced Don José, and told him not to kill him out of respect for him. And all the mutineers kept shouting inside the church, that they had nothing against the King our Lord, for whom they would spill all the blood in their veins; however, they did not want Don José de Quiroga as their Governor. And raising their voices even more, they would say that the Fathers should govern them, and they would obey

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo has already said (in the previous document) that Chacón was nothing but a liar, and the incident in question never took place.

them like slaves, doing whatever they asked of them. It is true that it was wonderful to see the respect and reverence they always kept for our people, even in the midst of their worst fury; if it had not been so, the Mission would have infallibly been lost.

In summary, this is what I can briefly tell Y.R. regarding the dangers that this Mission was placed in, and the life of Don José. Let us now take a look at the peculiarities of his temperament, which are many, and so exquisite that they might make the wisest man fly off the handle, because if these extravagances were employed by a man of the world, with depraved habits, it would not cause us any wonder, but this is a man who frequents the sacraments twice a week, but at every step he shows so many fantastical ideas of vanity, though he keeps on hand the book of Saint Theresa and repeats at every step "I did not come here to do anything else but to follow my vocation." It is a matter that makes us, either practice patience, or want to tell him many reproaches with Christian freedom, which might sting him. On as many occasions as offered themselves to speak about the efforts that were made in Manila to have him appointed Governor, and about the good things that had been written to Madrid about his person, and deeds, he has never given us the slightest thank you, judging as he does that he deserves it, and much more, and that we asked for this in Manila for no other reason than it was necessary.—

After he came out of jail, he wished to divert his melancholy by making various *rumi-caos*¹ to various districts, and to make the Indians understand that he is the greatest *Magarrahi*² in the whole Island. He goes preceded by a ridiculous clarion and many soldiers as a retinue, five in front and others at the tail of his horse. His arrogance reached such a height that on these occasions he concedes to the Fathers that they may go along at their pleasure, but I, as Rector of Agaña, have not permitted it, and I have been obliged to send him a warning through Fr. Antonio Cerezo, telling him that when he sends me another horse, I will go for a ride with His Grace, but he is to take note that the priests of Christ are not his slaves, whom he can take along at the tail of his horse. To this warning he replied with great satisfactions, saying that his intention was not that, but that the Captain should accompany me and go first with the soldiers, and then, when I have reached the town, His Grace would go there on horseback. On the occasion of this warning, and for a certain bickering that Fr. Cerezo had with said Governor, the Father told him that if he gave him permission, as his Confessor, he would tell him a few remonstrances, and the objections raised by the soldiers, and non soldiers alike, regarding his person. When this permission was granted, God showed his ire and told him the many things that had been observed regarding his affairs, since the year of 1679 when he stepped ashore, e.g. **regarding his gentlemanly mannerisms, his vocation, his saying that he came only to carry the missal of the Fathers, that he wished to monopolize all the food supplies in the Island, so that the Fathers would have to go to him and beg him for alms, that the Indians did not dare to**

1 Ed. note: Chamorro word meaning: "sorties, tours."

2 Ed. note: Chamorro word meaning: "paramount chief."

bring a bunch of bananas to our House, because they said that the Governor would be angry. And many more things were said to him in this vein, that had been observed in all categories, and specially the little esteem in which he held the Fathers, in order to convince the Indians that he was everything on the Island. The Governor listened to this with obvious impatience; he threw himself on his bed, and pulled the gabardine [covers], and said that all of those were apprehensions of ours. Fr. Cerezo took his leave, and narrated to us in detail everything that he had told the Governor, and we were amazed when he heard him. The result of all this advice was no other improvement than the pursuance of his obstinacy, and a show of more haughtiness in his position, of which he is so vainglorious that he seems to be in charge of the Vice-kingdom of Naples, or the government of Flanders; in the written permits to go to Manila that he gives to the soldiers, he gives himself the title of Governor and Captain General of the Marianas. And although he has been warned [against it], he responds that he has the permission of the King to be such, but that Esplana did not accept it. When he is asked in turn how he knows that Esplana did not accept it, he responds that reason itself suggests it; after all, he did go to Manila.

A few days ago, Fr. Vice-Provincial Bustillo presented to him a chair, and because I presented another to Don Juan de Medrano, who did not have anything to sit on, he did not wish to keep in his house the chair of the Fr. Vice-Provincial and he sent it to Fr. Tilpe in Agat, telling him that His Grace did not lack material to make chairs with, and right there and then, he ordered two chairs to be made with Moroccan leather, upon one of which was engraved the royal arms, with crafted pieces of silk of various colors, which he used for the first time on Maundy Thursday.

On every day that he comes to mass, he orders the soldiers to line up, and to bear the flag; the same thing is done upon returning. He is dying for the Fathers to call him Your Lordship, but none has done it to him so far, and none will in future, not until he holds the patent from the Captain General. And when Fr. Gerardo called on him and called him Your Grace, he answered with: “Come in, Your Lordship, Fr. Gerardo”.— He has had many unpleasant episodes with Fr. Gerardo during the term of the latter, and when the Fr. told His Grace to try and obey the ordinances of Governor Don Juan de Vargas, he answered:

—“The government of the Marianas is not subject to that of the Philippines, and even if it were, I am not obliged to observe said ordinances. They are not from Don Juan de Vargas, but pronouncements suggested by Fr. Xaramillo.”

—“Excellent reason! You could still say the same thing, even though you might see the signature of the King, if you knew that someone else dictated said ordinances, but you would be very wrong if you did not obey them.

—“Regarding what you said about Fr. Xaramillo, Y.R. should know that this *Gun-ingumio*¹ had not been able to stomach your appointment (from whom could he poss-

1 Ed. note: Chamorro word whose meaning I do not know. Perhaps it means “So-and-so.”

ibly have heard this news?) and has shown a wry face when talking about this matter. Y.R. knows why, and I do too.”

The desire he has for governing is inexpressible, and it is true that if he had an understanding, there is nothing else that he should desire less than that, except to retire some place where he could quietly serve God, free from so many toils as he has here, and from the hatred of the soldiers. I can ingenuously confess to Y.R. that they abhor him; and it is true that there is no better occasion for him to retire to serve God than under the present circumstances, not only because he has already been well credited as courageous for his part in the conquests of Saipan, Tinian, and Rota, but also for the circumstance of this uprising, and hatred that the military men have for him, and the reason he could give is that he does not want to expose this Christian community again to a similar danger. However, the last thing that passes through his imagination is to leave the government. This anxiety for remaining Governor is so great that he does not even hide it from the Indians themselves.

A few days ago, he told me that it would be well to send two Fathers aboard the sloop, one to Manila and one to Mexico, to act as procurators for the mission, and that His Grace would maintain them. I answered him that for now it was not possible to do what His Grace wanted, and that even if 12 Fathers came, they were all needed to attend to the Indians that he must conquer, if a reinforcement of men comes, and he brings them back to this Island, besides the fact that even though said Fathers went to Manila and Mexico, they should not be entrusted with the subsidy of the Royal Camp, and that was so, because there were too many disadvantages involved in that. His response was in the form of a great many complaints, for instance, saying that if the Fathers did not take care of the subsidy, he could not maintain the Garrison properly, not with a full complement, and every year it would regress. And I answered that the soldiers, even the officers of this Garrison have forced us to make this decision; indeed, though they knew that what Your Grace says is true, they called us thieves. And I almost told him: “Tomorrow, another Governor will come, and say that he was writing a **letter to Fr. Francisco Salgado, as if he were a negro,**” but I withheld my remark, and remonstrated him on this score.¹ It is true that on account of the disadvantages that Y.R. knows about, it is not suitable for the soldiers’ subsidy to be in our care, but it is also true that this Garrison will also suffer much, by not having anyone who can legally send them from Mexico the succor provided by the King, and that experience has taught us that we have to pay it out, though they might come and ask us for the eyes off our heads, as I have lived through it this year, when the soldiers came to our house day and night, asking for this and asking for that, with such an intolerable bother that we are already fed up with so many requests. The worst of it is that we simply cannot let go of it completely, because if we do not willingly give it, they will steal it from us, as they have done many times, without anyone putting a stop to so much intolerance. And one who ex-

1 Ed. note: This Fr. Salgado was Provincial of the Philippines from 1683 to 1687, and again for 1 week in July 1689.

cels among the rest on this score is none other than Governor Don José himself, who seems not to think of anything else but to check what we have in our store-room, in order to send someone to ask for it. I have given many things to him this year, so as not to irritate him once and for all, but at other times I have refused. Such incidents convinces me to decide that if he continues to ask me for something after the galleon has come, I should send back the message that he should make do with what the King gave him, and to let us live in peace, because if he does not control himself, we will all go to the Philippines. Y.R. can be sure that I will send him that message, and I will repeat it to his face if he gives me some complaints, to the effect that anyone who is not shy when it comes to bothering us should not expect us to be no less shy in telling him his truths. I have also taken the very firm resolution not to ask him for anything from his subsidy, in order not to give him the opportunity to say that, if he makes requests of us, we too make requests of him.—

The desire that he has of remaining permanently as Governor can be judged from his words. At every step he makes us understand that no-one else is suitable for the Marianas, unless he has his vocation. And it is true that, in order not to give him a reason to break with us, I have not answered him [what I thought]: “Anyone who might have a wish to walk would be very suitable for these Islands. This, and nothing else, is the vocation of Your Grace.” With these ideas that he has of being Governor, he made the casting of a great seal out of silver, and engraved upon it the arms of Quiroga y Losada, to use as a seal on the written orders that he issues. And because on one occasion his Secretary, who assists him, did not print the seal well on the wafer of one order that he issued, he became very impatient, and shouted at him, saying that his manner of using the seal did not make the three lizards, which are the arms of Losada, show up well; then, he took a seat and explained to him the heraldry of the two Houses of Quiroga, and Losada, along with an infinite number of vain statements such that his secretary, **Mateo de Ibarra** (who is quite knowledgeable) remained stupefied, crossing himself at seeing so much madness, and vanity in a man who prides himself in being virtuous, and God-fearing.

Carried away by the same ideas of being perpetual Governor, he has sent to Mexico for a silver basin worth 500 pesos, and one clock for the Camp, the most elaborate one that can be found, though it might cost 3,000 pesos, and warning Fr. Magino not to use any part of the subsidy of the Fathers toward the purchase of this clock.—Excellent nonsense! as if this warning were necessary, or the Fathers had an obligation to spend some of their own subsidy to contribute to his vanities, and follies that come into his head. One could say about this man what a politician in Spain said of a gentleman, who held a good position in the army: **“Sir, that gentleman is the greatest fool that the King maintains.”**

With these same perceptions of this fantastic government, he has let himself been told that, with the arrival of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, he should not accept the whole reinforcement of soldiers sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, except those who appear most suitable to him; and even less those **small Captains**, who might be

only four small vainglorious sons of **small Merchants** in Mexico. That is how he talked about them. The reason he has to speak this way (at least this is what we speculate among ourselves) is: given that this Governor is vain and conceited, he does not want anyone in the Marianas to be fussed over or esteemed, besides himself; and in exchange for being the only person esteemed and respected, he will make sure that there is no such persons in the Marianas (surrounded as he is by busy-bodies), though he might suffer the distrust and fear of another uprising, of which I have no doubt, unless he accepts such persons. Furthermore, the Fathers discuss among themselves the possibility that the Governor, knowing the impertinences of his own character that are unbearable to all, obviously realizes that no persons of ability may come to the Marianas, who might not agree with his decisions, and for this reason he fears some clash with said Captains; either in writing to Manila or going there, they might affirm and substantiate for certain the complaints that all the soldiers have against his government. That is what our people were discussing among ourselves, but I, after thinking over this matter for a few days, think that the main reason I could find for him not to wish to accept Captains, is the fear he has that they would be esteemed more than himself. This is what happened with Don Juan de Medrano (whom I will talk about later) and besides, he resents very much that such persons would come to know of the co-existence of so much vanity with such a great frequentation of the sacraments; such arrogance and desire to rule, yet saying that he came only to carry the missal of the Fathers, and serve as a little monk, etc. This is the burden he is saddled with, and this he fears that lay persons of ability might learn; what the Fathers say of it, he has to make few amends for, and as far as the busy-bodies are concerned, they have even less to gripe about.

Regarding this decision of not accepting the Captains, I have talked to Fr. Vice-Provincial about it, and have told him that, if that were to happen, he should tell him with complete determination, that he does not have the authority to refuse anyone posted to this Garrison by the King, and specially the Captains, and "Your Grace, if you do not accept them, we will abandon the Mission." And if the Fr. Vice-Provincial does not like to tell him, I will tell him, and will add: "Your Grace should know that those who make soldiers obey the laws of the army, and give due respect to their Governors, are the officers, and the important men who assist them, and back you up. It is their courage and qualities that restrain the insolences of the individuals. The misfortune that Your Grace laments so much happened because you did not have men of this caliber. Your Grace should also know that you are not eternal, and that tomorrow you might die; and this being certain, please consider who would take your place when you are gone? Who would take charge of the government? A busy-body who has been publicly whipped, or one saved from the gallows? A man of few obligations, whom the soldiers neither respect nor obey, giving them complete liberty to do their deprivations, and who might take revenge once and for all and cause the perdition of the mission?" All of this I would tell him, if the opportunity arises, and, if necessary, I would take him apart and tell him about how they tried to kill him with poison, so that once and for all he becomes disillusioned, that he is not fit to be governor, and should decide to go

away, or to accept said Captains, if he wanted to save the whole thing.—I certify to Y.R. that this gentleman does not cease to make me wonder about his little capacity, and his desire to govern, even after he has lived through the results of such a tight fix, that we all know about. Poor unfortunate Mission! May God in His mercy send us a religious and courteous person to govern it!

To all these plausible qualities, Y.R. might add one that I have discovered, a genius for malice, such that there is nothing, no matter how small, that he does not watch over, or treats as suspicious. He fears everyone, suspects everyone, checks everything, trying to know and find out everything that is being said about his person; and the worst thing is that often-times he hears good things being said about himself, because the soldiers are not careless with their talk in these parts, and they are afraid to talk too much, knowing the fear he has of them. He made himself despicable with them, because, either to show fake kindness or to make them understand that he does not hold a grudge, he makes himself common among them, by inviting them to his house to sing merry ballads, to dance; hence, with this too frequent contact, and because they once lost all respect for him, nowadays they pay very little attention to him, and many of them simply go to the towns without his permission, whenever they want to go for a walk, and he does not have the courage to punish such impertinence.

[Major Medrano and his short stay in Guam]

The kindness on the part of Don Juan de Medrano, to have left Manila to assist him, was paid back with much ingratitude, because although it is true that at the beginning he was very glad of his coming, because not six days had elapsed since they had freed him from his shackles, and he thought that he needed him to assist him in repressing the insolence of the mutineers. However, as soon as he recognized the place and esteem that Don Juan de Medrano had made for himself among the soldiers, he resented it considerably, thinking as he did, according to the observable effects, that this whole business of that esteem and love of the soldiers meant some discredit towards his person; hence, he ended up by not giving him a free hand into many things, and to hinder him in other attributes of his job, such that the soldiers were murmuring and Don Juan realized that he had been tricked, and was even very sorry to have come to the Marianas.

On the occasion of these unpleasant incidents, most every day Don Juan would come to see me in my cell, and there he let loose against the Governor, telling me everything that he had noticed himself, and everything that he heard from the soldiers, but I, with the experience that I have of those who have treaded on Filipino soil, was acting with extreme care (and the other Fathers did the same) and, without murmuring against the Governor, I tried to console Don Juan. However, one day, given the course of the conversation, I saw myself obliged to declare myself, because said Sergeant-Major, irritated at the impertinences of Don José (they were truly too much), told me that the two of us should send a report to the King our Lord, and to the Visiting Judge in the Philippines, to the effect that Don José was not suitable for this government, and that we

should also write to Y.R., for you to start pushing in this matter. I answered him: "My dear Sir, I am sorry about the displeasures and sorrows of Your Grace. You can believe me, on account of the friendship and affection I have for your person, but for me to make a report to the King our Lord, or to the Visiting Judge against Don José? Un-deceive yourself, Your Grace, because I will not do such a thing, on account of my status, foreign to similar reports, that are expressly forbidden to us by our Father General. We are not to make reports, pro or con, on any Governor, on account of the many disadvantages that this matter would bring." And I added: "And because if Your Grace were tomorrow Captain General of these Islands, and there were here another Sergeant Major, my friend, to whom the government of Your Grace be odious, let Your Grace think, what if I should do against your person what Your Grace counsels me to do now against Don José?" I was unable not to give this answer, no matter how many efforts I made, and I become more and more convinced every day of the need for reserve with similar persons. The dictate of St. Francis Xavier fits me admirably, the one by which he advises us to deal with Governors with that kind of caution, as if some day they might become our greatest enemies.

I also take this opportunity to give Y.R. a notice about the person of Don Juan de Medrano. This gentleman has enough ability, as Y.R. knows. He is very courteous and affable; and he has dealt with us with this same courtesy and affability the whole time he was here, but given time, which is the best teacher when one wants to know about people, I have noticed that he has a chip on his shoulder, and I have recognized in him notable traces of a **narrow-mindedness**, besides some strong desires to become Captain General of these Islands. There is no sane man on horseback, and specially those who have lived in the Philippines, where they use malingering in order to thrive, and achieve their own ends, come what may.—As soon as he stepped ashore, he thought that he would be esteemed in future if he first established himself with good behavior. So, to a great affability he mixed at the same time some rigor whenever the incident and occasion called for it, specially in affairs having to do with the army. For instance, he punished some failing, or carelessness, on the part of those who stood out during the mutiny with some very good blows with a stick; one day in particular, he even ran after an Adjutant with a sword, one of those who had shown himself more opposed to Don José.—By showing his spirit thus, and with the skill of using them at the right time, and place, i.e. these incidents taking place in the presence of the soldiers whom he had brought in from Manila, as well as Lezcano and the seamen, who could have come to his aid, had any of the men rebelled, he came to win the reputation among the soldiers as a man of courage, and a decisive one, without them losing the image they had formed of him, that of an affable man, and that such punishment did not constitute ill-will on his part. Don Juan recognized this image, that the soldiers had of him, and he did make sure that it remained that way, the better to carry out his affairs; as soon as he corrected the error, he would show much affability, and agreeableness, so that he left them completely satisfied, and very pleased and affectionate towards his person. The Governor was present at these incidents, but, as he could not take part nor find fault with the just

punishments, he would grit his teeth when seeing that the Sergeant Major had enough courage to do what he did not yet dare do, on account of what was mentioned above, and he was also annoyed by the esteem and love that the soldiers had for Don Juan, as if the man would take over his government, or as if such a state of affairs would not result in more security for his person. With similar ruses Don Juan de Medrano won over their esteem, and nowadays the soldiers deplore his having gone to Manila (I will say more about this later on), but I doubt his spirit very much, thanks to many things that I alone have noted about his person and have observed very carefully, and the conclusion I can draw from it all is that everything is but a front, and there is nothing of substance. I cannot declare anything more on this point, on account of the risk involved in a letter; I will only say that he is not suitable to exercise any post in these Islands, because, as Y.R. knows, this country needs men with a robust health, trained amid hardships, ready to respond to needs at all times, whenever they occur, at sea, on the beaches, and in the bush, men who can tolerate hunger, and the other discomforts that come with such an isolated country as this one is, and devoid of means. None of these circumstances are to be found in Don Juan de Medrano, because his constitution is delicate, and so delicate that everything he eats he cannot hold; he could not stomach pork; there were no chicken available, but he craves them; he truly hated the root vegetables, and sustained himself only with a little rice, of which there is so little in the Island, and by drinking 6 to 7 cups of hot chocolate per day, thus spending all that the Governor had, and a large part of what we had, until I recognized his trick of asking us for it *tertio quoque die*,¹ and sent him the message that, if I had many jars of it, I would send them all, but that I could not give him the chocolate meant for the Fathers. When he would go to some district, if he walked he would get tired, but if he went on horseback he would soon dismount, saying that his bones were tired; therefore, the poor Indians paid for it, by continuously bearing him in a hammock. That is why he gained the reputation of being not too brave with these peoples, because they do not judge courage from someone's heart, but by what they see; they made fun of him when they were alone, praising the bravery of the new *Magarrahi*, who went around in a hammock.

Out of this whole complex of things, and out of an infinite number of other unpleasant incidents that the Governor and Don Juan de Medrano got between themselves, the situation degraded to the point that they could no longer stomach each other, and what tormented the Governor the most was to see the love that the soldiers had for the Sergeant Major, and the little attention they were paying to the person of Don José. It is true that he has been notably disgraced, because if he cajoles them, they say that it is out of fear, and does not come from the heart; if he reproaches them, they say that it is hate, and that he is still very touchy about the harm done him, and so, they cannot stomach him. Despite the fact that he realizes all of this, cost what may, he has to govern, and thinks that anyone who does not have his vocation is unfit for the Marianas.—In fact, with the two of them annoyed at each other, Don Juan de Medrano could hardly

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "three times a day."

wait for the time to leave the Marianas, and the Governor could hardly wait to throw him out. Don Juan presented a memorial, saying that he suffered from many ailments and that he needed to go to Manila to get medical care; and although it is true that he did, I think that the Governor, considering that his going with the sloop to Manila was to inform against his person, and knowing also that he could hardly refuse the request, because in reality he was sick, and there is no repose here, nor medicine with which to cure him, he decided to win him over, and ingratiate himself. He told him not to present the memorial, that he would give him a despatch, sending him on business for the Camp, while retaining the position of Sergeant Major, and that he would thus go with more decoration.¹ Besides this, he gave him a letter of credit for 500 pesos to enable him to go to Manila and he offered him 1,000 pesos if he returned with the sloop, and he added that his return would not oblige him to stay, if he did not like it, but he could return to Manila, where he could look after the subsidy of this Garrison. Don Juan thanked the Governor for his kindness, and the latter was left very pleased at having arranged the matter thus, because, for one thing he was throwing him out of the Marianas, and for another he thought that the gesture he had made would be enough to prevent him from talking against him. However, I have very many reasons to think the opposite, because the Sergeant Major is not dull-witted, and realizes full well that all of this is but a smoke screen, to make him say no bad things against his person. So, judging from what he was telling us here, and also given the strong desire he has of governing, I think it extremely probable that he will talk, not only to the Governor [of the Philippines] but also to the Visiting Judge, and convince them that Don José is not fit for this government, and that this Christian community is in an obvious danger of being lost. What will he in turn say about himself? Most of the other Fathers think that it is highly probable, and none seriously doubt it, but I do, that although he obtains that Don José will be deprived of the government, he will [not] get it for himself, because none of us is writing a letter of recommendation for him, and neither is the Visiting Judge so little experienced as not to know that Don Juan is not suitable for a similar post. And Y.R. should know that he had discovered such ideas, and notions, here, and he would have to be worse than Don José. In matters of flea blood,² and to ask us for whatever he wants, he and the Governor are two of a kind.

One of the main commissions that the Sergeant Major carried to Manila, is against Esplana, claiming from him a notable sum of money, and other things. There is also one against Lezcano, because while here he was asking receipts for things that he had not delivered. Regarding Lezcano, I will write a separate report to Y.R. about him.³

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- 1 Ed. note: In other words, he would wear the rank of Major, though his substantive rank was only that of a Captain. There were many of these field promotions, and acting ranks, in the Spanish colonies.
 - 2 Ed. note: Not all the author's old colloquial expressions can be smoothly translated. Supposedly, this means "for bugging us, as a parasite would."
 - 3 Ed. note: If he did, it was probably suppressed by Xaramillo. I have found no such report in the archives.

I would like to finish Don José's business, but I don't know how to do it, because I find so much material at every step that I don't know what to cut, or how to stop. The other day, a soldier who serves him as a cook asked him permission to go to Manila. He answered that, when he leaves he will take him along, because he had the intention to go to Spain, and retire to the desert to live a solitary life. I don't know what this man considers his vocation, nor a better desert than the Marianas, to live as a hermit. Now then, but what has it got to do with sending a request to Manila for some silver-plated stirrups, three slaves who are clarion players for them to go ahead of his horse, for which he is making a very curious bridle with all the iron parts silver-plated. To Mexico he sends for lace from Milan, and Flanders.—Y.R. must feel seasick by now, at reading so many heaps of nonsense, but I must refer to some of them (it is impossible to mention all of them) in order for Y.R. to make special effort with the King our Lord, by beseeching His Majesty to please send us a Christian and courteous gentleman, to govern us in peace, and who would revere the Gospel ministers, but what Y.R. must be specially careful about is that ordinances be sent for those who would govern from now on, to stop them from saying, what this holy man says, that in the Marianas there is no need for more ordinances or instructions than what the governor sees fit. The same thing could be said of all the Kingdoms of His Majesty, but if they were subject to that, they would be very well governed indeed.

As a last fact, (and it will be my last point), and verdict of mine is: I declare that what has finished off the Governor, and has made him lose all credibility with all those who can discriminate, is, the ingratitude with which he has reciprocated towards Captain Nicolás Rodríguez Conejo, who removed his shackles, and restored him to his post. This Captain was the leader of the mutiny, and although the most awful action he did, i.e. to rise against the Governor who represents the King, cannot be condoned, what can be condoned, and even praised is the sorrow he showed for having done it. The error was a great one, but the illustrious action he did to bury this error, i.e. the repentance he has shown, and the good things he has done for this Christian community as a whole, I have no words that I can fittingly use to extol them. I certify to Y.R. that it is no exaggeration to say, in talking about his person, and qualities, I think that there is no man in Europe, no matter whom Y.R. may place before me, who could have done as much with the few means available here, in order to bring these matters to a close, or who would have done so in a better style. The qualities that are found in his person, i.e. valor, prudence, discretion, sagacity, Christian character, compassion, generosity, and intelligence, I have never encountered them in anyone I have ever met before. These are not hyperboles either, but well-known truths; every one of the Fathers presently in the mission, and the soldiers themselves, do not deny it. When he restored the Governor to his post, he brought upon himself the indignation of most of the men in the Garrison (as not all of them were traitors), and exposed himself many times to the risk of being killed by them, when he rushed forward, facing the firearms of his opponents, who were against his reining them in, and he would take the arms from their hand, beat

many of them with a stick, and he executed four of them, much to the amazement of his opponents, until they all submitted themselves, fearing his brave resolve.

The whole time that Don José was in prison (it was not he who had arrested him), he did not hold a thought that was not very Christian and directed at the welfare of the Christian community, and freedom for the Governor, and he did nothing without first consulting the Fathers. Five times he saved the life of the Governor, which they intended to take, while he was out quieting the Island. Many times he threw himself at the feet of Don José, telling him that if it pleased him to take his life on account of his crime, he would consider it good luck to make amends to God for his sin; or he could place him in irons, complete with ball and chain, for the space of 10 or more years as a warning to the others. None of these delicacies, nor shows of repentance have been enough for the Governor to be so generous as to pardon him with candor, without showing signs of distrust, e.g. telling us that anger rises within himself when he sees him. During the time he was in prison, the Governor gave him his word that if he were to settle the affairs, he would pardon him, and would always look out after the security of his person, and for this reason he gave him the title of Godson, and acted as his Godfather in the marriage made between said Captain and the sister of Masongsong's wife; and to us said Governor said that everything that we would arrange, and come to an agreement with said Captain, he would approve.—The Captain asked us to make sure his life would be saved and for a pardon in future. We gave him our word; the Governor was glad that we made such efforts to secure his freedom, and he confirmed our word with many endearments, by saying that he was but a barbarian, and that once he came out of prison we had to be governing the Island, and that he would not do anything, no matter how small, without consulting the Fathers. All of these promises have turned out to be hollow, because every day he is more hardheaded, more haughty, and self-serving. He dissembled with the Captain until the time came for the sloop to leave, and on the eve, he called him, and told him that it was proper for the good of these Islands for him to go to Manila, that he would give him a letter of recommendation for the Visiting Judge, and Governor (this letter was so sharp, so badly digested, and of so little commitment that, once seen, I have no doubt that they would have applied the choking collar to him). He asked him permission to take leave of the Fathers, but he did not grant it. And so, at midnight he placed him in a canoe bound for Umatag. The lad, considering on the one hand the delicacies that he had worked out for Christianity, and on the other hand this sudden decision, suspected some trap; as soon as he reached Umatag he stepped ashore and sought refuge in the church, actually inside the house of Father Basilio. The Governor became very excited as a result of this action, and he went to Umatag. The Captain spoke to him in the most submissive and endearing manner, saying that His Grace should not fear for his person, that no-one in the Island was, nor would be a more loyal servant, that he had not gotten married to live with worries, and walk aimlessly through the interior with his wife, exposed to the inclement weather, but to serve God very truly, and that if he were not satisfied with what he had done, and with his word, he should give him the choking collar right there and then, or should

brand him as his slave, something he would appreciate as a great favor. Such words brought tears to the Governor's eyes, because he cannot but recognize how much he owes to the Captain; however, neither can his wretched and little generous Galician heart forgive the offences once and for all. **He left him in the house of Fr. Basilio, and despatched the sloop to Manila.**

As soon as the sloop had gone, the Governor gave all of us two complaints to the effect that we had shown favors to a traitor. The Fathers Vice-Provincial and the others responded very pertinently. As for myself, one day that I went to see him, and the conversation came to this point, I told him very clearly what I thought: in the first place, he had not kept his word as a gentleman, when he tried to send him to Manila, after having promised to make his life secure; secondly, he also failed to keep his promise to us, to comply with everything we arranged with said Captain, and consequently, he would make us fail in our promise to make sure His Grace would respect his life; thirdly, that from now on, nobody would trust His Grace, or us; fourthly, the danger that such an action brought upon the whole Christian endeavor, because if another attempt were made, it would succeed, and that no-one would trust his word or ours ever again, after such an example.

Finally, to finish once and for all, I say that this good man had dragged us through quite an ordeal, such as one could never finish recounting in all its details, and tire Y.R., who would be by now quite fed up with so much nonsense, so badly harmonized and written, full of mistakes. I hope that Y.R. will overcome this failing of mine, and forgive me, because I have written this letter with so much hurry and fatigue, and which I wrote as it came, and I did not have the time to put matters in their right places. I wrote it at the last minute and had no time even to read it over, much less to make corrections to it. Y.R. will please make up for it, and refer to that paper containing lists of things that this Commander sends to Mexico for, if perchance he gets the idea of retiring to the desert to become a hermit. In particular, let Y.R. note the 12 halberds that he asks for, which I think are meant to be used by his bodyguards when he goes out on his horse. In order for him to have full authority, why does not Y.R. send him from Madrid a coach with six Frisian horses? May God deliver us from similar towers of Babel, and may He save Y.R. for many years, as I wish.

Marianas, 22 May 1689.

Y.R.'s servant and friend,

+

+ Diego de Zarzosa +

Documents 1689E

Accounts of Fr. Van Hamme's visit to Guam in 1689

E1. Letter to Fr. Ægidius Estrix in Rome

Source: ARSI Phil. 12, fol. 121-124v.

Original text in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P.C.

Muneris mei esse dixi, RæVæ perscribere brevem aliquam relationem itineris mei hactenus ex obedientia suscepti. Ultima Junii 1687 e portu Gaditano solvimus: et post felicem 79 dierum navigationem 17 Septembris portum Vera Crucis, ingressi sumus. Inde litteras misi ad Ram Vam 20 Septembris 1687. 22 Septembris ex Vera Cruce Mexicum discessi quo perveni 5 Octobris eiusdem anni. Mexico iterum litteras, misi ad Ram-Vam 16 Novembris 1687.

22 Novembris discessi Mexico ad Missionem Tarahumarensis...

...

Cumque iam contentissimus viverem in missione mea, ecce subito accipio litteras Rdi. P. mei Provincialis, quibus me subito edocabat Mexicum, ut jussu Rdi. Adm. P.N. Generalis quamprimum pergerem in Sinas; litteras vero P. Generalis ad me missas Mexici servavit, ne perirent. Itaque statim monito Superiore missionis, quam primum potui Mexicum discessi, et diu noctuque quam celerrime potui iter feci. Mexici unico die [fol. 123] substiti, ne opportunitatem navis Philippinensis hoc anno amitterem: statim itaque perrexi Acapulcum, qui est portus in quo hæc navis onerari solet, et 80 Leucis Mexico distat. Acapulcum perveni 28 Martij 1689, et 31 eiusdem e portu solvimus.

Vehebamur hac navi fere 700 homines. Ventus adeo prosper fuit, ut sine ulla tempestate 67 dierum tempore supra bis mille leucas emensi, 6 Junij ad Insulas Marianas pervenerimus. Hic inveni P. Gerardum Bouwens Belgam, et alios aliquot Missionarios, omnes in unica insula de gentes (que Guan vocatur, et est præcipua) quia postquam occiderunt P. Cooman[s], aliosque Patres nostros, nondum subiecerunt sibi Hispani re-

liquas insulas; sed Gubernator iam habet 60 milites, et brevi conabitur alias insulas sibi subjicere, in quibus tunc Patres operari poterunt. Optassem etiam in illis Insulis remanere spe martyrij, sed melior est obedientia quam victima, quæ me in Sinas mittit, ubi agam quod potero, licet me ineptum iudicem ad missionem tam politicam et gloriosam.

9 Junij 1689 a Marianis recessimus ad Insulas Philippinas, vento plane prospero aspirante: et hanc epistolam scribo in mari circa Insulas Philippinas, quia quotidie expectamus navem Philippinensem, que pergit in novam Hispaniam, et siquidem nobis occurrat, uti quotidie speramus, hanc meam epistolam tradam, illa via in Europam deferendam. Nullas ex Europa nostrorum litteras in America accepi, nisi Rdi. Adm. P.N. Generalis, et unas P. Francisci van Callenberghe. Hæc sunt qua RæVæ scribenda iudicavi, ut satisfacerem officio meo et urbanitati. Cæterum SS. RæVæ Sacrificijs me humillime commendo.

E navi inter Insulas Philippinas, distans adhuc 80 leucis Manila, 28 Junij 1689.

RæVæ

Humillimus in Christo Servus

Petrus van Hamme.

[fol. 124v, address:] *Reverendo in Christo Patri P. Ægidio Estrix Secretario Societatis Jesu. Romæ.*

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ.

I had said that it would be my pleasure to write to Y.R. some brief narrative of my voyage so far, undertaken out of obedience. On the last day of June 1687, we sailed from the port of Cadiz and, after 79 days of successful navigation reached the port of Veracruz on 17 September.¹ I sent a letter to Y.R. from there on 20 September 1687. On the 22nd of September, I left Veracruz for Mexico where I arrived on 5 October of the same year. Again I sent a letter to Y.R. dated Mexico 16 November 1687.

On 22 November, I left Mexico for the Tarahumara Mission...

[His exploits among the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico are here omitted.]

...

While I was already very happily living in my mission, all of a sudden I received a letter from my Rev. Fr. Provincial, that called me quickly to Mexico, according to an order from our Rev. Fr. General to go as soon as possible to China; indeed, the letter of Fr. General was kept for me in Mexico, to prevent it from being lost. Therefore, I immediately advised the Superior of the mission, and as soon as I could left for Mexico, and travelled day and night to reach there as fast as possible. I remained in Mexico only one day, so as not to lose the opportunity of catching the Philippine galleon this

¹ Ed. note: The general of that fleet was Don José Hernandez de Santillán.

year; I at once departed for Acapulco, which is the port where this transport ship uses, and distant 80 leagues from Mexico. I arrived at Acapulco on 28 March 1689, and on the 31st we sailed from that port.

Our ship [i.e. the *Santo Cristo*] carried almost 700 people. Thus far the wind has been favorable, so that after 67 days of storm-free weather and covering 2,000 leagues we arrived, on 6 June, at the Mariana Islands. Here I met Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, a Belgian, and some other Missionaries, all of them living in a single Island (which they call Guan, and is the main one) because since they killed Fr. Cooman[s], and some more of our Fathers, the Spanish have not yet subjected the other Islands; however, the Governor already has 60 soldiers, and shortly he will try to subject the other islands, and the Fathers will then be able to operate there. I also wish I could stay in those Islands and become a martyr, but I'd better be the obedient victim sent to China, where I will apply my inept intelligence wherever they let me, in a mission so civilized and glorious.

On 9 June 1689, we left the Marianas for the Philippine Islands, with a very favorable wind blowing, and I am now writing this letter at sea near the Philippine Islands, because every day we expect to meet with the Philippine ship that is proceeding to New Spain, and if it does meet with us, something we daily expect, I will hand over this letter of mine, and send it to Europe that way. I received no letters from our people from Europe while in America, except that from our Rev. Fr. General, and one from Fr. Francis [van] Callenberghe.¹ Such are the news that I thought I should write to Y.R., so as to satisfy my duty and for the sake of politeness. I commend myself to the most holy sacrifices of Y.R. and of the others.

Aboard the ship among the Philippine Islands, at a distance of 80 leagues from Manila, 28 June 1689.

Y.R.'s most humble servant in Christ,
Peter van Hamme

[Address:] To Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Ægidius Estrix, Secretary of the Society of Jesus, Rome.

E2. Letter to Fr. Conrad Janning in Antwerp

Source: BR ms. 16691-93, Cat. N° 4096 (Van Hamme et Verbiest, S.J.), folios 13-13v: Philippines, 28 June 1689.

Notes: Both Fathers Van Hamme and Verbiest were Belgian missionaries in China. Bibliography: See Fr. Petrus Thomas Van Hamme, S.J. [His account of his voyage] in Maatschappij der Vlaamsche Bibliophilen, 3° Ser. N° 14, Ghent, 1871. Fr. Conrad Janning was born in Groningue, Holland, and died at Antwerp on 13 August 1723. He was for 35 years a hagiograph, or biographer of the lives of the saints (Poncelet, p. 144).

¹ Ed. note: A graduate of the Louvain College, he was born in Bruges and died at Antwerp in 1719. He taught mathematics at Louvain for 6 years, Latin for 10 years, and was for 6 years missionary in Holland. He was sent to Rome in 1701 to defend the interests of his Mission before the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (ref. Poncelet, p. 149).

Original text in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P[ax] C[hristi]

Litteras misi ad Ram. Vam. Mexico 17 Novembris 1687, et alias, quas nescio, an R. V. acceperit: nunc hasce mitto, ut nuntiem R^a V^a quomodo jussum Rdi. Adm. Patris N. Generalis perquam in Sinam; et licet, hic in medio mari parva sit scribendi opportunitas ob rumorem 700 fere hominum, qui hac navi vehuntur, nolui tamen commercium litterarum penitus intermittere: quia hic prope Insulas Philippinas (ubi hac scribo) quotidie exspectamus navem, nobis occurruram, ad quam has litteras spero mittere per Hispaniam novam in Europam deferendas.

Ultima Martii 1689 Acapulco solvimus in Philippinas: vento usi sumus prospero, et 6 Junii ad Insulas Marianas pervenimus, in quibus recte valet P. Gerardus Bouwens Belga, et cæteri 15 Missionarii, occisis nuper P. Petro Coomans, et aliis aliquot Patribus.

9 Junii inde discessimus ad Insulas Philippinas: inde (si Deo placiverit) prima data opportunitate Macaum pergam, unde fusiores scribere potero. Plura tamen nunc scribo P. Francisco van Callenberghe, quæ hic non repeto, quæque R^a V^a ex ipsius litteris legere facile poterit, ac deinde ad illum mittere.

Rogo Ram. Vam. ut inclusas destinare dignetur, et R. P. Præpositum, P. Papebrochium, cæterosque Patres ac fratres, et nominatim P. Franciscum Baert nomine meo plurimum salutare dignetur. P. Franciscus Baert ante meum ex Europa discessum mihi procuravit impressas aliquas chartulas ad conficiendos globulos terrestres ac cælestes cum suis constellationibus; illas emit Antverpiæ domi Martini Bouche, Sculptoris: illas chartulas, et globulos a me confectos variis distribui, quando credebam, me in Sinas non esse profecturum: si nunc aliques haberem, globulos conficerem, et Sinæ procul dubio æstimarent; si R^a V^a aliquas, vel res alas mathematicas mittere dignetur, eas animo non ingrato accipiam: commendo me SSmis. Ræ Væ sacrificiis.

E navi inter Insulas Philippinas, distans adhoc 80 leucas Manila, 28 Junii 1689.

Ræ Va: Servus in Christo.

Petrus van Hamme

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ.

I sent a letter to Y.R. from Mexico on 17 November 1687 and another which I do not know whether Y.R. has received it or not. Now I am sending this letter to inform Y.R. that I have an order from our Rev. Fr. General to go to China, and here I am in the middle of the sea, with little opportunity to write because of the noise made by almost 700 people who are being transported by this ship. However, I did not wish to completely stop the contact through letters because here, in the Philippine Islands (where I am writing this letter) we are expecting the ship to meet us any day now, aboard which I hope to send this letter to Europe through New Spain.

On the last day of March 1689 we sailed from Acapulco for the Philippines. We made good use of a favorable wind, and on 6 June we arrived at the Mariana Islands, where Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, Belgian, is doing fine, along with the other 15 missionaries, and where they have killed Fr. Peter Coomans, and some other Fathers.

On the 9th of June we departed from there for the Philippines, then (God willing) I may head for Macau at the first opportunity, from where I would be able to write more extensively. Nevertheless, since I am now writing about many things to Fr. Francis van Callenberghe, I am not going to repeat here whatever Y.R. could easily read from my letter to him, before forwarding it.

I beg Y.R. to please forward the enclosed letters, and give my regards to Rev. Fr. Provincial, Fr. Papebroch,¹ and to the rest of the Fathers and Brothers, particularly by name Fr. Francis Baert.² Fr. Francis Baert had procured for me, before my departure from Europe, some charts to construct the terrestrial globes, and maps of the sky with its constellations. He bought them in Antwerp from Martin Bouche, an engraver. I distributed those charts and maps to various people, and the globes I had made, when I believed I would not be going to China; if I could have some of them right now, I would make some globes; without doubt they would value them in China. If Y.R. has some of them or other mathematical materials you can send, I would gladly accept them. I commend myself to the most holy Sacrifices of Y.R.

Aboard a ship among the Philippine Islands, 80 leagues from Manila, 28 June 1689.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter van Hamme

1 Ed. note: Fr. Joachim van Papenbroeck was from the Antwerp College. He was born at Antwerp and died there in 1694.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Francis Baert was born at Ypres and died at Antwerp in October 1719. He was a hagiograph for 37 years (Poncelet, p. 144).

Documents 1689F

The Spanish language is to be used in schools throughout the Indies

Sources: AGI Fil. 25-1-8 and 25-1-42.

F1. Royal decree of 20 June 1686

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Por quanto por la ley quinta, titulo treze, libro primero de la nueva Recopilacion de las Indias, se dispone que todos los Arzobispos, y Obispos de las Iglessias de las Indias den orden en sus Diocessis à los Curas, y Doctrineros para que usando de los medios mas suaves, dispongan, y encaminen que a todos los Indios sea enseñada la lengua Española, y en ella la Doctrina christiana para que se hagan mas capaces de los Misterios de nuestra santa fee catholica, aprovechen, para su salvazion, y consigan otras utilidades en su Gobierno y modo de venir.

Y por otra ley que es la diez y ocho titulo primero del libro sexto se manda que a los Indios se les pongan Escuelas, y Maestros que enseñen la lengua castellana a los que voluntariamente, la quisieren aprender, como los sea de menos molestia, y sin costa pareciendo que esto lo podrian hazer bien los sacristanes de las Iglesias, como en las aldeas de estos Reynos enseñan a leer y escribir y la Doctrina christiana.

Y considerandose en mi Consexo Real de las Indias quanto conviene que esto se observe de aqui adelante pressisa é inviolablemente, por discurrir ser el medio mas eficaz para desterrar las idolatrias, en que por la maior parte incurren, aora los Indios, como lo hazian al principio de las conversiones, consiguiendose tambien que por este medio, cessen en el todo, ó en la maior parte las vejaciones que con ellos se exerssitan pudiendose quejar los Indios a los superiores por si mismos sin valerse de los Interpretes, que cohechados truecan la traduccion: He resuelto ordenar, y mandar como por la presente, lo hago à mis Virreyes, Pressidentes, Governadores, Corregidores y Alcaldes maiores que al presente son, y adelante fueren de todas las Provincias de la Nueva España, Guatemala, Islas Philipinas, y de Barlovento; y rruego y encargo à los Arcobispos, y obis-

pos de las Iglesias Metropolitanas, y Cathedralas de ellas que cada uno por la parte que le toca cuide pressisa y puntualmente de la observancia de las leyes arriba citadas haciendolas poner luego, en execucion indispensablemente sin replica ni interpretacion alguna a fin de que los Indios sepan la lengua Castellana, y empiecen desde luego à aprenderla, en que encargo a los unos y otros pongan especial cuidado aperssiviendo (como por la presente lo hago) a los Virreyes, Pressidentes, Governadores, Corregidores, y Alcaldes mayores de todas las Provincias e Islas, referidas se les hara cargo en sus rssidencias de su inobservancia y assi mismo encargo, y mando generalmente a todos los Ministros eclessiasticos y seculares expressados en este despacho, que unos y otros me den quenta en todas las ocasiones de flotas y demas que se ofrecieren de aver puesto en practica lo que por las leyes mencionadas se expresa y manda y de lo que en ese execucion y puntual cumplimiento fueren, obrando y resultare de ello, por ser tan importante para el fin que se formaren y tan del servicio de Dios y mio por estar informado del fruto que espero se consiga del cumplimiento, y observancia de las referidas leyes.

Fecha en Madrid a veinte de Junio de mill y seis cientos y ochenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Translation.

The King.

Whereas in accordance with Law 15, Title 13, Book 1 of the new Code of Laws of the Indies, it is stipulated that all the Archbishops, and Bishops of Churches in the Indies are to give orders in their Dioceses to the Curates, and teachers of the Christian doctrine, for them to make arrangements and take measures, by the gentlest means possible, to teach the Spanish language to all the Indians, including the Christian doctrine, so that they may take advantage not only the Mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, for their salvation, but also obtain other benefits in their governance, and way of life.

And in accordance with another law, which is Law 18, Title 1, Book 6, it is ordered that schools should be established for the Indians, with teachers to teach the Spanish language to those who wish to learn it, voluntarily, as this would be less bothersome, and at no cost, to them; for instance, it might be a good idea for the sacristans of the churches to learn how to read and write, in addition to the Christian doctrine, as is done in the villages of these Kingdoms.

And given that my Royal Council of the Indies considers very appropriate that this be observed from now on precisely and inviolably, because it is the most efficient means to uproot the idol-worship that affects the majority of the Indians nowadays, as was done at the beginning of their conversions, and considering also that, by this means, the vexations encountered with them would cease completely or for the most part, when the Indians will be able to complain to the superiors on their own, without having to use interpreters, who might be bribed into twisting their translation: I have decided to order, as I do by the present order my Viceroyes, Presidents, Governors, Magistrates

and Lord Mayors who are at present, and in the future might be, in all the Provinces of New Spain, Guatemala, the Philippine Islands, and the Windward Islands; and I beg and entreat the Archbishops and Bishops of the Metropolitan Churches, and Cathedrals therein, every one within his own jurisdiction, to observe precisely and exactly the above-mentioned laws, and then have them carried out without dispensation, argument or interpretation whatsoever, so that the Indians may know the Spanish language, and begin therefore to learn it, and I entreat one and all to pay special attention to it, and furthermore warn (as I do by the present warn) the Viceroys, Presidents, Governors, Magistrates and Lord Mayors in all the above-said Provinces and Islands that they will be charged in the audits at the end of their terms of office for any lapse in observance, and I also entreat, and order generally all the ecclesiastical and secular Ministers listed in this despatch, that one and all report to me, at every opportunity of fleets and other opportunities that may present themselves, on their compliance of what is expressed and ordered in the above-mentioned laws, and on what that execution and timely compliance consisted of, actions and their results, given that it is so important for the purpose that they be formed and so much to the service of God and mine that I be informed of the fruit that I hope to get from the compliance, and observance of the above-said laws.

Made at Madrid, on 20 June 1686.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

F2. Letter from Fr. Pimentel, representing the Society of Jesus, dated 16 March 1689

Note: Fr. Pimentel was Provincial of the Philippines from 1687 to 1689.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Ilustre Señor Governador Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola.

Recivi la carta de V. Señoria en fha quince del corriente con la Cedula Real de su Magestad y decreto de V. Señoria en razon de que la jubentud de los Pueblos de estas Islas sea por sus Ministros instruida en los primeros rudimientos de las buenas letras, y en la lengua Castellana. Y digo que en todos los que estan a cargo de la Compañia en ellas se practica y ha practicado hasta aora segun su instituto en conformidad, de lo que su Magestad ordena y que por ser assi su voluntad ordenare a mis subditos que en adelante lo practiquen assi, y executen con mas singular esmero.

Guarde Dios la persona de V. Señoria muchos y felizes años.

Manila y Marzo dies y seis de mill seis cientos ochenta y nueve.

De V. Señoria humilde capellan cuya mano besa.

Luis Pimentel

Translation.

Most Illustrious Lordship, Governor Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola.

I received the letter of Your Lordship dated 15th of this month, along with the Royal Decree of His Majesty and decree of Your Lordship, with regards to the youth of the Towns of these Islands being instructed by their Ministers in the first rudiments of reading and writing, and in the Spanish language. And I declare that this is the current and past practice in all those that have been under the care of the Society in the Islands until now, and this being your will, I shall order my subjects that they continue such a practice in future, and carry it out with even more care.

May God save the person of Your Lordship for many happy years.

Manila, 16 March 1689.

Your Lordship's humble chaplain who kisses your hand,

Luis Pimentel

F3. Letter from the Governing Audiencia to the King, dated Manila 28 May 1689

Note: Governor Curuzeláegui died soon after receiving Fr. Pimentel's letter, on either 17 or 27 April 1689. The Audiencia then took charge of political affairs, for one year, until the arrival of the next governor. Judge Alonso de Abella Fuertes acted as temporary Governor, for military affairs (ref. B&R 17:293).

Original text in Spanish.

La Audiencia de Manila que gobierna lo politico de las Islas Philipinas: Da quenta à V.M. el estado de las diligencias fechas sobre que se enseñe la lengua Española, y en ella la Doctrina Christiana a los Indios, poniendose para ellos escuelas, y Maestros en conformidad de Cedula de V.M. con recaudos a numº 5.

Señor

Por zedula ympresa de V.M. de veinte de Junio de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis años en conformidad de la Ley 5 titulo 13 libro 1 y de la Ley 18 t. 1 lib. 6 ordena y manda V.M. que en todas las Provincias de la Nueva España, Guatemala, Islas Philipinas, y de Barlovento se enseñe la lengua Española y en ella la Doctrina christiana, a los Indios poniendose para ello escuelas y maestros como esta dispuesto por las Leyes que van empresadas cuia zedula se dirigio al Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas, y en su cumplimiento se pasaron, a despachar rruegos y encargos con incerçion de la zedula de V.M. a los M.R. Arcobispos y obispos de estas Islas para que por lo que así toca pongan en execucion la Real Voluntad de V.M. y lo mismo a los Provinciales de las Religiones que tienen a su cargo la maior parte de las Doctrinas y ordenes a los Alcaldes maiores corregidores y demas justicias para que den entero cumplimiento a lo dispuesto por V.M. ordena van rremitiendo a este Gobierno testimonio todos los Alcaldes mayores y con la ocazion de lo dilatado, que se hallan de esta ciudad algunas Provincias no se an podido imbiar de ellas de la execuzion de el despacho que dando

en esta Real Audiencia advertida de poner brevemente en execuzion todo lo que V.M. ordena en este punto por ser materia que tanto importa al servicio de Dios, y a la conservazion, y aumento de la fee catholica en estas partes y al Real servicio de V.M. y por aora para que V.M. ordene lo que fuere mas combeniente se rremite compusa autentica de los autos originales hechas en esta rrazon de suerte que conste a V.M. lo que se executo y esta executando en obedecimiento de su rreal zedula cuya catholica y Real persona guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años como toda la christiandad y sus vassallos nezesita.

Manila y Mayo 28 de 1689 años.

Licenciado Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes

D. D. Lorenzo de Avina Echaverria

Licenciado Don Juan de Sierra Ossorio

Translation.

The Audiencia of Manila governing the political affairs of the Philippine Islands: reports to Y.M. the status of the efforts made with respect to the teaching of the Spanish language, and the teaching of the Christian doctrine to the Indians in it, by organizing schools for them, and teachers, in accordance with the Decree of Y.M., with enclosures under n° 5.

Sire:

By a printed decree of Y.M. dated 20 June 1686, in accordance with Law 5, Title 13, Book 1 and Law 18, Title 1, Book 6, Y.M. orders that in all the Provinces of New Spain, Guatemala, the Philippines and Windward Islands, the Spanish language be taught, and the Christian doctrine in it, to the Indians, by organizing schools and teachers for it, as stipulated in the Laws mentioned in said decree directed to the Governor and Captain General of these Islands, and in compliance thereof, some despatches, enclosing the decree of Y.M., were issued to their Most Reverences the Archbishops and bishops of these Islands, in order for them to carry out the Royal Will of Y.M. expressed therein, and also to the Provincials of the Religious Orders that have in their care the majority of the Missions, and orders were sent to the Lord Mayors, Magistrates and other justices, for them to give complete compliance to what Y.M. has ordered, and for all the Lord Mayors to remit forthwith to this Government a report of inquiry. Given that some Provinces are remote from this city and communication difficult, it has not been possible for some to report on their compliance with the despatch sent to them but this Royal Audiencia has warned them to carry out immediately all that Y.M. has ordered on this point, it being a matter of such great importance for the service of God, and the preservation and progress of the Catholic faith in these parts, and for the service of Y.M. and for now, so that Y.M. may order what seems most convenient, authenticated copies of the original records of proceedings held on this subject, are remitted so that Y.M. may take cognizance of what was done and is being done in obedience of your royal decree. May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as the whole of Christendom and your vassals need.

Manila, 28 May 1689.
 Licentiate Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes
 Doctor Don Lorenzo de Avina Echaverria
 Licenciante Don Juan de Sierra Osorio

F4. Letter from the Audiencia, dated Manila 4 June 1689

Original text in Spanish.

Esta Real Audiencia da quenta à V. Mgd. de haver ejecutado en su obediencia lo dispuesto por la Real cedula en que se manda enseñar la lengua española y doctrina christiana a los Indios poniendoseles escuelas y Maestros, con testimonio a numº 15.

Señor

Vuestra Magestad, por cedula de veinte de Junio del año de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis manda en conformidad de lo dispuesto por la ley quinta titulo trece libro primero de la nueva Recopilacion de las Indias y por la ley dies y ocho titulo primero del libro sexto a todos los Virreyes Pressidentes Governadores y mas Justicias y ruego y encarga a los obispos y Arcobispos de las Provincias de la Nueva España Islas Philipinas y de Barlovento que dispongan, que a todos los Indios sea enseñada la lengua Española y en ella la Doctrina Christiana para que se hagan mas capaçes de los misterios de nuestra santa fee, y consigan otras utilidades en su Gobierno y modo de vivir y en cumplimiento de materia tan inportante al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de vuestra Magestad se an despachado las Reales Provisiones necessarias a todas las Provincias de estas Islas y a los alcaldes maiores de ellas y a los Reverendos Arcobispos y obispos ruego y encargo para que cada uno en su jurisdiccion y por la parte que le toca, execute el contenido de la dha Real cedula quedando esta Audiencia con particular cuidado de que se guarde cumpla y execute, a que concurrira con todos los esfuerzos neçessarios para que se lleve adelante, y se aumente, semejante doctrina, y enseñanza en la maior manera possible; Nuestro Señor guarde a Vra. Magd. en la maior felicidad y aumentos devida que puede y como toda la Christiandad desea y ha menester.

Manila y Junio 4 de 1689 años.

Licdo. Dn. Alonso de Abella Fuertes

D. D. Lorenzo de Avina Echaverria

Licdo. Don Juan de Sierra Ossorio

Translation.

This Royal Audiencia reports to Y.M. what it carried out in obedience to the terms of the Royal decree ordering the use of the Spanish language in teaching the Christian doctrine to the Indians, by arranging for schools and teachers for them, enclosing a record of proceedings bearing nº 15.

Sire:

Your Majesty, by decree of 20 June 1686, gave orders, in accordance with Law 5, Title 13, Book 1 of the new Code for the Indies, and with Law 18, Title 1, Book 6, to all the Viceroys, Presidents, Governors and other Justices, and begged the bishops and Archbishops of the Provinces of New Spain, the Philippine and Windward Islands to arrange for all the Indians to be taught the Spanish language and in it the Christian doctrine, to enable them to understand better the mysteries of our holy faith, and attain other benefits in their governance and way of life, and in compliance with a subject so important for the service of God our Lord and that of Your Majesty, necessary Royal provisions have been despatched to all the Provinces of these Islands and to the mayors therein and the Reverend Archbishops and bishops were begged and entreated, every one within his jurisdiction and on the part concerning him, to carry out the contents of said Royal decree, and this Audiencia will take special care that it be obeyed and carried out with all the necessary efforts so that in future, as indoctrination similarly makes progresses, it be taught in the better manner possible. May our Lord keep Your Majesty in the best of happiness and due increase as He can and as the whole of Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 4 June 1689.

Licentiate Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes

Doctor Don Lorenzo de Avina Echaverria

Licentiate Don Juan de Sierra Osorio

Document 1689G

Letter from the Audiencia to the King, dated Manila 28 May 1689

Source: AGI Fil. 25-1-16.

Costs of the 1683 patache sent to the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

La Audiencia de Manila que gobierna lo politico de las Islas Philipinas. Da quenta a V.M. los gastos que causo la embarcazion que el año de ochenta y tres despachó a las Islas Marianas el Gobernador que dho año era de estas y estado de las diligenzias que sobre esta razon se hizieron en cumplimiento de Real cedula de V.M. con recaudos a num^o 41.

Señor

*V.M. en zedula de sinco de Junio de mill seiscientos y ochenta y siete años manda al Almirante Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola, Gobernador y Capitan General que fue de estas Islas, que informe de los gastos que tubo la embarcazion que el año de mill seiscientos y ochenta y tres, apresto para las Marianas el Maestro de campo Don Juan de Vargas Urtado y que para hazerle con las noticias, que combiene pida al contador de quenttas y a ofiziales Reales le suministren las que hubiere menester, y que el contador conclua a rrever las quentas sacandolas glosas y adiciones que hallare, y en execuzion de esta Real zedula, se passaron hazer las diligenzias combenientes para poner en execuzion lo prevenido por V.M. y en el estado que oy tienen los autos, se halla, que en el año de ochenta, que se apresto la Balandra hubo de **fraude seis mill y ochenta y quatro pesos** quatro tomines y siete granos, sacando por adizion esto el contador de quentas; y en el que se hizo en el año de ochenta y tres adiciono el contador **quatro mill y quinientos y veinte y seis pesos** y seis tomines de todo lo qual se remite a V.M. compulsa autentica para que determine y mande lo que fuere servido; y en quanto a la rrecaudazion y rrestitucion de estos fraudes, queda esta Real Audiencia en quien rrecayo el gobierno advertida de proceder en conformidad de lo que tiene pedido sobre este mismo punto el fizcal de ella, para que se rreintegren en las caxas*

reales estas cantidades y de dar quenta a V.M. de todo lo que sobre eata materia se fuere obrando como cossa que tanto combiene al aumento de la Real hazienda y servicio de V.M. cuia catholica y Real persona guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años como toda la christiandad y sus vassallos nezesita.

Manila y Mayo 28 de 1689 años.

Licdo. Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes

D. D. Lorenzo de Avina Echevarría

Licdo. Don Juan de Sierra Ossorio

Translation.

The Audiencia of Manila governing the political affairs of the Philippine Islands: Reports to Y.M. on the expenditures caused by the vessel that in the year of 1683 was despatched to the Mariana Islands by the then-Governor and on the status of the efforts that were made on this matter in compliance with the Royal decree of Y.M., with enclosures under n° 41.

Sire:

Y.M., in decree dated 5 June 1687,¹ orders Admiral Don Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola, who was then Governor and Captain General of these Islands, to give a report on the expenditures made on the vessel that in 1683 was made ready for the Mariana Islands by Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Urtado, and in order to do so with proper notices, to order the Royal accountant and finance officials to supply him with the necessary accounts, and that, if the accountant should see fit, upon reviewing the accounts, extracting the notes therein and the explanatory notes that he might find, and in compliance with this Royal decree, appropriate efforts were made to carry out what Y.M. has provided, and with the present state of the records of proceedings, and it was found that, in 1680, when the sloop was made ready, there was a **fraud of 6,084 pesos**, 4 tomins and 7 grains, which is sum compiled by the accountant; and in the outfitting of 1683, the accountant counted **4,526 pesos**, and 6 tomins, all of which is remitted to Y.M. in the form of authenticated copies, so that you may decide and order what you please. And with regard to the recovery and restitution of these frauds, the Royal Audiencia, to which this matter was referred, has warned the government to proceed, in accordance with the petition of its Procurating Attorney in the matter, for said sums to be refunded to the Royal treasury and a report made to Y.M. about everything that was being done on this matter, as something that is so appropriate as an increase in the Royal treasury and the service of Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may Our Lord save for many years, as the whole of Christendom and your vassals need.

Manila, 28 May 1689.

Licentiate Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes

Doctor Don Lorenzo de Avina Echevarria

Licentiate Don Juan de Sierra Osorio

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1687F.

Follow-up notes.

This file was received in Madrid on 8 June 1690. The Fiscal of the Council found no evidence of any amount having been recovered by the treasury. So, after some (long-delayed) analysis by the Accountant of the Council, it was decided to order the Governor of the Philippines to recover some amounts from the Royal Officials employed in 1680 and 1683, or from their heirs or trustees, etc. The Council OK'ed this recommendation on 17 September 1696 (see Doc. 1696O).

Document 1689H

Letter from Fr. Cuculino to Fr. Pimentel, dated Pago 4 December 1689

Source: RAH 9/2677.

The return of Esplana to the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel

P. C.

*La vuelta de Manila e intrada en el gobierno de estas Islas Marianas de Don Damian de Esplana nos acorto toda la esperanza no solamente de augmentar, sino tambien de restaurar esta Christiandad perdida. Pues nada menos trata que hazer alguna empresa para reducir los huidos y rebeldes; antes si para impossibilarla de todo punto **deshizo el barco, que el año pasado fabrico aqui el Almirante Francisco Lascano**. Si por esso el gran zelo de almas de V.R.^a siente alguna pena, sirva de alivio la mucha religion, con que proceden los nuestros, que estan aqui, y los grandes desseos, que tienen para trabajar y emplearse todos por gloria de Dios N^o Sr. y bien de ta[n]ta[s] almas. Otra cosa no se ofrece de que por ahora avisar a V.R.^a.*

N^o Sr. guarde a V.R.^a muchos años, como yo desseo.

Pago y Deziembre 4 de 1689.

De V.R.^a muy siervo

Mathias Cuculino.

[Address:] Al Padre Luis Pimentel Provincial de la Comp^a de Jhs en la Provincia de Filipinas, Manila.

Translation.

Father Provincial Luis Pimentel.

Peace of Christ.

The return from Manila and assumption of the government of these Mariana Islands by Don Damian de Esplana has cut short all the hope we had, not only of increasing,

but also of restoring this lost Christian community. In fact, he does less than nothing in undertaking the reduction of those who fled and the rebels; rather, he has made it impossible by **dismantling the boat that Admiral Francisco Lázcano had built here last year**. If the great zeal of Y.R. for souls feels saddened by that, perhaps you may find it a relief to learn of the very religious mode of living of our people serving here, and of the great desires they all have to work and be employed for the greater glory of God our Lord and welfare of so many souls. I have nothing else to report to Y.R. at this time.

May our Lord save Y.R. for many years, as I wish.

Pago, 4 December 1689.

Y.R.'s devoted servant,

Mathias Cuculino.

[Address:] To Father Luis Pimentel, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of the Philippines, at Manila.

Document 1689I

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated at sea 4 December 1689

*Sources: A 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1969, p. 232); sold, only in 1958, to Professor C. R. Boxer, who transcribed the original, published in *Philippine Studies*, 10:3 (1962): 440-442.*

Note: This letter was written in sight of Spain, aboard the ship Santa María de Guadalupe.

Original text in Spanish

Excelentissima Señora

Uno de los procuradores Generales elegidos en Filipinas para Madrid y Roma el año de 1687 fui yo, y auiendo en tres y[n]biernos navegando mas de seis mill y quinientos leguas, para venir a España, nos allamos oy dia de la fecha tan cerca de ella, que no ai ora segura para descubrir tierra; anse padenido muchos trabajos y peligros inseparables de tan prolijas navegaciones; pero de todos nos a librado el Señor; y aora solo se tteme no nos coja fuera del puerto la luma nueva de Diziembre; pero you confio venzeran a la luna los ynfluxos de la estrella del Mar Maria que este nombre tiene el galeon capitana que nos conduce, y demas a mas tiene la adbocacion del nombre de Guadalupe, para que ni aun esta circunstancia dejare de concurrir entre los demas titulos que siempre me an presizado al reconomiento con que de capellan mas obligado a Vuestra Excellencia y a toda su casa nunca me e olvidado siendo entre los vienes que para ella pido a Dios todos los dias el menor de todos, el de la salud y vida.

Acuerdome que por el año de '85 rescivi una en que Vuestra Excellencia me dize deseava mucho verme en Españapor presumir podria ser esto causa de algun bien para las islas Marianas. Ya a condescendido Dios con el deseo de Vuestra Excellencia y su divina magestad saue quanto deseo el servirle de instrumento para el bien de aquellas almas, y de las Philipinas de donde vengo: porque unas y otras islas tienen al presente estado mui lamentable. Las Marianas por la infamia de un soldado que llevando mal lo castigos de Don Joseph de Quiroga se alzo con el gobierno, y lo tiene preso dejandole con la vida por respecto de los Padres que no an podido asta aora conseguir mas

del gobernador intruso, y como este no tiene de su parte a todos los soldados de aquel presidio temo que divididos entre si se alla desolado aquel reyno. Esta norticia la ttuvimos por Junio de '88 antes de desembocar de la Philipinas y se participo al cauo de una balandra que yba navegando a Marianas para que prevenido con ella aga quanto pudiere por castigar al obrado y restituir a Don Joseph el gobierno, digno de mayor compasion es lo que pasa en las Filipinas como Vuestra Excelencia lo bera quando lo sepa todo: por aora digo solamente que si par qualquiera es la Puerta del cielo angosta, para los que en Manila tienen los gobiernos es un postigo mui estrecho por donde no cavén animos tan vistidos de paciones como yndican en lo exterior los subcesos.

*Nuestro Señor guarde a Vuestra Excellencia y conseda felices pasquas en compañía del señor Duque y señores hijos de Vuestra Excellencia con los aumentos que yo deseo. Galeon Capittana **Santa Maria de Guadalupe** a 4 de disiembre de 1689 años.*

Excellentissima Señora

B.L.M. de Vuestra Excellencia,

su mas affecto servidor y menor capellan,

Antonio Xaramillo

Translation

Most Excellent Lady:¹

I was one of the Procurators-General elected in the Philippine Islands for Madrid and Rome in the year 1687,² and after three winters, have voyaged 6,500 leagues in order to come to Spain. We now find ourselves so close to that country, that we may sight the coast at any moment.

We have suffered many trials and dangers inseparable from such a tedious voyage, but from all these the Lord has saved us, and now we only hope we shall not encounter a new December moon at the port, but I feel sure that the moon will be conquered by the influence of the Star of the Sea, Mary, whose name is borne by the flagship galleon carrying us, and it has, in addition, the surname of Guadalupe, so that not even this circumstance should pass without due recognition by me, the most obligated chaplain of Your Excellency and of your whole household. I have never forgotten to ask God every day for many benefits on your behalf, the least of which was that of health and life.

[The soldiers' mutiny of 1688]

I remember that in the year 1685, I received a letter from you in which you expressed a wish to see me in Spain, so that the cause of the Mariana Islands might be furthered. God has now granted this, and made it possible for me to be instrumental in the salvation of those many souls, and [those] of the Philippines where I come from, because at

1 Ed. note: This translation is mostly taken from the Maggs Catalog.

2 Prof. Boxer's note: The other was Fr. Alejo López. For their mission to Spain after their elections by the Philippine provincial congregation in 1687, see H. de la Costa's *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768*, pp. 436, 516-524.

present both [groups of] islands are in a lamentable state. The Marianas are that way, because of the infamy of a soldier, who, resenting the punishments of Don José de Quiroga, revolted against the government, and has him in prison with his life, merely out of respect for the Fathers, who have not up to the present, been able to get any further concession from the usurper. As he has not got all the soldiers of the garrison on his side, I fear that, being divided, that colony may suffer.

This news we heard in June 1688, before leaving the final strait of the Philippines, and it was communicated to the captain of the sloop which was just leaving for the Marianas, so that he might do all in his power to punish the rebel, and reinstate Don José as governor.

What is happening in the Philippines is worthy of greater compassion, as Your Excellency will see when you know all. Right now, I only say that if the Gate of Heaven is narrow for anybody, for those in the Government Office in Manila it is a very narrow door, through which Minds so dressed in passion, cannot pass, as events outwardly show.¹

May our Lord preserve Your Excellency and grant you Merry Christmas in the company of the Duke and their lordships the sons of Your Excellency, with the increases that I wish.

[From the] flagship galleon **Santa Maria de Guadalupe**, on 4 December 1689.

[To the] Most Excellent Lady.

[From] Your most affectionate servant and lowest chaplain,
who kisses the hands of Your Excellency,

Antonio Xaramillo²

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- 1 Note by Prof. Boxer: Father Xaramillo was criticizing the Governor of the Philippines as early as 17 June 1682, as can be seen from his letter of that date written from Manila to the Duchess of Aveiro, and calendared in Maggs Bros., Cat. N° 442, n° 1876, p. 150 (Doc. 1682O).
 - 2 Ed. note: As soon as Fr. Xaramillo reached Madrid, he submitted a preliminary Memorial, in which he complains of the violent attacks and pamphlets written at the instigation of the Dominican Archbishop Felipe Pardo against the Jesuits in the Philippines (ref. a 4-page ms. sold by Maggs in 1924, Cat. N° 452, n° 357).

Documents 1689J

Fr. Cundari leaves Europe to go to the Marianas

Sources: AGI ex-45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 83.

Note: The original petition by Fr. Morales was in AGI 67-6-5; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 18, fol. 153-153v.

J1. Fr. Antonio Cundari is to accompany Fr. Luis de Morales as far as the Marianas

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *1689.—Misión de 3 Religiosos de la Compañía de Jhs que à expensas de la Real Hacienda pasan a las Islas Philipinas y Marianas de los concedidos al P. Luis de Morales de la dicha Compañía.—A Philipinas. Navio nombrado Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Andres, Maestre Juan de Mendoza. 30 de Junio.*

El P. Bernave Francisco Gutierrez Procurador General de las Provincias de las Yndias de la Compañía de Jesus:

Digo que como parece de la carta de aprobacion que presento se concede pueda pasar a la Provincia de Filipinas y Misiones de Marianas el P. Luis de Morales y el P. Antonio Cundari Sacerdote, natural de Palermo y Manuel Rodriguez de Leon coadjutor, que trajo de Indias por su compañero el dicho Luis de Morales los quales no alcanzaron a embarcarse en la flota que el año de 687 fue a la provincia de Nueva España y estan prontos para embarcarse en la que se esta despachando a aquella aprovincia a cargo del Conde de Villanueva y los dichos religiosos son por quenta de los setenta sugetos que al dicho Luis de Morales le estan concedidos pueda pasar a las dichas Misiones a expensas de la Real Hacienda por zedula de 31 de henero de 686 de que esta tomada la razon en la Contaduria principal desta Casa de la Contratacion por cuya quenta se despacharon en la flota antecedente a esta quarenta y un religiosos, por tanto:

A V.S. pido y suplico se sirva de mandar que al dicho P. Luis de Morales, Antonio Cundari, sacerdote, y Manuel Rodriguez de Leon, Coadjutor se les de el despacho de embarcacion de que necesitan para pasar en uno de los navios de la presente flota de

Nueva España librandoseles lo que ubiesen de haver por su aviamiento, viatico y entretenimiento en las Caxas de la Veracruz o Mexico como esta mandado por cédulas de 31 de henero y 30 de Marzo del año pasado de 686 para lo qual presento los recaudos necesarios, pido Justicia &c^a

+ Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez

Translation.

[Endorsement:] 1689.—Mission of 3 Religious of the Society of Jesus who are going to the Philippine and Mariana Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury, from those granted to Fr. Luis de Morales of said Society.—To the Philippines. Aboard ship named *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Andrés*, Master Juan de Mendoza. 30 June.

I, Fr. Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies of the Society of Jesus, do declare, as shown in the letter of approval which I present, that it is granted that the following may pass to the Province of the Philippines and Missions in the Marianas with Fr. Luis de Morales: Fr. Antonio Cundari, priest, born in Palermo, and Br. Manuel Rodriguez de León, coadjutor, whom said Fr. Luis de Morales brought as his companion from the Indies. Said individuals did not succeed in boarding the fleet of 1687 that went to New Spain and are ready to board the one that is being despatched to that province under the command of the Count of Villanueva,¹ and said Religious are part of the 70 subjects granted to said Luis de Morales as being able to pass to said Missions at the expense of the Royal Treasury by decree of 31 December 1686, which is already deposited in the main Accounting Office of this House of Trade, in accordance to which 41 religious were despatched aboard the previous fleet, therefore:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship to please order that to said Fr. Luis de Morales, Antonio Cundari, priest, and Manuel Rodriguez de León, coadjutor, be given the necessary despatch to board one of the ships of the present fleet to New Spain, and freeing what they need for their outfitting, travel expenses and food allowance in the Treasury of Veracruz or Mexico, as ordered by the decrees of 31 January and 30 March of the past year 1686, for which I present the necessary enclosures, and beg that justice be done, etc.

+ Bernabe Francisco Gutierrez

J2. Physical inspection of 22 June 1689

Before me, this week's duty officer, Don Juan Antonio Tello de Guzman.

—**There appeared Fr. Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus, a native of Torresillas in Castille the Old, 47 years old, of full body, and signs of baldness.**

1 Ed. note: Ternaux says that the fleet of 1689 reached Veracruz on 2 October, with stragglers on 10 October, but he transcribed the name of the general (wrongly, I think) as Count Villarruvia.

—Fr. Antonio Cundari, priest, native of Palermo in Sicily, 35 years old, white complexion, of average height, long nose, with a scar showing through his beard on the right side.

—Brother Manuel Rodriguez de Leon, Companion of the said Fr. Luis de Morales, born in this city, 30 years old, full body, and signs of baldness.

The above-said three religious were inspected by the said Mr. Juan Antonio Tello de Guzman, at the Hospice of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe which is the residence of Fr. Bernave Francisco Gutierrez of the said Society, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies.

Seville, 22 June 1689.

[Note:] On 30 June 1689, boarding passes were issued to the said Fr. Luis de Morales, Fr. Antonio Cundari, priests, and Brother Manuel Rodriguez de León of the Society of Jesus for the ship of Juan de Mendoza.¹

J3. Laissez-passer issued to Fr. Cundari by the Sicilian Province

Original text in Latin.

Aloysius Fardella Provincialis Societatis Jesu in Regno Siciliae.

Omnibus, in quorum manus hæ literæ venerint, salutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Cum dilectum in Christo Fratrem Nostrum Antoninum Cundari natum sub Domino Hispaniarum, et Siciliae Regis Massanae Siciliae Urbe ex obedientia ad fructificandum in vinea Domini ad Philipinas Insulas mittamus omnibus testatum volumus eum esse Societatis Nostrae Religiosum, ac Sacerdotem nullis impedimentis prohibitum quominus Missas ubique celebrare, confessiones audire, concionari, cæteraque Societatis Nostrae Ministeria obire possit, dignumque qui cum a Nostris si per aliqua Collegia Nostra transierit tum a reliquis omnibus, tanquam Dei servus benigne excipiatur humaniterque tractetur: Yn quorum fidem has literas manu nostra subscriptas, nostroque sigillo munitas dedimus Panormi die 5 Aprilis 1688.

Aloysius Fardella.

Translation.

Luis Fardella, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Kingdom of Sicily.

To all those in whose hands the present may come, greetings in God everlasting!

It is with pleasure in Christ that I attest to all that our Brother² Antonio Cundari, born in a dominion of Spain, and in the city of Messina in the Kingdom of Sicily, is being sent by holy obedience to gather the harvest of the Lord in the Philippine Islands,

1 Ed. note: There is a certificate in the same file stating that Fr. Cundari had been staying at the same Hospice of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Seville since his arrival from Sicily on 1 August 1687.

2 Ed. note: Standard formula used here. He was indeed a Father, or priest.

and that he is a religious member of our Society, and a priest with no impediment whatever anywhere for saying mass, hearing confessions, preaching, and exercising our other ministries, and he is worthy to be received with kindness and humanly treated by ours in any of our Colleges, as well as by anyone else, as a servant of God.

In faith whereof I have affixed my name and securely attached the seal, in Palermo, on 5 April 1688.

Luigi Fardella.

Document 1689K

Notes on the Marianas, made by Fr. Luis Morales, ca. 1690

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. 3.

Note: This early missionary to the Marianas, stopped at Mexico in 1689, while returning from a trip to Europe. During the year that followed, he received many letters from the Marianas. In this document, Fr. Morales summarizes them for Fr. Magino Sola, procurator in Mexico. The original letters themselves are not extant.

New complaints about Esplana's new term as governor

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Padre Morales sobre Marianas y Esplana. Con Noticias de Philipinas.*

Pax Christi &^a

Esta contiene el estado de Marianas en la Milicia. Tomó possession de su Gobierno de Marianas por Maio de 89 Don Damian de Esplana, con agenos procederes, de las honrras en que su Magd. le empeñava. Las queexas de los PP. Missioneros, son sin numero:

—El Padre Vice Provincial Lorenzo Bustillo en fha de 4 de Diciembre de 89;

—El Padre Garcia Salgado Rector de los Collexios de la Jubentud;

—Item, el mesmo en fha de 24 de Noviembre de 89 y 27 de Maio de 90;

—El Padre Diego de Zarzosa en fha de 7 de Diciembre de 89;

Sin haver persona, ni domestica, ni externa, que no avomine de dicho sugeto. Uno de los ariva referidos, dize lo siguiente:

“Hallanse retirado los pobres naturales al disierto de aquellas barbaras Islas de Seypan, y Tinian &a y lo que peor es sin esperanza de que vuelban a resar[r]zir lo perdido; porque como esto pende de conquistas, y estas de valor; es poco el que regna en lo militar, (siendo assi, que actualmente ay en Marianas 140 soldados), y ninguno el celo que late en las venas de Don Damian de Esplana, que vino en la Balandra de 89 à acavar

su Gobierno, despues de aquellas prolixas y poco decorosas determinaciones, con que se estuvo muchos años en Manila &c^a. ”

Hasta aqui dicha Carta. Otra dice lo siguiente:

“Volvio a estas Islas Don Damian de Esplana, a cumplir su gobierno, ó su des-Gobierno; y quando entendiamos, que el volver, despues de aquella afrentossa huida, havia de ser para cossas de mucha monta, en pressas de la Gloria de Dios, y adelantamiento de estas pobres Misiones; todo fue para fabricar Chiqueros, cerrar [=encerrar? cebar? criar?] cochinos, y rebuscar vacas. Vino muy mal influydo contra Don Josseph de Quiroga, a quien desterró algunos messes, y le quiso quitar el officio de Sargento Mayor; pero como lo tenia por Cedula de su Magd. ubo de mudar de intento: y los agravios, los enderezos, hasia la Persona de Quiroga que padezio mucho. El zelo, tiene merezido, por la gran dureza de su juicio, que no es capas de conssejo, ni le quiere tomar de los que le estiman. Ultimamente Esplana se confessó por Semana Santa con el Padre Diego de Zarzosa, y resultó de la confession el que a Don Josseph se le altase el destierro, y volviere a Agatñia. Las cossas de Indias, mi Padre Magino [Sola] no tienen ajuste. Aseguro a V.R. que no ay mas ley, que el Antojo, ni mas razon, que el apetito, y este como montruoso, produze amontones las varbaridades, desafueros, passiones, y locuras. Esplana no vive en Agatñia, porque no es Terreno que le quadre. En Humatag vive; porque alli tiene campo mas ancho su conçiencia, para echar por el Atajo. En todo el año, no se entra una Guardia, ni se de una militar funcion: si los Indios quizieran acabar con todo, bien pudieran, porque el descuydo de los Españoles, es sin segundo. Una salida hizieron algunos soldados para buscar las Islas del sur; pero se volvieron sin verlas, ni descubrirlas; las Islas encantadas deven ser, que no parecen quando las buscan. Las del Norte, estan llenas de los Indios huydos, y alzados, y no ay traza de haçer esta conquista por falta de varco. Cortadas estan las maderas, y buenas para fabricar uno, que sea mui capaz para estas empressas. Dios quiera que la madera, no se pudra en el monte, y que la fabrica, no sea una de las ynfinitas quimeras de este quimerico Fantazma. Dos Iglessias erigió en dos residencias, un varquillo hizo en que pasearse, muchos corrales labró en que encerrar cochinos, y estas son sus hazañas, estos sus hechos, y estas Bazofias sus sudores, de esto resulta el que la Isla esta en su pobreza, los pocos Indios, molidos, y medio muertos con la multiplicazion de Faenas ynuitiles, y de trabajos escusados.”

Otra carta dice lo siguiente:

“Este año de 89 llegó segunda vez el Almirante Don Francisco Lascano con nuevo socorro de Gente y municiones, que a sido de mucho alivio, y para colmo de la total felicidad, no deseamos otra cosa, sino que el nuevo Governador Don Damian de Esplana, se determine a yntentar la conquista de las Islas circumvezinas, y reduzir sus moradores, a esta, porque la Mission vuelva al antiguo lustre, y esplendor que gozava, pero esta resolucion al pressente, y aun mientras este Cavallero Governare, me parece imposible, por las pocas prendas que le asisten y miedo que a cobrado a los Indios. Assido la venida de este Cavallero, el golpe mas sensible que podiamos rezivir, pues no solo no quiere tomar a su cargo esta empresa, sino que con sus palabras, parece quiere

cortar el valor y animo generoso del Sargento mayor Don Josseph de Quiroga, y de los soldados que impaçientes la desean. El año passado, salio por dos vezes a esta conquista el Sargento mayor, y ambas quedó frustrado successo por los malos temporales que le arojaron a esta Isla. Su Mgd. nos de paciència para sufrir tantos golpes, y se sirva de abrir nueva senda, para que estos pobres Indios desterrados se reduzcan al Gremio de la Santa Iglesia.”

Finalmente otro informador dice:

*“Pero como por nuestros pecados, vino, y está Esplana Governando esto &c^a...”
Y a este tono, otros muchos que callo por proligidad &c^a*

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Father Morales regarding the Marianas and Esplana. With news from the Philippines.

Peace of Christ, etc.

This letter contains the state of the Marianas, military-wise. Don Damian de Esplana took possession of the Government of the Marianas in May 1689,¹ with proceedings different from the engagements implied in the honors made to him by His Majesty. The complaints of the Missionary Fathers are numberless, e.g.

—Letter from Father Vice-Provincial Lorenzo Bustillo, dated 4 December 1689;

—Letter from Father García Salgado, Rector of the Colleges of the Youth, dated 24 November 1689;

—Another, from same, dated 27 May 1690;

—Letter from Father Diego de Zarzosa, dated 7 December 1689.

Everybody, either from inside or outside our Society, detest said individual. One of the above-mentioned says the following:

“The poor natives remain retreated in the desert of those barbarous Islands of Seypan, and Tinian, etc. and what it worse, without any hope of making good on the loss, because, given that this depends on conquests, courageous ones, there is little courage on the military side (this is so, even though there are presently 140 soldiers in the Marianas), but no zeal at all beats in the veins of Don Damian de Esplana, who came in with the sloop of 1689 to complete his term of office, after those delays and not too decorous decisions, that kept him in Manila for many years, etc.” Unquote.

Another letter says the following:

“Don Damian de Esplana returned to these Islands to complete his service, or rather his dis-service; and when we understood that his return, after that shameful flight, had to be for things of great import, enterprises for the glory of God and the progress of these poor Missions, he endeavored to build piggpens to keep pigs, and rounded up cows.

1 Ed. note: He is reported (see below) to have arrived back at Guam aboard the Manila sloop. So, he was there when Fr. Morales visited from the galleon, 6-9 June 1689. This, and other remarks below, are ample proof of the 1689 voyage of the Manila sloop San Gabriel, in charge of Francisco Lazcano.

He came in with bad intentions towards Don José de Quiroga; he sent him into internal exile for a few months, and tried to take away from him the position of Sergeant-Major, but as he held it by decree of His Majesty, he was forced to change his mind, but he treated him as a person so badly that Quiroga suffered much. He has earned some envy, on account of the great harshness of his judgment, even though he is not receptive to advice, nor does he want to take it from those who esteem it. Recently, during Holy Week, Esplana went to confession with Father Diego de Zarzosa, and the result of the confession was that Don José's exile was lifted, and he returned to Agatña [sic]. Affairs in the Indies, my dear Father Magino [Sola], are never settled. I assure Y.R. that there is no law other than Caprice, and no reason other than appetite, and since it is like a monster, it produces a pile of barbarities, excesses, passions, and craziness. Esplana does not live in Agatña, because it is not a Terrain that suits him. He lives in Humatag, because overthere his conscience has a wider field of action, and can take short-cuts. During the whole year, there was not one guard mounted, and no military drill or exercise of any kind. If the Indians were to decide to finish us off, they could well do so, because the carelessness of the Spanish is unparalleled. A few soldiers carried out one expedition to search for Islands to the south, but they returned without having seen them, much less explored them; they must be the Enchanted Isles, that disappear when one seeks them. The Northern Islands are full of Indians who have fled there, and rebellious ones, and there is no possibility of making this conquest for lack of boats. The timber has been cut, and good enough to build one, that would be big enough for these enterprises. May God will that the timber does not rot in the bush, and that the construction will not be one of the infinite chimeras of this chimerical Phantom. He built two churches at two residencies, one small boat with which to go for rides, and many enclosures to keep pigs in, and these are his feats, these are his deeds, and this garbage his toil; the result of this is that the Island is as poor as it is, the few Indians exhausted, and half dead from the multiplication of useless chores, and unnecessary hardships."

Another letter says the following:

"This year 1689, Admiral Don Francisco Lazcano came back a second time with a new reinforcement of men and munitions, that has been of much relief, and to make our happiness complete, we desire nothing else but that the new Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, should decide to attempt to conquer the neighboring Islands, and reduce their inhabitants to this Island, to have the Mission regain its former glory, and the splendor it enjoyed. However, this resolution at present, and even as long as this Gentleman governs, seems to me impossible, on account of the few qualities that reside in him, and the fear that he has acquired of the Indians.¹ The return of this Gentleman has been the most deplorable blow that we could receive; indeed, not only does he not want to take charge of this enterprise, except in words, it seems that he wants to cut down the courage and generous spirit of Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga, and of

1 Ed. note: This prophecy came true.

the soldiers, who impatiently desire to go. Last year, the Sergeant-Major went out twice on this conquest, but both times success was denied him by the bad weather that threw him back to this Island. May His [divine] Majesty give us patience to suffer so many blows, and may He please open a new path, by which these poor exiled Indians may be reduced to the fold of the Holy Church.”

Finally, another informant says:

“However, it must have been on account of our sins that Esplana came back to govern this [colony], etc...”

And such is the tone of many other remarks, which I do not mention to keep this summary short, etc.

Documents 1689L

Letters from the King to the Viceroy in 1689

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8; most are also in AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 22, exp. 136, pp. 1774-1782.

Note: King Charles II had already sent a letter to the Count of Galve on 26 June 1689. In it he had thanked the Viceroy for the timely despatch of relief to the Philippines and Marianas aboard the ship San Fernando in 1688.

L1. Letter to the Count of Galve, dated Madrid 31 August 1689

Synthesis: In a letter to the King, dated 6 April 1688, the Viceroy had said that three search vessels had left Acapulco on 15 November 1687 with a crew of 207 men of good caliber, with 3 months worth of supplies, to escort the Manila galleon. On 3 February 1688, the three ships returned to Acapulco without having seen any other ship. Since it was not expected that the Manila galleon would make the voyage that year, it was decided that a relief would be sent to the Marianas and the Philippines. Consequently, only part of the goods awaiting shipment to the islands in 1688 were loaded aboard the small relief ship.

Note: An exact copy of this letter was also addressed to the Count of Monclova, in case he might still be in Mexico.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la Nueva Hesp^a aprovandele lo que dispuso para resguardar la Nao de Filipinas y el socorro que hizo el año de 688 a aquellas Islas y las Marianas, y ordenandole lo que ha de executar en otros puntos ariva expresados.

Conde de Galve Pariente Gentilhombre de mi Camara, mi Virrey Governor y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella.

En carta que me escrivio el Conde de la Monclova, sirviendo esos cargos en seis de Abril de mil seis cientos y ochenta y ocho me dio quenta de aver prevenido tres embarcaciones, en Acapulco, que salieron de aquel Puerto, a 15 de Noviembre de 1687 tripuladas con 207 hombres de buena calidad, y tres meses de bastimientos a resguardar la Nao, o Naos de Filipins que entonces se esperaban en ese Reyno, por aver faltado el

año antecedente, y que a 13 de febrero de 688 volbieron las tres embarcaciones a Acapulco, sin haver descubierto otra ninguna grande ni pequeña, y que hallandose a mediado enero con desconfianza de que tampoco aquel año veniese la Nao de Filipinas, respectto de que a aquel tiempo los mas años antecedentes ya estaban en Acapulco paso a considerar lo que devia executar para socorer las Islas Filipinas y las Marianas, y con los exemplares de lo hecho en lo antecedente, formo una Junta de los Ministros que de ordinario asisten en la de Hacienda, y de Don Francisco de Campos Baldivia Alcalde de mi Cassa y Cortte y Juez Pesquisidor a Filipinas y de los Procuradores Generales de las religiones de aquellas Islas, que residen en Mexico en que todos asistieron era mui conbeniente socorrerlas para cuio efecto, paso a dar las ordenes necesarias disponiendo se apresta una de las referidas tres embarcaciones que despues formó Junta de Hazienda sobre lo individual del socorro y de la gente, proporcionada al porte del vaxel resolbiendo se embiasen 80,000 pesos por quenta de los situados, y el vino necesario para celebrar un año misas y a este respecto, otros generos que se suelen remitir, que a esta proporcion hizo pagar a los Procuradores de las religiones y a las Islas Marianas enteramente un año tanto de lo que toca a los soldados, como a los religiosos Jesuytas que los diez y un lego desta religion que havian ydo en la proxima flota, pasaron a aquellas Islas, por las grandes instancias de su Procurador General, pero que para Filipinas no havia sido posible fuesen los que asimismo havian ydo en la flota para ellas **sino dos de missa y un lego** por lo estrecho del vagel, que llamó a Don Francisco de Campos y le propuso pasase en el, a que le respondió estava prompto y assignado a ello y que a su exemplo havian hecho lo mismo los demas Ministros que yvan a aquella Audiencia menos el oydor Don Juan de Ozaeta que por allarse su muger en dias de parir, le parecio al Conde decirle se quedase porque con lo estrecho del vagel, no ocasionase el accidente [sic] el riesgo de ella y la descomodidad de todos que salio a navegar a 31 de Marzo de 688 dejando en Acapulco alguna porcion del vino y generos que por quenta de mi Real hazienda se remitian a las Marianas y Filipinas por no caver en su Buque.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con una certificacion dada por mis ofiziales Reales de Mexico de haver ymportado el todo del dho socorro 233,720 pesos 4 tomins y 4 granos y lo que sobre ello dejo y pidio mi fiscal, he tenido por bien aprobar (como por la presente apruebo) todo lo que en razon de lo referido obro el Conde de la Monclova vuestro antecesor por aver sido tam propio de su gran celo como de su atencion al servicio de Dios y mio, y por si en los generos que se quedaron en Acapulco por no caver en el vagel, no se hubiere puesto cobro os mando dispongais el que se le de para que a mi Real hazienda no se le siga detrimento ni perjuicio, a los enterados en ellos, avisandome en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca de su paradero ó existencia, si la tubieren, y asimismo os mado que en caso de haver venido este qual Nao de Filipinas y de que en ella, no hayan hecho viage el oydor y los Religiosos que se quedaron en Mexico, dispongais el que bayan en la primera ocasion que hubiere y no lo haç.iendo el oydor, me dareis quenta de ello. Y en lo que toca a los sreligiosos constando que no pasan, o que boluntariamente y sin inpedimento grave, se queda alguno en

ese Reyno dareis orden a los ofiziales de mi Real hacienda para que no paguen a la Provincia donde estubieren destinados el vino y aceyte que yo la doy.

Fha en Madrid a 31 de Agosto de mil seis cientos y ochenta y nueve años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Anttonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain approving what he did to offer protection to the Philippine galleon, and the relief that he sent in 1688 to the Philippine and Mariana Islands, and ordering him to carry out other points mentioned therein.

Count of Galve, Relative and Gentleman of my Chamber, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter, dated 6 April 1688, sent to me by the Count of Monclova, when serving in that post, he reported that he had arranged for three ships to be sent from Acapulco on 15 November of 1687, manned with 207 men of high caliber and three months of supplies to look out for the galleon, or galleons, from Manila, which were then expected in that Kingdom, since that of the previous year had not come, but that on 13 February 1688, the three ships returned to Acapulco without having sighted any other ship, big or small. [He also said] that, by mid-January, he began to suspect that the Philippine galleon of that year would not make it either, because at that time, in preceding years, its absence would already have been felt in Acapulco. So, he began considering what to do to relieve the Philippine and the Mariana Islands; to follow the example of the past, he called a meeting of the ministers who normally sit in the Treasury council meetings, plus Don Francisco de Campos Valdivia, my chamberlain and prosecuting judge for the Philippines, plus the General Procurators of the Religious of those Islands residing in Mexico. They all agreed that it was very appropriate to go to their relief. So, he ordered that the necessary orders be drafted to the effect that one of the above three ships be made ready. Then he called a meeting of the Treasury, to consider the details of the relief and number of men, relative to the capacity of the vessel, and the decision was to send 80,000 pesos' worth of subsidy money, and enough mass wine to last for one year, and also other goods that are usually sent. He had the Procurators of the Religious pay for their share, and in full in the case of the Marianas, for one year, for the [transport of the] soldiers as well as the Jesuit Religious, since all 10 of them, plus one lay brother who had gone in the last [Atlantic] fleet did go on to those Islands, at the great insistence of their Procurator General. However, for the Philippines, it had not been possible to send everyone who had also been in the fleet, except for **two Missionaries and one lay brother**, on account of the smallness of the ship.¹ He called Don

1 Ed. note: Only Fr. Aparicio, Fr. Palavicino, and Br. Aller made it to Guam in 1688.

Francisco de Campos and proposed to him that he should go aboard it; he agreed and all the members of the Audiencia followed suit, except for one, Don Juan de Ozaeta, whose wife was about to deliver and to whom the Count said that he should stay on account of the smallness of the ship and to prevent an accident and for the lack of comfort.¹ Finally, the ship sailed on 31 March 1688, leaving behind in Acapulco part of the wine and goods that were remitted to the Marianas and Philippines on my behalf.

Having examined the matter in my Royal Council of the Indies, with one certificate given by my royal officials in Mexico stating that the said relief amounted to 233,720 pesos, 4 tomins and 4 grains, and with a note from my Fiscal, I have decided to approve (as I do now approve) everything that your predecessor, the Count of Monclova, has done in this regard, since his great diligence was so appropriate, and so his care for the greater service of God and mine. With regards to the goods that have been left behind at Acapulco, on account of the smallness of the vessel, and for which no charges have been levied, you are to arrange it so that my Royal Treasury will not suffer any detriment, nor any prejudice ensue to interested parties, and you are to report to me on what you have done at the first opportunity, stating the place, and stock, if any. Furthermore, I order you, in case the Philippine galleon did not make it this year, and should the member of the Audiencia and the religious who remained in Mexico have been unable to make their voyage, you are then to arrange for them to do so at the earliest opportunity. If the member of the Audiencia does not make it, you are to advise me of same, but in the case of the religious, if they do not go on, or remain voluntarily in that Kingdom, without a serious reason, you are to order the royal officials of my Royal Treasury not to reimburse their Province of destination for the wine and oil that is normally on my account.

Made at Madrid, 31 August 1689.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,
Antonio Ortiz de Otalera.

Countersigned by the Council.

L2. List of the goods not sent in 1688, but forwarded in 1689

We, the official judges of the Royal Treasury in the port of Acapulco representing His Majesty, to wit Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Meca y Falces, and the Treasury-factor Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe Romero, in compliance with the Decree issued by His Excellency, the Count of Galve, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia there, dated 26 June of this present year, appearing at the foot of the Royal Decree dated 31 August of last year 1689, in which His Excellency was pleased to order us to certify the conversion [conservation?]

1 Ed. note: Licentiate Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, a native of Lima, made it in 1689 (see B&R 42:304).

of the goods that were left in the Royal Warehouses, from those remitted from that port this past year of 1688 for the relief of the Mariana and Philippine Islands, for lack of ship space aboard the ship **Santo Rey Don Fernando** that made the voyage to the said islands.

We hereby certify that, according to the record books and official papers in our care, it appears that the goods that were left in the said Royal Warehouses, from those that were loaded aboard the said ship, are as follows:

Wine.

256 @ [=arrobas] of Spanish table wine, in 62 barrels, out of 600 units that were remitted from this city with a waybill dated 12 March 1688 256@

Blankets.

100 white blankets, for single beds, in 4 bundles 100

Steel.

7 quintals of steel in 4 crates 7 quintals

Copper sheets.

50 sheets of copper 50

Iron.

50 quintals of iron plates [for glazing stuff] 50 quintals

Rough cloth.

920 yards of rough cloth 920 yards

Fish-net thread.

400 pounds of Spanish thread for fishing nets 400 pounds

The said goods, as before said, remained for lack of ship space in the said warehouses where they stayed until the arrival this past year 1689 at the said port of Acapulco of the flagship galleon from the Philippines, the **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, which began her return voyage to the said Islands with their subsidy on 29 March of the said year. On 31 March, there was delivered from the said Royal Warehouses to the Captain, Sergeant-Major Don Gorge de Orteica [sic=Jorge de Ortega?], Master of the said galleon, and to Captain Marcos de Lizarraga, boatswain of the said galleon, what follows:

Blankets.

100 blankets, single-bed, in 4 bundles 100

Steel.

7 quintals of steel in 4 crates 7 quintals

Copper sheets.

50 sheets of copper in 8 crates 50

Iron.

50 quintals of iron plates 50 quintals

Wine.

221 @ of Spanish table wine, in 52 barrels, out of the 256 @ that remained in the said warehouses, because the missing 35 are due to the spoilage that resulted from the one-year stay in the said warehouses; this is usual for this type, and a better conservation would have resulted, had it been transferred to clay jars 221 @

Rough cloth.

920 yards of rough cloth, which the said boatswain used for a main-sail for the return voyage of the said galleon 920 yards

Fish-net thread.

400 pounds of Spanish thread for fishing nets, 108 of which were used by the said boatswain in sewing the said sail, and another sail that he made for the foremast; the other 292 were received by the said Captain and Master 400 pounds

He did acknowledge the receipt of the above-mentioned goods, as well as new material for the outfitting of the said galleon, and obliged himself to give a full and detailed report to the royal officials at Manila, as it appears in the record book, in an entry made by the secretary of those Royal accounts, dated 31 March, and the consumption of the said boatswain entered on the 29th by the said secretary.

In witness whereof, we by the present do affix our names and signatures at this city of Mexico on the 25th day of September of 1690.

[Signatures]

Francisco de Meca y Falces

Pedro Gil de la Sierpe Romero

L3. Letter to the Count of Galve regarding the soldiers' mutiny in Guam, dated Madrid 12 October 1689

Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 8, fol. 296v-297v, pp. 620- 622; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 22, exp. 749; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Sobre el Alzamiento que suçedio en las Islas Marianas. Al Virrey de la Nueva España aprovandole y dandole graçias por lo que dispuso para el reparo del Alzamiento suçdido en las Islas Marianas el año de 1688.

Conde de Galve Pariente gentilhombre de mi Camara mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella.

Con carta de 21 de Marzo de este año me remitisteis testimonio de que con las noticias que tubisteis del Alzamiento y sublevazion suçedido en las Islas Marianas a 27 de Maio de 1688 prendiendo al Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga que las governava en ynterin y ntroduçiendose con su Gobierno un Ayudante de aquel Presidio sugeto condenado a Filipinas y antes à azotes que se le dieron en Mexico resolvisteis en Junta que formasteis ordenar (como lo hiçisteis) à Lucas Matheo de Orquiza General de la nao que este año hizo su tornabiage a Filipinas que luego que llegase al Puerto de Guajan en las Marianas procurase con el mayor sigilo y diligencia que le fuese posible adquirir noticia yndividual y cierta de dha sublevazion y que existiendo el Governador yntroso nombrase un cavo de su satisfaccion que con cinquenta o sesenta

hombres bien prevenidos y expertos en el manexo de las armas pasase à tierra à ocupar los puestos mas favorables y procurase con todo cuidado y solicitud apreender al dho Ayudante y a los que le hivesen seguido en el delito y que siendo cierto haverle cometido los fulminase el dho cavo la causa y breve y sumariamente hiçiese justizia de ellos de calidad que sirviese de exemplo su castigo. Y que conseguido este pasase a que todos los naturales reducidos diesen la obediencia al dho Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga ó al Governador ó personas que estuviesen puestas por el de las Islas Philipinas previniendoles que solo sus ordenes avian de executar y las de la educacion de la Doctrina y correccion de los religiosos misioneros de la Comp^a de Jesus que la tienen a su cargo obrando el dho cavo en todo lo que recocoçiese fuese mas del servicio de Dios y mio ynstruyendo al cavo el dho general en lo que a este fin le pareciere combeniente, pero con advertenzia de averse de executar lo referido en el tiempo que regularmente acostumbra estar la nao de Philipinas en el puerto de Guayan para obiar [obviar?] los yncombenientes de su demora en el, à que avia de atender el dho General como à daros quenta de la resulta a mi Governador de Philipinas.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias, ha parecido aprobar (como por la presente os apruevo) lo que en orden a lo referido obrasteis y os doy graçias por las providençias que disteis al reparo de dha sublevazion siendo todas muy propias de vuestro çelo y atenzion a mi servicio y de la confianza que tengo hecha de vos con las quales espero se hallará ya quieta aquella tierra de que aguardo noticia en la primera ocassion de nao de Filipinas.

De Madrid a 12 de oct. de 1689.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

Regarding the uprising that happened in the Mariana Islands. To the Viceroy of New Spain approving and giving him thanks for having arranged to repair the damage done by the uprising that occurred in the Mariana Islands in 1688.

Count of Galve, etc.

In a letter dated 21 March of this year, you remitted to me a sworn statement to the effect that the news you have received of the **uprising and mutiny that occurred in the Mariana Islands on 27 May 1688** when they seized Sergeant-Major Don Joseph de Quiroga, the interim Governor, and an adjutant of that Garrison placed himself in charge of their government, he being a convict soldier exiled to the Philippines, follow-

ing a punishment to the whip that was given him in Mexico, that you decided, in a council meeting, to order (as you in fact did) Lucas Matheo de Urquiza, General of the galleon,¹ which returned to the Philippines this year, that, upon arrival at the port of Guajan in the Marianas, he was to make every possible effort to get secret, and correct, information about this mutiny, and, should there be an intruder as Governor, he was to select from 50 to 60 skilled men, expert in the handling of firearms, to go ashore and occupy the most favorable positions, and to try, with due care and vigilance, to apprehend the said Adjutant, and those who might have followed him in the crime, and that, once he has ascertained the implication of the said officer, he was to judge him and sentence them summarily, making sure the punishment will serve as an example.² After this, he was to ensure that all the natives in reduced state swear allegiance to the said Sergeant-Major Don Joseph de Quiroga, or to the Governor, or persons filling the posts as appointed by the Governor of the Philippines, making sure they understand that he is the only one whose orders they should obey, and with regard to the teaching of the doctrine, to those Missionaries of the Society of Jesus who are in charge of it, the said officer regulating his every action for the greater service of God, and mine, by having the said General give whatever instruction he sees fit to the said officer. However, the said General was to execute the said orders during the time of the regular stopover of the Philippine galleon in the port of Guajan, since it would be a disadvantage to stay longer, and then file a report with my Governor of the Philippines.

This matter having been considered in my Royal Council of the Indies, I have decided to approve (as I do now approve) what you have done in the above circumstances, and I thank you for the timely measures taken to repair this mutiny. I did not expect any less from your zeal and care in my service, and the trust I have placed in you, from which I hope that that country will now be at peace, and about which I await news at the first opportunity of a galleon from the Philippines.

From Madrid, 12 October 1689.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Antonio Ortiz de Otalera

Countersigned by the Council.

Note: See Vol. 5, Appendix A, for the so-called **Process of Toledo**, held in 1689 into the cause of the beatification of the Venerable Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the Apostle of the Marianas.

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- 1 Ed. note: However, Urquiza remained behind at Acapulco, as the Viceroy named Gabriel Arnedo y Escudero as general, but the latter was in turn discharged at sea and Pedro de Orioso took over as commander (see B&R 42: 303-304).
 - 2 Ed. note: In 1709, Governor Pimentel (see Doc. 1709E) reported that Esplana, upon his return to Guam in 1689, executed 23 of the mutineers, but there is no confirmation of this. He had in mind the events of 1690, when some convicts off the wreck of the *Pilar* mutinied, and 23 were executed.

Documents 1689M

Mexican families urged to move to the Marianas

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 370-371v.

Proclamation by the Viceroy quoting the royal decree

Original text in Spanish.

Sr. Don Gaspar de Sandoval Zerda Silva y Mendoza Conde [de] Galve Gentil hombre con exercicio de la Camara de su Magestad Comendador de las encomiendas de Salamea y Seclavin en la orden y Cavalleria de Alcantara Alcaide perpetuo de los Reales alcazares puertos y puentes de la Ciudad de Toledo y del castillo y torres de la Ciudad de Leon Señor de las Villas de Tortola y Zazedon del Consejo de su Magd. su Virrey lugar theniente Governador y Capitan General de esta nueva españa y presidente de la Rl. Aud^a della &a.

Por quanto Antemi se presento un memorial con una Real Cedula del thenor siguiente:

Exmo. Señor: Magino Sola de la Comp^a de Jesus y su procurador general de la provincia de Phelipinas y Marianas dice que su Magd. (que Dios guarde) afin de solicitar el fomento de las Yslas Marianas y que a maior onrra y gloria de Dios se augmente aquella Christiandad se sirvio de expedir la Rl. Cedula adjunta ordenando por ella procure V.Ex^a que voluntariamente pasen de este reino a dhas Yslas algunas familias para su poblacion por ser uno de los medios que façilitan la seguridad y adelantamiento de aquella Christiandad y para que pueda tener efecto: a V.Ex^a pide y suplica sea servido de dar en esta parte la providencia que tubiere por mas combeniente que en ello recibira merced que espera de la grandeza de V.Ex^a

Magino Sola

“El Rey

“Conde de Monclova Pariente de mi Consejo de guerra Virrey Governador y Capitan General de la nueva españa y presidente de mi Aud^a della o a la persona o personas a cui cargo fuere su Gobierno.

“Noticias teneis de lo mucho que e deseado y solicitado el fomento de la Mision de las Yslas Marianas, y que con grandes crezes a la maior onrra y gloria de Dios se aumente aquella nueva Christiandad y porque aora Luis de Morales procurador General de la Compania de Jhs de Phelipinas y Marianas cuia religion tiene a su cargo dha Mision me a representado que para poder conseguir el brebe adelantamiento della conbendria pasasen de ese Reino a las Marianas familias que pueblen aquellas Yslas.

“Visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias y consultadoseme sobre ello he resuelto ordenaros como lo hago procureis que voluntariamente vaian de ese Reino a las Yslas Marianas algunas familias pues como reconozeis sera uno de los medios que façiliten la seguridad y adelantamiento de aquella Christiandad y de lo que en orden a este fin dispusiereis me dareis quenta en todas ocasiones.

“Fha en Madrid a treinta de Diziembre de mill seis y ochenta y siete años.

“Yo el Rey

“Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

“Señalada a la vuelta con quatro rubricas.”

Y por mi visto conformandome con dha respuesta por el presente mando se pregone publicamente en las partes acostumbradas de esta Ciudad y en las demas de esta Governacion para que llegue a notiçia de todos y las familias que quisieren boluntariamente pasar a dhas yslas Marianas lo hagan en la forma y como su Magd. (que Dios guarde) escrivio de permitirlo para que con esta ocasion o en otras qualesquiera se lleven y conduzgan para el adelantamiento de aquella Christiandad.

Fho en Mexico a ocho dias del mes de febrero (digo) Marco ocho de mil seisçientos y ochenta y nueve años.

El Conde de Galve.

Por mandado de su Ex^a

D. Joseph de la Cerda Moran

[Membrete:] A su Ex^a en obedecimiento de R^l Cedula de su Magd. mandase pregone en esta Ciudad y en las demas partes de esta Governacion para que todas las familias que quisieren puedan pasar a poblar a las Yslas Marianas.

Translation.

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silva y Mendoza, Count of Galve, gentleman of the Chamber of His Majesty, Commander of the fiefs of Salamea and Seclavin within the Order and Knighthood of Alcantara, perpetual Warden of the royal forts, ports and bridges of the City of Toledo and of the castle and towers of the City of León, Lord of the Towns of Tortola and Zazedon, member of the Privy Council of His Majesty, his Viceroy and Lieutenant Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of its Royal Audiencia, etc.

Inasmuch as before me was presented a memorial with a royal decree whose contents is as follows:

“Your Excellency: I, Magino Sola of the Society of Jesus and its procurator general for the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, declare that His Majesty (whom may God save), in order to solicit the progress of the Mariana Islands and to foster an increase of that Christian community for the greater honor and glory of God, was pleased to issue the Royal decree, enclosed, by which he orders that Y.E. ought to obtain that some families voluntarily emigrate from this Kingdom to said Islands to populate them, as it is one of the means that might facilitate the security and progress of that Christian community, and in order for this to happen, I beg and beseech Y.E. to please make the appropriate provision in these parts, and I will remain thankful for this favor which I expect from the greatness of Y.E.

Magino Sola.”

“The King

“[To the] Count of Monclova, Relative and Member of my War Council, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of its Audiencia or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be:

“You have heard of my great desire and solicitude for the development of the Mariana Island Mission, and for seeing that new Christian community make progress for the greater honor and glory of God. Now that Luis de Morales, procurator general of the Society of Jesus for the Philippines and Marianas, whose Order has said Mission under its care, has represented that, in order to obtain such a development soon, it would be convenient to have families emigrate from that Kingdom to the Marianas and populate those Islands.

“This matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and after consultation, I have decided to order you, as I do now, to try and have some families go voluntarily from that Kingdom to the Mariana Islands, since you will recognize that it is one of the means to facilitate the security and progress of that Christian community and you are to keep me informed of your actions about it at every opportunity.

“Made at Madrid on 30 December 1687.

“I the King

“By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

“Countersigned on reverse side with 4 rubrics.”

And having seen this, and in order to conform with said answer, I by the present order its publication in the usual places of this City and in the other places under this Government, to let everyone know that families that may want to go voluntarily to said Mariana Islands may do so in the manner and as His Majesty (whom may God save) has given written permission, so that on this occasion and any other, they may be taken there, for the development of that Christian community.

Made at Mexico on 8 February, rather 8 March, 1689.

The Count of Galve.

By order of His Excellency,

Don José de la Cerda Morán.

[Endorsement:] To His Excellency, in obedience to the Royal decree of His Majesty, to order the publication in this City and in other places under this government, so that all the families that wish to go and settle in the Mariana Islands may do so.¹

1 Ed. note: Nevertheless, there is no record of any Mexican families having moved to Guam.

Document 1689N

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1688 and 1689

Source: AGN AHH 1244, fol. 421-435v.

Original text in Spanish

Señores Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*Haviendo llegado el caso de hacer su tornaviaje el Galeon Capitana el **Santo Cristo de Burgos** que vino de essas Yslas y en el executar el Excellentissimo Señor Conde de Galve Virrey Governador y Capitan General desta Nueva España el socorro que la estreches de los tiempos permite de oportunidad, y el caudal que se a procurado recoger para el efecto de todas las reales Cajas desta Nueva España...*

...

Yslas Marianas

48,332p 6t 0gn que assi mismo se an librado de la Real caja de nuestro cargo por dos años de lo destinado de situados de las yslas Marianas, los de 1688 y el presente de 1689 y otros gastos en esta manera:

<i>—25,200 p por los sueldos de dos años de los quarenta soldados que sirven a su Magd. en dhas yslas Marianas</i>	<i>25,200 p</i>
<i>—10,000 p de la consignacion de dhos dos años de lo destinado de cinco mill pesos en cada uno para dos seminarios que ay en dhas Yslas</i>	<i>10,000 p</i>
<i>—9,800 p de los estipendios de dhos dos años de los Religiosos misioneros que asisten en dhas Yslas</i>	<i>9,800 p</i>
<i>—2,600 p para la compra de 12 ornamentos y campanas para otras tantas yglesias de dhas yslas</i>	<i>2,600 p</i>
<i>—732 p 6 t por la limosna de un año destinada para vino y aceite de los Religiosos misioneros de dhas yslas</i>	<i>732 p 6 t</i>

48,332 p 6t

Por manera que lo librado a las yslas Marianas por las razones expresadas ymporta los dhos
48,332 p 6t

Translation

Gentlemen, Official judges of the Royal treasury and finances in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

In view of the circumstance respecting the return voyage of the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that came over from those Islands and given the duty that His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, has of sending the succor that the tightness of the times allows, and the funds that have been collected for this purpose from all the royal agencies of this New Spain...

...

Mariana Islands

48,332 pesos 6 toming and no grain, that have also been released from the royal treasury in our care, and destined for the subsidies of two years for the Mariana Islands, i.e. that of 1688 and of the present year of 1689, and other expenses as follows:

—25,200 pesos for the salaries for two years of the 40 soldiers who serve His Majesty in said Mariana Islands ...	25,200 p
—10,000 pesos for the consignment for two years, i.e. 5,000 pesos annually, for two seminaries existing in said Islands ...	10,000 p
—9,800 pesos for the stipends for two years of the religious missionaries who reside in said Islands ...	9,800 p
—2,600 pesos for the purchase of 12 ornaments and bells for as many churches in said Islands ...	2,600 p
—732 pesos 6 tomings for the alms of one year, meant for wine and oil for the religious missionaries in said Islands ...	732 p 6t

48,332 p 6t

So that the total amount granted to the Mariana Islands for the above-mentioned reasons is 48,332 pesos 6 tomings.

Document 1690A

Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess, dated Cádiz 1 January 1690

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 25 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1972, p. 235).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog.

At the beginning of December, before sighting Spanish soil, I wrote to you,¹ informing you that I was coming as Procurator of the Philippines and the Marianas, and pointing out the danger which threatened these Missions. I do not know whether this letter has reached your hands, or the other news I sent of the same mission during these recent years, via the Orient... because out of the four letters sent from Europe, I received only two—one from Father Diego de Valdes, the other from Father Luis de Morales; and these had remained in Mexico, the reason being that the Philippines had lacked the service of the galleon for two years, and the fact that my letters had gone to that Kingdom on another occasion, when I was myself travelling from there to New Spain.

Briefly the following is what has occurred in the Marianas during the last few years. After the deaths which had taken place in the year 1684, Father Diego Zarzosa sailed for Manila in 1685, and, guided by the information given by the Vice Provincial, Father Gerardo Bouwens, spoke with the Governor and members of the Audiencia, requesting that Damian de Esplana should be removed from the Governorship of the Marianas (who, owing to the death of Don Antonio de Sarabia, had been pitch-forked into the governorship of the Mission), and that Don Joseph de Quiroga should be elected to succeed him. This and the attainment of a vessel for the voyage was granted after a great deal of trouble, although eventually the journey was not accomplished, owing to inclement weather; neither did the ship which was carrying supplies to the Marianas from Acapulco touch port. It was also carrying the King's Decree nominating Don

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1689I.

Joseph de Quiroga to the post of Governor, but the commander, fearing the presence of two little boats in the port of San Juan, did not reach land...

The ship made its way to the Philippines, but had very nearly been lost within sight of the Marianas, by navigating the islands to the south, where they discovered a new island, some 18 leagues from San Juan.¹

...

[The writer describes how Esplana finally decided to return to Manila in 1688, and boarded a small boat, where there were very few passengers, including Father Matias Cuculino.]

For this voyage, which should have been punished as desertion under the Flag and Arms of His Majesty, he sometimes alleged that he was ill, and at other times gave as his reason, that he wished to offer assistance to Manila, in case of that city's invasion by the enemy! When in reality, I think he only sailed away out of sheer terror of the Indians, or fear of starvation on account of the irregular sailings of relief ships!...

A third time did the vessel get ready, and before landing, it met between the Islands, a tender² which the Viceroy of Mexico had despatched to the Philippines in 1688, and the Fathers who were on board saw **Father Thomas Cardeñoso, who was coming from the Islands, to ask for help against a Mexican criminal, who has Don Joseph de Quiroga on the alert**, and has annoyed many soldiers. I also had this news before embarking, and went on board the Mariana vessel, talking at great length with the commander, enjoining him to render assistance.

At present there are no more Missionaries beyond those at San Juan, where the new Governor does not treat the Fathers badly, and these govern their own Indians. I do not know what can have caused the rising, but there is no doubt that it was fear of Don Joseph's punishments. I have never doubted his courage and zeal, but I have always feared his imprudence and obstinacy. I bring a long report³ from the Marianas for you to see, and for safety sake, I am bringing it with me.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: From the beginning, there was a confusion between the discovery of the Santa Rosa Bank close to Guam, and the discovery of Carolina Island further south.

2 Ed. note: This was the frigate San Fernando which met the outgoing galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos (carrying Fr. Xaramillo) among the Philippine Islands. I think that the expression "before landing" is a probable reference to the Embocadero (San Bernardino Strait), here confused with an embarcadero, or landing (platform).

3 Ed. note: This can only be one of the documents in Doc. 1688O.

Documents 1690B

Letters from Fr. Provincial Sanchez to Fr. Procurator Xaramillo in 1690

Source: RAH 9/2669 doc. n° 20 & 29 (B1 & B3).

B1. Letter dated San Pedro [Makati] 29 April 1690

The new Provincial of the Philippines wants to reduce the number of missionaries in the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

Padre Antonio Xaramillo.

Pax Christi &c.

Las de V.R. escritas desde el puerto de Acapulco al Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel, y al Padre Francisco Salgado, por muerte del uno, y del otro llegaron a mis manos, y fueron de mucho consuelo a todos por saver avia llegado V.R. con su comp^o a esse Puerto aunque con muchos achaques ocasionados con la larga Navegasion...

A cinco de Julio del año passado un día antes que llegasse un troso de la Mission del Padre Luis Morales a Cavite, murio el Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel. Abriose la primera Via, y salio nombrado el Padre Francisco Salgado, el qual admitio el officio de Provincial: Mas de alli a pocos dias cayo enfermo y de un tabardillo a 14 del mesmo mes con sentimiento de toda la Provincia se murio...

*A seis de Julio del año passado llegó à Cavite como dije arriba un troso de la Mission del Padre Morales. Los que llegaron aca toda gente moza y estudiantes, uno tan solamente sacerdote que fue el que venia por superior de todos. **En las Marianas se quedaron diez** y los mejores que alla no serviran, y en Manila, son necessarios a donde ay falta de maestros predicadores y de quien pueda Governar la Provincia. Y assi vista la necesidad tan grande an sido de parezer todos los Padres se llamen de la Marianas a Manila los Padres Joachin Assin, Joseph Fernandez, Garcia Salgado, que dizen son los mejores, y dos Hermanos que alla no haran falta por agora aunque se sacaran otros mas.*

*A seis de Enero deste año volvio la Valandra de Marianas despues de aver dejado en aquellas Islas al Nuevo Governador Damian Esplana. Vino en ella por Capellan, un Padre de Marianas llamado Padre Juan Sirmeysen. Y lo que su R^a quenta y lo que escriven los Padres de por alla es de muy poco, ó ningun consuelo. Uno escribe: que la viña es corta: otro dize que **messis parva, operarij multi**. Con la llegada del Nuevo Governador han perdido la esperança los Padres no solamente de nuevas conquistas, mas ni aun de poder recuperar lo perdido; porque el cavallero no trata desto, sino de hazer estancias y chiqueros, y casar puercos en el monte. Assi lo escriven de alla. Dizen que uno de los nuestros informo por esse cavallero: Lo cierto es que a conocer bien el sugeto como yo y los Padres de Bool y Zebu, lo conosimos quando fue alcalde mayor en aquella Provincia no huviera informado en su favor[;] bastavan los pleytos que tuvo la primera vez en las Marianas para conocerle que fue menester descomulgarlo, porque no bolviessse por alla la segunda vez. El Padre que de alla vino quenta, que **en toda la Isla de S. Juan abrà dos mil Indios**: Muy poca medra essa Mission al cavo de veinte años sino mas, que se comenzo, y pareze que oy dia comienza: Pues ay muchos Pueblos en Bisayas, que cada uno tiene mas de dos mil Indios. Quenta tambien el padre que vino de Marianas que antes que llegara alla el nuevo Governador embiaron assi por parte del Sur como de Norte algunas embarcaciones en busca de algunas Islas y por los malos tiempos mas nos pudieron passar adelante sino que se bolvieron [sic=vieron] obligados a bolver. Tuvieron uno ó dos Bagfujios, muy furiosos que les deribarón las casas e Iglesias y los mesmos arboles. Todos los Padres que ay en Marianas son treze, quatro Hermanos, y dos donados que aun la mitad de todos essos sugetos de la manera que estan al dia de oy las Marianas es superfluof.] dizen que el Governador No vive en la cavezera sino en otro Pueblo distante.*

A venido Cedula del Rey para que se haga informacion y averigue la causa del alzamiento y quien tuvo la culpa de la muerte de los Padres. Porque dizen que algunos se la hechan a Esplana, el Governador embio a llamar al Padre Antonio Cerezo que al tiempo del alzamiento estava en Marianas, para saver lo que passó: Pero como es cossa criminal no dudo de que el Padre hablaria con tiento. Despues desto el mesmo Governador me remitió otra carta por via de ruego, para que examinasse al dicho Padre Antonio Zerezo el qual como esta en Manila, remiti la carta del Governador al Padre Rector para que lo examine.—

A 31 de dezfiembrje murio el Arzobispo de Manila, sin sacramentos...

*...
Todos los Padres consultores son de parecer que V.R. no trayga muchos sugetos, sino pocos, y buenos ya sacerdotes, y que puedan servir a la Provincia y a su tiempo gobernarla porque ay falta destos y que de ninguna manera se cargue la Provincia que esta muy alcanzada con nuevas libranzas...*

*...
El Almirante Lascano remite un Informe muy bien hecho, al Rey, en favor de las Marianas, dando noticia de la Isla S. Juan con la esperiencia que tiene probando quan necessario sea el conservar con presidio aquella Isla, y que el no averse adelantado*

aquella mission assido por falta de los Cavos poco experimentados en la mar y en la militia: Añade algunos Arbitrios y medios para conservar y adelantar aquella mission. No dejara de venir a las manos de V.R.^a el dicho informe que parece va remitido a la Duquesa de Abeyro para que por sus manos passe a las de la Reyna Madre y de aquellas, a las del Rey. V.R. procure de ayudar en lo que pudiere al dicho Almirante porque todos le devemos, y mucho mas los Padres de Marianas, que Damian Esplana, porque como hombre de la mar fuera descubriendo Islas. El Señor lo disponga como mejor le pareciere para bien de tantas almas.—

La Necesidad de sujetos nos obliga a sacar de las Marianas unos tres sujetos que puedan servir en la cathedra y pulpito, porque no los hay. Lastima es qual esta la Provincia de 40 y mas años a esta parte no a estado de peor data. Ne hemos podido hallar quien sirva de ministro en el Collegio, sino que assido forso el valerse de un Theologo de tercer año. Un tal solo operario de Tagalos, ay en Manila, y este pide remuda, y no se halla. Digo esto para que V.R. vea la necesidad que ay de que no trayga algunos sugetos pocos pero buenos, y ya hombres hechos, y que puedan gobernar la Provincia, porque mosos no faltan que primero que puedan servir se passará muchos años, y no sabemos quales seran los que an de venir como dizen con el Padre Morales.—

Hasta oy dia de la fecha no se save aun quien sea, ó aya dezer [=de ser] Governador del Arzobispado...

Remito con esta dos cartas de los Padres de Marianas Tomas Cardeñoso, y Mathias Cuculino, para que V.R. este mejor enterado de las cosas de Marianas, y con esto acavo regando al Señor que se sirva dar a V.R. y a su compañero muy entera salud y feliz subcesso en los Pleytos que lleva encargados de esta Provincia y que pueda ser V.R. el que restaure lo perdido mirando con ojos de piedad y zelo de la Religion para el bien de esta Provincia que esta esperando de rehazerse en todo con el buen despacho y sollicita negociacion de V.R. no olvidandose de este su siervo y nutil en sus Santos Sacrificios &c.

S. P^o y Abril 29 del 690.

Servus en Chro.

+

Joseph Sanches

[Endorsement:] Manila San P^o Abril 29 1690. Padre Provincial con dos de los Padres Cardeñoso, y Cuculino escritas desde Marianas en que da noticia de varias cosas sobre pleitos, y sobre Misiones de Marianas.

Translation

Father Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ, etc.

The letters of Y.R. written from the port of Acapulco to Fr. Provincial Luis Pimentel, and to Father Francisco Salgado, on account of the death of both of them, have reached my hands, and were of much consolation to all, because we learned that Y.R.

has arrived with your companion to that port, although with many ailments caused by the long crossing...

On 5 July of last year, one day before part of the mission band of Father Luis Morales arrived at Cavite, Fr. Provincial Luis Pimentel died. The first sealed letter was opened, and the nomination of Father Francisco Salgado came out; he accepted the post of Provincial. However, a few days later, he fell sick with a burning fever and, on the 14th of the same month he died, at the sorrow of the whole Province...

On 6 July of last year, there arrived at Cavite, as I have said, part of the mission band of Fr. Morales. All of those who arrived here are young men and students; only one of them was a priest, and he came as superior of them all.¹ **In the Marianas, there remained 10** and the best.² They will not be of any use overthere, but here in Manila they are necessary, because of the lack of master preachers and someone to govern the Province. So, in view of such a great need, all the Fathers have been of the opinion to recall from the Marianas to Manila Fathers Joaquin Assin, José Fernandez [rather Hernandez], and García Salgado, who, they say, are the best, and two Brothers who will not be missed overthere for now, even if a few more were taken out.³

On 6 February of this year, the Mariana sloop returned after it had left the new Governor in those Islands, Damian Esplana. A Father of the Marianas, named Father Juan Sirmeysen [sic], came aboard it as Chaplain. What his Reverence narrates and what the Fathers write about things overthere are of not much, or no consolation. One writes that the vineyard is small; another says that *messis parva, operarij multi*.⁴ With the arrival of the new Governor the Fathers have lost hope, not only of new conquests, but not even of being able to recover what has been lost, because the gentleman does not deal with this, but is busy making plantations and pig-pens, and hunting pigs in the bush. This is what they write from overthere. They say that one of our people submitted a report in favor of that gentleman.⁵ The truth is that, if one knew the individual well, as I and the Fathers of Bohol and Cebu knew him when he was Magistrate of that Province, he would not make a favorable report about him; the complaints against him, when he served the first time in the Marianas and was excommunicated, were enough for us to know him, and to prevent him from going overthere a second time. The Father who came from overthere reports that **in the whole of the Island of San Juan [i.e.**

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Baraona (see B2 below).

2 Ed. note: This happened in 1688 (3 missionaries), as well as in 1689 (8 missionaries).

3 Ed. note: Fr. Hernandez left with the galleon Santo Niño, but on account of the shipwreck of the almiranta Pilar, the other two priests left with the Manila sloop only in December 1690. As for Brother Aller, he died in June 1690, but Br. Alonso Marín, the second brother recalled, left in December 1690 (ref. Doc. 1691B).

4 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "the harvest is poor, but the workers are numerous."

5 Ed. note: Fr. Sanchez is diplomatic here, because he knows that his correspondent, Fr. Xaramillo, was the Jesuit who originally praised Esplana, and got him this belated official re-appointment as Governor of the Marianas. In other words, Fr. Sanchez was reporting to Fr. Xaramillo the trouble he had originally caused to his brethren in the Marianas; there is no record either that he ever changed his mind, or apologized to them.

Guam] there would be about 2,000 Indians: that is very little prosperity for that Mission, at the end of 20 years, or more, since it began, and it seems that it is only now beginning. In fact, there are many towns in the Visayas that year after year report more than 2,000 Indians. The Father who came from the Marianas also tells us that, before the new Governor got there, they sent to the south and to the north some canoes in search of some Islands, but on account of bad weather, they could not go very far before they saw themselves obliged to return. They had one or two typhoons, very furious ones that brought down the houses and churches and even the trees. The total number of Fathers living in the Marianas are 13, plus 4 Brothers and 2 oblates, which means that even half of all those subjects who live there now in the Marianas are superfluous. They say that the Governor does not live in the capital but in another distant town.

A royal decree has come, asking that an investigation be carried out and an inquiry made into the cause of the uprising, to find out who was responsible for the death of the Fathers. Because they say that some put the blame on Esplana, the Governor [of the Philippines] sent for Father Antonio Cerezo, who was in the Marianas at the time of the uprising, to find out what happened. However, as it is a criminal case, I do not doubt that the Father would have spoken with caution. After this, the Governor himself sent me another letter to beg me to interrogate said Father Antonio Cerezo; since he is in Manila, I sent the letter of the Governor to Father Rector, for him to question him.—¹

On 31 December, the Archbishop of Manila died, without sacraments...

...
[Much of the body of this letter deals with controversial matters between the religious orders in Manila.]

All the Fathers consulted are of the opinion that Y.R. should not bring in many subjects, but few, who are already priests, and who could serve the Province and in time govern it, because there is a lack of them, and that in no way should the Province be charged, as it is already very much extended with new warrants...

...
Admiral Lascano is sending a Report to the King, very well made, in favor of the Marianas, giving a notice on the Island of San Juan, with the experience that he has, proving that it is necessary to preserve a garrison in that Island, and the reason why that mission did not make progress is due to the lack of experience of the Commanding officers who have little experience at sea and in the army. He adds a few ways and means to preserve that mission and make it progress. This report is bound to find its way into the hands of Y.R., as it seems to be addressed to the Duchess of Aveiro, to be forwarded to the Queen Mother and, through her, to the King.² Y.R. should try and

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanchez was at the College of San Pedro, located in Macati, about one hour's ride from Intramuros Manila, the site of the main College of San José.

2 Ed. note: This second report by Lazcano may have been lost en route. However, his first report of 1687 was then being discussed in Madrid (see next chapter).

help said Admiral as much as you can, because we all owe much more to him than to Esplana, and much more so the Fathers of the Marianas, because, as a man of the sea, he might go on to discover Islands. May the Lord arrange it as best He pleases for the good of so many souls.—

The need for subjects oblige us to take out some three subjects from the Marianas, who could serve in the chair and pulpit, because there are not any. It is a pity that the Province has not been in a worst standing in the last 40 years. We have not been able to find one to serve as minister in the College, other than a third-year theology student. There is but one worker among the Tagalog now in Manila, and he is asking to be removed, and there is no-one to replace him. I say this so that Y.R. may see the need for you to bring in a few, but good subjects, men already trained, who can govern the Province, because there is no lack of lads, and many years have to pass before they can serve, and we do not know who are those who must come, as they say, with Father Morales.—

As of this date we do not even know who will be, or should be, the Governor of this Archdiocese...¹

With this letter, I am sending two letters from the Fathers of the Marianas, Tomás Cardeñoso, and Mathias Cuculino,² so that Y.R. will be better informed of the affairs of the Marianas, and with this I finish, praying the Lord to deign to give Y.R. and your companion very complete health and happy outcome with the official requests that you carry on behalf of this Province and that Y.R. may become the one who will restore what has been lost, looking with eyes of piety and religious zeal to the welfare of this Province which is hoping to renew itself entirely with the good despatch and solicitous negotiation of Y.R., not forgetting this your useless servant in your holy Sacrifices, etc.

San Pedro, 29 April 1690.

Servant in Christ,

+

Joseph Sanchez³

[Endorsement:] Manila, San Pedro, 29 April 1690. Father Provincial with two letters from Father Cardeñoso, and Cuculino, written from the Marianas, in which he reports on various affairs regarding official requests, and regarding the Mariana Missions.

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- 1 Ed. note: Following the death of Archbishop Pardo in 1689, the see remained vacant until 1697, when Bishop Camacho was appointed.
 - 2 Ed. note: Neither of these letters is kept with the present document in the archives, but I believe that Sanchez meant Zarzosa (Doc. 1689D), rather than Cardeñoso—Cuculino's letter is Doc. 1689H—because these two documents are filed together in RAH. Still, there is a possibility that Fr. Cardeñoso's letter has been suppressed.
 - 3 Ed. note: Signed by him, with a shaky hand, but certainly not written by him. It was written by his secretary (see B2 below).

B2. Letter from Fr. Medel to Fathers Xaramillo and Lopez, dated San Pedro 1 June 1690

Source: RAH 9/2670 doc. n° 1. Fr. Domingo Medel was Fr. Sanchez' secretary and companion.

Original text in Spanish.

*Mis Padres Procurador Antonio Mathias Xaramillo, y Alexo Lopez.
P.C.*

...
*La Nao **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, en que fueron V. Ras. tuvo a la buelta felicissimo viaje, emboco, y passo entre las Islas siempre con viento a popa, y quando huvo menester el vendabal le tuvo al punto para embocar por Mariveles, y a 6 de Julio dio fondo en Cavite. Los sujetos de la barcada con su superior el P. Antonio Varaona llegaron todos buenos, habiendose quedado en Marianas los mejores, que fueron todos los que havian acabado los estudios, y tres Hermanos Coadjutores: todos son los PP. Joachin Asin, Joseph Hernandez, Phelipe Muscat[i], Juan Schirmeysen, Garcia Salgado, y los Hermanos Miguel Escolano, Alonso Marin, y Miguel Zuazo. Notablemente se ha sentido en toda la Provincia los gastos exorbitantes, y escusados, que esta barcada ha hecho en Mexico, pidiendo, y consiguiendo a fuerza de pleytos cosas, que hasta agora con ninguna otra se han estilado de quantas han passado a Filipinas, materia muy digna, de que V.Ras que estan bien enterados de todo, se la representen a N.P. General, si quiera para con el escarmiento, o los medios, que su Paternidad aplicare, se asseure el que no suceda en adelante otro tanto, que sera dar con la Provincia en tierra, la qual ha quedado ya tan empeñado desta, que Dios saba quando podra desempeñarse.*

...
Aviso tambien a V.Ras. como este año se embarca para Mexico el P. Antonino Tucio, que va a suceder al P. Magino Sola en el officio de Procurador de esta Provincia; queda en su lugar por Vice Rector del Colegio de Manila el P. Juan de Zarzuela hasta que llegue la Nao...

...
Concluyo esta rogando a Nuestro Señor les de a V.Ras buen sucesso en todos sus negocios y entera salud para que puedan restaurar esta Provincia y como a tales les recibamos aca algun día, y sea un gozo cumplido.

San Pedro, y Junio 1 de 1690.

*Siempre muy Siervo **ex corde** de V.Ras.*

Domingo Medel.

Translation.

My dear Fathers Procurator Antonio Mathias Xaramillo, and Alexo Lopez.
Peace of Christ.

...

[8 new missionaries arrived in 1689]

The galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that took Your Reverences has had a very successful return voyage. She came into the Entrance Channel and passed among the Islands with the wind always astern, and when the monsoon wind became necessary she got it, in time to come into the entrance channel near Mariveles, and on 6 July [1689] she dropped anchor in Cavite. All the subjects of the mission band with their superior, Fr. Antonio Baraona, arrived in good health, but the best of them remained in the Marianas—they were the ones who had finished their studies—plus 3 Coadjutor Brothers: their names are Fathers Joaquin Asin, José Hernandez, Felipe Muscati, Juan Schirmeysen, García Salgado, and the Brothers Miguel Escolano, Alonso Marín, and Miguel Suazo. The whole Province has noticeably been upset at the exorbitant, and avoidable, expenses made by this mission band in Mexico, where they requested and obtained, by force of official pleas, many things that so far no other mission band has ever done, of the many that have passed to the Philippines. This is a matter very worthy of being taken up by Your Reverences, who are aware of it all, with our Fr. General, if only to serve as a warning, or to give an opportunity for His Paternity to apply means to prevent such an abuse in future, one that will ruin the Province, which has now been obligated so much by this that God only knows when it might free itself of its debts.

I also advise Your Reverences that this year Fr. Antonino Tuccio is embarking for Mexico, where he is going to replace Fr. Magino Sola in the role of Procurator of this Province;¹ his place as Vice-Rector of the College of Manila will be taken over by Fr. Juan de Zarzuela until the galleon gets here...²

...

I conclude this letter by praying our Lord to give Your Reverences a good success in all your affairs and complete health so that you may restore this Province and as such may we welcome you here one day, and this would be a grateful pleasure.

San Pedro, 1 June 1690.

The ever faithful and cordial servant of Your Reverences,
Domingo Medel.

1 Ed. note: However, there was a change of plan and he did not leave (see B3 below).

2 Ed. note: Fr. Zarzuela was born in Argete in 1640. He went to the Philippines in 1666. He was Rector at Iloilo, Vice-rector at Cavite, Rector and Vice-rector at the College of San José for 7 years, and procurator of the Province for 5, among other posts. He died at Manila in 1706 (ref. Murillo Velarde, fol. 394b).

B3. Letter dated San Pedro 21 September 1690

The shipwreck of the Pilar upon Cocos Island, Guam.

Original text in Spanish.

P. Antonio Mathias Xaramillo

Pax Christi &c.

Con la llegada de la Nao al Varadero que fue à 4 de Julio, llegaron a mis manos la de V.R. con todos los papeles que remite, sin saver aun entonces que huviessen muerto el Padre Luis Pimentel, y Francisco Salgado.

...

*Al passar de la Nao por Marianas a sucedido una disgracia y fue que el patache de Endaya, al querer entrar en el puerto de una Isleta que llaman Cocos muy cercana a la de S. Juan, varró y con estar el mar en calma por quererlo assi Dios se fue a pique, toda la gente se salvo, **la mayor parte de la plata se saco**, y la mission de los Padres de S. Francisco se quedo en la Isla con los nuestros. Muy poco se desembarco para los Padres de Marianas, de lo que venia de Mexico, la causa fue por averse disgustado Damian de Esplana, la causa del disgusto fue el averle escrito el General de la Nao una carta con titulo de V[uestra] M[erced] sin averle dado el titulo de Vuestra Señoria, sentiolo muchissimo, y no quizo embiar a la Nao el refresco, que tenia prevenido de 200 puercos otras tantas sandias, y melones, y lo que fue mas ridiculo que escrivio una carta al General del Galeon, tratandole de V. S[ñori]a. Quizo nuestro Señor remediar la falta que sin duda avrian de tener los Padres de Marianas, porque antes de desembocar la Valandra se vio con el Galeon, en el qual venia, el Padre Magino Sola, el qual hablo con el Governador y se mando que todo lo que pudiesse cargar la valandra lo cargase, y assi se hizo cuidando el mismo Padre Magino de que se cargase lo mas que se pudiesse, con que los Padres de Marianas, con los nuevos Huespedes que dizen, son mas de veinte no tendran tanta falta.—*

De las Marianas vino a Manila, el Padre Joseph Fernandez, por no tener que hazer por alla a quien con el Padre Garcia Salgado y Joachin Assin, embie a llamar para que vengan a Manila: adelantose Su Rev^a, y agora comenzara por octubre que viene a leer Philosophia, a 7 de los Nuestros que hasta agora estavan estudiando Letras humanas, y esperando Maestro.—

A todos a causado admiracion la venida del Padre Magino Sola, que avia dezer el año que viene y de hecho ley va [=se iba] de por aca el Padre Antonino Tuccio, por successor, y estava ya embarcado: mas como se suppo que el Padre Luis de Morales, se quedava en Mexico, por Procurador por orden de nuestro Padre, luego se le hizieron varios despachos, para que se desembarcase, como lo hizo y se fue a su Retorado de Cavite. Nuestro Padre no dize cosa alguna acerca de la mudanza del Padre Magino, sino que por varias razones, a dispuesto que el Padre Luis de Morales, se quede en Mexico, por Procurador de esta Provincia...

...

El Señor lo disponga como fue de mayor gloria suya, y bien de tantas almas: el qual guarde a V.R. como deseo en cuyos santos Sacrificios &c.

S. Pº 21 de Septiembre de 1690.

Servus in Christo

+

Joseph Sanchez

Translation

Fr. Antonio Mathias Xaramillo

Peace of Christ, etc.

With the arrival of the galleon [Santo Niño] at Varadero [in Mindoro], which was on 14 July, the letter from Y.R., including all the papers that you enclosed, reached my hands, though you did not know then that Fathers Luis Pimentel and Francisco Salgado have died.

...

A misfortune happened when the galleon passed by the Marianas and it was that the patache of Endaya,¹ upon wishing to come into the port of an islet called Cocos, very close to that of San Juan, ran aground and though the sea was calm, God willed that it sank, but all the people were saved. **Most of the silver was salvaged**, and the mission of the Fathers of St. Francis remained in the Island with our people. Very little of what was coming from Mexico for the Fathers of the Marianas was unloaded, on account of Damian de Esplana had been displeased. The cause of his displeasure was that the General of the galleon² wrote to him a letter, addressing him as Your Grace, instead of Your Lordship; he resented it very much, and refused to send to the galleon the refreshment that he had made ready, i.e. 200 pigs, as many water-melons, and [ordinary] melons. And what was more ridiculous is that he wrote a letter to the General of the galleon, addressing him as Your Lordship. Our Lord was pleased to remedy the lack that no doubt the Fathers of the Marianas would have had, because, before the [outgoing] sloop passed through the Embocadero, it met with the galleon, aboard which was Father Magino Sola, who spoke with the Governor³ and it was ordered that as much as the sloop could carry be transhipped, and so it was done. Father Magino Sola himself took care that as much as it could take be loaded; therefore, the Fathers of the Marianas, with the new guests that they say they have, over 20 of them, will not lack as much.—

1 Ed. note: The Nuestra Señora del Pilar. It was owned by Thomas de Endaya, but he was not personally in command of it.

2 Ed. note: The commander of the Santo Niño was Juan de Garaycoechea.

3 Ed. note: Cruzat, the new Governor of the Philippines, was also aboard.

From the Marianas came to Manila Father José Fernandez, who had nothing to do overthere; I had him, as well as Father Garcia Salgado and [Fr.] Joaquin Assin called to Manila. His Reverence has come ahead, and now he will begin next October to teach philosophy to 7 of our people who until now were studying humanities, and were awaiting a Master.—¹

Everyone was surprised at the coming of Father Magino Sola, who was not due in until next year, and in fact Father Antonio Tuccio was to go from here to take his place, and he was already on board the galleon. However, as it was learned that Father Luis de Morales was staying in Mexico as Procurator, by order of our Father [General], various despatches were then sent to him [i.e. Tuccio] for him to disembark, which he did, and he returned to his Rectorate at Cavite. Our Father [General] tells us absolutely nothing about the transfer of Father Magino, except to say that, for various reasons, he has decided that Father Luis de Morales is to stay in Mexico, as Procurator of this Province...²

May the Lord arrange it all for His greater glory, and the good of so many souls. May He keep Y.R. as I wish, in whose holy Sacrifices, etc.

San Pedro, 21 September 1690.

Servant in Christ,

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José Sanchez

1 Ed. note: The other transferred missionaries left Guam aboard the Mariana sloop in December 1690.

2 Ed. note: In other words, Fr. Morales was forced to abandon his mission band at Mexico City, where he replaced Fr. Sola (in 1689), whose term as Procurator was not yet over. Fr. Baraona led the band the rest of the way. Then Fr. Sola, who made the crossing only in 1690, met Tuccio at Cavite, where the latter was forced to disembark from one of the two galleons about to depart for New Spain. Fr. Sola became the next Provincial in 1693, and Fr. Tuccio (who remained in the Philippines) succeeded to him, etc.

Documents. 1690C

Fr. Xaramillo discusses the report submitted by Francisco Lazcano

C1. Covering letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Secretary of the Council, dated Madrid 30 June 1690

Source: AGI Fil. 86-6-248.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Señor mio.

Con esta ba el informe que V.S^a me mando hiziese por orden del Real Consejo de Indias, quedando dispuesto a obedezzer quanto fuere de su gusto.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V.S^a muchos años como deseo.

Madrid y Junio 30 de 1690.

B.I.m. de V.S^a

su muy affecto servidor y capellan,

Antonio Xaramillo.

[Al] Señor Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora

Translation.

My dear Sir:

I am sending the report that Your Lordship ordered me to make, by order of the Royal Council of the Indies, and I remain ready to obey whatever may be your pleasure.

May our Lord keep Your Lordship for many years as I wish.

Madrid, 30 June 1690.

Your Lordship's very affectionate servant and chaplain, who kisses your hand,

Antonio Xaramillo.

[To] Mister Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

C2. Discussion of the practices aboard the Manila galleons

Source: AGI Fil. 86-6-246 & -247.

Note: In 1690, the Council considered a report containing 7 points presented by Fr. Xaramillo as a result of Lazcano's letter of 1687 (see Doc. 1687P2). The last point has to do with the security risk posed by the large number of foreigners who sail aboard the galleons, as gunners and seamen.

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Madrid. A S.Mgd. 1690.*

[Ref.] *Ley 37, tit. 45, lib. 9.*

El Pe. Antonio Jaramillo, de la Compañía de Jhs. 30 de Junio.

R[ecivida] en 1º de Julio.

—*En cumplimiento del papel que se le escrivio de Acuerdo del Consejo, informa muy por menor lo que se le ofrece en cada uno de los siete puntos de la carta de Francisco de Lazcano, Piloto, en Filipinas, y con ocasion del ultimo pasa a decir el gran numero de extrangeros que con plazas, de Artilleros, Marineros, y otras, navegan, en las Naos de aquella carrera, ponderando el inconveniente, y riesgos que de ello puede resultar.*

Ojo—Traese la carta de Lazcano que dio motivo.

Señor

Por carta de Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora Secretario de V.M. en el Consejo de Indias su fecha veinte y tres de Junio de este presente año se sirve V.M. de mandarme informar sobre su contenido, que se reduce a los puntos siguientes.

*Primero: que Francisco Lazcano Piloto estando sirviendo en la Armada de Barlovento, passo el año de 1679 a Philipinas conduciendo una Nao por orden del Virrey Arzobispo de Mejico.—Digo que el dicho año de 1679 hallandome actual Missionero en las Islas Marianas, aporto a ellas el dicho Francisco Lazcano con plaza y ejercicio de Piloto maior del Galeon Capitana **San Antonio de Padua**, que iba a cargo del General Don Phelipe Montemaioir y Manssilla para dejar à aquella Mission el socorro con que V.M. la asiste; y finalmente el mismo Piloto condujo al Puerto de Cavite con gran credito en su oficio al mismo Galeon, como despues lo oí dezir a muchos desde el año siguiente de 1680 en que pase a Philipinas. Y assi mismo oí dezir que el dicho Francisco Lazcano havia servido en la Armada de Barlovento; aunque no sé los puestos en que servia.*

*Segundo: que desde las Philipinas emprendio dicho Piloto un viaje a Marianas y por no haverlas tomado, y buelto a Manila de arrivada, se le tubo presso mas de dos años, de cuiu caussa salio absuelto.—Digo que el año de 1680 haviendo dicho Francisco Lazcano dirigido y asistido con mucho zelo a la fabrica de una balandra llamada **San Francisco Xavier**, vi que salio en ella (a lo que me puedo acordar) por el mes de Septiembre de dicho año, siendo Cavo superior de dicha balandra para socorrer a Marianas, y que no haviendo podido conseguir llegar a ellas por los temporales contrarios,*

bolvió con dicha balandra a Manila, donde fue preso, aunque no me acuerdo si la prisión duró dos años; y después lo vi suelto de ella, sin que me conste, ni aya oydo decir fuese convenzido dicho Francisco Lazcano de culpa ó delito alguno en la tal arribada.

Terçero: *que después hizo otro viaxe a la Nueva España, en que así mismo padezio muchos trabajos.—Digo que esto es verdad porque el año de 1683 salieron de Philipinas dos Galeones Capitana **Santa Rossa**, y Almiranta **San Telmo**, y en uno de estos dos fue ejerciendo el oficio de Piloto maior aunque no me acuerdo en qual de ellos; pero me parece fue en la Capitana; y oí contar que en este viaje se le rindio el timon, de suerte que en alta mar sin tener tierra alguna a la vista ni puerto a que acojerse, no podía gobernar el Navio, y todo lo compuso dicho Piloto con gran destreza y consuelo de navegantes. Y el año de 1685 en la misma plaza y ejercicio de Piloto maior, salio otra vez de Philipinas en otro Galeon que fue a la Nueva España a cargo de Don Francisco Zorrilla, y consiguio el viaje con el mismo credito de Piloto.*

Quarto: *que ha diez y seis años sirve a V.M. dicho Piloto.—Digo que yo solamente le he conozido, desde el año de 1679, y que hasta el presente año, fuera de los viajes referidos, ha echo otro viaje a Marianas el año de 1688 en que lo vi salir de Philipinas para dicha Mission Mariana en una balandra, siendo su Cavo superior; y aora viene aviso de Philipinas que conseguido dicho viaje con grande utilidad de la Mission, quedaba dicho Piloto disponiendose para hazer otro viaje a las mismas Islas Marianas en conformidad de lo que V.M. tiene mandado en sus Reales Cédulas.*

Quinto: *que en Philipinas solo es atendido quien rinde las potencias a Don Thomas de Endaya.—Digo que esto mismo me parece era persuasion de casi todos segun la voz publica y sentimiento comun con que vi, y oí notar la mucha mano y privanza que tenia el dicho Don Thomas de Endaia con el Governador, y que yo tambien estoi persuadido a lo mismo.*

Sexto: *que dicho Don Thomas de Endaia amenazaba con el Governador sucesor.—Digo que aunque dicho Don Thomas era temido en tiempo del Governador pasado, no me consta amenazase con el futuro.*

Septimo: *que para dicho Don Thomas de Endaia no ai mas hombres que franceses, é ingleses por un Piloto ingles que trae en su Navio.—Digo a la primera parte de este punto, que aunque segun la voz de varios es notado el dicho Don Thomas de ser frances; pero que no me consta sean franceses ni ingleses las personas a quien el tal Don Thomas se inclina. A la segunda parte de este punto sobre tener Navio y Piloto ingles.—Digo que en las Philipinas vi notar generalmente y mucho al dicho Don Thomas sobre dos Navios: el primero como por vagel propio de Don Thomas y hizo viaje el dicho vagel a la costa, y otro viaje a la Isla de Borney, siendo su Piloto (segun oí dezir) un extrangero, aunque nunca pregunte si era frances, ó ingles el dicho Piloto; y estos viajes no me acuerdo fijamente en que años se hizieron; aunque con poca diferencia, serian ambos desde el año de 85 hasta el de 87. El segundo Navio se fabrico en la estacada extramuros de Manila, y segun diversidad de voces lo hacian de Don Thomas aunque dandole otros dos compañeros. Este Navio luego que de la estacada lo hecharon al agua lo llevaron al Puerto y Rivera de Cavite, donde a la sazón V.M. tenia otros dos*

*Galeones, que eran **Santa Rossa** y el **Santo Niño**, y acavado de fabricar el tal Navio de Don Thomas en dicho puerto salio del y segun oí dezir con titulo del Real situado y bino de Almiranta del galeon Capitana **Santo Christo de Burgos** el año de **1688** en que en dha capitana viene yo embarcado a Acapulco y aqui bi otra vez al dicho extranjero Piloto de la referida Almiranta de Don Thomas que quedava surta y de imbernada en dicho puerto de Acapulco por el mes de Abril del mismo año en que la Capitana **Santo Christo de Burgos** navegava ya con soldados y situado de su torna-viaje a las Philipinas.*

*Sobre esta noticias que obedeciendo a Vuestro Real mandado he dado, me beo con la ocasion del **ultimo punto**: precisado a comunicar otra por no faltar a la obligacion de leal vasallo de V.M.: y es que desde el año de **1680**, en que pase a Philipinas, he visto en ellas muchos franceses, griegos, y otros extranjeros de levante con plazas de Artilleros, Marineros, y otros oficios, y que hazen viaje en la Nao que ba a Acapulco por el real situado, siendo mui fazil a esta gente, con la diversidad de Navios que llegan al Puerto de Cavite, y salen del, bolverse a sus tierras, y como espias dar noticia entre otras cosas del modo con que las Naos salen del tal puerto de Cavite para la Nueva España, el qual es tal y tan ageno de lo que V.M. manda, y pide un Navio de guerra, que si en las cien leguas, que ai entre Islas para desembocar, encontrase al Navio de V.M. otro Navio enemigo, y de guerra, parece cierto se lo llevaria el enemigo, pues (sobre ser dudosa la fidelidad de dichos extranjeros por V.M. en el lanze de pelear) con la demasida carga y mal compuesta que entonzes lleva el Navio de Philipinas, no es posible jugar la Artilleria contra el enemigo, como a todos lo é oydo ponderar, y yo lo he visto en varias ocasiones. Y aunque antes de darse a la vela se guarde el estilo de que juren, ba el Navio Marinero, zafo, y expedito para la guerra, es este un juramento sobre que se admiran muchos y lloran mas los temerosos de Dios, segun repetidas vezes he visto, y puedo afirmar como testigo ocular el evidente peligro que dejo referido. Y como en un Navio de estos, ba casi todo el ser y Hazienda de las Philipinas, de la perdida de uno, puede resultar la total ruyna de aquella christiandad que tanto depende de la seguridad de qualquier Navio, que cada año sale para comerciar a Acapulco, y a quien con tanto zelo procura conservar V.M. Cuya catholica y Real persona guarde Dios muchos años como esta Monarquia ha menester.*

Madrid 30 de Junio de 1690.

Antonio Xaramillo.

[Decision of the Council, in 1690]

Consejo.

Consejo à 8 de Agosto de 1690.

Vealo el Sr. Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

El fiscal ha visto este informe y la cartta de Francisco Lazcano que le motiba: y diçe que se reduce à tres puntos sustanzialmente. El primero que Francisco Lazcano Piloto

despues de haver servido en este exercicio le ordeno Don fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo Virrey de la Nueva España conduxese como lo hizo en el año de 79 una Nao à Philipinas de donde emprendio con orden del Governador otro viage à las Marianas, y bolbio à arribar inculpablemente à Philipinas é hizo, otros dos viages a la Nueva España con exercicio, de Piloto, y en todo lo referido cumplio con su obligazion.

El segundo punto es del sumo poder que tiene Don Thomas de Endaya en aquellas Islas;

Y el ultimo es que en la Nao que viene de Philipinas a Nueva España vienen con Plazas de Artilleros, y Marineros, y otros ofizios franzeses[,] griegos y otras naciones de levante, en que ay gr[ande] inconveniente pues desembarcando en el Puerto de Cavite se buelven à sus Patrias y pueden dar noticias del viage[,] forma y modo y defenssa de la Nao y su carga para que en alguna ocasion un Navio de guerra enemigo la aprese que lo executara con gran facilidad.

Y lo que se ofreze, en quanto al primer punto es que se devera escribir al Governador de Philipinas que atiende à los meritos y servicios del Piloto Francisco Lazcano en los lanzes que se ofrezieren; y en el segundo punto se remite el fiscal à la respuesta, de una carta de la Audiencia de Manila de 26 de Junio de 90; y en el terzero, y ultimo punto se devera librar despacho al Governador de Philipinas para que en la Nao que de aquellas Islas viene, à la Nueva España no permita vengan con plaza de Artilleros[,] Marineros ó otros ofizios ningunas personas de naciones estrangeras que se hallaren en aquellas Islas, sino estubieren, ya abecindados en ellas, y arraigados en la forma que de derecho se requiere para adquirir domicilio, y vezindad[.] el Consejo en todo resolverá lo que tubiere por mas conveniente.

Madrid y Agosto 30 de 1696.

[Decision of the Council, in 1696]

Consejo 1 de septiembre 1696.

Como lo dice el Sr. Fiscal en quanto al primer punto, y por lo que toca al segundo se espera la resolucion que el Consejo tomare en vista de la carta de la Audiencia que cita el Sr. Fiscal, y por lo que mira al tercer punto se haga despacho mandando se observe lo prevenido en la Ley 37 del Libro 9º del Titº 45 de la nueva Recopilacion que trata del comercio de Philipinas.

Fho.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Madrid. To His Majesty 1690.

[Re:] Law 37, Title 45, Book 9.

From Fr. Antonio Jaramillo of the Society of Jesus. 30 June.

Received on 1 July.

—He complies with the paper that was written to him, by decision of the Council, for him to report in detail what he things regarding each one of the seven points contained in the letter of Francisco de Lazcano, Pilot in the Philippines, who, in his seventh

point, mentions the large number of foreigners who sail on board the galleons of that run, in the posts of Gunners and Seamen, and other posts, considering the disadvantage, and risks, that may result from that.—

Please note the following: Bring forward the letter from Lazcano that is at the origin of this.¹

Sire:

By a letter from Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora, Secretary of Y.M. in the Council of the Indies, dated 23 June of the present year, Y.M. was pleased to order me to report on its content, which can be reduced to the following points:

Firstly: that Francisco Lazcano, Pilot, when he was serving in the Windward Island Fleet, passed to the Philippines in 1679, to conduct a galleon, by order of the Viceroy Archbishop of Mexico.—I declare that in the said year of 1679, when I was actually serving as a Missionary in the Mariana Islands, said Francisco Lazcano made port there, and he was filling and exercising the position of Pilot Major of the flagship galleon **San Antonio de Padua**, that was under the command of General Don Felipe Montemayor y Mansilla,² in order to leave the succor to that Mission, which Y.M. assists it with; and finally the same Pilot conducted the same galleon to the port of Cavite to the great credit of his office, as I later heard it say about him, as of the year 1680 when I passed to the Philippines. And in addition, I heard it say that said Francisco Lazcano had served in the Windward Island Fleet, although I do not know in what capacity he served there.

Secondly: that from the Philippines said Pilot undertook a voyage to the Marianas and, because he did not make it, and returned to Manila in distress, he was put in jail for over two years, but he was found not guilty in that case.—I declare that in 1680, after said Francisco Lazcano had supervised and assisted with much zeal in the construction of a sloop named **San Francisco Xavier**, I saw him leave with it (if I can remember well) during the month of September of said year, and he was senior officer aboard said sloop, in order to take relief to the Marianas, but because he was unable to achieve a landfall there on account of contrary weather, he returned to Manila with said sloop, where he was imprisoned, although I do not remember if his imprisonment lasted two years; and then I saw him after he was released, and it seems to me, nor have I ever heard otherwise, that he was not convicted of any guilt or crime in such a return in distress.

Thirdly: that after he made another voyage to New Spain, in which he also suffered many hardships.—I declare that this is true, because in 1683 two galleons left the Philippines, the flagship **Santa Rosa** and the almiranta **San Telmo**, and he was exercising the office of Pilot Major on board one of them, although I do not remember which one,

1 Ed. note: Already reproduced as Doc. 1687P2.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Xaramillo's memory is somewhat faulty. The General was a relative of this man, Francisco Mansilla y Prado.

but it seems to me that it was aboard the flagship.¹ And I heard it being said that in this voyage he got a broken rudder, so that in the high sea, there being no land in sight or port in which to go, the ship could not be steered, but said Pilot repaired it with great skill and to the consolation of the passengers. And in 1685, he exercised the same post of Pilot Major and left the Philippines once more aboard another galleon that went to New Spain under the command of Don Francisco [Gonzalez] Zorrilla, and had a successful voyage with the same credit as Pilot.

Fourthly: that said Pilot has been serving Y.M. for 16 years.—I declare that I have only known him since 1679, and that until the present year, besides the above-mentioned voyages, he had made another voyage to the Marianas in 1688, when I saw him leave the Philippines for said Mariana Mission in a sloop, being its commanding officer; and news has just been received from the Philippines that he has succeeded in said voyage, to the great usefulness of the Mission, and that said Pilot was making ready to make another voyage to the same Mariana Islands in accordance with the orders given by Y.M. in your Royal Decrees.

Fifthly: that in the Philippines the only ones taken care of are those who render homage to Don Thomas de Endaya.—I declare that such a belief was the persuasion of almost everybody, according to public opinion and common feeling that I saw, or heard about, to the effect that said Don Thomas de Endaya had his hand into everything concerning the Governor and influence over him, and that I also was persuaded of same.

Sixthly: that said Don Thomas de Endaya was threatening to do the same with the next Governor.—I declare that, although said Don Thomas was feared during the term of the last Governor, I am not aware that he threatened to do the same with the next one.²

Seventhly: that for said Don Thomas de Endaya there are no men better than Frenchmen, and Englishmen, on account of an English Pilot whom he brought in his ship.—I declare that, in the first part of this point, although according to the saying of various persons said Don Thomas is French, I am not aware that said Don Thomas would defer to Frenchmen or Englishmen.³ To the second part of this point, regarding his possession of a ship and an English pilot.—I declare that in the Philippines I heard it mentioned generally many times that said Don Thomas had two ships. One ship, the personal property of Don Thomas, made a voyage to the [Asian] mainland, and another voyage to the Island of Borneo, and its pilot (according to what I heard) was a foreigner, although I never asked if said Pilot was French, or English; but I do not re-

1 Ed. note: It was aboard the flagship Santa Rosa, which ran aground temporarily on a shoal south of Guam that has since borne its name. However, this event took place on the next run.

2 Ed. note: He must have done so, because his intention was to become the favorite of the new governor in 1690 (see B&R 40: 21-31).

3 Ed. note: See my comments in Doc. 1687P; Endaya, or Andaya, was a Basque born in Andaye, on the French side of the border, directly facing Fontarabia, although he pretended to have been born in Vizcaya.

member exactly in what years these voyages took place; they would have taken place between 1685 and 1687. The second ship was built at the stockade just outside the walls of Manila, and, depending on which rumor one listened to, it was said that the owner was Don Thomas, although some said that he had two other partners. As soon as they launched this ship from the stockade, they took it to the port and shore of Cavite, where Y.M. had two other galleons at the time, which were the **Santa Rosa** and the **Santo Niño**. And when the construction of the said ship of Don Thomas in said port was finished, it left it and, according to what I heard, for the purpose of the royal subsidy, it came as almiranta to the flagship galleon **San Cristo de Burgos** in 1688, aboard which I came myself to Acapulco and there I saw again said foreigner who was Pilot of the above-said almiranta of Don Thomas which was anchored and spending the winter in said port of Acapulco during the month of April of the same year in which the flagship **Santo Cristo de Burgos** was sailing already with soldiers and the subsidy on her return voyage to the Philippines.¹

Regarding these notices that I gave to obey your Royal orders, I see myself faced with the **last point**: and it is that since 1680, when I went on to the Philippines, I have seen there many Frenchmen, Greek, and other foreigners from the Near East filling positions as Gunners, Seamen, and other offices, and that they make the voyage in the galleon that goes to Acapulco for the royal subsidy, and it is very easy for these men, given the variety of ships that visit the port of Cavite, to return to their countries, and as spies give notice, among other things, of the way the galleons leave that port of Cavite for New Spain, something that is so foreign to what Y.M. has ordered, and should take place, aboard a warship. Now, if along the 100 leagues of the channel among the Islands as far as the Embocadero the ship of Y.M. should encounter another enemy ship, a warship, it seems certain that the enemy would take her; indeed (with respect to the fidelity of said foreigners toward Y.M. being doubtful in case of a fight) with the excessive and disorderly load carried by the Philippine ship, it is not possible to bring all the cannon to bear against the enemy, as I have heard everyone say, and as I seen on various occasions. And although before the ship sails, the practice is to have them swear allegiance, and the ship is seaworthy, clear, and ready to fight a war, such an oath is something that many people wonder at, and God-fearing men would cry the most, according to what I have seen on repeated occasions, and as an eyewitness I can vouch for the [existence of the] obvious danger that I have mentioned. And, given that in one of these ships almost the whole life-line and property of the Philippines are at stake, the loss of one can result in the total ruin of that Christian community which depends so much on the security of any particular ship that every year goes out to trade at Acapulco, one that Y.M. tries and preserve with so much zeal.

1 Ed. note: The name of the ship owned by Endaya was none other than the patach Nuestra Señora del **Pilar** (de Zaragoza). It did stay one year at Acapulco and made the return voyage only in 1690, when it became shipwrecked at Cocos Island, Guam (see also Doc. 1688N). Aboard it were "thousands of pesos" and "goods belonging to himself and Don Gabriel de Cruzeláegui" (ref. B&R 40:26).

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years as this monarchy needs.

Madrid, 30 June 1690.

Antonio Xaramillo.

[Decision of the Council]

The Council.

The Council, on 8 August 1690.

Let the Fiscal see it.

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

The Fiscal has seen this report and the letter of Francisco Lazcano that motivated it: and declares that the matter can be reduced to three points, essentially. Firstly, Francisco Lazcano, Pilot, after having served in this profession, was ordered by Don fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain, to conduct, as he did in the year 1679, a galleon to the Philippines, from where he undertook at the order of the Governor another voyage to the Marianas, and returned in distress to the Philippines, without any guilt on his part, and then he made two other voyages to New Spain, still as a Pilot, and in all such voyages he complied with his duty.

The second point refers to the extreme power held by Don Thomas de Endaya in those Islands.

And the last point is that some Frenchmen, Greek and [men of] other nationalities from the Near East board the galleon that comes from the Philippines to New Spain, filling posts as Gunners, Seamen and other trades, and that there is a great disadvantage; indeed, upon disembarking at the port of Cavite, they return to their countries and they can give notices of the voyage, procedure and manner of defence aboard the galleon and her load, so that in any occasion of an enemy warship wanting to capture her, it could very easily do so.

And concerning possible actions, with regards to the first point, a letter should be written to the Governor of the Philippines, to tell him to pay attention to the merits and services of the Pilot Francisco Lazcano for any possible chance [of promotion]; and with regards to the second point, the Fiscal refers to the answer given in a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 26 June 1690;¹ and in the third, and final, point, a despatch should be sent to the Governor of the Philippines to forbid him to employ foreign gunners, seamen, or any persons of other nationalities aboard the galleon that come from those Islands to New Spain, unless they be already residing there, and settled there in the manner stipulated by law to acquire domicile, and residency. The Council will decide what they think more appropriate.

Madrid, 30 August 1696.

1 Ed. note: I have found no trace of this letter about Endaya in the archives.

[Decision of the Council, in 1696]

The Council, on 1 September 1696.

As the Fiscal says, with regards to the first point, but regarding the second point, the decision of the Council is postponed until after they may see the letter from the Audiencia that the Fiscal cited, and with regards to the third point, let a despatch be sent ordering the strict observation of Law 37, Title 45, Book 9 of the new Code of Laws for the Indies, which deals with the Philippine trade.

Done.

Document 1690D

Decision to change the Governor of the Marianas, undated

Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1975, p. 237).

Note: This document is neither signed nor addressed to anyone, but it was evidently enclosed with a covering letter to the President of the Council of the Indies, sent from Mexico (not Manila) in 1690, most probably by the Viceroy.

Extract from the Maggs Catalog.

The orders which I presume the Mariana Islands will owe to your Excellency, are the following:—

1. That at the first opportunity, someone should be sent to succeed Don Damian de Esplana, whose unsatisfactory behavior the Report, recently printed, attempts to conceal. I am, nevertheless aware, as is your Excellency, of his procedure, from the informative letter which the Superior of the Marianas, Father Gerardo Bouwens, has written to His Majesty. The said Don Damian de Esplana has the entire Christian community on the brink of utter ruin, which would already have been compassed had the rebellion not been quelled by the capability and courage of the Commandant, Don Joseph de Quiroga Losada, who is the most suitable man to enter the said government... Don Damian has already governed since November 1683, when he was appointed by the Governor of the Philippines; and although His Majesty confirmed the appointment on 30 March 1686, it is stipulated that he must govern for the period His Majesty pleases; therefore, having completed three years of service, it is in nowise prejudicial to him to send a successor to take up the reins of government from then.

2. For the ship, which—by virtue of the repeated and urgent Royal Decrees, is to be despatched annually by the direct route from the Philippines to the Marianas—Don Gabriel de Cruzelaegui writes me it is necessary to sink 40 [rather 4U=4,000] pesos per annum towards the cost of building and supplies for sailors; without this, the execution of this order becomes doubtful... and to avoid the dreaded excuses...

[The writer suggests a means of raising the money from the Treasury for the construction and upkeep of the sloop. The third point deals with the question of colonization in the Marianas. It is suggested that every year 3 or 4 families should be sent from Mexico and the Philippines to settle in the Marianas. They should, for preference, be “volunteer soldiers” who should be accorded the privileges of conquerors.]

Document 1690E

Letter from Fr. Baraona to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Cavite 24 June 1690

Source: RAH 9/2669, doc. n° 28.

News of his 1689 voyage and of events at Manila

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador general Antonio Xaramillo

Pax Christi

Aunque supongo que tendra V.R. muy individuales informes de los accidentes mortales de el cuerpo de esta republica, como de quien se espera remedie V.R. muchos en esa Corte; pero por cumplir con el orden que V.R. me dio en Acapulco remito ese papel en vosquexo, que quiza podra servir para entrar despues con algun conocimiento en la selva enmarañada de tantos enredos, confusiones y embustes, en que cada dia se han ido enredando mas y mas las cosas con las muertes de Arzobispo y Governador...

...

*Nosotros tuvimos feliz viaje y dimos fondo en Cavite el dia 6 de Julio de 89 y este dia enterraron en Manila al P. Luis Pimentel Provincial y doze o catorze despues al Padre Francisco Salgado su sucesor. Saco la tercera vía de sus Visayas al Padre Joseph Sanchez, que aunque ya muy anciano que apenas puede firmar es ayudado mucho del Padre Domingo Medel a quien hizo su compañero y secretario al punto que vino. Sacaron del Re[sc]torado de Manila para successor del P. Magino Sola al P. Antonino Tucio, que se embarca ahora en el **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, y sucediole en Manila el P. Juan de Zarzuela. Lo demas se esta como antes. Yo despues de aver estado leyendo Gramatica a los nuestros en Manila, me hallo en Cavite el Viejo muy a los principios de lengua compañero del Padre Miguel de Pareja, quien see [sic] escribe largo a V.R. y por esso yo no canso mas. Si acaso el P. Morales se hallare con V.R. (aunque mas ciertamente lo esperamos este año) se servira V.R. de decirle tenga esta por suya. Y quiera aunque veamos a V.R. presto bueno y salvo, assi se lo pido todos los días a Nuestro Señor.*

Cavite el Viejo y Junio 24 de 1690.
Muy siervo de V.R.
Antonio Varaona

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo
 Peace of Christ.

Although I suppose that Y.R. will receive very detailed information about the human accidents that have affected the affairs of this Republic, as Y.R. is someone who is expected to remedy many things at that Court, nevertheless, to comply with the order that Y.R. gave me in Acapulco,¹ I remit that paper as a draft, which perhaps will serve to give some knowledge to enable you to see through the entangled jungle with so many complications, confusions, and trickeries, by which every day the affairs have gotten more entangled since the death of the Archbishop and the Governor...²

...

As for us, we had a successful voyage and we anchored at Cavite on 6 July 1689 and on that day at Manila they buried Fr. Luis Pimentel, Provincial, and 12 or 14 days later, Fr. Francisco Salgado, his successor. The third envelope forced Father José Sanchez to come from his Visayas. Although he is already so very old that he can hardly sign his name, he is assisted very much by Fr. Domingo Medel, whom he took as his companion and secretary as soon as he came in. They took out Fr. Antonino Tuccio from the Rectorate of Manila to send him as a successor to Fr. Magino Sola and he is now embarked on the **Santo Cristo de Burgos**,³ and he was succeeded in Manila by Fr. Juan de Zarzuela. The rest remains as before. As for myself, after having taught grammar to our people in Manila, I am now in Cavite the Old learning the [local] language and being a companion to Fr. Miguel de Pareja, who is writing a long letter to Y.R., and that is why I do not tire myself more.⁴ If perchance Fr. Morales happens to be with Y.R. (although we are very surely expecting him this year) Y.R. will please tell him that this letter is also meant for him. Please tell him that although we hope to see His Reverence soon in good health, that is what we pray our Lord every day for.

Cavite the Old, 24 June 1690.

Y.R.'s faithful servant,
 Antonio Varaona

-
- 1 Ed. note: Their meeting took place at the arrival of Fr. Xaramillo there aboard the galleon Santo Cristo at the beginning of 1689.
 - 2 Ed. note: Archbishop Pardo and Governor Curuzeláegui. See B&R vol. 39 for more information on the Pardo Controversy, part of which may be the paper referred to by Fr. Baraona.
 - 3 Ed. note: However, Fr. Sola, the former Procurator in Mexico arrived a few days later, and Fr. Tuccio stayed in the Philippines, because Fr. Morales had already replaced Sola in Mexico.
 - 4 Ed. note: The letter of Fr. Pareja is missing.

Document 1690F

Short account of the shipwreck of the patache Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Guam in 1690

Source: RAH 9/2668 doc. 135.

Notes: The first folios of this document are missing from the archives, probably stolen by would-be treasure seekers. I presume that it was written by a Jesuit living in the Philippines, perhaps Fr. Magino Sola (see also B&R 40: 21-31), who had witnessed the disaster from aboard the flagship.

Original of the remaining text, in Spanish.

...
La almiranta o patache que envió Don Thomas a la Nueva España de torna viaje al montar la Isla de San Juan cabeza de las Islas Marianas dió sobre una restinga que sale de la misma isla acía la banda del sur donde se perdió sin remedio. Solo se pudo salvar la m[ay]or p[ar]te de la plata y toda la gente que nadie pereció mas las mercaderías toda[s] se perdieron y el casco se maltrato tanto que no se pudo aprovechar de él ni aun una batanga.

Venian embarcados en dho navio la Mission de los religiosos de San Francisco que se componia de veinte y dos religiosos los cuales se quedaron en Marianas seis meses hasta que la balandra del socorro de aquellas islas los conduxo a Manila[.]entre la muchedumbre de gente que quedo en dha isla al naufragio de dho navio quedaron gran cantidad de forzados q. venian para las galeras de Manila que juntos con otros tales como ellos trataron un diabolico alzamiento en que tenia determinados matar a todos los Españoles y sacerdotes de la Isla reservando solo uno y echa esa faccion apoderarse de la balandra del socorro para con ella escapar donde pudiese mas quiso Dios que tan milagrosamente sustenta a aquella mission se descubriese la traicion por medio de uno de los coligados de mejor conciencia con que se pudo mui a tiempo remediar el daño prendiendo a los mas culpados y aciendo justicia de ellos en numero de veinte y tres que fueron los arcabuciados con [que se] quedo la isla otra vez en seguridad y paz.

...

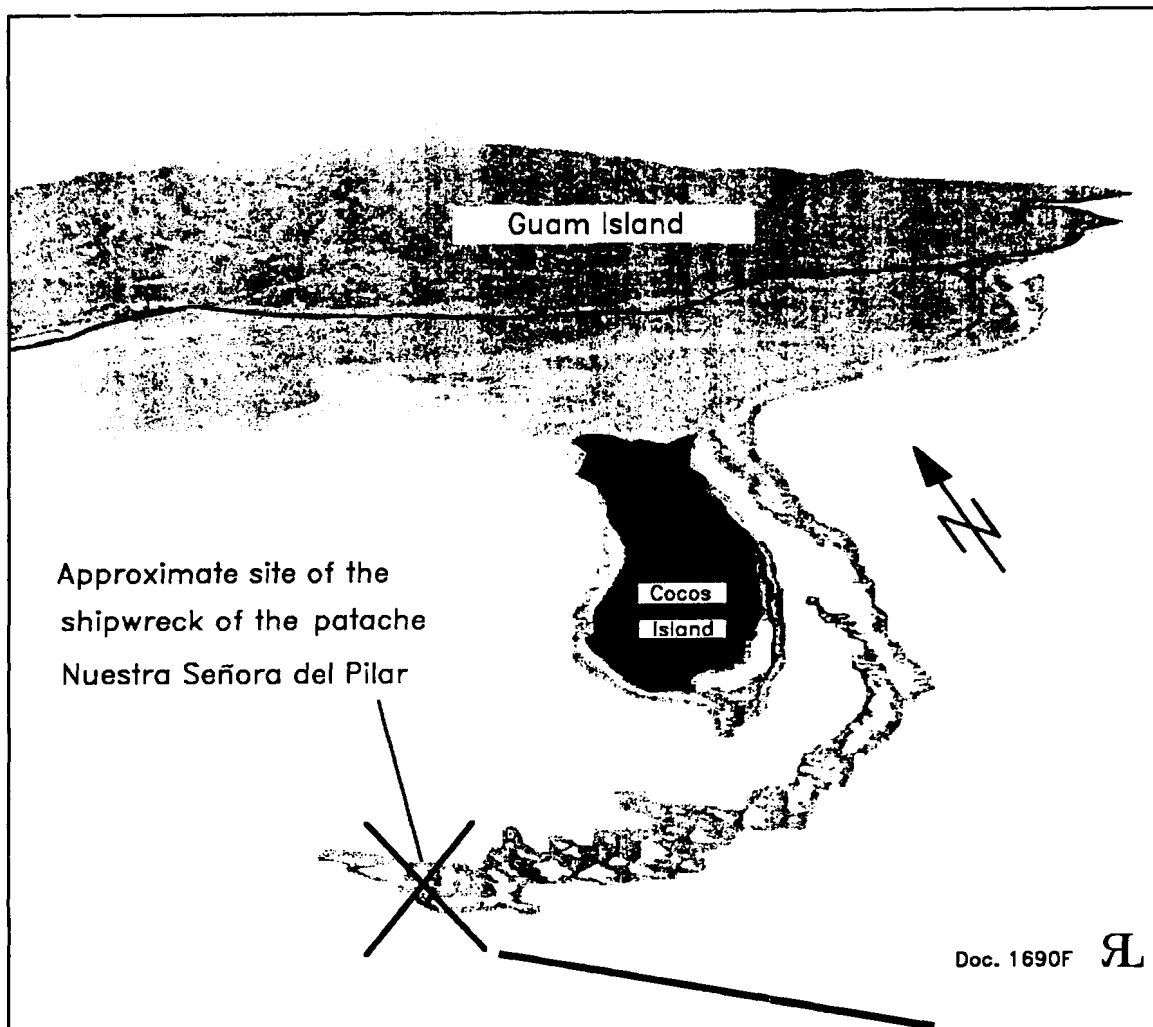
Translation of the above excerpt.

...

The *almiranta* or patache that Don Thomas [Endaya] sent to New Spain, during the return voyage, when it was tacking up to the Island of San Juan, capital of the Mariana Islands, hit a reef barrier that comes out of the island itself on its south side, where it became hopelessly lost. However, what they were able to save was most of the silver and all of the people. No-one perished, but all the merchandise was lost and the hull was so badly beaten up that they were not able to take advantage of it, not even [for] one outrigger [canoe].

Aboard the said ship came the Mission of the Religious of St. Francis which consisted of 22 religious. They remained in the Marianas 6 months until the relief sloop from those [Philippine] islands took them to Manila. Among the crowd of people who stayed behind in the said island upon the shipwreck of the said ship was a large number of convicts who were on their way to Manila to serve in the galleys. Together with others of a similar nature, they plotted a diabolical uprising in which they were determined to kill all the Spaniards and the priests of the Island, except one, and, once that faction was over, they were to take over the relief sloop in order to escape to some place with it, but God willed that, in order to miraculously maintain that mission, the treason be discovered, through one of the associates with a better conscience, so that it was possible to remedy the situation in time, by seizing the most guilty ones and doing them justice. A total of 23 were executed by firing squad. Thus, the island became safe and peaceful once more.

...



Approximate site of the 1690 shipwreck of the patache Pilar. *While trying to round Cocos Island on the south coast of Guam, the Nuestra Señora del Pilar, consort of the Santo Niño, hit the extended reef, shown here, under clear weather conditions, when breakers would not have been visible. (Adapted from an aerial photograph, by R. L.).*

Document 1690G

Jesuit annual report for 1689-1690, by Fr. Bustillo

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 75-82v.

Original text in Spanish

P. Mathias Cuculino, P. Juan Tilpe.

*Aviendo concluido a 23 de Mayo de 1689 la ultima Relacion, que fue en la Nao Capitana **Santo Christo de Burgos**, del Estado y Progressos desta Mission y Christiandad de las Islas Marianas, iremos apuntando lo que en orden desto ha sucedido, comenzando de la festiva translacion de la Purissima Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora a su antigua morada la Residencia y Partido de Pago, en el qual ha sido muy venerada hasta el año de 84, en que sucediendo la sublevacion destes Naturales, fue echada de su Iglesia, y arrinconada en una choza, arañado su Purissimo rostro, y sus benditas manos, y nariz cortadas. Tal se hallo en una salida que hizo a los enemigos el Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga, acompañado de dos PP. Missioneros. El qual enternecido de ver tan mal parada a su devotissima Imagen de la Purissima Concepcion, mando aprestar, y adornar con flores, y ojas de palma unas andas, en que llebar este riquissimo hallazgo a mejor morada, como se hizo, con el mayor festejo, que se pudo en aquellas circunstancias, repicando por todo el camino desde Pago a Agaña la campana de la misma Iglesia de la Purissima, que entre dos soldados traian colgada de un palo, la qual tambien en esta ocasion se hallo en otra choza de Pago, no sin Providencia del Señor que desta suerte quiso honrrar con tal festejo a su Purissima Madre, sin cessar de cantar sus alabanzas hasta llegar a Agaña, y depositarla en un Oratorio unico, que teniamos entonces, todos los militares, y demas gente que salio a esta funcion. Aqui pues en Agaña se estuvo esta Purissima Imagen hasta fines de Mayo de 89 quando re-edificada su Iglesia de Pago, fue restituida por el mismo Sargento Mayor D. Joseph de Quiroga (ya entonces Governor interino) con mucha solemnidad y festejo. Y con Procession solemne salio dicha Santa Imagen desta Yglesia de Agaña, poco despues de medio día, a hombros de las mas Principales mugeres Marianas, casadas con los mas principales oficiales, y cabos militares desta nueva Ciudad y Real Presidio Mariano disparandose la artilleria, y todas las demas armas, cantandose a trechos, siguiendo la Infanteria, y festejandola con repetidas salvas, y tiros de sus armas, y el devoto concurso de mu- [fol. 75v] -geres rezandole, con todos los demas, el Rosario por el camino.*

P. Mathias Cuculino, Parrocho y Ministro de Pago.

Desta suerte se fue acercando la debota Procession a Pago, cuio Ministro, acompañado de toda su feligresia cantando la doctrina Christiana vino a recibir y encontrarse con su singular Patrona y Madre Purissima: Y aqui volvieron las susedichas casadas y Naturales Principales destas Islas a cargarla como de antes, y llebarla hasta su Iglesia de Pago. En donde recibida tambien de algunos PP. Misioneros de otros partidos, que con algunos de sus Feligreses avian concurrido á esta fiesta: y colocada en su trono y altar la dieron todos la bienvenida saludandola con la Salve, cantada en Lengua Mariana, mientras la qual incensando el Preste, remato cantando la oracion de temp[...]. Y con esto se fue el dia, y entro la noche, cuios fuegos artificiosos, que hicieron los Naturales a su usanza, la hicieron muy alegre, y vistosa; porque fueron tan varios y artificiosos, que parece los embidiaban los nuestros de Europa, con tal arte que ni cohetes, ni otra cosa deste genero se echo menos: antes si con la novedad y tanta variedad de artificios como inventaron para que en la apariencia pareciesen varias tramoyas de cohetes (que a la verdad parecian varios ingenios de fuego) que no es decible, ni explicable la harmonia, alegria, y divertimento que causaron mucho mayor, y aun mejor que si fueran de polvora.

El dia siguiente hubo missa solemne y Sermon en Lengua Mariana con motivos y exhortaciones eficaces a la devocion y culto de la Purissima Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora captando mas y mas los animos destos sus Marianos a quien como hijos reconozcan tan buena Madre y Protectora dellos en el Cielo. Y assi acabada la Missa y demas officios en la Iglesia quisieron festejar a la que ellos llaman Santa Maria Nuestra Madre, Madre de todos, y Madre de Dios Nuestro Padre con danzas, y justas de lanzas a su usanza mui dignas de verse: y por la noche repitieron los mismos juegos que la antedecente. Y los militares con sus armas repitieron varias salvas: todo con universal aplauso, gusto, y placer de todos los presentes, y con especial Jubilo del dicho Governador D. Josseph, que no cabia en si de contento por ver el que todos tenian en festejar con tal regocixo [sic] el misterio de la Purissima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora cui devocion a tan alto misterio lleba toda el alma de dicho Governador. Y por esto en esta Residencia Iglesia y Casa de Pago, que el mismo edificio, como ya se dixo el año de 80, y aora nuevamente reedifico, como queda dicho, hizo ya dos veces, en menos de 8 meses los Exercicios de N.P. S. Ignacio hallando aqui el mejor sagrado y asilo en sus mayores trabajos.

En Umatag amenazaba ruina aquella Iglesia y viendolo dicho Governador Quiroga, al oir missa en ella, prometio a S. Dionisio [fol. 76] Areopagita, a quien esta dedicada, de reedificarle otra, si le alcanzase de Dios unos buenos aguaceros para los sembrados, que se iban secando por aver mas de 5 meses que no llobia. Apenas hizo esta promesa quando de repente comenzo a llober, y el a reedificar la Iglesia y conforme iba continuando la fabrica, se iban continuando las aguas hasta dexar asegurados los sembrados con sus frutos, que de alli adelante fueron copiosos y abundantes.

Despues desto a 6 de Junio llego la Nao Capitana Santo Christo de Burgos en sazón de estar el tiempo casi en calma, y con unas suaves virazones de Brisa a 8 del dicho se acerco al Puerto de Umatag, desde donde el Governador y Misioneros podimos salir a ella para dar y recibir cartas, y el socorro que nos traia, cuyo logro nos costo mucho trabajo, por no querer dar fondo, como no lo dio; sino uno y otro bordo, por mas que el día 9 de Junio llego a estar en el parage, donde ordinariamente dan fondo las Naos desta carrera quando vienen de Acapulco.

Entre el socorro que nos dexo, fue el mayor 8 Misioneros Religiosos de Nuestra Compañia[:] los 3 hermanos coadjutores, para suplir la gran falta que nos hacian los otros 3 Hermanos muertos los años antecedentes: y los otros 5 Sacertodes, cuyos nombres son: P. Joachin Assin, P. Phelipe Muscati, P. Joseph

Hernandez, P. Juan Schirmeysen, P. Garcia Salgado: Los Hermanos Miguel Escolano, Alonso Marin, y Miguel Suazo: sujetos los dichos sacerdotes mui buenos en virtud y letras. Y todos 8, luego que saltaron en tierra, fueron recibidos, y agasajados con la acostumbrada caridad de Nuestra Compañia por las 4 Residencias que al presente teniamos en esta Isla de S. Juan de Guan; aunque no con aquella abundencia que en otras partes de que carecen estas pobres tierras Marianas. Y acarreadose en el interim el socorro de los 3 premios a la cabecera y Real Ciudad de Agaña, se les dio a los nuevos Misioneros ocupacion competente a cada uno en los ministerios para el exercicio de ir aprendiendo lengua para que en estando aptos en ella, se ocupen mas de lleno, en dichos ministerios especialmente en los destos Marianos unico fin y motivo de su vocacion y desseos de trabajar en esta tierna viña Mariana.

*Con ocasion de la venida de dicha Nao **Santo Christo**, y el socorro que nos trujo, un Indio Mariano, entre otros, de muy buena capacidad y christiandad navegando desde Agat a Umatag en compañia de uno de los PP. Misioneros¹ trabando conversacion con el de las cosas de Europa, llegando a tratar de Nuestro Catholico y piadoso Monarcha, le dixo el Padre Misionero como su Magestad [fol. 76] queria mucho a los Naturales destas Islas Marianas y que el motivo de amarlos, y embiarles tantos socorros asi para el bien de sus almas, como para vestir la desnudez de sus cuerpos, era porque se compadecia mucho de su gran pobreza. Oía el Indio con grande atencion estas razones, y casi se le saltaban las lagrimas de los ojos, y prorrumpio diciendo: **No podia el Rey N.S. venir aca, puesto que tanto nos ama, y nos hace tanto bien?** A lo qual le respondió el P. Misionero, las razones que tenia su Magestad para no dexar a España: **Et ille conservabat omnia verba hæc conferens in corde suo.***

Dexonos tambien dicha Nao 20 soldados de socorro voluntarios; pero por averse de embiar de aca otros 12 por inutiles, y enfermos a Manila, no quedo este Campo Mariano mas que en 8 hombres acrecentado. Numero bien corto para la reduccion de las Islas del Norte, empressa que traía en su memoria Nuestro Governador D. Josseph de Quiroga, el qual se resolvió a emprenderla; no obstante el poco acrecentamiento de su milicia, y la gran epidemia de romadizos, catarros, calenturas, y camaras, que, ida la Nao, salteo la tierra, tan feroz, y universal que no perdono a ninguno, chico ni grande, estando a un mismo tiempo todos los pueblos hechos unos hospitales, participando deste contagio hasta los Misioneros antiguos; aunque no tan reciamente como los Indios, que por estar acostumbrados a bañarse todos los dias, que aun estando enfermos y calenturentos no omiten esta costumbre, murieron cerca de 20 por toda la Isla en poco mas de una semana, que fue en la mas recio del mal, y al cabo de 3 meses, que fue continuando, passaron de 80 los que murieron, y huvieran sido mas, segun estaban de peligro (no cessando los ministros Evangelicos cada uno por su parte de andarlos sacramentando noches y dias enteros) si a nuestro consejo no huvieran templado los excessos de bañarse, y admitido los remedios con que por parte nuestra fueron assistados asi de medicinas como de mantenimientos de bizcocho, y algunas aves, quitandonoslo de la boca por acudirles con ello, para confortarlos y fortalecerlos. Por lo qual, y con el favor de Nuestro Señor a quien los dolientes llamaban muy de corazon, y nosotros tambien instando a su Divina Magestad con oraciones, y plegarias, escaparon muchos de la muerte, a cuias puertas se veian ya casi agonizando no pocos, que parece milagro aver escapado tantos, de que ellos, por todo lo dicho se nos muestran muy agradecidos.²

1 P. Miguel de Aparicio.

2 Hermano Juan Haler, Boticario acude (por no aver otro que lo entendiese) a todos los enfermos de la Isla con medicamentos y comida necessaria y el Hermano Melchor de Santa Cruz fue a Agat para el mismo fin para ayudar al Padre que cuidaba de aquel Partido.

Bendixola el P. Juan Schirmeysen.

*Esmerose en esta preservacion de muerte N.P. S. Ignacio con muchos, a quienes se aplico, y dio a beber el agua bendita (que en Alemania usan y llaman del Santo) entre los quales por no alargarme referire algunos como a **Antonia Eguegue**, vecina de Santa Rosa de Agat, a quien [fol. 77] dio el mal tan recio, que de repente le quito el habla, y la puso en trance de morir: fue llamado el Padre Misionario de aquel Partido, y hallandola desta suerte diole a beber dicha agua, y al instante cobró la habla y mejorò.*

***Rosa Assari**, vecina del mismo pueblo estaba tan ahogada del catarro, que tenia, que no podia descansar, ni estar recostada: bebio la dicha agua, y descanso, y mejore.*

***Lorenzo Saurri**, Fiscal del pueblo de Inessu [sic], sacramentado ya, y oleado, que sobre estarse ahogando con romadizo, se abrasaba con una furiosa calentura; bebio la agua del Santo y de alli poco se vio libre de aquel mortal achaque, el qual aviendo sido tan executive para con los Naturales por especial favor de Dios no lo fue en los militares, en quienes no hizo huella de consideracion.*

Por lo qual, y por poder ya entresacar tantos Indios, aunque los mas menos sanos, como bastaban para aviar 6 bancas de las 10 que avia en la Isla, determino dicho Governador salir a la empresa de dicha Islas del Norte, como lo hizo a principios de Julio, embarcandose el mismo con 50 hombres en un barco pequeño, y acompañandole las 6 bancas, salio de Agaña en compañía de los PP. Mathias Cuculino, y Miguel de Aparicio señalados para esta empresa, y tiraron derechamente a la punta de Leste desta Isla, que mira al Norte, y Isla de Santa Ana de Rota, para desde alli atravesar el golfo, luego que huviese tiempo favorable, y mientras alli le aguardaba el Governador con todos los referidos, segun el orden que avia dexado, se aviaron las otras 4 bancas, que faltaban, de gente, que ya iba convalenciendo de sus dolencias, y le fueron siguiendo. Y estando todos apunto en le parage dicho, y pareciendole al Governador, por tres veces, que ya tenia viento a proposito, acometio otras tantas veces el viage, y a tres leguas de golfo, en todas 3 veces arribo, por assaltarle viento contrario. Gasto en esto hasta mediados Julio, y reconociendo por una parte que el buen tiempo no acababa de declararse, y por otra parte caso que se declarase, no ser el barco a proposito, y solas las bancas de la tierra ariesgadas para la empresa, se hubo de volver a Agaña, desesperado de poder conseguir la jornada sin tiempo ni medios suficientes hasta la venida de la Balandra: y mientras esta se aguardaba, se retiro a la Residencia de la Purissima Concepcion de Pago, y hizo alli por 8 dias los ejercicios de N.P. S. Ignacio...

[Two voyages of exploration by Alonso Soón, Chamorro chief.]

*...los quales acabados, despacho por dos veces a D. Alonso Soon, Principal, y Sargento Mayor de Indios de los partidos de Agat, y Umatag; con unas 4 bancas y 8 soldados con su Cabo hacia el Sur en busca de la Isla Carolina, que el año de 86, con la Nao **Santa Rosa** descubrio el Almirante D. Francisco Lazcano, Piloto Mayor desta carrera; pero ni una, ni otra vez pudo dar con ella, como ni tan poco aora, quando por Marzo deste año de 90 a este mismo fin, aunque en valde, salio de Umatag con otras 4 bancas, y en ellas 12 hom- [fol. 77v] -bres de la tierra y otros 8 soldados con otras tantas bocas de fuego. 4 dias con sus noches estubo cruzando lo del Sur por orden del Governador y Capitan General D. Damian de Esplana, que, acompañado del P. Thomas Cardeñoso volvio a estas Islas Marianas en el Patache **S. Gabriel**, que dio vista a estas Islas a 3 de Septiembre de 89, y el día siguiente en una banca salto en tierra dicho Governador y Capitan General de Marianas, y de alli a dos dias en otra banca el P. Cardeñoso. Y queriendo el Patache ir al Puerto de S. Francisco Xavier de Tachug; aunque podia entrar en*

el del Buen Ladron S. Dimas de Meriso, se vino a sotaventar, por no ser a proposito el viento para entrar en Tachug. Con que lo volvimos a perder de vista hasta el dia 18 del mismo mes, quando aviendo cierto Padre a quien en Agadña a las 3 de la tarde de dicho dia prometido 3 missas a S. Antonio de Padua, si nos deparase el tal Patache (que aviamos perdido de vista 9 dias avia) vino la nueva a Agadña dicho dia 18 a las 9 de la noche de como el Patache estaba ya en frente de Umatag, donde se aparecio al mismo tiempo que el tal Padre acabo de ofrecer las missas a S. Antonio. Celebrose en Agadña solemnemente la fiesta del Nombre de Maria titular de Marianas, y de la Iglesia Principal desta cabezera, en este dia 18 de Septiembre de 89, porque no se pudo en su propio dia Dominica infra octava Nativit. B. M. por ocupaciones, que intervinieron. Con asistencia de toda la milicia, y casi todos los Missioneros disparandose la artilleria y mosqueteria &c.*

[Typhoon of 1689]

Y el dia siguiente 19 se entro por la barra y con el del pueblo del Buen Ladron S. Dimas de Meriso, y alli dio fondo en aquel puerto, tan seguro, que dice el mismo Piloto maior y Cabo Superior de dicho Bagel S. Gabriel Almirante D. Francisco Lascano, que no lo tiene el Rey mejor, ni aun tan bueno en lo descubierto: por que sin correr el menor riesgo, ni moverse se estuvo immobil al Baguio, que la pense [=penés?] sentada en el combes de dicho bagel se la llebaba, porque no se ha visto tan furioso en estas Islas, para cuya prueba baste decir que bolo casi todas las casas que avia en esta Isla, derribo y echo por el suelo 3 Yglesias y otras tantas casas nuestras, destruyo los frutos, y arranco de quajo los mas empinados arboles, y a otros tronco, y destrozo, resolviendolos en menudas piezas.

Yglesias y casas de Pago, y Agadña, y la Iglesia de Agat y casa de Umatag echadas por el suelo del Uracon o Baguio.

*Empezo por el Nordeste a prima noche del dia 25 de Septiembre y desfogo a media noche por el Sur, en donde apreto su furia, y passando al Sudueste, quiso Dios fuese aflojando; porque con la misma furia que en el Sur acabando de correr toda la abuja, acabara asimismo con quanto avia en esta Isla, no dejando cosa en pie y destruyendolo todo, segun la furia con que soplava quando se paso al Sur. En amaneciendo el dia 26 del dicho, con el calor que puso el Governador y la buena voluntad y asistencia de los Naturales Marianos se bolvieron luego a levantar las Iglesias y casas caidas. Partio de Marianas para Manila de tornaviage el Patache, o Balandra **S. Gabriel** a 17 de Diciembre de 89.*

Padre Joachin Assin cuida de restituir la congregacion de los militares, y la promueve y restituye y cuida de sus aumentos con mucho fruto.

*Con ocaxion de aver llegado a estas Islas dicho año de 89 con la Nao **Santo Christo de Burgos** una carta de N.P.G. Thyrso Gonzalez en que su Paternidad agrega a la Primaria Congregacion de la Anunciata de Roma las que huviese y en adelante hubiere en Marianas, y las comunica todas las gracias, e Indulgencias concedidas a dicha [fol. 78] Primaria, se erigio, y restauro en este Real Presidio y Ciudad de Agadña la de los militares deste Real Campo Mariano. Porque aviendose interrumpido sus progressos con los disturbios y variedad de calamidades, que tantas veces, y en diversos tiempos ha padecido esta afligida Christiandad y Mission Mariana despues de sosegadas algo las tempestades que la han combatido en lo mas intimo, y llegada dicha carta y con ella tanto thesoro espiritual de N.P.G. para lograrle como se debe; se volvio a entablar dicha Congregacion debaxo del titulo y Proteccion de la Purissima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora en su mismo dia 8 de Diciembre de 89. Para lo qual aviendose publica-do la carta de N.P.G. que como advierte en ella su Paternidad sirve de Patentes de agregacion por no*

*poder embiarlas para todas las Congregaciones que podia aver, y en adelante huviese en estas Islas: fueron viniendo los militares a alistarse en esta de la Purissima Concepcion y para darnos a entender el gusto que recibia la Purissima Virgen Nuestra Señora de la restauracion de esta su Congregacion quiso llebarse para si el primer soldado, que se alisto en ella, el qual era un muy exemplar y devoto Christiano llamado **Juan Perez Franco**, natural de Tenerife en las Canarias, uno de aquellos 20 soldados voluntarios que nos dexo la Nao **Santo Cristo de Burgos**; que poco despues de alistado, cayendo enfermo, y recibidos con suma devocion y mui a tiempo todos los Santos Sacramentos, espirò a las 9 de la noche vispera de la Immaculada Concepcion de Nuestra Señora de la qual, y de la buena disposicion deste su fino Congregante, esperamos que fue a celebrar en el Cielo esta su fiesta titular, m[ientras] las demas Congregantes la celebraban aca en la tierra con todo regocijo, confessions, comuniones, Missa solemne, y sermon. Despues de todo lo qual dicha dia 8 de Diciembre enterraron a su buen compañero y primer Congregante desta su Congregacion. Y desde entonces han ido entrando en ella otros militares, y todos han acudido, y acuden con mucha edificacion y fervor a estos y otros Santos exercicios, que mandan sus Constituciones, venciendo con denuedo qualquier respeto humano por rezelar entibiarse muy presto estos sus fervores y santos exercicios, que han sido y son de grande exemplo a los demas militares.*

A quienes, por hallarse todos juntos en Agaña la Semana Santa juntamente con su Governador y Capitan General D. Damian de Esplana (que con los mas y mejores vive de asiento en Umatag donde ha fabricado su palacio) se promulgo Mission al modo que la hacen varones Ap[osto]licos en otras partes y la hicieron con el fervor acostumbrado los PP. Joachin Assin y Joseph Hernandez, cuyos efectos fueron los que se suelen seguir de un exercicio y ministerio tan Ap[osto]lico¹ como fue la notable y universal mudanza, que se reconocio en todos los deste Real Campo Mariano, en unos augmentandose el santo temor de Dios, en que vivian: en otros los eficaces de- [fol. 78v] -seos de la enmienda y propositos de frequentar en adelante los santos sacramentos para conseguirla: comprobando todo esto las lagrimas que vertian no solo en tiempo de los sermones; sino despues a los pies del Confesor. Ytem las restituciones que se consiguieron, ya de bienes defraudados, ya de honrras amancilladas, desdiciendose de varios y falsos testimonios reconciliandose con sus enemigos: para lo qual no poco conduxo el buen exemplo de algunos disgustillos, que cesaron entre los Principales Cabos.² Y era para alabar a Dios ver los tan escrupulosos en las reconciliaciones sacramentales, y tan nimios en cosas menudas, los que se tragaban antes sin temor de Dios, ni reparo de sus conciencias las mas grandes y horrorosas. Huvo varias confessions generales necessarias de algunos años, en unos, por aver callado pecados enormes por verguenza, aun desde el primer uso de razon, y en otros por aver reconocido la falsedad de su dolor, y proposito en las confessions passadas, repitiendo lo que al Predicador avian oido decir, y era: que en este Jueves Santo seria desdichado el que quisiese ser otro Judas, y asi decia uno dellos: Sealo Padre el que quisiese, que no quiero serlo yo mas, como lo he sido hasta aqui.

A otro le dio dos noches arreo tan grande inquietud que no le dejaba descansar, ni sosegar, pareciendole que les iban tirando del brazo aunque no veía a nadie, y que le decian interiormente: Confessate, Confessate. Lo qual causo en el tan gran horror, y arrepentimiento de su vida passada, que aunque en-

1 Note in margin: P. Joachin Assin lo refiere.

2 Note in margin: P. Gerardo Bouvens, P. Joachin Assin lo refieren.

tonces, por la gracia de Dios, no hallaba en su conciencia cosa que le remordiese gravemente se resolvió a confessarse generalmente y aviendo hecho, quedo sosegado y libre de aquella inquietud.¹

Tenia uno tramado con una India casada, que matase a su marido para casarse con ella; pero mudo eficazmente de proposito, e intentos asi con los desengaños, que oía en los sermones de la Mission como con las advertencias y amonestaciones saludables y preservativas y preservativas [sic], que el confessor le dio, y de como se avia totalmente imposibilitado de casarse con esta muger por semejante concierto.

Tentole a otro su flaqueza, como solia, y aviendose ido en busca de una muger la sollicito, y hizo consintiese en su apetito: pero siendole forzoso a ella entrar en una casa, antes de la execucion, en el interim quiso Dios darle al agressor tales remordimientos de conciencia, y pesar de su culpa, fundados en las verdades catholicas que dias antes avia oido predicar, que sin poderse detener, ni esperar a la muger, de puro temor echo a huir, sin volverse jamas a responderla, por mas que ella a voces le fue llamando, y siguiendo un buen trecho admirada de tan subita mudanza, y ignorante de la causa por que la dexaba.

Otro aficionado al mismo vicio, quedo desde la Mission tan mal afecto a sus concubinas, que en viendolas, revestido de un indiscreto zelo [fol. 79] no podia de prorrumpir en maldecirlas; porque las imaginaba como causa total de sus caidas, y se conocio avia tomado de veras el aprovechamiento de su alma, porque encontrando a solas a una dellas en un camino, al verla de lejos, por huir desde luego la ocasion, como lo avia oido predicar, comenzo a marchar a buen paso; porque no le alcanzase la tal muger; y aunque el enemigo comun de nuestras almas le hacia interiormente guerra, para que se detuviese; se resistio fuertemente diciendo entre sí, si se detendria o no, pero los estímulos de la conciencia le agujoneaban de modo que le obligaban a marchar mas que de paso, y alijarse mas y mas de ella, hasta que facilmente se alejo tanto, que perdiendola de vista se vio libre de aquel peligro.

Muchos se armaron para sustentaciones con una Ave María, que se les aconsejo rezasen a la Purissima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora y confessaron hallar en ella grande esfuerzo para la victoria, y algunos para asegurar mas su bien espiritual, se alistaron y entraron Congregantes en su purissima Congregacion para hallarse de su pureza mas favorecidos.

Ni estos Nuestros Indios Marianos (a quienes entre año todos los sermones y platicas que se les hacen son de mission verdades catholicas y doctrina christiana) han sido, ni son menos exemplares, pues de su mucha christiandad y aprovechamiento todos los PP. Missioneros que los administran y tratan inmediatamente,² confessan a boca llena, que cada dia es mayor su aprovechamiento espiritual como lo han experimentado y experimentan cada dia.

1°. Por el grande afecto que tienen a la doctrina christiana, y a su enseñanza, acudiendo no solo con diligencia y asistiendo a ella y a los sermones con toda atencion; sino rezandola, y cantandola tambien al anochecer en sus casas, que cierto es de mucha ternura y para alabar a Dios el oír por estas playas y collados resonar las oraciones y articulos de Nuestra Santa Fe, concluyendo el rezo con la Salve y el Alabado, cantado todo a coros con mucha harmonia de voces.

2°. Por lo bien, que no solo la Juventud; sino tambien los viejos y viejas han entrado en abrazar con muchas veras todo lo que enseña Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica para salvarse y ver a Dios y gozarle en el

1 Note in margin: P. Francisco Palavicino lo refiere.

2 Note in margin: P. Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice-Provincial; P. Gerardo Bouvens; P. Basilio le Roulx; P. Mathias Cuculino; P. Diego de Zarzosa; P. Thomas Cardeñoso; P. Juan Tilpe; P. Miguel de Aparicio.

Cielo. Acerca de lo qual pocos días ha que un P. Missionero de los nuevos en estas Islas, y en la lengua; aunque no nuevo en ella, por averla penetrado muy bien en mui poco tiempo,¹ el qual asiste fuera de Agaña por Parroco en ministerio de almas; no sin grande admiracion [fol. 79v] suya en una Carta habla de Nuestra Juventud Mariana por boca de todos los Missioneros, lo que todos sentimos, y decimos de dicha Juventud por las palabras siguientes: ["Los Niños y Niñas del rezo saben tan aventajadamente la doctrina christiana que no solo responden como esta en el Catecismo, sino de qualquiera otro modo que se les pregunta, dan razon, y de cosas bien dificiles, como es de la eternidad de Dios, inmortalidad del Alma, y presencia de Dios en todo lugar, y como en el mar no se moja, en el fuego no se quema, ni en el lodo se ensucia, y de quando esta Cristo en la Hostia, de la conversion del pan en el cuerpo de Cristo, y disposicion que se requiere para comulgar:"] Hasta aqui de la Juventud en orden a la doctrina.

Los viejos, y viejas por saber ser ley indispensable de no ser admitidos a los Sacramentos de confesion y comunion, que llaman el Pan del Cielo, y alimento de las almas, si ignoran la doctrina tal, o qual destos viejos, que fuese titubear en responder, o por la edad, o rudeza, o falta de memoria o por otras propiedades, propias de su edad; se dan prisa en habituarse en las res [sic] respuestas, y en aprender bien la doctrina de qualquier modo, que se les pregunte, como se confirma con los exemplos siguientes.

Un viejo de 70 años de edad, de los reciénvenidos de las Islas del Norte, que no sabia ni aun persistirse, amenazado de que se le negaria el confessar y comulgar; sino aprendia, puso tanto cuidado, rezando todos los días con los de su casa, que al cabo de un mes supo tambien la doctrina que confesso y comulgo con mucho consuelo suyo y del Padre Missionero que le administro estos Santos Sacramentos.²

Otra vieja, a quien el P. Missionero y Ministro de su partido³ amenaza con lo mismo, se fue con tantas ansias de aprender la doctrina christiana y puso tanto cuidado en ello, que volvió bien presto al mismo Padre y le dixo: Padre, ya se la doctrina y palabra de Dios; porque no he descansado hasta saberla.

3º. Porque saben la doctrina no solo de memoria; sino tambien de sentido, lo qual se echa dever por el concepto que hacen de las cosas tocantes al bien de sus almas. Un Indio Principal de Finna [sic],⁴ trayendo puesta una chinina, o, casaca algo corta, y preguntandole un soldado, que porque no se ponía mejor chinina? Respondio: Señor, poco importa delante de Dios la chinina que tengo puesta; pero lo que importa es, que este bien puesta mi alma con Dios.

Otro Indio preguntado del Padre Missionero Ministro de su partido,⁵ si avia tenido algun mal deseo? Respondio: ["Es verdad que el cuerpo deseado el pecado; mas el corazon no distinguida los movimientos del apetito sensitivo del consentimiento de la voluntad, y guardando a esta libre del pecado, mas que el apetito le inclinase a el."] Muchos otros exem- [fol. 80] - plares se podian traer desto, pero se dexan por evitar prolixidad.

Una muchacha solicitada con dadas, las desprecio, y con maña se deshizo del peligro. Y a esta han imitado otras muchas asi casadas como solteras. Otros, y otras se resistieron valerosamente, a premios y amenazas de los que los querian inducir a que les buscasen con quien pecar, por no cooperar a peca-

1 Note in margin: P. Miguel de Aparicio, Parroco y Ministro del Partido de Umatag.

2 Note in margin: P. Miguel de Aparicio.

3 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe.

4 Note in margin: D. Andres Ressu, Fiscal del Pueblo de Finna.

5 Note in margin: P. Miguel de Aparicio.

dos agenos. De lo qual estimulado un Principal y Capitan de su pueblo¹ avisò al Superior de la Mission para que pusiese rem[edi]o en dos amancebados; porque, dixo, no queria callando ser complice de sus pecados, y que por ellos se enojase Dios, y le arrojase al Infierno. Fue tan prudente y saludable este aviso, que luego se puso el rem[edi]o, reconviniendo a los culpados con tales palabras, y exortaciones, que echaron tierra a su vicio, y con efecto se apartaron y dexaron la ocasion. Otros que tambien se descuidaron, siendo avisados se enmendaron de veras por no perderse, como un mozo, que andando mal amistado, y siendo avisado del Padre Ministro de su partido,² y del peligro que corrian sus almas, tomo tan bien el aviso, que volviendo poco despues al mismo Padre le dixo: se querían casar los dos por asegurar la salvacion de sus almas. Pero en donde universalmente han mostrado mas claramente el cuidado de su salvacion, fue en la Epidemia general llevando tan penosos ahogos y aprietos con mucha paciencia y conformidad con la voluntad de Dios, a quien llamaban muy de veras, y en quien libraban con gran confianza su mejor rem[edi]o. Una buena vieja llevo tan al cabo que dos veces se le dixo la recomendacion del alma, y ella repetia continuamente (sin hablar otra cosa) las oraciones, y doctrina christiana y fue Dios servido de darle salud, sin duda para aficionar a otros a este santa exercicio. Otros, mientras podian, se iban arrastrando a la Yglesia para buscar en ella el rem[edi]o del cuerpo y alma: y diciendo el Padre Misionero a uno, que avia venido cayendose y levandose por el camino de una legua y media para oir missa en dia de precepto, que porque se cansaba, que estando como estaba no tenia obligacion de acudir a la missa, y mas siendo tanta la distancia de la Iglesia. Respondio: Padre mio, mas siento yo el no acudir a missa que no el cansancio que me causa la enfermedad y la distancia del camino. Finalmente todos universalmente se disponian muy christianamente para lo que Dios fuese servido disponer dellos, pidiendo muy a tiempo los Santos Sacramentos y recibendolos con grandes veras, fervor, suma reverencia y devocion.

En lo qual han perseverado despues los que escaparon del contagio, de suerte, que entre año ha avido muchas confessions y comuniones, no solo en Agadña, en donde las Naturales, de que no ay otras casadas con los soldados, estan ya acostumbradas a confessar y comulgar cada mes en los Jubileos y fiestas principales de N.S. y de su SSa. Madre [fol. 80v] Y lo mismo hacen otros muchos y muchas deste partido, siendo al primero en todo con raro exemplo, y fervor el Maestro de Campo y Theniente de Governador y Capitan General de los suyos por su Magestad el ya tantas veces nombrado, porque cada dia lo merece mas y mas D. **Antonio Ayihi**, los demas Capitanes y demas ministros, y Fiscales, &c^o. Y asi estos como todos los demas lo hacen tan bien que es bendicion de Dios, y con mucho acierto y tern[ur]ja de tal suerte, que a juycio de grandes Misioneros en Europa, lo hacen mejor que muchos ya Christianos viejos en las Ciudades principales de España. En los Domingos de Adviento se les explico en cierto partido el misterio de la Encarnacion y exortoles su Ministro³ a quien procurasen naciese en sus almas el Niño Jhs por la gracia, la qual en caso de averla perdido, se cobraba por la confession y se aumentaba por la sagrada comunion dignamente recibida; se movieron los mas, o casi todos a confessar y comulgar los dias de Navidad y Circuncision con gran satisfacion edificacion y consuelo de un Padre Missionero⁴ que sin pensarlo el ni ellos, llevo en la ocasion al tal Partido y oyo de Penitencia a muchos dellos.

1 Note in margin: Capitan Manuel Tayitup de Sina[h]aña.

2 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe.

3 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe en Finna.

4 Note in margin: P. Lorenzo Bustillo Vice-Provincial que andaba visitando los partidos.

Y para cumplir todos con el precepto de la confesion y comunion annua, universalmente se han dispuesto de tal suerte que todos los PP. Misioneros de todos los partidos no acaban de hacerse lenguas de su mucha capacidad y suficiencia, y de la hambre y ansias tan grandes, con que piden como merced y gran don el que les concedan recibir a Cristo sacramentado que apenas se halla, a quien por incapaz se le aya de negar, antes si con gran ternura y gozo concederselo por ver (ademas de lo dicho) el ahinco, con que piden este pan del Cielo, por parecerles sin duda, que no tendran vida, ni gozo eterno, sino lo comen. Y de la buena preparacion y disposicion previa y necessaria con que primero llegan al sacramento de la Penitencia no solo en lo tocante a su integridad asi material como formal; sino tambien al arrepentimiento de sus culpas, hasta verter lagrimas de dolor, y al proposito de la enmienda, motivados maiormente del amor de Dios y de su Bondad infinita.

Y para adelantarlos mas y mas en la devocion y aprecio, y en la mas cabal noticia de los misterios de Nuestra Redempcion viendolos tan bien aprovechados y con tantas medras espirituales, se celebraron los oficios de la Semana Santa y se encerro el Señor en el monumento no solo en la cabecera de Agadña; sino tambien en los otros partidos, a quien acudieron sus feligreses con gran Fe, devocion, y reverencia y adoraron y besaron la Santa Cruz y en ella al Señor Crucificado que a su vista se enternecieron ellos y tambien los mismos Europeos, que con lagrimas en los ojos, dieron gracias al Señor por ver tal aprecio destas cosas Sagradas en parte [fol. 81] de suyo tan inculta de antes. Partidos huvo, donde todo el pueblo el Jueves y Viernes Santo se junto en la Yglesia sin hartarse de asistir al Señor encerrado en el monumento y de adorar el Crucifixo, y remudandose por sus barrios estuvieron continuamente en la Yglesia, y algunos que no se avian confesado quisieron hacerlo el Jueves Santo por la tarde a vista de la representacion de tales misterios para comulgar el Viernes de la Cruz; pero advertidos de que aquel día no avia formas, ni missa para consagrarlas, por la causa que tiene N. S. M. Iglesia, quedaban mas compungidos, y admirados de lo que el Criador, Señor y Padre de todos padecio por el amor que tubo a todos.

Y los de cierto partido, ademas de lo dicho, rezaron a coros en voz alta el Rosario de N^a S^a. Devocion muy recibida, y usada destos Marianos no solo en la Iglesia; sino tambien en sus casas, y aun quando ban de camino para encomendarse a la SSma. V[irge]n con quien tienen mucha fe, y notable confianza para el remedio de sus dolencias y entre otros dos casados¹ que padecian mal de corazon, y no hallando remedio humano por consejo del Padre Misionero su Ministro² hicieron proposito de confessar y comulgar todas las fiestas entre año de N^a S^a y de oir missa todos los días: y haciendolo asi con gran puntualidad se quedan libres de su achaque, acudiendo otros a su exemplo con sus criaturas enfermas, pidiendo se les diga un Evangelio entre las quales una que parecia aver llegado muy al cabo, se recobro mui presto, y oy día vive buena y sana. En otro partido yendo un P. Misionero³ a confessar y sacramentar a un moribundo, sucedio que despues de averle sacramentado y despedidose de los padres del enfermo para volverse a su pueblo, no bien se avia apartado un tiro de piedra de la casa del enfermo, quando a todo correr venia un Indio dando voces a dicho Padre y diciendole: Padre, Padre, aquel enfermo se muere, ruegote que vaias a consolar a sus padres y parientes que le asisten, porque se hallan mui afligidos. Bolviose el Padre a la casa del enfermo, a quien hallo sin sentido, y segun los indicios del semblante, mui cercano a la muerte. Consolo a sus padres, y les exorto a la conformidad con la voluntad de Dios,

1 Note in margin: D. Andres Resu [sic], Fiscal de Finna, y su muger D^a Sabina Tenni.

2 Note in margin: P. Gerardo Bouvens, Parroco y Ministro de Finna.

3 Note in margin: P. Diego de Zarzosa, en Meriso de S. Dimas.

y alentando, y esforzando en si mismo dicho Padre la confianza en Dios, mando que se hincasen de rodillos los presentes y que dixesen la Letania de N^a S^a por la salud del enfermo, si convenia para su salvacion el que la cobrase. Dixose la Letania con mucha devocion, y aviendole aplicado al enfermo una Ymagen de N^a S^a muy devota, se fue el Padre Missionero a quien dos dias despues vinieron a decir, que el tal enfermo estaba con entera salud asistiendo a sus padres en las sementeras.

A la Salve, que sobre tarde se canta los Sabados, y no dejan de acudir los devotos de la SSma. Virgen acompañan en cierto partido¹ con las Letanias Lauretanas para alcanzar una buena muerte; y segun confiamos de la piedad de tan misericordiosa y SSma. Madre como es la Virgen Maria la avra [fol. 81v] alcanzado por este medio una India del pueblo de Rati [sic] que estando mui mala, llamaron al P. Ministro de aquel partido,² el qual, al llegar, la hallo tan fuera de si, que ni hablaba, ni daba señales ningunas ciertas de dolor: absolviola sub conditione y la oleo. Duro desta manera casi un mes, en el qual tiempo el P. la fue a ver repetidas veces, sin hallar en ella mudanza ninguna hasta que un dia antes de su muerte, volvio a visitarla, y hallandola del mismo modo, dixo las Letanias de N^a S^a pidiendole alcanzase de su Benditissimo Hijo que volviese en si para poder absolverla con mas seguridad de muestras de dolor. Acabadas las Letanias llamo el Padre a la enferma por su nombre, y fue cosa singular que le respondio, y con voz clara a todas las preguntas que le hizo. Con que la absolvio y administro los santos sacramentos y el dia siguiente murio.

De la misma suerte estaba otro Indio del pueblo de Inésu [sic] llamado **Francisco Ecay**, y aviendole asimismo encomendado a la SSma. Virgen y dado a beber el agua bendita de N.P. S. Ignacio volvio en si de suerte que pudo ser administrado de todos los santos sacramentos mui de espacio, y en acabando de recibirlos con mucha devocion, se volvio con una cara de risa hacia el Padre Missionero³ que le acababa de sacramentar, y proseguia instruyendole con actos de Fe, Esperanza, y Caridad para el ultimo trance: como quien con aquella su graciosa y agradable risa le agradecia todo aquello, pero sin hablar palabra, porque ya avia vuelto a perder el habla. De donde colegimos, que Dios solamente le hizo favor della en quanto la avia menester para asegurar su salvacion.

De la qual tambien dieron claras muestras otros moribundos estando en su acuerdo. **Henrique Aguaya**, vecino de dicho pueblo, despues de sacramentado, y oleado no dexo de invocar los dulcissimos Nombres de Jhs y Maria hasta que espiró. **Antonio Ami**, vezino de Agat, aviendo en tiempo del alzamiento y mas adelante, vivido no mui ajustadamente finalmente se reduxo de suerte que vino a morir como muy fervoroso Christiano abrazado con un Santo Cristo; y besandole con la boca y ojos, sin soltarle de las manos hasta que espino.⁴ Tubo dicho Ami una gracia especial, y fue que aunque andubo tanto tiempo huído, y viniendo mal amistado con una muger, nunca se olvido de las oraciones, Doctrina Christiana y Misterios de Nuestra Santa Fe, y de enseñar todo esto a otros así quando estaba huído como despues de reducido.⁵

Maria Enna, vecina del mismo pueblo de Agat, casada, y colegiala que fue en uno de los Colegios de Niñas, estuvo tan resuelta en dexarse de todo, y ponerse toda en manos de Dios, y en su divina dis-

1 Note in margin: En S. Antonio de Finna, cuyo Parroco es el P. Gerardo Bouvens.

2 Note in margin: Padre Miguel de Aparicio.

3 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe.

4 Note in margin: P. Thomas Cardeñoso.

5 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe.

posicion y voluntad por todo el tiempo de su enfermedad hasta morir, que preguntandola repetidas veces el P. Ministro de su pueblo,¹ si avia menester algo para su alivio; siempre le respondió, que solo a Dios queria, y lo que su Divina Magestad quisiese, y no otra cosa. Y aviendo recibido todos los sacramentos y el viatico de rodillas en la Yglesia murio tan christianamente como queda dicho. Era de edad de 28 años, y una de las niñas Colegiales, que crio, y educo con su [fol. 82] Santa doctrina el V.P. Sebastian de Monroy muerto por Cristo en estas Islas Marianas.

Y aviendose desta suerte augmentado la Iglesia Mariana en el Cielo, tambien se acrecento aca en la tierra con una nueva Iglesia, casa nuestra, y Residencia que por octubre de 89 se erigio en los montes y partido de Finna, empezandolo el P. Juan Tilpe con su Compañero el P. Juan Schirmeysen, y acabandola de perficionar el P. Gerardo Bouvens, acompañado del P. Felipe Muscati, en lugar de la de Mapupun, vocacion de S. Antonio de Padua. Y en el partido de Santa Rosa de Agat se acaba de fabricar una Iglesia nueva con todo primor asi de fuerte como de vistosa, y mejorose tambien la vivienda del P. Misionero Ministro de aquel partido² en grandor y fortaleza.

En S. Dionisio de Umatag reedificò el Governador una casa nueva y mas fuerte de la que avia para el Padre Ministro y para el otro Padre su compañero de aquel partido, y aora tambien esta trazando alli una Iglesia fuerte y vistosa.³

En Agadña se reedifico una casa muy buena y fuerte para Colegio y crianza de los Niños naturales de la tierra, que se ban aumentando, y continuando sus exercicios de leer, escribir, y aprender solfa para oficiar las Missas, como ya lo hacen algunos con harto agrado, y agradable melodia. Ha trabajado y trabaja en esta fabrica asi material como formal de dicho Colegio de Niños su Rector dellos P. Garcia Salgado con mucho cuidado y trabajo asistiendole el Governador por dos veces en lo material: 1º al poner las basas [sic] principales con casi todos los militares, 2º dandole gente del arte.⁴ Fuera desta crianza de dichos Niños Colegiales en Agadña, se dio providencia en la de las niñas Colegiales; porque aunque al presente, tod[av]ia aun no se les ha reedificado aqui su Colegio, por no aver por aora en la cabecera quanto se necesita para el fruto que se desea, se juzgo por conveniente que en los otros partidos fuera de Agadña corra este cuidado por cuenta de sus Ministros como ya se hace, y las Niñas Colegiales que en solo en el partido de S. Antonio de Finna estan ya juntas en su Coleio, son 24 y es tanto lo que en pocos meses aprovecharon en el texer (al uso de la tierra) petates sin los quales no se puede vivir, y tan diestras en el coser ropa, que solas ellas pueden acudir a todo quanto desto necessitan los Misioneros en sus partidos, y el Colegio de los Niños en Agadña. Todos los días se juntan dichas Colegiales por la mañana a Missa, despues al toque de campana acuden a todas sus distribuciones con sus dos Maestras ancianas, y sabias en manufactura, Doctrina &cª. Y en el partido de la Purissima Concepcion de Pago ay otras 6 con su Maestra. Y a todas 30 Colegialas acude para su comer y vestir dicho P. Garcia Salgado como Rector de Colegios de Niños y Niñas.

1 Note in margin: P Thomas Cardeñoso.

2 Note in margin: P. Thomas Cardeñoso.

3 Note in margin: P. Miguel de Aparicio cuida del Partido de Indios de Umatag, y su compañero Padre Josseph Hernandez de los mas y mejores militares que alli viven de asiento con el Governador.

4 Note in margin: P. Garcia Salgado Rector de los dos Seminarios de Niños y Niñas, fun[didos por donacion de N. Catholico Rey.

Hase dado principio en Agaña a la Congregacion de los Naturales debajo del titulo del Dulcissimo Nombre de Maria, titular destas Islas y de la Iglesia desta cabecera, no admitiendo en la primera entrada, sino a los que en el alzamiento passado de 84 fueron mas señalados en lealtad para [fol. 82v] con nosotros los perseguidos. Y aviendolos dado parte, y explicado en su lengua las Reglas, y constituciones, las abrazaron y abrazan con estimacion, y devocion, y oyendo en ellas que en aviendo algun escandalo lo avian de manifestar¹ para el remedio, vino luego uno dellos, y dio parte al Padre que cuida de la Congregacion² de como un casado, en aquellos dias, avia dejado a su muger: con lo qual se remedio volviendolos a juntar. Y cada Domingo y dia de fiesta ban confessando y comulgando, y alistandose en dicha Congregacion. Y preguntado uno, de edad de 24 años,³ del pueblo de Sinaaña, si queria entrar en la Congregacion, Respondio: Porque no? acaso somos bestias? Y porque nos llaman a los desta tierra MARIANOS; sino por ser estas Islas de MARIA SSma. N^a S^a y Nosotros gente de MARIA madre de Dios y Nuestra? Y en los otros partidos se hara lo mismo, y aora han avisado, que por alla en esta Pascua de Spiritu Santo ha avido muchas confesiones y comuniones; para que, supuesto que hacen estos los dias mas festivos, y otros Domingos entre año, ganen las Indulgencias que ya N.P.G. ha concedido a las Congregaciones que aqui se erigieren, y agregadolas a la Primaria de Roma por la carta que ya se dixo embio su Paternidad a Marianas para este fin.

*Los Adultos que en este año murieron con Sacramentos son 104 y los Niños muertos con la gracia bautismal 62 que son las mas preciosos margaritas, que desde Marianas presentamos al Rey N.S. para el mejor adorno de su Catholica Corona, y otros tantos Angeles de guardia para su Real persona, pues con su Catholico zelo, y Real aver los acarrea y conduce a tanta dicha y felicidad eterna ante el Rey del Cielo, que es verdaderamente con lo que mas nos consolamos en esta trabajosa Mission acordandonos de aquello del Apostol: *Reliquiæ salvæ fient*, que siquiera las Reliquias, que nos han quedado de la Christiandad que florecia en esta, y en las demas Islas del Norte, de donde poco ha volvieron 4 personas a entregarse voluntariamente al suave yugo de la Ley de Cristo, que avian dexado, para lograr con la observancia de sus preceptos la eterna salvacion. Asi sea, y la esperamos de su Divina Magestad mui firmamente.*

De S. Ignacio de la Ciudad de Agaña en S. Juan de Guan una de las Islas Marianas y Mayo 23 de 1690.

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+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

1 Note in margin: [A] D. Nicolas Chúchan, Fiscal de Sinaaña.

2 Note in margin: Padre Juan Tilpe cuida desta Congregacion de los Naturales.

3 Note in margin: Dionisio Sátigun, del pueblo de Sinaaña.

Translation

Report on the condition and progress of the Mission of the Mariana Islands between last May 1689 and May 1690.

[The statue of the Immaculate Conception of Pago, 1684 and 1689]

Fr. Mathias Cuculino, Fr. Juan Tilpe.

Having concluded the last annual report on 23 May 1689, the one that went with the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, regarding the condition and progress of this Mission and Christian community in the Mariana Islands, we will go on to note what has since happened in chronological order, beginning with the festive transfer of the [statue of the] Immaculate Virgin Mary our Lady to her old residence in the residency and district of Pago, where she was much venerated until the year 1684 when, during the uprising of these natives, she was thrown out of her church, and placed in the corner of a hut; her most pure face was all scratched, and her blessed hands and nose were cut off. She was found in this condition during a sortie that Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga made against the enemies, in the company of two Missionary Fathers.¹ He, very moved at seeing his very dear **Statue of the Immaculate Conception** in such a bad place, ordered a stretcher to be prepared and decorated with flowers and palm leaves, to carry this very rich find to a better residence. This was done with the best festivity possible under those circumstances, with the ringing of the very church bell from the church of the Immaculate all along the way from Pago to Agaña. The bell was hanging from a pole carried on the shoulders of two soldiers. It had been found on the same occasion inside another hut in Pago, not without Providence of the Lord, who desired thus to honor His Immaculate Mother with such a festivity. Her praises were sung continuously by all the soldiers and other people who were part of this expedition, until arrival at Agaña, where she was placed inside a single Oratory, which we then had. Here then in Agaña this statue of the Immaculate remained until the end of May 1689 when, her church in Pago having been rebuilt, she was restituted by the same Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga (then serving as interim Governor) with much solemnity and celebration. And with a solemn procession said statue left this church of Agaña, a little after noon, on the shoulders of the more prominent Mariana ladies, married to the more prominent officials, and military officers of this new City and Royal Mariana Garrison, with a gun salute, and the firing of a volley with the other firearms. There was singing during some stretches of the way. Following it were the infantrymen who celebrated it with repeated volleys, and firings of their firearms, and the devout retinue of women who, with all the others, recited the Rosary along the way.

Fr. Mathias Cuculino, Parish priest and Minister of Pago.

In this fashion the devout procession was nearing Pago, whose Minister, accompanied by all his parishioners singing the Christian doctrine, came to receive and meet

¹ Ed. note: See the story of the origin of this statue in Doc. 1667D (HM4: 300-302).

with their particular Patroness and Immaculate Mother. And here the above-mentioned married and prominent native women of these Islands once again shouldered her as before, and carried her as far as her church in Pago. There she was also welcomed by some Missionary Fathers from other districts who had converged to this feast with some of their parishioners, and she was placed on her throne and altar, while everyone greeted her with the *Salve*, sung in the Mariano language, while the celebrant was incensing, and they finished with the seasonal prayer. And that concluded the daytime celebration. During the evening the natives made fireworks according to their custom. They made the night a very happy and showy one, because they were so various and ingenious that it made ours in Europe to be left wanting, and with such an art that neither rockets nor anything else of that kind were missed; to the contrary, the novelty and so much variety of devices that they invented to give the whole thing the appearance of various streams of rockets (in truth they looked like various fire tricks) that it is incredible and inexplicable the harmony, happiness, and fun that they caused, much more and even better than if they had been made with powder.

The next day there was a solemn mass and sermon in the Mariano language with efficient discussions and exhortations in favor of the devotion and cult of the Immaculate Virgin Mary our Lady who is attracting more and more the minds of these her Marianos who, as sons of hers, recognize her as their good Mother and Protectress in Heaven. And so, once mass and the other offices inside the church were over, they wanted to celebrate the one they call Santa Maria our Mother, Mother of everyone, and Mother of God our Father, with dances and spear-throwing contests according to their custom, very worthy of being watched. And in the evening, they repeated the same games as on the previous night. And the soldiers with their weapons fired various volleys, everything done with the universal applause, pleasure, and enjoyment of all those present, and with special jubilation on the part of said Governor Don José, who was outside of himself with contentment at seeing that all insisted on celebrating with such a delight the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, to said high mystery the whole soul of said Governor is devoted. And that is why in this residency, church and house of Pago, which he built himself, as was already said, in the year 1680, and now rebuilt anew, as we have just said, he has already done twice in less than 8 months the Exercises of our Fr. St. Ignatius, because he finds here the best sanctuary and asylum in the midst of his greater labors.

In Umatag, the church there was on the verge of collapse and, when said Governor Quiroga came to hear mass there, he promised St. Denis the Areopagite, to whom it is dedicated, to build him another, if he got from God a few good showers for the plantations that were drying up for lack of rain for over 5 months. He had hardly done this promise that it suddenly began to rain, and he began to rebuild the church. As long as he kept on rebuilding, the rain kept coming down, until it made the plantations secure with their products, which from then on were copious and abundant.

After this, on 6 June [1689] the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** arrived at a time that the weather was almost calm, but with some mild landward wind on the 8th

of said month she came near the port of Umatag, from where the Governor and we Missionaries were able to go out to her and receive the letters and the succor that she was bringing to us, although we had a hard time getting it, because she did not wish to cast anchor, and did not; rather, she tacked back and forth, even though on the 9th of June she was in the neighborhood where the galleons of this run usually anchor when they come from Acapulco.

Among the succor that she left us, the best was the 8 Religious Missionaries of our Society, including 3 coadjutor brothers to make up for the great void left by the other 3 brothers who had died the previous years, and the remaining 5 were priests. Their names are: Fr. Joaquin Assin, Fr. Felipe Muscati, Fr. José Hernandez, Fr. Juan Schirmeysen, Fr. Garcia Salgado; and Brothers Miguel Escolano, Alonso Marín, and Miguel Suazo. The said individuals who are priests are very good in virtue and knowledge. All 8 of them, as soon as they stepped ashore, were made welcome and received with the usual charity of our Society among the 4 Residencies that we have at present in this Island of San Juan of Guan, though not with the same abundance as in other parts, on account of the poverty of these Marianas. And the first three were transported as prizes along with the relief to the capital and Royal City of Agaña. The new missionaries were each given some appropriate occupation in order for them to be able to practice and learn the language, so that once they become skilled at it, they may be assigned more useful duties in said ministries, specially in those of these Marianos, the sole purpose and motive of their vocation and desires to work in this tender vineyard of the Marianas.

On the occasion of the coming of said galleon **Santo Cristo** and the succor that she brought us, one Mariano Indian, among others, of very good intelligence and Christian manners,¹ was sailing from Agat to Umatag in the company of one of the Missionary Fathers,¹ and talking about things in Europe, the conversation came to deal with our Catholic and pious Monarch. The Missionary Father told him that His Majesty loved the natives of these Mariana Islands very much and that his reason for loving them and for sending them so many succors, not only for the good of their souls, but also to clothe the nakedness of their bodies, was because he felt much compassion for their great poverty. The Indian listened to these reasons with great attention, and tears almost came out of his eyes, and he broke in, saying: "Could not our Lord come here [to visit us], since he loves us so much and wants to do us so much good?" To this the Missionary Father answered by giving reasons why His Majesty could not leave Spain. *Et ille conservabat omnia verba hæc conferens in corde suo.*²

1 Fr. Miguel de Aparicio.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Bible meaning: "And he kept all these things, and pondered them in his heart." (Luke 2:19).

[Flu epidemic of 1689]

Said galleon also left us 20 soldiers as reinforcement, volunteers, but since 12 others had to be sent away to Manila for being useless, and sick, this Royal Mariano Camp was increased by only 8 men—a number quite short for the reduction of the Northern Islands, an enterprise that our Governor Don José de Quiroga had in mind, but he decided to undertake it, in spite of the small increase in his army and the great epidemics of colds, catarrhs, fevers, and diarrheas which, once the galleon was gone, attacked the country, so furious and universal that it forgave no-one, big or small. All the towns were turned into hospitals, and even the old Missionaries shared this contagion, though not as seriously as the Indians who, being accustomed to take a bath every day, did not omit this custom, even when they were sick and with fever. About 20 of them died throughout the Island in a little more than one week, which was the worst period of the disease, but at the end of the 3 months that it lasted, over 80 of them died, and there would have been many more, but whenever they were at risk (every one of the Gospel ministers did not cease to go around, spending entire days and nights administering the sacraments) they were advised to moderate their excessive baths, and accept the remedies that they were assisted with on our part, not only medicines but also sustenance such as biscuit, and some fowls, effectively depriving ourselves of these to attend to them, in order to comfort them and give them strength. Consequently, and with the favor of our Lord, to whom the sick were calling very sincerely, while we too directed our prayers, and pleas, to His divine Majesty, many escaped death, at whose doors not a few were already agonizing, to such an extent that it seems like a miracle that so many escaped; those who did escape show themselves very thankful to us.¹

Fr. Juan Schirmeysen blessed her.

Our Fr. St. Ignatius stood out in preserving many from death, when he [i.e. his relic] was applied to them, and they were given blessed water to drink (in Germany they use this water and call it after the Saint). Among the many cases, to make the story short, I will only refer to a few, like that of **Antonia Eguegue**, a female resident of Santa Rosa of Agat, to whom the disease hit so hard and suddenly that she could no longer talk, and she was on the verge of dying. The Missionary Father of that district was called and, finding her in this condition, gave her said water, and instantly she recovered her speech and improved.

Rosa Assari, a female resident of the same town was so choked with catarrh that she could not rest, nor lie down; she drank the water, rested, and improved.

1 Brother Juan Haler, pharmacist (in the absence of anyone else knowledgeable enough) took care of all the sick of the Island with medicines and necessary food, and Brother Melchor de Santa Cruz was in Agat for the same purpose to help the Father in charge of that district.

Lorenzo Saurri, the Fiscal of the town of Inessu [sic],¹ had already received the sacraments, and extreme unction; he was being choked by catarrh and was burning with a furious fever. He drank the water of the Saint and soon afterwards found himself free of that mortal illness. This illness was so effective among the natives, but by special favor from God it was not so among the soldiers, whom it affected very little.²

For this reason, when he was able to call on as many Indians, although most of them were less healthy, but enough to man 6 of the **10 canoes that existed in the Island** [in 1689], said Governor decided to undertake the enterprise of said Northern Islands, as he did at the beginning of July. He himself boarded a small boat with 50 men, and accompanied by the 6 canoes, left Agaña in the company of Fathers Mathias Cuculino and Miguel de Aparicio who had been selected for this enterprise. They headed straight to the eastern end of this Island, that faces north and the Island of Santa Ana of Rota, in order from there to cross the strait, as soon as the weather became favorable, and also for the Governor and all the above-mentioned people to await there the other 4 canoes that he had left behind and ordered made ready with men who were already convalescing from their ailments, and were to follow him. When all of them were ready in said neighborhood, and the Governor thought that the wind was favorable, three times he tried to make the voyage, but three times, at about 3 leagues within the strait, he was forced back, on account of being hit by a contrary wind. He spent until mid-July doing this, before he recognized that, on the one hand, good weather did not come in, and on the other hand, even if it did come in, the boat was not suitable and the enterprise would be in danger with only the local canoes. He had to return to Agaña, despairing of being able to achieve the voyage without the right weather or sufficient means until the coming of the sloop. And while it was awaited, he retired to the Residence of the Immaculate Conception in Pago, and stayed there 8 days to make the exercises of our Fr. St. Ignatius.

[Two voyages of exploration by Alonso Soón, Chamorro chief]

Once these were over, he despatched twice Don Alonso Soón, a chief, and Sergeant-Major of the Indians of the districts of Agat and Umatag, with 4 canoes and 8 soldiers with their officer toward the south in search of Caroline Island, which was discovered in 1686 by Admiral Don Francisco Lazcano, Chief Pilot of this run aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa**. However, neither time he could find it. And the same thing happened recently in March of this year 1690 when he left Umatag for the same purpose, though in vain, with 4 other canoes, and in them 12 local men and 8 other soldiers with as many firearms. He zigzagged toward the south for 4 days and nights, at the order of the Governor and Captain-General Don Damian de Esplana who, accompanied by Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso returned to these Mariana Islands in the patache **San Gabriel** which

1 Ed. note: This town was a major one with a church, since it had a fiscal, or controller; since Fr. Tilpe and Fr. Schirmeysen were involved with it, it was therefore located inland near Fina (see below). Like Mapupun, located nearby, it did not last long.

2 Ed. note: The medical concept of immunity against infections was not then understood.

came into sight of these Islands on 3 September 1689, and on the next day said Governor and Captain-General of the Marianas came ashore aboard a canoe, and two days later he was followed by Fr. Cardeñoso aboard another canoe. Then, when the patache tried to go to the Port of San Francisco of Tachug, although it could have entered that of the Good Thief St. Dimas of Merizo, it turned to leeward, because the wind was not right for coming in at Tachug. That is why we again lost sight of it until the 18th of the same month, when a certain Father who in Agaña at 3 in the afternoon of the said day promised to say 3 masses in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, if he would provide us with this patache (which we had lost sight of for 9 days by then). On the said day, the 18th, at 9 p.m. came the news to Agaña to the effect that the patache was already before Umatag, where it appeared at the same time that said Father finished offering the masses to St. Anthony. A solemn celebration of the feast of the Name of Mary, titular patron saint of the Marianas, and of the main church of this capital, took place in Agaña on this day, 18 September 1689, because it had not been possible to do so in her own Sunday within the octave of the Nativity of the B.V.M.¹ on account of occupations that intervened, with almost all of the Missionaries and the whole militia in attendance, the latter firing the guns and muskets, etc.

[Typhoon of 1689]

And the next day 19th, it came over the bar, that of the port of the Good Thief St. Dimas of Merizo, and there anchored so safely that, as the Chief Pilot and Senior officer of said vessel San Gabriel, Admiral Don Francisco Lazcano, himself says, the King has no better port. It did not even move and remained immobile during the typhoon that carried off the hatchway² that was sitting on deck of said vessel. Such a furious typhoon has not been seen in these Islands. To prove it, suffice to say that all the houses in this Island flew off, including 3 churches that were brought down and as many of our own residences; it destroyed the fruits and made matches out of the tallest trees, cut off the heads of the others, and destroyed them, turning them into splinters.

Churches and houses of Pago and Agaña, and the church of Agat and house of Umatag brought down by the hurricane or typhoon.

It began with a northerly wind on the evening of the 25th of September and by midnight it blew from the south, when its fury got worse, and veering to SSW, God willed that it slackened, because if it had continued to blow with the same fury it had when it was a southerly, after having blown from all quarters of the compass, it would have also finished off whatever was in this Island, not leaving one thing standing and destroying it all, given the fury with which it was blowing when it veered south. In the morning of the 26th of said month, with the enthusiasm shown by the Governor and the goodwill and assistance of the Mariano natives, the fallen churches and houses were

1 Ed. note: That is, the Sunday following 8 September.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps some rigging instead. Original word not clear.

then re-erected. The patache, or sloop, **San Gabriel** left on its return voyage to Manila on 17 December 1689.

Father Joaquin Assín takes care of restoring the sodality of the soldiers. He promotes and restores it and takes care of its progress with much fruit.

A letter was received from our Fr. General Tirso Gonzalez at these Islands in said year 1689 with the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, in which His Paternity attaches to the Primary Sodality of the Annuntiation in Rome those that exist now or might eventually exist in the Marianas, and he communicates to them all the graces, and Indulgences granted to said Primary Sodality. On the occasion of the receipt of this letter, the sodality of the soldiers was erected, and restored in this Royal Garrison and City of Agaña, because its progress had been interrupted with the disturbances and various calamities that this afflicted Christian community and Mariana Mission had suffered at various times, after the storms that had affected it in its most intimate self had somewhat abated, and in order to win the great spiritual treasure brought in by the letter from our Fr. General. Said sodality was re-organized under the title and protection of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady in her very feast-day, 8 December 1689. To this effect, after the letter of our Fr. General was published, since His Paternity points out in it that it serves as a common Patent for the aggregation of all the sodalities that exist or might in future exist in these Islands—as he could not send one for each existing sodality—the soldiers started coming in to enlist in this sodality of the Immaculate Conception and, in order to give us to understand the pleasure that the Immaculate Virgin our Lady received in the restoration of this her sodality, she wished to call to herself the first soldier who enlisted in it; this man was a very exemplary and devout Christian named **Juan Perez Franco**, a native of Tenerife in the Canary Islands, one of those 20 volunteer soldiers that the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** left us. A short time after he enlisted, he fell sick, and having received with extreme devotion and well in time all the Holy Sacraments, he expired at 9 p.m. on the eve of the feast of the Immaculate Concepcion of Our Lady; from her, and from the good disposition of this fine sodality member, we hope that he went to celebrate this her titular feast in Heaven. Meanwhile, the other members celebrated it here on Earth with full rejoicing, confessions, communions, solemn mass, and sermon. After all of this, on said day, 8 December, they buried their good companion and first member of this their sodality. And from then on, other soldiers have joined, and all have attended, and attend with much edification and fervor these and other holy exercises, as ordered by its constitution, and they are overcoming with courage any human consideration that might soon temper these fervors and holy exercises, that have set and are a great example for the rest of the soldiers.

When the soldiers were all gathered in Agaña during Holy Week, along with their Governor and Captain General Don Damian de Esplana (who lives permanently with most of them and the best ones in Umatag where he has built his palace), a Mission was proclaimed in the style used by Apostolic men in other parts and Fathers Joaquin Assín and José Hernandez carried it out with the usual fervor; its effects were those that

usually follow from such an apostolic exercise and ministry¹, for instance, the notable and universal change that was recognized in all those of this Royal Mariano Camp. In some of them there was an increase of the fear of God in which they lived; in others the efficient desires of mending themselves and intentions of frequenting the sacraments in future in order to achieve them; this was all proven not only by the tears that they shed during the sermons, but also later on at the feet of the Confessor. Another example was the restitutions that followed, either of stolen goods, or of sullied honors, by retracting various false statements and reconciliations among enemies; by the way, the cessation of some small unpleasantness among the officers led in no small measure to this.² And it became something worth praising God about, to see them being so scrupulous in the sacramental reconciliations, and so fastidious in minute things, when the biggest and most horrendous things were swallowed without fear of God, nor objection from their consciences. There took place various general confessions, necessary after some years of neglect, some because they had kept quiet some enormous sins out of shame, even from the first use of reason, and in others for having recognized the falseness of their regret, and intention in past confessions, by repeating what they had heard the Preacher say, that was: that on this Maundy Thursday would be unlucky whoever wanted to be another Judas, and so one of them said: "Let him be, Father, whoever he might be, but I do not want to be him anymore, as I have been until now."

Another was driven by so much worry that he could not sleep for two nights, or calm down, as it seems to him that someone was pulling him by the arm, although he could see no-one, and that he was telling him inside: "Confess yourself, confess yourself." This caused such a great horror in him that, repenting for his past life, although at the time, thank God, he did not find in his conscience anything that deserved serious remorse, he decided to make a general confession and, having done so, was left calm and free from that concern.³

Another one had secretly plotted with a married Indian woman to kill her husband in order to marry her; however, he efficiently changed his mind, and intentions, as a result not only of the disillusionments that he heard in the sermons of the Mission, but also of the warnings and salutary and preventive admonitions that the confessor gave him, to the effect that a similar agreement had rendered him completely ineligible for marrying this woman.

Another was tempted by his weakness, as usual, and having gone in search of a woman, he solicited her, and came to an agreement with her to satisfy their appetite; however, as it was necessary for her to go inside a house, before carrying it out, in the meantime God willed to give the aggressor such remorse of conscience, and sorrow for his sin, based on the Catholic truths that he had heard being preached days previously, that, no longer able to stay there, to wait for the woman, out of pure fear he

1 Note in margin: Item submitted by Fr. Joaquin Assín.

2 Note in margin: Fr. Gerardo Bouvens, Fr. Joaquin Assín mention this.

3 Note in margin: Submitted by Fr. Francisco Palavicino.

began to flee, without ever answering to her, no matter how loudly she was calling to him, and following him for a distance, surprised at his sudden change of mind, and ignoring the reason why he left her.

Another who was fond of the same vice was left after the Mission so little affectionate towards his concubines that when he would see them, assuming an indiscreet zeal he simply could not make himself vilify them, because he imagined them to be the total cause of his failures, but it was recognized that he had truly repented in his soul, when he would later flee from the opportunity, as he has heard it being preached; he began to walk at a fair pace, so that such a woman would not catch up with him and, although the common enemy of our souls would wage a war inside him, to make him slow down, he would resist strongly, discussing with himself if he should stop or not, but the stimulus of his conscience would prod him forward so that he was obliged to walk faster than a normal step, and, distancing himself from her more and more, until such time that he easily out-distanced her, and losing sight of her, he saw himself free from danger.

Many were those who armed themselves to resist with one Hail Mary which they were advised to say to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady and they confessed having found in it a great effort for the victory, and some, in order to ensure their spiritual welfare even more, enlisted themselves in and became members of her immaculate Sodality in order to become more favored by her purity.

That is not to say that our Mariano Indians (to whom during the year all the sermons and talks are true Catholic missions and Christian doctrine) have not been, nor are less exemplary; indeed, all the Missionary Fathers, who administer them and deal with them more closely,¹ speak volubly about their great Christian manners and fruit they derive from them, so much so that every day their spiritual improvement is greater, such as they have experienced and continue to experience every day.

1° On account of the great affection they have for the Christian doctrine, and its teaching, they attend to it and to the sermons not only with diligence and complete attention, but also praying and singing it also at nightfall in their houses, which makes one very moved and worth praising God about, to hear prayers and articles of our Holy Faith resonate along the beaches and hills, and concluding the prayer meeting with the Salve and the Alabado,² the whole thing sung alternately with much harmony in their voices.

2° On account of the good done not only to the youth but also to the old men and women who have embraced very sincerely everything that our Holy Catholic Faith teaches to save oneself and see God and enjoy Him in Heaven. In this wise, a few days ago, one Missionary Father from among the new ones to these Islands, and to the

1 Note in margin: Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice-Provincial, Fr. Gerardo Bouvens, Fr. Basilio le Roulx, Fr. Mathias Cuculino, Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso, Fr. Juan Tilpe, Fr. Miguel de Aparicio.

2 Ed. note: The first one is a hymn in Latin, the Salve Regina; the second one, I think, is the Spanish version of the canticle Magnificat.

language, though no longer new in it, because he has penetrated it very well in very little time,¹ and who assists outside of Agaña as Parish priest in the ministry of souls, well, it is not without a great admiration that, in a letter of his, he speaks of our Mariana Youth. He says what all of us Missionaries feel, and say about said youth, but he uses the following words: "The prayer boys and girls know the Christian doctrine so well that not only do they respond exactly as in the Catechism, but they can also give explanations in response to a question asked in any other manner, and about very difficult concepts, such as the eternity of God, the immortality of the soul, and the presence of God in every place, and how at sea He does not get wet, how in a fire He does not burn, nor is He soiled by mud, and also when Christ is present in the Host, about the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ, and the preparation necessary to take communion." That is it, as far as the youth and the doctrine.

As for the old men and women, since they know that it is an indispensable law that it is necessary for someone to know the doctrine in order to be admitted to the sacraments of confession, and communion, which they call the Bread of Heaven, and the food of souls, any one of these old people, even when he might stutter in responding, or when his memory fails on account of old age, is coarse or has other particularities, he endeavors to hasten to know how to respond properly, and to learn the doctrine well, in whatever way he is asked, as can be seen in the following examples.

An old man of 70 from among those recently arrived from the Northern Islands, who did not even know how to make the sign of the cross, was threatened with a refusal of confession and communion, unless he learned. He made so many efforts at it, by praying every day with those of his household, that at the end of one month he knew the doctrine well and confessed himself and took communion, with great consolation to himself and to the Missionary Father who administered these holy sacraments to him.²

An old woman, to whom the Fr. Missionary and Minister of her district³ made the same threat, went off with so much concern to learn the Christian doctrine and made so many efforts at it, that she returned very soon to the same Father and told him: "Father, I now know the doctrine and word of God, because I have not slept until I knew it."

^{3°} Because they know the doctrine not only by rote, but also by feeling; this is made evident by the concept they hold of the things that touch on the welfare of their souls. An Indian Chief in Finna [sic],⁴ had on a shirt, or jacket somewhat too short; when a soldier asked him why he did not wear a better shirt, he answered: "Sir, the shirt that I

1 Note in Margin: Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, Parish priest and Minister of the district of Umatag.

2 Note in margin: Fr. Miguel de Aparicio.

3 Note in margin: Father Juan Tilpe.

4 Note in margin: Don Andrés Ressu, Fiscal of the town of Finna. Ed. comment: Finna is also written Fina, Fena, or Feña. It was an inland town, near the northern part of the present-day Fena Reservoir.

have on is not important to God, but what is important is that my soul be very well prepared before God.”

Another Indian, when asked by the Missionary Father in charge of his district,¹ if he had held some bad desire, answered: “It is true that my body desired the sin, but my heart could not distinguish the movements of the appetite of the senses from the agreement of the will, but my will was kept free of the sin, though my appetite pushed me to it.” Many other examples of this could be mentioned, but are omitted to avoid prolixity.

A girl was solicited with presents, but she depreciated them and with skill got rid of the danger. Many other women, married as well as unmarried, have imitated this one. Others, men and women, resisted valorously to rewards and threats of those who wanted to induce them to seek them for sinning together, because they did not want to cooperate in strange sins. Such feeling moved a chief and Captain of his town² when he advised the Superior of the Mission to please solve the problem of two bachelors, because, he said, he did not want to keep quiet about it, and be an accomplice to their sins, and that God was angered by them, and would throw him into Hell. This advice was so prudent and salutary that the remedy was then sought, by remonstrating the two guilty ones with such words and exhortations that they abandoned their vice and they effectively separated and gave up the opportunity. Others, who were also careless, truly amended themselves so as not to lose their soul as soon as they were warned; for example, a lad who had a bad liaison, being warned by the Father Minister of his district³ of the danger that their souls ran, took the advice so well that he returned soon to the same Father and told him that the two of them wanted to get married, to ensure the salvation of their souls. However, when they universally showed themselves to care for their salvation most clearly was during the general epidemics, by tolerating such painful sorrows and problems with much patience and acceptance with the will of God, whom they invoked very sincerely, and in whom they delivered themselves with a great trust as their best remedy. One good old woman came so close to dying that she was given the recommendation of the soul twice, but she continuously repeated (not saying anything else) the prayers, and Christian doctrine. God deigned to give her back her health, no doubt to make others fond of this holy exercise. Others, while they still could, would drag themselves to the church to seek a remedy for body and soul. Once the Missionary Father told one of them who had come, falling and getting up along the road over a distance of a league and a half, to hear mass on a compulsory day: “Why do you tire yourself. In your condition you do not have to come to mass, specially when the church is so far away.” He answered: “My dear Father, I regret more not coming to mass than the fatigue that the illness cause me and the distance of the road.” Finally, all were preparing themselves in a very Christian manner for whatever God would deign

1 Note in margin: Fr. Miguel de Aparicio.

2 Note in margin: Captain Manuel Tayitup of Sinahaña.

3 Note in margin: Father Juan Tilpe.

to decide to do with them, and were asking for the holy sacraments soon enough and received them with great sincerity, fervor, extreme reverence and devotion.

Those who have escaped the contagion have persevered afterwards, so that there are now many confessions and communions during the year, not just in Agaña, where the natives are none other than the women married to soldiers, and are already accustomed to confess themselves and take communion every month in the jubilees and main feasts of our Lord and of His most Holy Mother. And the same is done by many other men and women of this district, and foremost among them, with a rare example of fervor, is Master-of-camp and Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General of his people on behalf of His Majesty, the so-often-mentioned before, because every day he deserves it more and more, **Don Antonio Ayihi**, and the other Captains and other officials and Fiscals, etc. They, as well as all of the others, do it so well that it is a blessing from God, and with much ability and sincerity that in the eyes of great European Missionaries they do it better than many old Christians in the main cities of Spain. On Sundays during Advent in a certain district the mystery of Incarnation was explained to them and they were exhorted by their Minister¹ to try and have the Child Jesus born in their souls by grace, and if they had lost same, they could recover it by confession and augment it by properly receiving sacred communion; many of them, i.e. most of them, were moved to seek confession and communion on Christmas Day and the Circumcision [i.e. New Year's Day] at the great satisfaction, edification and consolation of a Missionary Father² who unexpectedly showed up in this district and heard the confession of many of them.

And to comply with the precept of annual confession and communion, they all prepared themselves so well that all the Missionary Fathers of all the districts do not cease talking about their great capacity and sufficiency, and the great hunger and anxiety with which they seek them as a favor and great gift to be granted permission to receive Christ in the sacraments, and there is hardly anyone found incapable and denied this permission; rather, it is very moving and enjoyable to grant it to them, on account of the obvious earnestness (in addition to what has already been said), with which they ask for this bread of Heaven, as they think, no doubt, that they would not get eternal life and pleasure, unless they eat it. The same can be said of the good preparation and previous and necessary disposition they have before approaching the sacrament of penance, not only regarding their integrity, materially or formally, but also the repentance of their sins, going so far as to shed tears of sorrow, and for the purpose of improvement, they are motivated principally by the love of God and His infinite kindness.

And in order to make them progress more and more in the devotion and appreciation, and in the fuller knowledge of the mysteries of our Redemption, since they were so well prepared and with so much spiritual maturity, the offices of Holy Week were celebrated and our Lord was exposed in the monument, not only in the capital of Agad-

1 Note in margin: Father Juan Tilpe in Finna.

2 Note in margin: Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice-Provincial, who was on a tour of the districts.

ña, but also in the other districts, and their parishioners flocked with great Faith, devotion, and reverence to worship and kiss the Holy Cross and on it the Lord Crucified; at the sight of Him they would be moved to tears, and the Europeans too were giving thanks to the Lord for seeing such an appreciation for these sacred things, in a place so devoid of them before. It happened in some districts that all the people gathered in the church on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, not tiring of keeping company with the Lord exposed in the monument and of worshipping the Crucifix, with each suburb in rotation so that there would be someone continuously in the church. A few who had not yet confessed, wished to do so in the afternoon of Maundy Thursday at the sight of the representation of such mysteries, in order to have communion on Good Friday, but they were warned that on that day there is no way, or mass, at which they could do so, on account of the custom of our Holy Mother Church.¹ They were left very remorseful, and surprised that their Creator, Lord and Father suffered for the love He had for them all.

In one of the districts, in addition to what has just been said, they recited the Rosary of our Lady aloud and alternately. This devotion is well received and used by these Marianos not only in the church but also in their houses, and even when they walk on the road, in order to commend themselves to the B.V.M. in whom they have much faith, and notable trust for the remedy of their ailments. Among them were a married couple² who suffered from a bad heart, and could not find a human remedy; following the advice of the Missionary Father³ they made the promise to attend confession and communion on every feast-day of Our Lady during the year; having done so with great exactitude they are now free of their illness. Others have followed their examples and brought in their sick children, asking that a Gospel be read for them; in particular, one that appeared to have reached its final moments recovered very quickly, and nowadays it lives well and healthy. In another district, as a Missionary Father⁴ was on the way to hear the confession and give communion to a dying man. What happened is that, after he had received the sacraments, and the Father said goodbye to the parents of the sick man before returning to his town, he had not gone beyond the distance of a stone's throw from the house of the sick, when an Indian came up at full speed shouting to said Father, and saying: "Father, Father, that sick man is dying. I beg you to go and console his parents and relatives who are at his bedside, because they are very afflicted." The Father returned to the house of the sick man, whom he found unconscious, and according to his appearance he was close to death. He consoled his parents, and exhorted them to accept the will of God. Then said Father took heart and made an effort within himself to put his trust in God; he ordered those present to get down on their knees and to recite the Litany of Our Lady for the health of the sick man, if it should

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- 1 Ed. note: It was then the practice among Catholics not to say mass on that day, as the Church was in mourning.
 - 2 Note in margin: Don Andrés Resu [sic], Fiscal of Finna, and his wife Doña Sabina Tenni.
 - 3 Note in margin: Fr. Gerardo Bouvens, Parish priest and Minister of Finna.
 - 4 Note in margin: Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, in Merizo of St. Dimas.

be in the interest of his salvation. The Litany was recited with much devotion, and, after he had very devoutly applied an Image of Our Lady to the sick, the Missionary Father went away. Two days later they came to tell him that the sick man in question was completely healthy and helping his parents in the plantations.

On Saturday afternoons, those devout to the B.V.M. do not fail to come to recite the Salve. In a certain district¹ they accompany this with the Litanies of Our Lady of Loreto to obtain a good death. And according to the trust we have in the mercy of this merciful and Blessed Mother, such as this Virgin Mary, an Indian woman from the town of Rati [sic]² would have obtained it through this means; she was very sick and they called the Fr. Minister of that district,³ who, upon his arrival, found her so outside of herself that she neither spoke nor gave any sure sign of grief. He absolved her *sub conditione* and applied extreme unction. She lasted almost one month in this manner, during which time the Father went to see her repeatedly, without finding any change in her until one day before her death, he visited her again, and finding her the same way, recited the Litanies of Our Lady, begging her to obtain from her Most Blessed Son that the woman regain consciousness so that he might absolve her with more security, if only she could show repentance. As soon as the Litanies were over, the Father called the sick woman by her name, and it was an incredible thing but she answered, in a clear voice, to all the questions that he asked. Therefore, he absolved her and administered the holy sacraments, and the next day she died.

Another Indian of the town of Inésu [sic], named **Francisco Ecay**, was the same way, and he was also commended to the B.V.M. and given the blessed water of our Fr. St. Ignatius to drink. He regained consciousness so that he was able to have all the holy sacraments administered to him very slowly and, after he had received them with much devotion, he turned his face, smiling at the Missionary Father⁴ who was finishing to administer the sacraments to him and was proceeding to instruct him with acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity for the last trance; with that gracious and pleasing smile it was as if he was thankful for all of that, but without uttering a word, because he had already lost his speech. Hence we can only gather that God made him the favor that he needed to secure his salvation.

Some clear signs of salvation were also shown by other dying persons when they still had consciousness. **Enrique Aguaya**, a resident of said town, after he had received the last sacraments, including extreme unction, did not fail to invoke the sweetest Names of Jesus and Mary until he expired. **Antonio Ami**, resident of Agat, who had lived not very correctly at the time of the uprising and later on, was finally reduced, so that he came to die as a very zealous Christian in the embrace of a crucifix; he was kissing it

1 Note in margin: In San Antonio of Finna, whose parish priest is Fr. Gerardo Bouvens.

2 Ed. note: This has to be a misprint for Hati, although the manuscript clearly says Rati.

3 Note in margin: Father Miguel de Aparicio.

4 Note in margin: Father Juan Tilpe.

with his mouth and eyes, never letting go of it until he expired.¹ Said Ami was given a special favor, and it was that although he had been a fugitive for so long, and lived informally with a woman, he never forgot the prayers, the Christian doctrine, and the mysteries of our Holy Faith, and to teach all of this to others, not only when he was a fugitive but also afterwards when he was reduced.²

María Enna, a resident of the same town of Agat, married and a former inmate of one of the Colleges for girls, was so resolved to leave everything and to place herself entirely in the hands of God and in his divine disposition and will that during the whole period of her sickness until she died, whenever the Fr. Minister of her town³ would ask her if she needed something for her relief, she would always answer that she wanted only God, and what His divine Majesty wanted, and nothing else. And, having received all the sacraments and the viaticum on her knees in the church, she died in such a Christian manner, as was said. She was 28 years old, and had been one of the college girls that the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, who died for Christ in these Mariana Islands, had raised and educated her with his Holy doctrine.

And the Mariana Church in Heaven having thus been increased, it was similarly increased here on Earth with a **new church, house for us, and Residency that was established in October 1689 inland in the district of Finna**. Fr. Juan Tilpe began it with his companion, Fr. Juan Schirmeysen, but Fr. Gerardo Bouvens, accompanied by Fr. Felipe Muscati put the finishing touches to it, instead of that of Mapupun, and dedicated it to San Antonio de Padua.⁴ And in the district of Santa Rosa of Agat a new church is being completed with great elegance, with improved strength and appearance, and the lodgings of the Missionary Father and Minister of that district⁵ is also being improved in size and strength.

In San Dionisio of Umatag, the Governor has rebuilt a new house, a stronger one than before, for the Father Minister and for the other Father his companion of that district, and now also he is planning to build there a strong and pretty church.

In Agadña a very good and strong house was rebuilt for the College and upbringing of the locally-born native children, who keep on making progress in their exercises in reading, writing, and learning solmization⁶ to officiate at masses, as some of them already do with quite a pleasant and agreeable melodious result. Fr. Garcia Salgado, their Rector, has worked and is working at this construction, material as well as formal, of

1 Note in margin: [Reported by] Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso.

2 Note in margin: [Reported by] Father Juan Tilpe.

3 Note in margin: Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso.

4 Ed. note: It seems clear to me now that the church site for the people living in the center of the Island of Guam was then shifted, along with its Christian name, from Mapupun to Fena; thus, Mapupun ceased to exist, and maybe Inesu also.

5 Note in margin: Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso.

6 Ed. note: Multi-voice singing, or as an old dictionary says: the art of uniting the various sounds of music.

said College of boys with much care and labor. The Governor helped him out twice, materially-speaking: 1° to lay down the main foundations with almost all the soldiers, 2° by giving him some skilled workmen.¹ Besides this upbringing of said College boys in Agadña, provision was made for that of the College girls, because although at present their College has not yet been rebuilt here, since there is not for now as much as is necessary for the fruit that is wanted, it was thought proper for the other districts outside of Agadña to have this care attended to, under the responsibility of their Ministers, and this is already being done; for instance in the district of San Antonio of Finna where the College girls have been gathered in a college of their own, there are 24 of them and they have learned so much in a few months, learning to weave mats (according to local custom, and without them one cannot live), and they have become so skilled at sewing clothes that they alone can supply all the needs for clothes of the Missionaries in their districts and the College for boys in Agadña. Every day these College girls gather in the morning for mass, then at the sound of a bell they flock to all their assignments with their two old female teachers, who are knowledgeable about crafts, the Doctrine, etc. And in the district of the Immaculate Conception of Pago, there are another 6 with their female teacher. And said Fr. Garcia Salgado, as Rector of the Colleges for boys and girls takes care of all 30 college girls with food and clothing.

A beginning has been made in Agadña to the Sodality of the Natives under the title of the Sweetest Name of Mary, the titular patron saint of these Islands and of the church of this capital. At first no-one was admitted except those who had been more loyal to us and persecuted with us during the past uprising of 1684. And after they were advised of it, and given explanations in their language about the Rules, and constitutions, they embraced them and continue to embrace them with esteem and devotion. When they heard that one of the rules consisted in having to reveal any scandal to the Fiscal² for a remedy, one of them came forward later on and reported to the Father who supervises the Sodality³ to the effect that a married man had left his wife in those days; therefore, a remedy was applied and they came together again. And each Sunday and holiday they go to confession and communion, and enlist in said Sodality. When one of them, a 24-year-old man from the town of Sinaaña,⁴ was asked if he wished to join the Sodality, he answered: "Why not? are we perhaps animals? Why is it that they call us, the people of this land, MARIANOS, if it is not because these Islands belong to our Blessed Virgin MARY and we are the people of MARY, mother of God and ours?" And in the other districts the same thing will be done, and now they have sent news that overthere during this recent Festival of Pentecost there have been many confessions and communions; naturally, since these are the more festive days, as well as the other Sundays during the year, when they can earn the Indulgences that our Fr. General has already

1 Note in margin: Fr. Garcia Salgado, Rector of the two Seminaries for boys and girls, funded by a grant of our Catholic King.

2 Note in margin: Don Nicolás Chúchan, Fiscal of Sinaaña.

3 Note in margin: Father Juan Tilpe looks after this Sodality of the Natives.

4 Note in margin: Dionisio Sátigun, of the town of Sinaaña.

granted to the members of the sodalities that might be erected here, and attached them to the Primary one in Rome, in accordance with the letter that has already been mentioned as having been sent to the Marianas for this purpose by His Paternity.

The adults who have died with the sacraments this year total 104, and the children who have died with the grace of baptism total 62; the latter are the most precious pearls that from the Marianas we present to the King our Lord for the best adornment of his Catholic Crown, and the others are so many guardian Angels for his Royal person; indeed, it is thanks to his Catholic zeal, and his Royal treasury that has supported them and leads them to such good luck and eternal happiness before the King of Heaven, that it is truly our best consolation in this laborious Mission, where we remember the saying of the Apostle: *Reliquiæ salvæ fient*,¹ if only as the fragments that remain from the Christian community that flourished in this, and in the other Northern Islands, from where 4 persons have returned recently to deliver themselves voluntarily to the sweet yoke of the Law of Christ, that they had [previously] abandoned, in order to gain eternal salvation through the observance of its precepts. So be it, and we very firmly expect it from His Divine Majesty.

From San Ignacio of the City of Agaña in San Juan of Guan, one of the Mariana Islands, 23 May 1690.

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+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Bible meaning: "Gather up the fragments that remain..." (John 6:12).

Document 1690H

Report by Fr. José Hernandez, written in June or July 1690

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 293-294v; copied by Astraín VI, 829-831; translated by Fr. Repetti; published by Domingo Abella in his Vignettes of Philippines-Marianas Colonial History, pp. 42-45; also published in the Guam Recorder, September 1941 & Oct-Dec 1971 issues; also published in Pacific Profile, February 1964.

Notes: The original Spanish ms. in ARSI bears the following note (in Spanish) by the archivist: "This letter arrived at Rome in October 1692. It left the Philippines in the year 1690." Fr. Hernández left Guam in June 1690 aboard the flagship galleon Santo Niño.

Original text in Spanish

Relación del estado que oy dia tiene la Mission de las Islas Marianas

De las 13 islas que llaman Marianas, sola una, que es la mayor de todas, y se llama Guahan, o San Juan, esta en paz, todas las otras estan levantadas, y en guerra, sin querer admitir ni soldados ni Padres que les administren. Con que en sola la dicha Isla de Guahan ai Presidio, y Padres, los Padres son 13, los Hermanos coadjutores 4, y un Hermano Donado. Los pueblos donde ai Padres son 5.

*El primer pueblo es de la cabeza llamada **Agadña**, en donde residen los siguientes Padres: el Padre Lorenzo **Bustillo**, que es Superior de la Mission. Los Padres Basilio Lerù [= **Le Roulx**], y Diego de **Zarzosa**, los quales no tienen mas empleo que hazer de quando en quando algunas platiquillas a los naturales, y ayudar en quaresmas a las confesiones. El Padre Juan **Tilpe** que es operario, por sí se ofrecen bautismos o confesiones de enfermos porque fuera de la quaresma pocas confesiones ai en estas iglesias. El Padre Francisco **Palavicino**, que aprende la lengua. El Padre Joachin **Assin** que predica los Domingos, y fiestas principales, y enseña la doctrina Christiana a los españoles, e Indios Filipinos que estan en la misma cabeza. Finalmente 3 Hermanos coadjutores, y el Hermano Donado. De los Hermanos uno cuyda de las sementeras de maiz, otro de la despensa, otro que es voticario, y medio cirujano de curar a todos los enfermos de la Isla, y el Hermano Donado es sacristan. Toda la gente de este pueblo se reduce como a 300 almas.*

*Justo a este pueblo ai una casa, o colegio con una docena de indequelos colegiales, a quien es un Padre, que allí asiste (que aora es el Padre García **Salgado**) con título de Rector. Les viste, y sustenta, y enseña a leer, y escribir, y paga a un maestro p^a q. les enseñe a cantar una Missa. Y dichos colegiales cantan en la iglesia de dicho pueblo todos los sabados la missa de N^o Sr. y algunas otras missas que acostumbran cantar en la fiestas mas principales. Este Padre tiene por compañero a un Hermano Coadjutor, que cuyda de la despensa y de las sementeras de maiz.*

*El 2^o pueblo es el de **Pago**, donde asiste solo el Padre Mathías **Cuculino**, y tiene a su cargo solas 200 almas.*

*El 3^o pueblo es el de **Agat** con solo el Padre Thomas **Cardeñoso**; tiene dicho pueblo 300 almas.*

*El 4^o pueblo es el de **Humatag**, donde assiste el Padre Miguel de **Aparicio**, y assistía yo. El Padre Aparicio cuyda de los Indios, y yo cuydava de predicar y doctrinar a los españoles, y Filipinos, que estan en dicho pueblo con el Governador, de manera q. assi los soldados españoles, como los Indios Filipinos (que entre todos seran 180) estan re-partidos, unos en la cabezera con el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga, y otros en Humatag con el Governador Don Damian de Esplana, y por eso son dos los Padres que cuydan de ellos.*

*El 5^o y último pueblo es el de **Fina**, donde residen dos Padres: el Padre Felipe Maria **Muscati** q. aprende la lengua, y el Padre Gerardo **Bouvens**, el q. tiene a su cargo 200 almas, en cuió numero entran 16, o 17 muchachas colegialas, las cuales viven en las casas de sus Padres, q. los días de trabago se juntan en una casilla, en donde una muger anciana de la tierra les enseña hazer petates, y otras cosas semejantes. En dicha casilla comen de lo q. les envia el Padre Rector del Colegio de la Cabezera, el qual tambien las viste, por que para uno, y otro da el Rey dos mil pesos todos los años, como p^a los colegiales 3 mil. Cuida tambien el Padre Bouvens de q. dichas muchachas rezen todos los días el Rosario a N^a Señora, como lo rezen.—*

*No ay mas pueblos, ni mas gentes en dicha isla de Guahan. De manera que hecho el computo de españoles, y Padres, Indios Filipinos, y Marianos **todas las almas de dicha isla no passan de 2 mil; y assi de Indios Marianos a lo sumo ay mil, y 8cientas almas.** Las iglesias son solas cinco, tantas como los pueblos.—*

Los Padres de los pueblos governan desta manera sus feligreses. Los domingos, y fiestas los hazen venir a missa, y cantar las oraciones, y doctrina christiana mientras se dize la missa. Despues les hazen una breve platiquilla. En Quaresma, para las confesiones se ayudan mutuamente los Padres segun dispone el Padre Superior, y antes de la confession examinan los p^a asegurarse si saben la doctrina Christiana. Entre año dos días todas las semanas, este es Miercoles, y sabado acuden todos los niños, y niñas a la iglesia, en donde despues de aver cantado las oraciones y doctrina, y rezado el Rosario, les enseña el Padre un rato la misma doctrina Christiana, y hace un breve exhortación. Finalmente cantan la Salve, y se van a sus casas.—

En las otras 12 islas que se comprehenden tambien baxo del nombre de Marianas, no ay en todas ellas (segun lo que he oydo decir) mas que 6, o 7 mil almas.

Verdad es que el Governador decía que avía de hazer un barco grande p^a conquistar dichas 12 islas, p^a lo qual tenía ya cortada la madera; y aviendose perdida este año en la isla de Guahan la nave almiranta, y quedadose en ella poco menos de 200 personas, puede ser que teniendo ya obrada madera, y gente bastante p^a hazer el barco, y la conquista, consiga lo que decía, si esto que decía de veras, por que ai quien duda.—

Asegura tambien el Almirante Lezcano que hazía el Sur vió una isla mayor que qualquiera de las Marianas, y que al parecer es mas rica que ellas; p^a cuió descubrimiento tengo noticia que mandó su M[ajesta]d enviar desde Filipinas una fragata a mas de la que todos los años va a llevar el situado a los Padres, y soldados de Marianas; y si hasta aora no se ha enviado dicha fragata ha sido (segun me dixo el thesorero) por hallarse muy alcanzada la Caxa Real de Filipinas.—

Este es el estado en que dexé este año de 690 la Mission de Marianas; y esta es la pura verdad.—

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Joseph Hernandez

Translation of Fr. W.C. Repetti, edited by R.L.

Conditions in Guam in 1690.

Of the 13 islands which are called Marianas, only one, the largest of all, called Guahan or San Juan, is at peace; all the others are in rebellion and at war, unwilling to admit either soldiers or Fathers to administer them. Wherefore, there is a Garrison and Fathers only in the said island of Guahan. There are 13 Fathers, 4 Coadjutor Brothers and 1 "oblate" Brother. There are 5 settlements in which there are resident priests.

The first settlement is the capital, called **Agaña**, in which the following Fathers reside: Father Lorenzo **Bustillo**, who is the Superior of the Mission; Fathers **Basilio Le Roulx** and **Diego de Zarzosa**, who have no duties except to preach some short sermons now and then to the natives and to help in the hearing of confessions during Lent; Father **Juan Tilpe**, who is the parish priest and baptizes and hears confessions of the sick, because outside of Lent few go to confession in these churches;¹ Father **Francisco Palavicino**, who is learning the language; Father **Joaquin Asin**, who preaches on Sundays and the principal feasts and teaches Christian doctrine to the Spaniards and Filipino Indians who are in the capital itself. Finally, 3 Coadjutor Brothers and the "oblate" Brother. Of the Brothers, one has the care of the corn fields, another has charge of the store-rooms, and another is pharmacist and quasi-doctor who cures all the sick of the island.² The "oblate" Brother is the sacristan. All the people of this settlement total about 300 souls.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Tilpe also looked after dependencies of Agaña, notably Sinahaña (see Doc. 1690G).

2 Ed. note: His name was Juan Haller, but he died that month.

Next to this settlement is a house or college with a dozen native pupils¹ under the care of a Father (who at present is Father García **Salgado**) with the title of Rector. He clothes and supports them and teaches them to read and write, and pays a teacher who trains them to sing mass. The said pupils sing in the church of the said settlement the mass of Our Lord on every Saturday and some other masses which are usually sung on the principal feasts. This Father has for companion one Coadjutor Brother who has charge of the store-rooms and the corn fields.

The second settlement is that of **Pago** where Father Matias **Cuculino** resides and he has the care of about 200 souls.

The third settlement is that of **Agat** where Father Tomás **Cardenoso** resides. This settlement has 300 souls.

The fourth settlement is that of **Humatag** where Father Miguel **Aparicio** resides, and I assisted him.² Father Aparicio has charge of the Indians and I preached³ to and instructed the Spaniards and Filipinos who are in the settlement with the Governor. The Spanish soldiers, as well as the Filipino Indians (who number about 180 in all) are divided, some being in the capital with the Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga and others in Humatag with the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana,⁴ and hence there are two Fathers who have the care of them.

The fifth and last settlement is that of **Fina**⁵ where two Fathers reside: Father Felipe **Muscati**, who is learning the language, and Father Gerardo **Bouwens** who has the care of 200 souls. Included in these are 16 or 18 girl students⁶ who live in the houses of their parents and on work days gather in a little house where one old native woman teaches them to make mats and similar articles. In the little house they eat the food which is sent to them by the Father Rector of the college [for boys] in the capital, who also sends them clothes. For this food and clothing the King gives them [i.e. the girls] 2,000 pesos every year, and for the college boys 3,000 pesos. Father Bouwens likewise sees to it that these girls⁷ recite the rosary of Our Lady every day.

There are no other settlements or people on the said island of Guahan, so that making the count of Spaniards, Fathers, Filipino and Mariano Indians, **all the souls of the island do not exceed 2,000, of whom the Mariano Indians are at most 1,800.** The churches are five in number, the same as that of the settlements.

The Fathers of the settlements govern their parishioners in the following manner. On Sundays and feast days the people come to mass and sing the prayers and Christian

1 Ed. note: The words used in the original mean "a dozen little Indians" who were inmates of the so-called college.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti wrongly used the present tense, giving the wrong impression that Fr. Hernández wrote this report while still in Guam.

3 Ed. note: Ditto.

4 Ed. note: After leaving Guam impetuously in 1688, Esplana returned with the sloop in 1689.

5 Ed. note: Fina, Finna, or Fena, or even Feña, was located inland, 2 leagues east of Agat, and distant over 4 leagues from Agaña (see Doc. 1693B).

6 Ed. note: Fr. Repetti has completely camouflaged the idea that they were all girls.

7 Ed. note: Ditto.

doctrine while mass is being said, and after it there is a short instruction. For the confessions during Lent the Fathers help each other according to a plan by Father Superior, and before confession the people are examined to make certain that they understand the Christian doctrine. During the year, on two days each week, Wednesdays and Saturdays, all the children, boys and girls, come to the church and after singing the prayers and Christian doctrine and reciting the rosary, the Father teaches them more Christian doctrine and gives a brief sermon, and finally they sing the *Salve* before going back home.

In the other 12 islands which are included under the name Marianas there are all in all (according to what I have heard) not more than 6,000 or 7,000 souls.¹ It is true, the Governor was saying that he must make a large boat to conquer the said islands and the wood is already cut. The almiranta [Pilar] having been wrecked this year on the island of Guajan and leaving at least 200 persons there, enough wood will be left over and enough persons to make the boat, and the conquest, but there are some who doubt that he will do what he said he would.

Admiral [Francisco] Lazcano asserts that he saw an island toward the south [of Guam] larger than any of the Marianas and that it appears to be richer.² I know that the King has ordered that a frigate larger than that which brings supplies every year to the soldiers and Fathers of the Marianas, be sent from the Philippines for the discovery of that island; and if the said frigate has not been sent up to the present it is because (as the Treasurer told me) the royal treasury of the Philippines is greatly depleted.

This is the condition in which the Mariana Mission was in when I left it this year 1690, and this is the pure truth.³

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Joseph Hernandez

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- 1 Ed. note: This would therefore give a total native population of between 7,800 and 8,800 in 1690, less than half what it probably was in 1668.
 - 2 Ed. note: An allusion to the re-discovery of Yap in 1686 by the galleon Santa Rosa.
 - 3 Ed. note: This last paragraph had been badly translated by Fr. Repetti.

Document 1690I

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1690

Source: AGN AHH 1244, fol. 497-507v.

Original text in Spanish

Señores Jueces oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.

En mandamiento de 15 de febrero proximo pasado de este año refrendado de Don Joseph de la Cerda Moran nos ordeno el Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galve Virrey Governador y Capitan general de esta Nueva España remitiesemos a V.Mds. 250,000 p correspondientes a un año de situado de esas yslas...

...

Yslas Marianas

31,425 pesos que asi mismo se an librado de la Real Caja de nuestro cargo este presente año para efecto de socorrer a las yslas Marianas en esta manera:

<i>—21,000 de los sueldos de 60 soldados que sirven a su Magd. en dhas yslas hasta fin de Diziembre de este presente año</i>	<i>21,000 p</i>
<i>—5,000 de un año de lo destinado para los dos Seminarios</i>	<i>5,000 p</i>
<i>—5,425 p de un año de los estipendios de los Religiosos misioneros que asisten en ellas</i>	<i>5,425 p</i>

31,425 p

Son los dhas 31,425 p que ymporta el socorro hecho a las yslas Marianas
31,425 p

Translation

Gentlemen Official judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

In accordance with the order dated 15 February last, countersigned by Don José de la Cerda Moran, His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, has ordered us to remit to Your Graces 250,000 pesos corresponding to the annual subsidy for those Islands...

...

Mariana Islands

31,425 pesos that have also been released from the Royal treasury in our care for the purpose of this year's succor for the Mariana Islands as follows:

—21,000 for the salaries of the 60 soldiers serving His Majesty in said Islands until the end of December of the present year ...	21,000 p
—5,000 for the yearly amount meant for the 2 seminaries ...	5,000 p
—5,425 pesos for one year for the stipends of the religious missionaries who reside there ...	5,425 p

	31,425 p

Said 31,425 pesos constitute the total amount of the succor granted to the Mariana Islands.

Other documents of 1690.

—Manuscript History of the Mariana Islands, edited by Fr. Luis de Morales, ca. 1690.

There are two versions in the Jesuit archives in Sant Cugat del Vallès near Barcelona, E-I-05-(b) & (c), 196 and 218 pages respectively. This is, in fact, the 1685-89 historical report written by Fr. Bustillo, from his own diary, with notes from other missionaries (see Doc. 1689C3 & C4).

—Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. José Vidal in Mexico, dated Guam 24 May 1690.

Present location unknown; draft copy was in Agaña in 1901, according to the Safford's notes, p. 79; cited in Guam Recorder 17, p. 455.

—Letter from Fr. Zarzosa, dated Marianas 1 July 1690.

It supposedly was published in the prologue to Ortiz' book entitled: "Principe del Mar" (Seville, 1701). It will be reproduced in the Supplementary volume, if found.

—Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Varadero 4 July 1690.

Cited in Doc. 1691F, it is said to contain a report on the shipwreck of the patache Pilar. Will be reproduced in the Supplementary volume, if found.

Document 1691A

Benefactors of the Mariana Island Mission, 1665-1691

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 295-304v; also in the Capuchin archives in Burlada, Navarra (20 pages). Translated by Fr. Repetti and published, in part, in the Guam Recorder 18:8 (Nov. 1941): 302-304, 320-321. Note: This document was addressed to Fr. Tirso Gonzalez, then General of the Jesuits.

Letter from Fr. Bustillo to Fr. General Tirso Gonzalez, dated Agadña 14 March 1691

Introductory note by Fr. W.C. Repetti.

The list was compiled by Father Lorenzo Bustillo and he was most competent for such a task from the fact that he had been one of the original companions of Father Sanvitores and hence had personal knowledge of the Mission from the beginning. He is somewhat given to repetition and in some places is so profuse with his praise as to become tiresome, but his list contains some interesting historical items. Furthermore, the list reveals some of the practical difficulties which beset the missionaries, which, doubtless, were not peculiar to the Marianas. We are wont to read of the early missionaries simply boarding boats and going places but we seldom read of the way in which they met their physical needs. The translation has been made as closely as possible to the original.

The partial text, as published in the Guam Recorder.

Peace of Christ.

Having replied to two letters of your Paternity of February and April 1689, and received here on 1 June 1690, I add this third, the matter of which has been suggested by the report of favors of the year 1688 which your Paternity deigned to send to us with the above-mentioned letter of 15 April 1689; and because there is no recollection that information has been sent from the Marianas to the Fathers General, predecessors of your Paternity, in regard to the benefactors of this Mariana Mission we judge it to be an obligation of this said Mission to give a report to your Paternity of the said bene-

factors, living and dead, as also their benefactions, recording them here in the order of the antiquity of the benefactors of this said Mariana Mission.

1. The King our Lord, Philip IV, with his incomparable zeal for souls, 2 months and 23 days before his death, commanded, by his royal decree of 24 June 1665 to the Governor of the Philippines, Don Diego Salcedo, that he should give, as he did give, to Venerable Father Sanvitores embarkation and everything necessary to come to establish this mission and to preach our holy faith in the Marianas. His Majesty sent a second decree to the Venerable Father himself by which to substantiate himself before the Governor, should such a step be necessary for his purpose. By another royal decree to His Excellency, the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of Mexico, his Catholic Majesty ordered that all necessary help be given from the royal treasury in Mexico for this new Mariana undertaking. This was complied with by the said Viceroy who gave Venerable Father Sanvitores 10,000 pesos from the royal treasury and other provisions.

2. The King our Lord, Charles II from the beginning of his reign in his minority under the tutelage of the Queen Regent, his mother, her most Serene Highness, Doña Mariana de Austria. And as soon as the said King our lord, Charles II, began to govern this monarchy he favored, and does favor, this Mission with his incomparable zeal, sending a military-civil governor to rule these Christian Marianas, with many privileges for the increase and spread of the holy faith. Likewise the exact fulfillment of various decrees and orders, despatched by the command of his Majesty (whom may God protect) for the promotion and advancement of Christianity in all of those islands, that a ship should come promptly every year, without fail, from the Philippines to the Marianas. For this purpose he sent six decrees, and the last to the Governor of the Philippines concludes with these memorable and noteworthy words: "and in the case of failure on the part of you and your successors to send it [i.e. the relief vessel] every year, I declare that a charge will be incurred in the *residencia*, and that such is my will." To the first pilot who made this voyage he gave an *encomienda* [i.e. land grant]. From the time his Majesty began to govern he has despatched 36 royal decrees in favor of the Marianas. His Catholic and royal piety added 20 letters of credit to the 40 which he had already conceded in the beginning of his reign under the tutelage and regency of his most august mother; and each letter of credit paid 315 pesos annually out of the treasury of Mexico, and provided 12 bells, 12 mass kits and 12 servants, all for the Marianas at the cost of his royal treasury. And he assigned a fixed revenue in Manila that the said vessel might come here every year, and for other expenses, privileges and favors too numerous to mention. But there is no reason not to mention that his Majesty gives 350 pesos a year to each missionary, in addition to the cost of oil for the lamps, wine for the holy sacrifice, besides other separate amounts which he gives each year, distinct from the said 350 pesos.

3. The Queen our Lady, Doña Mariana of Austria, mother of the King our lord, Charles II, governing the monarchy during the minority of her son. For the entrance of our holy faith into the Mariana Islands and the foundation of this Mission, as its first active patroness, she approved with a royal decree the grant of 10,000 pesos, which

the Viceroy of Mexico, the Marquis of Mancera, gave from the royal treasury for the needs of Venerable Father Sanvitores and his companions for the first entry into the Marianas. And when this was reported the said Queen Mother Regent at once began to despatch, and did despatch, more than 33 decrees for the establishment and preaching of our holy Catholic faith in the Marianas, without sparing any expense for this purpose. Among other royal decrees was the concession of a subsidy of 350 pesos each year for each missionary of the Society in the Marianas; 5,000 pesos for the two seminaries or colleges for boys and girls; 40 letters of credit for soldiers which are said to have paid each one 115 pesos; giving authority to the said Viceroy and to the Governor of the Philippines to name a military commander of this new and royal garrison and commonwealth of the Marianas. The Venerable Father Sanvitores did not ask anything of the Queen Mother Regent which she did not grant in order to establish the Catholic faith in the Marianas; the most pious Queen adding other things which were suggested to her by her Catholic zeal, her Majesty being the promoter of this her Mariana Mission, writing effectually to the Fathers Provincial of Spain to send missionaries to this new vineyard. This was done; 14 workers of the Society came, sent and provided for by her Majesty, even though Procurators had not gone from here to Spain to bring them; but the royal solicitude, care and expenses were the work of the most pious Queen in getting them to this mission, abundantly provided for, where they produced results to the extent of some of them giving their lives for the faith which they preached. And one year before the said missionaries arrived, her Majesty had already sent, at the expense of the royal treasury, rich ornaments to these Mariana Islands, the most Catholic Queen not leaving a stone unturned for the establishment of the rule of the gospels in these islands. And for the greater assurance of this, she appointed as President of the Council of the Indies one whom she knew to be particularly interested in the propagation of the gospel in the Marianas; and it was the most excellent Count of Medellín,¹ brother-in-law of the most excellent Lady, Doña Maria de Guadalupe, Duchess of Aveiro, a good friend of the Marianas. The said President wrote at once to Venerable Sanvitores as follows: "The Queen our Lady, has done me the favor of giving me the Presidency of the [Council of the] Indies, and with it I have made myself the hand and Procurator of the Marianas and if your Reverence does not order everything that suggests itself, the two of us will have to come, etc." Besides asking for many things there was much that we owed to the Queen Mother our Lady, and even today the King, her son, does not cease to send what he sees will be helpful to his Marianas, and for the Catholic King to take notice and concede to his mother are one and the same thing.

4. Don Gerónimo de San Vitores, who died in Madrid [ca. 1675], officer of the Order of St. James, Councillor of his Catholic Majesty, father of Venerable Father Sanvitores, founder of this Mission. He was the first effective Procurator and was very devoted to this Christian community and Mariana Mission, from whom it took its

1 Ed. note: Don Pedro de Portocarrero y Aragón, Count of Medellín, served as President of the Council of the Indies from 1671 to 1679, when he was replaced by the Duke of Medinaceli.

origin because to this Don Gerónimo we owe the immediate assistance for the royal decrees and orders despatched from King Philip IV, who is in glory, and the royal decrees and orders of the Queen Mother Regent, with the special help and protection which her Majesty gave to this Mission, as written by the Venerable Father Sanvitores, his son, in the report printed in the year 1669 by the Sodality of St. [Francis] Xavier in Mexico, in these words: "It has pleased God that the Procurator at Court for this work be that gentleman himself whose insignia are usually given as a Knight of the Council of Santa Maria (because he lives in Madrid next to the parish of Santa Maria de Almudena) certainly a good Mariana work (continued the Venerable Father), founded in the shadow or light of the most holy name of Mary and of our Queen, Doña Mariana de Austria."

The vigilance and zeal with which the said Don Gerónimo worked for the foundation and expansion of this Mariana Mission and Christianity was prodigious and wonderful, not slackening his diligence because of any difficulty that might arise nor for any that might seem trivial to others. In all of which, at the age of 70, he negotiated day and night for everything that his son and the other Mariana missionaries needed for the preaching of the holy gospel in these islands; always on watch like an Argus for whatever might be conducive to the spiritual good of these islanders; not only spending [the proceeds allowed by the] royal decrees and despatches from his Majesty, but many pesos of his property, and various decorations and articles which he sent to this his favorite Mission, which, to avoid prolixity, are not specified, but we may say that all that he sent was nothing that would satisfy the insatiable desire he had to see this Christian community established and advanced.

After the death of his beloved son, Venerable Father Sanvitores, he did not cease to write to the Superior of the Mission and to others of its missionaries and to Father José Vidal, Procurator in Mexico for the Marianas, asking them if royal decrees and new despatches were needed, and all the means which would carry on the preaching of our holy faith in the Marianas, which his son had commenced, even though it would consume his entire fortune, health and life. And what I have already given, he said, is little, that there may be a flourishing Christian community and that the religious and soldiers may be well provided for to carry on the beginning of the said holy faith in those islands.

5. Master-of-Camp Don Diego Salcedo, deceased, who was Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines, who, as soon as he received the decrees of the King our Lord, Philip IV, in which he was ordered and commanded to give to Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores transportation and all necessary help to come to this Mission, put it into execution, commanding the construction of a ship which he called the San Diego, after Father Diego Luis, and gave him all the provisions he could and the said transportation and a credit of 10,000 pesos in Mexico on the Philippine account; all of which was the total cause of the entry of our holy faith in these Mariana Islands, for all of which he received the gratitude of Venerable Father Diego Luis; and this Mission should recommend his soul to God every day. And in addition to what has been said, his Lordship

put the following words in the second clause of his will: "Item: that of the amount which I have declared to be in the possession of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, there be delivered to Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, or to the person whom he appoints, 10,000 pesos which, by letters through [Brother] Francisco Duarte, lay religious of the said Society, I command that he use as an alms for the promotion of that new [Mariana] mission. And if the said Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores shall have died, let it be given to the Father who takes his place to carry on this conversion." From all of which it is evident that this Mission is indebted to Don Diego Salcedo since he not only gave the transportation, etc., to Venerable Father Sanvitores that he might come here to introduce the gospel, but likewise helped and gave such considerable alms.

6. Their Excellencies the Marquis and Marchioness (now deceased) of Mancera, Viceroy and Vicequeen of New Spain at the time when Venerable Father Sanvitores came to Mexico in 1668, for the purpose of founding this Mission. The said Viceroy helped this undertaking, in conformity with the command of King Philip IV, with 10,000 pesos of that royal treasury, to which the Christian charity of the said Viceroy and Vicequeen added large alms from their own property, so that the term "liberal" might be applied to them as "Christian" is to royalty, and the example of such superiors be the impulse for all Mexico to imitate them. And the said Lady, the Marchioness, on her part and out of devotion to Venerable Father Sanvitores, gave him several gifts which amounted to some 400 pesos; and the said Gentleman, the Viceroy, on his part reported to the Queen Regent the happy fulfillment of the royal decrees which were despatched by her Majesty in the years 1670, 1671, 1672, and 1673 for the account of the three garrisons of this Mariana commonwealth, wine for masses and oil for the lamps; and by virtue of the said royal decrees the said Viceroy began and recorded the collection of that royal treasury for the Marianas.

And because in the year 1672, the galleon turned back to port, and in 1673 there was no news in Mexico from this Mission, the said Viceroy Mancera determined, in the year 1674, to obtain some news about the Marianas, and having completed the collection for the two seminaries and for the soldiers, the Archbishop Don Luis Payo de Ribera became Viceroy and three months later the galleon arrived there and with its news of the Mission and of things it needed. His Lordship, the Archbishop Viceroy, as will be told later,¹ carried out the said order to the officials of the royal treasury to pay the garrison and 5,000 pesos for the seminaries, etc. Lastly, their Excellencies, the Marquis and Marchioness of Mancera, in the said year 1674, gave 2,000 pesos from their property, which the Marchioness gave with her own hand to Father José Vidal, Procurator of this Mission, that he might put the revenue to the account of the said Mission. The said Father Vidal did so and the said revenues [so far] amount to 1,700 pesos; besides the 2,000 pesos principal which is still intact. The said Marchioness died a little after giving this sum, in the year 1674 when the said Marquis and Marchioness, having

1 Ed. note: This part not translated here.

completed their term of office, were on the road from Mexico to Veracruz to embark for Spain.

7. The Bachelor Cristobal Xavier Vidal (brother of Father José Vidal), roused by the love which he had for Venerable Father Sanvitores, and being Principal of the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier in Mexico in the said year 1668, gave to the Venerable Father the following articles for the Mission: chalices, decorations, sacred vessels, ciboria, pyxes, missals, cruets, palls, banners and the rest in pesos up to 10,000. Likewise, pictures, reliquaries of the saints and one canopy for these new churches and other things which need not be mentioned.

This Licentiate Xavier Vidal died, and the members of the Sodality of St. Xavier desiring that the gifts be received since he was a member of the Sodality (and the gifts cost more than 10,000), Father José Vidal was instructed to pay for them, partly with money of the fund of this Mission, which was 4,776 pesos, and partly with the property of the Bachelor Vidal, which was more than 5,227 pesos. And so the said deceased and his brother José Vidal, and the said Sodality are recognized as benefactors by this Mission. The deceased gave many other things to Venerable Father Sanvitores, partly his own and others gathered as alms in Mexico, many of them begged by the man himself from door to door for the purpose of giving all, as he did give them, to the said Father Sanvitores for the foundation of this Mission, which he then came to found in the year 1668.

8. Father José Vidal who was told by Venerable Father Sanvitores, in Mexico in the year 1668, that he should look on this Mission as entrusted to him by our Lord, and so he should take it under his care, and as he could not accompany them on the voyage he should help from Mexico, soliciting with all his energy the necessities for establishing and preserving this Mission. And these [words] were the sole property and revenues with which the fervent and conspicuous benefactor, Father José Vidal, took this Mission under his care, without having one peso assigned to it nor a half a page of a despatch in its favor. And so for five years this Mission had no income nor any alms nor other resource [of its own] except what the charity of the said Father was sending to us from Mexico; all collected by his Reverence, partly by gifts, partly by obligating himself to pay for things when God gave him the means, and all with indescribable care, labor, sacrifice, love and devotion. Because in these duties of supplying us, with all the promptness born of his great charity, he would leave the house at 6 in the morning and return at 2 or 3 in the afternoon, and having taken his meal, he would be forced to go out again until evening prayers. And this work was doubled when he had to make the actual shipments to the Marianas, which usually had to be done in a little more or less than a month. He had to provide the things which were asked from here as if he had some fixed revenue on which to draw in order to send them, and with all that his great charity promptly sent what was asked for. He saw that the Mission was increasing in personnel and that the missionaries could not be supported without a fixed account in the royal treasury, on which he could draw for the fixed and annual help, because the alms were not always certain and of sufficient amount to send everything that was

necessary for us to progress; and so he petitioned the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, and the royal ministers of the Council to ask his Majesty to deign to assign a subsidy in the royal treasury of Mexico for this new conversion. The Viceroy and the Ministers favored the petition of Father Vidal and informed her Majesty, the Queen Mother Regent, Doña Mariana de Austria, and she despatched her royal decrees that this Mission should be helped, as has been said. And in the first five years when the Mission was without fixed revenue or royal alms and was supported only by the diligence and efforts of the charity of Father Vidal, the provisions and help for the Mission which were obtained by his Reverence exceeded 17,000 pesos in value. All of that amount was obtained by him and afterwards converted into various kinds of needed supplies, packed under his care and at the expense of his labor, charity and devotion. And having paid back what he had borrowed in those five years he had a balance of 11,044 pesos, 5- 1/2 tomins, which he collected in alms to help, support and advance this whole Mariana Mission and Christian community, besides other articles, other than money, which he sent here. And, after he received [official] help he has sent, every year, and does send, various articles of general and special use in the Mission as food, clothes, boxes of very good and useful books, etc., which, besides the other said amount, consume many pesos, not to say thousands. And this last year more than 300 pesos worth of articles have been sent by devoted friends through his means.

It should be noted that the 10,000 pesos given by the Viceroy Mancera in 1668 from the royal treasury of Mexico for this Mission were not under the control of Father Vidal, because they were delivered to the commander and Admiral of the galleon [San Diego] in which Father Sanvitores came, that the said Admiral [Bartolomé Muñoz] might use them for the good of this Mission; but as the said Admiral died and left many debts, little could be collected except a few articles of his property which were suitable for the Mission.

Finally, it is due to the great charity of Father Vidal for this Mission that he maintained it for five years without any fixed revenue and royal subsidy which it has today. His Reverence being Procurator of this Mission (as I have said, by the appointment of Venerable Father Sanvitores and the approval of our Father General Paul Oliva) everything else is due to him, to his efforts and indescribable diligence with the Viceroy and Royal ministers of Mexico, with his Majesty, to the effective despatch of royal decrees, the collection from the royal treasury by virtue of them, all the effects of his activity and holy and likeable manner with his many pledges and evident signs of virtue; very necessary qualities which are not easy to find in others to carry on with so much and such great zeal, love and charity, which he has always had for this Mission, a very daughter of his many cares and labors with which he put it into existence and defended it against so many obstacles and dangers which threatened ruin, had there not been such a brave Father in Mexico, so that I am at a loss for words to express what we owe him, because it is more than can be expressed or explained. It suffices to say that after Venerable Father Sanvitores, it has been Father José Vidal who has worked and done

the most, and most directly, for this Mission, and to whom it owes most, and to no other after God and Father Sanvitores.¹

Synopsis: The other benefactors mentioned by Fr. Bustillo.

9. General of the Manila galleon, Antonio Nieto.—In 1668, he was ship captain and master of the almiranta San Diego when, three days before the ship sighted the Marianas, Admiral Muñoz died, and Captain Nieto took his place;² Nieto visited Guam again in 1672, and he was again Captain and Master of the San Diego, as her Admiral and Pilot Major was then Leandro Coello; in 1674, when two missionaries were sent from Manila, Nieto paid the passage of one of them; in 1676, General Nieto left Captain Irisarri to replace Captain Esplana who was then leaving for Manila aboard the passing galleon, plus one sergeant, 20 men, and two families; in 1680, as General of the galleon Santa Rosa, Nieto left 67 soldiers, as Captain de Salas was then leaving his post, and he named Captain Quiroga to replace him; finally in 1685, as General of the Santo Niño, Nieto tried for 2 days to come to anchor in Umatac, to relieve the mission.

10. Archbishop Fray Payo de Ribera, Viceroy of New Spain.

11. Doña Maria de Guadalupe, Alencastre, y Cardenas, Duchess of Aveiro, Arcos y Maqueda &c.

12. Captain Benito de Gama of Mexico, who bequeated a fund of 1,000 pesos in his will in 1672.

13. Father Isidro Clarete, of the Philippine Province, who provided 2,000 pesos to outfit the first ship, the San Francisco Xavier, sent directly to Guam in 1683.

14. Master-of-camp Antonio Sarabia, first commissioned Governor of the Marianas.

15. Admiral Leandro Coello, pilot major of the Manila-Acapulco run, who died while on the way to New Spain in 1689; he first visited Guam in 1669 as Admiral and Pilot Major of the galleon San José that anchored in the port of San Antonio [i.e. Hati, or Cetti Bay]; in 1672, he was Admiral of the San Diego that stopped at Guam and left 30 well-equipped men; in short, Coello anchored all 7 times that his ship passed by Guam.

16. Anonymous benefactor(s) in Mexico, known only to Fr. Vidal.

17. Mrs. Isabel Picazo, who lived in Mexico.

1 Ed. note: The rest of this document, which the Guam Recorder intended to publish in its December 1941 issue, never appeared in print on account of the Japanese invasion of Guam.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo says that, in 1668, the ship San Diego anchored at a distance of two musket shots from Agaña, in front of the village of Apurguan [now Maite] (see Doc. 1668H). This was the first and last time that a ship of the line anchored in Agaña Bay.

Document 1691B

Letter from Fr. Luis de Morales to the Duchess, dated Mexico 8 April 1691

Source: A 3-page ms. in the Van Houten Collection of the Gleeson Library of the University of San Francisco; photocopy in the Bancroft Library; cited in Fr. Burrus' book "Kino Escribe a la Duquesa", p. 55; ms. sold by Maggs Bros. of London in the 1920s for 15 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1983, p. 241).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

...
Having written to you on 30 January of this year, and sent my letter by the frigate which sailed for Havana, I do not wish to miss this opportunity of writing by the frigate which leaves for the same port, to meet the galleons.

By the lighters which have just brought a cargo of quicksilver to this country, I have received the pleasant news of your health, which does not prevent me from repeating my congratulations on the advent of the second grandson...¹ and in semi-prophecy, those on the survival of Sr. Don Pedro through Don Gabriel.

The changes that have taken place have been many and various. This country has been colonized in a singular manner... what has caused widespread satisfaction has been the removal of him who almost existed upon practising tortures. May our Lord open his eyes, so that he may atone for so many and such grave evils which he has occasioned, specially in the unfortunate, devastated State of the Philippines—both in the matter of regulations in general and in having sent to the Islands the examiner, Campos. I would much like the members of the Council to hear him, and compare him with Father Xaramillo, so that they might be disillusioned once and for all... The new Governor [of the Philippines], Don Fausto Cruzat, who proceeded there in the year 1690, has my good wishes, and I hope by next year to be able to notify your Grace of his beneficent deeds.

1 Ed. note: Apparently, this child was the son of Isabel and the nephew of the Duchess.

News of the new Missions in this Kingdom, I have already written to you in January, and what I add is that the arms and armada of ... have contended in the Island of Santo Domingo with the French heretics, who had been inhabiting the opposite coast,¹ and intruded upon the homes of our people, continually looting their property. The Viceroy is thinking over new means of clearing away the pirates. He deals benevolently with the missions, and particularly with the one in the Marianas.

I shall not weary you with more, and I do not cease to implore the Divine Majesty to repay the pious assistance of the poor nieces, of whose charitable deeds Father Mansilla informs me... My homage to Doña Isabel, Don Gabriel and Don Joachim.

Etc.

1 Ed. note: The western coast of Hispaniola Island, Haïti today, was then colonized by the French.

Document 1691C

Letter from Fr. Zarzosa to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Pago 5 May 1691

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 4.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi padre Procurador General Antonio Xaramillo.

*Pax Christi etc**

La variedad de sucesos, que an pasado desde dos de Junio del año de 90 hasta la fecha desta, es tan grande, que no sé por donde comenzar su narracion: irelos apuntando conforme ocurrieren a la memoria, y con la mayor claridad que me fuere posible, para que con su noticia pueda V.R. solicitar el remedio, que fuere mas conveniente.*

[The shipwreck of the Pilar]

*Llegaron las naos **Santo Niño**, y Almiranta a dos de Junio del año pasado de 90 y aviendose adelantado la Almiranta de la Capitana como una legua de distancia, ven[ia] navegando cerca de las oraciones junto a la Isla de Cocos, muy arrimada a tierra: los Marineros baquianos avisaron al Piloto, que era un Viscaino, que se hiciese mas alta mar, porque avia un baxo en aquel paraje por donde iban navegando: el Piloto respondió, que si tenian otra cosa que avisarle, porque el ya tenia por su carta de marear noticia de aquel baxo; y prosiguiendo en arrimarse mas a la tierra, despues de otros dos avisos inmediatos que le hicieron, baro la Almiranta en tierra. Fue grande la confusion, y alboroto de toda la gente con suceso tan lastimoso: comenzaron a disparar piezas de artilleria pidiendo socorro a la Capitana, la qual advirtiendo el suceso desgraciado de la Almiranta se hizo mar afuera distante de Umatag como unas tres leguas.*

Los discursos que se an formado sobre esa impensada desgracia, son tantos, y tan varios que por no cansar a V.R. los omito; solo se decir que en gran parte se mitigo nuestro sentimiento, con la providencia que Dios tuvo de que no pereciese ninguno de los que en ella venian, y de que los mas salvasen su plata, y generos que traían. Desembarcaron aquella noche en tierra trecientos pasajeros, y entre ellos nuestro amigo el Sargento mayor Joan de Gardaga, que el dia siguiente tres de Junio, recogida su plata se embarcó en la lancha de la Capitana, y en ella se fue a Manila. Desembarcó tambien una mission de 22 Frailes Franciscanos a quienes procuramos recoger, y agasajar con la compasion, y caridad que pedia nuestra obligacion y su desconsuelo. Aviendose ya algun tanto mitigado nuestro senti-*

miento con el desembarco de la gente, aun nos quedava la pena y cuidado de la resolucion que aquella noche tomaria la Capitana, y todos los mas discurrían presagios tristes, de que enderezaria la proa a Manila, y nos dejaria sin socorro, materia para nosotros la mas sensible que se podia discurrir en tales circunstancias, asi por la falta que nos haria dicho socorro concurriendo tanta gente en esta isla, como por la que nos hazen los Indios ausentes, que con sus sementeras de arroz, dago, etc. podrian suplir lo que la nao nos negava. Con este desconsuelo pasamos la noche, y Dios iba disponiendo las materias para acrisolar nuestra paciencia con las mortificaciones mas sensibles, y dolorosas, que emos padecido desde que se fundó esta mission.

*Amanecio el día tres de Junio, y reconocimos la Capitana a la distancia que apunté arriba: andava barloventeando aguardando a que llegasen embarcaciones de la isla, para cobrar noticias de lo que en ella pasava; y nuestro Gobernador Esplana como tan discreto, y político, sabiendo que venia en dicha nao por Gobernador de Filipinas D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, despachó a la nao a un Capitan para darles el parabien de su llegada a dicho Gobernador, y al General Garicochea, y el parabien fue, preguntar al General Garicochea delante del Gobernador si traía cartas para Esplana. Aviendo este embajador cumplido con tan atonita, y discreta comission, el Señor Don Fausto, y Garicochea le volvieron las espaldas, y se lo dexaron en el combés por espacio de una ora sin darle respuesta: pasado este tiempo le dio las cartas al Capitan un Indio Filipino, y con ellas un papel del General para el Gobernador Esplana, en que le decia; que procurase embiar las bancas, y barco para descargar el socorro, porque aunque su intento era dar fondo, no lo podia asegurar, asi por ser el viento contrario, como porque la furia de las corrientes en contra, no le daban lugar a arrimarse a tierra. Recivio Esplana este papel, y picose en gran manera de que en el no le tratase con el titulo de **Señoría**, y montando en colera, le escrivio al General una carta, dandole noticia de los puestos con que su Magd. le avia honrrado en Chile y quan merecido tenia por su[s] grandes, y heroicos hechos el que actualmente gozava de Gobernador, y Capitan General de Marianas. En esta carta le dava a cada paso titulo de Señoría, a Garicochea, mezclada con tan elegante estilo, y tales discreciones, quales podra V.R^a considerar de un hombre tan político, y tan versado en las empresas de Saavedra, pues teniendo sus obras, se duda si hasta el dia de oi a visto alguna letra dellas. Por ultimo concluyó su carta intimandole al General con grande Imperio, y soberania, que luego al punto tratase de dar fondo, o le descargase en la lancha el socorro, y que de lo contrario daria parte a su Magestad. Recivida esta carta del General hizo junta de todos los Capitanes de la nao, y leida en su presencia les parecio a todos muy desatenta, y de menuda baxa perulera; y para darle satisfacion a Esplana le respondió, que si el socorro no se descargava seria por culpa del Gobernador de Marianas, pues teniendo dies bancas, y un barco grande y otro mas pequeño, y no pudiendo la nao dar fondo por las corrientes, y viento contrario, no hacia su Excelencia, (assi le nombrava en su carta) ningunas diligencias para que tubiesen ejecutosos deseos, y que este cargo resultava contra su Persona, y no contra el General de Filipinas; fuera desto le escrivio otras muchas verdades dichas con mejor estilo y gracejo, y con tal artificio, que ni con pinzas le podra coger punto a Garicochea para hazerle cargo; y despues de muchos titulos honoríficos en que encarecia las prendas de dicho Esplana, le dice por ultimo, que si su Excelencia gustaba le daria otros mayores. En estas discreciones se fue pasando el día, y Esplana viendo que los Padres se davan por sentidos de que no tratase de desembarcar su socorro, y el nuestro, por dar alguna satisfacion, mando que fuesen las bancas a descargar el socorro de los Padres y juró por el Santissimo sacramento que si no daba fondo la nao, que no acia de embiar por el de los soldados,*

o como otros dixeron que no lo avia de recevir. Fueron las bancas por nuestro socorro, y como estava tan lejos la nao, aunque se descargó algo lo mas se propaso a Manila.

[Note in margin:] *Nota que las bancas no las embie Esplana de proposito por nuestro socorro ni tal cosa se le ofrecio; sino que yendo ellas a llebar a la Capitana naufragos, y otras cosas del naufragio de la Almiranta perdida el Vice Provincial se valio de la ocasion para que de vuelta a tierra embarcasen vino y harina para missas y otras cosas comestibles de que mas necesitabamos.*

Siempre se persuadió el Gobernador Esplana que la nao avia de dar fondo, porque venia muy falta de aguada, y de otros refrescos, y aunque por cartas avia insinuado el General que a precio subido compraría algunos puercos, y gallinas, Esplana por llevar adelante su porfia, de no remitir a la nao refresco, sino dava fondo, no quiso embiar en la lancha de la Capitana, ni un lechoncito para el Gobernador D. Fausto, siendo asi que tenia mas de 300 puercos para regalar a dicho Gobernador, y a otros sus conocidos, y una multitud grande de zandias, y melones que para el mismo efecto avia juntado. Penetrada del Gobernador, y General Garicochea esta desatencion, y considerando que no podian dar fondo por la razon arriba dicha, que de parte de Esplana no se havia diligencia para desembarcar el socorro, y que perdian tiempo, aquella noche del dia tres de Junio enderezaron la proa a Filipinas.

Amanecio el dia cinco de Junio, y ya no se via rastro de la nao. Esta resolucion tan impensada para Esplana le causó tanto sobresalto, y dolor, que empezó a llorar como una criatura, y llegó a concevir la indignacion que contra su Persona llevaran el Gobernador D. Fausto, Garicochea, y demas Cabos de la nao; y quan grande aya sido el justo sentimiento del Gobernador de Filipinas [sic], lo explicó este bastante en una carta que escribió al P. Vice Provincial Bustillo, en que con palabras de mucha cortesania le da las gracias de las atenciones que usó con su Persona; y es cierto que fueron, quantas pudieron caber en la urbanidad religiosa, y circunstancias en que nos hallavamos.

Considere aora V.R el consuelo que tendrian los Padres a la vista destes sucesos, y el alivio que nos podíamos prometer en el discurso del año, con 200 hombres ociosos, y entre ellos quarenta forzados, fuera de 130 que avia de Presidio en Agaña, a que se añade para mayor ponderacion de tamaña felicidad el Esquadron volante de 22 Frailes Franciscos como 22 Filisteos. Procuramos quanto cupo en nuestra posibilidad agasajarlos, ya en Agaña, y demas partidos, conservandó con ellos mucha union, y haciendo todos los esfuerzos posibles para aliviar su desconsuelo, que era bien grande, al paso de considerarse fuera de su termino, sin ocupacion en que emplearse, faltos de muchos medios de que forzosamente necesitavan, y sobre todo a la vista del Gobernador cuyas acciones, y procederes les daban muy en rostro; mas al paso de tantos trabajos resplandecio singularmente su modestia sufriendo lanças bien pesados, en que dieron calificadas muestras de su mucha virtud, y religioso zelo. Haze Dios nada acaso, pues esta que a lo humano parecio desgracia en estos Religiosos, fue altissima providencia de su Magd. para singular credito desta Mission: porque viendo estos Religiosos por experiencia los inmensos trabajos, que aqui se padecen, la puntualidad en la observancia religiosa, la puntual asistencia en los ministerios de noche y de dia saliendo a las confesiones de moribundos con aguazeros y soles metiendose hasta la rodilla por los lodos, quedaron summamente admirados y edificados, confesando que siempre avian tenido grande opinion de la Comp*, pero que aora avian hecho altissimo concepto de su espiritu y Religion.*

Aviendose perdido la Almiranta, y quedadose en esta isla 200 hombres, discurrían muchos de los nuestros, y de los estraños, que era singular providencia de Dios este suceso, para que esta Christiandad se restaurase, y que ya no tenia escusa el Gobernador ni para con Dios, ni para los hombres de qualquiera

omission en esta materia, que daban por cierta, fundados en que varias vezes le avian oido decir (como era verdad) que el no trataria de conquistar, ni de reducirlos fugitivos a Guahan, mientras que el Rey nuestro Señor no le embiase 300 hombres de Presidio, los 150 para Saipan, y los demas para esta isla de Guahan. Estas razones alegaban los que se persuadian seria cierta la conquista, viendo que Dios le ponía en su poder, lo que avia deseado, y sobre ello escrito al Rey nuestro Señor: pero los que mas profundamente an penetrado su natural tan pusilanime, y tan falto del zelo, y prendas, que se requieren para semejantes empresas, aunque es verdad que confesaban, y veneraban la providencia divina en este suceso, y discurrían que a este fin se encaminaria; pero como Dios no obra sin el consentimiento de las causas segundas, y no quiere hazer milagros sin necesidad, siempre se persuadieron que no haría cosa de provecho fundados en las muchas, y evidentes experiencias de los años antecedentes, en que pudiendo restaurar esta Christiandad no lo hizo, embarazando a Don Josef de Quiroga no solo el que conquistase a los huidos, sino que no detuviese a los que querían huir. Y aunque es verdad que varias vezes decia que avia de hazer la conquista de Saipan por su Persona, y para dar mayor color a sus palabras avia fabricado una galeota bien grande y un barco, los mas por las experiencias que vinieron a conocer de su persona y talento, lo tubieron por cosa de chanza, principalmente que estas determinaciones las publicava a venida de la nao, y estando aqui la Balandra de Lazcano, para que esparciendose estas voces en Manila y Madrid cobrase fama para echarse despues a dormir. Todos estos discursos hacían los que mejor sentían, y le tienen conocido, y todos ellos salieron verdaderos, como despues apuntare y no sirvieron mas todas estas prevenciones, y multitud de gente ociosa gobernada por tan excelente testa, que poner a la Mission en le mayor peligro de perderse, que hasta el dia de oi a tenido, como V.R.^a conocera por esta narracion.

Luego que desembarco esta gente en tierra la partio el Governador en Agaña, y en Umatag donde avia fabricado casa para su ordinaria asistencia: y en lugar de aliviar el desconsuelo, y miserias desta gente comenzo a tratarla con las palabras y cortesania que acostumbra en sus ordinarias conversaciones; y para dar mayor realce al desconsuelo destes pobres, les dixo varias vezes con grandes gritos, y amenazas, que tubiesen por cierto que a ninguno de la Almiranta avia de embiar a Manila, y que a todos los avia de llevar a Saipan, donde avian de estar de presidio todo el discurso de su vida; y para suavizar la amargura del sentimiento que tendrian con nueva tan dolorosa, los traía aperreados de noche y de dia en cazar puercos por los montes, en fabricar chiqueros, hazer sementeras de melones, y zandias, y otras infinitas faenas sobradas no solo para apurar la paciencia destes hombres, sino aun la del Santo Job. Acudían estos miserables a los nuestros y a los religiosos Franciscos para aliviar su desconsuelo, y desahogar su corazon, y al paso que nos contavan sus miserias, no poco congojavan el nuestro, porque reconociamos, que de semejantes arrojos e imprudencias del Governador no podían originarse sino grandes desdichas, y ruinas. Juntabamonos unos y otros en Casa para conferir semejantes materias, y discurrir medios con que representar al Governador no pusiese a esta gente en la ultima desesperacion, y a esta Christiandad en su total ruina. Hablaron algunos de los Padres Franciscos, y de los nuestros al Governador sobre este punto, y como hombre en quien jamas moró la buena crianza, urbanidad, y cortesania, les respondió con el estilo, que de la falta de tales prendas se puede considerar, mas no dexaron por eso de decirle con claridad, y efficacia los inconvenientes que se podían originar de sus ordinarias amenazas, de la facilidad en hablar lo que se le venia a la boca, y otros puntos de mucha consideracion; admirandonos todos de considerar en este sugeto tanto miedo a los soldados, y a los Indios, y tanta pertinacia en maltratarlos de palabras y apurarlos con indecibles trabajos.

[The last voyage of the sloop San Gabriel]

En este tiempo quiso Dios aliviar nuestro desconsuelo, y serenar al parecer los animos de gente tan desconsolada. Descubrimos a 19 de agosto la Balandra, en que venia por Capitan Piloto un Fulano Quintero, el qual aunque tenia noticia de los Puertos de Autan, y Merizo, nos los puedo [sic = pudo] coger por la violencia del Bendaval, y asi se acostó a la parte del Sur para guarecerse algun tanto, y buscar mejor ocasion para volver al puerto, y dar fondo. Fue indecible la alegria que a todos nos dio la venida de la Balandra, porque nos parecia que se descubria ya camino para salir de tantos trabajos, embarcandose la mas desta gente y la mission de los Franciscos que lo deseavan sumamente por no ver los desiertos de Esplana: pero como Dios gobierna y encamina sus fines con tal ocultas providencias de su saviduria, lo mismo que nos parecia remedio, fuera nuestra mayor ruina, si en aquellas circunstancias ubiera dado fondo la Balandra. Continuava el viento vendabal con notable teson, y la Balandra se iba alexando de la tierra la via de Acapulco: todo era en nosotros lamentaciones, y tristezas, de considerar que quando nos venia tan gran socorro para alivio de nuestras miserias, ubiese sido en circunstancias, que no se pudiese lograr, propasandose a Acapulco. Todo era hazer plegarias, y rogativas en las Yglesias, porque Dios mudara el Bendaval en briza, y su Magd. que con tan altas providencias a mirado siempre por esta Mission, no se dava por entendido de nuestras suplicas, y conserbava el bendaval, hasta que se descubriese la tormenta que nos amenazava. Sucedio pues el caso en esta forma.

[The plot to kill the missionaries, etc.]

Viendo los de la Almiranta el rigor con que los tratava Esplana, y considerando los trabajos, que le esperaban en el tiempo de su gobierno, hicieron su junta para salir de tantos trabajos, y en ella determinaron todos los forzados que serian 40 matar al Governador, Sargento Mayor, robar los templos, y Casas de los Padres, y aun pasar sacrilegamente a matarlos, y solo reservar uno para que los pudiese confesar en la hora de la muerte: en este numero de Padres entraban tan bien los Franciscos, y todos los que se les resistiesen y concludida esta funcion, discurrían ir a la Balandra a dar la bien venida al Capitan Piloto de parte del Governador y aviendose todos ellos introducido con disimulo en ella, determinaban tan bien quitar la vida al Piloto, y a todos los que venian en su comp, y alzandose con la nao, tirar la via de la costa del Peru. Este fue su conciliabulo, y para conseguirlo con facilidad, y sin contradicion que les pudiera embarazar, determinaron executar el dia de Santa Rosa, y ubieran conseguido su depravado intento, si Dios no se ubiera compadecido de nosotros, y detenido con alta providencia la entrada de la Balandra en el puerto.*

Tenia el Governador dispuesto celebrar el dia de Santa Rosa en Agat con misa, y sermon en accion de gracias, por la venida de la Balandra, y por remate desta fiesta se avia de representar a la tarde una comedia: para esta funcion estava convidado el Sargento mayor con todo el Presidio de Agadña, y Umatag. Viendo los Traidore[s] la resolucion del Governador confirieron entre sí, el tiempo mas oportuno para executar su maldad, y determinaron executar en tiempo de la comedia. Estando las cosas en tan evidente peligro, y disponiendose ya el Governador para ir a Agat, por disposicion divina, que disponia evitar tan lastimosa ruina, mudó de intento, avisando al Sargento mayor, que dilatava la fiesta, hasta la entrada de la Balandra en el Puerto. Quedaron aturdidos con semejante resolucion los Traidores, y temerosos de que con la dilacion se manifestase su mal intento; se volvieron a juntar segunda vez, para conferir el modo, y tiempo en que la avian de poner por obra; y salió de la junta, que fuese el Domingo inmediato despues de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora al quarto del alva aun mismo tiempo en Agadña, y Umatag.

Llegó el día de la Natividad de Maria Santissima, y estando ya tan cercanos al peligro, inspirò Dios a un mozo Español, y a un mulato de Mexico que se avian hallado en estas juntas, a que nos manifestasen tan depravados intentos. Vinieron a Casa con gran secreto, y hablando con uno de los nuestros aparte descubrieron todo lo que pasava, nombrando las Personas que entraban en este conciliabulo de maldad; y añadieron, que uno de los principales motivos que avian tenido para manifestar esta traicion, avia sido el horror que les causó la determinacion de robar los templos, y matar a los Ministros de Dios. Agradecioles el Padre con palabras de grande estimacion, y cariño el aviso, y ponderoles el gran servicio que con semejante aviso hacian a ambas Magestades divina, y humana; y aviendo escrito los nombres de dichos forzados, y de otros de la Almiranta que eran culpados en dicha conjuracion, dio parte al Superior de lo que pasava, y quan cercano estava el peligro. Hizo consulta el Superior, y salio della, que luego al punto con todo disimulo y cuatela se diese parte al Sargento mayor para que con la misma avisase a Umatag. Executose uno, y otro con gran destreza el mismo día de Nuestra Señora, y aquella misma noche llegó a Umatag la noticia por la buena diligencia de un Soldado del Presidio casado en Agadña.

*El Sabado dia inmediato despues al de Nuestra Señora, comenzaron a titubear los Traidores, y a maliciar, de que su secreto se avia revelado a los Padres, y para salir de sus sospechas vino uno dellos a Casa a manifestarlo al mismo Padre a quien los dos que arriba apunte lo avian descubierto, y fingindose muy leal, y haviendo apaci[gu]amientos, y admiraciones de tan gran maldad, queria rastrear por la respuesta del Padre la verdad de su sospecha, para dar parte a sus compañeros, y apresurar su diabolica resolucion. En este lanze asistio Dios con singular proteccion al Padre Assin (que ya deseaba V.R. saber quien era a quien se comunicaban estos secretos) quedandose por desentendido de tales noticias, y admirandose como que le cogian muy de nuevo, comenzo con gran disimulo a preguntarle, quienes eran los complices desta conjuracion: el forzado astuto para confirmarse mas en su sospecha, respondia con generalidades, diciendo los Magnates de la Almiranta, esta Canalla etc. sin poderle sacar deste circulo. Reconocio el Padre Assin por esta respuesta la infame doblez, y malicia con que venia este hombre y usando de mayor disimulo, y jugando las armas, como dizen, de fullero a fullero, juzgó por acertado llevarle al aposento del Padre Vice Provincial para desvanecerle todas las sospechas, que pudiera concevir, de que se sabiamos el secreto. Puesto en presencia del Padre Magas [i.e. Superior] le volvieron a examinar de nuevo con toda cautela, y a todo lo que sele preguntó volvió a responder con las mismas generalidades, que arriba apunte. Viendo los Padres la milicia y astucia con que procedia, usaron de nuevo ardid para deslumbrarle, y este fue, el alabarle mucho su lealtad, y darle muchas gracias por el aviso, prometiendo premiarle su fineza, y para darle a entender que le tenian por leal, y que en todo le daban credito, le rogaron que pues era hombre de valor (como en la realidad lo era) les dixese de que medio se podian valer para evitar el golpe, y ruina lastimosa que amenazava a la Christiandad: aqui fue donde el pobre queriendo coger a los Padres *incidit in foveam, quo fecit*, porque de su respuesta se acabaron de convencer los Padres de que no procuraba otra cosa que cobrar noticias de su sospecha para acelerar la maldad que avian de executar el día siguiente. Concluido el examen y despedido con mucho agradecimiento entraron los Padres en grandissimo rezelo del mal que les amenazava, porque aunque su recato con este hombre avia sido quanto puede alcanzar la prudencia, con todo se rezelaban de que este sugeto como bellaco, y entendido les avia conocido su disimulo, y asi estaban temerosos de que apresurase la resolucion; pero Dios que en los mayores peligros no desampara a los suyos, previno con su piedad, y milagrosa providencia las lamentables desgracias que nos amenazavan; porque aquella misma noche del sabado en que pasó toda esta conferencia, volvió el que llebo la noticia de la conjuracion al Govern-*

ador y truxo bastantes pares de grillos para que el Sargento mayor los metiese en prisiones. Anduvo advertido el que los traia; porque largo que llegó a Asan dexando el camino de la playa, subió por los montes de Aniguag, y baxando por ellos al Pueblo de los casados, que está a la falda de los montes, entró en Casa del Capitan Conejo y alli dexo los grillos.

Avisó Conejo al Sargento mayor de lo que pasava, y vistiendose de todas armas, estava alerta para quando el Sargento mayor le avisase. Vivían todos los conjurados en un Camarín aparte, y aquella noche se avían recogido bien temprano a dormir, para levantarse al quarto del alva, y apoderarse de las armas; pero la justicia divina, que nunca duerme, cayó sobre ellos por medio de la humana. Hacía aquella noche centinela junto al cuerpo de Guardia del Sargento mayor aquel forzado astuto, que vino à Casa a inquirir si saviamos algo de su conjuracion, y para disimular mas su alevosia, se andava paseando con el rosario en la mano: el Sargento mayor que estava sobre aviso, baxó abajo, y travando con disimulo conversacion, luego que emparejo con la puerta de su Casa le cogio del brazo y entrandole dentro lo mandó tomar las armas a todos los del Presidio, y saliendo todos con vala en voca, y cuerda encendida, cercaron sin hacer ruido el Camarín de los conjurados: concluida esta funcion fue a la fuerza, donde hacia centinela otro de los conjurados, y acompañado de tres Personas de resolucion entró en ella el Sargento mayor, y saliendo al baluarte le hizo rendir el arma, y maniatarle. Quitados estos dos embarazos del medio, volvio al Camarín de los Rebeldes, que aun todavia no avian despertado; mando traer luces, y sacando una lista la fue llamando por sus nombres. Despertaron todos a las voces, y reconociendo que por todas partes estaban cercados de armas de fuego, quedaron pasmados de tan impensada novedad para ellos. Para que no salieran todos de tropel entró el Capitan Conejo con alfange y rodela, sacando de los pabellones a los que nombrava la lista, y dando bueltas a toda priesa, por el Camarín, a golpes de su alfange les obligava a los demas a que estubiesen recogidos, hasta que por la lista los nombrasen. Desta suerte fueron todos presos, y maniatados el sabado en la noche, y llevados a la fuerza les echaron grillos para mas asegura[r]los.

Concluida esta funsion con tanta felicidad en Agadña, salio el día siguiente de Umatag el Governador acompañado de muy escogida gente, dexando con grillos quatro de los forzados que alli estavam, y a toda priesa se encamino a este Presidio de Agadña para socorrer al Sargento mayor si fuese menester; pero antes de llegar a Asan le temblaron al grande Alexandro las corazas, y no quiso pasar de allí, hasta saver lo que pasava en Agadña, y es sierto que no se moviera del sitio donde estava, si casualmente no pasara por alli Robles, y le diera noticia de lo que avia executado el Sargento mayor: con esta prosiguió su camino, y llevo a Agadña como a las dies de la noche. Aviendo descansado un rato el Governador, imformadose mas por menudo de la traicion, que fraguaban los Forzados, embio a aquella casa un recaudo al Padre Magas, suplicandole que viniesen todos los Padres a confesar aquella gente porque el día siguiente los avia de arcabuçar: a esta funcion acudieron ocho Padres que estavam en Casa, y atiendose dispuesto los delinquentes con fervorosissimos actos de contricion, y confesado sus culpas, fueron el lunes arcabuçados once, y el día siguiente nueve. Concluido este suplicio partio el Governador a Umatag donde yo me hallava con el Padre Miguel de Aparicio; y alli en comp^a de los Padres de San Francisco asistimos a tres que fueron arcabuçados. A otros culpados por no aver dado parte, o que no metian tanto fuego para executar una maldad tan grande, los tubieron presos con sus grillos, para remitirlos a Manila, como se executo.

Este fue el fin, mi Padre amantissimo, de los que intentaban la ruina desta Christiandad, y en este suceso, y en otros que pasaron entre año, resplandecio tanto la providencia divina, que no tengo pala-

bras con que encarecer las misericordias que Dios uso con esta Christiandad, y para todos los que en ella vivimos nos es un argumento evidente, de quanto agrado de Dios es la conversion destas almas; y por mas que el Infierno batalle para contrastarla por medio de las persecuciones, no a de prevalecer su malicia contra las disposiciones de lo alto.

Una circunstancia sucedio en este Castigo de los culpados bien singular; y fue: que al punto que comenzaron a prenderlos cesó el bendaval, y comenzo la briza, y la Balandra que se avia alexado de la tierra mas de 60 leguas, comenzo a entrar en el puerto de Merizo al mismo tiempo, que estavan arcabu-ceando al ultimo delinquente.

*Parada esta tormenta se siguió el despacho de la Balandra, que fue por diciembre. Embarcaronse en ella todos los Religiosos de San Francisco, y de los nuestros los Padres Joachin Assin y García Salgado, que fueron llamados de Manila con notable empeño, no tanto el Padre Salgado quanto el Padre Assin, y Joseph Hernandez, que por Junio antecedente se fue en el **Santo Niño**, aviendolo el mismo pedido. Mucha novedad nos causó semejante empeño, tan grande, que le quitava al Padre Vice Provincial la facultad de proponer; y para dorar tan fuerte resolucion, pusieron en tercer lugar al Padre Salgado. Por aca se a discurrido muy bien el alma desta resolucion, y V.R. la penetrara mejor luego que la lea.*

*Antes que partiera la Balandra avia fabricado el Governador de palo maría un Patache mayor que dha Balandra, en que consumio toda la madera de palo María que avia quedado en la isla. El motivo desta fabrica, como el decía, era la conquista de Saipan: esto publicava delante de los Religiosos Franciscos, para que esparciendose estas voces por Manila y llegando a España se acreditase de hombre de valor, y contento con solo este credito, no obrar nada, y echarse a dormir como dicen, a rienda suelta. Llegó el tiempo forzoso de cumplir la palabra, que avia dado, y embarcandose en el patache, galeota y barco luengo unos ciento, y 20 hombres, embio a decir al Sargento mayor que le esperase en la playa de Orunao. Salió el Sargento mayor de Agaña con 80 hombres escogidos, quedando en esta isla para su seguridad unos 68 hombres: llegó a Orunao y aviendo visitado al Governador le dixo este que no se embarcara entonces, porque dicho Governador tenia que hazer en Ritiyan adonde dentro de dos dias podia ir para que juntas las embarcaciones se diesen a la vela. Cumplio Quiroga puntualmente el orden de Esplana, mas luego que este le descubrio a lo lejos en la playa de Ritiyan alzando el ancla se dio a la vela sin aguardarle, y le dejó en tierra con el sentimiento y dolor que V.R. puede considerar, y yo no puedo bastamente encarecer, que cierto era de grande consuelo ver el aliento y alegria con que iban los soldados a esta empresa, pues a todos les vimos derramar lagrimas de gozo, de ver que se llegava el lance, que tantos años avian deseado, y a la vista de semejante accion, estavan como fuera de sí, de pesadumbre, y dolor. Aviendo Esplana executado una accion tan placesible [sic], dio vista a la isla de Rota, y a su playa, que estaba llena de gente, aguardandole para pedirle paces (como despues lo supiemos por un Yndio que prendio Alonso) mas al punto que nuestro Alexandro Magno descubrio a los Indios, faltandole la respiracion, comenzo a temblar como un azogado, diciendo: **El Rey me manda sacar la artilleria de Saipan, y no me da medios para ello: yo estoy bien malo, y nadie se compadece de mi: el Sargento mayor se a quedado en Guahan haciendo altarcos; y todos los de Guahan desearan que yo me muriera, y me llebara la trampa. Como? esso no: digo que todos quantos viven en Guahan, sin reservar ninguno mueran primero, y yo viva. Vira para Umatag, que estimo yo mas mi gente, que quantos Indios moran en todas estas islas,** y diciendo, y haciendo, volvió la proa a Umatag. Con el sentimiento que yo no puedo ponderar de todos los que le acompañaban, que varias vezes le suplicaron les dexase saltar en Rota, pero no lo pudieron conseguir no solo ellos, mas ni el Padre Cardeñoso,*

que encendido en zelo de la honrra de Dios, y admirado de tan estupenda vileza, tubo un fiero choque con el, bastante a que sele cayera la cara de verguenza, si tubiera algun rastro de pundonor; mas la respuesta que le dio, fue; que tratara de rozas en su breviario que no sabia de la mar; ni de la tormenta que amenazaava, y en la verdad no avia otra tormenta que el padecia en su animo apocado.

Este fin tan glorioso tubo la empresa de Saipan en que no quiero dilatar la pluma, porque me falta la paciencia, y sufrimiento para ponderar tantas indignidades como an pasado, tanto mas sensibles, quanto el remedio esta mas distante. Y para corona de todas estas felicidades, tuvimos una nueva en la Balandra, de que los nuestros de Manila avian escrito al Consejo en abono de Lazcano suplicando al Rey nuestro Señor que le diese el gobierno destas islas con titulo de Gobernador y Capitan General.—

Mi Padre amantissimo, el dia y los años me parecen cortos si ubiera de escribir los reparos que seme ofrecen sobre tantos desaciertos, como tocamos con las manos. A V.R. suplico por la sangre de Jesu Xpto se sirva de estorvar assunto tan decaminado: porque Lazcano es peor tres vezes que Esplana, y para acabar de una vez con la Mission no podia el Demonio idear empeño mas desatinado. No fueron todos los nuestros los que escribieron en su favor, sino solo aquellos de quienes V.R. con su mucha prudencia lo puede presumir. Embienos su Magd un hombre prudente, y de valor, y sea quien fuere, pues los panegiricos y alabanzas nos an salido tan caras. De las soberanias de Monforte de Lemos no escribo, porque no tienen quento, ni par.

La carta que V.R. me escrivio desde Acapulco pasó a Manila con la de Curu: la deste vino, y la de V.R. se quedo por alla. Presumo con mucho fundamento que algun curioso de los de Quevedo viendo el sobre escrito de letra de V.R. y conociendo la amistad con que me trata, quiso saber las noticias que V.R. me dava de su viage hasta Madrid, y llevado de esta curiosidad, se quedo con ella. V.R. me haga favor siempre que me escriba, de que el sobre escrito sea de mano agena, porque si acaso la carta se propasase a Manila, tenga yo seguridad de que buelva a mis manos. Esta Carta la escribo con mucha priesa; y por esta razon ba llena de yerros; V.R. los corrija y perdone lo mucho que me e dilatado en ella, pudiendo escribir todas estas noticias en la carilla de medio pliego; pero porque V.R. tubiera mas cumplida noticia de lo que pasa me e dilatado tanto, y porque dicen que en estas distancias, son mas gustosas las cartas mientras mas largas.

Reciva V.R.^a muchas y afectuosas memorias de Curu que es mi Mayordomo en esta Residencia de Pago, y me asiste con notable amor y fineza. No veo ya la hora de que llegue ya la nao, para saver de la salud de V.R.^a, cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años como deseo ett^a.

Marianas y Pago 5 de mayo de 1691.

Su mas afecto siervo y amigo de V.R.^a,

Diego de Zarzosa.

[Postscript added by Fr. Bustillo:]

Tan lindo estilo como lleba esta me escusa del farrago, farraginis que tema que escribir a V.R. cuya vida guarde N.S. muchissimos años y nos le dexe ver con entera salud.

Agadña y Mayo 14 de 91.

De V.R. el que siempre

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.
Peace of Christ, etc.

The variety of the events that have occurred since 2 June 1690 until this date is so great that I do not know where to start their narration; I will go on noting them down as they come up in my memory, and as clearly as possible, so that Y.R. may learn of them and solicit the remedy that you see fit.

[The shipwreck of the *Pilar*]

The galleons **Santo Niño** and *Almiranta* arrived on 2 June of the past year 1690, and as the *Almiranta* had gained on the flagship by a distance of about one league, at about the hour of the prayers, she was sailing close to Cocos Island, very close to the shore. The seamen acting as lookouts advised the Pilot, who was from Biscay, that he should go more toward the high sea, because there was a shoal in that neighborhood where they were headed. The Pilot answered by asking them if they had anything else to tell him, because he had already noticed that shoal on his chart; and he continued to bring up close to shore, in spite of two more immediate warnings they gave him, but the *Almiranta* ran aground. The confusion and commotion of all the men were great after such a deplorable event; they began to shoot the guns to seek help from the flagship which, upon noticing the unfortunate event of the *Almiranta*, went off further out to sea, about 3 leagues from Umatag.

The discourses that have taken place about that unthinkable misfortune are so many, and the opinions so various, that I will not tire Y.R. with them all, and will only say that our sorrow was largely mitigated by the providence that **God took in that nobody perished from among the passengers, and that most of them salvaged their silver, and the merchandises they were carrying.** That night 300 passengers stepped ashore, and among them was our friend Sergeant Major Juan de Gardaga who the next day, 3 June, recovered his silver and boarded the launch of the flagship, and went off to Manila aboard her. There disembarked also a mission band of 22 Franciscan friars whom we managed to pick up, and made them welcome with the compassion and charity that our duty and their disconsolateness demanded.¹ Now that our regret had been somewhat mitigated with the disembarkation of the people, there still remained the sorrow and worry that the flagship would take a decision that night, and would leave us without succor, a matter of the greatest concern for us, under the circumstances, not only because of the lack of succor that we would feel when so many people were in this Island, but also because of the lack that comes from the absence of so many Indians who could have helped us with their plantations of rice, *dago*, etc. that could have made up for what the galleon refused to supply us. We spent the night with this disconsolateness, and God was arranging the matters to test our patience to the limit with the

1 Ed. note: Only 19 Franciscans remained behing on Guam for 6 months (see Doc. 1691D).

most worrisome and painful mortifications that we have suffered since this mission was founded.

When daylight came on 3 June, we could see the flagship at the distance that I mentioned above. She was tacking back and forth, waiting for boats to come from the Island, to find out what was going on ashore, but our Governor Esplana, like the discreet and diplomatic person that he is, knowing that the new Governor of the Philippines, Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, was aboard said galleon, sent a Captain to the galleon to offer his congratulations and welcome said Governor, and General Garicochea, but this congratulation was to ask General Garicochea in front of the Governor if he had any letters for Esplana. After this ambassador had complied with his astonishing and discreet commission, Don Fausto, and Garicochea turned their shoulders to him and left him on deck for about one hour without giving him an answer. After this delay, a Filipino Indian handed the letters over to the Captain, and with them a paper from the General for Governor Esplana in which he told him to try and send the canoes, and boat to unload the succor, because although his intention was to come to an anchor, he could not guarantee it, not only because the wind was contrary, but also because the fury of the currents was contrary too, and they might not let him come close to shore. Esplana received this paper, and his pride was ruffled because in it he was not addressed with the title of **Lordship** and, with his anger mounting, he wrote a letter to the General, advising him of the posts which His Majesty had honored him with in Chile and how he deserved, on account of his great and heroic deeds, the title he actually enjoyed as Governor and Captain General of the Marianas. In this letter he addressed him, Garicochea, at every turn with the title of Lordship, mixed in with such an elegance of style, and witticisms, such that Y.R. may imagine from such a diplomatic man, so well versed in the exploits of Saavedra;¹ in fact, given his own exploits, it is doubtful whether he has ever read any word of them. Finally, he concluded his letter, by telling the General with great sway and haughtiness that he should at once come to an anchor, or unload the succor with the ship's launch, or else he would report him to His Majesty. When this letter was received by the General, he held a council of all the Captains of the galleon, and read it to them. All those present thought it to be very discourteous, and a demeaning Peruvian baseness, but to give satisfaction to Esplana, he wrote back to him to say that if the succor was not unloaded, it would be the fault of the Governor of the Marianas; indeed, he had 10 canoes at his disposal, plus one large boat and one small one, and [given] that the galleon could not anchor on account of the currents, and contrary wind, His Excellency (that is how he addressed him in his letter) should spare no efforts to make his wishes come true, and that this charge was against his person, and not against the General of the Philippines. Besides this, he wrote many other truths, written in the best style and charm, and with such skill that no-one could ever find fault with any point made by Garicochea; and, after many honorific titles with which he ex-

1 Ed. note: A reference to the well-known Spanish author of the book "Don Quijote," Miguel Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616).

tolled the qualities of said Esplana, he finally told him that if His Excellency wished, he would give him many others. While these witticisms were being exchanged time passed, and Esplana, seeing that the Fathers were concerned that he did not try to unload his succor, and ours, in order to give us some satisfaction, he ordered the canoes to go out and get the succor of the Fathers and he swore on the Holiest Sacrament that if the galleon did not anchor, he would not send for the succor of the soldiers, or as some others have reported, he would not accept it. The canoes went to get our succor, and as the galleon was far away, although some of it was unloaded, most of it went off to Manila.

[Note in margin:]¹ Note that Esplana did not send the canoes expressly for our succor, as he had no such thing in mind; rather, it was on the occasion of the canoes taking survivors and other things from the shipwrecked *Almiranta* to the flagship that the Vice-Provincial took advantage of it, in order to bring back ashore wine and flour for masses and some other food supplies that we needed the most.

Governor Esplana kept believing that the galleon would anchor, because she needed to replenish her water, and take on other refreshments, and although in his letters the General had insinuated that he would buy some pigs and chicken at high prices, Esplana, in order to maintain his obstinacy not to send refreshments to the galleon unless she anchored, refused to send anything aboard the flagship's launch, not even one piglet, for Governor Don Fausto, although he had over 300 pigs to present to said Governor, and to other people of his acquaintance, as well as a great stock of watermelons and ordinary melons that he had collected for that purpose. The Governor [Cruzat] and General Garicochea had seen through this discourtesy, and considering that they could not anchor for the above-mentioned reason, and that on the part of Esplana there was no effort made to unload the succor, and that time was being wasted, on the evening of that day, 3 June, they aimed the bow for the Philippines.

When the morning of the 5th [rather 4th] of June came, there was no longer any sign of the galleon. This decision, so unthinkable for Esplana [to believe], caused him such a shock and sorrow that he began to cry like a child, and began to understand the indignation held against his person by the Governor Don Fausto, Garicochea, and the other officers of the galleon, and how great had been the just resentment of the Governor of the Philippines. He explained this well enough in a letter that he wrote to Fr. Vice Provincial Bustillo, in which he thanks him with words of much courtesy for the attentions that he used with his person; it is true that they were so, inasmuch as religious courtesy, and the circumstances in which we found ourselves demanded it.

Let Y.R. imagine the consolation that the Fathers would have in the midst of these events, and the relief that we could promise ourselves in the course of the year, with 200 idle men, and among them 40 convicts, besides the 130 men of the Garrison in Agaña, to whom is added, the better to top off our tremendous happiness, the flying Squadron of 22 Franciscan friars, like 22 Philistines. We tried, as much as we could possibly

1 Ed. note: This comment is by Fr. Bustillo.

do, to entertain them, either in Agaña or in the other districts, by preserving much unity with them, and making all the efforts possible to alleviate their disconsolateness, which was very great, considering that they were outside of their territory, without occupation in which to keep busy, lacking many means which they necessarily required, and above all in sight of the Governor, whose actions and proceedings they could see up close. However, in spite of so much hardship their modesty shone particularly, as they suffered very sorrowful turns of events, in which they showed signs of their great virtue and religious zeal. God does nothing haphazardly; indeed, what seemed to be a misfortune for these Religious, humanly-speaking, was the highest providence of His [divine] Majesty for the special credit of this Mission, because, as these Religious saw for themselves the huge hardships suffered here, the exactitude in religious observance, the exactitude in attending to the ministries day and night, by going out to hear the confessions of the dying, with showers falling or sun beaming down, stepping through mud up to the knees, they were left extremely surprised and edified, and confessed that they had always held a high regard for the Society, but that now they had formed a very high concept of its spirit and religion.

With the loss of the Almiranta, and this Island filled with the remaining 200 men, many of our people, and the strangers too, said that this incident was a special providence of God, for this Christian community to be restored, because there was no longer any excuse left for the Governor, neither in God's view nor in men's way of thinking, to continue ignoring this matter, which was now considered certain. This opinion was based on the fact that many times he had been heard to say (which is true) that he would not attempt to conquer, or reduce the fugitives to Guahan, as long as the King our Lord did not send 300 garrison men, 150 for Saipan, and the rest for this Island of Guahan. Such reasons were put forward by those who thought that the conquest was certain, considering that God had placed in his hands what he had wanted, and regarding which he had written to the King our Lord. However, those who have been able to see through his pusillanimous character, so lacking in the zeal and qualities required for similar enterprises, although it is true that they confessed and revered the divine providence in this incident, and they reasoned that it would nevertheless proceed. However, as God does not intervene without the participation of secondary agents, and does not wish to make miracles when there is no need of them, they maintained that he would not do anything worthwhile, based on the many and obvious experiences of past years, when he could have restored this Christian community but did not, and prevented Don José de Quiroga, not only from conquering the fugitives, but also from interfering with those who wanted to flee. And although it is true that many times he said that he would go to the conquest of Saipan personally, and in order to give more substance to his words **he had built a very large galliot and a boat**, most people who had learned from past experience about his person and talent, understood it to be something like a joke, mainly because he published these intentions of his when the galleon was due in, and when Lazcano's sloop was here, so that these rumors would make the rounds in Manila and Madrid and he would get fame, but he only went to

sleep afterwards. All of these convictions were held by those who were most sensitive, and knew him well, and all such opinions became true, as I will note later on, but all of these preparations and multitude of idle men, under such an excellent leader, served only to place the Mission in the most serious danger that it had ever been in until today, as Y.R. will find out by this narrative.

As soon as these people came ashore the Governor divided them between Agadña and Umatag, where he had built a house for their ordinary assistance and, instead of alleviating the disconsolateness and misery of these people, he began to treat them with his words and courtesy that he uses in his normal conversations; and to give more emphasis to the disconsolateness of these poor people, many times he told them with great shouts, and threats, that they should understand that he would send no-one from the Almiranta to Manila, but that he would take all of them to Saipan, where they would be part of the garrison for the rest of their lives. And to sweeten the bitterness of the resentment that they would have at such a painful news, he took them out through the hills to hunt pigs with dogs by night and by day, he had them build pig-pens, make plantations of melons, and watermelons, and an infinite number of other superfluous chores, not only to press the patience of these men, but even that of Job. These miserable men approached our people and the Franciscan religious in order to alleviate their disconsolateness, and to unburden their hearts, and while they were counting their miseries to us, our own hearts were not a little anguished, because we realized that out of such rashness and imprudence on the part of the Governor could only lead to great disasters, and ruin. We gathered together at our House to discuss such matters, and the means that could be used to convince the Governor not to push these men to the last despair, and this Christian community to its complete ruin. Some of the Franciscan Fathers, and some of ours, spoke with the Governor about this point, and as a man in whom good upbringing, politeness, and courtesy, never resided, he answered them in the manner that one can expect from one who lacks such qualities. Still, they did not give up telling him with clarity and efficiency the disadvantages that could be result from his usual threats, from the ease with which he blurts out whatever comes into his mind, and other points of much consideration. We were all surprised at recognizing in this individual so much fear of the soldiers, and of the Indians, and so much obstinacy in mistreating them in words and in pushing them to do so many unspeakable tasks.

[The last voyage of the sloop San Gabriel]

At this time, God willed to alleviate our disconsolateness, and to calm down it seems the spirits of men so disconsolate. On 19 August, we sighted the sloop, aboard which came as Captain and Pilot a certain Quintero who, although he knew of the existence of the ports of Autan, and Merizo, could not make it therein on account of the violence of the monsoon wind. So, he brought it alongside the southern end, to take shelter there for awhile, and wait for a better opportunity to return to port, and cast anchor. The joy that the arrival of the sloop gave us was incredible, because it seemed to us that a way out of so many hardships was at hand, and most of these men would sail away, as

well as the mission band of Franciscans who extremely desired to do so, to get away from Esplana's blunders. However, as God governs and directs His purposes with such occult provisions of His wisdom, what appeared to us to be a remedy was our greater ruin, if the sloop had anchored under those circumstances. The monsoon wind kept blowing with notable tenacity, and the sloop was getting away from the land in the direction of Acapulco. Everything with us was but lamentations, and sadness, when we considered that when such a great succor had come to relieve our miseries, it had to happen under circumstances that made it impossible, with the sloop bypassed to Acapulco. Everyone spent time in the churches, making pleas and rotating prayer meetings, to ask God to change the monsoon wind into a tradewind, but His [divine] Majesty whose high providence has always looked after this Mission, pretended not to hear our pleas, and the monsoon wind kept blowing, until such time that we discovered the storm that was threatening us. Well, the case in question happened in the following manner.

[The plot to kill the missionaries, etc.]

When those from the *Almiranta* saw the rigor employed by Esplana with them, and considered the hardships that they could hope for during his term of office, they called a meeting to find a solution to so many hardships, and in it all the convicts—there were 40 of them—decided to kill the Governor, and the Sergeant-Major, to rob the temples and houses of the Fathers, and even go on to sacrilegiously kill them, except just one to whom they could confess at the hour of death; the Franciscans were also included in this number of Fathers, and all those who would resist them. Once this affair were concluded, they discussed going to the sloop to give a welcome to the Captain-Pilot on the part of the Governor and when all of them had introduced themselves with dissembling aboard it, they had also decided to take the life of the Pilot, and of all those who came in his company, and then, taking over the galleon [sic], they would make their way to the coast of Peru. Such was the result of their conventicle, and in order to achieve it with ease, and without opposition that might hinder them, they decided to carry it out on the feast-day of St. Rose¹ and they would have carried out their depraved attempt, had not God taken pity on us, and by special providence detained the entrance of the sloop into port.

The Governor had arranged to hold the celebration of the feast-day of St. Rose in Agat with a mass, and sermon in thanksgiving for the arrival of the sloop, and at the end of this feast there was to be held in the afternoon a comedy act. To this function he had invited the Sergeant-Major and the whole Garrison of Agaña, and Umatag. When the traitors heard of the decision of the Governor, they consulted among themselves on the best time to carry out their evil deed, and they decided to carry it out at the time of the comedy act. When things took a turn to such an obvious danger, and the Governor had already made arrangements to go to Agat, a divine disposition intervened to prevent such a deplorable ruin, and he changed his mind, and advised the

¹ Ed. note: That is, on 30 August 1690.

Sergeant-Major that he was postponing the feast, until the sloop had made it into port. The traitors were astounded at this decision, fearful that the delay might reveal their bad intention; they convened another meeting, to decide on the manner, and time at which to put it into effect, and the result of the meeting was that it would take place on Sunday immediately following the Nativity of Our Lady during the morning watch, at the same time in Agaña, and Umatag.

The feast-day of the Nativity of the B.V.M. arrived¹ and the danger was then quite close, but God inspired a Spanish lad, and a mulatto from Mexico who had been present at those meetings, to reveal to us these depraved plans. They made their way to our house very secretly, and talked to one of our people on the side. They revealed all that was going on, naming the persons who were in this conventicle of evil, and they added that one of the main motives they had had for revealing such a treachery had been the horror they felt at the decision to rob the temples, and kill the Ministers of God. The Father thanked them with words of great esteem, and affection, for the warning, and he explained to them the great service they had just done with such a warning both to God and the King; and after writing the names of said convicts, and of others from the Almiranta who were guilty in said conspiracy, he reported what was happening to the Superior, and told him how near danger was. The Superior held a consultation, and the result was that, immediately and with due caution, the Sergeant-Major should be warned so that he might send a similar warning to Umatag. Both warnings were delivered with great skill on the very feast-day of Our Lady, and that same evening the notice reached Umatag via a soldier from the Garrison married in Agaña.

On Saturday, the day immediately following that of Our Lady, the traitors began to hesitate, and to suspect that their secret had been revealed to the Fathers. To find out if their suspicions were true, one of them came to our house to reveal it to the same Father to whom the two above-mentioned had revealed it. And by acting as if he were very loyal, and making comments about the awfulness of such a great evil, he wished to find out from the answer of the Father the truth of his suspicion, in order to report to his companions, and press for their diabolical decision. In this fix God guided Father Assín (by now Y.R. would want to know the name of the one to whom they had revealed these secrets) and he faked not to understand such news, and appeared surprised as if he were hearing it for the first time; then he began with great dissembling to question him, about who were the accomplices in this conspiracy. The astute convict, the better to confirm his suspicion, would answer him with generalities, saying that they were his peers from the Almiranta, the scoundrels, etc. but he was unable to get him out of this vicious circle. Father Assín recognized by this answer the infamous double-dealing and malice of the man and, making use of even more dissembling, and, as they say, playing his weapons as a merchant of telltales, he thought it better to take the man to the cell of Father Vice-Provincial to undeceive him of all the suspicions that he might conceive of, regarding our knowledge of the secret. When he appeared before Father

1 Ed. note: That is, Friday 8 September 1690.

Magas [i.e. Superior], they once again interviewed him with due care, but to everything that he was asked, he only answered with the same generalities, as before. Recognizing the malice and astuteness with which he proceeded, the Fathers made use of trickery to trip him, as follows; they praised his loyalty, thanked him for the advice, promised to reward him for his favor, and they let him know that they thought he was loyal, and they gave him credit for everything. Then they begged him, as a man of courage (which indeed he was) to tell them how best they could avoid the coup, and the regrettable ruin that threatened the Christian community. This was indeed how the Fathers caught him at his own game, because, by his answer, they were finally convinced that he was not trying to do anything else but to discover if they suspected him, in order to expedite the evil thing that they had planned to carry out the next day. Once the interview was over, and they had taken leave of the man, with many thanks, the Fathers were overtaken with a very great fear of the evil that was about to befall them, because, although they had behaved as cautiously and prudently with this man as they could, they feared that this individual, being warlike and wise, might have guessed their dissembling, and so, they feared that the conflict might be precipitated. However, God, who never abandons his people in their worst dangers, kindly arranged through His miraculous providence, to prevent the lamentable mishaps that threatened us. Indeed, that same night, i.e. on Saturday when all of this conference had taken place, the man who had gone to warn the Governor about the plot returned with enough sets of leg irons for the Sergeant-Major to place them in. The man carrying them had been warned, because, upon arriving at Asan, he left the trail along the beach and went up through the bush of Aniguag, and then came down from there to the village of the married men, which is located at the foot of the hill. He then went into the house of Captain Conejo and left the leg irons there.

Conejo then warned the Sergeant-Major about what had happened and, dressing himself up with all weapons, he remained alert for when the Sergeant-Major would call him. All of the mutineers lived in an isolated shed of their own, and that night they had gone to bed early in order to be able to get up before daybreak, and seize the weapons. However, divine justice, which never sleeps, fell upon them through human justice. The astute convict who had come to our house to find out if we knew about his plot was acting as a sentinel that night near the personal guard of the Sergeant-Major. The better to hide his rebellion, he was walking back and forth with a rosary in one hand. The Sergeant-Major who had been warned, came down to talk with him and he stroked up a conversation with him, acting naturally. Then, upon coming abreast of the door to his house, he grabbed him by the arm and pushed him inside, and ordered all those of the garrison to pick up arms. They all came out "biting the bullet" and, with the fuses burning, encircled the shed of the plotters without being detected. This done, the Sergeant-Major went back to the fort, where another mutineer was on guard duty and, accompanied by three resolute individuals, he went in, made his way to the bulwark, where he ordered him to hand over his weapon, and he had his hands tied. Now that these two impediments were out of the way, he went back to the shed of the rebels who

had not yet awakened. He ordered some lights to be brought over and, pulling out a list, started to shout the roll call. They all woke up at the noise and, recognizing that they were surrounded on all sides by firearms, they froze in disbelief that they had been found out. To prevent their coming out in a mad rush, Captain Conejo went in with a sword and a shield, and began to force those who had been called, out of their bed tents, one at a time; then, he would rush back into the shed and, with blows of his sword, would force the rest to remain put, until their own names had been called. In this way, they were all made prisoners, and they had their hands tied on that Saturday night. They were taken to the fort, and placed in leg irons, for greater safety.

After this exercise had been completed successfully at Agaña, the next day the Governor left Umatag with a company of well-picked men and, leaving behind four of the convicts there in leg irons, made his way quickly to this garrison of Agaña to come to the assistance of the Sergeant-Major, if need be. However, before he arrived at Asan, the great Alexander began to shake in his boots; he refused to go further until he knew what was going on in Agaña. It is certain that he would not have budged from there, if Robles had not chanced to pass by; he told him what the Sergeant-Major had done. With this news, he continued his journey and arrived at Agaña at about 10 at night. After he had rested for a while, the Governor informed himself in detail about the treachery that the convicts had been planning. He then sent someone to our residence to warn Father Magas and beg him to call all of the Fathers to hear the confessions of those men, because the next day he intended to execute them with muskets. Eight Fathers who were in residence came up and got busy preparing the delinquents to die, by exhorting them to make very zealous acts of contrition. After they had confessed their sins, eleven of them were thus executed on the following Monday, and nine the next day. After this exercise was over, the Governor left for Umatag, where I was, along with Father Miguel de Aparicio. There, assisted by the Franciscan Fathers, we prepared three others who were shot with muskets. As far as the other prisoners were concerned, either because they had not taken part, or had not been so keen in carrying out such an evil deed, they were kept in irons, in order to send them off to Manila, which was done.

This, dear Father, was how those who had planned the ruin of this Christian community perished. During this event, and in others that took place during the course of the year, divine providence shone so well that I cannot find enough words to express the mercies that God employed toward this Christian community; for all of us who live in it, it is plain to see that God must have the conversion of these souls very much at heart, and, no matter how Hell tries to oppose it by means of persecutions, there is no way its malice can overcome the dispositions of the Almighty.

One very particular thing happened while the guilty ones were being punished; it was that, at the instant that they started capturing them, the monsoon wind ceased blowing, and the tradewinds began, so that the sloop, that had gotten more than 60 leagues past the island, began to make it to the port of Merizo at the same time that they were executing the last delinquent.

Once this storm was over, there followed the despatch of the sloop, which took place in December. All of the religious of St. Francis went on board, as well as two of our people, Fathers Joaquin Assin and García Salgado, who had been eagerly called away by Manila, not so much Fr. Salgado as Fr. Assin, along with Fr. José Hernandez, who had already left the previous June aboard the **Santo Niño**; he was also called away. We were startled by such an endeavor, so great that it left the Father Vice-Provincial without the ability to make recommendations, but, to sugar-coat this bitter pill, they had listed Fr. Salgado in third place. Overhere, the rationale of this decision has been discussed at great length, but Y.R. is better placed to understand it, once you have heard about it.

Before the sloop had left, the Governor had built out of *palo maria* a patache larger than the sloop; in this construction, he consumed all of the *palo maria* that had been left in this island. The reason for this construction, as he said, was the conquest of Saipan; this he used to proclaim in front of the Franciscan Fathers, so that they would in turn spread this rumor in Manila and perhaps as far as Spain where he would be thought of as a man of courage, but he would content himself with just this credit, and would do nothing else besides go back to sleep very swiftly, as they say. However, the appointed time for this venture finally arrived and he had 120 men board the patache and the galliot, or long boat. He sent word to the Sergeant-Major to go and wait for him on the beach at Urunao. The Sergeant-Major left Agaña with 80 selected men, leaving behind on this island about 68 men for its security. He arrived at Urunao but, having visited the Governor, he was told not to embark then, because said Governor had something to do in Ritiyan, where they were to meet two days later, in order for all of the vessels to sail together. Quiroga complied fully with Esplana's order, but, when the latter spotted him on the beach at Ritiyan, he sailed off without waiting for him, and he left him ashore with the sorrow and pain that Y.R. can well imagine. For my part, I cannot emphasize enough the truth that it was indeed a great consolation to see the eagerness and joy of the soldiers who were going on this enterprise; indeed, they had wished to do so for so many years, and they were besides themselves, full of sorrow and pain, when they realized what was happening to them. After Esplana did such a despicable deed, he sighted the Island of Rota, and its beach, which was full of people, waiting for him, to sue for peace (as we learned later on through an Indian captured by Alonso [Soón]) but, as soon as our Great Alexander saw the Indians, gasping for breath, he began to shake like a leaf, saying: **"The King orders me to salvage the guns from Saipan, but he does not give me the means to do it. I am in a tight spot but nobody takes pity of me; the Sergeant-Major has remained in Guahan to build little altars, and all of the people of Guahan would be wishing for me to die, and they set me up. What? not for me. I declare that all of those people living in Guahan will die first, without any exception, before I do. Turn around and go back to Umatag. That is where I think the people are more like my own kind, better than all of the [other] Indians living in all of these islands."** This he said, and did, as he returned to Umatag. With the sorrow that I cannot imagine of all those

who accompanied him, as they begged him many times to let them step ashore at Rota, but they could not achieve it, not just them but also Father Cardeñoso who, fired by zeal for the honor of God and surprised at such a stupendous vileness, had a fiery disagreement with him, one that should have made him bend his head in shame, if only he would have had any trace of honor left, but the answer that he gave was, that he should keep his nose in his breviary, that he did not know about the sea, or about the storm that was threatening, and in truth, there was no storm other than the one that raged inside his timid soul.

Thus ended the Saipan enterprise, and I do not wish to belabor the point, because I lack the patience to do so, and I would suffer more if I were to describe in detail the many indignities that have taken place, all the more perceptible because their remedies are so far away. And, to top all of these felicities, we received news with the sloop, to the effect that our people in Manila had written to the Council in favor of Lazcano, and beseeching the King our Lord to give him the government of these islands with the title of Governor and Captain-General.—

My dearly beloved Father, the day and the years would seem short to me if I were to write the objections that came to my head regarding so many blunders, so close at hand. I beg Y.R. for the love of Jesus Christ to please obstruct such a waywardness, because Lazcano is three times worse than Esplana, and because the Devil could not have thought of a more nonsensical idea in order to destroy this Mission once and for all. Not all of our people wrote in his favor, **but only those whom Y.R. with your great prudence can guess.** Let His Majesty send a prudent man, a courageous one, and it does not really matter who it might be, because our panegyrics and praises have cost us dearly so far. I do not write about the haughtiness of Monforte de Lemos, because it is plain for all to see and machtless.

The letter which Y.R. wrote to me from Acapulco, went on to Manila with that from **Curu**; his letter was forwarded to me, but that of Y.R. remained overthere. I have a good reason to assume that some curious person, belonging to the Quevedo party, recognized the handwriting of Y.R. on the envelope and, aware of the friendship with which you treat me, **wished to find out the news of your voyage as far as Madrid** and, overtaken by curiosity, he kept it for himself.¹ Y.R. will please do me the favor, whenever you write to me, to have someone else write the address on the envelope, because, should such a letter bypass us and end up in Manila, I would then be sure of getting it eventually. I write the present letter very hurriedly and for this reason it is full of mistakes. Y.R. will please correct them and pardon me for having made it so long, as the gist of the news contained herein could have fit on one half of half a folio sheet. However, I have written at length in order for Y.R. to be fully informed of what is hap-

1 Ed. note: The so-called Quevedo party could have been the group of Manila Jesuits favorable to this man for the post of Governor of the Marianas.

pening, and also, as they say, the longer the distance between correspondents, the more pleasure is given by longer letters.

Y.R. will please accept the many and affectionate greetings from **Curu** who is my majordomo in this residence of Pago, and assists me with notable love and courtesy.¹ I will not wait to see the arrival of the galleon, before inquiring about the health of Y.R., whose life may God save for many years, as I wish, etc.

From Pago in the Marianas, 5 May 1691.

The most affectionate servant and friend of Y.R.,
Diego de Zarzosa.

[Postscript added by Fr. Bustillo:]

Such a pretty style as found in the present letter makes me fear that my *farrago, farraginis*² would be superfluous. May our Lord save the life of Y.R. for very many years and may He let us see you with complete health.

Agadña, 14 May 1691.

Yours as always,

+

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +

1 Ed. note: This native was first mentioned in Doc. 1689A. He must have gone no further than Mexico in company with Fr. Xaramillo.

2 Ed. note: Latin words meaning: "hodge-podge."

Document 1691D

Jesuit annual report for 1690-1691

Report by Fr. Bustillo, dated 21 May 1691

Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, doc n° 3, fol. 13-34; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 22-64.

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion del estado y progresos de la Mision y Cristiandad de las Yslas Marianas desde Mayo de 90 hasta el de 1691.

Despachada la ultima relacion de estas Yslas Marianas concluida á 23 de Mayo de 1690, quedaron en ellas para su administracion, y de sus cinco partidos con sus iglesias y residencias, Colegios de Niños y Niñas y para las correrías que siempre se ofrecen quince Sacerdotes, cuatro hermanos coadjutores y un hermano Donado:

- Padre Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice Provincial*
- Padre Garcia Salgado, Rector de los Colegios de Niños y Niñas*
- Padre Gerardo Bouvens*
- Padre Basilio le Roulx*
- Padre Matias Cuculino*
- Padre Diego de Zarzosa*
- Padre Tomas Cardeñoso*
- Padre Juan Tilpe*
- Padre Francisco Palavicino*
- Padre Antonio Cundari*
- Padre Miguel de Aparicio*
- Padre Francisco [rather Joaquin] Assin*
- Padre Felipe Muscati*
- Padre José Hernandez*
- Padre Juan Sirmeysen [i.e. Schirmeisen]*
- Hermano Juan Haler*
- Hermano Miguel Escolano*
- Hermano Alonso Marin*
- Hermano Miguel Suazo*

—Hermano Melchor [de] Santa Cruz, Donado.

*De este número de operarios fueron llamados de la Santa obediencia á Manila los Padres Joaquin Assin, José Hernandez, Garcia Salgado, y el Hermano Alonso Marin. Y muchos días, ó meses antes despachada ya como he dixo la dicha relacion del año pasado en la Nao Capitana **Santo Niño**, a los 4 días despues que partió de Marianas para Filipinas, fue llamado para el Cielo, como piadosamente esperamos, el Hermano Juan Haler, Bohemo de Nacion, en cuya Provincia de Bohemia entró en la Compañia á 9 de Octubre de 1680 de edad de 16 años; y el año de 1687 fué embiado á las Yndias, y llevo á Marianas el de 1688, en donde por su gran caridad y oficio de Boticario exerció el de emfermero y medico con tal fervor de espiritu, y asistencia á todos y á todas horas que por cuidar con extraña vigilancia de la salud y alivio de todos cuantos emfermos havia; se descuidó de su propia salud, y vino el mismo impensadamente á acelerar la muerte que fué á los 8 de Junio de dicho año de 90 á las 4 y medio de la mañana: la cual en opinion de todos, fué muy preciosa en el acatamiento del Señor, y digna de ser santamente embidiada, como se podrá ver por extenso en su Carta de edificacion que va con esta escrita al Padre José Sanchez, Provincial de Filipinas y Marianas.*

Y bien pronto se sintieron mas de lleno los efectos de la mucha caridad y ciencia en su oficio de dicho Hermano Juan Haler, y la mucha que nos hizo por que á los 2 de Agosto del mismo año de 90 le sobrevino á uno de los sacerdotes misioneros un tan recio tabardillo que en breves días se puso á punto de morir,¹ y ya demasiado sacramentado y oleado, sintio el emfermo vehementes impulsos de una gran confianza en pedir y alcanzar la salud de nuestro Glorioso Padre y Patriarca S. Ygnacio ofreciendole celebrar una Octava en memoria de aquel admirable rapto que tubo el Santo en Manrresa, que empezó Sabado al tiempo de completas y acabó el Sabado siguiente á la misma hora. Y juntamente ofrecio dicho emfermo un novenario de misas al mismo Santo. Y participados estos impulsos al Superior este luego repartió las misas entre los PP. y otras tantas coronas entre los Hermanos y al paso que todas se iban diciendo, iba bolviendo en si el emfermo hasta cobrar entera salud. Con la cual gracias al Señor y al Santo Patriarca, se halla hoy dia bueno, y aun mas sano y sin rastro alguno de algunos achaques que antes de esta emfermedad padecia. Y la misma gracias al dador de ella, gozamos todos los Sacerdotes, que aqui nos hallamos y empleadola en tener, siquiera levantado el estandarte de la Fé en esta Ysla de S. Juan de Guan, ya que por los altos é inescrutable juicios del Altisimo, hasta ahora no ha sido posible llevarlo adelante, ó volverlo á plantar en las otras Islas del Norte, y que quedan por reducir, y en las del Sur que quedan por descubrir.

[The shipwreck of the Pilar]

*Y volviendo al mes de Junio de 90 que ya comenzamos con la ocasion de la Santa Muerte del H^o Juan Haler, es de saber, que á 2 de dicho mes y año aportaron á esta Ysla la ya mencionada Nao Capitana **Santo Niño** y la Nao Almiranta **Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza**; y con tiempo sosegado y bonancible iban sobre tarde dando vista al puerto de S. Antonio de Umatac; y llendo la Almiranta por delante se arrimo mucho á la Ysleta que llaman de Cocos y sin catarse á las 8 de la noche, dió con la proa sobre un escollo, que por debajo de las aguas se prolonga desde dicha isleta hasta la barra del puerto de S. Dimas de Meriso. De lo cual dicha Almiranta hizo señas con su artilleria á la Capitana, y esta se tiró*

1 Emferma de muerte el Padre Matias Cuculino, y va en su lugar á cuidar del Partido de la Purisima de Pago el Padre Juan Tilpe.

la mar afuera. Sucedió esto en ocasion que iban acercandose á dicha Almiranta nuestros barcos, y algunas barcas de la tierra, y en llegando á ella todas estas embarcaciones, se puso toda diligencia en zafar el bagel y hacerlo nadar; hizose así, y ya nadaba, de lo cual bolvió á dar señas á la Capitana con la artilleria dandola á entender que habia salido del riesgo, mas prevaleciendo la resaca, y no gobernando de Navio por falta de viento, que ya allí estaba casi en calma por estar tan cerca de tierra, fue de nuevo poco á poco llevado otra vez sobre dicho escollo con la misma resaca y marea que á toda prisa iba creciendo para tierra.

Con que imposibilitada ya dicha Almiranta de todo punto para ser sacada á salvamento, volvió con artilleria á hacer señas de haber varado del todo y sin remedio. Con esto la Capitana prosiguió la mar afuera alexandose de tierra, si bien ella se hallaba en buen paraje, y con lindo viento para tomar el puerto cuando baró la Almiranta, pero por ser de noche oyendo las señas que se la hacian de la desgracia, tomó el rumbo dicho hasta amanecer; y embió en aquel instante su lancha á la Almiranta para socorrerla en lo que se ofreciese, y con ella y la lancha de la Almiranta y los dos barcos y barcas de tierra, se puso de todas partes todo el cuidado y presteza en acudir á salvar en primer lugar la gente sacandola y asegurandola en tierra, como con el favor de Dios se hizo y con efecto se salvó toda sin peligrar alma viviente, que por todas serian mas de doscientas personas, y una Mision de Religiosos de S. Francisco á cargo del Muy Reverendo Padre Fray Miguel Sanchez, Comisario y Superior de todos. Los cuales en amaneciendo fueron llegado á Umatac, donde, con ocasion de Naos, y para recibir el socorro &c. habiamos concurrido hasta seis Misioneros de la Compañia que allí estabamos con el Governador que vive en Umatac de asiento, y los primeros que del naufragio aquí llegaron y recibimos fueron dichos Religiosos de S. Francisco que de repente y sin aber que dicha Almiranta habia traído Religiosos se aparecieron aquella misma mañana en Umatac con otra gente naufraga, que por todo el dia hasta la noche no ceso de ir llegando. Y sabida por nosotros tan repentina nueva de la venida de dichos Religiosos, todos nosotros salimos desalados á recibirlos con los brazos abiertos, y abrazos que la caridad religiosa acostumbra dandoles la vienvenida en la forma que caso tan repentino[,] apretura de tiempo, y pesar de la desgracia sucedida permitian condoliendonos muy mucho de su calamidad y naufragio &c.

Salvada toda la gente de dicho naufragio, se procuró salvar todo lo demas que se pudo de hacienda[,] alhajas, y cosas de todos los naufragantes, no cesando de ir y venir desde la Almiranta á tierra y de tierra á la Almiranta las dichas dos lanchas, y los dos barcos nuestros y barcas de tierra p^a salvar todo lo que podian. La Nao Capitana luego que amaneció procuró tomar el puerto enderezando á el la proa todo cuanto pudo; pero en valde, por que por mas bordos que dió en todo aquel dia como amaneció tan á la mar afuera, y por esto el viento que el dia antes le era favorable para entrar, ya le era contrario poco se pudo acercar; aunque lo deseó mucho el nuevo Governador que pasaba á gobernar las Filipinas D. Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, y el mismo General D. Juan de Garaycoechea.

El Almirante de la Nao perdida y demas gente de cuenta, sacado y puesto en salvo todo lo que pudieron de sus haciendas se embarcaron con ello y con los Oficiales de dicha Nao Almiranta en las dos lanchas y se fueron á la Capitana para proseguir su viage á Filipinas como lo hicieron. Y nosotros, de dicha Nao Capitana, en que venia el situado de Marianas, no podimos conseguir mas socorro en las pocas bancas de la tierra, que el vino y harina para el Santo Sacrificio y algunas otras cosas comestibles que de mas necesitabamos, y dar y recibir cartas, propasandose todo el demas socorro. Fue tambien á la Capitana el Reverendo Padre Comisario de los Religiosos Francisc[an]os (acompañado de otro Religioso suyo que havia venido por Capellan de la Almiranta) para diligenciar en dicha Capitana su em-

barque y de todos sus religiosos, y consiguiendolo volvió á tierra ya noche, y queriendo irse por la mañana 5 de Junio ya no parecia la Capitana; por que se fué aquella noche y en ella el unico religioso Francisco que habia ido con dicho Padre Comisario á dicha diligencia del embarque, quedandose todos los demas naufragantes en tierra, que serian hasta doscientas personas y los 19 Religiosos de S. Francisco.

Embarcose tambien el Padre José Hernandez para Manila en dicha Capitana, quedando en su lugar el Padre Antonio Cundari, Siciliano, sugeto de todas prendas que venia en dicha Capitana. Y no obstante que se nos paso el socorro, no faltó la bendicion de Dios, con que exercitar la caridad con tantos huespedes como quedaron aqui del naufragio en que Nuestro Gobernador como tan buen ecónomo y proveido en el cazar ganado de cerda suficiente á tantas bocas y con lo demas con que se hallaba para el sustento de su gente aplicando la mano con la gente nueva á hacer sementeras de maiz, camotes, &c para que no se agotase de una vez la comida[.] llevó por entero como quien todo lo puede casi toda la carga de sustentar tanta gente á que los Misioneros de la Compañia tambien concurrimos con todo cuanto teniamos de comida, ropa, pavellones, petates, y otras cosas que si mas pudieramos mas hizieramos.

[The shipwrecked Franciscans]

Todo lo cual y nuestra gran pobreza é incomodidades experimentaron y agradecieron los Santos Religiones Franciscanos todo el tiempo de 6 meses que aqui estuvieron [los] Religiosos Descalzos de S. Francisco que pasando á las Filipinas, por haberse perdido la Nao en que venian á 2 de Junio de 1690, se quedaron en Marianas y son los siguientes:

- Padre Fray Miguel Sanchez, Comisario y Superior de todos.*
- Padre Fray Lucas Tomas, Capellan de la Almiranta perdida, aunque saltó en tierra, no quedó en Marianas, sino que pasó en la Capitana á Manila.*
- Padre Fray Antonio de la Concepcion y de Urrea.*
- Padre Fray Pedro de Viruega.*
- Padre Fray Antonio de Madrid.*
- Padre Fray Gabriel de S. Antonio.*
- Padre Fray Juan de S. Pablo.*
- Padre Fray Antonio Blasco.*
- Padre Fray Manuel de Roa.*
- Padre Fray Antonio de Tebar.*
- Padre Fray José de Toro.*
- Padre Fray Juan de San José.*
- Padre Fray Gregorio Ybañez.*
- Padre Fray Martín de Oto.*
- Padre Fray Bernardo de la Anunciacion.*
- Hermano Fray Miguel Fernandez, Corista.*
- Hermano Fray Francisco Monleon, Corista.*
- Hermano Fray Agustin Muñoz, Lego.*
- Hermanos Geronimo, y Pedro, Donados Filipinos.*

[The shipwrecked civilians]

Pero no así correspondieron al agradecimiento muchos de los seculares naufragantes mayormente los forzados aunque fueron asistidos con todo lo dicho y en todo cuanto pudimos. Por que como gente tan amiga del ocio y enemiga de trabajos, luego que columbraron los que padecerian en tierra tan abundantes de ellos como es esta de Marianas, y mas con algunas voces, que, ó con malicia, ó con imprudencia, se esparcian; esto es, decian que el Gobernador tenia determinado de valerse de ellos para la conquista de las Yslas rebeldes, y dexarlos alli de Presidio, sin esperanza de salir jamas de estas tierras; empezaron desde luego á desesperar, y dar en arbitrios arrestados, ó desesperados, y llenos de toda maldad, como fraguados en pechos y corazones tan duros. Temerosos los Misioneros de gente tan foragida, y que no pudo ser menos que quedarse aqui, por haber naufragado; aunque S.M. receloso tambien de tal gente, tiene mandado por sus Reales Cédulas no sea admitido en Marianas ningun forzado por causa de atajar cualquier mal pensamiento, que pudiese haber en estos forzados y en tales tierras.

Y por cumplir digo, con el paternal orden de N.M.R.P.G. [= Nuestro Muy Reverendo Padre General] Tirso Gonzales, que nos manda negociemos apretadamente con Dios la pacificacion del Reyno de Ynglaterra se publicó en esta Ciudad de Agaña una mision,¹ la qual se hizo con tal fervor y espiritu, que bastaba para ablandar los mas empedernidos corazones á fuerzas de los Catolicos desengaños, que en ella se predicaron. Y así excepto dos ó tres de estos forzados, y entre ellos un horrendo blasfemo contra la pureza virginal de la siempre Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora blasfemia tan horrible que por no amancillar los castos oídos de los que esto leyeron no la refiero; y el tal se preciaba de muy Español, y á la verdad así lo pareció; pero ojala lo fuera como lo habia de ser. Excepto digo los dichos, no quedó ninguno que por la misericordia de Dios no tratase con todas veras de ganar el jubileo de esta Mision, poniendose bien con Dios por medio de una buena confesion. Hubo muchas confesiones generales de toda la vida, unas por necesidad de haber callado pecados por verguenza, y de estos unos por muchos años y otros en todas las confesiones de su vida, y otros por entender en sus conciencias haverse confesado por apariencia sin dolor ni proposito de sus pecados hizieronse muchas restitutiones de honrra y hacienda, reconciliaronse muchos enemistados y sobre todo derretiendose de dolor y arrepentimiento de sus culpas prorrumpian en copiosas lagrimas, y cordiales sollozos. Y para confirmacion del fruto que se copia, referiré solo dos casos, dexando otros por evitar prolixidad.

Uno de vida muy perdida y de mucho tiempo en desgracia de Dios: el cual habia propuesto de no confesarse ni dejar sus pecados; habiendo oido echar al Predicador una Ave Maria por una alma, á la cual tenia persuadida el Demonio á no ganar el jubileo de esta mision: persuadiendose el tal haber Dios puesto aquellas palabras en boca del Padre para ganar y lograr su alma, se resolvió con todas veras á hacer una buena confesion, y mudar de vida.

Otro por desesperacion de haberse quedado naufrago en estas Islas en donde se hallaba tan lejos de una mala amistad, que havia tenido muchos años con una muger, encendido en deseos de bolver á ella, repetidas veces y con todas veras habia acudido al Demonio, y llamadole para que le bolviese á su tierra, de donde por fuerza le havian hechado y desterrado, y estaba resuelto, que si le oia y se le aparecia entregarle su alma con cédula firmada de su mano, y si ni con esto quedase contento el enemigo, havia discurrido ofrecerle otras tres almas obligandose á matar tres personas las cuales supiese estaban en pe-

1 Padre Joaquin Assin publica y hace Mision en Agaña que duro ocho dias y se acabó á 29 de Junio de 1690 dia de los Santisimos Apostoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo con indecible fruto.

cado mortal. Atemorizado por una platica de la eternidad de las penas del Ynfierno, llegó á la iglesia para confesarse; y aunque por todo aquel tiempo se hubiesen desocupado muchas veces los confesores: de modo que se salio sin confesar; antes resuelto de querer acudir al Demonio. Vispera del Jubileo volvió á deshora á buscar Confesor, ya que no le habia en la iglesia, movido en lo interior de unas especies muy vivas que se le habian buuelto a la memoria de la terribilidad de las penas eternas oidas al Predicador, con que se reconcilio con Dios con grandes muestras de arrepentimiento.

[The plot to kill the soldiers, etc. and escape with the Mariana sloop]

*Con tan eficazes medios y mision de tanto fruto, nos parecia que si en tales hombres hubiese alguna diabolica sugestion de intentar algun mal pernicioso á todos se le habrian borrado de la imaginacion las malas especies que pudieran tener y mas prosiguiendo en los Sermones, que cada Domingo por todo el año se les hace en refrescarles la memoria de todo lo que en la Mision habian oido para perseverar en la gracia recibida y atraer á ella á los que ya dixen que no se habian aprovechado de tanto desengaño, y ganar el jubileo de la Mision; por lo menos ganasen alguno de los Jubileos que hay cada mes. Pero nada basta en animos tan acostumbrados á la maldad, maquinando siempre perniciosos y abominables intentos. Y de unas conversaciones en otras, que entre si tenian abominando siempre de la tierra y de tantos trabajos como á ellos les parecia havia en ella y en medio de los mares, sin tener campo dilatado por donde escapar á la licenciosa vida que habia sido causa de ser desterrados de sus tierras, comenzaron á maquinar la mayor maldad, y el mayor mal que les podia suceder á estas Yslas: y fue el **intentar escapar de aqui con la Balandra, que ya por Agosto esperabamos**, segun el tiempo de los vendabales, que corrian favorables, y nos prometian muy presto su llegada. Y asi pactaron entre si alzarse con dicha Balandra y con todo el socorro que traia luego que hubiese entrado en el puerto, y dado fondo apoderandose antes y á tiempo competente de todas las armas, municiones, y pertrechos de este Real Presidio con prision y muerte del Gobernador[.] Sargento Mayor y de todos cuantos se les ofreciesen; aunque fuesen todos los Religiosos, reservandose solo un Sacerdote para llevarse consigo y que les sirviese de Confesor, ó sino “á Roma por todo” como dixo el Capataz que habian escogido para dirigir á los principales cabezas de la conjuracion de como habian de dar el abance. Y despues saquear y robar todo lo sagrado y profano esto es iglesias, Casas, y quanto hallasen en esta Ysla, aunque fuese de los Indios y con muerte de ellos si se resistiesen quebrandoles, ó quemandoles todas cuantas embarcaciones tubiesen, y aun segun se ha oido habian de matar á todos los ladinos que saben hablar lengua Castellana para que en viniendo la Nao de Acapulco no hubiese quien pudiese dar parte de la tragedia.*

Resolucion tan formidable necesitaba de sazón y coyuntura para verse juntos los conjurados, y los acometidos; por que así de unos como de otros estaban repartidos, unos en Agaña y otros en Umatac: esta al parecer se les venia rodada, y muy a su sabor y querer con ocasion de la fiesta de Santa Rosa, que el Gobernador habia determinado celebrar en su día 30 de Agosto en la residencia de Agat por ser la Santa titular de aquella iglesia y partido, con Misa solemne y sermon, combite de todo el campo, y comedia &c que a todos así soldados residentes en Agaña como en Umatac habian de asistir.

Aquí fué todos los conjurados (que dicen serian unos 80) pusieron toda su mira para salir con su dañada intencion determinados á arremeter al tiempo de la Comedia y bolberla en sangrienta Tragedia. Con lo cual desde aquel día se miraban como Señores absolutos y dueños de todo.

Pero, “¡O! Altísima providencia de nuestro Buen Dios y Señor! Cuan queridos os deben estar siempre estas vuestras Yslas Marianas, pues como tan solícito y amorosísimo Padre miraste por ellas en esta

ocasion con tan repetidas Providencias, que parece se traslucen en ellas repetidos milagros! Ni queriendo que en esta ocasion la fiesta de Rosa de tu divino corazon fuese profanada con la barbara execucion de tan execrable maldad! Asiste Señor sin mirar mis pecados con tu afluencia á mi cortedad para poderlas referir como fueron sucediendo; pues se escribe esto para mayor gloria y ensalzamiento de las Singulares y Paternales Providencias, que sueles usar como en esta ocasion, para salvar tus escogidos!"

[The sloop appears offshore, then disappears for 3 weeks]

*Y es el caso que dicha Balandra se aparecio á 20 de Agosto diez días antes de Santa Rosa, habiendo ella dado vista á esta Ysla el día antecedente 19 por la tarde; y llegando dicho día 20 en frente de Umatac arreció tanto el bendaval, que traia á popa que no le pareció al Piloto empeñarse con tanto viento y mar para entrar, aunque bien pudiera si Dios nuestro Señor que la gobernaba de otra suerte; aunque oculta por entonces á nosotros no lo hubiera así dispuesto. No queriendo su paternal Providencia, que la gozamos desde luego con tanto daño como era el que nos amenazaba, disponiendo que á dicha fragata ó balandra **S. Gabriel** la llevase el fuerte Bendabal, que de repente y a vista del Puerto le sobrevino, camino del Leste á la via de Acapulco hacia donde descubren esta tierra las Naos que vienen de España. Y arreciando mas y mas el Bendabal, al cabo de dos días y á nuestra vista batallaba con el la fragata para poder tomar puerto; se hubo de rendir y dexarse llevar para donde el Bendabal, ó por mejor decir Dios nuestro Señor queria. Por lo cual y acercarse el día de Santa Rosa se suspendió su fiesta, esperando á que antes entrase en el Puerto la Nao ó Balandra. Para cuyo fin desde luego que el bajel propuso el Puerto y arreció tanto el bendaval, que nos la iba desapareciendo de nuestra vista (como de hecho se desaparecio por tres semanas) acudimos todos seglares y Religiosos Jesuitas y Franciscos á su divina Magestad patente el Señor Sacramentado con plegarias, Misas, y oraciones, que se ordenaron hacer en todas las iglesias por este intento, para que se dignase de apagar el bendaval, y dar Brisa á la Fragata que era la que ya unicamente necesitaba para que bolviese y entrase en el Puerto pero parece que decia Dios: **Nescitis quid petatis. No sabeis lo que pedis** por que cuanto mas apretabamos á su Divina Magestad tanto mas arreciaban los Bendabales, y la Nao se alejaba mas de Marianas.*

Y como por esto habia tantos que no parecia ni se sabia de ella, por que los Bendabales proseguian en su teson, y la fiesta de Santa Rosa estaba detenida hasta que diese fondo; impacientes ya los conjurados de tanta tardanza, y de no ver cuanto antes el logro de su maldad; se bolvieron á juntar, y conferir lo que habian de hacer, instaban algunos de ellos á que se ejecutase cuanto antes, á que respondieron otros seria mejor presentar á los PP. un Memorial para que por bien les procuraron el salir de aqui de esta tierra. Y otros que eran los mas replicaban que para que eran intercesiones de PP. que lo mejor era ejecutar cuanto antes su intento, y salirse con todo haciendolo de una vez. Quedaron en esto y para que no se descubriese por ningun resquicio esta su ultima resolucion: cautelaron y pactaron tambien el que ninguno de ellos se fuese á confesar mientras andaban en esto. Mas no obstante esta Diabolica causa uno de ellos en quien obraban vivos los desengaños de la Mision y á quien causaba gran horror la sacrilega de terminacion de querer saquear las Iglesias; se fué á confesar viernes 8 de Setiembre día de la gloriosa Natividad de la Santisima Virgen y para quedar bien asegurada su conciencia, y de todo punto ponerse bien con Dios, fuera de confesion dió puntual y individual noticia de todo lo que sabia tocante á esta conjuracion.

Recelosos los conjurados desde que se habia confesado este, le hizieron cargo y le dixeron, que por que se habia confesado contra lo que tenian asentado: respondiolo con harta discrecion (ó mejor dix-

eramos alumbrado del Espiritu Santo para escandilarlos) diciendoles que el havia confesado sus pecados, y no los de los otros; con que lo dexaron. El propio dia 8 de Septiembre á las 10 del dia, se llevo otro de los conjurados á un Padre y le dixo que se fraguaba una grande conjuracion para alzarse con estas Yslas; instandole el Padre á que individuase los que entraban en ella nunca lo quiso hacer sino decia que todos, todos, y jamas quiso salir de términos generales. Los cuales, y el modo con que lo proponia eran tales que mas parecia embuste ó gana de pasar tiempo que poder hacer juicio de que decia verdad por correr plaza el tal delatante de un gran embustero embelecador, loco atronado ó pudo ser viniese á ver si el otro que se habia confesado nos habia descubierto algo. Y bastando la noticia de este primero para hacer pesquisa mas cumplida, **con todo secreto se dió parte de todo al sargento mayor que existe en Agaña**, y este á toda prisa remitió toda la delacion á Aumatas [Umatac] al Gobernador. El dia siguiente Sabado 9 de Setiembre á las 10 de la mañana entró en nuestra Casa, y sin tener noticia de la primera y veridica delacion hecha hayer la dió tambien muy puntual y correspondiente á ella de la cual tambien se dió parte al Sargento Mayor.

Entre tanto parece que no dexaban muy recelosos los culpados de si eran ó no eran descubiertos: por que en este mismo dia Sabado, por antes de medio dia llegaron los dos cabezas de la conjuracion (por que el uno habia de ser el Gobernador y el otro el sargento Mayor de su alzamiento) llegaron digo estos dos al Reverendo Padre [Vice-] Provincial y le presentaron el memorial arriba apuntado. Recibiolos su Reverencia con todo agrado y cariño compadeciendose de su naufragio &c aunque ellos parece venian muy sobre si, y que se miraban como quienes en breve serian Señores de todo lo que habia en nuestra pobre Casa por que se imaginaban segun despues supimos, que no dexaria de haber en ella alguna riqueza, de la cual si llegase el caso que Dios no les permitio, quedarian bien desengañados de nuestra gran pobreza. Dioles buenas esperanzas el Padre Vice Provincial y despidiolos con agasajo, diciendoles rogasen á Dios para que diese viento favorable á la Balandra para que en brebe se apareciese otra vez, y la entrase en el puerto que todo se ajustaria y dispondria lo que pedian &c.

Sobre tarde de este mismo dia Sabado 9 de Setiembre llegó otro que era como ya se dixo arriba, el que á dichos dos cabezas y á todos los demas conjurados habia de dirigir y guiar para el abance y acometimiento, y estaba señalado por Alférez de la conspiracion, de suerte que ya todos los Oficios militares los tenian señalados y repartidos entre sí. Este pues con su cauteloso modo de proponer, hablar y responder bien dio á entender, que su venida era mas que sospechosa y que su intento era no dar sino sacar noticias, si acaso las teniamos de sus cosas, de suerte que este hombre con su modo tan astuto y recatado nos puso en grandisimos rezelos y vehementes sospechas de que aquella noche querian ejecutar su mal intento. Mientras andabamos discurrendo en esto con regalos por acá con regalos por allá sin saber de quien fiarnos, quiso Dios llegase por la posta de Umatac **la respuesta del Gobernador acompañada de 14 pares de grillos y con orden de prender y aprisionar á todos los indiciados**; lo cual se ejecutó luego al instante y en el mismo dia Sabado (vispera del Santisimo y dulcísimo nombre de Maria Nuestra Señora vocacion de estas sus Islas Marianas) á las 8 de la noche y con buena maña que **siendo mas de veinte los culpados no se escapó ni uno tan solo**. Estaban ya todos recogidos en sus pabellones, excepto el signifero ó Alférez ya dicho Adalid y Director del abance que cuando llegó dicho aviso y prisiones que embiaba el Gobernador con singular vigilancia se paseaba en medio del Campo mirando aqui y alli y presto en primer lugar fue asegurado y puesto en el cepo. Y la causa de recogerse tan temprano todos los demas dicen fué el haber querido madrugar y dar el abance al cuarto de alba. Mas la benignísima aurora del Sol de Justicia[,] Maria Santisima que como singular patrona y protectora de estas sus

Yslas Marianas[,] Mision y Cristiandad tantas veces y de tantos modos fuertemente perseguida se desvela por ellas como la mejor y mas verdadera Madre que en tanto tiempo y en tantos torbellinos y calamidades ha sacado á paz y salvo á estos sus pequeñuelos hijos Marianos permitiendo ó disponiendo ahora en esta ocasion que al primer cuarto de la noche (que los Militares llaman prima) cayesen en la celada los que tan inhumanamente la tenian armada á tantos inocentes, sin permitir la Misericordiosa Madre de piedad, llegasen á turbar y ensangrentar tan execrablemente esta su principal fiesta de su Santisima Nombre en estas sus Yslas Marianas.

*En Umatac tambien mandó el Gobernador prender á los complices de la conjuracion y dexandolos bien asegurados partió á toda prisa de alli para Agaña en dicho dia del Santisimo Nombre de Maria Domingo 10 de Setiembre y llegó aquel mismo dia á las 10 de la noche. Y luego les formó proceso á usanza de guerra, y no era menester mucho para combencerlos y hacerlos confesar la verdad por que siendo tan notoria como era su maldad, ellos mismos luego que se vieron presos echandose la culpa unos á otros, cantaron de plano. Por lo cual **de primera instancia fueron once de ellos sentenciados á ser arcabuceados** y entrados en la capilla fueron tan bien dispuestos,¹ y ellos mismos de su parte se dispusieron tan bien que no habia mas que desear y asi despues de media noche se les dió el viatico y **por la mañana á las 9 del dia 11 de Setiembre fueron sacados á la playa, y alli en sendos troncos de palmas puestos en hileras, fueron arcabuceados.** Despues de ajusticiados estos once, metieron otros nueve en capilla, y administrados tambien con los Santos Sacramentos de la penitencia y eucaristia **pasaron por el mismo suplicio á las 7 de la mañana del dia 12 de Setiembre en otros nueve troncos de palmas.** Con que quedó coronada esta playa de Agaña con estos veinte ajusticiados todos puestos en hilera para eterno escarmiento de tan horrenda maldad como querian ejecutar, la cual ellos todos reconocieron por tal recibiendo la sentencia de la muerte con grandisima conformidad con la voluntad divina y como pago tan merecido de sus grandes culpas y pecados de los cuales desechos en lagrimas con indecibles gemidos y clamores que alegrarian al Cielo, se arrepintieron y compungieron con intensisimos actos de contricion, y amor de Dios de cuya purisima y Santisima Madre se acordaban en medio de todo esto con tiernisimo afecto, de quien como de Madre de piedad y misericordia, reconocian la habia usado con ellos, trayendoles al estado presente para que se salvaran y se lograra en ellos la sangre vertida en la Cruz de su Santisimo Hijo, sin permitir que el dia de su Santisimo nombre de esta gran Reyna de los Cielos fuese manchado con la sangre inocente que querian derramar tan injustamente por que de otra suerte sin duda nos condenaramos, decian, de lo intimo de su corazon. Y estando en estos coloquios en la Capilla y entrando en ella una devotissima imagen de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora no es decible la comocion que hizo en ellos llamandola todos con tantos clamores y lagrimas que enternecian á todos los presentes, daban repetidas gracias por haberlos traído á muerte tan dichosa para su salvacion, y luego bolviendose al crucifixo que cada uno tenia en sus manos volvian á repetir los intensos Actos de contricion, fé, esperanza, y caridad. Y de esta suerte fervorosos y contritos fixos cada uno los ojos en el crucifixo que llevaba y atendiendo á lo que cada Misionero les iba diciendo, salieron y caminaron al suplicio dandose unos á otros los buenos dias y parabienes de tan dichoso dia y muerte. Y llegando ya al patibu-*

1 Asisten, y ayudan á bien morir á estos ajusticiados en Agaña los Misioneros siguientes: Padre Joaquin Assin, Padre Garcia Salgado, Padre Antonino Cundari, Padre Francisco Palavicino, Padre Basilio le Roulx, Padre Juan Tilpe, Padre Juan Sermeysen.

lo uno de ellos que habia de ser el Sargento de su mala Compañia y conjuracion prorrumpio fervoroso en altas voces, y haciendo silencio dixo:

—“Señores, sean me testigos como Dios Nuestro Señor y su Santisima Madre por su gran bondad nos han traído á este trance aunque dichoso para nosotros, bien merecida muerte, y mas suabe de la que nosotros por la horrible maldad que queriamos cometer contra ambas Magestades y contra tanto inocente. Y asi sepan todos como la conjuracion era cierta y que se habia de ejecutar á no disponerlo Dios y su Santisima Madre de la manera que ven. Yo como mal hombre me ofrecí á matar ante todas cosas al Señor Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga, que aqui está presente de lo cual me arrepiento muchísimo en el alma de todo mi corazon y pido á su Magestad perdon. Solo de una cosa me puedo halabar y es que siempre contradixo al sacrilego daño que se queria hacer á los benditos PP. y Religiosos, y á las iglesias de Dios, por que á esto resistí y dixé á los Compañeros que si esto haziamos nos castigaria Dios y no nos llevaria á Salvamento donde queriamos ir, &c.”

Hasta aqui lo que dixo el arcabuceado en quinto lugar del día primero dicho 11 de Setiembre, hombre de mucha capacidad y que murió con indesibles desengaños y fervores. Fruto sin duda todo lo referido, que sacaron todos estos ajusticiados de la Mision antecedente, cuyos desengaños ahora en la presente ocasion se les renovó y se los volvió á renovar el mismo Predicador, con tanta mas viveza y fervor ási del Predicador como de los oyentes sentenciados, quanto cada uno de los que esto leyeren puede considerar á los ecos de la muerte que ya vian tan cercana y cierta asi ella como la hora en que habian de morir. Por que,] Caso que en dicha Mision no lograron con tantas veras su total enmienda, por lo menos les fué una gran disposicion para su cercano aunque entonces no conocido suplicio, y muerte, y como tenian áun frescos los desengaños, que entonces oyeron, y ahora se les renovaron les hizieron eco sus verdades y les sirvieron para el indecible fervor con que se dispusieron á morir con la intensa contricion y copia de lagrimas que vimos y admiramos en ellos dexandonos prendas muy ciertas de su salvacion.

Hecha esta justicia en Agadña al instante que fué arcabuceado el ultimo de los veinte, se bolvió el Gobernador con la misma prisa con que habia venido á Umatac en donde sentenció otros tres que tambien murieron arcabuceados el día 13 de Setiembre con la misma disposicion, contricion y fervor, que estos de Agadña. Quedaron otros perdonados, ó por no tal culpados ó por razones que hubo para ello.¹

*Golpe tan recio de la Divina y humana Justicia como fué este; no pudo dexar de ser para grandisimo escarmiento de los Militares, y para que lo fuese mas hizo mucho al caso la poderosa plática que concludido el suplicio les hizo el padre Joaquin Assin ponderando en ella 1º el errado juicio con que deslumbrados estos delincuentes se resolvieron á la execucion de tan execrable maldad; y como desengañados ya en el justo juicio de Dios desde aquellos Palos en que estaban puestos sus cuerpos, predicaban á todos los vicios con aquel aviso del Eclesiastico Capitulo 38 que dice **Memor est(?) Judicij mei sic erit et tuum**. Y que procurasen arrancar de cuajo los vicios que son las raizes de donde nacen tan arrestadas resoluciones. 2º la paternal providencia de Dios, y la maternal proteccion de su Santisima Madre con que siempre ha mirado y mira por esta su Mision y Cristiandad Mariana con demostraciones tan claras y palpables como fueron las del Caso siguiente. Por que 1º empezó á descubrirse esta diabolica conjura-*

¹ Padre Miguel de Aparicio, con otros PP. de San Francisco asiste y ayuda á bien morir á los tres ajusticiados en Umatag.

*cion el día de la Natividad gloriosa de Maria Santisima. 2º El día siguiente vispera de su Santisimo nombre vocacion de estas Yslas Marianas, fueron presos los complices. 3º En el mismo día de su Dulcísimo nombre de Maria fueron sentenciados. 4º Antes de acabarse la mitad de su Octava fueron ajusticiados todos los perturbadores, y quedamos del todo libres y seguros del Peligro. Y que mas clara é irrefragable Providencia de Dios que el haber detenido la Balandra **San Gabriel** fuera del Puerto todo aquel tiempo que podía correr peligro en el, y que **al mismo instante que se acababan de ajusticiar los que estaban conjurados para alzarse con ella, la entró á toda prisa en el Puerto, por que desde el dicho día 11 de Setiembre en que fueron ajusticiados los once primeros empezó luego á mudarse el tiempo a sosegarse los Bendabales, y á puntar la Brisa: Con que el Bagel que esta muchas leguas mas alla de la otra banda al Oriente de la Ysla volvió á ella con tanta prisa y tan fuerte brisa que el día 13 á las 9 de la mañana no habiendo podido este día ni los días antecedentes tomar ó medir el Sol por haber perdido de vista la tierra tantos días habia, y por la grande oscuridad y niebla que havia al deshacerse esta, se vió de repente y con pasmo de todos cerca de tierra, y poniendo la proa al Oeste ó poniente llegó á dar vista á Umatac al mismo tiempo, que al postrero de los tres allí ajusticiados, se despachó con el ultimo balazo, y dobló con tanta velocidad y facilidad la isleta de Cocos que aun no habian buuelto al Real de Umatac los que habian asistido al Suplicio, (que se hizo á un cerro encima de dicho Umatac) cuando dicha Balandra ó Bajel acababa de dar fondo á la boca del Puerto de Merizo en el cual el día siguiente con espías se entró como por su casa, por estar abrigado de todos vientos.***

Y antes de pasar adelante con nuestras alegrías que coronó en el puerto de la Balandra se ofrece decir aqui como el dicho ultimo ajusticiado en Umatac, fué aquel blasfemo contra la pureza virginal de Nuestra Señora el cual entonces por esto tubo su castigo de prision por algunos días, y luego con mordaza en la boca fué puesto á la verguenza, y al soltarle de la prision, puesto en el cepo fué castigado con una vengela [=vergala?] hasta que se la quebraron en el cuerpo. Y ahora por ser de los principales conjurados, condenado á muerte, yendo al suplicio al salir de Umatac se hincó de rodillas y hizo á la purísima Madre de Dios un tiernísimo y fervorosisimo coloquio diciendola:

“O virgen Santisima Purísima Reyna de los Angeles, y mas pura que ninguna criatura[,] alcanzame por vuestra gran pureza virginal de vuestro Santisimo hijo la salvacion que yo ofrezco esta muerte (tan merecida por mis grandes pecados) juntamente con la suya que padeció por salvarnos en descuento de mis muchos y graves pecados de los cuales me arrepiento muchísimo y de haberlos hecho por ser Dios quien es y por que le quiero y amo sobre todas las cosas; sea mi intercesora purísima Madre de mi Señor Jesucristo que de esta suerte confio en su Pasion y Muerte que me ha de perdonar y dar el Cielo, &c.”

*Fué este coloquio tan devoto[,] tierno y fervoroso, que enterneció á todos los circunstantes. Y así murio el tal con intensa contriccion como todos los demas como ya queda dicho. Y nosotros con tantas maravillas y Providencia del Señor y de su Santisima Madre, logramos y gozamos la Balandra, ó Nao **San Gabriel**, y el socorro que desde Manila nos truxo en ella el **Capitan Juan Quintero** á cuyo cargo venia como piloto mayor y Cabo Superior de ella y el Padre Juan Sermeysen acompañados en todo el viage de buena salud; y casi todo el socorro que para nuestro gremio nos venia en la Nao Capitana **Santo Niño**, por que encontrandose con dicha Balandra **San Gabriel** en el embocadero de Filipinas descargó en ella todo lo que pudo traer y caber, y uno y otro llegó á salvamento gracias sean dadas al Señor y á su Santisima Madre.*

En consideracion de todo lo dicho no puedo dexar de hacer otro reparo, y es, que quien con atencion leyere todo lo referido no dexará de ver y reconocer por una parte la continua ojeriza que el enemigo

comun tiene á esta pobre Cristiandad, haciendola continuamente tan cruda guerra, que no contento con tener tiranizado, siete años ha lo mas y lo mejor de ella como son las otras Islas alzadas y por conquistar, áun no cesa de perseguir con la mayor rabia que puede las reliquias, que de ella hay en esta Ysla de S. Juan de Guan pretendiendo arrancarla de quajo y que no quede rastro de ella. Y por otra parte las Providencias tan admirables y continuas con que la inmensa verdad y misericordia de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su Santisima Madre sin cesar la faborecen; sacandola tan admirablemente de sus continuas persecuciones y peligros: Señal evidente de lo mucho que Su Magestad y la misma piadosisima Madre suya y Señora Nuestra se agradan de ella; y urgente estímulo y impulsos para nosotros los Misioneros Evangelicos de emplearnos con grandes alientos para proseguir en cultivarla á costa de nuestra misma sangre[,] sudor y vida.

Por esto y por el singular beneficio que con la Balandra nos hizo Nuestro Señor á todos, y aun á los mismos conjurados, se emprendieron otras dos Misiones[,] la una en la misma Fragata y la otra en el Real de Umatag en accion de gracias, que todos dimos al mismo Señor¹ que mostró ser muy de su agrado y aceptacion por el copioso fruto que de dichas dos Misiones se cogió por haber havido como en la primera hecha en Agaña muchas confesiones generales parte necesarias y parte voluntarias de que no poco se admiraron algunos que habian andado en Misiones por España, y decian que proporcionalmente hablando no havian visto que fuesen tantos los que se movian á hacer confesiones generales. Con las cuales y con las demas confesiones á que se resolvieron grandes y pequeños, blancos, y negros, sin quedar ninguno por confesar, sino es quien con su exemplo debiera adelantarse á todos, que tubieron, digo muy bien que hacer por todos los ocho dias que duró la Mision los mismos PP. que la hacian, y los muy Reverendos PP. de S. Francisco hospedados en Umatag, que ayudaban en la tarea de dichas confesiones y quedaban por una parte admirados de ver que se llegaban á confesar tan voluntarios los que pocos meses antes en la Nao, cuando venian de Nueva España, no habia quien los hiziese confesar aun apretados con el precepto de la Yglesia que ocurrio en dicha navegacion; y por otra parte muy consolados y edificados de la buena disposicion con que todos procuraban lograr los Santos Jubileos de estas dos Misiones. Personas hubo, que desde que comenzaron hasta que acabaron su confesion, fueron sus ojos dos fuentes de lagrimas. Fuera de lo dicho no pocos bencieron notables dificultades. Hicieronse restituciones de monta. Pidieronse unos á otros perdon y se reconciliaron entre si los que antes no se podian ver. Venian en lo secreto de la noche a tomar recias disciplinas á las puertas de Nuestra Yglesia para que Dios les abriese las de su misericordia. Eran notables las ansias con que se prevenian de rosarios, y libritos de las 4 maximas, los que antes no mostraban tener gusto en nada de esto, ni parece entendian el lenguaje de estos desengaños.

Era ya de mucha edificacion verlos tan conformes con la voluntad de Dios por verse en tierra tan desamparada[,] tan pobre y tan necesitada como esta; así dixo uno hablando con un padre de los nuestros: "Padre, dixo, al principio se me hacia tan cuesta arriba el trabajo de estar en esta tierra, que estaba medio desesperado, mas despues que oí la Mision aunque pasen carros por encima de mi no hablo palabra, antes me combido á las faenas mas trabajosas." Otro dixo: "Padre, conozco claramente que Dios quiso que me quedase en esta tierra par el bien de mi alma cuya salvacion á mi buen sentir depende de haber

1 Padre Joaquin de Assin, hace una Mision á los de la Balandra, y otra á los del Real de Umatag con el Padre Miguel de Aparicio párroco de aquel partido.

llegado aqui y por esto me estoy muy contento, y no se me da nada de no salir de aqui, ni irme á otra parte."

[Lent 1691]

Ha sido permanente el fruto de estas Misiones en la frecuencia de Sacramentos que han continuado no solo las (gentes) congregantes de la Virgen Nuestra Señora sino tambien otros que aun todavia no lo son, y en la puntualidad con que acuden todos los congregantes y no congregantes á las exortaciones y sermones que se les hacen cada ocho dias y á los sermones que se les han hecho los viernes de Cuaresma á vista de los pasos y Imagenes de la Sagrada Pasion que muy á lo vivo y con todo el aseo posible se pusieron en el altar y delante del altar mayor, no sin gran comocion y ternura de sus animos, los cuales compungidos con tan devotos espectáculos se fueron disponiendo muy de antemano todos los Soldados y Indios Marianos para la confesion Pasqual, en la cual por haberse casi todos confesado entre año unas cuantas veces hubo tan buen despacho que con gran desahogo y alivio de los Confesores todos pudieron acabar de cumplir el Jueves Santo. En el cual como tambien el Viernes Santo asistieron los de uno y otro campo, es a saber los del Real de Umatag y de Agaña á los divinos oficios de estos Sagrados dias, y al monumento mientras el Señor estaba en el, con grandisima devocion y ternura y con su acostumbrado y devoto cuerpo de guardia á las puertas de las iglesias y guardias á los monumentos de soldados armados. Y el Sabado Santo á la Gloria festejaron con Salva de artilleria y mosqueteria. Con la misma formalidad y solemnidad se celebraron las fiestas mas principales de entre año.

[Corpus Christi, 1690]

Y entre las demas se llebó la ventaja la del Corpus que siempre se trasfiere para despues de pasada la Nao que viene de Acapulco por su concurrencia y ocupaciones. Cantó la misa el M[uy] Reverendo Padre Comisario Fray Miguel Sanchez, asistido de sus Religiosos haciendo dos de ellos el Oficio de Diacono y Subdiacono, y el mismo Padre Comisario llebó la custodia en que iba el Señor Sacramentado en la Procesion que se hizo con linda orden, devocion y concierto y las calles muy bien adornadas y con veinte y dos Arcos Triunfales y quatro altares acompañando al Señor en este triunfo los Indios de la tierra todos con sus Estandartes y muy bien vestidos y con buen orden y tal devocion que la causaban á los que la miraban con suma edificacion de todos. Por que gracias al Señor se han aficionado mucho estos nuestros Marianos á las cosas de devocion, y con ella han asistido no solo en Agaña sino tambien en los otros partidos y pueblos á las fiestas que se han celebrado en ellos. Y en el de la Purisima Concepcion de Pago celebrandose la fiesta del Corpus con misa solemne[.] sermon y procesion, dieron estos naturales grandes muestras de viva fé, acompañando al Señor con tal modestia, devocion y ternura, que algunos de ellos se les saltaron las lagrimas, sin duda de alegria viendo al Señor ir en su custodia tan festejado, y venerado, habiendo sido tan ultrajado de los que le quitaron la vida por nuestros pecados, con suma admiracion y ternisimo consuelo del Padre Misionero su Ministro, y de los demas Religiosos que habian concurrido á este solemnisimo y devotisimo acto,¹ para lo cual tambien se aderezaron las calles con Arcos Triunfales de palmas y enramadas de lo mismo por donde habia de pasar la Procesion con quatro altares para las estaciones acostumbradas aplaudiendo tan triunfal fiesta con sus alegres tiros los arca-

1 Padre Matias Cuculino, Párroco de Pago hasta ultimos de Febrero de 91 en que le sucedió el Padre Diego de Zarzosa.

buceros, que para esto de su bella gracia embió el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga, con esta misma devocion se celebró tambien allí la fiesta de la Inmaculada Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, vocacion de aquel partido precediendo siempre en estas fiestas muchas confesiones y comuniones de estos naturales, lo cual hacen sin ser llamados, y esto aunque no haya Jubileo y mucho mas en sabiendo que lo hay, como suele haverlo en semejantes dias.

En el partido de Santa Rosa de Agat, cuyo Párroco es el P. Tomas Cardeñoso, sosegada la tempestuosa conjuracion de los forzados naufragantes como queda dicho, se celebró ya en accion de gracias á 24 de Setiembre la fiesta de dicha Santa Rosa titular de aquella iglesia y partido, con el festejo que tenia determinado el Gobernador como devoto y paisano de la Santa, cuya misa tambien cantó el Padre Reverendo Comisario Fray Miguel Sanchez, asistido de todos sus Religiosos, cuyas sonoras voces sirvieron de muy escogida musica en dicha solemne misa y fiesta, en la cual predicó Apostolicamente como otro Pablo el Reverendo Padre Fray Juan de S. Pablo con mucho espiritu y fervor de un abrasado serafin, y en fin como dignisimo hijo del Serafico Padre S. Francisco con grande atencion y gusto de todos los oyentes por ser el Sermon tan del caso y circunstancias presentes y de tanta doctrina y provecho para todos. Y en retorno de esta fineza y de haber celebrado tambien dichos Religiosos la fiesta de Nuestro Padre San Ygnacio estando ya cerca el dia 4 de Octubre fiesta de su serafico Padre y Patriarca S. Francisco quisimos nosotros de la Compañia celebrarla como nuestra y asistir á ella todos los que pudiesemos como lo hizimos; y hechas las prevenciones necesarias en tierra tan necesitada conforme á nuestra posibilidad y afecto celebramos dicha fiesta, y cantó la misa dicho Padre Tomas Cardeñoso, y la oficiaron como la de Santa Rosa las sonoras voces de sus seraficos hijos y predico el Padre Joaquin Assin un sermon muy del caso y de las grandezas y seraficas virtudes del Santo, todo lo cual se hizo en nuestra iglesia y Casa de Umatag por vivir allí de asiento dicha serafica familia en compañía del Gobernador que por saber muy bien nuestra gran pobreza, el mismo desde que naufragaron, tomo á su cargo el asistirlos. Como lo hizo en cuanto pudo asi en esta fiesta como en todo lo demas dandoles siempre su mesa y sustento (aunque este en esta fiesta y dia fué en nuestra Casa solicitado de nuestro afecto) como tambien de nuestra parte el Padre Miguel de Aparicio que cuida del partido de Umatag, en cuya casa se alojaron todos, y sustentaron los que pudimos, asi allí en Umatag, como en Agadña, Pago y Agat (aunque no en Fina, por los muchos mosquitos del monte) para donde los convidados y estubieron los que quisieron por todo el tiempo que gustaron en el espacio de los seis meses que aquí naufragos se detubieron hasta embarcarse para Manila en la Balandra S. Gabriel que partio de aquí á 14 de Diciembre con dichos Religiosos, y otros tres nuestros que fueron como ya diximos, llamados de la Santa Obediencia.

[The inland mission of Fina, site of the main School for Girls]

En el partido de S. Antonio de Fina, se celebró la fiesta de la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora por parte de las Niñas que allí asisten Colegialas, ayunando su vispera y confesandose aquella tarde; por la mañana dia de la fiesta parecieron en la iglesia vistosa y donosamente vestidas con sus nuevos vestidos de Ungarina, camisitas y naguas de vistosa cambaya; todo hechura de sus manos; por que todas son ya buenas costureras y asi atabiadas comulgaron con igual devocion, imitandolas y acompañandolas en esto los Niños de la doctrina y rezo, y otros muchos adultos de aquel partido.

No han hecho menos los Niños Colegiales que como de día en día van creciendo en número asi tambien se han adelantado mucho en sus acostumbrados ejercicios de leer, escribir y canto de solfa; y mas

en la devocion y frecuencia de Sacramentos el día de S. Juan Bautista vocacion de su Colegio.] celebraron su nueva ereccion, confesando y comulgando, con misa cantada y sermon: y en el Jubileo de cada mes y en las fiestas principales de año siempre confiesan y comulgan. El Juebes y Viernes Santo[s] asistieron al Monumento de rodillas, y de dos en dos revestidos con sotanillas y sobrepellizes velaban al Señor y al remudarse, que era cada media hora, adoraban al Santo Cristo, y le besaban sus sagrados pies con tal gracia y debocion que enternecian á quien los miraba; y comvidan á su imitacion á Españoles y á Yndios. Los cuales en los demas partidos donde se hizieron los Oficios de la Semana Santa dieron tan bien grandes muestras de su devocion para con el Señor Sacramentado y crucificado.

En Agadña hizo una India materia de escrúpulos de no haber venido á adorar la Cruz, y al Crucifixo en ella. De Umatag, escribe el ministro de aquel partido, y dice:

*“Yo he gustado mucho de que los Indios, ayan visto las ceremonias de la Semana Santa, y asistido con mucha devocion todos á los Oficios divinos y á la adoracion de la Cruz, y hubo Indio que es el Teniente de Capitan de Umatag llamado **Bartolomé Mamia** que es el Juebes Santo se estuvo en ayunas en la iglesia delante del monumento hasta bien entrada la noche, y oyó en pie á la Puerta de la iglesia el sermon de la Pasion que el Padre Antonino Cundari predicó en Castellano á los Soldados, y preguntado si entendia algo, respondió que pocas cosas, scilicet [=to wit] pecado mortal, Pasion de Jesucristo, y que el Padre reprehendia á los malos. Es el dicho tan buen Cristiano, que puede ser exemplar á los muy antiguos.” Hasta aqui el Doctrinero y Parroco de Umatag.*

El de Fina (Padre Geiaro Boubens, Párroco de Fina) dice lo siguiente:

“A los Oficios de la Semana Santa asistieron todos con singulares demostraciones de su debocion, desde que se encerró el Señor en el monumento hasta muy entrada la noche del Juebes Santo y lo mismo el Viernes Santo por la mañana; acudieron por sus barrios, grandes y pequeños, solteros y casados, todos por sus clases rezando en voz alta y devota como lo pedia el Santo tiempo su rosario y acto de contriccion. Y al acabar unos y entrando otros para remudar estos remudados se quedaban sentados delante de la iglesia aguardando otra vez su turno, sin bolverse nadie á su casa, para que la iglesia quedase continuamente asistida de gente bastante, que de rodillas continuase la devocion, y todo esto sin haverseles mandado tal cosa.”

En el partido de Pago se esmeraron tambien en la devocion de la Semana Santa y esplicandoles el Padre¹ que asistia los Misterios de la Pasion, y lo que la Santa Madre Iglesia representaba en los Oficios y ceremonias de los tres días Juebes, Viernes y Sabado Santo[s] dixeran es cosa muy puesta en razon que seamos devotos y agradecidos á nuestro buen Dios y Señor Jesucristo pues siendo tan gran Señor y Padre de todos padeció tanto por nosotros. Y que asistamos todos estos tres días, pues es de tanto provecho y consuelo para nuestras almas. Y asi lo hizieron asistiendo de su vella gracia todos los tres días, con tanta debocion y tan atentos en la iglesia á todo lo que se hacia y se les predicaba que no se puede desear mas aún en Cristianos muy antiguos.

Y generalmente hablando se han adelantado mucho en la devocion y frecuencia de los Santos Sacramentos de la penitencia y Eucaristia. Todos los PP. Ministros de los Partidos comunmente imforman y dicen que entre año vienen muchos movidos de su devocion sin ser llamados, á confesar y comulgar en

¹ Padre Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice Provincial tiene la Semana Santa en Pago, y hace allí los Oficios, y el Padre Diego de Zarzosa, Ministro de allí ba á Agadña á predicar la Pasion á los soldados de este Real.

*las fiestas principales, algunos cada mes, otros segun se hallan necesitados del socorro de estos Santos Sacramentos; y preguntando á estos un Padre por que se venian á confesar? respondieron que por salir de pecado, y preguntado de lo mismo un niño de 13 años llamado **Marcelo Yma**, respondió: “Padre me quiero confesar y poner bien con Dios por que no sé cuando me moriré.” Es este niño sobrino del sargento Mayor **D. Ygnacio de Ynete** y como se desease que entrase Colegial y el como muchacho se resistiese, el mismo **D. Ygnacio** le tomó de la mano, y lo llevó al Colegio y se lo emtregó al Padre Rector de los Colegios para que lo recibiese por colegial, con la cual plaza está hoy muy contento. Una muger que tambien entre año vino á confesarse, en llegando á los pies del confesor dixo:*

“A! Padre que soy digna de ser arrojada al infierno por mis grandes pecados; pero vengo á confesarlos para que Dios tenga misericordia de mi y me los perdone, ruegote[,] oyeme y absuélveme de ellos, por que me pesa de haber ofendido á Dios por ser tan bueno, y por que le amo sobre todas las cosas,” y con esta disposicion y igual dolor los fué confesando.

A este paso buscan muchas de estas tiernas plantas su remedio espiritual, y en pago de su fé para con estos Santos Sacramentos se ha servido el Señor de dar tambien el remedio corporal á algunos que necesitaban de el.

Un enfermo del Partido de Agat, en la costa infima [insinua] que estando ya con ansias de muerte, y para espirar mandó llamar al Padre para que le administrase, acudio luego el Ministro á su casa y viendole tan de peligro le confesó y oleo sin ser posible administrarle el viatico por ser á deshora y no tener Santisimo en la iglesia. Y dicho enfermo viendo que le faltaba otro Sacramento y que estaba tan de peligro, insto á los suyos; que le llevasen á la Casa de Dios, esto es a la iglesia; por que la faltaba otra cosa que no le habia administrado el Padre y fiaba en Dios, que si lo llevaban á su Casa, que es la iglesia, le habia de alibiar las ansias que padecia. Hubolo de hacer asi su gente, y aunque era á deshora, instada del enfermo, el cual entrado en la iglesia sintio luego alivio, y avisado de ello el Padre bajó á verle, y de repente se halló tan aliviado que pareciendole no ser ya necesario el viatico no se lo administró, y la mejoría se adelanto tanto que en brebe estuvo sano del todo, y hoy vive muy robusto y con buena salud.

***D. Nicolás Chuchan**, principal y fiscal del Pueblo de Sinaaña en este partido de Agaña, uno de los mas aprovechados en la fé, llevado del zelo, y cuidado que tiene de que todos los de su pueblo esten muy adelantados en las cosas de nuestra Santa Fé, como lo estan y en especial en lo tocante á saber cumplir bien con la iglesia, se fué el día 19 de Enero de este presente año á prima noche á recoger el Pueblo y haver [a ver] si rezaban en sus casas la Doctrina y tomar cuenta de lo aprendido á dos viejas rudas. Mientras andaba en esta santa diligencia se prendió por descuido fuego á su casa, y antes que pudiese volver á ella ya estaba hecha una hoguera, y queriendo sacar la ropa que tenia en ella no lo pudo hacer por un madero que se le cayó encima, y tubo harto que hacer en escapar de no ser quemado con la casa, y con cuanto tenia en ella. No dejó de sentir el daño, mas llebolo con mucha paciencia y conformidad con la voluntad de Dios, no obstante el golpe que recibió y el trabajo de la siega de su arroz que ya estaba y el cuidado de bolver á levantar casa fueron parte para que le diese un recio tabardillo, que se iba acabando, por lo cual fué un Padre á verle y confesarle. Y sabiendo el enfermo que otro Padre iba á llevarle el viatico; llevado de la suma reverencia y respeto que tiene al Señor Sacramentado, pidió que no subiese el Santisimo que el se haria traer á la iglesia para recibirle, vino el día siguiente que fué 2 de Marzo, recibió el viatico con gran fé[,] devocion y resignacion en la voluntad del Señor que recibia. Y luego comenzó á estar mejor de suerte que 3 de dicho mes, se empezó á levantar de la cama.*

[**María Assion, for whose baptism Fr. Sanvitores died 19 years before.**]

*A otros aprovecha la frecuencia de Sacramentos y sirvió de freno para no pecar en adelante, y de alientos para resistir valerosamente á las tentaciones. Una casada con un militar llamada **María Assion**, que es la niña por cuyo bautismo padeció martirio el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, fundador de esta Mision Mariana, estando sola en su casa, fué acometida y solicitada de un hombre tambien casado; pero ni con halagos ni con amenazas que le hacia se dexó vencer, ni desquiciar del proposito de no ofender á Dios; y no dexando el otro de instar respondió resueltamente mas que me hagas pedazos no alcanzará lo que pretendes. Con que temiendo el agresor ser descubierto con las voces que ella daba, se hubo de retirar vencido y confuso. Con la misma valentia resistieron dos mugeres casadas de Fina, á quien les queria hacer fuerza. Otra soltera que asiste de criada en una casa de Agadña, hechó de sí a otro á fuerza de los palos que le dió. Otra India moza del partido de Umatag, solicitada de un soldado inportunamente, ha hecho tales difigencias para librarse de dicha solicitacion que ademas de fortalecerse con la frecuencia de los Santos Sacramentos, se ha resuelto á vivir retirada de su Pueblo en una sementerá del monte, tomando el trabajo de venir desde tan lexos los Domingos á misa. **Ysabel Tirsi**, casada y vecina de Aniguag en este partido de Agadña, habia dias que era perseguida de cierto sugeto y cogiendola el tentador un dia á solas embistió con ella amenazandola de que si no le daba gusto, le cortaria los cabellos con la tixera que llevaba prevenida. No quiso ella y en efecto aunque es cosa que ellas sienten á la par de muerte el que les corten los cabellos; se los dexó cortar; por no venir en lo que el vil hombre pedia. Pagó el su vileza con prisiones y ella en premio de su constancia fue recibida en la congregacion del Santisimo nombre de Maria que es la de los naturales de este partido de Agadña, cuyos congregantes han cumplido muy bien con sus reglas y constituciones. La fiesta titular celebraron con confesion y comunión general y con su buen exemplo traxeron tras de sí otros muchos: Casi lo mismo hizieron el día de la Candelaria, en el cual despues de muy bien provados por espacio de tres ó cuatro meses, y examinados, en presencia de todos, fueron recibidos nuevos congregantes. De los cuales preguntado uno del sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga, si á el, y á sus compañeros se les asentaban bien en su corazon las cosas de la congregacion, respondió que muy bien, y añadió que aun fueran mas los congregantes sino fueran por los malos exemplos que daban algunos **guiragos**. Queriendo el Padre Juan Tilpe que cuida de esta congregacion sacar una India de una costumbre viciosa en que estaba muy metida, la preguntó, si queria ser congregante, y diciendo que si le dixo: "Norabuena, haré que lo seas pero me has de prometer que te enmendaras del todo en aquel vicio." Prometiolo ella, y asi como lo prometió lo cumplió, y mereció ser recibida.*

En el partido de Fina se erigio tambien congregacion de la Virgen Nuestra Señora, y hechos el examen de los que se habian de admitir de nadie se pudo averiguar cosa que desdixese de costumbres de muy buenos Cristianos y para mayor culto y veneracion de la Santisima Virgen Madre de Dios Reyna de los Angeles y de los hombres, se entablaron en este partido la misa del sabado de Nuestra Señora y su letania, y a una y a otra asiste el pueblo con tal devocion y frecuencia que algunos despues de haberse escusado de no poder asistir; aunque estan enseñados de no ser esto cosa que obligue, no obstante, rompiendo despues con los embarazos acuden desde lejos, por no faltar á esta debocion, á la cual acrecienta el modo con que se hace, que es de esta manera: Salen seis niños revestidos con sotanillas y sobrepellices; y hecha reverencia á la imagen de la Santisima Virgen se hincan de rodillas delante de ella y entonan sus letanias á las cuales responde el pueblo con mucha pausa y debocion. Y toda esta Jubentud de niños y niñas tomaron de memoria dichas letanias y las cantan de noche en busca de su sustento ó de los materiales que

necesitan para su labor: Armonia es esta que en los altos de aquel partido causa á los oyentes muy devotos ecos: como tambien la que estilan otros en los demas partidos, rezando el rosario á coros cuando van de camino. Y en todos los partidos no solo esto, sino que rezan tambien de noche en sus casas la Doctrina Cristiana y preguntas y respuestas del Catecismo con tanta aplicacion que una niña del rezo (esto es de los niños que vienen á rezarla y cantarla los Miercoles y Sabados á la iglesia) esta niña, digo, del rezo, ciega que por venir lexos no puede venir á la iglesia ha aprendido tambien la doctrina y todas las preguntas, &c. que la enseña en su casa á otras niñas mas pequeñas.

Tambien se les ha enseñado la devocion con los Santos Angeles custodios con ocasion de su fiesta 2 de Octubre, en el cual dia se celebró en Agat con mucha devocion. Y tambien la debocion con los Santos en especial con los del nombre de cada uno, exortandoles á que confiesen y comulguen en su dia. Y en cada partido se tiene cuidado de avisarlo los Domingos, para que si en aquella semana cayere el Santo del nombre de algunos se prevengan para la confesion y comunion de aquel dia. Y habiendolo hecho con toda devocion, vuelven el dia siguiente a oír misa en accion de gracias. Y en algunos partidos, en especial en el de Fina en donde comenzaron primero, en habiendo fiesta, aunque no sea de obligacion para ellos no dejan de acudir muchos á oír misa; y rezar el rosario por las necesidades publicas.

*Ademas de lo dicho gran fé con las cosas sagradas, bendiciones de la iglesia y con la insignia de nuestra redencion. Antonio Etaqui, Indio de bonisimas entrañas piadosisimo y muy devoto de quien atestiguan sus confesores *quot sortitus sit animam bonam* y que siempre que se viene á confesar les causa mucha compuncion, ternura y devocion de ver alma tan buena, tan candida, y tan dada á la devocion y frecuencia de Sacramentos; un dia acabado de comulgar refirió con su bondad y candidez, que viendo en su sementera de arroz tanto raton, que se lo apuraban levanto en ella una cruz ante la cual se hincó de rodillas, y pidió á Nuestro Señor que por su pasion y muerte tubiese misericordia de su arroz para que no se lo comiesen los ratones. Y su divina Magestad le consoló de suerte que cogió buen arroz y buena cantidad, respecto de lo que habia sembrado. Viendose acosados de la misma plaga los del Pueblo de Aniguag, cuyas cabezas son el fidelisimo Maestre de Campo y Teniente de Capitan general por S.M. D. Antonio de Ayihi, y el Capitan D. Pedro Ynog, que le sigue en todos los pasos de lealtad, para con ambas Magestades. Pidieron que un Padre se sirviese de ir á exorcitar, y hecharlos ratones de sus sementeras de arroz, que á medio crecer faltandole aun mucho para hechar espiga se lo iban consumiendo. Fué un Padre á lo dicho y mando levantar una Cruz, en medio de sus sementeras, y hincados todos de rodillas delante de ella dixeron en voz alta, el acto de contriccion, y tras esto se hizo el exorcismo: y mientras el Padre iba rodeando, y rociando las Sementeras con agua bendita iban ellos siguiendole y rezando á coros el rosario de Nuestra Señora, agradosse el Señor de esta su fé y debocion, y en virtud de ella, les guardó sus arrozes, que los cogieron muy buenos, y con abundancia y en el partido de Fina antes de sembrar traxeron á la iglesia la semilla, y rogaron al Padre que se la bendixese.*

En la confesion y comunion Pasqual de este año llegaron tan bien dispuestos los adultos que apenas ha habido en los partidos, á quien se hubiese de diferir la sagrada comunion: asi lo atestiguan los informes de los PP. Misioneros, que cada cual remitió el suyo diciendo uniformemente. Todos los adultos cumplieron con la iglesia con tan buena disposicion que apenas hubo á quien diferir la administracion del Sacramento de la Eucaristia al cual anhelan y piden con tantas ansias que parece aprenden vivamente no habrá en ellos vida eterna, si no le comen. Y bien se hecha de ver el concepto y aprecio que hacen de este Soberano Sacramento en el aliño y asseo, compostura, y modestia de sus personas; de tal suerte que las mugeres, cuando van á confesar, y comulgar, no se contentan con ir muy decentemente vestidas; sino

cubiertas con algun velo ó paño sus cabezas, el cual si alguna por ser pobre no lo tiene, lo pide prestado, ó la que acaba de confesar ó comulgar en yendo á su asiento alli lo empresta á la que no lo tiene. Y generalmente hablando de uno y otro sexo todos procuran andar con el decente vestido, competente á su pobreza, aun cuando estan trabajando, ó en sus sementeras. En habiendo comulgado, no luego se van de la iglesia, sino que se detienen un buen rato repitiendo actos de fé, esperanza, y caridad, dirigidos al Señor que acaban de recibir y le dan gracias por tantos beneficios y bienes como les hace, pidiendole su favor con las oraciones de la doctrina. Luego con una breve exortacion que se les hace de como han de conservar la gracia recibida, sin bolver á pecar ni hechar de sus corazones con el pecado al Señor que acaba de tomar morada en ellos, se dispiden para sus casas.

[Native population in decline]

Las criaturas bautizadas en este año son 37, y 23 las que han muerto con la gracia bautismal, y 68 adultos que murieron recibidos los Santos Sacramentos fuer de dos que murieron de repente, y otra muger que no pudo recibir mas que la extremauncion. De dichos adultos los 28 fueron soldados y de estos solos 23 ajusticiados.

*A un niño colegial llamado **Alexandro Aguas** que habiendo ido á ver á un Padre á su residencia, le sobrevino un gran dolor de cabeza, pero no tanto que le obligase á hacer cama, aplicaronle unas ojas de un arbol medicinal para dicho dolor, y por que el calor con que parecia se abrasaba, era mucho, le previno el Padre avisandole que mirase si tenia alguna cosa de que confesarse. En el interin se fué el Padre á despachar á otro Indio que le estaba esperando; y mientras se detenia con este oyó que el enfermo en voz alta decia el acto de contriccion y que repetidas veces decia: "Santa Maria, Madre de Dios, ruega por nosotros, &c." cosa que le movió á decir al Indio, oye, oye, como se dispone fulanillo para confesarse. Y habiendo despedido al tal Indio volvió á ver al enfermo, al cual hallo ya poseido de tan furioso frenesí, que no bastando cuantas diligencias se hizieron para hacerle bolver en si, al cabo de cinco horas le quitó la vida. Viendole el Padre en tan lastimoso trance, en virtud del acto de contriccion, que le habia oido decir le dió la absolucion Sacramental, y le administró la extremauncion, con la cual vino á descansar de los furiosos estirones y vueltos de corazon con que hasta entonces le atormentaba tan poderoso y violento accidente, y vino á morir descansadamente. Era este niño de muy sencillo y candido corazon, y de buena conciencia, tanto que habiendo un día oido á un coetaneo suyo una palabra menos decente vino á dar parte para que el otro fuese corregido: lo cual y el subsodicho acto de contriccion, y la invocacion de la Santisima Virgen en tan apretado trance, no dexan de ser prendas de su salvacion. En la administracion de los enfermos, que no pueden ser traídos á la iglesia, guardamos el estilo de que ya otras veces se hizo mencion, procurando que el Señor Sacramentado sea llevado con toda decencia y acompañamiento de luces, limpios, compuestos y enrramados con ojas de palma los caminos, por donde va, aderezadas, aseadas y adornadas las casas en donde entra. Por lo cual habiendo de sacramentar á **Teresa Apan** (vecina del pueblo de Asan de este partido de Agaña) la cual murió de esta enfermedad abrazada con un Santo Cristo, y con los dulcissimos nombres de Jesus Maria en la boca: y como para llevar el viatico á dicha enferma se avisase al Teniente de dicho pueblo llamado **Juan Tappirus** Indio de quien se verifica aquello de Nataniel: **Verus israelita, in quo dolus non est**, para que hiciese limpiar, componer, y enrramar el camino: respondió que el lo haria de la manera que se hizo, cuando se previno la entrada del Gobernador.*

Para honrrar y enterrar con mas decencia á los difuntos, se han prevenido paños negros con cruces, y si no es muy lexos la distancia, ba el Padre con sobrepelliz y estola, cruz, y ciriales, acompañado de los niños de la Doctrina con sus estandartes, por el difunto á su casa, y desde alli le traen á la iglesia, acompañando sus deudos, con luces en las manos, y por el camino cantando la Doctrina, ó rezan el rosario por su alma. Y siempre que hay difuntos en la Semana el Domingo siguiente se los avisa para que los encomienden á Dios y á los parientes se les exorta á que confiesen y comulguen, y ofrezcan la comunión por su difunto, lo cual hacen tambien el día de los finados, confesando y comulgando muchos por sus difuntos. Y dexando ya descansar á los muertos vamos á dar breve ralacion de las tan reclamadas conquistas de este año.

[Failed expedition of 1691 to the N. Marianas]

*Cuyos ecos sin duda habran ya retumbado por lo de Manila y Filipinas, que no faltaran curiosos, que desearan saber en que habrá parado tantas voces y tantas prevenciones como se han hecho desde que la Nao Capitana **Santo Niño** pasó de aqui á Filipinas y la almiranta **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** quedó naufraga á nuestra vista por que luego se idearon barcos que fabricar[,] cortaronse palos Marias para ellos, asearonse tablas y acarrearonse desde doce á mas leguas por mar en barcas de los Indios hasta Umatag en donde se puso el astillero: hizieronse innumerables cestos de carbon todo de palo Maria, y lo mas ó casi todo con el trabajo de nuestros Marianos; trabajaban de sol á sol en las herrerias[,] astillero, y demas partes sin parar. **Hizose una fragata con mesana, y arboles mayor y menor y una galeota con dos arboles. Otro barco que habia se alargó y hizo mas grande;** estando pues ya aprestadas estas tres embarcaciones y metido en ellas el matalotage, y señalados y escogidos 200 hombres (de los 268 que habia) para el embarque y empresa: salió esta armada á 26 de Febrero [1691] de Umatag para Agat, en donde se detubo aguardando tiempo para pasar adelante hasta 12 de Marzo en el cual día comenzando á soplar sueste, que luego pasó al sur y sudueste, zarpó y se levó de Agat dicha armada y se fué hacia la punta del este de esta Isla: llevaba embarcados 120 hombres, los cuales con los 80 que en compañía del Sargento Mayor se les habian de juntar en dicha punta, llegaban á 200 efectivos. Llego dicho día 12 de Marzo á un paraje llamado Orunao, en donde dió fondo con dos barcas de la tierra que acompañaban la armada. Salió de Agaña el sargento Mayor á saber las órdenes del Capitan general, y las que le dió fueron que de allí á dos días, esto es, á 14 saliese de Agaña y se fuese á juntar con los 120 de la armada en aquel paraje. Pero el Sargento mayor viendo el tiempo tan bueno y favorable no aguardó á tanto sino que luego el día siguiente 13 marchó con dichos 80 hombres dexando en Agaña 68 para resguardo de este Real, y llegado al paraje aplazado no halló la armada ni rastro de ella, por que aquel mismo día se fué en demanda del Leste, y tras ella las dos barcas de la tierra, y otras tres que aquel mismo día 13 salieron de Agat, y en ellas el padre Tomas Cardeñoso en seguimiento de la armada y por mas que hizo el Sargento mayor con los 80 hombres que llevaba para embarcarse no lo pudo conseguir, por no haberle dexado embarcacion ninguna ni tampoco aguardadole, segun las ordenes dadas. Y asi se hubo de quedar con los que llevaba en la playa todos rendidos y cansados por lo mucho que trabajaron en caminar y darse prisa por tierra para alcanzar la armada en Orunao y mas adelante tres buenas leguas que caminaron por si acaso por toda aquella costa los fuesen esperando pero en valde, por que ni aun con la vista la pudieron divisar ni descubrir. Lo mismo le sucedió al Padre Matias Cuculino, que estando señalado con el Padre Tomas Cardeñoso para esta empresa, y no teniendo barca grande en Agaña para embarcarse, lo hubo de hacer en una barca mediana hasta Orunao, llevando solo consigo el reca-*

do para misa y santos oleos. Pero como tambien llevo despues de ida la armada, ni pudiese seguirla con embarcacion tan pequeña y mala para el golfo, aunque llegó mas allá de Urunao, se hubo de volver á Agaña á 15 del dicho; como tambien la armada el día 16 aunque ya estaba mas allá de la Ysla de Rota, y en buen paraje, como dicen los que se hallaron presentes para coger la Isla de Tinian, por causa de un Norte que por unas 4 horas le sobrevino y asi dicha armada en dicho día 18 de Marzo se bolvió para Umatag con mas prisa de la que fué como si dixeran **veni, vidi, fugi**; por que sin mirar por las barcas que la acompañaban arribó con tanta celeridad dexandoselas atras y cerca de Rota que por poco los enemigos de aquella Isla, que les salieron á dar alcance, cogen la una, cuya gente por esto se vieron en las gargantas de la muerte; y esto fué tanto mas notable, quanto por que al llegar dicha armada á esta Isla de Guan ya el viento era mejor para proseguir que para bolber, y siempre fue mejorandose de suerte que ya cuando la armada acabó de dar fondo en Umatag con casi sur, viento famoso para la empresa inmediatamente y por tres dias continuos soplaron vendabales, vientos ya fixos para bolber si se quisiera á dicha empresa, tan serenos, frescos, y suabes que no se podia desear mejor tiempo para llegar presto y con bonanza a Saypan, y aun mas adelante. El Sargento mayor que todavia con los suyos esperaba en el paraje dicho viendo la prisa con que la armada volvió para Umatag, se hubo de retirar y volver á Agaña.

En este ademan de empresa solo el que hizo algo fué un Yndio de la tierra de los que iban en las barcas, llamado D. **Alonso Soon**, principal de Agat y Sargento mayor de dicho partido, y de los de Fina y Umatag, por que cogió á un Indio de Rota, que estaba pescando, y alli luego se lo entregó al Capitan general en su Fragata. Por relacion de este Indio hemos sabido como los Indios, que dieron la muerte al Venerable Padre Carlos Boranga, murieron ya aunque estaban entre los suyos alzados, sin poder escapar de la justicia divina, por que el uno murió de una cuchillada en la cara en pena de la que asi mismo dió en la cara al Venerable Padre, y el otro murió ahogado en la mar, en pena tambien de haber ahogado con sus sacrilegas manos y apretandole con ellas la garganta hasta ahogarle á dicho Venerable Padre en lo cual parece, que la dicha justicia divina áun entre bárbaros alzados toma venganza á su tiempo de las injurias hechas á sus siervos. Sabese tambien como todos los Indios de esta Isla de San Juan y tambien los de las demas que no fueron delincuentes, esto es matadores en el alzamiento del año de 84 tienen gran deseo de ver allá nuestras armas Católicas para que los amparen y á la sombra de ellas volverse á su tierra y á Dios y al gremio de su iglesia nueva confirmada aora nuevamente, por una barca que saliendo á pescar, se fué escapando de la Ysla de Saypan, por mas que otras tres, viendo que se enderezaba para aca la siguieron para cogerla; y ha siete dias cuando esto se escribe, llegó á esta Ysla de Guan con estas noticias **attamen hominem non habemus**. Dios nos lo embie, cual conviene para la reduccion y salvacion de tantas almas.

[One Guam-built frigate despatched to Manila in March 1691]

Luego que bolvió á Umatag la ya tantas veces nombrada flota, ó armada determinó nuestro Capitan general embiar á Manila la fragata, por inútil, dixo, para estas Yslas, y en ella 80 hombres naufragos de la Almiranta, con algunos otros de los que al parecer mal contentos habia acá en este Presidio. Y asi lo ejecutó á 21 de Marzo en el cual día, á las 10 de la mañana se hizieron á la vela camino de Filipinas.

A 17 de Abril volvió dicho Capitan general por tierra á la punta del este de esta Isla, al paraje llamado Tarrague que está en frente y á la vista de la Isla de Santa Ana de Rota con orden de que le siguiesen como lo siguieron, seis barcas de la tierra por mar con voz de embiar en ellas gente para allanar aquella

*Isla para que sirviese de escala y puerto para los dos barcos dichos arriba, cuando se hubiese de ir á dicha conquista y reducion de la Isla de Saypan, con todas las demas para que reducida Saypan lo estan todas las del Norte como consta de su reducion año de 84. Pero voz ha sido esta como lo que dixo el otro de la del ruiseñor: **vox est præterea que nihil**. A todo lo cual puede responder esta Mision Mariana con la parábola de Nuestro Señor que dice: **Patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi**. Y así solo de esta gran virtud asidos imitando al exemplar de pacientes, tanto nosotros como todos estos pobres Indios, de nuestro espiritual cargo tan escesivamente trabajados **ad ferendum tantum anima, imo animarum sterilitatem** que con esto esperamos obligar y obligaremos á su divina Magestad para que cuanto antes y antes de lo que pensamos se logren nuestros deseos, ó **estenam itasit** [sic] sin mirar nuestros meritos.*

San Ygnacio de Agaña, Isla de S. Juan de Guan en las Marianas á 21 de Mayo de 1691.

Lorenzo Bustillo.

[Doc. 1691D2]

Translation.

Narrative of the condition and progress of the Mission and Christian community of the Mariana Islands from May 1690 until May 1691.

Once the last report from these Mariana Islands had been completed on 23 May 1690,¹ there remained in them for their administration, and of their five districts with their churches and residences, Colleges for boys and girls and for the excursions that always come up, **15 priests, 4 coadjutor brothers and one oblate brother:**

- Father Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice Provincial
- Father García Salgado, Rector of the Colleges for boys and girls
- Father Gerardo Bouvens
- Father Basilio le Roulx
- Father Matias Cuculino
- Father Diego de Zarzosa
- Father Tomás Cardeñoso
- Father Juan Tilpe
- Father Francisco Palavicino
- Father Antonio Cundari
- Father Miguel de Aparicio
- Father Francisco [rather Joaquín] Assín
- Father Felipe Muscati
- Father José Hernandez
- Father Juan Sirmeysen [i.e. Schirmeisen]²
- Brother Juan Haler [i.e. Haller]
- Brother Miguel Escolano
- Brother Alonso Marín
- Brother Miguel Suazo
- Brother Melchor [de] Santa Cruz, Oblate.

Out of this number of workers Fathers Joaquín Assín, José Hernandez, and García Salgado, and Brother Alonso Marín have been called to Manila by holy obedience.³ And a few days later, or, as I have said, many months ago after said report had already left aboard the flagship galleon **Santo Niño**, 4 days after it had left the Marianas for the Philippines, Brother Juan Haler, was called to Heaven, as we piously expect. He was originally from Bohemia, in which province he had joined the Society on 9 October 1680 at the age of 16; and in 1687 he was sent to the Indies, and arrived at the Marianas in 1688, where on account of his great charity and the post of Pharmacist that he

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1690G.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Schirmeisen was absent from Guam from December 1689 until August 1690, while he served as chaplain of the San Gabriel.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Hernandez left in June 1690 with the galleon, the other two in December 1690 with the sloop.

held, he exercised that of nurse and physician with such a fervor of spirit and assistance to everyone at all hours that, for taking care with rare vigilance of the health and relief of as many sick people as there were, he neglected his own health, the result being that the unthinkable happened; he accelerated his own death which took place on 8 June of said year 1690, at 4:30 in the morning. In the opinion of everyone, his death was very precious in the respect for the Lord, and worthy of being saintly envied, as will be seen in detail in his Letter of edification that is enclosed with this report, and addressed to Father José Sanchez, Provincial of the Philippines and Marianas.¹

The effects of the great charity of said Brother Juan Haler, and the knowledge he had in his job was soon missed quite fully, specially on 2 August of the same year 1690 when one of the missionary priests was suddenly hit by a burning fever which within a few days brought him to the point of dying,² and he had already received the last sacraments when the sick man felt the strong impulses of a great trust in asking for and getting his health back from our glorious Father and Patriarch, St. Ignatius, by offering to celebrate an Octave in memory of that wonderful rapture that the Saint experienced in Manresa, which began on Saturday at the hour of the compline, and ended on the following Saturday at the same hour. And at the same time said sick man offered a novena of masses to the same Saint. And then when he reported these impulses to the Superior, he in turn divided the masses among the Fathers and as many rosaries among the Brothers. While they were taking place, the sick man was getting better, until he recovered his full health. Thanks to these favors from the Lord and from the saintly Patriarch, he is now fine, and even healthier and without any trace of those previous ailments that he suffered from during this illness. And all the priests who enjoy health owe the same thanks to the One who gives it. We are all here and employed in raising the standard of the Faith, if only in this Island of San Juan of Guan, since, due to the high and unscrutable judgments of the Almighty, until now it has not been possible to take it to, or replant it in the other Northern Islands, that have yet to be reduced once more, or in the Islands to the south, that remain to be discovered.

[The shipwreck of the Pilar]

Going back to the month of June 1690, which we have already mentioned in connection with the saintly death of Br. Juan Haler, that is, on 2nd of said month and year the already-mentioned flagship galleon **Santo Niño** and the Almiranta galleon **Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza** arrived at this Island. And the weather being calm and favorable, in the afternoon they both were in sight of the port of San Antonio of Umatac, but the Almiranta was leading and was proceeding quite close to the islet they call Cocos but not keeping a close watch, because at 8 p.m., its bow hit an underwater

- 1 Ed. note: A copy is not found in AGI. Fr. Sanchez probably sent it to the Provincial of Bohemia, and his secretary, Fr. Medel, did not make a copy.
- 2 Father Matias Cuculino becomes seriously sick, and Father Juan Tilpe is sent to take his place and take care of the district of the Immaculate Conception in Pago. Ed. comment: Fr. Cuculino survived until 1696.

reef that extends from said islet as far as the port of St. Dimas of Merizo. Said Almiranta made a signal to the flagship with her guns, and the latter veered off towards the high sea. This happened at the time that our boats were nearing said Almiranta, along with a few local canoes. So, when all these boats came up to said Almiranta, all efforts were made to lighten the vessel and make it float. This was done, and she was refloated; therefore, she again made a signal to the flagship with her guns, to make her understand that she was free of danger, but an undertow prevailed and the ship could not steer for lack of wind. She lied there almost in a calm because she was so close to shore. So, she was little by little driven once more upon said reef by the said undertow and the tide which was rising fast towards the shore.

Therefore, when said Almiranta was already completely unable to put herself in safety, she again gave a signal with her guns, to mean that she had run aground, completely and irremediably. Therefore, the flagship proceeded towards the high sea, moving further away from the shore, in spite of the fact that she had been in a good neighborhood, and with a beautiful wind to enable her to make port, when the Almiranta ran aground, but, since it was nighttime, upon hearing the signals that were made to her about the misfortune, she took the said course, until daybreak, when she immediately sent her launch to the Almiranta to succor her as much as it could. With this launch and the launch of the Almiranta and the two boats and local canoes, all efforts and speed were made by everyone concerned to run in to save the people first and take them safely ashore. Thank God, this was done and indeed all were saved and not one living soul was lost. All in all they would have been 200 persons, and a mission band of Religious of St. Francis in charge of the Right Reverend Father fray Miguel Sanchez, Commissioner and Superior of them all. At daybreak they were taken to Umatac, where up to six of us Missionaries of the Society had gathered for the arrival of the galleons to receive the succor, etc. We were there with the Governor who lives permanently at Umatac. The first people rescued from the shipwreck arrived there unexpectedly and we made said Religious of St. Francis welcome. We had not known that said Almiranta carried Religious until they showed up that morning in Umatac with the other shipwrecked people, who kept on arriving all day long until the evening. When such a sudden news of the coming of said Religious reached us, we eagerly went out to welcome them with open arms, and we embraced them with the customary religious charity, bidding them welcome in the manner suggested by such a sudden incident, troubled time, and sorrow about the misfortune that had happened to them and we offered our sympathy to them for their great calamity and shipwreck, etc.

Once all the people of said shipwreck had been saved, an effort was made to save all that was left of the goods, valuables and personal effects of all the shipwrecked people; all day long the said two launches, our two boats and local canoes never ceased to go back and forth between the shore and the Almiranta, in order to salvage all they could. The flagship galleon, as soon as daylight came, tried to make the port, by aiming the bow towards it as much as possible, but in vain, in spite of the many maneuvers that she did during the whole of that day, because she was far out at daybreak, and that is

why the wind that had been favorable to come in the day before, was now contrary. She gained little ground, although the new Governor who was on the way to govern the Philippines, Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, wished to do so, and also her General, Don Juan de Garaycochea.

The Admiral of the lost galleon¹ and other men of importance, once they had taken out and salvaged whatever they could of their goods, loaded same aboard the two launches and, along with the officers of the Almiranta galleon went to the flagship in order to pursue their voyage to Manila, which they did. As for us, from said flagship galleon, where the subsidy of the Marianas was located, we were not able to get more succor than what the few local canoes could transport, which was the wine and flour for the Holy Sacrifice and a few other food supplies that we needed the most, and we also gave and received our mail, but all the rest of the succor bypassed us. The Reverend Father Commissioner of the Franciscan Religious (accompanied by another Religious of his who had acted as Chaplain of the Almiranta) who had also gone to the flagship to negotiate his passage and that of all his religious, having obtained it, returned ashore when it was already nighttime, but the next morning, 5 June, when he wished to leave, the flagship had disappeared, because she had departed that night and with her went the only Franciscan religious who had gone there with said Father Commissioner to negotiate said passage. All the other shipwrecked people remained behind, and there would have been close to 200 persons, plus the **19 Religious of St. Francis**.

Father José Hernandez had also boarded the flagship galleon to go to Manila, and to take his place Father Antonio Cundari, a Sicilian subject of great qualities who had come in said flagship remained. And in spite of the fact that the succor had bypassed us, God did not fail to bless us with opportunities to exercise our charity with so many guests, stranded here by the shipwreck. Our Governor too collaborated, as the good steward and provider that he is in hunting for enough pigs to feed so many mouths, and other food that he still had to sustain his troops, and he made use of the new men to set up plantations of corn, potatoes, etc. to make sure that the food would not run out at some point. He took upon himself the responsibility of feeding so many people as best he could and we Missionaries too did our part by also contributing as much food, and as many clothes, sleeping tents, mats, and other things, to such an extent that we could not have done more to help.

[20 shipwrecked Franciscans]

All of this and our great poverty and discomforts were also shared with the grateful and saintly Religious of St. Francis the whole time they were here, a total of 6 months.² The names of these discalced Religious of St. Francis who were passing by on their way

1 Ed. note: His name is not given here, but he was probably the Sergeant-Major Juan de Gardaga mentioned by Fr. Zarzosa (Doc. 1691C). The legal case file of the resulting inquiry is sure to state his name quite specifically.

2 Ed. note: Six months and 12 days, to be exact, from 2 June to 14 December 1690.

to the Philippines, but were forced to remain here on account of the loss of their gal-
 leon on 2 June 1690 are as follows:

—Father fray Miguel Sanchez, Commissioner and Superior of them all.

—Father fray Lucas Tomás, Chaplain of the lost *Almiranta*; although he stepped
 ashore, he did not stay in the Marianas, but went off aboard the flagship to Manila.

—Father fray Antonio de la Concepción y de Urrea.¹

—Father fray Pedro de Viruega.

—Father fray Antonio de Madrid.

—Father fray Gabriel de San Antonio.

—Father fray Juan de San Pablo.

—Father fray Antonio Blasco.

—Father fray Manuel de Roa.

—Father fray Antonio de Tebar.

—Father fray José de Toro.

—Father fray Juan de San José.

—Father fray Gregorio Ibañez.

—Father fray Martín de Oto.

—Father fray Bernardo de la Anunciación.

—Brother fray Miguel Fernandez, chorister.

—Brother fray Francisco Monleón, chorister.

—Brother fray Agustín Muñoz, lay brother.

—Brothers Gerónimo, and Pedro, Filipino oblates.²

[200 shipwrecked civilians]

However, many of the shipwrecked civilians did not respond in the same manner,
 particularly the [40] convicts, although they were assisted with everything that was men-
 tioned, and with as much as we could. Being people so fond of idleness and enemy of
 work, as soon as they discerned what it would be like to live ashore, with so many of
 their own kind, as this land of the Marianas is, specially when some rumors were started,
 either out of malice or out of imprudence, to the effect that the Governor had decided
 to use them for the conquest of the rebel Islands, and would leave them there as a Gar-
 rison, with no hope of ever leaving these Islands, they began therefore to despair, and
 come up with daring, or desperate judgments, full of extreme evil, as the men with set
 ways and stone hearts that they were. The missionaries were afraid of such outlaws,
 who could not do anything else but stay here, as they had been shipwrecked. This, in
 spite of the fact that H.M., similarly aware of such people, has already issued Royal de-

1 Ed. note: This friar later wrote a letter of thanks to Fr. Bouwens (see Doc. 1695A).

2 Ed. note: Since these two Filipino volunteers, or helpers, were returning home, they must have
 been undergoing some training in Mexico.

crees not to admit any convict in the Marianas, to prevent whatever bad intention that such convicts might have in this type of Islands.

And to comply, I say, with the paternal order from our most Reverend Father General Tirso Gonzalez, which orders us to negotiate specifically with God for the pacification of the Kingdom of England, a mission was announced in this City of Agadña,¹ which took place with such fervor and spirit that it was sufficient to melt the most hardened of hearts by sheer force of Catholic disabusings that were preached in it. So, with the exception of two or three of these convicts, and among them one who horribly blasphemed against the virginal purity of the ever Virgin Mary our Lady, blasphemies so horrible that I cannot mention them so as not to sully the chaste hearing of those who might read this. This man prided himself in being a Spaniard, and in truth he did look like one, but if only he could have been a good one! With the exception of these men, I repeat, there was no-one who was not touched by the mercy of God and made to truly gain the jubilee of this Mission, by coming to good terms with God by means of a good confession. Many general confessions of entire lives took place, some because they had hidden sins out of shame, and some of these for many years and others in all the confessions of their life, and still others because they recognized in their consciences that they had confessed without sincerity or intention to improve. Many restitutions of honor and property took place. Many enemies became reconciled and above all, melting with grief and repentance for their sins, they broke down and cried with abundant tears, and sincere sobs. And to confirm the fruit in question, I will mention only two cases, omitting the rest, to avoid prolixity.

One who had lived a bad life and had been for a long time in disfavor with God, had decided not to confess or abandon his sins, but upon hearing the Preacher ask the people to say one Hail Mary for one soul whom the Devil had persuaded not to gain the jubilee of this mission, he became convinced that God had put those words in the mouth of the Father in order to gain and win over his soul; he then decided to make a really good confession, and change his way of life.

Another, out of despair for having remained shipwrecked in these Islands where he was so far from a bad friendship that he had maintained with a woman over many years, with burning desires to see her again, had many times and truly made a pact with the Devil, and called him to be able to return to his country, from which he had been thrown out and exiled, and he was determined, if the Devil listened to him and appeared to him, to deliver his soul with a letter signed with his hand, and if the [common] enemy was not satisfied with this, he was thinking of offering him three more souls, obliging himself to kill three persons whom he would presume were with mortal sin. Terrified by a talk on the eternity of the punishments of Hell, he came to church to confess, but it was one of those times that the confessors were not available; hence he came out with-

1 Father Joaquín Assín announces and carries out a Mission in Agadña that lasted 8 days and ended on 29 June 1690, the feast-day of the most Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, with incredible fruit.

out confessing, and more than ever decided to call on the Devil. On the eve of the Jubilee, he returned at an odd time to seek a confessor, at the time when there was none inside the church, moved as he was by some kinds of very lively visions that haunted his memory of the terrible condition of the eternal punishments heard from the Preacher; therefore, he reconciled himself with God with great signs of repentance.

[The plot to kill the soldiers, etc. and escape with the Mariana sloop]

With such efficient means and such a fruitful mission, it seemed to us that if there were in such men some diabolical idea of attempting something pernicious, such bad visions would by now have been erased from their imagination. Still, in the sermons of every Sunday that followed during the year it was planned to continue refreshing their memories with everything preached during the mission, to preserve them in the grace they had received and to attract to it those who, as I have said, had not taken advantage of so much disabusing to gain the jubilee of the mission, with the intention of making them gain at least one of the jubilees announced every month. However, nothing works with minds so accustomed to evil, forever mulling over pernicious and abominable crimes. From one conversation to the next, they were always complaining about the country and the excessive work they were asked to do in their view, plus the fact that they were lost in the midst of seas, without a vast field to search for a way to satisfy their licentious way of life, which had been the reason for them being exiled from their countries in the first place. They began to plot the greatest evil, and the greatest misdeed that could possibly happen to these Islands, and that was, **to try and escape from here with the sloop, that was expected to arrive in August**, which correspond to the season of the monsoon wind, that then blows favorably. So, they made a pact among themselves to flee with said sloop and with the whole succor that it carried, as soon as it would enter the port and let go the anchor. But first they were to make themselves masters of all the weapons, ammunitions and equipment of this Royal garrison at a convenient time, and then to imprison and **kill the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and as many as they could get their hands on**, even though they be all the Religious, with the exception of only one priest to take along with them and to be used by them as a confessor, or else "to Rome with it!" as the ring-leader said, whom they had chosen to lead the main leaders of the conspiracy, about the manner of carrying out the coup. Afterwards, they were to sack and rob all the sacred and profane valuables found in the churches, houses, and whatever else they could find in this Island, though it belong to the Indians, and kill them if they resisted, breaking or burning all their canoes, and even, according to what was heard, killing all those who knew how to speak the Spanish language to make sure that when the galleon came from Acapulco, there would be no-one who could report on the tragedy.

Such a formidable resolution needed the proper timing and an opportunity for all the conspirators, and their potential victims, to come together, because both groups were divided, some in Agaña and others in Umatac. This opportunity simply offered itself to them, so to speak, and it was much to their liking; on the occasion of the feast-

day of St. Rose, the Governor had decided to celebrate it on that day, 30 August, at the residence of Agat, since the Saint was titular patron saint of that church and district, with a solemn mass and sermon He invited the whole camp to a banquet, a comedy act, etc. such that all the soldiers residing in Agaña as well as in Umatac had to attend.¹

Thus all the conspirators (who, they say, were numbering about 80) placed their bet on this gathering and hoped to succeed with their evil intention, thus transforming the Comedy into a bloody Tragedy. Therefore, as of that day they would become the absolute Masters and lords over everything.

However, "O! Almighty providence of our good God and Lord! How dear we must be to You in your Mariana Islands, since You watched over them like a solicitous and very loving Father on this occasion with so many providences that it seems that they became so many miracles! Neither did Your wish that on this occasion of the feast of St. Rose Your divine heart be profaned by the barbarous execution of such an execrable evilness! Please Lord, come to my assistance, and disregard my sins, the better for me to be able to describe things as they happened; indeed, I write this for your greater glory and to extol the special and paternal providences that You used on this occasion, and that You usually show towards Your chosen ones!"

[The sloop appears offshore, then disappears for 3 weeks]

Take the case of said sloop. It appeared on 20 August, 10 days before the feast of St. Rose. In fact, it had sighted this Island on the 19th in the afternoon and, upon arriving on said day, the 20th, before Umatac, the monsoon wind that blew astern became so stiff that the Pilot thought it better not to attempt an entrance with so much wind and a heavy sea, although he could very well have done so, but God our Lord decided otherwise, although His involvement was then unknown to us and His paternal providence did not want us to enjoy it then, with so much harm that was threatening us. He arranged for said frigate, or sloop, **San Gabriel**, to be carried off by the strong monsoon wind that appeared suddenly and in sight of the port, eastward in the direction of Acapulco to the neighborhood where the galleons coming from [New] Spain first sight this Island. And the monsoon wind continued so strong that at the end of two days and within our sight the frigate, that had been struggling to be able to make port, finally gave up and let itself run before the wind, or better said, was forced to go where God wanted. For this reason, with the feast of St. Rose approaching, the feast was postponed, and we hoped that the galleon or sloop would make it into port before that. For this purpose, as soon as the vessel bypassed the port and the monsoon wind became so strong that it was disappearing from our sight (as in fact it did for three weeks), all the civilians and religious, Jesuits as well as Franciscans, flocked to the exposed Sacramental Lord with pleas, masses, and prayers, that were ordered to take place in all the churches, so that He would please abate the monsoon wind, and give the frigate a tradewind which was the only thing it needed to return and make port, but it seemed as if God

1 Ed. note: Being from Lima, Peru, Governor Esplana was devoted to St. Rose of Lima.

was telling us: *Nescitis quid petatis*. "You don't know what you are asking." because the more we importuned His divine Majesty the stronger the monsoon winds became, and the ship was getting farther from the Marianas.

And given that so many were unaware of what was happening, because the monsoon winds continued in their tenacity, and the feast of St. Rose was postponed until it could anchor, the plotters were already impatient with so much delay, at seeing that they could not get this evilness over with; so, they once again held a meeting to discuss what they should do. Some of them were pushing for it to be carried out as soon as possible, while some other suggested that it would be better to present a Memorial to the Fathers, in order for them to obtain permission to leave this country. Still others, the majority, answered that they should forget about intercessions of Padres, that it was better to carry out their attempt as soon as possible, and end it all once and for all. This was the final decision, but in order for the plan not to have the slightest chance of being revealed, they also took care to make a pact among themselves that no-one should go to confession while this was going on. However, in spite of this diabolical cause, one of them in whom the disabusings of the Mission were still fresh and in whom the planned sacking of the churches caused a great horror, went to confession on Friday 8 September, the feast of the glorious Nativity of the B.V.M. and, to lighten his conscience and to reconcile himself fully with God, outside of confession he gave a timely and detailed notice of everything that he knew concerning this conspiracy.

The conspirators became leery of him and his confession; they accused him and told him that he had gone to confession against their agreement, but he answered them with quite a discreet manner (or better said, enlightened by the Holy Ghost to scandalize them), telling them that he had confessed his own sins and not those of other people. Therefore, they let him go. On that same day, 8 September, at 10 in the morning, another one of the conspirators came to a Father and told him that a great conspiracy was being schemed to take over these Islands. The Father requested him to give the details of the men involved in it but he refused, saying only that all were involved, and he never wished to talk in other than general terms. These generalities and the manner he used in delivering them were such that it seems more like a trick or a desire to pass the time and it was not possible to determine if he was telling the truth, as the denunciator was thought of to be a great trickster, cheater, and reckless fool, or else he came only to find out if the other man who had confessed had revealed something. However, as the news received from this first man was sufficient to launch a more thorough investigation, **the Sergeant-Major who resides in Agadña was advised of everything in complete secrecy** and he in turn immediately sent the whole denunciation to the Governor in Aumatas [i.e. Umatac]. The next day, Saturday 9 September, at 10 in the morning, he [i.e. the Governor] came to our house [there], not knowing of the first and true denunciation made the previous day; he was given the details of it all, and then he also reported same to the Sergeant-Major.

Meanwhile, it seems as if the guilty were still leery about having been discovered or not, because on that same Saturday, before noon, the two leaders of the conspiracy came in (one of whom was to be the Governor and the other the Sergeant-Major of their uprising). These two men, I say, came to see the Reverend Father [Vice-] Provincial¹ and presented to him the above-noted Memorial. His Reverence received them with great courtesy and affection, sympathizing with their shipwreck, etc. although they appeared to behave very haughtily, and looked around as men who would soon become Masters of everything that was in our poor house, because they were imagining, as we learned later on, that there had to be some wealth hidden in it, but if God had allowed the mutiny to succeed, they would have been disappointed at our great poverty. The Father Vice-Provincial gave them good hopes and said goodbye to them with kindness, telling them to pray God to obtain a favorable wind to make the sloop re-appear once more, and make it come into port, that everything would then become possible and that he would arrange what they were asking, etc.

In the afternoon of the same day, Saturday 9 September, there came another, one of those, as was said already, heads of the conspiracy who would lead the others and guide them in the coup and attack, but who had been designated the Lieutenant in the conspiracy, such that all the military officers had already been selected and distributed among themselves. This man, with his cautious manner of insinuating things, when speaking and answering, made it clear that his coming was more than suspicious and that his intention was not to give but get news, to find out if we already knew about their affairs, so that this astute and cautious man placed us in a very great worry and gave us strong reasons to suspect that they would execute their evil plan that night. While we were busy discussing this, giving gifts here and there, but not knowing whom we could trust, God willed that there should arrive by messenger from Umatac **the answer from the Governor accompanied by 14 pairs of shackles and with an order to seize and imprison all the suspects.** This was done right away and on that same day, Saturday (the eve of the feast of the Most Holy and Sweet Name of Mary our Lady, the patron saint of all these her Islands) at 8 in the evening and with such good management that **out of the 20 or so guilty men, not even one escaped.** By then they had all retired already to their tents, except the standard-bearer or the above-mentioned Lieutenant or Guide and Leader of the coup who, when said message and shackles sent by the Governor arrived, was making his rounds in the middle of the Camp and looking here and there with particular care; he was seized first and placed in irons. The reason why all the others had retired so early, they say, was because they had planned to get up early and carry out the coup during the morning watch. However, the most benign Dawn of the Sun of Justice, the B.V.M. who, as particular patron and protectress of these her Mariana Islands, Mission and Christian community, had so many times and in so many manners strongly continued to reveal herself as their best and truest Mother who has, for such a long time and in so many whirlwinds and

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo is here referring to himself in the third person.

calamities, given peace and safety to these her little Mariano sons, by permitting or arranging now on this occasion that at the first quarter of the night (called first watch by the soldiers) there fell in the trap those who had so inhumanely set it up for so many innocent people, our Merciful Mother, out of pity, not permitting them to disturb and bloody so abominably this the main feast of her Most Holy Name in these her Mariana Islands.

In Umatac also the Governor ordered the accomplices of the conspiracy to be seized and, leaving them very secure, he left hurriedly for Agaña on said day of the Most Holy Name of Mary, Sunday 10 September, and arrived that same day at 10 p.m. Right there and then he held proceedings against them in the style of a court martial, but it was not necessary to convince them much to make them confess the truth, because their evil plan was so notorious, and they themselves, when they saw themselves prisoners, began to throw the blame on one another, and to sing plainly. That is why **in the judgment of first instance, 11 of them were sentenced to be shot by firing squad** and they were brought into the chapel, to prepare them to die a good death.¹ They too prepared so well that nothing more could have been desired. So, after midnight they were given the viaticum and **in the morning at 9 o'clock on 11 September they were taken to the beach, and there lined up, one each to a coconut tree trunk, and shot with arquebuses. After these 11 had been executed, they placed 9 others** in the chapel, and they too, after they had been administered the Holy Sacraments of penance and eucharist, **were given the same punishment at 7 in the morning of 12 September at 9 other coconut tree trunks.** Therefore, this beach of Agaña was left crowned with these 20 bodies, all lined up, as an eternal warning against such a horrible evilness as they had wished to carry out. All of them recognized it as such, and received the sentence of death with very great acceptance of the will of God, and as a well-deserved payment for their great faults and sins, which left them in tears, accompanied by incredible moans and groans that would please Heaven. They repented and felt remorse with very intense acts of contrition, and love for God, whose most pure and saintly Mother they remembered in the midst of all this with very tender affection. They recognized that the Mother of mercy had used it with them, and brought them to their present state so that they would be saved and would obtain the grace gained by the blood that her Most Holy Son shed on the Cross, without permitting the day of the most holy name of this great Queen of the Heavens to be sullied with the innocent blood that they had wanted to spill so unjustly, because otherwise "we will surely condemn ourselves," they were saying, from the bottom of their heart. While they were amid these colloquies inside the chapel, and a very worshipful statue of the Conception of Our Lady was brought in, the commotion that resulted is indescribable; all of them began to call her with so many moans and tears that they moved all those present; they gave

1 The following missionaries then present in Agaña assisted, and helped them to die a good death: Fathers Joaquín Assín, García Salgado, Antonino Cundari, Francisco Palavicino, Basilio le Roulx, Juan Tilpe, and Juan Sermeysen. Ed. comment: Fr. Schermeysen had just returned with the sloop (see below).

repeated thanks for having brought them such a lucky death to assure their salvation, and then, returning to the crucifix that each one of them held in their hands, they went back to repeating intense Acts of contrition, faith, hope, and charity. And, so well prepared, each one keeping his zealous and contrite eyes fixed on the crucifix that he carried, and paying attention to what each Missionary was telling him, they went out and walked to the place of execution, wishing one another goodbyes and good luck for such a lucky day and death. Upon arriving at their last place, one of them who was to have been the Sergeant of their bad Company and conspiracy, with zeal, broke into a loud voice, calling for silence, and said:

“Gentlemen, be ye my witnesses that God our Lord and His Most Holy Mother, through their great kindness have brought us to our final moment, though a lucky one for us, a well-deserved life, and a milder one that we wanted to give to so many innocent people, out of horrible misdeed, and against both Majesties. And so, know ye all that the conspiracy was a fact and that it would have taken place, had not God and His Most Holy Mother arranged it the way you now see. I, as the bad man that I am, had volunteered to kill the Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, here present, and I am very sorry in my soul and beg His Majesty for pardon with all my heart. There is only one thing I would like to boast about, and it is that I was always against the sacrilege that was planned against the blessed Fathers and Religious, and the churches of God, because I objected to that and told my companions that if we did this, God would punish us and would refuse to let us reach safety where we wanted to go, etc.”

Unquote. The sentenced criminal who said these words was occupying the fifth place on the first day, said 11 September; he was a man of much ability and he died with unspeakable disillusion and fervor. No doubt this fruit, such as has just been described, was derived by all of these sentenced criminals from the previous Mission, and they were now reminded of its disabusions by the same Preacher, with so much more liveliness and fervor, not only on the part of the Preacher, but also of the sentenced participants, each one of whom the would-be reader can imagine as being at death's door, and they saw it already quite near and certain, as to time and place. Now then, even if said Mission did not result in their total and true conversion, at least it served them as a great preparation for their approaching, though unknown then, execution, and death; as it is, they still had the disabusions that they heard then fresh in their memories, and now that they were renewed, they recognized them as the truths that they were and served them for the indescribable fervor with which they prepared themselves to die, with an intense contrition and shedding of tears that we all saw and admired in them, so that we are left with very certain signs of their salvation.

Once these executions were over in Agadña, immediately after the last of the 20 men had been shot dead, **the Governor went back to Umatac with the same haste that he had come, and there he sentenced three more to die and they also died by**

firing squad on 13 September with the same preparation, contrition and fervor as those of Agadña. The others were pardoned, either because they were not so guilty, or for appropriate reasons.¹

Such a stiff blow from Divine and human Justice as this one was could not but serve as a great warning to the soldiers and, in order that it be even greater, Father Joaquín Assín made a powerful speech that concluded the executions, in which he explained: firstly, the erroneous judgment that these bewildered delinquents had when they decided to carry out such an execrable infamy; and, pointing at the bodies still tied to the tree trunks, how they would already be disillusioned by the just judgment of God, and gave everyone that warning about vices already mentioned in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, Chapter 38 [verse 23] that says: *Memor est(?) Judicij mei sic erit et tuum.*² And they should try and squeeze out like curds the vices that are the roots where such bold designs are born; secondly, the paternal providence of God, and the maternal protection of His Holiest Mother, with which she has always looked and continues to look after this Mission and Christian community as her own, by giving such clear and palpable demonstrations as the following Case: 1° this diabolic plot was discovered on the feast day of the glorious Nativity of the B.V.M.; 2° on the next day, the eve of her Most Holy Name, the appellation of these Mariana Islands, the accomplices were made prisoners; 3° on the very day of her Sweetest Name of Mary they were sentenced; 4° before half of her Octave was over all the trouble-makers had been executed, and we remain completely free and safe from the Danger. And there is no clearer and undeniable providence of God than His having detained the sloop **San Gabriel** outside the port the whole time that it was at risk, but that **at the instant that the executions of those who had plotted to abscond with it were over, it came in very quickly into port**, because as of the 11 September when the first 11 were executed the weather began to change and the monsoon wind abated, and the tradewind began. Therefore, the vessel, that was then many leagues beyond the other, eastern, side of the Island, returned to it with such speed and a tradewind so strong that on the 13th, at 9 in the morning, the fog parted and the people on board saw themselves close to the Island, at the surprise of everyone on board; in fact, it had not been possible for them during the preceding days to sight the sun or measure the latitude, as they had lost sight of the land for so many days and on account of the great cloudy and foggy weather. So, turning the bow westward, it arrived in sight of Umatac at the same time that the last of the three was executed there with the last volley. Then it rounded the islet of Cocos so fast and easily that there was no time for those who had attended the execution (that took place on top of a hill above said Umatac) to return to the Royal fort of Umatac when said sloop or vessel was already at anchor in the mouth of the Port of Merizo, where the next day with lookouts it came in as if it were home, since it is sheltered from all winds.

1 Father Miguel de Aparicio, with other Fathers of St. Francis, assisted and helped the three men who were sentenced to die in Umatag.

2 Ed. note: One translation reads: "Remember, he tells thee, this doom of mine; such shall thine be."

But before describing our joy that accompanied the arrival of the sloop in port, I have an opportunity here to say something about the last man who was executed in Umatac. He was the same man who had blasphemed against the virginal purity of Our Lady. He had been punished then with imprisonment for a few days, and then he was gagged to put him to shame, and upon his release from prison, but still held in shackles, he was punished with a small cane(?) until it broke on his body. And finally, as he had been one of the main conspirators, he was condemned to death. On the way to his place of execution in Umatac, he went down on his knees and made the most tender and zealous colloquy to the most pure Mother of God, telling her:

“O! Virgin, most pure Queen of the Angels, and purer than any creature, on account of your great virginal purity, obtain my salvation from your Most Holy Son, as I now offer you my death (so deserved on account of my great sins) as well as His death which He suffered to save us, to discount my numerous and serious sins. I am very sorry to have committed them, because God is the one I love and desire above all things. Intercede for me, most pure Mother of my Lord Jesus Christ, because I trust by His Passion and Death that He has to forgive me and give me Heaven, etc.”

This colloquy was so devout, tender and zealous that it moved all those present. Thus died this man with intense contrition as all the others did, as was said. And we, with so many marvels and providence from the Lord and from His most holy Mother, we obtained and enjoyed the sloop, or ship **San Gabriel**, and the succor that was brought to us from Manila by **Captain Juan Quintero** under whose command it was as chief pilot and senior officer of it, and Father Juan Sermeysen¹ [sic] who had been in his company during the whole voyage and was in good health. Furthermore, there was almost the whole of the succor that had been sent to our fabric aboard the flagship galleon Santo Niño, because it met with said sloop San Gabriel in the entrance channel of the Philippines where was transshipped as much as could fit in it and could carry; both of these relief supplies reached us safely, thanks be to the Lord and His most holy Mother.

In consideration of everything that was mentioned above, I cannot omit to make another remark, and that is, that whoever might read carefully all of the above, could not but notice and recognize, on the one hand, the continuous grudge that the common enemy has against this poor Christian community, by making such a crude war continuously against it that he is not content with having terrorized it over the past 7 years more or less, for instance in the other rebellious Islands yet to be conquered, but he even continues to pursue with the greatest rage possible what remains here in this Island of San Juan of Guan by trying to uproot it once and for all, in order to leave no trace of it. On the other hand, there is the so wondrous and continuous manifestations of the providence shown by the immense truth and mercy of God our Lord and of His Most Holy Mother who do not cease to favor it; indeed, they save them so well from

1 Ed. note: Fr. Schirmeisen had disembarked the first day the patache came in sight of Guam, aboard a local canoe, before the patache was blown past the Island. That is why he is reported present during the attempted mutiny.

the continuous persecutions and dangers, an obvious sign that His Majesty, and His Most pious Mother and our Lady too, are pleased with it, and a quick message and encouragement for us Gospel missionaries to keep on employing ourselves with great care in the pursuance of its cultivation at the cost of our own blood, sweat and life.

For this reason, and for the special benefit that our Lord made to all of us with the sloop, and even to the conspirators themselves, two more Missions were undertaken, one aboard the frigate itself and the other inside the Royal camp of Umatag by way of thanksgiving, that we all gave to the same Lord¹ who showed His pleasure and acceptance by the copious fruit that was gathered from these two Missions, given that it was the same fruit as was gathered during the first mission in Agaña: many general confessions, partly necessary and partly voluntary, about which many who had participated in travelling missions throughout Spain were surprised, and they said that, proportionally-speaking, they had not seen as many who were moved to make general confessions. These, and the other confessions, made by young and old, white and brown, involved everybody, except one who should have given a good example to all,² took place during the 8 days that the Mission lasted, impressed the Fathers in charge, as well as the very Reverend Fathers of St. Francis lodged in Umatag who shared the task of said confessions and remained surprised, on the one hand, at seeing that some who had been reluctant before when aboard the galleon coming from New Spain and could not be convinced even to respect the precept of the Church that happened during said voyage,³ had now confessed voluntarily, and on the other hand, they received much consolation and edification at seeing the good disposition that everyone had in trying to earn the Holy Jubilees of these two Missions. There were some persons who did not stop crying the whole time they were confessing. Outside of the confessional, there were not a few who had to overcome major difficulties: they made important restitutions; those who had shunned each other before, begged forgiveness and became reconciled among themselves. They would come secretly to the doors of our church at night to receive stiff disciplines so that God might open the doors of His mercy to them. It is worth noting how those who had previously shown no interest at all in religious things, were then anxious to procure rosaries and pamphlets on the 4 maxims, although they had seemed not to understand the language of such disabusings therein before.

It was very edifying to see them so accepting of the will of God, now that they were in a land so isolated, so poor and so needy as this one is. Here is what one of them said when speaking with one of our Fathers: "Father, said he, at the beginning it was all uphill for me, being in this land; I was half despairing, but after I heard the Mission, even if many wagons pass on top of me, I am not complaining; rather, I am happy doing the most laborious chores." Another said: "Father, I know for a fact that God wanted me to stay in this land for the good of my soul, whose salvation in my good estimate de-

- 1 Father Joaquin de Assín preached a Mission to the men of the sloop, and another one to those of the Royal camp of Umatag with Father Miguel de Aparicio, the parish priest of that district.
- 2 Ed. note: An oblique reference to Esplana.
- 3 Ed. note: A reference to the Holy Week celebration that took place between Acapulco and Guam.

pend on my having gotten here. That is why I am very happy, and I am not concerned if I never get out of here, or go anywhere else.”

[Lent 1691]

The fruit of these Missions has been permanent, as judged by the attendance to the sacraments not only by those who are members of the sodalities of the Virgin our Lady, but also by the attendance, by members and non-members alike, to the exhortations and sermons made every 8 days and to the sermons that were preached to them on Fridays during Lent, in sight of the steps and life-like images of the Sacred Passion that were carefully set-up and displayed on the altar and before the main altar, not without a great commotion and softening of their spirits; they were in fact full of remorse at the sight of such devotional spectacles. All the soldiers and the Mariano Indians prepared themselves way ahead for their Easter confession; since most of them had already gone to confession a few times during the year, there was such a good despatch that all of them were able to make their confession before Maundy Thursday, at the great comfort and relief of the confessors. On this day, as well as on Good Friday, those of both camps, that is those of the camp of Umatag and of Agadña, attended the divine offices of these sacred days, and stood by the monument while the Lord was exposed therein, with a very great devotion and emotion and with their accustomed and devout guard duty at the doors of the churches and guards of armed soldiers at the monuments in question. And on Holy Saturday, they celebrated the Glory with a round and volley with guns and muskets. With the same formality and solemnity they celebrated the major holidays during the year.

[Corpus Christi, 1690]

And, among the other holidays, that of Corpus Christi was the most elaborate; this holiday is always postponed until after the galleon coming from Acapulco has passed, on account of their concurrence and the business at hand. Mass was sung by the Most Reverend Father Commissioner, Fray Miguel Sanchez, assisted by his Religious, two of them acting as Deacon and Sub-deacon, and the Father Commissioner himself carried the monstrance containing the sacramental Lord during the procession that took place with pretty order, devotion and attendance. The streets were well decorated with 22 triumphal arches and 4 altars. The local Indians with their standards accompanied the Lord in this triumph; all were very well dressed and with good order and such a devotion that they caused an extreme edification in those watching them. In fact, thanks to the Lord, our Marianos have become very fond of devotional practices, and they have attended with devotion the holidays that have been celebrated not only in Agadña but also in the other districts and towns. For instance, in the town of the Immaculate Conception of Pago, the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with a solemn mass, sermon and procession, during which these natives gave great signs of a lively faith, by accompanying the Lord with such modesty, devotion and emotion, that some of them had tears in their eyes, no doubt tears of joy at seeing the Lord go by in the monstrance,

so honored and venerated, to make up for the outrage committed by those who took His life on account of our sins, at the extreme admiration and very tender consolation of the Father Missionary their Minister, and of the other Religious who had flocked to this very solemn and devout occasion.¹ On this occasion the streets were also decorated with triumphal arches made up of palms and decorated with palm leaves, through which the procession had to pass, plus four altars for the usual stations, and the arquebusiers applauding such a triumphal feast with their happy shooting; they had willingly been sent by Sergeant Major Don José de Quiroga for this purpose. The feast of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady was also celebrated there with the same devotion, as she is the patron saint of that district. Many confessions and communions by these natives always precede such holidays; they do so without being invited, and this even though there is no jubilee and much more so when there is, as there usually is on such holidays.

In the district of Santa Rosa of Agat, whose parish priest is Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso, once the above-mentioned stormy conspiracy of the shipwrecked convicts was over, there was celebrated there by way of thanksgiving, on 24 September, the feast of said Saint Rose, patron saint of that church and district, with the festivity that the Governor, as a devotee and countryman of hers, had planned. Mass was sung here also by the Reverend Father Commissioner, Fray Miguel Sanchez, assisted by all his Religious, whose sonorous voices served as very chosen music in said solemn mass and feast. The sermon for the occasion was preached by the namesake of St. Paul, the Reverend Father Fray Juan de San Pablo, with the great spirit and fervor of a zealous seraph; in fact, he did so in his capacity as a very worthy son of the Seraphic Father St. Francis [of Assis], and all those who listened did so with great attention and pleasure, because the sermon was so appropriate under the present circumstances and so informative and valuable to them. To make up for this finesse and also because said Religious had celebrated the feast of our Father St. Ignatius, as it was already near the 4th of October, the feast of their seraphic Father and Patriarch St. Francis, we of the Society wished to celebrate it as ours and to have most of us who could come together for the purpose. After we made the necessary preparations, within the possibilities of such a needy country, we celebrated said feast with affection. Mass was sung by said Father Tomás Cardeñoso, and the sonorous voices of his seraphic sons took part, the same as they had for that of St. Rose, and Father Joaquín Assín preached a specific sermon about the greatness and seraphic virtues of the Saint. All of this took place in our church and House of Umatag, since said seraphic family lived there permanently in the company of the Governor who, knowing very well how poor we are, has taken upon himself the task of assisting them since the shipwreck. On the occasion of this feast, as well as at any other time, he offered them his table and food (although on this feast-day, the festive meal took place in our House out of our affection). Similarly, it was also on our account that Father Miguel de Aparicio, who takes care of the district of Umatag, lodged them all, and fed

1 Father Matias Cuculino, Parish priest of Pago until the end of February 1691 when he was succeeded by Father Diego de Zarzosa.

them as much as we could, not only there in Umatag, but at other places where they were invited, such as Agadña, Pago and Agat (though not in Fina, on account of the many mosquitos). Everywhere they were made welcome during the whole time, that is **six months since they were detained here by the shipwreck until they embarked for Manila aboard the sloop San Gabriel that left from here on 14 December** with said Religious, and three of our people who were called there by holy obedience, as I have said.¹

[The inland mission of Fina, site of the main School for girls]²

In the district of San Antonio of Fina, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady was celebrated by the girls who live there as College girls, by fasting on the eve of that day and confessing that afternoon. In the morning of the feast-day itself, they appeared in the church prettily and richly dressed with their new clothes made up of Ungarina³ with blouses and petticoats of pretty *cambaya* [i.e. cotton], all of it made by their own hands, because they are all good seamstresses already. Thus attired, they took communion with equal devotion. The children being trained with doctrine and prayers imitated them and accompanied them in this, and many other adults of that district.

The College boys have not been outdone, as from day to day their number goes on increasing. They have also made much progress in their usual exercises in reading, writing and singing in harmony, but more so in their devotion and frequentation of the Sacraments on the feast-day of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of their College.⁴ They celebrated its new building with confessions and communions, with a high mass and sermon, and in the jubilee of every month and in the main holidays during the year they go to confession and take communion. On Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, they took turns to guard the Monument on their knees, two by two, dressed with their small cassocks and surplices; there they watched over the Lord and, upon relaying themselves every half hour, they worshipped the Crucifix and kissed its sacred feet with such a grace and devotion that those who watched them were moved; by their actions, they invited the Spanish and Indians to imitate them. Both groups in the other districts, where the offices of Holy Week also place, gave similar signs of their great devotion for the Lord of the monstrance and the crucifix.

In Agadña an Indian woman made it a matter of scruples not to have come and worshipped the Cross, and the Crucifix on it. From Umatag, the Minister of that district writes to say:

1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Assín and Garcia Salgado, and Brother Marin.

2 Ed. note: My guess is that, upon the arrival at Guam of about 180 civilians aboard the *Pilar* in June 1690 (plus some new soldiers, for a total of 268, see below), the main school for girls was moved inland to protect the girls from possible sexual attacks. Here also we have the proof that the church dedicated to St. Anthony moved with the center of this inland district, from Mapupun to Fina.

3 Ed. note: Refers to some Hungarian fashion, gypsy-style, I think.

4 Ed. note: San Juan de Letrán actually, but the mother church of Lateran in Rome is dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

“I have enjoyed very much the fact that the Indians have seen the ceremonies of Holy Week, and attended with much devotion all the divine offices and the worship of the Cross. For instance, there was one Indian who is Lieutenant of Captain of Umatag, named **Bartolomé Mamia**; on Maundy Thursday, he remained fasting inside the church before the monument for a long time after sunset, and standing by the door of the church he listened to the sermon of the Passion that Father Antonino Cundari preached in Spanish to the soldiers; when asked if he understood anything, he answered that he understood few things, such as mortal sin, Passion of Jesus Christ, and that the Father reprehended the bad ones. This man is such a good Christian that he can serve as an example to much older ones.” This is what the Catechist and Paris priest of Umatag said.

That of Fina (Father Gerardo Boubens is the Parish priest of Fina) says the following:

“Everyone attended the offices of Holy Week with particular demonstrations of their devotion, from the time the Lord was placed inside the monument until late on the night of Maundy Thursday and the same on Good Friday in the morning. They came from their suburbs, big and small people, bachelors and married, all in accordance to their classes, reciting the rosary and the act of contrition in a loud and devout voice, as the holiness of the time called for. And when one group would leave, it was replaced by another, and awaiting their turn, they would sit in front of the church, with nobody going back home, so that the church would be continuously occupied by enough people, where they carried on with their devotion on their knees, and all of this they did without me having asked them to do such a thing.”

In the district of Pago, they did their best also in the devotion of Holy Week and the Father¹ assisting there explained to them the Mysteries of the Passion, that the Holy Mother Church was presenting in the offices and ceremonies of the three holy days, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. They said that it is something quite reasonable for us to be devout and thankful to our good God and Lord Jesus Christ, since he is such a great Lord and Father to all, who suffered so much for us, and that we should attend the offices of these three days, since it is of so much benefit and consolation for our souls. And so they all did, by attending of their own free will on the three days, with so much devotion and paying so much attention in the church to what was taking place and was preached to them that one cannot wish for anything more, even in much older Christians.

Generally-speaking, they have made much progress in devotion and attendance to the holy sacraments of penance and Eucharist. All the Father Ministers of the districts commonly report that during the year many are moved by their devotion and come to confession and take communion on the main holidays without being asked, some every

1 Father Lorenzo Bustillo, Vice-Provincial spent Holy Week in Pago, and there presided the Offices, while Father Diego de Zarzosa, Minister there went to Agadña to preach the Passion to the soldiers of this Royal camp.

month, others whenever they need the succor of these holy sacraments. One Father happened to be asking them why they came to confession; they answered that it was to get away from the sin. When a boy of 13 years of age, named **Marcelo Ima**, was asked the same thing, he answered: "Father, I want to make a confession and put myself right with God because I do not know when I will die." This boy is a nephew of Sergeant Major **Don Ignacio Inete** and as it was hoped that he would join the College but that he, as a boy would, was resisting the idea, the same Don Ignacio took him by the hand and took him to the College and turned him over to the Father Rector of the Colleges, to be admitted as a college boy, and today he is very happy to be there. A woman who also came to confession during the year, upon arriving at the feet of the confessor, said:

"Ah! Father, I deserve to be thrown into Hell on account of my great sins, but I come to confess them so that God may take pity on me and forgive them. I beg you to please listen to me and absolve me my sins, because I am sorry that I have offended God, as He is so good, and because I love Him above all things," and then with this disposition and equal sorrow she went on to confess them.

Many of these tender plants look for their spiritual remedy in this step, that is, by these holy sacraments, and in payment of their faith the Lord has deigned to give them also the bodily remedy that some of them needed.

A sick man living along the coast in the district of Agat suggests that he was already worried about dying and near death when he sent for the Father to administer him [extreme unction]. The Minister then rushed to his house and, seeing that he was at risk, confessed him and administered him, but he could not give him the viaticum because it was an odd time and there was no consecrated host in the church. When this sick man saw that he was missing one more sacrament, and that he was at risk, he urged his family to take him to the House of God, that is, the church, because he was missing one more thing that the Father had not administered and he was trusting in God that if they would take him to His House, that is, the church, He would have to relieve the anxieties that he felt. His people were forced to comply, pressed by the sick man, though it was an odd hour. As soon as he entered the church, he felt some relief. When the Father was advised of what was going on, he came down to see him and found him so relieved that it seemed as if he no longer needed the viaticum and it was not administered to him. However, he improved so well that within a short time he was completely healthy, and today he is very robust and in good health.

Don Nicolás Chuchan, chief and fiscal of the town of Sinaaña in this district of Agaña, one of the most diligent in the faith, carried away by zeal, and the care that all those of his town be very advanced in the things of our Holy Faith, as indeed they are, and specially in things having to do with church attendance, was patrolling his town on the 19th of January of the present year early in the evening, to check whether they were reciting the Doctrine in their houses, and get a report on the progress made by two coarse old women. While he was walking on this holy mission, his own house caught fire due to negligence, but before he could get back to it, it was already prey to the flames. When he tried to recover some clothing that was inside, he could not do it on

account of a beam that fell on top of him, and it became necessary for him to get out so as not to get burned with the house, and everything that was inside. He was, of course, very sorry for the damage, but he bore the situation with much patience and agreement with the will of God, in spite of the blow that he received and the loss of his rice that had already been harvested. That, plus the care of re-building his house, were enough for a burning fever, that had been on the wane, to re-surface; that is why he called for a Father to come and hear his confession. And, when the sick man heard that another Father would bring him the viaticum, moved by extreme reverence and respect that he has for the sacramental Lord, he asked not to have the Most Holy come up, saying that he would ask to be carried to the church instead, to receive it there. He came the next day, which was March 2nd, and received the viaticum with great faith, devotion and resignation to the will of the Lord that he was receiving. As of that time, he began to feel better, so much so that on the 3rd of said month, he began to rise from his bed.

[Maria Assion, for whose baptism Fr. Sanvitores died, 19 years before]

Others profit by the frequent reception of the sacraments; and it helps as a restraint against sinning in the future and as encouragement to bravely resist temptations. A certain woman married to a soldier, named **Maria Assion**, who was the girl for whose baptism Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, founder of this Mariana Mission suffered martyrdom, while she was alone at home, was confronted and solicited by a man who was also married. But neither with enticements nor threats made to her did she surrender nor break her resolution not to offend God. And since the other would not stop from insisting, she resolutely answered: "Even if you tear me to pieces you will not get what you are trying to get." The aggressor, fearing discovery on account of her shouts, had to retreat beaten and confused. With the same courage two married women of Fina resisted to someone who wished to force them. Another unmarried woman who serves as maid in one of the houses of Agadña chased another away from her by hitting him with repeated blows with a stick. Another young Indian woman of the district of Umatag, being solicited by a soldier importunately, has made so many efforts to free herself from said solicitation that, besides strengthening herself with the Holy Sacraments, has decided to live away from her town in a plantation in the interior, and she takes pain to come from such a faraway place to mass every Sunday. **Isabel Tirsi**, a married woman residing in Aniguag in this district of Agadña, had been pursued for days by a certain individual; the tempter caught her alone one day and attacked her, threatening her that if she did not give him satisfaction, he would cut her hair with a pair of scissors that he had handy. She refused and in effect, although women here feel that they would rather die than cut their hair, she let her hair be cut rather than accept the offer of the vile man. He paid for his vileness with fetters and she, as a reward for her constancy, was admitted to the Sodality of the Most Holy Name of Mary, which is the sodality for the natives of this district of Agadña, whose members have complied very well with their rules and constitutions. They celebrated the feast of their patron saint with confessions and a general communion and with their good example they influenced

many others. They did almost the same at Candlemass, when new members were admitted, after they had proven themselves over a period of 3 to 4 months, and examined in the presence of everyone. One of these new members was asked by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga if the business of the sodality was making impressive inroads in his heart and those of his companions; he answered that it did indeed, and he added that there might be more members, if only some *guiragos* [foreigners] did not give them a bad example. When Father Juan Tilpe, who is in charge of this sodality, wished to save an Indian woman from a vicious custom in which she was very involved, he asked her if she wished to become a member of the sodality. When she answered in the affirmative, he told her: "Good! I will do what I can, but you have to promise me that you will amend yourself completely about that vice." She promised as much, and in fact, she did as she had promised, and deserved to be admitted.

In the district of Fina a sodality of the Virgin Our Lady was also set up. When an exam was held for those who were to be admitted, it was not possible to find anything contrary to good Christian customs in any of them, and for a better cult and veneration of the Most Holy Virgin Mother of God, Queen of the Angels and of men, the custom of saying the mass of Our Lady and reciting her litany on Saturdays was established in this district; the people flock to attend both with such a devotion and regularity that a few, who had once excused themselves for not being able to attend, though they were told that it was not something obligatory, nevertheless, they later got rid of the obstructions and now attend from afar, so as not to fail being present at this devotion, and the manner with which it is done has some positive impact, and it is as follows. Six boys dressed with small cassock and surplices go out and, after bowing to the image of the Most Blessed Virgin, they kneel before her and intone her litanies, to which the people respond with much slowness and devotion. And all of these young boys and girls have memorized said litanies and they sing them in the evening while searching for their sustentation, or looking for materials required in their work. It causes harmony in the ears of those who hear the echoes of such devout chants reverberating among the hills of that district. The other districts have a similar custom, but they sing the rosary instead, alternately, as they walk along the roads. In addition to this, in all the districts, the Christian doctrine is recited in their houses in the evening, with questions and answers from the Catechism, with such an application that a prayer girl (this is the name given to boys or girls who come to the church to pray and sing the doctrine on Wednesdays and Saturdays), this prayer girl, I say, is blind, and she lives far away and cannot come to church; well, she has learned the doctrine as well, with all the answers, etc. and she teaches them to other smaller girls inside her house.

The devotion to the Guardian Angels has also been taught to them on the occasion of their feast-day, 2 October, when it was celebrated in Agat with much devotion. Also, the devotion to the saints, specially their very own patron saint whose name they wear, by exhorting them to come to confession and communion on that day. So, in every district, one makes sure that they are warned on the previous Sunday, so that, whenever the feast of their patron saint falls during that week, they may prepare themselves for

confession and communion on the day in question. Now, after they have done so with complete devotion, they return the next day to hear mass as a form of thanksgiving. In some districts, specially that of Fina, where they began first, whenever there is a holiday, though it be not compulsory for them, many flock to hear mass, and to recite the rosary for the public needs.

In addition to all this, they have a great faith in sacred things, the blessings of the Church and the mark of our redemption. **Antonio Etaqui**, an Indian with very good disposition, very pious and very devout, as his confessors can attest to, *quot sortitus sit animam bonam*,¹ and who, when he comes to confession, always causes much sympathy, emotion and devotion in them at seeing such a good soul, so candid, and so given to devotion and frequentation of the Sacraments. One day after he had finished taking communion, in all kindness and candor, he brought up the subject of his rice plantation where there were so many rats; they were so bothersome that he got the idea of planting a cross there, before which he knelt down and begged Our Lord, on account of His passion and death, to take pity on his rice and prevent the rats from eating it. His Divine Majesty consoled him, because he harvested good rice and a good quantity of it, relative to what he had sowed. When they saw themselves harrassed by the same plague, those of the town of Aniguag, whose leaders are the most faithful Master-of-camp and Lieutenant of Captain General for H.M., Don **Antonio de Ayihi**, and Captain Don **Pedro Inog**, who follows him in every way by being loyal to both Majesties, asked for a Father to please go and exorcise and chase the rats from their rice plantations. The rice had not even grown to half size, and did not yet have ears, but they ate it. One Father went overthere and ordered that a cross be planted in the middle of their plantations, then they all knelt down before it, and in a high voice said the act of contrition, and after that the exorcism was carried out: while the Father was going around and sprinkling blessed water on the plantations, they were following him and reciting the rosary of Our Lady alternately. Our Lord was pleased by their faith and devotion, and because of this, He took care of their rice, which was very good and abundant at harvest time. In the district of Fina, before they sow it, they had brought the seedlings to the church and asked the Father to bless them.

In the Easter-time confession and communion of this year, the adults arrived so well disposed that it became hardly necessary in the districts to refuse sacred communion to anyone; thus state the report from the missionary Fathers, everyone of whom submitted a report, in which they uniformly say that all the adults complied with their religious obligations with such good disposition that there was hardly one person for whom they had to postpone the administration of the Sacrament of Eucharist, which they seek and beg for with so much earnestness that it seems that they firmly believe that they will not achieve eternal life, unless they partake of it. Indeed, one can get an idea of the concept and appreciation they have of this sovereign Sacrament in their dress, neatness, composure, and modesty of their persons, to such an extent that the women, when they go

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "whom destiny has blessed with a good soul."

to confession, and communion, are not content to go very decently dressed, but they cover their heads with some veil or piece of cloth; if they happen to be too poor to own one, they borrow one, or ask someone else who has finished confession or communion to lend theirs, and upon returning to her seat, she loans it to the other woman who is without. Generally speaking, all persons of either sex try and walk about decently dressed, in line with their poverty, even when they are working, or in their plantations. After they have taken communion, they do not immediately leave the church; rather, they stay a while to repeat acts of faith, hope and charity, addressing themselves to the Lord whom they have just received and giving Him thanks for so many benefits done to them, and begging Him for some favor with the prayers of the doctrine. Then, after a brief exhortation, with regard to what they must do to retain the grace they have received, by not sinning again, by not expelling from their hearts with a sin the Lord who had just taken residence in them, they take their leave to return to their homes.

[Native population in decline]

The infants who have been baptized this year number 37, and 23 have died with the baptismal grace, plus 68 adults who died after receiving the holy sacraments, plus 2 adults who died suddenly, and another woman who could not receive more than the extreme unction. Included in this number of adults are 28 who were soldiers and of those there were only 23 who were executed.¹

A college boy named **Alexandro Aguas** who had gone to visit a Father in his residence, was suddenly hit with a great headache, but not so much as to force him to stay in bed. They applied to him some leaves from a medicinal tree for said pain, and because the accompanying fever kept on increasing, the Father advised him to look into his conscience to see if he had something to confess. In the meantime, the Father stepped out to despatch another Indian who had been waiting for him; and while they were talking, he heard the sick boy making the act of contrition in a high voice and continuously repeating: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us, etc." something that led him to tell the Indian in his company: "Listen, listen how this small boy is preparing himself for confession." After he had said good-bye to the Indian in question, he returned to see the sick boy, but found him already possessed by such a furious frenzy that it was impossible to make him come back to his old self, no matter what efforts were made, and at the end of five hours it took his life. When the Father noticed that he was in such a sorry trance, by virtue of the act of contrition that he had heard him say, he gave him the sacramental absolution, and administered extreme unction to him, with which for a while he came to rest from the furious jerks and vomiting that up to that time had been tormenting him during such a powerful and violent accident, and he finally died restfully. This boy had a very simple and candid heart, and a good con-

1 Ed. note: That leaves 40 adult natives who died, plus 23 newborn babies, against 14 newborns who survived, for a net decrease of 49 in the year 1690-91. This was a 3% decrease, since the census for Guam taken two years later found only 1,631 inhabitants (see Doc. 1693C).

science, so much so that one day when he heard a contemporary of his utter an undecent word, he came to report it so that the other would be punished; this action, plus the above-mentioned act of contrition, and the invocation of the Most Blessed Virgin during such a difficult passage, point to his salvation. In the administration of the sick who cannot be brought to the church we follow the custom that had already been mentioned many times before, by trying to take the sacramental Lord to them with complete decorum and accompaniment of lights, the roads along the selected route having been cleaned, put in order and decorated with palm leaves, with the houses where it is to go in decorated, neatly arranged and adorned. For example, when the sacraments were taken to **Teresa Apan** (a resident of the town of Asan belonging to this district of Agaña) who died of this illness with her arms around a crucifix, and with the most sweet names of Jesus and Mary in her mouth, in order to take the viaticum to said sick woman, the Lieutenant of said town, named **Juan Taypirus**, an Indian who is a living example of what was said about Nathaniel: *Verus israelita, in quo dolus non est*,¹ so that he would have the road cleaned, repaired and decorated, he answered that he would do it the same way that it had been done when the Governor made his entrance.

To honor and bury the deceased with more decorum, some black cloths with crosses have been made, and if the distance is not very great, the Father goes with a surplice and stole, a cross and tall candlesticks, accompanied by the boys of the doctrine with their standards, to get the deceased from his house, and from there they bring it to the church, with the relatives in the procession, carrying lights in their hands, and singing the doctrine along the way, or reciting the rosary for his soul. Also, whenever there are deceased during the week, on the following Sunday, they are advised to commend them to God and their relatives are exhorted to go to confession and to take communion, and offer the communion for the deceased; many of them do this also on All Souls' Day, by confessing and taking communion for their deceased. And let us now leave the dead rest in peace, and consider a brief narrative of the advertised conquests of this year.

[Failed expedition of 1691 to the N. Marianas]

The echoes of this plan have no doubt resounded in Manila and the Philippines, and there should be no lack of curious people who would like to know what really happened after so many claims and so many plans heard ever since the flagship galleon **Santo Niño** passed by here on the way to the Philippines and her consort the **Nuestra Señora del Pilar** remained shipwrecked within sight of us. In fact, afterwards some boats were designed, some *palo Maria* logs were cut for them, boards were manufactured and they were transported from as far away as 12 or more leagues by sea aboard Indian canoes to Umatag where the shipyard was located. Numberless baskets of charcoal were made, all of *palo Maria*, and most of it or almost all of it was done with the

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase taken from the Bible meaning: "An Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." (John 1:47).

labor of our Marianos. They were working from sunrise till sunset with the forges, the shipyard, and other places without stopping. **A frigate with a mizzenmast, a mainmast and a smaller mast was made, and a galliot with two masts. An existing boat was lengthened and made bigger.** When these three vessels had already been made ready and the sea supplies placed on board them, and 200 men (out of the 268 who were on hand) selected and assigned to board them for the enterprise, this fleet left Umatag on 26 February [1691] to go to Agat, where it waited for the proper weather to proceed further, until 12 March. On that day the wind began to blow from the southeast, then it veered to south and southwest. Said fleet weighed anchors and left Agat and went toward the eastern point of this Island, carrying 120 men. They, plus the 80 men under the Sergeant-Major who were supposed to meet it at said point, made a total strength of 200 men. On that same day, 12 March, it reached a neighborhood called Orunao, where it anchored, with two local canoes that accompanied the fleet.¹ The Sergeant-Major left Agaña to find out the orders of the Captain General, and what he was told was that he was to leave Agaña 2 days later, on the 14th, to go and join the 120 men of the fleet in that neighborhood. However, the Sergeant-Major, seeing that the weather was so fine, did not wait that long, but the next day, 13th, marched with said 80 men, leaving 68 others in Agaña for the protection of this royal camp. When he reached the designated neighborhood, he did not find the fleet nor any sign of it, because that same day it had headed eastward, and behind it the two local canoes, and three others that had left Agat also on that same day, the 13th, carrying Father Tomás Cardeñoso, and following on the track of the fleet. No matter what efforts were made by the Sergeant-Major to follow with his 80 men, he could not because no transport had been left for them, and they had not even waited for them, according to the orders given. So, he had to remain with his troop on the beach, all exhausted and tired after having made their way laboriously and hurriedly overland to catch up with the fleet at Orunao, and walked three good leagues beyond that, just in case they were awaited somewhere along that coast, but in vain, because they could not even spot it and it was nowhere in sight. The same thing happened to Father Matías Cuculino who had been earmarked for this enterprise with Father Tomás Cardeñoso; as there was no big boat in Agaña to sail with, he had to do so with an average-size canoe as far as Urunao, and carried along only the necessary kit for mass and the holy oils. However, he too arrived after the departure of the fleet and he simply could not follow it in such a craft, too small and bad for the crossing. Although he went beyond Urunao, he had to return to Agaña on the 15th. The fleet had to do the same thing on the 16th; although it had gone beyond the Island of Rota and reached a good neighborhood, as those present said, to make the Island of Tinian, but a northerly blew for some 4 hours. So, said fleet returned to Umatag on the 18th of March, with more speed than on the trip over, as if

1 Ed. note: Urunao, a bay somewhat short of Ritidian, about 15 miles or 20 km up the coast from Agaña.

they were saying: *veni, vidi, fugi*,¹ because, without looking after the canoes that accompanied it, it turned back so fast that it left them behind and near Rota, and the enemies of that Island went out to meet them, and almost caught one, whose passengers saw themselves in the mouth of death itself. This was even more remarkable because, when said fleet arrived back at this Island of Guan, the wind had already become better for going ahead than returning, and it kept on improving, so much so that when the fleet finished anchoring at Umatag it was almost southerly, the famous wind most appropriate for the enterprise and for three days the monsoon winds blew continuously, winds quite proper to go back to said enterprise if need be, so serene, fresh and soft that better weather could not be hoped for to make it quickly and safely to Saypan, and even beyond. The Sergeant-Major, who was still waiting in the said neighborhood with his men, seeing the speed with which the fleet returned to Umatag, had to beat a retreat and return to Agaña.

In this attempt at an enterprise, the only person who did anything was a local Indian from among those who were in canoes, named Don **Alonso Soon**, chief of Agat and Sergeant-Major of said district, and of those of Fina and Umatag, because he caught an Indian from Rota who was out fishing, and right there delivered him to the Captain General aboard his frigate. Through the report of this Indian, we have learned how the Indians who had killed the Venerable Father Carlos Boranga have died already, even though they lived among their own rebellious people, thus unable to escape divine justice, because one of them died from a knife wound in the face, as a punishment for the same blow in the face that he had given to the Venerable Father; the other died by drowning at sea, as a punishment also for having drowned with his sacrilegious hands, with which he had held the throat of said Venerable Father until choking him to death. So it appears that said divine justice eventually catches up with rebellious barbarians and in time avenges harm done to its servants. We have also learned how all the Indians from this Island of San Juan and also those from the other Islands who were not delinquents, i.e. killers during the uprising of the year 1684, desire greatly to see overthere our Catholic arms to protect them and under their protection return to their own island, and to God and to the flock of His Church. This news has again been confirmed recently by a canoe that had gone out fishing and escaped from the Island of Saypan, in spite of three other canoes that chased it when they saw it headed overhere. Seven days ago, from the time that this line is being written, it arrived at this Island of Guan with this news, *attamen hominem non habemus*.² God sends him to us, and it is appropriate for the reduction and salvation of so many souls.

1 Ed. note: An ironic reference to the famous report by Julius Caesar: "Veni, vidi, vinci" [I came, I saw, I conquered], except that the last word is now "I fled."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "However, we do not hold the man."

[One Guam-built frigate despatched to Manila in March 1691]

After the often-times mentioned fleet had returned to Umatag, our Captain General decided to send the frigate to Manila, as useless, said he, for these Islands, and aboard it 80 men who had been shipwrecked with the almiranta, with a few others from those who seemed to be malcontents here in this Garrison. So, it was carried out on 21 March; on that day, at about 10 a.m., they set sail for the Philippines.

On 17 April, said Captain General returned overland to the eastern point of this Island, to the neighborhood called Tarrague that faces and is in sight of the Island of Santa Ana of Rota with an order for canoes to follow him by sea, which six local canoes did, with a rumor to the effect that he would send men aboard them to subdue that Island, so that it might be used as a port of call for the two above-mentioned boats, when the time was ripe to go to said conquest and reduction of the Island of Saypan, with all the others, since their reduction in 1684 showed that once Saypan is reduced, so are all the other northern islands. However, this has been a voice in the wilderness, similar to what one said of the voice of the nightingale: *vox est præterea que nihil*.¹ All of which makes me think that the following parable of Our Lord could be applied to this Mariana Mission: *Patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi*.² And so, we cling to this great virtue, imitating the example of patients, not just ourselves but also these poor Indians under our spiritual care, as we are all so excessively burdened *adferendum tantum anima, imo animarum sterilitatem*³ and that is the way we hope to oblige and will continue to oblige His divine Majesty so that as soon as possible and before we think possible our wishes might come true, or *estenam itasit*[sic]⁴ without looking at our merits.

San Ignacio de Agaña, Island of San Juan of Guan in the Marianas, on 21 May 1691.

Lorenzo Bustillo.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "A sound which turns out to be nothing."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Have patience with me, and I will pay thee in full" (Matt. 18:26 & 29).

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "the soul [has] so much to bear, that they have become sterile."

4 Ed. note: Perhaps "etenim ita sit" instead, which means: "Indeed, let it be so."

Document 1691E

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Guam 24 May 1691

Source: AGR 2; 164-165v.

Original text in Latin

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Ejusdem

Gratissimis anno superiore a V. Ræ acceptis, quæ licet repono non quæ lubet. Nam hactenus spe mea frustratus sum; siquidem expeditionem in insulas recens detectas ad Austrum, necdum, quod sane doleo, suscipiendam duxit Gubernator noster: quin nec ad obedientiam Deo Regique debitam (septem nunc annos eam excussere) reduxit Insulas ad septemtrionem nobis vicinas. Non milites, non navigia, non necessarius ad rem conficiendam apparatus, sed animi vivo desunt militares; cum non sit, de genere viro- rum istorum per quos salus in Israel facta est. Mittat Deus, idque quantocius; quem missurus est, ne rebus alio quin desperatis æmulum, maleque nobis affectorum in- vidia cogamur cedere: siquidem per annos iam plures id agitur apud Regem ut sumptus nobis impendi decretos alio convertat suæ Majestas in tanta ærarij sui penuria. Maria- nas tamen fovere hactenus non destitit larga piissimi Regis munificentia quin et benefi- ciiis beneficia adiecit, ut iam intellexerit R. V. ex ultimis meis. Et plura forte obtinuerit R. P. Antonius Mathias Xaramillo: is a triennio missus ex Provincia Romam Procur- ator in Concilio Indico per quam magni fit, Regique intime notus multa secum detulit Madriti conficienda, tum quæ ad totius Provinciæ, tum quæ nostræ missionis statum pertinent in particulari, cujus primum pars fuit, deinde visitatur; nunc vero nominatus a Rege Episcopus cum instantia ut in voto Professorum (desperabant?) quod hactenus recusavit, dignaretur Sua Sanctitas dispensare. Ego certe qui a 20 iam fere annis novi Marianas coram Domino, dico, quod sentio: operæ pretium non est, ut ulterius urgea- tur dispensatio: neque convenit omnino, ut in Episcopatum erigatur hæc missio, nisi eam quam primum velimus subversam. Pr. quidem Antonius, quo hic familiariter usus sum Ministro anno 76, ac deinde per annos aliquot conversatus sum cum eo antiquam abiret Manilam, ob virtutem et doctrinam, quibus singulariter eminent, Infulis [sic] etiam

melioribus dignus Apostolicam profitetur vivendi rationem: At non omnes, qui fundato hic Episcopatu darentur viro successores, capient verbum hoc; potissimum si ex Clero, aut alia assumpti fuerint religione: neque enim semper assumerentur ex nostris, ac proinde spetioso hoc titulo condecorati ultimum hunc orbis angulum, non secus atque exilium detestando quid potius egerint, quam sortis suæ pertæsi continuis Regem querelis fatigare quo reditum exorent. Nec deessent, quibus omnia exaggerarentur; scribendi argumenta: Incolarum paucitas, eorumque in fidei suscepta inconstentia; rudis incultique mores; summa regionis egestas; nulla hic Episcopalis ordinis necessitas nec ullum (si sacramentum excipias confirmationis) illius exercitium; nullus hominum sive sæcularium sive Ecclesiasticorum (nostros excipio) quorum tamen institutum, ac vivendi docendique ratio non cuilibet probarentur Episcoporum, qui huc advenerint, convictus, nulla conversatio. Quid quod esset periculum ne solitudinis suæ pertæsi culpam in nos omnem conjicerent et coram verbis, et clam scriptis ad Indicum Senatam litteris criminando: Regem a nobis perperam informa tum fuisse, ne dixerint, deceptum. Hæc et plura ad primum de Episcopo Mariano rumorem in Pri. Nro. perserigenda existimabam. At ob rem, que certo credebatur, conficiendam prius quam littera advolassent, scriptione abstinuit. Num vero P. N[ostro]rum rogo ut pro Episcopo [160v] si ita Paternitati Suæ videatur expedire. Scio etenim me rogare rem nobis non usitatam, facultatem R. P. in Insulis Marianis V.-Provinciali facere ne gravetur; utendi privilegio a Pontificibus concesso ad conferendum hisce Neophytis sacramentum confirmationis: ita enim expedire ait Il. D. Alphonsus de Montenegro Episcopus in Regno Peruano, vir rerum Indicarum expertissimus, qui in sua pro Paroch[ia] Indorum itinerario 1.5: tract:1 sect: 10 N. a 26 usque ad 28 inclusive rem hispanice conficit his verbis [in Spanish]:

“En estas partes (remotas en Indias) importara mucho que los que fueren por Prælados de los Religiosos, que van a estas misiones, llevassen la potestad de confirmar; que la da el Pontifice a los que deputare y señalar por ello.”

Et quas Illust. subjicit rationes, ad unam omnes militant in favorem missionis nostræ, quæ ex sinistris malevolorum informationibus tantum iam inde a 1^a sui fundatione fuit perpessa; ut miracu-- instar videri possit illius hucusque conservatio. Nec desunt(?) ex nostris, qui male metuunt, ne (quod Deus avertat) revocato Regis deret[r]o subsidia nobis subtrahantur pecuniaria- unde necessesit, ut missio tandem dissolvatur laborum n--gis continuorumque periculorum tum ex Indigenarum, tum ex Præsidiariorum repetitis toties conjurationibus, quam emolumentorum, quæ omnino nulla sunt, ferox.

Cæterum ego de conservanda Mariana hac missione numquam sperare desistam; tum ob singularem pientissimi [sic] Regis in illam affectum; tum ob perpetuam Dei de illam providentiam. En [sic] eximium hujus hoc etiam anno argumentum.

[The 1690 galleons]

E duabus onerariis, quæ Mexico Manilam repetebant, scopulis ad hanc insulam S. Jois. impacta sudo serenoque cælo sub occasum solis dissolvit illa, quam ex materialibus, ut aiunt, qui tenuerunt navigio Mariano destinatis fabricandam in peculiar- siu

*[sic] ipsius emolumentum, seu communiendam curaveratis, cum majori ex parte adscribuntur: turbæ dissentionesque Manilæ hisce annis excitatæ. Nullus naufragorum interiit: **Argentum [quaque, crossed out] ad multa Imperialium millia periculo subducere] mercibus tamen in profundum detrusis.** Vectores simul v[er]ecitque milites partim, partim nautæ numero plus minus 200, inter quos 20 e D. Francisci familia, hic substitere, donec tandem Decembri mense, una cum tribus ex nostris a R. Pe. Provinciali Manilam evocatis consensu Marianarum navigio in Philippinas Insulas iter suum sunt prosecuti.*

[The Pilar conscripts mutiny ashore]

Interea Governator noster tres instæ [sic] magnitudinis celoces extrui [sic] jusserat Insulas ad septemtrionem etiamnum tumultuantes; imprudentius magis, quam vere jactabat, ad obedientiam -- ducturus. Exilium istic, aliaque incommoda sibi præparari falso credebant, qui ex America in Philippinas relegati-- quodvis scelus intentandum exercitatissimi, collatis inter se consilijs impiissimum, maximeque sacrilegam ineunt conjurationem in sacra omnia, ac profana: quæ furto di[s]cernunt dividenda nobis, Governatore, militibusque quos conatus [sic] suo adversarios reperissent, morti destinati. Dies sceleri exequendo conducta, festum et at Stæ Rosæ 30 Augusti, qua hora peracto prando Governator cum suis declarationi interesset Peruano in honorem Stæ. Peruanæ militibus exhibendæ. Eluxerat iam 25^a Augusti, cum ecce tempestive a præter expectationem Manila nobis abest navigium decreto Regio quot annis huc destinatum. Ventis, ut eodem hoc ipso die in portum se subduceret, utebatur perquam opportunis. At sub vesperam scopulos verita altum repetiit. Interea vertitur in contrarium ventus navemque integro mense nobis subduxit. Nec dissidere inter se conjurati ob festi dilationem ac navigii non procul distantis adventum. Conscientiæ remorsum intro non tulit ex complicibus unus, qui rei sub iis circumstantiis dedit indicium, ut fidem mereretur [165] 24 et aliquot eadem ipsa nocte sagaciter comprehendit militum Tribunus D. Josephus de Quiroga, atque ex templo Governatorem per litteras certiore reddit in portu de præsentissimo periculo eumque rogat ut et ipse quam celerrime manus illis injiciat, quos illic habebat secum criminis patrandi seu auctores seu complices; simulque quid agendum sit causæ, maturæque despiciat. In vincula istic contectis, nescio quot, Agadñam, ubi degebat [sic] pars major Præsidi, illico contendit D. Governator, nec mora 24 condemnat ad laqueum, eosque die insequenti palis alligatos spectaculo exhiberi jubet ad terrorem. Ad unum omnes vere contriti obiere tum hic, tum qui in portu illos secuti sunt viduo post. Res mira; quo die scelus detegebatur; eo ipso remisit se vis venti, quo procul detinebatur navis; quæ deinde exacto supplicio placidissima se recepit in portum. Atque ita conversa in comediam feralis hæc tragædia festivitatem Stæ nobis propitiæ celebriorem efficit.

Martio subinde mense uno cum 120 vim militibus, tum nautis navigationem in insulas nobis Boreales instituit Governator: At mare vidit ac fugit. Nam quarto post die ventorum inclementiam causatus portum repetiit suis ne quidquam rei indignitatem non ferentibus. Vix domum receperat sese, quando trium navigiorum maximum septi-

mana proxime subsequenti Manilam ablegandum decernit, et in eo istic sibi dividendo 80 partim ex præsidiariis, partim ex iis, qui etiamnum illi sepererant naufragi. Reliquos qui numerantur ultra 60 hinc eodem (nisi meliorem illi mentem Deus injecerit) secum asportabit (ut ipse quidem ait) navis Regia, quam ex America hac Manilam versus expectamus prope diem. Hæc et alias in perniciem nostram excogit at vir absque consilio: utinam saperet prius, quam conatur noster hoc V. Provincialis palam illi obtrudere illud Evangelij: venisti perdere nos. Ego Pm. N. consulo, enixeque rogo dignum decretis, ordinationibusque PP. NN. Generalium circa res politicas per nos non tractandas, fieri ex parte nostra possit ac debeat, ut damnum caveatur in detrimentum irreparable animarum hisce in Insulis, ubi alij desunt qui Regem informet de iis, qui sus deque omnia versunt pro suo libetu--

Ultimis meis inserui, quid hic occupationis mihi sit in præsentiarum. Novi mihi nihil accessit nisi erectio sodalitiis inter hosce Neophytos Annuntiatae Romanæ annexi ex indulto R. Adm[odij] P. N. Generalis. Mire res placuit Indis, qui quo in album referri possent, tantum profecere in doctrina Christiana, ut vix ullum in veneris inter Præsidiarios Hispanos, qui de Trinitate, Incarnatione, Eucharistia alisque difficillimis fidei articulis tan exacte respondeat, ita mihi cum admiratione fassus est illorum nonnemo cum horum audiret responsa. Quo fidei sacro intersunt satis multi Plerique vero illi intersunt, quod diebus sabbatinis solenniter fit pro conservanda missione uti et litaniis Lauretanis, quas sub vesperam iisdem sabbatinis diebus de memoria cantant novennes decennesque pueri, qui ex dominicis diebus solemniter officiant ad Asperges, memoria item tenent varias Ecclesiæ preces, ut sunt: Te Deum Laudamus, De Profundis, Laudate Dominum, Ave Maris Stella, Sub tuum præsidium, etc. præter orationem sodalitatis, quam illis verti vernaculæ Anniversarium Patroni sui festum celebrant adulti confessando commulgandoque eo die. Usus rosarij ac litaniarum ante quam cubitum concedant introduci cæpit. Minuta hæc quidem Europæis: at rudioribus hisce, atque incultis æstimandæ: Majora adjiciam ubi Deo bene propitio spem meam fuero lucratus inter illos, a quibus exiqua separamur aqua.

Sacrificiis et precibus, quibus me obnixe commendo adsit, quæso R. V^a ut illuminentur hi, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent: vires ego rependam Deum precando ut Ram. Vam. bonum Provinciæ mihi charissima, meumque peculiare solatium servet incolumem quam diutissime, donec invicem complicitamur in Regno Xri et Dei.

Ex insula S. Jois. 24 Majj 1691.

Humillimus R. Væ in Xro servus

Gerardus Bouwens.

[P.S.] Salutem et obsequium R. P. Provinciali, PP. Professoribus, Condiscipulis, cæterisque per Provinciam notis nominatim RR. PP. Petro Verachter, y Joanni Nutzen.

[165v, address:] Reverendo Patri in Christo P. Liberto de Pape Soctis JESU. Bruxellis [crossed out in favor of:] Antverpis in Collegio.

Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace be with you.

I acknowledge that in the preceding year I received from Y.R. a letter which I may be allowed to replace by one not so pleasant. For until now my hope has been frustrated; if only our Governor had led the expedition to the recently-discovered islands to the south that was to take place, to obey both God and King (seven years of excuses by now)¹ but he returned to the Islands to the north which are close to us. No soldiers, no ships, no necessary equipment to accomplish the thing, but soldiers lacking a lively spirit; this is not the type of men that would save Israel. May God send, as fast as possible, the one who should be sent, not someone who is jealous of rivals, and badly wants us to yield our supplies to him. If only this had been brought up to the King over the years, so that the decrees of His Majesty who spends so much of his short treasury on us would replace him. However, up to now the very pious King does not desist from supporting the Marianas with ample munificence, by injecting benefits, such as Y.R. would have gathered from my last letter. And much more perhaps would have been secured by Rev. Fr. Antonio Xaramillo—three years ago, he was sent by the Province to be Procurator in Rome—but was kept at Madrid where he is known intimately by the King and the Council of the Indies, and can accomplish more for the whole Province, and with a special status for our mission, of which he was first a member, then a visitor. Now he has been named bishop by the King, with the request that His Holiness give a dispensation from the grade of Professor which he has not yet reached. As for me, who has learned much through almost 20 years in the Marianas, I say what I feel before God: it is not worth it, to seek a dispensation later, and not at all convenient for this mission to be erected into a Diocese, unless we want to ruin it as soon as possible. In any case, Fr. Antonio, who is familiar with it, as he was Minister here in 1676, and then for years conversant with his old post after going to Manila, on account of virtue and doctrine, in which he singularly excels, [would know] what is worth improving apostolically in the Islands. And, once a Diocese has been founded here, not all the successors sent to replace the man would fit the bill here. A secular priest might be too powerful, even in matters of religion. Not even one of our people, as the title might then go to his head, and he might learn to hate the exile and long for a better place, and make the King grow weary of continuous quarrels which exhausts his income. Also, there would be no lack of people to exaggerate, writing arguments such as: the poverty of the Islanders, and their suspected lack of consistency in the faith, their rough exteriors and customs, and the extreme poverty of the region. There is no need for the administration of a bishop here (except for the sacrament of confirmation). And no [need for a] man, either secular or ecclesiastic (ours excepted) whose institution, and mode of liv-

1 Ed. note: The poor Fr. Bouwens did not know that 19 more years were to pass before an expedition to the Carolines would succeed.

ing and teaching, who could not be replaced by bishops, who happened to come by here, I am convinced of that. What about the danger that, becoming fed up with his solitude, he might put the whole fault on us, and openly say, and secretly write to the Council of the Indies a letter blaming us? And thus falsely informed about us, the King would be disappointed. I would appreciate hearing more about this rumor of our Father being made the first Bishop of the Marianas. But he abstained from writing; if this news is to be believed for sure, letters should come as soon as possible to confirm it. I pray that our Fr. [General] will choose [him] as bishop, if his Paternity sees fit to send one. Still, I know, in my praying for such a thing for us, that it would not be an unusual thing for a Rev. Fr. Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands to do, if the privilege be granted by the Popes to confer the sacrament of confirmation. Take, for instance, the permission sent to Don Alfonso de Montenegro, Bishop in the Kingdom of Peru, a man most expert in matters of the Indies, who is his [book entitled] **Paroch. Indorum** I.5, tract., sect. 10N, from 26 to 28 inclusive, has written the following words [in Spanish]:

“In such remote regions as these in the Indies, it would be very important for those who would be in charge of the Religious, for those who go to these missions, to carry the authority to give confirmations, and for the Pope to give it to those he deputizes and selects for this purpose.”

To illustrate, enclosed are the reasons, which all militate in favor of this mission of ours, which has endured so many reports from the discontented leftists ever since its holy foundation, that it is miraculous to be able to see that it has been preserved thus far. Neither is there a lack of some people of ours, who fear badly, that (may God forbid) the King might withdraw the monetary subsidy from us, from wherever he sees fit, so that the mission might in the end be dissolved, along with the hardships and continuous dangers, from the natives as well as from the garrison with its so-frequent mutinies, their salaries too, which are not a small sum, all would be gone!

I, for one, belong to the other group and I will never desist from hoping that this Mariana Mission can be preserved, either on account of the singular affection of our pious King, or on account of that perpetual providence of God. Here is an extraordinary argument in favor of that, even for this year.

[The 1690 galleons]

Of two galleons that were sailing from Mexico to Manila, one hit a reef while approaching this Island of San Juan in clear and calm weather, at sunset, and broke up, alas! From the materials, those who made it ashore by Mariano canoe were assigned to build a ship of their own, either for their own interest, or to learn enough about shipbuilding, with parts added from the larger one. The troubles and dissensions of the Manila men have made this an excited year. None of the shipwrecked people perished. **[Every, crossed out] [piece of] silver, amounting to many thousands of pesos of [subsidy for] salaries, was rescued from danger, however sunk to the bottom.**¹

1 Ed. note: Conflicting statement, not clear in the original text either.

The passengers were also [rescued], partly soldiers partly sailors to the number of 200 more or less, among whom 20 from the family of St. Francis, remained here, until finally in December, along with three of our people whom our Rev. Fr. Provincial had called to Manila, they once again continued their voyage to the Philippine Islands aboard the ship of the Marianas.

[The Pilar conscripts mutiny ashore]

Meanwhile, our Governor built a three-mast boat to invade the still-rebellious northern islands, of an imprudently-large size, that was hard to maneuver, difficult to control. It was believed falsely that they [the boats] were being made ready to exile them to the Philippines, where they had been relegated. Some criminal, intending to overexcite them, gathered among them a very impious group, and they plotted the worst sacrilege of things sacred and profane, in which they were assigned to furtively kill us, the Governor and the soldiers who would oppose their enterprise. The day chosen for the execution of the crime was the feast-day of St. Rose, at the hour personally chosen by the Governor, who as a Peruvian bent on honoring the Peruvian saint, was to have a military parade. August 25th had already been chosen, but for a storm that kept away the arrival of the Manila ship, destined to visit us every year by royal decree. The wind, on that very day that it was aiming for the port, prevented the opportunity. At nightfall, it went beyond the reef to the high sea. Meanwhile, the wind became contrary and the ship disappeared for a whole month. And the conspirators disagreed among themselves, as the [celebration of the] feast had been delayed until the arrival of the ship. One of the plotters had a remorse of conscience and gave a clue to the circumstances surrounding the matter, in order to earn the faith [sic]. That same night the military Commander, Don José de Quiroga, apprehended 24 and through the church [connections] for greater security he sent a letter to the Governor at the port, to advise him of the imminent danger, and begging him to very quickly get hold of those perpetrators of the crime who were with him, either as authors or accomplices. He seriously despised whatever might be the reason for [their] doing so. From there they were transported in fetters, I do not know how many, to Agaña, where the major part of the garrison was lodged. The Governor made haste immediately, and without delay condemned 24 to be garrotted the next day, [each] tied to a post, in public, to serve as an example. They were all truly contrite when they died, even those at the port who were executed afterwards. Lo and behold, on the day that the crime was to be detected, the force of the wind, which had kept the ship away, abated; then at the exact time of the execution it rode into port. Then took place the celebration, with a wild comedy and a tragedy based on the life of the Saint who had been favorable to us.

Immediately after [the beginning of] March [1691], the Governor instituted an expedition to our northern islands with a [ship] with a force of 120 soldiers and sailors. However, upon seeing the high sea, he fled. For on the fourth day he returned to port with his people, on account of the inclemency of the winds, with impunity for the unworthiness of the matter. He had hardly returned home, when he selected the largest of

the three ships to go to Manila the following week, and in it he took it upon himself to send 80 people, made up partly of garrison soldiers, partly of those who had suffered shipwreck. The rest, who numbered over 60 (unless God would inject me with a better mind), were to be taken away by the royal ship (as he said himself) that we expect to come from America on the way to Manila any day now. But I was strongly advised to imagine these things and others [planned] for our ruin: what if our Vice Provincial here had learned about the enterprise sooner; would he openly have imposed that [saying] from the Gospel: you have come to destroy us.¹ As for me, I deliberate with my dear Father, and I strongly beg a worthy decree and some orders from our Fathers General concerning the policies to be followed by us, so that we may do what we can and must, to avoid irreparable damage to the detriment of the souls here in these islands, where others may be wanting to inform the King about these things, which could all be changed around in their own favor.²

In my last letter I inserted something about what my occupation was to be at present. I have learned that nothing has come for me, except for the creation of a sodality among our Neophytes of the Anuntiation in Rome attached with the concession from our Very Rev. Fr. General. Look how the matter has pleased the Indians, who could be dressed in white, as they make progress in the Christian doctrine, so that hardly any would have love affairs with the Spanish soldiers, who would respond to the most difficult articles of the faith, such as those regarding the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Eucharist, so exactly that I am full of admiration as anyone else who might listen to the responses.³ There are many of them who understand enough about the holy faith and some truly do so; for instance, on Sabbath days the litanies of Loreto are recited for the preservation of the mission, and toward the evening of those same Sabbath days the 9- and 10-year-old children sing from memory the *Asperges* which is sung solemnly on Sundays. They also know from memory various prayers of the Church, such as: *Te Deum Laudamus*, *De Profundis*, *Laudate Dominum*, *Ave Maris Stella*, *Sub tuum praesidium*, etc. except for the prayer of the sodality, which the old ones [say] in the vernacular on the anniversary of their patron saints, the adults confessing themselves and having communion on that day. The use of the rosary and the litanies before bed-time has begun to be introduced. These are small things for Europeans, but for the rougher and uncivilized people here, they are to be esteemed. I would add bigger things when, by the grace of God, my hope will be attained among them, to whom it will be shallow water, we hope.

I strongly commend myself to the sacrifices and prayers of Y.R., so that one who sits in darkness and in the shadow of death be illuminated. I myself will ask God to bring good things to Y.R. and to the Province so dear to me, and my special consol-

1 Ed. note: A possible allusion to the treachery of Judas.

2 Ed. note: Undecipherable meaning; perhaps those who escaped death would tell on the priests who did not guard the secret of the confessional, in order to save innocent lives, including their own.

3 Ed. note: Such learning was, of course, by rote...

ation would be to remain healthy very much longer, until the time comes to embrace [each other] in the Kingdom of Christ and God.

From the Island of San Juan, 24 May 1691.

The humble servant of Y.R. in Christ,

Gerard Bouwens.

[P.S.] Hello and greetings to the Rev. Fr. Provincial, the Father Professors, my fellow students, and others known to me throughout the Province, namely the Rev. Fathers Peter Verachter, and John Nutzen.

[Address:] To the Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape of the Society of JESUS.

Brussels [crossed out in favor of:] At the College of Antwerp.

Document 1691F

Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, postdated Manila 25 May 1691

Source: AGI Fil. 14-3-19, pp. 1-2.

Original text in Spanish

El Governador de Philipinas:

.1. Da quenta a V.M. de su llegada a Manila y de haver tomado posesion del Gobierno de Philipinas y Presidencia de la Audiencia de ellas el dia 25 de Jullio de 1690 de que remite testimonio, y como las Islas quedan en paz con los Reynos zircumbezinos y los Presidios con toda la prevenzion necessaria. Con testimonio a n° 1 de los recaudos.

Señor.

*En un haviso que a 26 de febrero de este año de 1690 salio de la Veracruz para ese Reyno di quenta desde Mejico como haviendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco por Dziembre del año pasado de 1689 el Galeon nombrado **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guia** que fue despachado de estas Islas Philipinas por el situado ordinario de ellas con la notiçia de haver muerto su Governador y Capitan general Don Gabriel de Cruzelaegui y Arriola (con cuya subzesion fue V.M. servido haverme onrado) quedava disponiendo mi viaje para dicho Puerto de Acapulco, y en el embarcarme para estas yslas, como lo ejecute dandome a la vela en dicho Galeon el dia 20 de Marzo de este año de cuyo viaje (con el suceso de la perdida del patache Almiranta en las yslas Marianas) y de mi llegada a estas yslas di assi mismo quenta a V.M. el dia 4 de Jullio desde el Puerto del Varadero distante 25 leguas de esta Ziudad, en le Galeon que yba despachado para el Reyno de la Nueva España.*

Aora lo hago como no haviendo podido proseguir el viaje por las corrientes y bien-tos contrarios, y por lo maltratado y peligroso que estava el Galeon, me halle precisado à saltar en tierra el dia 7 de Jullio (asegurando al mismo tiempo por ella el dinero del Real situado) y fue Dios servido llegase a esta ziudad de Manila donde entre y tome posesion del Gobierno y Presidencia el dia 25 de Julli de que remito testimonio con esta a V.M.

Quedan Señor las Provincias de estas yslas en paz con todos los Reynos zircumbeninos y los Presidios con la guarnizion y prevenzion nezesaria de gente, armas y bastimentos para lo que se puede ofrecer.

Nuestro Señor guarde la Catholica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad a menester.

Manila y Diziembre 16 de 1690.

Añadido.

Señor: Acompaña a esta otro testimonio como el que zita de haver tomado posesion del Gobierno y Presidencia de estas yslas el dia 25 de Jullio del año pasado de 1690.

Manila y Mayo 25 de 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation

[From] the Governor of the Philippines.

1. He reports to Y.M. about his arrival at Manila and his having taken possession of the Government of the Philippines and the Presidency of their Audiencia on 25 July 1690, enclosing an affidavit for same. And how the Islands are at peace with all the neighboring Kingdoms and the Garrisons stocked with everything necessary. With affidavit under n° 1 of the records of proceedings.—

Sire:

In an advice boat that left Veracruz for that Kingdom on 26 February of this year 1690, I reported to Y.M. from Mexico about the arrival at the port of Acapulco in December of last year 1689 of the galleon named **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía** which had been despatched from these Philippine Islands for their ordinary subsidy with the news that their Governor and Captain General, Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui y Arriola (whose succession Y.M. was pleased to honor me with) had died, and that I was preparing to travel to said port of Acapulco, to embark there for these Islands, which I did. In fact, I sailed on 20 March of this year. I have already reported to Y.M. about this voyage (and the loss of the almiranta patache at the Mariana Islands) in a message dated 4 July from the port of Varadero, distant 25 leagues from this City, aboard the galleon that was then on the way to the Kingdom of New Spain.¹

Now I report that I was then unable to proceed with my voyage on account of contrary currents and winds, and because the galleon was beaten up and dangerous. I was forced to step ashore on 7 July (and at the same time placing the money of the Royal subsidy in safety) and God was pleased that I arrived at this City of Manila, which I entered and took possession of the Government and Presidency on 25 July, about which I enclose an affidavit for Y.M.

1 Ed. note: This letter, dated Varadero 4 July 1690, is wanting, and should be in AGI as the Santo Cristo de Burgos made it to Acapulco.

Sire, the Provinces of these Islands remain at peace with the neighboring Kingdoms and the garrisons have what they need by way of men, weapons and food supplies for any eventuality.

May Our Lord keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 16 December 1690.

Postscript.

Sire: Another affidavit is enclosed regarding my having taken possession of the Government and Presidency of these Islands on 25 July of last year 1690.

Manila, 25 May 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Documents 1691G

Construction of the new galleon Rosario

Sources: AGI Fil. 14-3-38 and 14-3-40.

G1. Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, postdated Manila 23 June 1691

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Phiipinas.

25. Da quenta a V.M. como por no haver Galeon que poder despachar a la Nueva España, por el situado ordinario, queda fabricando un Galeon nuevo en la Rivera de Cavite. Y añade como se conclujo y haze viaje.

Señor

*Haviendo llegado a estas yslas halle que solo tenia V.M. en ellas dos Galeones, el uno nombrado el **Sancto Cristo de Burgos** que fue despachado este año al Reyno de la Nueva España. Y el otro en que yo pase que es el **Sancto Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guia**, el qual por lo maltratado que llevo me aseguraron todas las personas que entienden la facultad no poder hazer mas viaje por ser conocido el riesgo de perderse. En cuya considerazion no haviendo otro que poder despachar el año que viene por el situado hordinario sin embargo del poco tiempo que havia para su prevenzion me preziso la nezesidad a enprender la fábrica de un Galeon nuevo y asi desde el mismo dia en que llegue a esta ziudad, aplique todo mi cuydado en dar la Providencia nezesaria para ponerla en execuzion, ymbiando a las Provincias de la Pampanga y la Laguna de Bay, a que se hiziesen los cortes de maderas que son menester, por ser tan del servicio de V.M. y bien de estas yslas, el que no falta Galeon que vaya todos los años a dicho Reyno de la Nueva España.*

Prinzipiose dicha fabrica por el mes de Septiembre en la Rivera del Puerto de Cavite la qual tengo ya en buen estado y fio en Nuestro Señor que para fin de Abril se echara al agua, y se conseguira su conclusion para el tiempo que se nezesita cuyos costos y gastos me prometo seran moderados por la atenzion y desbelo que pongo, de que no se exzeda en ellos de lo mui preziso, y de su monto dare quenta yndividual remitiendo

zertificaciones a V.M. a su tiempo cuya Catholica y Real Persona guarde Dios como la Cristiandad à menester.

Manila y Diziembre 16 de 1690.

Añadido.

*Señor. Fue Dios servido se concluyese la fabrica del Galeon que refiere en la de arriba, al qual se le puse por nombre **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** habiendo conseguido una de las mejores obras, por lo fuerte, y perfecta, de quantas en las yslas se an hecho hasta aora, y por haver tenido que haçer hasta el dia de la Propartida, no a sido posible liquidar y ajustar todos los gastos que a causado para dar quenta a V.M. y remitir zertificazion de ellos en esta ocasion, pero lo ejecutar en la del año que viene sin falta; y lo que puedo asegurar (Señor) es, que son menos, que los que regularmente an tenido los demas Galeones de su porte, porque en este se a puesto mas expezial cuidado, respecto de que havindome hallado sin Maestro mayor (por haver muerto el que havia en las yslas antes de mi llegada a ellas) fue preziso valerme para dicha fabrica, del General Don Thomas de Endaya, Maestro de campo ynterino de este terçio por ser persona de grande yntelixençia, y comprehension en la facultad (y que fue el que dio las reglas y medidas para el Galeon **Sancto Christo de Burgos** que fabrico mi antezesor) quien a obrado con tanto zelo y aplicazion, que no solo se le deve unicamente el que dicho Galeon se aya acavado en tan breve tiempo para que pueda haçer viaje; sino tambien el que mediante su continua asistençia, cuidado y vigilançia en dicha fabrica, se an conseguido en ella ahorros considerables en los generos de su consumo, porque a su vista no à havido en ellos los desperdizios, que en otras fabricas, como se comprovara por la Zertificazion que remitire a V.M. el año que viene, y por ser particular serviçio el que en esto a hecho el dicho General Don Thomas de Endaya, no puedo escusar el ponerlo en la Real considerazion de V.M. para que se digne tenerlo presente en ella, como tambien el venefiçio que a hecho y haze a estas yslas, en ynstruir y enseñar a los naturales de ellas, el dicho arte de fabricar Galeones, en que se hallan ya tan expertos que para ellos ni para otras qualesquiera embarcaciones, se nezesita de maestro mayor de fabricas cuyo salario que son mil pesos al año, se ahorrara a la Real hazienda de V.M. desde aora en adelante respecto de que el dicho General Don Thomas de Endaya con summa lealtad y desynteres, se ofreze a continuar no solo en dar las formas y medidas para las fabricas de qualesquiera vajeles de V.M., sino tambien a asistir a ellas personalmente si fuere menester, quien en premio de este y de los demas serviçios que tiene hechos a V.M. en estas yslas (donde a obtenido los primeros Puestos como son el de General para la Nueva España por tres veces y General de diferentes armadas que se an ofrezido despachar en algunas ocasiones contra enemigos Piratas,) pretende se le haga merced de aumentarle a la encomienda que goza comfirmada por V.M. del Pueblo de Vigan, en la Provincia de Ylocos, la de otro Pueblo ynmediato y conjunto à el, en la misma Provincia que llaman Bantay perteneziente a la Real Corona de V.M. que se compone de 145 tributos 1/2 y revajado el estipendio del ministro de Doctrina y de mas gastos de*

cobranza, quedaran cada año liquidos poco mas de çien pesos, los quales solizita no tanto por la combeniençia y utilidad de ellos, quanto porque zesen con la union de los dos Pueblos, las discordias y ruidos que continuamente ay mediante la zercania entre el ministro de Vigan que es clerigo, y el de Bantay, que es Religioso; y respecto de que la pretension consiste en cantidad tan tenue, espero de la Real clemençia de V.M. sera servido conzedersela haziendole mercer de dichos 145 tributos 1/2 demas de las que goza de encomienda en atenzion à sus relevantes servicios ya que por su medio consigue la Real hazienda de V.M. el ahorro de los mil pesos que se davan cada año al Maestro mayor de fabricas, ô sobre ello mandara V.M. lo que sea de su mayor servicio.

Manila y Junio 23 de 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

25. Reports to Y.M. how, because there was no galleon to send to New Spain for the ordinary subsidy, a new galleon has been built on the shore of Cavite. And he adds how she was completed and is making the voyage.

Sire:

When I arrived at these Islands I found that Y.M. only had two galleons here, one named **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that was despatched this year to the Kingdom of New Spain, and another with which I came over, the **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía**. As for the latter, on account of the bad shape it was in when she arrived, I was assured by all the persons who understand the business that she cannot be used for another voyage, as she would risk being lost. Under such a circumstance, as there was no other to despatch this coming year for the ordinary subsidy, in spite of the shortage of time before this eventuality, necessity forced me to undertake the construction of a new galleon and so, from the very first day that I reached this City, I applied myself with all my care in giving the necessary provision for the beginning of this project, and sent to the Provinces of Pampanga and Laguna de Bay, for the cutting of the necessary timber, because it is so much for the service of Y.M. and the welfare of these Islands that a galleon make the yearly voyage to said Kingdom of New Spain.

Said construction began during the month of September on the shore of the port of Cavite. It is proceeding apace and I trust in Our Lord that the launching will take place by the end of April, and that the construction will be finished by the time she will be required. The costs and expenses, which I trust will be moderate on account of the care and attention that I apply, should be the minimum required under the circumstances, and I will give a detailed report of the total sum, complete with certifications to Y.M. in due course.

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 16 December 1690.

Postscript.

Sire: God was pleased to let us finish the construction of the galleon that is referred to above, and she was baptized the **Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa**. She turns out to be one of the best piece of work, on account of her strength and perfection, that has ever been built so far in the Islands. Given that the finition work proceeded until the eve of her departure, it has not been possible to liquidate and adjust all the expenditures involved in time to give Y.M. a report and a certification of them on this occasion, but I will do so next year without fail. However, what I can assure you, Sire, is that it has cost less than it normally does for galleons of her capacity, because more special care has been taken in it; in fact, as there was no master ship-builder (he had died before I arrived here), it became necessary for me to assign General Don Thomas de Endaya, the interim Master-of-camp of this Regiment, to said construction, as he is a person of great intelligence and knowledgeable in the profession (it was he who gave the rules and measurements for the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that my predecessor built). He has worked with so much zeal and application that not only he is uniquely responsible for the fact that said galleon was completed in such a short time, on time to make the voyage, but also it was he who, by his continuous presence, care and vigilance during said construction, achieved considerable savings in consumable goods, because he kept a close eye on the use of materials to prevent the waste that occurred in other constructions, as will be evident in the certification that I will remit to Y.M. next year.

On account of the special service and contribution of said General Don Thomas de Endaya, I cannot but submit it to the Royal consideration of Y.M., so that you may deign to keep it in mind, as weil as the beneficial influence he has in these Islands, by giving instructions and teaching the natives here the said art of constructing galleons; they are now so expert at it that to build them as well as any other type of vessels, there is no longer any need of a Master ship-builder, thus representing a saving, equivalent to his salary of 1,000 pesos, to the Royal Treasury of Y.M. From now on, since the said General Don Thomas de Endaya offers his services, with extreme loyalty and disinterestedness, not only to provide the designs and measurements for the constructions of any vessel whatever for Y.M., but also to personally take charge, if need be. To reward this, and the other services done to Y.M. in these Islands (where he has held the top posts, such as that of General for the run to New Spain three times, and General of various fleets that have been despatched in some occasions against enemy pirates), it is hoped that he may be favored with an increase in the land-grant that he presently enjoys, the one already confirmed by Y.M. of the town of Vigan in the Province of Ilocos, by adding that of anther town in the immediate vicinity, in the same province, which they call Bantay, belonging to the Royal Crown of Y.M, which consists of 145 tributes and 1/2; if one deducts the stipend paid to the minister of the Doctrine, and the other collection costs, that leaves every year an approximate net revenue of 100 pesos. Naturally, he does not make this request for the convenience and usefulness of this sum, but to put a stop, by the union of the two towns, to the discords and rumors that con-

tinuously arise by the fact of the vicinity of the minister of Vigan, who is a cleric, and that of Bantay, who is a member of a religious order. Given the fact that the pretension involves such a small sum, I hope that the Royal clemency of Y.M. may be pleased to grant him this favor of said 145 tributes and 1/2, in addition to the land-grant that he enjoys, in view of his relevant services and that he has already known how to achieve a yearly saving of 1,000 pesos to the Royal Treasury of Y.M., i.e. what was paid to the master ship-builder, or, whatever else that Y.M. will be pleased to order for the betterment of your royal service.

Manila, 23 June 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

G2. Letter from Governor Cruzat, dated 12 July 1691

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas

Da quenta a V.M. de las diligencias fechas en horden al alijo del Galeon que despachava a la Nueva España por haverse reconocido al tiempo de darse a la vela estar sebre cargado y como haviendo quedado zafo boyante y marinero salio del Puerto de Cavite en prosecuzion de su viaje de que remite testimonio.

*Despues de tener çerrado el despacho y estando ya para salir y darse a la vela el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** tube aviso del Castellano de Cavite y del General de dicho Galeon en 29 del mes pasado de Junio como este se hallava sobrecargado respecto de tener la manga devajo del agua faltandole aun todavia que meter alguna aguada y bastimentos; y que para conseguir y asegurar el viaje era preziso aligarle alguna carga lo qual mande que así se ejecutase luego yncontinenti dando Comision para ello al Maestro de Campo Don Thomas de Endaya como persona de todo conozimiento y experiencia a quien de horden para que pusiese dicho Navio zafa boyante y marinera à satisfazion del General Pilotos y Contramaestre; y haviendo quedado en esta forma al parecer con el alijo que se le hizo se levo para salir del Puerto de Cavite en 5 de este presente mes de Jullio y a poca distanzia que andubo se reconozio nezesitar de mayor descarga que la que se le havia hecho concu[...] por lo que ynstava la brevedad del tiempo en que dicha Nao saliese sin ninguna dilacion me determine a pasar en persona a dicho Puerto de Cavite con asistencia del Vuestro fiscal de esta Real Audiencia y hize que ynmediatamente se alijase toda la carga que tenia entrecubiertas y que en ellas fuese tan solamente el matalotaje cajas de la ropa de vestir de los Marineros ranchos jarzia y velamen y la demas carga con la aguada en la primera vodega y no en otra parte que es segun y como V.M. lo tiene prevenido y mandado por sus leyes Reales tocantes a la navegazion de esta Carrera y executada dicha diligenzia hize se reconoziese el Galeon por todos las personas peritas e ynteligentes en el Arte Nautica las quales despues de haver visto probar el Galeon de un borde y otro en esta bahia en que se experimento su buen Gobierno unanimes y conformes fueron de parecer y declararon estar segun se requiere para hazer viaje y que se devia levar sin*

perder ora de tiempo; en cuja conformidad di horden a el General para que lo ejecutase así como lo hizo el día 8 de este presente mes de Jullio para ponerse en franquia y donde en entrando los Vendavales le sirvan para prosecuzion de su viaje que fio en Nuestro Señor le a de conseguir con toda felicidad y la causa de no haver podido cargar tanto como regularmente los demas Galeones de esta Carrera es por ser de menor porte respecto del corto tiempo que a havido para su fabrica y para que en ese Real y Supremo Consejo conste del dicho alijo y de las demas diligenzias que se an hecho remito a V.M. testimonio de ellas por donde se reconozera haver sido ynescusable lo que se à obrado pues lo principal a que se deve atender es asegurar el viaje del Galeon poniendole en la forma que va de poder resistir qualquiera ymbasion ó tormenta y que sin riesgo de lo uno y otro pueda yr por el Real Situado a la Nueva España que es lo que mas combiene a la conservazion de estas Islas y al maior servicio de V.M. C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios como la Cristiandad a menester.

Manila y Julio 12 de 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. on the proceedings for lightening the galleon that he was despatching to New Spain, on account of the realization of its being overloaded at the time of sailing, and how it left the port of Cavite to pursue its voyage after it was made more boyant and seaworthy, and he encloses a transcript of the case file.

After the despatch had been closed and the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** was already about to sail, I received an advice from the Warden of the Fort of Cavite and from the General of said galleon, dated 29th of last month of June, to the effect that this ship was overloaded, since its main deck was below the water surface and they still had not taken on the water and food supplies; and, in order to make a successful voyage, it was necessary to lighten it of some of the cargo. This was done immediately, as soon as a commission to this effect was given to Master-of-camp Thomas de Endaya, as a person with full knowledge and experience; I gave him an order to make said ship boyant and seaworthy, to the satisfaction of the General, the pilots and the boatswain. So, after it was apparently lightened, it set sail from the port of Cavite on the 5th of the present month of July, but, after a short distance, it was recognized that more cargo had to be taken off. Because time was short and it was urgent for said galleon to leave without any further delay, I decided to go myself to said port of Cavite, with the assistance of your Fiscal of this Royal Audiencia and I ordered that all the freight that was stored between decks be unloaded immediately and that such space be occupied only by the food supplies, the seamen's chests of clothes, their cooking facilities, the [spare] rigging and sails, as well as other freight such as water supplies in the first hold and not anywhere else—which is in accordance with Y.M.'s orders regarding the navigation of this run. Once this was done, I ordered a survey to be carried out by all the expert and knowledgeable persons in the art of

navigation; they, after they had tested the galleon on various tacks made within this bay, unanimously agreed that it was easy to manage and fit to make the voyage, and that it should leave without losing one more hour of time. To this effect, I ordered the General to carry this out, and so he did on the 8th of the present month of July, in order to take advantage of the coming monsoon winds that would help him pursue his voyage, which I trust in Our Lord he will achieve successfully.

The reason why this galleon was not able to carry as much cargo as the other galleons usually do on this run is because its capacity is lower, on account of the short time allowed for its construction. In order for this and other proceedings to be recorded in that Royal and Supreme Council, I remit the attached case file to Y.M., by which it will be recognized that the action taken was unavoidable; indeed, the main thing is to make sure the voyage of the galleon can be successfully carried out, and therefore it must be in such condition as to resist any attack or storm along the way, and thus be able to fetch the royal subsidy from New Spain, in the interest of the preservation of these Islands and for the greater service of Your Majesty, whose Royal Person may God save, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 12 July 1691.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Document 1691H

Letter from Fr. Pedro Cano to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Manila 22 June 1691

Source: RAH 9/2669 doc. n° 37.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Antonio Xaramillo.

P. X. &a.

Por la costa [de India] escribí a V.R^a a que me alegrare se halle con entera salud, que io tengo graçias al Señor. Avise de las novedades suçedidas con el nuevo Governador Don Fausto Cruzat Cavallero de gran capacidad, y muy aplicado al Real haver: no se si le durara mucho, porque apurando a todos se apura a sí mismo sobradamente: Dios le de açierto como deseamos todos.

...

Lo informado de aca los años passados acerca de el tiempo de salir el bagel a Marianas por Abril o Mayo, se ha reconoçido ser ierro, con la experiència, y que el mejor tiempo es quando salen las naos, y que aunque se dilate por algun açcidente hasta ultimos de Julio puede muy bien hazer viage: en esta conformidad escribe Su Señoria al Real Consejo; y pide se le señalen medios para hazer nuevo vagel caso que este se pierda, o se muera de viejo: io juzgara mandase su Magd. se hiziesse de su Real haver; y con esso no se daba lugar a las intrepetaçiones, de los Señores Governadores escrupulosos.

En Marianas murio el H^o Juan Haller boticario, y el consuelo de los Missioneros: si se les pudiera traer otro, fuera de grande alivio para aquella Mission.

*Las Marianas se estan en el mismo estado: salio Esplana con tres barcos de porte a la conquista al tiempo que se hallaba con toda la gente de la Almiranta perdida en aquellas Islas (**iuditia Dei abyssus multa**; pues sin tiempo fue a dar sobre la restinga que arroja el bajo de la entrada del Puerto): volviõse desde Saypan por deçir havia turbonadas, y eran tales que las banquillas Marianas aguantaron: quedaba para salir otra vez el Sargento Mayor Quiroga, quedandose el Governador en el Presidio; con que esperamos buenas nuevas con la nao. Una justizia hizo Esplana que diõ gran trueno, y fue man-*

*dar arcabuzear a 23 hombres los mas culpados en un alzamiento que intentaron los forzados que venian en la Almiranta para matar al Governador y a los Padres (excepto uno que havian de reserbar para que en acabando de matar a todos, los confessase a ellos, y luego matarle a el) y luego embarcarse en la fragata **San Gabriel**, y tirar para el Peru: descubriose la trama, y con gran primor los fue amarrando Quiroga, y hecha la causa fueron sentenciados los 23, y luego se executo en todos: aqui bramaba su S[feñori]a mas luego que supo el caso como paso, mudo de sentir, y me dijo avia obrado Esplana muy bien.*

...

No hay mas tiempo, que para suplicar a V.R^a no se olvide de mi encomendandome muy de veras a nuestro Señor que guarde a V.R^a y le traiga con la presteza, y felicidad que es deseado.

Manila Junio 22 de 1691.

Siervo ex corde de V.R^a

+

+ Pedro Cano +

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General Antonio Xaramillo.

Peace of Christ, etc.

By way of the coast [of India] I wrote to Y.R. to tell you that I would be glad if you find yourself in complete health, and that, thank God, I am healthy. I informed you of the happenings with the new Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat, a gentleman of great ability, and very careful with the Royal funds. I do not know if he will persist that way much longer, because by pushing everyone he pushes himself exceedingly. May God give him the success that we all wish for him.

...

What had been said in past years regarding the best time for the departure of the vessel to the Marianas being in April or May, has been recognized as a mistake; experience has shown that the best time is when the galleon depart, and that although some accident might delay it until the end of July, it can very well make the voyage. His Lordship is writing to the Royal Council in this vein, and requests that means be earmarked for the construction of a new vessel, in case this one be lost, or die of old age. I would think that His Majesty will order that it be done with his Royal funds, thus leaving no room for interpretations by scrupulous Gentlemen Governors.

In the Marianas, Br. Juan Haller, the pharmacist, has died, he who was the consolation of the missionaries. If a replacement could be found for them, it would be of great relief for that Mission.

The Marianas remain in the same condition. Esplana left with three sail-boats to the conquest at the time that all the men of the lost almiranta [Pilar] were present in those Islands (**juditia Dei abyssus multa**;¹ indeed, in good weather, she hit a reef barrier that fringes the shoal at the entrance of the port). He returned from Saypan, saying that he had met with squalls, and they were so great that the Mariana canoes were held back. The Sergeant Major intended to go out again, and the Governor was to remain in the Garrison; therefore, we hope to get good news with the galleon. One legal decision made by Esplana was like a thunderclap, and that was that he ordered the execution by firing squad of 23 men, the more guilty ones in an uprising attempted by convicts coming with the Almiranta, in which they meant to kill the Governor and the Fathers (except one they were to spare for the purpose of his giving absolution to the killers, and then they were to kill him too) and afterwards to board the frigate **San Gabriel** and head for Peru. The plot was uncovered, and very quickly Quiroga had them placed in irons, and after they were tried, 23 in all were executed. Here His Lordship was furious, but once he learned fully about the incident, he changed his mind, and told me that Esplana had acted very well.

...

[The names and current assignments of Jesuits of the Philippines are given, as well the most recent news about the controversies between the religious orders in Manila. Mention is also made of 2 useless Jesuits.]

I have run out of time, except to beg Y.R. to please not forget me and to commend me very truly to Our Lord.

May He keep Y.R. and bring you back with the speed and good luck that I wish.

Manila, 22 June 1691.

Heartily yours,

+

+ Pedro Cano +²

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Gospel meaning: "How inscrutable are God's judgments." (Rom. 11:33.)

2 Ed. note: Fr. Cano arrived at the Philippines in 1671, and served in various capacities until he was appointed procurator for Madrid and Rome the following year, 1692. He died as the galleon was nearing Acapulco on 18 December 1692 (ref. MurilloVelarde, fol. 369).

Document 1691I

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1691

Source: AGN AHH 1244, fol. 542-552.

Original text in Spanish

Señores Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.

En cumplimiento de mandamiento del Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galve Virrey Governador y Capitan general de esta Nueva España de 10 de febrero de este presente año re-frendado de Don Pedro Velazquez de la Cadena hacemos aplicacion en esta Carta quenta de 250,000 p que corresponden a un año de situado de esas yslas...

...

Guarde Dios a V.Mrs. muchos años.

Mexico y março de 1691.—

Yslas Marianas.

33,025 p 1t 0 grano que asimismo se an librado de la Real Caja de nuestro cargo este presente año para efecto de socorrer estas Yslas Marianas en esta manera:

<i>—18,900 p 0t 0g de los sueldos de 60 soldados que sirben a su Magd. en dhas Yslas hasta fin de Diziembre de este presente año</i>	<i>18,900 p</i>
<i>—5,000 p de un año de lo destinado para los dos seminarios ...</i>	<i>5,000 p</i>
<i>—6,125 p de un año de los estipendios de los Religiosos misioneros que asisten en ellas</i>	<i>6,125 p</i>
<i>—3,000 p que en 13 de febrero de este año se libraron a la persona de Don Damian de Esplana Governador y Capitan general de dhas yslas 2,000 p y los 1,000 p restantes a Don Joseph de Quiroga Sargento mayor de ellas a quenta de lo vencido de sus sueldos en conformidad de mandamiento del Exmo. Sor. Virrey Conde de Galve de 9 de este corriente mes y año despachado en conformidad de Real cedula y junta de Hazienda</i>	<i>3,000 p</i>

33,025 p

Monta el socorro hecho a las Yslas Marianas este año de 1691 33,025 p

Translation

Gentlemen Official judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

In accordance with the order given by His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of this New Spain on 10 February of the present year, countersigned by Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena, in this Letter of accounts we make the distribution of the 250,000 pesos corresponding to the annual subsidy of those Islands...

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, March 1691.

Mariana Islands.

33,025 pesos 1 tomin that have also been released from the Royal treasury in our care this year for the purpose of succoring these Mariana Islands as follows:

—18,900 pesos only for the salaries of the 60 soldiers serving His Majesty in said Islands until the end of December of the present year ... 18,900 p

—5,000 pesos, the yearly amount meant for the 2 seminaries 5,000 p

—6,125 pesos for one year for the stipends of the religious missionaries who reside there ... 6,125 p

—3,000 pesos that were released on 13 February of this year to the person of Don Damian de Esplana, Governor and Captain General of said Islands, i.e. 2,000 pesos, plus 1,000 to Don José de Quiroga, Sergeant Major there, which are the amounts due them for their salaries, in accordance with an order of His Excellency the Viceroy, Count of Galve, dated 9th of this month and year, that was despatched in accordance with a Royal decree and a meeting of the Treasury ... 3,000 p

33,025 p

Total amount of the succor to the Mariana Islands for this year 1691 ... 33,025 p

Documents 1692A

The fire that destroyed the patache San Gabriel at Cavite on 10 June 1692

Sources: Unless otherwise indicated, AGI Ultramar 561, years of 1692, 1693, 1702 and 1703 (formerly Secretaria de Nueva España, Legajo 3 de la Audiencia de Manila).

Notes: The King's answers are in AGI Fil. 332, libro 10. The original case file on this incident was lost with the galleon Santo Cristo in 1693. A substitute file was not sent to Madrid until 1696.

A1. Letter from the Governor to King Charles II, dated Manila 12 December 1691, with postscripts.

Note: He reports the fire aboard the patache San Gabriel at the port of Cavite after its return from the Marianas, and why it cannot make the same voyage in 1692; rather the galleon Santo Cristo is to make a stop at the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

El patache nombrado San Gabriel, que se despachó à las Yslas Marianas el año pasado de 1690, no bolbió de torna viage de ellas al Puerto de Cavite, hasta el dia 16 de Mayo de este presente de 1691, por cuya razon, y la de hallarme en aquel tiempo en la mayor fuerza y aprieto de la fabrica del Galeon nuevo, para despachar al Reyno de la Nueva España, no se pudo aderezar y carenar dicho Patache, segun se reconoció lo necesitaba para poderle bolver à embiar à dichas Yslas en la conformidad que està dispuesto por una Real cédula su fecha de 30 de Diciembre de 1687 de que di cuenta à V.M. en carta de 12 de Junio de este año, y de como luego que se acabase la fabrica del Galeon se aplicaria toda la maestranza de la ribera de Cavite y demas jente necesaria al aderezo de dicho Patache con el fin de despacharle aunque fuese à fin de Julio por haberse declarado en una Junta que hize de Pilotos, y otras personas inteligentes en el Arte nautica, que podria conseguir viage saliendo en dicho tiempo, y en esta suposicion tube prevenido todo el avio de bastimentos y pertrechos que habia de llevar.

Haviendo llegado el caso de concluirse la fabrica del Galeon y de hacerse à la vela para la Nueva España, se dió inmediatamente principio al desguase de dicho Patache

*para su aderezo y se descubrió por la Galafateria tener mucho mas que hacer de lo que se habia juzgado, y que no era posible poderse acabar para cuando se pretendia; lo cual motibó al Castellano de Cavite, à darme parte de ello, por la contingencia de que fuesen sin fruto los gastos de este aderezo remitiendo las declaraciones que hizieron los maestros de la Carpinteria por donde consto, que asi por dicha razon, como por haber ya entrado el tiempo de las aguas (las cuales embarazaban mucho para poder trabajar) no se podia concluir el apresto de dicho Patache, ni aun para fin de Agosto, en cuya vista comboqué à Junta de Hacienda, en 14 de Julio de este año para proveer lo que fuese del mayor servicio de V.M. y en ella se resolvió combenia se sobreseyese en dicho aderezo por escusar los gastos de el, respecto de estar reconocido, no servian para este año (ni para el que viene, pues era menester bolber à hazer lo mismo) y que se buscasse fletada ó comprada una embarcacion que en todo aquel mes de Julio se pudiese despachar à dichas Yslas Marianas, cuya diligencia se ejecuto luego y no se pudo hallar mas embarcacion que un Patache del General Antonio Nieto, vecino de esta Ciudad el cual aunque ofrecio darle sin flete alguno, habiendose reconocido; se halló no podia salir en el tiempo señalado por ser necesario primero el carenarle, y habiarle de muchas cosas que le faltaban, con que vista la dificultad se determinó en otra Junta de Hacienda, que comboqué en 20 de dicho mes de Julio, que no se pasase à mas diligencia, que atener prevenido con tiempo dicho Patache, para despacharle el año que viene en el que V.M. tiene mandado como todo lo referido constará por menor del Testimonio que remitiré à ese Real y Supremo Consejo, en la primera ocasion por via de Nueva España. Esta Señor ha sido la causa de que este año, no se pudiese despachar Patache à dichas Yslas Marianas, si bien ha sido nuestro Señor servido que su falta se remediase con haber llegado y dado fondo en ellas el Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** viniendo este año de la nueva España, y entregado el situado de Reales y generos, que traia para la infanteria y religiosos Misioneros de dichas Yslas; no obstante cumpliendo con mi obligacion pondré el cuidado que corresponde à ella, en que esté aderezado y prevenido dicho Patache para despacharle el año que viene, en el tiempo que V.M. tiene dispuesto y mandado por la Real cédula citada.*

Nuestro Señor guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha de menester.

Manila y Diciembre 12 de 1691.

Añadido.

Señor.

En la antecedente di cuenta à V.M. de la causa porque no se pudo despachar embarcacion el año proximo pasado de 1691 à las Yslas Marianas, y las diligencias que en orden à ello, se hizieron, que todo constará del Testimonio que zita el cual remito à V.M. adjunto.

*Ahora se me ofrece dar cuenta à V.M. como habiendose aderezado y compuesto el Patache nombrado **San Gabriel**, para que executase viage à dichas Yslas Marianas este presente año, en cumplimiento de lo que V.M. tiene mandado, y estando para el*

*efecto, socorrida la gente, y con todo el havió de bastimentos, y lo demas necesario, el mismo día en que se habia de hacer à la vela, que fué à 10 de este presente mes, sucedió el contra tiempo de pegarsele fuego en la bodega, y sin haberlo podido remediar, con ninguna de cuantas diligencias se hizieron, se quemó enteramente en la bahia del Puerto de Cavite; cuya casualidad ha sido para mi de vastante sentimiento y mortificacion, no tanto por la perdida, pues esta se reduce solo al casco del vagel, y à los bastimentos y generos de vestuario que se remitian para los religiosos, que asisten en la mision de dichas Yslas, y para la infanteria de ellas, sino por no haberse logrado en dos años continuados, el embiar socorro à dichas islas; pero ha querido nuestro Señor aliviarme este cuidado con la noticia que acabo de recibir, del general del Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, que de torna viage, viene de la Nueva España, en que refiere haber tocado en dichas Yslas Marianas, y dado fondo en ellas, donde dexó de situado de Reales y generos que venia para los Religiosos, y la infanteria mediante lo cual no pueden padecer necesidad alguna.*

Luego que el Castellano del Puerto de Cavite, y dos Oficiales Reales que se hallaron en el me dieron aviso del suceso de dicha quema, despaché à la averiguazion de el al Doctor Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarría, vuestro oidor de esta Real Audiencia, quien aunque incluyo con la Sumaria, no resulta de ella ningun culpado, ni se ha podido saber, como se principió el incendio, con que se presume seria por alguna pavesa, ó chispa que quedase encendida en la bodega, al tiempo de embarcar en ella los bastimentos y demas generos; no obstante quedan presos todos los Oficiales de dicho Patache, y así mismo lo fué remitido à esta Ciudad, el Castellano de dicho Puerto, por algunas omisiones, de que se le hace cargo en dicha sumaria; pero habiendose concluido esta, respecto de la mucha falta que su persona hace en Cavite, para el apresto y havió del Galeon que en esta ocasion se despacha à la Nueva España por quanto al tiempo de su propartida es cuando se ofrece mas que hacer, removí la prision de dicho Castellano al mismo Puerto de Cavite, para que no se experimentase ninguno atraso en la salida de dicho Galeon; y luego que se salga de este embarazo, se continuará en la dicha averiguacion, hasta que se concluya, para lo cual, y su determinacion tengo dada Comision en bastante forma al dicho oidor doctor D. Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarría: y por que en ese Real y Supremo Consejo conste del suceso referido y de lo actuado sobre el hasta este día, remito à V.M. con esta, testimonio de todo.

Quedo Señor en combocar à Junta general de Hacienda para que en ella se vea la Providencia que se podrá tomar en orden à fabricar ó comprar alguna embarcacion para despachar à dichas Yslas el año proximo venidero, de que à su tiempo daré cuenta à V.M.

Manila y Junio 23 de 1692.

Añadido.

Señor.

Respecto de que en el despacho del año de 1693 con carta numero 24, remití en esta ocasion testimonio de todos los autos y diligencias que se hicieron sobre el incendio que

*se menciona de la fragata **San Gabriel** hasta la conclusion de la causa y sentencia que se dió en ella; omito el remitir con esta el Testimonio que se dice arriba, de lo que se habia principiado à actuar en la sumaria de dicha causa, por no duplicar instrumentos.*

Manila y Mayo 12 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Translation.

Sire:

The patache named **San Gabriel** that was despatched to the Mariana Islands last year 1690 did not return from its voyage to the port of Cavite until 16 May of the present year 1691. For this reason, and that of finding myself busy at that time with the greater need and preparation of the construction of the new galleon [i.e. Rosario] in order to despatch her to the Kingdom of New Spain, it was not possible to repair and careen said patache, according to what the survey had determined was needed in order to send it again to said Islands, in accordance with the provisions of a Royal decree dated 30 December 1687, and about which I reported to Y.M. in a letter dated 12 June of this year, to the effect that after the construction of the galleon was finished, all the ship-builders on the shore of Cavite and other necessary men would be assigned to the repair of said patache for the purpose of despatching it, though it be at the end of July, because it had been declared in a Meeting that I called of Pilots and other knowledgeable persons in the nautical art, that the voyage could be made by leaving at said time, and supposing that it was so, I had arranged for the complete supply of food and equipment that it was to carry.

Once the construction of the galleon was finished and that she had sailed for New Spain, the stripping of said patache was immediately undertaken, in order to overhaul it, but the caulkers discovered that much more had to be done than had been thought previously, and that it was not possible to complete the repairs before the appointed time. That is why the Warden of Cavite was moved to write me a report about it, in case it should be judged useless to make expenses for this repair, and he referred to the declarations made by the master carpenters, by which it appeared that, not only for the above-said reason, but also because the rainy season had already started (the rains seriously impede this kind of work) the preparation of said patache could not be finished, not even before the end of August. That is why I called a Meeting of the Treasury on 14 July of this year to find out what would be for the greater service of Y.M., and in it it was resolved that it would be appropriate to postpone said repair to prevent unnecessary expenses, given the fact that it is recognized that they cannot be useful for a voyage this year (not even for next year, since it was necessary to do the same thing again) and that a replacement vessel be chartered or purchased, one that could be made ready for despatch to said Mariana Islands before the end of that month of July. This particular project was followed up then but no other vessel was found, with the exception of a patache belonging to General Antonio Nieto, a resident of this City who, although he offered to give it for free, after it was surveyed, it was found that it was impossible to

depart by the appointed time, because it was necessary first to careen it and outfit it with many things that were missing. Hence, it was decided in another Meeting of the Treasury that I called on 20th of said month of July, not to go on with this project but rather to take the time to overhaul said patache in order to have it ready for despatch next year, as Y.M. has ordered. A record of proceedings that I will remit to that Royal and Supreme Council by the first occasion via New Spain will give complete details of the above. This, Sire, was the reason why it has not been possible to despatch a patache this year to said Mariana Islands, although Our Lord was pleased that its lack was remedied by having the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, returning this year from New Spain, stop and anchor there, to deliver the subsidy in money and kind, that she carried for the infantry and the religious missionaries of said Islands. Nevertheless, to comply with my obligation, I will make the necessary efforts to have said patache repaired and ready to be despatched next year, at the time that Y.M. has assigned and ordered in the above-mentioned royal decree.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 12 December 1691.

Postscript.

Sire:

In the previous letter, I reported to Y.M. on the reason why a vessel could not be despatched this past year 1691 to the Mariana Islands, and the efforts that were made in this matter, as will be seen in the promised Record of proceedings which I now enclose for Y.M.

Now I have the opportunity to report to Y.M. that the patache named **San Gabriel** was repaired and made ready for the voyage to said Mariana Islands this present year, in compliance with what Y.M. has ordered, and in fact, it was supplied with men and all the necessary food supplies and other necessities, but on the very day that it was to set sail, which was on the 10th of the present month, there occurred the misfortune that a fire started in the hold, and it could not be extinguished, no matter how many efforts were made, and it burned down completely inside the bay of the port of Cavite. Such an accident has been quite sorrowful and painful for me to bear, not just for the loss—since the vessel was reduced to its hull, and the food supplies and clothing-type merchandise that was sent to the Religious who work in the mission of said Islands, and for the infantry there were all lost—but also because this means that no relief has been sent to said Islands for two years in a row. However, Our Lord has deigned to relieve me of this care, as I have just been advised by the General of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that upon returning from New Spain he stopped at said Mariana Islands, and anchored there, and was able to leave the subsidy in money and kind that came for the Religious and the infantry, thanks to which they cannot lack any necessity whatever.

As soon as the Warden of the port of Cavite, and two royal officials who happened to be there, advised me of said fire, I despatched Doctor Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarría, a member of your Royal Audiencia here, to carry out an investigation. How-

ever, as can be seen in the enclosed copy of the summary inquiry, the result was that no-one was found guilty. Neither was it possible to find out the origin of the fire, although it is presumed that it could be from some cinder or spark that remained burning in the hold, at the time that the food and other supplies were loaded. Nevertheless, all the officers of said patache remain in prison, and in addition the Warden of said port was brought to this City to answer some charges of omission that he was accused of in said report of inquiry; however, once it was concluded, in view of the fact that his presence is much needed in Cavite, for the outfitting and readiness of the galleon that on this occasion is being despatched to New Spain, given that most of the work to be done must be done just before departure time, I decided to change the site of imprisonment of said Warden to the port of Cavite itself, to prevent any delay in the departure of said galleon. And as soon as this urgent business is over, the investigation will continue, until a conclusion is reached. To this effect, and for its determination, I have given a commission in sufficient form to said judge, Doctor Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarria. And in order for that Royal and Supreme Council to be fully informed of this affair, and what has taken place so far, I remit to Y.M. along with this letter, a complete record of proceedings.

There remains, Sire, to call a General Meeting of the Treasury to discuss what provision should be made, with regards to the construction or purchase of another vessel to send to said Islands next year, and in due course I will report to Y.M. about it.

Manila, 23 June 1692.

Postscript.

Sire:

In view of the fact that in the despatch of the year 1693, with my letter #24 [see A2 below], I did send on that occasion a record of all the proceedings and efforts made regarding the above-mentioned burning of the frigate **San Gabriel** until the case was concluded and a sentence given, I now omit to enclose the same Record that was then enclosed, about the actions that had been taken in the summary investigation of said case, in order not to duplicate documents.

Manila, 12 May 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.¹

1 Ed. note: This letter, with postscripts, was received at Madrid only on 13 October 1698, and the Council of the Indies did not review it until 3 March 1700.

A2. Letter #24 from the Governor to the King, dated Manila 10 June 1693

*Note: He reports that the fire aboard the frigate **San Gabriel** occurred as it was being loaded to make the voyage to the Marianas in 1692, has been declared accidental in nature.*

Original text in Spanish.

*Nº 24. El Gobernador de Filipinas: Da cuenta de haberse declarado por casual y fortuito el incendio que padeció la fragata **S. Gabriel** que estaba habiada y cargada para hacer viage à las Yslas Marianas el año de 1692 con testimonio numº 17.*

Señor.

*Por Carta [con postdata] de 23 de Junio del año proximo pasado de 1692, tengo dado cuenta á V.M. del incendio que padecio la fragata **San Gabriel**, estando aprestada, y con la carga y bastimentos necesarios para darse á la vela, el dia 10 de dicho mes en seguimiento de su viage á las Yslas Marianas, y de quedar entendiendo en la averiguacion de los Culpados en este imfortunio el vuestro oidor Doctor Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarría, á quien di comision para la sustanziazion y determinacion de la causa; y ahora lo hago de haberla concluido, y por sentencia que pronunció dicho Oidor, declaro por casual y fortuito el incendio que padeció la referida fragata, y no haber intervenido en el dolo ni culpa lata, ni otra alguna, de que se hubiese seguido, y absolvió, y dió por libres, al Castellano del Puerto de Cavite, Cabo, Piloto, y demas Oficiales de dicha fragata, y que fuesen sueltos de la prision en que se hallasen, pasando á declarar su sentencia por consentida y cosa pasada y juzgada como mas latamente parece del testimonio que acompaña á esta, que es de lo actuado despues del despacho del año pasado, y de que doi cuenta á V.M. para que en vista de el provea y mande V.M. lo que sea de su mayor servicio, cuya Católica y Real Persona guarde Dios como la Cristianidad necesita.*

Manila y Junio 10 de 1693.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Translation.

Nº 24. The Governor of the Philippines: Reports having declared accidental and fortuitous the fire that destroyed the frigate **San Gabriel** that was supplied, loaded and ready to make the voyage to the Mariana Islands in 1692, enclosing a record of proceedings bearing number 17.

Sire:

By letter [post-]dated 23 June of last year 1692, I have reported to Y.M. the fire that destroyed the frigate **San Gabriel** while it was ready, with freight and the necessary supplies, to sail on 10th of said month in pursuance of its voyage to the Mariana Islands, and that the member of your Audiencia, Doctor Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarría, remained in charge of the investigation of the accused in this infortune incident, and that I had given him a commission to substantiate and determine the case. Now, I

report that the case had been concluded, and by sentence rendered by said judge, he declared as accidental and fortuitous the fire that destroyed the above-mentioned frigate, and that he did not find any fraud or hidden fault, nor any other guilt that could have been ascribed to anyone; that is why he found not guilty the Warden of the port of Cavite, Commander, Pilot, and other officers of said frigate, and ordered them to be released from prison where they were, and he went on to declare that his sentence was to be considered final, as can be seen extensively in the enclosed record of proceedings, which consists of what happened after the despatch of last year, and of which I inform Y.M. so that in view of it Y.M. may provide and order what is of your greater service.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 10 June 1693.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Editorial notes.

On 6 May 1700, the Council of the Indies decided to order the Governor of the Philippines to proceed with a trial for arson, in spite of the fact that the fire started after the hold had already been locked, and that no-one in particular could be found to have gone down with a light or fire. I think that a modern fire investigator might have ascribed the cause to spontaneous combustion. In any case, the case file shows that a series of ship officers who were not on board on the eve of departure, and should have been, were tried for negligence but found not guilty by Judge Aviña on 14 March 1693; their names and positions were: Diego Yscrot de Borjes, Commander and Chief Pilot; Nicolás Baz, pilot's mate; Matías Suarez, boatswain's mate; Juan Amaro, caulker; Esteban Enriquez, constable in the artillery; also Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, fort warden of Cavite, for having failed to place guards on board, and to send the new boatswain, José de Bolivar, on board, as a last-minute replacement of Pedro Flores. The Consulting Attorney employed by the Council of the Indies was of the opinion that his counterpart in the Audiencia of Manila should have appealed the sentence, and asked that the accused be fined for the value of the patache, and its cargo. The total loss was estimated at over 20,000 pesos.

Notes taken from the case file.

The fire was presumed to have started inside the hold at about 3 p.m. on Tuesday 10 June 1692, from a pile of "bonote" (coconut coir to be used as caulking material) stored there. The patache was riding on one anchor, as it was about to sail that afternoon. When the fire could not be extinguished, Major Atienza, the fort warden of Cavite, fearing that the fire might spread to the powder magazine area, ordered the fire-fighters off the vessel, the cable cut and some sail raised, to move the patache toward the in-shore, but it ran ashore in front of the fort of Cavite, next to the hulk of the condemned galleon **Santo Niño** and the hulk of another ship, the **Tulés**. In addition, two guns were ordered fired from the fort in an effort to sink the vessel, before the fire reached the powder. One shot destroyed part of the bow and the other made a hole

in the deck. Still, the powder caused an explosion, with pieces of wood and bits of jars flying off in all directions and hurting some on-lookers. By 5 p.m., the *San Gabriel* had burned to the water-line. The captain and other officers were arrested and jailed inside the fort.

A number of eyewitnesses were interrogated by the special prosecutor, Dr. Aviña. The 6th witness, 51-year-old Major Diego del Castillo, said that the captain and officers were on board during the fire, and they were the ones who carried the order to move the ship from where it was anchored, to prevent damage to the royal warehouses, the fort and shore magazine, and various boats that had been unloading rice. The 7th witness, Army Captain Antonio de Aristeguieta, speculated that the fire might have originated either from the ashes of a cigar having fallen upon some coir, powder or other combustible material.

Diego Yscrot de Borjes, captain and pilot of the *San Gabriel*, was interrogated in his cell on 16 June. This young sea captain was only 24 years old, born in the Canary Islands, and had already served the King for 6 years as a Pilot, and before that he had been Captain of infantry in Mexico. He was asked why he had not sailed at sunset on the 10th [rather 9th], when the order of weighing anchors was fired from the fort, and he had fired in return from the frigate. He answered that his crew and passengers were missing, and he had gone ashore to get them. Twice the next day, he fired a gun to warn seamen and soldiers to come aboard, but they did not; hence, they could not have passed muster until that afternoon. He had sent the steward ashore to ask the fort warden why the men were not coming aboard. The boatswain was also missing, and he had sent the boatswain's mate ashore to get the fireplaces and some cables. Before the inspection and muster were to take place at 1:30 p.m., he was having lunch, when someone came running to tell him that there was fire in the hold. He grabbed his sword and went down with as many men as were on hand to find out where the smoke came from. It came from the box containing the pumps, which had been filled with coir for the voyage. The burning coir was being taken out and water thrown upon it, but to no avail. The pumps themselves caught fire and the fire spread to the whole deck of the hold itself. Most of those sent from ashore to fight the fire refused to go near the fire, for fear of the powder catching fire; only a few seamen and natives with knives obeyed his orders for a while. He had the sails raised so that the monsoon wind then blowing would move the ship toward the point while the 2-3 gunners on board were taking out some of the powder and throwing it overboard. Finally, he obeyed orders from the fort warden to abandon ship, so that it could be sunk.

The boatswain's mate, Matías Suarez, was 27 years old, born in Santiago de León, on the coast of Caracas. When the fire was detected in the hold, only one man preceded him, Juan Amaro, the caulker. The steward then joined them both in fighting the fire.

On 23 July, Captain Yscrot petitioned the Governor on behalf of himself and his officers to be set free under bail, be judged, or at least have their shackles removed, and some change of clothes, etc. Judge Aviña immediately ordered that their shackles be removed. In August, Captain Yscrot presented two more memorials, complete with a

certificate from a physician, stating that he was sick in the legs, asking to be moved to another prison inside the fort, nearer the new gate, also called lower gate, where exposure to rain would be less bothersome. Dr. Aviña agreed and on 9 September, he was released from his cell in Fort San Felipe and moved to the lower guard-house, where he remained under house arrest.

Second Lieutenant Pedro Maldonado, acting as attorney for Major Atienza, fort warden, petitioned the court, asking for his client to be declared innocent of all charges, mainly because his responsibility to take care of the patache had ended on the day when it had been moved from her careenage to the loading wharf, that he had even already fired the departure signals, etc. In any case, since the cause of the fire was not known, in law it had to be considered accidental, until proven otherwise, and therefore could not be ascribed to anyone in particular, much less one who was not an officer on board said ship. Various other points of law are argued, the main one being that "there can be no crime where there is neither deceit nor fault." Besides, there were not even any circumstantial evidence that would point to his client as the responsible party; his job as warden was restricted to guarding royal ships at anchor, not those about to set sail, etc.

Cost of the construction of the patache San Gabriel.

The official records showed that the total cost of the patache San Gabriel, built in the shipyard at Bagatao, was approx. 6,759 pesos, as follows:

—iron work, oil, pitch, rigging, and other goods.....	1,182p
—wages and rations paid to all workmen.....	4,666p
—rations to Indians who provided the lumber.....	785p
—goods spent for the voyage Bagatao-Cavite.....	125p

Cost of the outfitting of the patache in 1692.

The official records showed a total expenditures of approx. 15,639 pesos, as follows:

—lumber spent in repairing the patache.....	2,374p
—iron work, oil, pitch, rigging and other goods.....	2,668p
—wages to caulkers paid on a daily basis.....	1,810p
—wages and rations paid to pitch men.....	47p
—wages and rations to caulkers employed full-time.....	32p
—wages and rations to carpenters.....	64p
—wages and rations to Indian helpers.....	46p
—wages and rations to Indian drillers.....	37p
—wages and rations to Indian blacksmiths.....	198p
—wages and rations to Indian painters.....	36p
—wages of Spanish officers, gunners, seamen and cabin boys who were about to sail aboard said patache.....	2,620p
—food supplies loaded for said personnel.....	3,478p
—other goods carried as cargo.....	2,207p

A3. The King acknowledges receipt of the report of the inquiry

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 158v-159, pp. 394-395; also in AGI Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas en respuesta de su carta en que participo haver sido casual el yncendio de la fragata nombrada San Gabriel.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.

*Haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias un testimonio de Autos que remitis-teis con carta de 10 de Junio del año pasado de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres en que se declara por casual el yncendio que el año de noventa y dos padecio en el puerto de Cabite la fragata nombrada **San Gabriel** el mismo día que se havia de hazer a la vela para llevar el situado a las islas Marianas:*

Ha parecido mandar al fiscal de essa Audiencia (como lo hago por despacho de la fha de este) que para mas exacta haberiguazion del referido incendio ynstaure esta causa y yntroduzca en ella la segunda ynstancia a fin de que se determine y sentencia por vos y los oydores de essa Audiencia de que se os participa para que lo tengais entendido y procureis su entero cumplimiento dandome cuenta de todo en la primera ocasion que se ofreciere.

Fha en Madrid a veinte y tres de 8re. de mill y setezientos.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines in answer to his letter in which he reported that the fire of the frigate named **San Gabriel** had been accidental.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

Given that a case file that you remitted with a letter dated 10 June of the past year of 1693 has been seen in my Council of the Indies, in which it is declared that the fire that occurred to the frigate **San Gabriel** in 1692 in the port of Cavite on the very day when it was to have set sail with the subsidy for the Mariana Islands, it has been decided to order the Fiscal of that Audiencia (as I do by despatch of today's date) to carry out a more exacting investigation of the said fire, to open a case and to introduce a second instance so that you and the members of the Audiencia may pass a sentence, and

to let you know so that you may be kept informed and see that it be carried out entirely, giving me a report at the first opportunity that presents itself.

Done at Madrid, on 23 October 1700.

I the King

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui

Recommended by the Council.

A4. The King orders legal proceedings to continue

Source: AGI Fil. 332, libro 10, fol. 161-163, pp. 399-403.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al fiscal de la Audiencia de Manila, mandandole introduzca la segunda instancia en la causa sobre el Incendio que padecio el Navio San Gabriel en el Puerto de Cavite el año de 92.

Mi fiscal de la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Governador y Capitan General de ellas, y Presidente de esa Audiencia con carta de diez de Junio del año pasado de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres remitió un testimonio de Autos, por donde parece que hallandose en el puerto de Cavite la fragata nombrada **San Gabriel**, con todos los aprestos necesarios para llevar el situado à las Islas marianas, y estando para hacerse à la vela, se prendió fuego en la bodega el dia diez de Junio del año de noventa y dos, ocasionado de haver bajado à ella con luz alguno de los Cavos ofiziales gente de mar ó artilleros, y se fue a pique sin que se hubiese podido aplicar remedio alguno; y que habiendo el Licenciado Don Lorenzo de Avina Echavarría oydor que fue de esa Audiencia passado à hacer averiguacion de la persona o personas que bajaron en aquella ocasion à la bodega con luz ó fuego, y pudieron ocasionar el incendio, no resulto mas culpa que la de que aunque el referido dia se havia de lebar el Navio, y hacerse la visita, no se hallaban à bordo Diego Iscrote, Cabo y Piloto mayor del, Nicolas Baz, su acompañado, Joseph Bolivar contra Maestre, Mathias Suarez, Guardian, Juan Amara Galafate, Esteban Enrriquez Condestable de la Artilleria, ni el Governador de Cavite Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, à cuyo cargo, y ordenes, estaba el Bajel hasta hacerse à la vela, ni yntroduyo en el, Guardian como se deve hazer en las Navios que son de mi Real hacienda, y que havindose sustanciado los autos, por el referido oydor, pronuncio sentencia en catorce de Marzo de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres, donde por libres à los sugetos mencionados de la acusazion, y demanda civil, que se les havia puesto por el fiscal de essa Audiencia el qual (haviendose la notificado) no ynterpuso apelacion, ni hizo otro acto judicial mas que reproducir las respuestas fiscales en que tenia pedido fuesen castigados, conforme à derecho, y condenados à la restituzion del valor de la referida fragata; y que havien-*

*dose publicado la sentencia porpasada en autoridad de cosa juzgada tampoco respon-
dio otra cosa que el que se dava por notificado de ella.*

*Visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dixo el fiscal del, como quiera que el
que lo era entonzes de esa Audiencia no apeló de la referida sentenzia ni se justifico
(como devia) en cuio poder estubieron las llaves de la Bodega el referido dia diez de
Junio y los inmediatas antezedentes a el, y considerando el grado [del] perjuicio que se
sigue à mi Real hazienda de perdidas tan considerables y que en las causas de esta cali-
dad no se exonera el cargo de la restituzion de los daños solo con que no aya interbeni-
do culpa, sino que se necesita de exactissimas diligencias, y aberiguaciones, para que
en semejantes casos viban los ofiziales de los vageles, gente de mar, y artilleros con el
cuidado, y descalo que es necesario afin de que no padescan detrimento ni menoscavo
los yntereses de la causa publica, he resuelto mandaros (como lo ago) yntroduzcais la
segunda instancia, y instaureis esta causa, para que se determine y sentencie por el
Presidente y oidores de esa Audiencia de cuya execucion y cumplimiento me dareis
quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofreciere, que asi es mi voluntad.*

Fha en Madrid a veinte y tres de otubre de mil y setecientos.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Fiscal of the royal Audiencia of Manila, ordering him to introduce an appeal in the case regarding the fire that suffered the vessel San Gabriel in the port of Cavite in the year 92.

My Fiscal of the Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Governor and Captain General of them, and President of that Audiencia, under a covering letter dated 10 June of the past year of 1693, remitted a case file by which it appears that, while the frigate named **San Gabriel** was in the port of Cavite, with everything ready to take the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, and about to set sail, a fire occurred in the hold on 10 June of 1692, on the occasion of some of the officers, seamen, or artillery men having gone down it with a light, and it sank, without it having been possible to apply any remedy; and that Licentiate Don Lorenzo de Aviña Echavarria, former member of that Audiencia, having gone there to find out which person, or persons, had gone down to the hold with a light, or fire, and could have caused the fire, he did not find any fault, other than that on the said day, when the ship had to sail, the following persons were not aboard it: Diego Iscrote, its Commander and Pilot Major, Nicolas Baz, his Mate, Joseph Bolivar, the boatswain, Mathias Suarez, the boatswain's mate, Juan Amara, the caulker, Esteban Enrriquez, the constable of the Artillery, not the Governor of Cavite, Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, in whose charge and under whose orders the vessel was, until it set sail, nor had

he placed a watchman on board, as is done aboard ships that belong to my royal treasury, and that, after having substantiated the declarations, the said member of the Audiencia pronounced sentence on 14 March 1693, freeing the above-mentioned subjects from the accusation and civil prosecution that the fiscal had charged them with, and then, when the latter was notified, he did not interpose an appeal, nor did any other legal act, other than simply reproduce the fiscal answers used when he had asked that they be punished in accordance with law, and condemned to restitution to the value of the said frigate [if found guilty]; but, the sentence was published, and the case legally closed, and still he did not object, only acknowledging receipt of this notification.

This having been examined in my Council of the Indies, with what its fiscal said about it, given that whoever was then a member of that Audiencia did not appeal the said sentence nor was it found out (as it should have been) in whose hands were the keys to the [padlocks of the] hold on said day, 10 June, and on those immediately preceding, and considering the level of prejudice caused to my royal treasury by such considerable losses and that in cases of such nature the charge of restitution of the actual damages is not lifted, by saying that no-one was to blame, rather very careful investigations are necessary, so that in similar cases the officers of the vessels, seamen and gunners will carry on with due care and necessary vigilance, and not disregard the interests of the public good, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to introduce an appeal, and to re-open this case, so that a sentence can be decided by the President and members of the Audiencia, and you are to give me a report about its execution and result at the first opportunity.

Made at Madrid, on 23 October 1700.

I the King

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Manuel de Aperregui.

Recommended by the Council.

A5. Letter from the Audiencia to King Philip V, dated Manila 14 June 1702

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Note: They acknowledge having received the despatch ordering the prosecution for arson of the fort commander of Cavite, Don Francisco Atienza Ibañez, also Don Diego Iscrot, and others, but they report that the case cannot be resolved for lack of evidence.

Original text in Spanish.

La Audiencia avisa haber recibido el despacho en que se le ordenó se le suscitase de nuevo por segunda instancia la causa criminal procesada contra el Castellano de Cavite Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, y D. Diego Iscrot, y demas culpados, sobre el incendio del Patache S. Gabriel, mandado despachar à las Islas Marianas; y que por que hasta ahora, no se halla podido de los autos averiguar en cuyo poder paraban las llaves de la bodega donde sucedió el incendio; y para poder proceder con mas conoci-

miento de causa se ha mandado recibir à prueba la demanda de estos autos; y porque lo difuso é intrincado de la causa no ha permitido fenecerla en el todo, mayormente en la copiosa ocurrencia de negocios de aquella Audiencia, se hallan en este estado los autos que sin duda quedarán fenecidos y determinados en brebe tiempo, y dará mas individual noticia el año siguiente: y remite testimonio.

Señor

*Por la real Cedula de 23 de Octubre del año pasado de 700, manda V.M. à esta Real Audiencia suscite de nuevo por segunda instancia, la causa criminal procesada contra el Castellano de Cavite Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Sargento mayor, D. Diego Iscrot y demas culpados sobre el incendio del Patache **S. Gabriel**, mandado despachar à las Islas Marianas en cuyo obediencia dado vista à vuestro fiscal suplicó de la sentencia pronunciada en estos autos expresando agravios, y alegando en su favor, de que dado traslado à los reos, y defendidos entos con sus alegaciones y copiosas provanzas à su favor se trajeron los autos para sentencia; que vistos por esta real Audiencia, no parece resulta contra dicho Castellano, ni contra el Piloto mayor D. Diego Iscrot, y demas comprendidos culpa ó defecto alguno, bastante para ser condenado en tan considerable cantidad como el valor de dho Patache, y por que hasta ahora de los autos, no se ha podido averiguar en cuyo poder paraban las llaves de la bodega donde sucedió dicho incendio. Y para proceder con mas conocimiento de causa dando entero cumplimiento à dho Real escrito, se ha mandado recibir à prueba, la demanda de estos autos, sobre el paradero que entonces tenian las llaves de dha bodega, y por que lo difuso é intrincado de la causa no ha permitido fenecerla y acabarla en el todo mayormente en la copiosa ocurrencia de negocios en esta Audiencia, y con los crecidos embarazos que han tenido sus despachos, y los demas tribunales, à vista de la indicacion tan gravemente reñida contra Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, Gobernador y Capitan General, que fué de estas Islas, se hallan en este estado los autos que sin duda quedarán determinados en brebe tiempo, y se dará mas individual noticia el año siguiente à V.M. cuya Catolica y Real Persona, guarde Dios como la Cristiandad desea y necesita.*

De los estrados de la Audiencia de Manila y Junio 14 de 1702.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Licenciado Don Francisco Gaered.

Translation.

The Audiencia acknowledges receipt of the despatch by which they were to retry the criminal case against the Warden of Cavite, Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, and Don Diego Iscrot, and other accused, regarding the burning of the patache **San Gabriel**, ordered sent to the Mariana Islands; and that until now, it has not been found from the records of proceedings who had in his possession the keys to the hold when the fire happened; and in order to proceed with more knowledge of the case, more investigation had been ordered to prove the case in these documents; and because of the diffused and intricate nature of the case, it has not been possible to finish it completely, mainly [because of] the volume of business of that Audiencia, the status of the records are such

they will no doubt be finished and decided within a short time, and a more detailed report will be provided the following year. Enclosed is a record of proceedings.

Sire:

By Royal decree of 23 October of 1700, Y.M. orders this Royal Audiencia to retry the criminal case against the Warden of Cavite, Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Sergeant-Major, and Don Diego Iscrot and other accused in the affair of the burning of the patache **San Gabriel**, that had been ordered despatched to the Mariana Islands. In compliance thereof, your fiscal, after checking the records, applied to have a sentence pronounced in these proceedings, by citing damages, and making allegations in his favor. The prisoners were informed, and defended themselves against said charges, providing copious proofs in their favor. When the records were brought up for sentencing, this Royal Audiencia issued the opinion that there was no guilt or fault of any kind on the part of said Warden, or against the Chief Pilot, Don Diego Iscrot, and other parties involved, sufficient to condemn them to pay such a considerable sum as the value of said patache, and because so far investigations have not revealed who was in possession of the keys to the hold when said fire took place. And in order to proceed with more knowledge of the case, in order to give complete obedience to said Royal rescript, an order has been given to have more proofs presented in the case, such as the whereabouts of the keys to said hold at the time, and because of the diffused and intricate nature of the case, it has not been possible to finish it completely, mainly on account of the volume of business of this Audiencia, and with the increasing backlog of its despatches, and the other tribunals, in view of the hard-fought contest against Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, former Governor and Captain General of these Islands, the files are in this state but they will no doubt become decided within a short time, and a more detailed report will be given next year to Y.M.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom wishes and needs.

From the courtrooms of the Audiencia of Manila, 14 June 1702.

Domingo de Zabalburu.

Licentiate Don Francisco Gaered.

A6. Letter from the Audiencia to the King, dated Manila 20 June 1703

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

*Note: They forward an authenticated copy of the case file against those accused in the fire aboard the frigate **San Gabriel**.*

Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila en las Islas Filipinas da cuenta à V.M. con copia de Autos, que se han formado sobre el incendio de la fragata **S. Gabriel**, que se habia de haber despachado à las islas Marianas el año pasado de 1692.*

Señor

*El año proximo pasado de 702 dio cuenta à V.M. esta Audiencia, en la Nao regular que se despachó de estas islas haber introducido la segunda instancia en esta Audiencia el fiscal de ella sobre el incendio que padeció la fragata **S. Gabriel**, que se estaba para despachar del Puerto de Cavite à las islas Marianas, el año de seiscientos noventa y dos, en ejecucion y cumplimiento de la real cédula de veinte y tres de Octubre del año de mil y setecientos, con la compulsa de autos que hasta entonces se habian formado y en esta ocasion se remiten tambien los que despues se han formado, quedando en término de prueba, y con el cuidado esta Audiencia, de que se fenezca con toda brevedad con todo lo demas que fuere del Real servicio de V.M. cuya Católica y Real Persona, guarde Dios como la Cristiandad ha menester.*

De los Reales estrados de esta Real Audiencia y Junio 20 de 1703.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Licenciado José Antonio Pabon

Dr. José de Torralba

Translation.

The Audiencia of Manila in the Philippine Islands reports to Y.M. with a copy of the case file that has been formed regarding the burning of the frigate **San Gabriel** that was to have been despatched to the Mariana Islands in the past year 1692.

Sire:

Last year 1702, this Audiencia reported to Y.M. by way of the regular galleon that was despatched from these Islands, that the fiscal had instigated a second trial in this Audiencia, regarding the fire that burned the frigate **San Gabriel** that was being despatched from the port of Cavite to the Mariana Islands in the year 1692, in compliance with the royal decree dated 23 October 1700, along with an authenticated record of proceedings that had taken place up to that time. On this occasion, the records of the proceedings that followed are also being remitted, and the case has been closed for lack of proofs, and this Audiencia hopes that the matter can be laid to rest as soon as possible, as well as everything else that might be of the Royal service of Y.M.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

From the Royal courtrooms of this Royal Audiencia, 20 June 1703.

Domingo de Zabalburu

Licentiate José Antonio Pabon

Dr. José de Torralba

Document 1692B

Letter from Fr. Morales to the Duchess, dated Mexico 18 August 1692

Source: Present location unknown; 3-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 for 21 pounds (Cat. N° 442, n° 1984, p. 242).

Extract in the Maggs Catalog

[He sends the news through the care of Father Balthasar de Mansilla:]

Beyond the principal news contained in the Gazette—which is the death of Don Fernando Valenzuela,¹ and the riot which took place in this city on 8 June, I add that of the cares of a new mission, and the effort to exterminate the numerous evils arising from the same root, which was the cause of the mutiny in Mexico, this is the abominable drink which they call *pulque*,² and which keeps the Indians in a state of intoxication, as also the mulattoes and half-castes, who commit such abominations that, to avoid offending your chaste sensibilities, I would just say that there is no form of vice which they are not guilty of. They also worship their idols, and indulge their absurd practices, and the Viceroys have been unable to abolish these customs.

[He suggests the conditions might be greatly improved by the issue of an annual Bull, as in Spain, instead of every two years; and above all, asks for the prohibition of drink. He mentions the improvement in the conditions in the Philippines, following the appointment of the new Governor, Don Fausto Cruzat, and the retirement of the Bishop of Troy, Fr. Ginés Barrientos. As regards the Mariana Mission, he remarks:]

It is only the poor Mariana Islands that are so backward and lacking in advantages, owing partly to the pernicious habits there, and partly to the cowardice of the Governor, who has installed himself in the first Island, and declines to explore the others.

...

1 Ed. note: The Queen Mother's ex-lover who was returning from exile in the Philippines died from a kick received from a horse.

2 Ed. note: A brew made from the agave, a sisal-like plant; this brew, when refined, becomes tequila.

Document 1692C

Galleon Santo Niño condemned in 1691

Source: AGI Fil. 15-1-3, pp. 1-3.

Note: The galleon Santo Cristo turned back in 1692, and then it was lost in 1693. That is why a copy of this letter did not reach Madrid until 13 December 1698. Copies of other 1691-92 documents did not reach Madrid until 1699, or even 1700.

Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, postdated Manila 8 June 1692

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

*25. Da quenta a V.M. haverse determinado en Junta General de Hazienda deverse hechar al traves el Galeon nombrado el **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía**, lo qual se queda ejecutando, respecto de haverse reconocido no poder hazer mas viaje por estar quebrantado y venzido y tener todas las maderas damnificadas. A que añade haverse sacado desde que se principio el desguaze de dicho Galeon 2,981 Arrovas y 11 libras de fierro hasta 31 de Mayo de 1692, y se queda continuando. Con recaudos a n^o 17.*

Señor.

*Haviendo dada orden para que el Castellano del Puerto de Cavite hiziese reconocer el Galeon nombrado el **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía** que se hallava surto en el, por las personas peritas en el Arte de fábricas, y que devajo de juramento declarasen si estava capaz y suficiante para poderse aderezar, y que hiziese viaje; ejecutada esta dilixencia consto estar dicho Galeon quebrantado de quilla y proa y tener podridos los mas de los maderos principales, y toda la tablazon del fondo, costados y cubiertas, y que qualquiera aderezo que se le quisiese hazer sería muy costoso y casi superfluo por ser Galeon benzido y juntamente defectuoso en su fabrica, respecto del exzesos que tenía en el lanzamiento de proa y fuera de su lugar la manga y quaderna maestra, hallandose a riesgo de yrse a pique por la mucha broma y que así se devía desguazar y hechar al través.*

Comboqué a Junta General de Hazienda para determinar sobre lo referido lo que fuese del mayor servicio de V.M. y vistas en ella las declaraciones de dichas personas pareció conveniente que a maior abundamiento antes de resolver, lo que se proponía se volviese a reconocer el dicho Galeon por los Generales y Pilotos que an sido de esta Carrera, y por dicho Castellano de Cavite, y que devajo de juramento declarasen su sentir, lo qual ejecutaron siendo todos de parecer, que dicho Galeon no podía hazer mas viaje, y que se decía hechar al través por quanto en caso de quererle aderezar demas de que se causarían en ello pocos menos gastos, que en la fábrica de uno nuevo yría espuesto conozidamente a una fatalidad de perderse por las razones que cada uno de por sí espreso en su declarazion.

Bolví segunda vez a combocar a Junta General de Hazienda que se zelebro en 18 de Septiembre de este presente año y se determino que dicho Galeon se desguazase quanto antes aprovechando de el, todo el fierro de la clavazon que se pudiese recojer en cuya conformidad se queda ejecutando así, de que doy quenta a V.M. y en la primera ocasion remitire por vía de la Nueva España testimonio de los Autos y demas dilixencias que en esta razon se an hecho y tengo dado horden al Castellano de Cavite por quien corre el desguaze de dicho Galeon aplique el cuidado y vijilancia que se requiere para que toda la clavazon que se sacare se yntroduzga en los Reales Almazenes con mucha quenta y razon sin que se permita ningun desperdicio en que tambien de mi parte pongo particular desvelo por lo que solizito en todo el maior ahorro y aumento de la Real Hazienda de V.M. C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios como la Christiandad a menester.

Manila y Diziembre 12 de 1691.

Añadido.

*Señor: en esta ocasion del Galeon que ba despachado al Reyno de la Nueva España remito a V.M. el testimonio que zita la de arriva y juntamente una zertificazion de los ofiziales Reales por donde consta que desde 2 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1691 hasta 31 de Maio de este presente se an yntroduzido en las Reales Almazenes del Puerto de Cavite 2,981 Arrovas y 11 libras de fierro viejo en pernería, clavazon y otras diferentes piezas sacadas de lo que hasta dicho día se a desguazado de dicho Galeon **San Niño** en que se queda continuando. Manila y Junio 8 de 1692.*

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

25. Reports to Y.M. that a General Meeting of the Treasury has decided to condemn the galleon named **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía**, and this is being carried out, because it was recognized that she could not make another voyage, since she is broken and beaten and all her timbers are damaged. He adds that since the beginning of the dismantling of said galleon until 31 May 1692, some 2,981 arrobas and 11 pounds of iron have been salvaged, and the work continues. Enclosures bearing n° 17.

Sire:

Having ordered the Warden of the port of Cavite to have the galleon named **Santo Niño y Nuestra Señora de Guía** that was anchored there, surveyed by persons expert in shipbuilding, and to have them declare under oath if it was possible to repair her enough to enable her to make the voyage. Once this step had been carried out, it turned out that said galleon had a broken keel and bow and most of her main timbers were rotten, and all of the planking of the bottom, sides and decks, and that any repair that might be done would be very costly and almost superfluous, because she was a beaten galleon, in addition to have been defective in her design, with regards to excessive heaviness of her bow and the misplacement of her maximum breadth and main frame; she is at risk of sinking as she is so worm-eaten, and so, she should be condemned and broken up.

I called a General Meeting of the Treasury to decide what should be done about it in the interest of Y.M.'s service, and after the opinions of the said persons were read, it seemed appropriate to have the matter considered further, and what was proposed, before a decision be taken, was to have a more detailed survey done of said galleon by the Generals and Pilots who have served on this run and by said Warden of Cavite, and have them give their opinions under oath. This was done, and all of them were of the opinion that said galleon could not make another voyage, and that she should be condemned, because if one were to try and repair her not fewer expenditures would be necessary than for the construction of a new one, and she would still be at risk of sinking for the reasons that each one of them expressed in his respective declaration.

Once again I called a General Meeting of the Treasury that took place on 18 September of the present year and it was decided to dismantle her as soon as possible, to take advantage of all the iron in her fastenings that could be salvaged. To this effect, I report to Y.M. that this is in the process of being carried out, and at the first opportunity I will remit by way of New Spain a record of proceedings and other steps taken in this matter, and I have ordered the Warden of Cavite, who is in charge of the dismantling of said galleon, to apply the care and vigilance required to have all of the salvaged iron delivered to the Royal Warehouses with full accounting, without any waste. For my part, I am also taking special care by insisting that everyone save money and add to the Royal Treasury of Y.M. May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 12 December 1691.

Postscript.

Sire: On this occasion of the departure of the galleon for the Kingdom of New Spain, I remit to Y.M. the record of proceedings mentioned above, along with a certification by the Royal officials by which it appears that from 2 November of last year 1691 until 31 May of the present year, the Royal Warehouses in the port of Cavite have received 2,981 arrobas and 11 pounds of old iron in the form of bolts, spikes, and various other pieces salvaged from said galleon **Santo Niño** to date, and the work continues.

Manila, 8 June 1692.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora.

Document 1692D

Return in distress of the Santo Cristo in 1692

Source: AGI Fil. 16-1-2, pp. 1-3.

Note: A copy of this letter was received at Madrid only on 13 December 1698. The loss of the Santo Cristo in 1693 was then already known at the Council of the Indies.

Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 16 January 1693, but postdated 1696

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

*23. Da quenta a V.M. como el Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** que por fin de Junio del año de 1692 salio despachado del Puerto de Cavite para la Nueva España volvio de llegada el dia 18 de Diciembre de dicho año entrando en la enzenada de Naga Provincia de Nueva Cáceres, donde queda para que se carene en aquel paraje, y que prosiga su viaje al tiempo regular: Y como de despacho un ministro togado de aquella Audiencia, a la averiguacion de dicha llegada, y un ofizial Real a la descarga del Galeon. Con testimonio a n° 15 y 16.*

Señor

*Por cartas que dirijí, en un patache, que por principios del mes proximo pasado de Diciembre, salio de la Bahía desta Ciudad para la costa de Choromandel, dí quenta a V.M. del estado en que se hallan estas Islas, y de lo demas que me pareçio digno de la Real noticia de V.M. A que aora se me ofreze añadir, la novedad que despues, â sobre benido, que es el haver llegado el Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** que por fin de Junio del año pasado salio despachado del Puerto de Cavite para la Nueva España, el qual haviendo llegado a montar las Islas Marianas y hallandose abante de ellas en 31 grados y 12 minutos de altura el día de Noviembre de dicho año, desarbolo del Palo maior, trinquete, y mezana que dando aun mismo tiempo sin ellos y sin bergas, masteleros, jarzía, y aparejos, por que todo se hizo pedazos de suerte que totalmente se hallo ymposibilitado de proseguir el viaje y a no haver permitido Dios que el tiempo*

abonzase, fuera muy dable que hubiese zozobrado, por el peligro en que se vio, pero quiso su divina Magestad que se pudiesen armar, y componer unas bandolas y con ellas determino dicha arivada el General del Galeon a pedimento y con parecer de toda la jente de el, logrando la fortuna de volver a cojer estas Islas, y entrar el día 18 de dicho mes de Diziembre en la enzenada de Naga, Provincia de la Nueva Caceres, donde queda asegurado hallandose el casco de la nao, sin haver rezivido daño de consideracion.

Luego que tube la referida noticia la comunique con el Real acuerdo y se me dio por voto consultivo que convenia que un Ministro togado desta Real Audiencia pasase a la averiguacion de dicha arivada, por si resulta que en ella hubiese alguna omision o descuido, en cuya conformidad nombrè, para el efecto al oydor Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro quien, à quatro días que salio desta Ciudad, para dicha Provincia a la dilijencia.

Al mismo tiempo comboque a Junta General de Hazienda para determinar lo mas conbeniente en horden à carenar y aprestar dicho Galeon para volverle à despachar este presente año, al tiempo regular, y despues de haverse tomado parecer de diferentes personas practicas, se resolvio el que se descargue en el paraje en que esta, y que en el, se carene, y adereze así por la abundancia de maderas y otros generos, que ay en dicha Provincia para el efecto como por la dificultad que se hallo en que pudiese venir a la Rivera de Cavite, mediante lo qual dí ynmediatamente providencia de ynbiar la jente de maestranza y lo demas nezesario para dicha carena, y luego que se concluya con ella se le volviera a cargar la hazienda del permiso de los vezinos que llevaba para que prosiga su viaje en que tendra mayor fazilidad desde el paraje en que esta por hallarse desembocado.

Tambien se determino en dicha Junta General que uno de los oficiales Reales, pasase a la descarga de este Galeon en conformidad de lo que esta dispuesto por leyes Reales de Yndias y así se ejecuto: de todo lo qual doy quenta a V.M. en cumplimiento de mi obligacion para que en ese Real y Supremo Consejo aya noticia de ello.

*Nuestro Señor guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad a menester.
Manila y henero 16 de 1693.*

Añadido.

*Señor. Lo que se me ofrezze añadir a la antezedente, es, como remito con ella testimonio de los ynstrumentos por donde constò la arivada del Galeon **Sancto Cristo de Burgos** y de lo determinado sobre ymbiar un ministro togado a la aberiguacion de ella, y de las demas dilijencias que arriva refiero, y en quanto a lo que resulto de dicha averiguacion deyo de remitir testimonio de ello por haverlo hecho esta Real Audiencia en el despacho del año proximo pasado de 1695 respecto de haverse seguido y sentenziado en ella la causa de cuya resoluzion dio quenta a V.M.*

Manila y mayo 15 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

23. Reports to Y.M. how the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** which had been despatched to New Spain from the port of Cavite at the end of June of the year 1692 returned in distress on 18 December of said year, coming into the bay of Naga, in the Province of Nueva Cáceres, where she remains in order to be careened in that vicinity, and to pursue her voyage at the regular time. And how a judge of that Audiencia was despatched to investigate said return, and a Royal official to oversee the unloading of the galleon. With a record of proceedings under n° 15 & 16.

Sire:

Through letters that I mailed on board a patache that left the bay of this City at the beginning of this last month of December for the Coast of Coromandel [India], I reported to Y.M. on the present condition of these Islands and of other things that seemed to me worthy of the Royal notice of Y.M. What I now wish to add, is the news that occurred afterwards, which is, the return in distress of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** which had been despatched to New Spain from the port of Cavite at the end of June of last year. When she had already climbed the Mariana Islands and was beyond them at a latitude of 31 degrees and 12 minutes, on 7 November of said year, she lost her main-mast, foremast and mizzen-mast, and lost them all at the same time, along with her yards, topmasts, rigging and equipment, because everything broke to pieces so that she became totally unable to pursue her voyage. If God had not deigned to have the weather become favorable, she would certainly have foundered, on account of the danger she was in, but His divine Majesty willed that they were able to rig and repair some jury-masts and with them the General of the galleon decided to turn back, at the request and advice of all the men on board. They succeeded in reaching these Islands, and make their way into the bay of Naga, in the Province of Nueva Cáceres, on the 18th of said month of December, where she is safe. The damage to the hull of the ship was not considerable.

As soon as I received the above-mentioned news, I communicated it officially [to the fiscal] and in consultation was given the recommendation that it would be proper to despatch a judge from this Royal Audiencia to carry out an investigation of said return, to find out if some omission or lack of care took place. To this effect, I appointed the Audiencia member, Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, who within 4 days left for said Province on this mission.

At the same time, I called a General Meeting of the Treasury to decide on the most appropriate action to take in order to careen and repair said galleon in order to have her despatched again this year, at the regular time, and after soliciting the opinions of various experts, it was decided to unload her in the vicinity where she is, and to careen and repair her there, not only on account of the abundance of wood and other goods existing in said Province for the purpose, but also on account of the difficulty of bringing her to the shore of Cavite. Therefore, I immediately gave an order to send some shipbuilders and the other things necessary for said careenage, and to have her reloaded

as soon as the work is over with the licensed freight belonging to the residents that she carried, in order to have her pursue her voyage, which should be made easier by departing from that neighborhood, since she had already gone past the Embocadero.

It was decided in the General Meeting that one of the Royal officials should go and supervise the unloading of this galleon in accordance with the stipulation of the Royal laws of the Indies. So it was done, and I report same to Y.M. in compliance with my obligation so that that Royal and Supreme Council be informed of it.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 16 January 1693.

Postscript.

Sire: It occurs to me to add to the aforesaid that I am remitting herewith a record of the proceedings regarding the return in distress of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** and the decision to send a judge to carry out an investigation, and the other steps referred to above. Concerning the outcome of said investigation, I do not enclose anything about it, because the Royal Audiencia has already done so in the despatch of last year 1695, giving the details of the suit and sentence passed in the case, but I inform Y.M. of its resolution.

Manila, 15 May 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Document 1692E

License for Brother Chavarri, surgeon, to go to the Marianas

Sources: AGI Fil. 67-6-5; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 80.

Note: On 9 June 1692, the Council of the Indies approved the above request.

Petition presented by Fr. Espinar, undated

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *1692.—El Padre Pedro de Espinar de la Compañía de Jesus Procurador general de las Provincias de Yndias a S.M. Supplica se conceda licencia para bolver a Filipinas à Alexo Lopez que vino con Antonio Jaramillo por Procurador en segundo lugar, que pueda llevar en su compañía a Jaime Chavary[,] Coadjutor natural de Napoles, que pasa a las Marianas por practico en Zirugia y Botica (de que alli se necesita) en quenta de los 67 que dice se concedieron el año de 86 y que han pasado solo 41 y que se aprueve a este sugeto dejandole embarcar y mandando se le acuda con el Viatico, entretenimiento y matalotage.*

Señor

Pedro de Espinar de la Compañía de Jesus Procurador General por las Provincias de Yndias de su religion:

Dice que Alejo Lopez vino en compañía de Antonio de Xaramillo de la Provincia de Philipinas y Procurador de ella en segundo lugar y se halla al presente en la ciudad de Sevilla para embarcarse y bolverse a dicha su Provincia en esta presente flota con su compañero Jaime Chavary[,] coadjutor[,] natural de Napoles que ba a las Yslas Marianas por practico y inteligente en zirugia y botica para alivio y curacion de los religiosos de su religion y soldados que asisten en ellas en virtud y numero de la concesion de 60 religiosos y siete hermanos coadjutores, echa por V.M. a Luis de Morales Procurador de dicha Provincia de Philipinas por Zedula de 31 de henero de 86 de que solo han pasado quarenta y uno en la flota del año de 87 como consta de la carta de aprovacion de 7 de mayo de dicho año escrita por Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora vuestro Secretario al Presidentef[,] Jueces y oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla. Por tanto:

A V.M. Pide y Suplica se sirva de conceder licencia a dicho Alejo Lopez para embarcarse y bolverse en esta presente flota a su Provincia y de aprovar a dicho Jaime Chavary coadjutor, para que se pueda embarcar con el a las Yslas Marianas mandando se le acuda con lo que importare el Viatico y entretenimiento matalotage y pasage de dicho Jaime Chavary en las Cajas de la Vera Cruz y Mexico, atento a ser publico y notorio y constar a V.M. no haver caudal en la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla ni en el ramo de Hacienda destinado para las Misiones que en ello recevira merced de la grandeza de V. Magestad. Pedro de Espinar.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] 1692.—Father Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies begs His Majesty to grant a license for the return to the Philippines of Alexo Lopez who came with Antonio Jaramillo as substitute Procurator, and for him to bring along a companion, Jaime Chavary [sic], a coadjutor born in Naples, who is on the way to the Marianas to serve there as practitioner in surgery and pharmacy (a need for which exists), as one of the 67 individuals granted in 1686 and of whom only 41 have actually gone over, and that said individual be approved, given permission to board and that orders be given for him to be assisted with the subsidy for travel and meal expenses, and food supplies while at sea.

Sire:

Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies for his order:

Declares that Alejo Lopez came in the company of Antonio de Xaramillo from the Province of the Philippines, as substitute Procurator, and is now at present in the city of Seville, ready to embark and go back to his province aboard the present fleet with his companion, Jaime Chavary [sic], coadjutor, born in Naples, who is on the way to the Mariana Islands to act as practitioner in surgery and pharmacy for the relief and medical care of the religious of his order and the soldiers who reside there, with reference to the 60 Religious and 7 coadjutor brothers granted by Y.M. to Luis de Morales, Procurator of said Province of the Philippines by a decree dated 31 January 1686, by which only 41 have gone over aboard the fleet of the year 1687, as appears in the letter of approval of said year written by Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora, your secretary, to the President, Judges and officials of the House of Trade in Seville. Therefore:

He begs and beseeches Y.M. to please grant a license to said Alejo Lopez to embark and return with the present fleet to his Province, and to approve said Jaime Chavary, coadjutor, so that he may embark with him and go to the Mariana Islands, ordering that he be assisted financially with the amount of the travel expenses, food and other sea supplies, as well as fare for said Jaime Chavary, out of the funds in Veracruz and Mexico, given that it is public knowledge that Y.M. does not have funds in the House of Trade in Seville, nor in the account of the Treasury earmarked for the Missions, and that he hopes to get this favor from the largesse of Your Majesty.

Pedro de Espinar.

Document 1692F

Typical expenses made by Jesuit procurators and mission bands

Source: AGN AHH 326-17. Note: Included are the expenses he made on his voyage from Mexico to Rome.

Expenses made by Fr. Juan de Estrada concerning the mission band of 33 individuals whom he brought from Europe to Mexico in 1692

Summary of this file.

1. Amounts he received from various colleges in Mexico ...	20,727 p
2. Expenses between Mexico City and Veracruz	789 p
3. In Veracruz and outfitting	2,567 p
4. Voyage to Havana and in Havana ...	261 p
5. At Cadiz and from Cadiz to Seville	167 p
6. At Seville ...	38 p
7. From Seville to Madrid ...	118 p
8. At Madrid ...	473 p
9. From Madrid to Pamplona ...	73 p
10. From Pamplona to Bayonne, France ...	25 p
11. From Bayonne to Bordeaux ...	36 p
12. From Bordeaux to Paris ...	80 p
13. In Paris and from Paris to Lyon ...	120 p
14. From Lyon to Avignon to Marseille ...	47 p
15. From Marseille to Genoa ...	53 p
16. From Genoa to Florence ...	37 p
17. From Florence to Rome ...	434 p
18. From Rome to Genoa ...	86 p

19. In Genoa, incl. travel expenses of foreign Jesuits to reach Genoa, incl. 600- peso passage for 12 individuals ¹ on the way to Cadiz aboard ship Ginovés , via Bar- celona and Alicante ...	1719 p
20. Arrival at Cadiz of 12 companions ...	257 p
21. Arrival of 11 companions at Seville ...	596 p
22. For clothing in Seville ...	771 p
23. Travel expenses to Madrid ...	371 p
24. Food and other expenses made by the Mission at Madrid ...	216 p
25. Travel expenses of individuals from Castille, Aragon, Sardinia and Toledo, from Madrid to Seville ...	463 p
26. Travel expenses of individuals from Andalusia ...	56 p
27. Food and other costs at Hospice of Seville ...	459 p
28. Other costs charged by Fr. Bernabe ...	108 p
29. Outfitting expenses made at Seville ...	151 p
30. Travel expenses from Seville to Cadiz ...	344 p
31. Arrival of Mission band at Cadiz ...	348 p
32. Extraordinary expenses ...	137 p
33. Expenses during the sea voyage ...	70 p
34. Fares paid for the ship to Seville office ...	10,132 p
35. Costs of what was brought for the Province (of New Spain)	662 p

36. Declared total ...	21,555 p

Note: The King paid only 1,014 pesos as a grant-in-aid to cover some travel expenses.

1 Ed. note: There were 3 from Naples, 3 from Sicily, 3 from Bohemia, plus Fr. Andrés del Valle from Bologna, but Fr. Antonio Frondin from Flanders was captured by the French.

Document 1692G

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1692

Source: AGN AHH 1240/2, fol. 1-9.

Original text in Spanish

Señores Oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

*El Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galve Virrey Govor. y Capitan general de estas Provincias de la Nueva España y presidente de la Real audiencia que en ella reside se sirbio expedir despacho su fecha primero de febrero proximo pasado con orden de que fletasemos y remitiesemos a Oficiales Reales de Acapulco lo que quedase liquido de los doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos del situado de un año de Philipinas destinados por su Magestad en reales y generos despues de escalfado el valor de los que ban en esta ocasion; el de las medicinas, las partidas que tubiesemos notiçia haverse enterado en la Real Caja de esa Ciudad proçedidas de distintos ramos de hazienda y todo lo demas que conforme a Reales ordenes hallasemos deverse bajar para que lo encaminasen a poder de V.mds. en el Galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Rosario San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** surto en aquel Puerto y de partida para executar tornaviaje a esas yslas; y haviendo en su cumplimiento hecho formal execusion zerca de lo referido, hallamos ser compuestos dhos doçientos y cinquenta mill pesos de las partidas de embio y desquento siguiente:*

...

N. 14. Yslas Marianas.

Y finalmente se ponen por cuerpo de situado y embio Treinta y un mill y ochocientos pesos pagados de la Real caja de esta Corte al Padre Luis de Morales de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs procurator general de la mision de las yslas Marianas en la manera y para los efectos siguientes:

Sueldos del Governador y Sargento Mayor.

Tres mill pesos para que remitiese, dos mill, a Don Damian de Esplana Governador y Capn. gen. de ellas y mill al Sargento mayor Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga a cuenta de los sueldos vencidos y que vencieren ...

3,000 p

Sueldos de la Ynfantería.

Diez y ocho mill y novecientos pesos para la paga de los sueldos que los sesenta ynfantes que alli sirben a S.M. han que devengar todo este año de noventa y dos ...

18,900 p

Sinodo de los Religiosos.

Cuatro mill y novecientos pesos para satisfacer los sinodos de todo el año referido asignados a los diez y seis Religiosos de dha Comp^a que estan enpleados en la predi-cassion del Santo Evangelio y conversion de aquellos jentiles Doçe Saçerdotes y quatro Coadjutores ...

4,900 p

Situazion de los dos Seminarios.

Y cinco mill pesos para el mantenimiento de los dos Seminarios donde los Niños y Niñas naturales de aquellas yslas son ynstruidos en las costumbres christianas y politicas

5,000 p

31,800 p

Son los dichos treinta y un mill y ochocientos pesos al principio expresados. —

...

Guarde Dios a V.mds. muchos años.

Mexico 6 de Março de 1692 años.

D. Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

D. Fernando de Deza y Ulloa

Joseph de Urrutia

Translation

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of these Provinces of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia there was pleased to issue an order, dated 1 February last, for us to despatch and remit to the Royal officials in Acapulco the net total of the yearly subsidy of 250,000 pesos for the Philippines that His Majesty gives in money and in kind, after deducting the value of the latter, such as the medicines, that are being sent by the same occasion, as appears in the book of accounts of the Royal treasury for that City and referring to various financial matters, and in accordance with various Royal orders as we might find necessary to deduct, in order to be able to send same to Your Graces aboard the galleon named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** presently anchored in that Port and ready to make her return voyage to those Islands. And, having carried out the above

order with respect to the above subsidy, we found it to be composed of 250,000 pesos with the following credits and debits:

...

N° 14. Mariana Islands.

And finally we added to the subsidy a net credit of 31,800 pesos, which were paid out by the Royal treasury of this City to Father Luis Morales of the sacred Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Mariana Island Mission, in the following manner and for the purposes indicated:

Salaries of the Governor and Sergeant-Major.

3,000 pesos for him to remit, 2,000 pesos to Don Damian de Esplana, Governor and Captain General of said Islands, and 1,000 pesos to their Sergeant-Major, Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, on the account of due salaries, and future salaries ...

3,000 p

Salaries of the Infantry.

18,900 pesos for the payment of the salaries of the 60 infantrymen serving His Majesty there, that must be paid out to them during the course of this year 1692 ...

18,900 p

Stipends of the Religious.

4,900 pesos to satisfy the stipends for the whole year for the 16 Religious of the Society of Jesus who are employed there in preaching the Holy Gospel and converting those pagans, i.e. 12 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers ...

4,900 p

Subsidy for the two Seminaries.

And 5,000 pesos for the maintenance of the 2 Seminaries where the native boys and girls of those Islands are taught Christian and civilized customs ...

5,000 p

31,800 p

They are the thirty-one thousand eight hundred pesos mentioned at the beginning of this section.—

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa

José de Urrutia

Document 1693A

Letter from the King to Governor Cruzat, dated 18 February 1693

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 9, fol. 83-83v, pp. 187-188.

OK for the soldiers to receive their pay in kind

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas aprovando la paga en generos de 9,777 pesos 6 t. y 8 gr. que paravan en aquella caja pertenezientes al situado de las Marianas.

Don Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

Don Alonzo de Avella Fuertes Governando como oydor mas antiguo de esa Audiencia lo militar por muerte de Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui en carta de 14 de Junio de 1689 me dio quenta de haverse entregado à Don Damian de Esplana Governador de las yslas Marianas, en los generos neçesarios para la Infanteria de ellas la candidad de 9,777 pesos y 6 t[omins] y 8 g[rano]s que se hallavan en deposito en esa Caja perteneziente al situado de dhas Islas del año de 1686 de que remite testimonio.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias como quiera que esta paga fue justa y la conveniente para aquellas Islas donde lo mas que se necesita son generos y no plata por el menos o ningun comercio que se tiene en ellas, ha parecido aprobar lo executado.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Juan de Larrea.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the payment in kind of 9,777 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains that were found in that treasury and belonging to the subsidy of the Marianas.

Don Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

Don Alonzo de Avella Fuertes, while he was in charge of military affairs, being senior member of the Audiencia, after the death of Don Gabriel de Cruzelaegui, in a letter dated 14 June 1689, reported to me that he had delivered to Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of the Mariana Islands, in the form of goods necessary for the infantry there, the sum of 9,777 pesos, 6 tomins and 8 grains that were found deposited in that Treasury and belonging to the subsidy of said Islands for the year 1686, and enclosed a record of proceeding.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, in view of the fact that this pay was just and appropriate for those Islands, where what is needed most are goods and not silver, on account of the minute or non-existent commerce that takes place there, I have decided to approve what has been done.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Juan de Larrea.

Countersigned by the Council.

Document 1693B

Jesuit annual report for 1692-1693, by Fr. Cardeñoso

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 83-85v.

Note: The manuscript shows that Fr. Cardeñoso signed the report, but that it was written by someone else.

Original text in Spanish.

P. C. etc.^a.

Por no aver cosa selecta de que formar relacion este año remito en esta a V.R.^a los puntos para el annua de esta Mission de Marianas y su Christiandad.

Asistimos en esta Ysla de S. Juan al cultivo de esta viña del Señor doce Sacerdotes, y dos Hermanos uno coadjutor, y otro donado. Las Yglesias de Nuestros Ministerios son cinco sitas en los pueblos mas principales; conviene a saber la Ciudad de Agaña, que es la cabezera donde residen 6 Sacerdotes: Padre Vice-Provincial[,] Padre Ministro, dos Padres Ministros de Yndios, uno de Españoles, y Padre Rector de los Colegios; en cuiá compañía esta el Hermano donado. En Pago esta un Sacerdote con el Hermano Coadjutor, en Agat reside un Sacerdote; en Fina dos, y en Umatag otros dos.

No ha muerto esto año ninguno de los nuestros aunque han estado enfermos de cuidado el Padre Lorenzo Bustillo, Padre Francisco Paravicino [sic], Padre Juan Sermeisen [sic], y el Padre Basilio Leroulx, mas gracias a Dios todos sanaron perfectamente de sus enfermedades; mas por favor del cielo, que por fuerzas de medicamentos pues los pocos que ai apenas ai quien lo sepa aplicar.

La Observancia Religiosa esta en su vigor reconociendose en todos mucha aplicacion al estudio de la perfeccion, y zelo incansable de la Salvazion de las almas en cuiá ayuda trabajan sin perdonar a las incommodidades de solis [sic], y aguas, caminando a pie para visitar los enfermos en sus pueblos, y administrarles los Santos Sacramentos[.] Predicase indefectiblemente todos los Domingos, y fiestas principales a Yndios y Espanoles.

Por primer fruto de el zelo y trabajo de los Ministros Evangelicos se puede contar el numero de los Parvulos, que han muerto con la gra[cia] bautismal que son [blank]¹ y los Adultos que han muerto recibidos los Sacramentos de la Yglesia que llegan a [blank].

El fruto de la palabra de Dios, que rinden estas nuevas plantas al divino Sembrador ha sido copioso este año como se [fol. 83v] vera individuando algunos casos particulares.

[Native customs]

Las supersticiones que son muelas en estos Naturales se van olvidando, y despreciando, porque aviendo avisado algunos sin ser requeridos de ellas, y predicando contra este engaño del Demonio los Ministros, desengañados los mas entendidos corrigen a los mas tardos. Prohibio a un muchacho su abuela que mirase a un difunto diciendole que cegaria; y el riendose respondió: Los Padres estan viendo cada día difuntos, y no ciegan; tampoco cegare yo.—Cierta muger advirtio a uno que iba a pescar que no pisase el sitio donde avia parido una muger porque no cogeria pescado: el lo pisó de proposito, y pesco con abundancia. De estos se pudieran contar otros muchachos [sic = muchos] casos que por ser semejantes se omiten.

Hanse dispuesto todos para cumplir con los preceptos de la confesion, y comunión anual tambien, que es de notable consuelo a los confesores ver asi la claridad, y buen modo de explicar la especie y numero de sus peccados como las muestras de dolor, y señales de la enmienda que prometen, para adelante, las quales confirman con la que han tenido desde la confesion antecedente; y algunos con tanta firmeza que se han expuesto a riesgos, e incommodidades notables, como se ve en los dos casos siguientes.

Una muger casada con un Filipino por mucho tiempo de un Capitan de Españoles se resistio tan firme, que picado el solicitante la amenazó de decir a su marido que estava amancebada con otro, ella desprecio la amenaza, y el le levanto el testimonio con que estuvo a riesgo de que su marido la matase, mas Dios volvió por su inocencia descubriendo la verdad.—Otra muger que avia vivido algun tiempo amancebada, por huir de la ocasion se fue a vivir a otro pueblo dexando las conveniencias del suyo. Otros muchos amancebamientos se han deshecho con enmienda conocida de los complices unos tomando estado de matrimonio, y otros dexando totalmente la ocasion.

Algunos que engañados del Demonio y poseidos del empacho avian callado peccados en la confesion, desengañados de los Ministros en la explicacion del Sacramento de la penitencia de lo inviolable del sigilo, y de la necesidad de la integridad de la confesion para el perdon de los peccados han revalido sus confesiones viniendo tan bien preparados, que dan a entender el aprecio que hazen de la [fol. 84] palabra de Dios, y de los Sacramentos de la Yglesia.

1 Ed. note: In margin, someone else added a notation: "Notable descuido en no aver referido el numero de Bautismos."

No solamente obligados del precepto, sino movidos de su devocion vienen muchos entre año a confesar, y comulgar a que les mueven assi las exortaciones de los Ministros, como los buenos exemplos de los Soldados casados, y algunos Solteros, que frequentan estos santos Sacramentos.—Un Yndio que vino de su voluntad a confesarse preguntado del confesor que le avia movido a venirse a confesar respondió; el considerar que si me muero en pecado mortal me ire al Infierno, y puede Dios quitarme la vida de repente.

Con este aprecio que hazen de los Santos Sacramentos de la Yglesia se previenen con tanto tiempo para recibirlos quando estan enfermos, que aun el de la extremauncion piden algunos aun antes de instar la necesidad; y Dios coopera a su buen fee, y devocion concediendoles la salud quando menos la esperaban. De lo qual referire solo un caso omitiendo otros muchos.

Nicolas Chafan hallandose agravado a deshora de la noche embio a llamar al Padre para confesarse[.] fue este luego al punto, y el enfermo recibio gran consuelo de verle; confesose con mucho dolor de sus pecados, y acabada la confesion pedio al Padre le administrase la extremauncion, porque temia morir aquella noche, recibio con mucha devocion; y el dia siguiente se hizo llevar a la Yglesia donde recibio el viatico, y volvió tan consolado a su casa, que luego empezo a mejorar; y iendo otro dia a visitarle el Padre le dixe el enfermo: Jesuchristo Sacramentado por su gran misericordia me ha dado salud y vida, quando yo no esperaba sino morir en breve.

*La buena disposicion para morir de un Yndio llamado **Pablo Saigua** fue de notable consuelo al Padre Lorenzo Bustillo, que le asistio, era este Yndio muy buen Christiano, y de quien se puede decir que **sortitus est animam bonam**. Comenzo su enfermedad por un dolor de cabeza tan vehemente, que le obligava a prorrumpir en gritos llamando a Dios, y pidiendo le diese paciencia para sufrir tan grave dolor; sobrevinieronle continuos vomitos, y assi trato de confesarse para morir. Recibio con notable devocion los Sacramentos de la Penitencia y extremauncion, y porque el viatico no pude administrarse luego, se dilato para quando diesen lugar los vomitos, reconçiliose entre tanto varias vezes previniendose para recibirle con fervo[ro]sos actos de Fee, esperanza, y caridad; y dando lugar los vomitos recibio a Jesuchristo sacramentado con notable [fol. 88v] ternura; y continuó hasta espirar en su fervorosa disposicion haciendo tiernos coloquios con un crucifixo, que tenia en las manos; y espiro al tiempo que depicavan a la Salve; que parece le quiso la Virgen SSa. cuio devoto avia sido llevar a cantarla al cielo. Hizosele entierro solemne asistiendo todos los del pueblo por lo mucho que amavan el difunto; el qual desde el ataud les predicava con su buena vida, y feliz muerte, a cuias voces mudas dio alma el Padre haziendo una exortacion al pueblo, que les enterneçio, y movio no poco a seguir las pisadas del difunto.*

Resplandecio la providencia de Dios su bondad, y su justicia en aver descubierto una muerte atroz que cometio un Yndio, y avia estado oculta mas de tres años, para que no quedase sin castigo en orden al escarmiento, y el delincente no se perdiere yendo a pagar a la otra vida su delito. Mato dicho Yndio a otro con cuiya muger estava amancebado, y enterrolo en la playa, y esparcio voz que el se avia ahorcado. Creyose esta voz,

*y asi no se hicieron mas averiguaciones, hasta que al cabo de 3 años con leves indicios averiguo la maldad el Sargento de Yndios **Alonso Soon** y con ser el matador de su gente, lo delato al Governador el qual lo mando ahorcar, y el se dispuso mui Christianamente para morir conociendo que por aquel camino queria Dios que pagase su delito en esta vida para librarle del Infierno; y llevarlo a su gloria.*

La devocion a nuestra Señora la abrazan con afecto rozandole su santo Rosario no solo en la Yglesia sino en sus casas, y por los caminos. Un Yndio a quien aparecio varias vezes el Demonio en figura horrorosa de fuego lo ahuyento siempre invocando los dulcissimos nombres de Jesus, y de Maria.—Otro a quien hirio un Yndio foragido por que no lo prendiese o descubriese, invoco a recibir el golpe de el machete a la SSma Virgen; y fue caso raro, que llegando a la herida que fue muy penetrante en el cuello a descubrir los nervios no corto ninguno, y assi sano en breve sin aver tenido ni aun rastro de calentura.

No faltan favores de nuestro glorioso Patriarca S. Ygnacio en partos dificultosos mas por ser tan comunes en todo el mundo no se especifican. Una enferma ya moribunda aplicandole una reliquia de nuestro Santo Padre sanó fuera de toda esperanza.

Esperimentase notable fruto en la educacion y [en]senanza de los Niños, y Niñas especialmente en los dos Colegios que ai en [fol. 85] Agadña es de consuelo, y edificacion ver la modestia, y compostura con que van en comunidad a Missa las Niñas con su Maestra cubiertas con sus manticos, y los Niños con su guion cantando las oraciones en lingua Castellana. Muchos de dichos Niños saben leer tan corrientemente que leen en el Refectorio de los Padres[,] cosa que ha causado ... menos de un año lee sueltamente.—Un Colegial ya casado que se vino de Seipan el año pasado preguntado de un su compañero que estava impaciente por los trabajos que cargan sobre estos miserables, que porque se avia venido a sujetar a tanto trabajo respondió porque soi Christiano, y aqui aunque con trabajos puedo salvarme, y alla me iba al Infierno.

Esto es lo que se ofreçe referir a V.R.^a por materia del annual a quien nuestro Señor guarde como deseo etc.^a

Marianas y Mayo 2 del 1693.

De V.R. muy sierbo en el Señor,

+

+ Thomas Cardeñoso +

[Endorsement:] Philipp. 1693. Littera annua Missionis Insularum Marianarum.

Translation.

Peace of Christ, etc.

Given that there is no choice material to form an account this year, in this letter I remit to Y.R. some points for the annual report of this Mariana Mission and its Christian community.

There are 12 of us priests working in this Island of San Juan, and 2 brothers, one coadjutor and the other an oblate. There are five churches for our ministries and they are located in the more important towns, to wit, the City of Agadña, which is the

capital where there reside 6 priests: the Father Vice-Provincial, the Father Minister, two Fathers ministering to the Indians, one to the Spanish, and the Father Rector of the Colleges, in whose company is the oblate brother; in Pago, there is one priest and the coadjutor brother; in Agat resides one priest; in Fina two, and in Umatag two more.

None of our people has died this year, although some have been seriously sick: Father Lorenzo Bustillo, Father Francisco Palavicino, Father Juan Schirmeysen, and Father Basilio Leroulx. However, thank God, all of them were completely cured of their illnesses, more out of a favor from heaven than from the strength of medicine, because there is hardly anyone who knows how to apply the little there is.

Religious observance is in full vigor, as much application in the study of perfection can be recognized in everyone, as well as an untiring zeal for the salvation of souls. For instance, they work ceaselessly without paying attention to the discomforts of the sun and the rain, when they walk on their rounds, visiting the sick in their towns, and administering them the holy Sacraments. Without fail, a sermon is preached every Sunday and principal holiday to the Indians and to the Spanish.

As a first fruit of the zeal and labor of the Gospel Ministers, one can mention the number of infants who have died with the grace of baptism, i.e. a total of [blank]¹ and the adults who have died after receiving the sacraments of the Church, a total of [blank].

The fruit of the word of God, produced by these new plants to the divine Sower, has been copious this year, as will be appreciated by a few special cases that will be mentioned.

[Native customs]

The superstitions that are like the grinding teeth of these natives are being forgotten, and being scorned, because some have spread the word without being asked to do so, as the Minister preach against this deception by the Devil; once they have become undeceived, those with more understanding correct the laggards. One grandmother forbid a boy to look at a corpse, telling him that he would become blind, but he told her: "The Fathers look at dead bodies every day, and do not become blind. Neither will I."—A certain woman advised a man who was going fishing not to step on the spot where a woman had given birth, because he would not catch fish; he stepped there on purpose, and caught many fish. Many other cases could be narrated, but as they are similar, they are omitted.

All have prepared themselves to comply with the precepts of the annual confession and communion, something that is of noteworthy consolation for the confessors to see not only the clarity and good manner of explaining the type and number of their sins, but also the demonstrations of sorrow, and signs of the improvements that they promise for the future, and which can be confirmed by what they have done since their previous

1 Ed. note: Note in margin added by an unknown hand: "Notable oversight in not having mentioned the number of baptisms."

confession. Some have been so firm in their resolve that they have placed themselves at risk, and noteworthy discomforts, as will be seen in the following two examples.

One woman married with a Filipino for a long time resisted the advances made by a Spanish Captain so firmly that her suitor threatened her with telling her husband that she was the concubine of another. She scorned the threat, and he did carry out his threat, thus placing her in danger that her husband might kill her, but God intervened and her innocence was proven.—Another woman who had lived in concubinage for some time, in order to flee from the arrangement went on to live in another town, thus abandoning the comforts of home. Many other concubinages have broken up with a noticeable improvement in the accomplices, some becoming properly married, and others abandoning the arrangement completely.

Some who had been deceived by the Devil and possessed of bashfulness, had kept quiet about sins during confession, but once they were undeceived by the Ministers with the explanation that the Sacrament of penance carries with it ultimate secrecy, and of the need of the integrity of the confession in order to obtain forgiveness for sins, they came to revalidate their confessions, coming so well prepared that they give to understand their appreciation for the word of God, and the sacraments of His Church.

Many have not only followed the precepts, but also been moved by devotion to come to confession and communion during the year. They are moved not only by the exhortations of the Ministers but also by the good examples of married soldiers, and a few unmarried ones as well, who frequent these holy sacraments.—One Indian who came of his own free will to confess, when asked by the confessor what had moved him to come to confession, answered: “the consideration that if I die with a mortal sin, I will go to Hell, and that God can take my life away suddenly.”

With this appreciation they have for the holy sacraments of the Church, they prepare themselves so far ahead of time to receive them when they are sick, that some even ask for that of extreme unction well before they have a need for it, and God cooperates with their good faith and devotion by granting them health when they least expect it. I will refer to only one such case, omitting many others.

Nicolás Chafan, finding himself oppressed in the middle of the night, sent for a Father to come and hear his confession. The latter went immediately over, and the sick man received a great consolation in seeing him. He confessed his sins with much sorrow, and once the confession was over, he begged the Father to administer extreme unction to him, because he feared that he would die that very night. He received it with much devotion, but the next day he had himself carried over to the church where he received communion, and he returned home so consoled that he soon began to improve. And some time later, the sick man went to visit the Father to tell him: “Jesus Christ in His sacrament has had great mercy on me and has given me health and life, when I expected to die within a short time.”

The good preparation to die of one Indian named **Pablo Saigua** was of noteworthy consolation to Father Lorenzo Bustillo who assisted him. This Indian was a very good Christian, one about whom one can say that *sortitus est animam bonam*.¹ His illness began with a headache, so violent that it forced him to burst forth with shouts, calling on God to please give him patience to bear such a serious pain. Some continuous vomiting led us to try and confess in preparation to die. He received the sacraments of penance and extreme unction with notable devotion, and because the viaticum could not be administered to him then, until after the vomiting had subsided, in the meantime he prepared himself many times to receive it with zealous acts of faith, hope and charity. As soon as the vomiting permitted him to receive Jesus Christ in the sacrament, he did so with notable tenderness, and until he expired he continued his zealous preparation, by making tender colloquies with a crucifix that he held in his hands. He died at the time that the church bell was ringing for the Salve; it seems as if the most holy Virgin, to whom he had been devoted, took him to sing it in Heaven. He was buried with solemnity, in the presence of all those of the town who loved the deceased very much, while he from his coffin silently preached to them by the example of his good life, and happy death; the Father gave voice to his silent preaching, by exhorting the people. Many were moved to follow on the steps of the deceased.

The providence of God revealed His kindness and His justice when an atrocious murder was uncovered that had been committed by one Indian who had kept the matter secret for over three years. It was revealed so that it would not go unpunished, to serve as a warning, and so that the delinquent would not be damned and pay for his crime in the other life. Said Indian had killed another whose wife was his concubine, then he had buried him on the beach, and spread the rumor that he had hanged himself. This rumor was believed, and so, the matter was not investigated further, until at the end of 3 years, following some slight clues the misdeed was found out by the Sergeant of the Indians, **Alonso Soon**. As the killer belonged to his people, he denounced him to the Governor, and the latter ordered that he be given the choking collar. He prepared himself to die in a very Christian manner, recognizing that it was the way chosen by God to make him pay in this life in order to free himself from Hell, and to take him into His glory.

They embrace the devotion to Our Lady with affection, by reciting her holy Rosary not only in church but in their homes, and along the roads. One Indian, to whom the Devil appeared many times in horrible figures in flame, was always able to make him flee by invoking the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary.—Another, who was wounded by a runaway Indian, because the latter did not want to be captured or discovered, invoked the most holy Virgin upon receiving the blow from the machete and—it was a rare case indeed—although the wound in his neck was very deep and the nerves were showing, none of them were cut off, and so, he was cured within a short time, without having shown any sign of fever.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Luckily endowed with a good soul."

There is no lack of favors received from our glorious Patriarch St. Ignatius during difficult childbirths, but since such cases are so common throughout the world, details are not given. One sick woman who was already dying was applied a relic of our Holy Father, and she was cured against all hope.

Some notable fruit was experienced with the education and teaching of the boys and girls, specially those in the two Colleges that exist in Agaña. It is of much consolation and edification to see the modesty and composure of the girls when they go to mass together, along with their female teacher, and covered with their mantillas, and the boys with their banner, singing the prayers in the Spanish language. Many of said boys know how to read so fluently that they read in the refectory of the Fathers, something that has caused [admiration?]... in less than a year he reads fluently.—One college boy, already married, who came from Seipan last year, was asked by one of his companions who was impatient with the workload upon these miserable ones, as to why he had come to subject himself to so much work. He answered: “Because I am a Christian, and here, though I have to work hard, I can be saved, but overthere I was headed for Hell.”

This is what I thought I could offer to Y.R. as a contribution to the annual report. May Our Lord save Y.R. as I wish, etc.

Marianas, 2 May 1693.

Y.R.'s faithful servant in the Lord,

+

+ Thomas Cardeñoso +

[Endorsement, in Latin:] Philippines 1693. Annual letter of the Mariana Island Mission.

Document 1693C

The church census of October 1693

Sources: A 2-page ms. in ARSI ... ; translated by Fr. Repetti and published in the Guam Recorder for March 1940, and again in 1972, p. 69.

Census of the natives of the Island of San Juan in October 1693

[1.] San Ignacio de **Agadña** has, in a district of 2 leagues containing 6 settlements of which Father Gerardo [Bouwens] is curate:

—Married couples: 71, which makes.....	142
—Single persons of both sexes.....	40
—Married persons whose consorts are away in other islands.....	104
—Servants in native houses.....	16
—Youths attending prayers ¹	77
—Infants.....	24
—School boys and girls.....	46

2. Santa Rosa de **Agat**, of which Father Lorenzo Bustillo is curate, has, in a district of 1 league, distant 4 from Agadña, the following:

—Married couples: 55, which makes.....	110
—Married, consort absent.....	9
—Single persons of both sexes.....	38
—Youths attending prayers.....	92

[3.] San Antonio de **Fina**, of which Father Felipe Maria Muscati is curate, distant from Agat 2 leagues in the interior and a little more than 4 from Agadña, has the following:

—Married couples: 55, which makes.....	90
—Youths attending prayers.....	44
—Infants.....	20

1 Ed. note: A translation of “Juventud del Rezo”, simply translated as “Youths” by Fr. Repetti. In this context, the expression seems to mean “boys and girls, not attending school and not yet of marriageable age.”

[4.] San Dionisio de **Umatag**, of which the curate is Father Juan Tilpe, is 4 leagues distant from Agat, and has in a district of 1 league the following:

—Married couples: 78, which makes.....	156
—Married, consort absent.....	11
—Single persons of both sexes.....	84
—Youths attending prayers.....	80
—Infants.....	39

[5.] In **Merizo**, church of San Dimas, of which Father Antonio Cundari is curate, distant 1-1/2 leagues from Umatag, there are, in 3 settlements, in a district of 1 league, the following:

—Married couples: 63, which makes.....	126
—Single persons of both sexes.....	47
—Youths attending prayers.....	54
—Infants.....	27

[6.] Our Lady of the Immaculate Concepción of **Pago**, of which Father Mathias Cuculino is curate, distant 2 leagues from Agaña, has the following in 2 settlements:

—Married couples: 37, which makes.....	74
—Single persons of both sexes.....	28
—Youths attending prayers.....	38
—Infants.....	15

Total: 1,595

This agrees with the original which came from the Marianas.
Manila, 29 June 1694.

Magino Sola, S.J.¹

¹ Ed. note: Someone made an error in addition. The total is 1,631 natives.

Document 1693D

Protest of Fr. Morales against General Madrazo, of the galleon Rosario

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 378-378v with copies on fol. 384-385 and 387-388.

Order signed by the Viceroy, Mexico 3 March 1693

Original text in Spanish.

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silba y Mendosa Conde de Galve Gentilhombre de la Camara de S. Mgd. Comendador de Zalamea y Seclavin de la orden y Cavalleria de Alcantara Virrey Governador y Capitan General de esta nueva España y Presidente desta Real Audiencia de ella.—

Por quanto antemi se presento el memorial siguiente:

Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus y Procurador General de las Yslas Philipinas y Marianas dice: que V.E. por su mandamiento de veinte y cinco de henero del año pasado de seis çientos y nobenta y dos se sirbia de mandar a ofiçiales Reales y demas ministros y Cavos del Puerto de Acapulco señalasen buque en la Nao que bino de dhas Yslas y bolvio a ellas con el Real Situado entre cubiertas en conformidad de Real Cedula de S. Mgd. ynserta en dho mandamiento y que esto fuese con asistencia de el apoderado que dha Religion tiene en Acapulco (con pena de doçientos pesos lo contrario haçiendo) para el embarque de lo que todos los años se remite a dha sagrada Religion y misiones y abiendo ocurrido dho apoderado diferentes bezes a que se le señalase dho buque no lo pudo conseguir lo primero porque dhos oficiales reales siendo de su obligacion tubieron omision en su execucion; lo otro porque el General de dha Nao Don Joseph Madrazo lo ympidio diçiendo ser suias las combeniençias de la Nao, y no de los Religiosos que estos lo que fuese de su quenta lo an de llevar en la bodega y no entre cubiertas perjuicio gravissimo que se sigue a dhas misiones de las Yslas Marianas de ir en la bodega arresgados a que se lo lleben a Philipinas y estarse sin ellos dos años por no poderse sacar ni zafar de dha bodega en un dia que estan de tornabiaxe y no caval en dhas Yslas Marianas[.] Por todo lo qual y para que en lo de adelante se les señale

buque entre cubiertas donde vaia para poderlo sacar y dexar en dhas Yslas sin embaraço: A V.E. suplica se sirva de reagrar la pena, asi al castellano a oficiales reales [de] dicho puerto y al general que binieren en la presente Nao que se espera este año como a los demas que en adelante binieren, y que no pongan ningun embaraço al Podatario en el señalamiento de dho buque para que con tiempo se haga el camarote en que baia lo que asi se remitiere, para que dha sagrada Religion y misiones de las Marianas rezivien-dolas el Maestre de dho Nao debaxo de partida de Rexistro de dho Podatario sin que por ningun pretexto se escuse ninguno de los suso dhos debaxo de la condenaçion y penas que V.E. fuere servido reagrar a cada uno de los que lo contrario hiçieren en que rezivira merzed de la grandeza de V.E. con justiçia &a.

Jhs

Luis de Morales.

Y por mi visto por el presente mando se haga en todo segun y como lo propone dha sagrada Religion en su escripto y inserto y como en el se refiere y lo cumplen el Castellano y oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco y el General de la Nao o Naos que binieren a el aora y en lo de adelante y demas personas e quienes tocara [so] pena de doçientos pesos al que lo contrabiniere aplicados a mi distribuçion.

Mexico y Marzo tres el mill seisçientos y nobenta y tres años.

El Conde de Galve

Por mandado de su Ex^a

Don Pedro de Vazquez de la Cadena

[Membrete:] *Para que se execute lo que propone la sagrada Religion de la Compañia de Jesus para el señalamiento del Buque en los Navios de Philipinas de lo que se a de remitir para las Marianas y lo cumplan el Castellano oficiales Reales y Generales de las Naos pena de doçientos pesos al que lo contrabendria.*

Translation.

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silva y Mendoza, Count of Galve, Gentleman of the royal Chamber, Commander of Zalamea and Seclavin of the Order and Knight-hood of Alcantara, Viceroy and Captain General of this new Spain and President of this royal Audiencia.—

Whereas was presented before me the following memorial:

“I, Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus and Procurator General of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, declare: that Y.E., in your order dated 25 January of 1692, was pleased to order the royal officials and other ministers and Commanders of the Port of Acapulco¹ to reserve lading space aboard the galleon that came from said Islands and returned there with the royal subsidy between decks, in accordance with the royal decree of His Majesty enclosed in said order and that was to be done with the assistance

1 Ed. note: This file, not reproduced here, is also found in AGN Calif. 26, fol. 372-376.

of the agent that said religious Order has in Acapulco (under penalty of 200 pesos otherwise) in order to load what every year is remitted to said sacred Order and missions. And, since it happened that said agent requested many times that said lading space be pointed out to him, but did not get it, firstly because said royal officials whose duty it was did not comply, and also because the General of said galleon,¹ José Madrazo, prevented it, by saying that the lading arrangement aboard the galleon was part of his prerogatives, and not that of the Religious, and that the Religious were to make use of space in the hold for their goods and not the space between decks; this arrangement represents a very serious prejudice for said missions in the Mariana Islands, as goods carried in the hold risk being taken to the Philippines, thus depriving them [i.e. the missions] for two years, when it is impossible to get them out of said hold in one day, when the ship is on the return journey, and conditions not perfect in said Mariana Islands. Consequently, so that in future lading space be reserved for them between decks, from where the goods can be taken out and left at said Islands without problems: I beg Y.E. to please reinforce the application of the fine, not only to the warden, but also to the royal officials of said port and to the general who might come with any galleon this year, and to any other in future, and that the agent not be prevented from reserving lading space with sufficient time to make a cabin to store said goods, for said sacred Order and missions in the Marianas, and have them turned over to the Master of said galleon under a particular entry in the Manifest of said Agent, without any pretext or excuse on the part of the above-mentioned, under penalty of paying the fines that Y.E. would be pleased to reaffirm for every one of them otherwise. I would consider this a favor received from the largesse of Y.E., with justice, etc.

“Jhs

“Luis de Morales.”

And, after due examination, I order that it be done exactly as proposed by said sacred Order in its rescript and enclosure, and in the manner stated therein, and the Warden and the royal officials of the Port of Acapulco and the General of the incoming galleon or galleons coming there in future and other persons who might be involved are to comply with it, under penalty of 200 pesos for non compliance, to benefit my treasury.

Mexico, 3 March 1693.

The Count of Galve.

By order of His Excellency,

Don Pedro de Vasquez de la Cadena.

[Endorsement:] To carry out the proposal of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus for the reservation of the lading space aboard the Philippine galleons, regarding what is remitted to the Marianas, and to be obeyed by the Warden, the royal officials and Generals of the galleons, under penalty of 200 pesos if they do not comply.

1 Ed. note: The galleon Rosario of 1692.

Document 1693E

Remarks about the lost galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**

Source: AGN AHH 1241/2, fol. 16-16v.

Letter from the royal officials in Mexico to the King, dated 29 April 1699

Sire:

In a Royal decree dated 13 July 1697, Y.M. was pleased to order us to recover as fast as possible from Don Bernardo Iñiguez del Bayo what was assigned to him in his Letter of appointment as General of the Philippine galleon named **Santo Cristo de Burgos** and paid in advance as salary, allowances, or for anything else, and, should there be no way of satisfying same, for lack of means or bondsmen, we were to take recovery action against the Viceroy, Count of Galve, who had despatched the Letter in question, thus contravening the existing laws and orders that forbid it.—

—We searched our files but did not find any mention of any payment being made by the Royal treasury of this City to Don Bernardo for any reason; however, we did find the news, dated 1693, that when he was returning from said Islands to this Kingdom in said galleon, he, as well as all the people who were aboard her, disappeared without a trace up to now.—

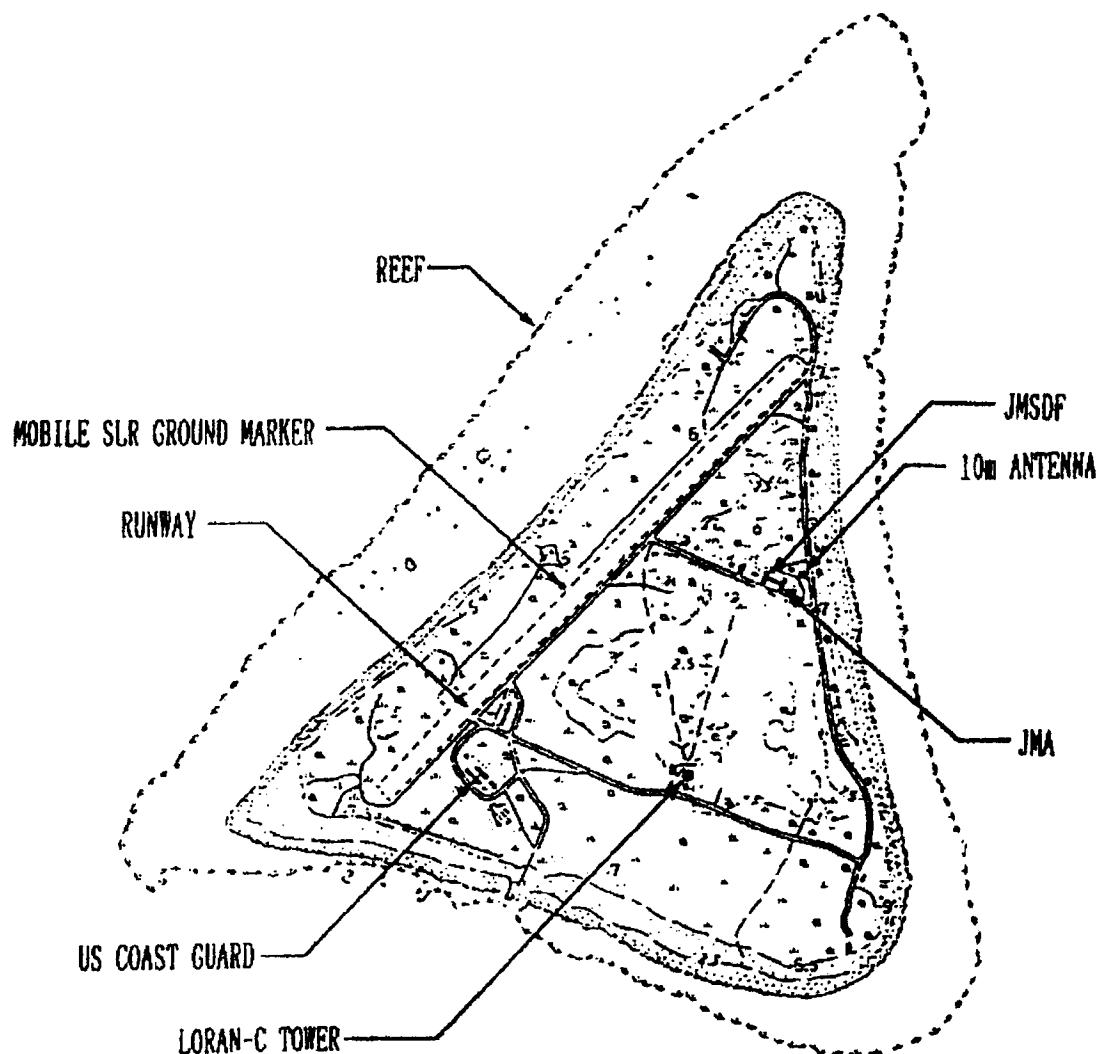
—The Viceroy, Count of Galve (as Y.M. knows) returned to Spain in 1696, and died a few days after disembarking, and it is public knowledge that he did not leave any property here, and no bondsmen against whom to proceed, even if we came to know that Don Bernardo had actually received what was due him, as stated in the Royal decree; hence, any recovery would have been impossible. So, in order to comply with our obligation, we report same to Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may God save as Christendom needs.

Mexico, 29 April 1699.

Antonio Juan Deza Ulloa.

Joseph Francisco Canal.

Joseph de Urrutia.



Modern map of Marcus Island, now called Minami Tori Shima. *There is a meteorological observation station operating on this island, lost in the vast North Pacific at 24° lat. N. and 154° long. E. The runway is about 1,500 meters in length. The name Marcus probably came from the visit of some U.S. whaler before 1850. The island was visited in 1874 by USS Tuscarora and in 1885 by the French ship Éclairer, and also by the missionary brig Morning Star returning to Honolulu in December 1864. Captain Gelett of the latter ship described it as being about five miles in length, densely covered with trees and shrubbery, with a knoll at the center.*

Documents 1694A

The odyssey of Captain Arriola and his discovery of Marcus, or Minami-Tori, Island

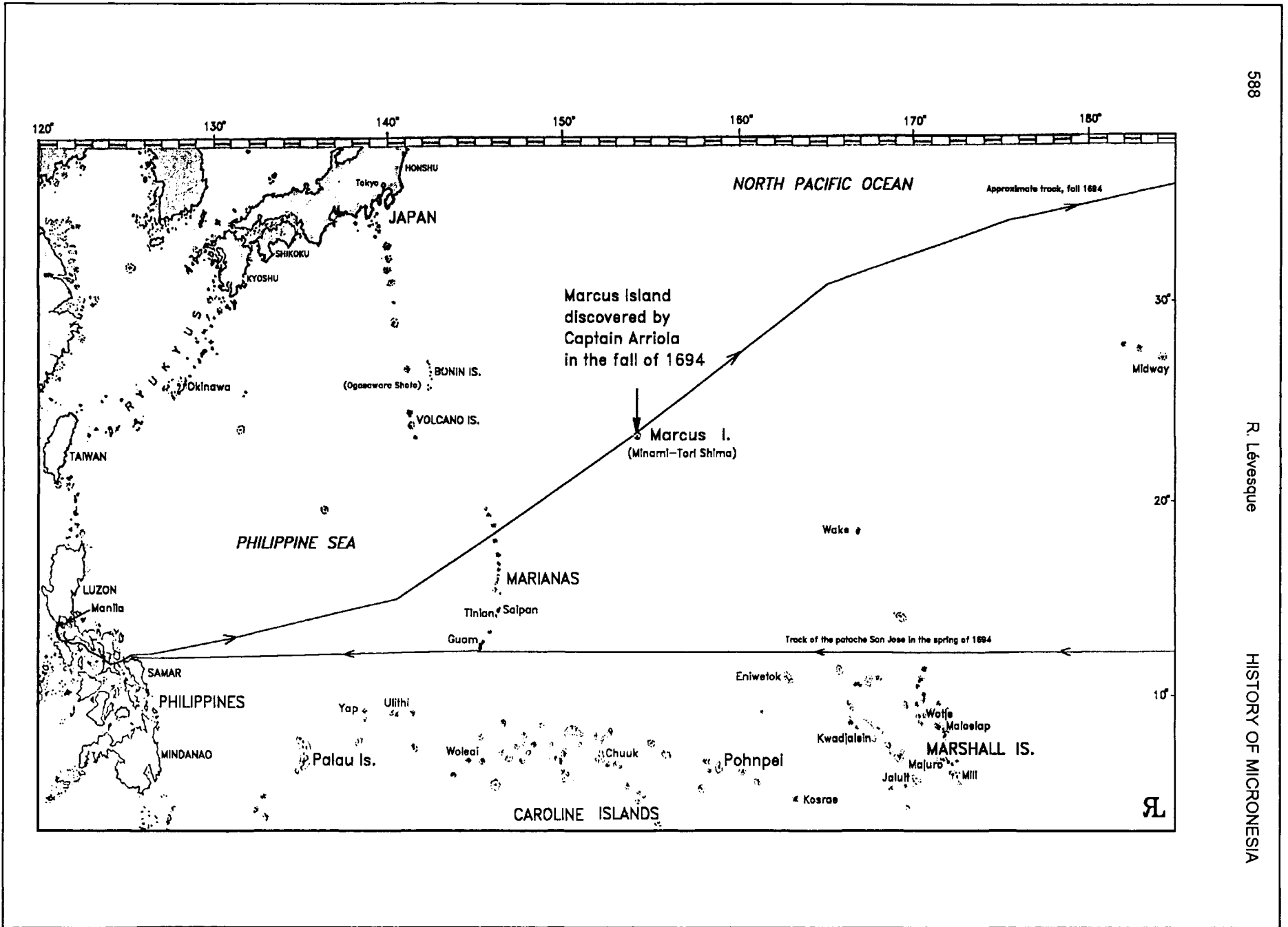
Main sources: (1) A book by Fr. Vicente de Salazar, O.P., entitled: "Historia de la Provincia de el Santissimo Rosario de Philipinas, China, y Tunking, de el Sagrado Orden de Predicadores. Tercera parte, en que se tratan los sucesos de dicha Provincia desde el año de 1669 hasta el de 1700," published at Manila, by the University of Santo Tomas Press, in 1742, pp. 613, 620-621; available at BNM #R33066; (2) A book by Fr. Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., entitled: "Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas" (Valladolid, 1890), pp. 440-444; available at BNM #R23213. Published as an article in JPH 32:2 (1997): 229-233.

Introductory notes.

In the fall of 1693, the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** disappeared in the North Pacific while on the way to Mexico. By the beginning of 1694, no news had been received in Mexico in three years. Finally, the Viceroy decided to send a patache to find out why. He selected a veteran seaman with 20 years in the service of the King, Andrés de Arriola. The vessel selected was a small patache, one of many named **San José**, that was visiting from Peru.

According to a 5-page manuscript biography of this hero, written after his return to Mexico,¹ Captain Arriola had had a long career in the Atlantic fleet and in the West Indies, notably aboard the galleon Nuestra Señora del Rosario, and the galleon San Bernardo, circa 1679. When he was ordered to take mail despatches to Manila in 1694, Arriola left Acapulco on 19 March 1694 in charge of this patache, overloaded with almost 100 religious, and no room for any servicemen, except a few Army officers, 16 convicts,² and a handful of sailors to man the ship. After a brief stop at Guam, they arrived safely at Cavite on 28 June.

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- 1 Ed. note: Biography of Arriola by Juan Francisco de Bargas, signed by Manuel de Lodeña in Mexico on 25 October 1695 (ref. Hispanic American Historical Review, e.g. available at the Newberry Library in Chicago, #1H5).
 - 2 Ed. note: See Robles' Diary, under 1694 (Doc. 1703D).



Because his Peruvian patache was not seaworthy, Arriola intended to return to Acapulco aboard the regular galleon, but she was lost on the island of Lubang. It became more urgent than ever to send word about so many disasters to Mexico. Arriola volunteered, and was provided with the only other vessel available, a small 80-ton sailing boat named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**. To try and make a voyage across the stormy North Pacific in such a small craft was a brave, if not a foolhardy act—never before accomplished.

Arriola left Manila Bay on 30 July, with a crew of 40 men and too few supplies. Incredibly, he showed up at Acapulco six and a half months later, arriving on 13 February 1695 to be exact. Had not Arriola been short of food, and looking for the legendary islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata on his ancient chart, he might not have found Marcus Island. This island, located at about 24° North lat. and 154° East of Greenwich., was seized by Japan in 1899 in anticipation of a cable station¹ and given the Japanese name of Minami-Tori.

A1. The story of the westward passage, by Fr. Salazar

Original text in Spanish.

[Libro 2] Cáp. XXXVI... nueva Mission de Religiosos, que este año llegó a la Provincia.

...

Este mismo año de 1694 llegó a esta Provincia un buen socorro de 38 Religiosos...

...

Viendo el Señor Virrey de Mexico, y la Real Audiencia la falta de las Naos de Philippinas, discurrieron averse perdido estas Islas, ó averles sucedido algun trabajo; y assi para socorrerlas con gente, y con plata, compraron un Navichuelo de el Perú, que se hallaba en el Puerto de Acapulco, y aviendo con la prissa, que pedia el caso, embiaron en el el Real subsidio, y dos Misiones de Religiosos, que estaban detenidas, una de sesenta Augustinos Recoletos, y la nuestra de treinta, y ocho, y tambien cinco compañías de Soldados, los quales no se pudieron embarcar, por ser tan estrecho el buque de el Patache: y assi solo se embarcaron los Capitanes, y alguna poca gente; y aun con todo esso venian con tanta estrechez, que apenas podian rebullirse.

Dieronse a la vela en Acapulco el día de el Señor San Ioseph, y con bonanza continua de tiempos llegaron a las Islas Marianas. Allí fue precisso lastrear el Navio, por que como no trahia mas carga, que los bastimentos con el consumo de estos en el viage, andaba el Navichuelo tan sobre aguado, que parecía una boya sin asiento, y sin poderse gobernar al rumbo. Para reconocer el poco lastre, que trahía, bajó el segundo Piloto a la bodega, y tentando las tablas, y el costillage, lo halló todo tan podrido, que por

1 Ed. note: According to William T. Brigham's Index to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean (Honolulu, 1900), Marcus Island was seized by the Japanese in 1899 in anticipation of a cable station. It was named Minami-Tori by them.

qualquiera parte podia entrar el dedo. Quedo dicho Piloto asustado, y sin decir nada a nadie, subió al Combés palido, como un difunto. Dió parte de lo que avia experimentado al General, y al Piloto Mayor, y de comun acuerdo de los tres, se calló el suceso, por no infundir miedo en los navegantes, y lastreandole (como se pudo) con dos barcadas de piedra, prosiguieron su viage hasta estas Islas, con grande cuydado en los Pilotos, que sabian lo mal aparato de el Navichuelo; pero quiso Dios darles bonanza en los tiempos, por que al menor temporal, que huvieran tenido, se huviera hecho pedazos el Barco.

En fin, día veinte, y ocho de Junio, Vispera de los Apostolicos San Pedro, y San Pablo, dió fondo en Cavite el Navichuelo, y salidos los Religiosos, y la gente a tierra, y desembarcada la plata, y demas carga, estando ya el Navio desembarazado, el mismo por sí se fué a fondo, no aviendolo hecho en todo el viage, quando venia cargado, dando a entender con tan raro suceso, que avia venido como por milagro, y que concludido su oficio de socorrer a estas Islas con gente, y dineros, avia cessado ya la causa de el milagro, con que Dios le mantenía sobre las aguas (estando maltratado, y podrido) para el socorro solo de estas Islas, à las quales ha mirado siempre Dios con especiales demostraciones de su providencia. No fuera temeridad atribuir el suceso a los meritos de los Religiosos, que alli venian, como lo atribuía el prudente General, que con la noticia, que tenía desde Marianas de esta totalmente podrido el Barco, queriendo los Religiosos desembarcarse, luego que dieron fondo en Cavite, se lo estorvó el General, diciendo: "Padres, primero ha de salir la plata, y toda la gente, y carga de el Navio, y los ultimos hemos de salir Vuesas-Reverencias, Yó, y mis Oficiales."

Assi se executó, como lo dixo, y luego (como está dicho) se fué el Navio a fondo, manifestando Dios con esto el que solo por los Religiosos le mantenía.

Translation of the above text, by R. L.

[Book 2] Chap. XXXVI ... new Mission band of Religious that joined the Province this year.

...
This same year of 1694, there arrived in this Province a good reinforcement of 38 Religious...¹

...
When the Viceroy of Mexico, and the royal Audiencia, noticed the failure of the Philippine galleons, they discussed the possibility of these [Philippine] Islands having been lost, or of the occurrence of some catastrophe. So, in order to assist them with men and silver, they bought a small ship from Peru, which happened to be in the port of Acapulco, and with the haste required under the circumstances, they sent the royal subsidy aboard it, and two mission bands of Religious, who were detained there; one consisted of 60 Augustinian Recollects, and ours had 38. There were also [detained there] 5 companies of soldiers, who could not embark, since the capacity of the patache was too

1 Ed. note: The names of these 38 Dominicans are given in B&R 43: 85-87.

little. So, only the Captains and a few men embarked. In spite of all this, there was so little room on board that they could hardly stir [from their places].

They sailed from Acapulco on St. Joseph's Day, and with continuous favorable weather arrived at the Mariana Islands. There it became necessary to add ballast to the ship, because it did not carry more than the food supplies and with the consumption of those during the voyage, the small ship was riding so high that it seemed to be like a buoy that is not tied down, and it could not be steered [properly]. In order to inspect the amount of ballast that it did have, the second pilot went down into the hold, and, when testing the boards and the ribs, they were found to be all so rotten that wherever he poked, his finger would go in. The said pilot was stunned and, without saying a word to anyone, returned on deck as pale as a dead man. He reported what he had found out to the General and to the Chief Pilot. All three agreed to keep the finding secret, in order not to instill fear in the passengers. After the ship was ballasted (as best as could be) with two boat-loads of stone, they pursued their voyage to these Islands, the pilots being very careful, since they knew the bad state of the little ship. However, God was pleased to send them favorable weather; any small storm would have broken the boat into pieces.

Finally, on 28 June, the eve of the feast-day of St. Peter and St. Paul, the small ship anchored at Cavite. Once the Religious and the people had gone ashore, and the silver and other freight had been unloaded, when the ship was empty, it went by itself to the bottom. This thing had not happened during the voyage, when it was loaded; hence, such a rare event led some to believe that it had come as if by miracle, and then, once the business of relieving these Islands with men, and money was over, there was no longer any reason for the miracle to continue, and that God had kept it afloat (despite its ravaged and rotten condition) only for the succor of these Islands, which God has always favored by special expressions of His divine Providence. It would not be temerity to ascribe the happening to the merits of the Religious on board, as the prudent General did in fact ascribe it to. With the knowledge that he had since the Marianas, that the ship was completely rotten, when the Religious wished to disembark at Cavite, the General intervened to prevent it, saying: "Fathers, first the silver, all the men, and freight must come out. Then, your Reverences, myself, and my officers may leave."

Thus, it was done, as he said, and then (as was said) the ship went to the bottom, showing that God was keeping it afloat only on account of the Religious.

A2. The story of the eastward passage, by Fr. Díaz

Translation by James A. Robertson.¹

Don Fausto [Cruzat] placed on the stocks the largest galleon that had ever been built; for it was three cubits longer than the largest that had been built in the world. This

¹ Ed. note: B&R 42: 307-311.

enterprise was carried out by Master-of-Camp Don Tomás de Endaya, who by application had become very skilful in this art, and he was therefore the superintendent of this construction; which was completed in less than nine months, to the astonishment of everyone—although with some cause for scandal, since the men worked on it even on the most important feast-days, not stopping even on Holy Thursday. He gave it the name of **San José**, and appointed Don José Madrazo its commander; and it was launched very successfully. It sailed from this headland of Cavite on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul in 1694;¹ and on 3 July, in the night, it was dashed to pieces on the coast of Luban[g], and more than 400 persons were drowned. It was reckoned that if the men had not worked on the feast-days the vessel would have been completed more slowly, and would have sailed many days later, and the furious hurricane that was the cause of its wreck would not have caught it on the sea, with the deaths of so many persons and the loss of the great amount of merchandise that it carried; for it is considered certain that no larger or richer galleon had plowed the waters of the sea, for the wealth that it carried was incredible.

While the loss was so great, one of the most grievous losses that these islands have suffered, it was made worse by the non-arrival of the galleon that was expected that year, the **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, in charge of General Don Bernardo Ignacio [rather Iñiguez] del Bayo who, as we have said, was sent by the Viceroy Count of Galve in the year of 1691, and returned [to Acapulco] in the same ship the following year; and it put back to the port of Sorsogón, after having endured great tempests. It remained at Sorsogón in order to continue its voyage in the year of 1693, as it did; but it not only failed to reach port, but was wrecked, without our gaining the least knowledge of the place where that occurred. There were some suspicions that it was destroyed by fire (a danger for which there is on the sea no help), for **at one of the Mariana Islands were found fragments of burned wood**, which were sent [here] by the Governor of the Philippines [rather Marianas], Don José Madrazo,² and were recognized to be of woods that are found in these islands only. Careful search was made for many years along the coasts of South America, and in other regions; but not the least news of this ship has been received.

...

By these so calamitous events the islands were reduced to a miserable condition, on account of the loss of two good galleons and of so much wealth, belonging to so many that one might say it was the wealth of all [the citizens of Manila]. There was a little alleviation of our affliction that year, but it was so little that it could hardly be regarded as succor—that before the great galleon [San José] left Cavite, **a small patache** had come in, which the Viceroy of New Spain had sent with some slight assistance, **in charge of Don Andrés de Arriola, a Sevillan gentleman of great courage and re-**

1 In the original text, this is misprinted 1684.

2 Ed. note: After the wreck of the galleon San José, he was appointed Governor of the Marianas, a post in which he served from 1696 to 1700.

noun. He returned to New Spain in a small vessel which was purchased for 6,000 pesos from a Portuguese merchant named Juan de Abreu; it was so small that the authorities ordered, under heavy penalties, that no citizen should send in this vessel anything except letters, a rule which was enforced most rigorously.

This patache made a very prosperous voyage; for, having passed the Mariana Islands, which is the most difficult part of this navigation, and finding that their provisions were nearly gone, and that it was almost impossible to pursue their voyage, divine Providence aided them by revealing to them **an unknown island, not set down on any navigation chart. They found it uninhabited by men, but abounding in certain birds, large and heavy, and little inclined to fly, and so easy to catch that the men gave them the name of “fool birds”,¹ either because of their stupidity, or as being the same as those birds which are found in Brazil and in some islands of India which the Portuguese call *dodos*, which is the same as *tontos* [i.e. stupid]. The flesh of these birds is very good, and so, by killing many of them and drying their flesh in the wind, the sailors made a very good provision of food. They also found very good water and firewood,² so that they were able to continue their voyage to Acapulco.**

What they most regretted was, that they could not fix the latitude and position of this island, for lack of seeing the sun; and thus the island became again unknown, and inaccessible for another like emergency. [If its position were known], it would be a great assistance in making easier this arduous and severe navigation from the Philippines to Acapulco.³

Don Andrés de Arriola later became Knight of the Order of St. James, commander of the Windward fleet,⁴ and governor of Veracruz and of Pensacola, where he rendered great services to his Majesty King Don Felipe V—his great courage enabling him to furnish large supplies of silver [to the King], despite the perils of the sea and the enemies of the Crown, at the time when the armed fleets of England and Holland were infesting the seas and obstructing the commerce with America.

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- 1 In Spanish, *pájaros bobos*; evidently referring to the bird commonly known, in English, as “booby”. Ed. comment: That is the word origin for booby. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japanese sailors killed all the birds on Marcus Island, for their feathers.
 - 2 Ed. note: They must have dug shallow wells to tap the slightly-saline water lens under the sand surface. As for wood, they must have used the shrubs found on this and similar islands, e.g. Midway, Wake, etc.
 - 3 Ed. note: As Dahlgren says (on page 100 of his book on the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands), this island could not have been any other than Marcus Island (24°14' N. lat., 154° E. long.). Regarding the position of the island, it was no doubt estimated by Arriola (from dead reckoning and by extrapolation between better-known points) and kept secret by Spanish authorities in Mexico, so secret that the knowledge was soon lost.
 - 4 Ed. note: At the arrival of the new Viceroy, Duke of Linares, Arriola commanded the fleet that left Veracruz on 29 February 1711. He returned on 5 October 1712, and departed again on 19 January 1713, taking the Duke of Albuquerque home (ref. Ternaux-Compans).

Documents 1694B

Letters from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 1694 about the relief patache San José

Sources: AGI Fil. 15-1-23 (with copy in 15-1-24), and 15-1-28 (with copy in 15-1-29).

Note: Captain Arriola's patache was referred to as the San José Llano, to differentiate it from the many other ships named San José. It arrived at Cavite on 28 June 1694, but was later condemned, and broken up.

B1. Letter of 29 June 1694

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

Da quenta a V.M. de haver llegado â aquellas Islas un Patache despachado por el Virrey de la Nueva España con socorro de Reales y jeneros por no haver llegado â dicho Reyno el Galeon que se despacho por el Real situado el año de 1693.

Señor

*Doi quenta a V.M. como acava de llegar al Puerto de Cavite un Patache nombrado **San Joseph** que despacho el Conde de Galve Virrey de la Nueva España motivado de haver faltado en dos años continuados la Nao que se despacha de estas Islas por el Real situado de ellas y a llevar el permiso de sus vecinos cuia novedad y noticia â causado bastante desconsuelo y cuidado a toda esta Republica respecto de que aunque en el año de 1692 hubo la arrivada de que tengo dado quenta a V.M., el siguiente de 1693 salio despachado al tiempo regular el Galeon **Santo Christo de Burgos**, el qual, ni a buelto a arrivar a estas Islas, ni llegado a dicho Reino de la Nueva España, con que da que rezelar no le haia suzedido alguno fatalidad, quiera Nuestro Señor no sea así, y que le haya llevado â Puerto de salvamento.*

Lo que el Virrey de la Nueva España remite de socorro en dicho Patache son 110,000 pesos en reales los 20,000 de ellos para los estipendios del estado eclesiastico y los 90,000 restantes para los gastos de esta Real Caja y algunos jeneros para Provision de estos

Reales Almacenes con lo qual procurare no se falte a lo mas preziso para la conservacion de estas Islas.

Nuestro Señor guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad a menester.

Manila y Junio 29 de 1694.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

He reports to Y.M. that a patache despatched by the Viceroy of New Spain with relief of money and goods has arrived at those Islands, since the galleon that had been despatched for the Royal subsidy in the year 1693 did not arrive at that Kingdom.

Sire:

I report to Y.M. that there has just arrived at the port of Cavite a patache named **San José**, despatched by the Count of Galve, Viceroy of New Spain. He was motivated to do so by the non arrival for two years in a row of the galleon that had been despatched from these Islands for their Royal subsidy and to take the trade goods allowed to their residents. This novelty and news have caused sufficient disconsolateness and worry to the whole of this Republic, because, in spite of the return in distress of the year 1692, which I have reported to Y.M., the following year 1693 the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** went out despatched at the regular time. However, she has neither turned back to these Islands, nor arrived at said Kingdom of New Spain. Therefore, some loss may be feared. May Our Lord prevent that, and let her reach a safe port.¹

What the Viceroy of New Spain remits as relief aboard said patache are 110,000 pesos, 20,000 of which are for stipends for the ecclesiastical state, and the other 90,000 are for the expenses of this Royal Treasury, and a few goods as provisions for these Royal Warehouses. With this, I will try and make sure that necessities are not lacking for the preservation of these Islands.

May our Lord keep the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 29 June 1694.²

B2. Letter of 7 December 1694

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

3. Da quenta â V.M. de haver llegado â aquellas Islas con felicidad un patache, que el Virrey de la Nueva España despacho con socorro de 110,000 p., los 90,000 de ellos

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- 1 Ed. note: After all, it was possible to believe a return in distress to Japan or to some island between the Marianas and Japan.
 - 2 Ed. note: This letter was repeated on 19 July 1694, with the exact same words, except that the date of the arrival of the patache at Cavite is specified as 28 June. Both letters were received at Madrid on 10 May 1696.

para la Real Caja y los 20,000 p. restantes para los estipendios eclesiasticos. Y como la causa de ymbiar dicho patache fue el haver faltado en aquel Reyno los años de 1692 y 1693 el Galeon regular, de aquellas yslas, que el primero lo ocasionò la arrivada que huvo, y el segundo no haver llegado â Acapulco el que se despachò, ni tenerse noticia de el.

Señor.

*Por vía de la Nueva España di quenta a V.M. en Carta de 19 de Jullio de este presente año de 1694 de haver llegado con toda felicidad a estas yslas, y dado fondo en el Puerto de Cavite a 28 de Junio de el, un Patache que despachò el Virrey Conde de Galve motivado de haver faltado en aquel Reyno dos años continuados Nao de estas yslas; cuya notiçia me a parezido preziso repetir por esta bia para mayor seguridad de que la aya en ese Real y Supremo Consejo y de que la causa de dicha falta de Nao fue el haver arrivado la que se despacho el año de 1692, y de no haver llegado â Acapulco la misma que se volvio a despachar en prosecuzion de su viaxe el siguiente de 1693 al tiempo regular, de que de uno, y otro accidente tengo dado quenta a V.M. yndividualmente; y aunque no deja de haver algunos rezelos de que dicha Nao aya tenido algun mal subzeso, sin embargo se vibe con la esperanza de que aunque tarde llegaría a dicho Reyno de la Nueva España, y que volvera â estas Yslas de tornabiaje el año proximo venidero, quiera Nuestro Señor, que así sea para que estos pobres vezinos se reparen en parte de la considerable **perdida que este año an tenido en la del Galeon San Joseph** de que asimismo e dado quenta a V.M. y lo buelvo a hazer por otra de este día.*

En dicho Patache remitio el Virrey de la Nueva España 110,000 p. en Reales efectivos, los 90,000 p. de ellos para esta Real Caxa, y los 20,000 p. retantes para los estipendios del estado eclesiastico, y juntamente vinieron algunos generos para provision de los Reales Almazenes. Con cuya socorro, y lo que seà recaudado ybâ recaudando de los ramos de Real hazienda que V.M. tiene en estas yslas, procurare no se falte a lo mas preziso de los socorros de la ymfantería y demas jente de sueldo y salario, y al apresto de el Galeon que con el favor de Dios se despachara el año proximo venidero al Puerto de Acapulco.

Nuestro Señor guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad â menester.

Manila y Diziembre 7 de 1694.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

3. Reports to Y.M. the successful arrival at those Islands of a patache that the Vice-roy of New Spain despached with a relief of 110,000 pesos, 90,000 of which are for the Royal Treasury and the other 20,000 pesos for the ecclesiastical stipends. Also that the reason for sending said patache was the failure of the regular galleon of these Islands to reach that Kingdom in the years 1692 and 1693, the first of which because of a return in distress, and the second because the galleon that was despached neither arrived at Acapulco, nor is there any news of her.

Sire:

By way of New Spain, I reported to Y.M. in a letter dated 19 July of this year 1694 the arrival at these Islands with complete success, and its anchoring in the port of Cavite on 28 June, of a patache [San José] despatched by the Viceroy, Count of Galve, motivated to do so by the failure of the galleon [Santo Cristo] of these Islands to reach that Kingdom for two years in a row. It seemed appropriate for me to repeat this news by this mail to make sure that it reaches that Royal and Supreme Council. The reason of said failure of the galleon in 1692 was that she turned back in distress, and apparently she did not reach Acapulco after she was once again despatched at the regular time the following year 1693. I have already given detailed reports to Y.M. about both accidents. but, although there are still some fears that said galleon might have met with some bad outcome, nevertheless one hopes that, though late, she will reach said Kingdom of New Spain, and that she will make the return voyage to these Islands next year. May Our Lord will that it be so, so that these poor residents might recover somewhat from the considerable **loss that they have suffered this year with the loss of the galleon San José, which I have reported to Y.M. and am repeating in a report of this date.**

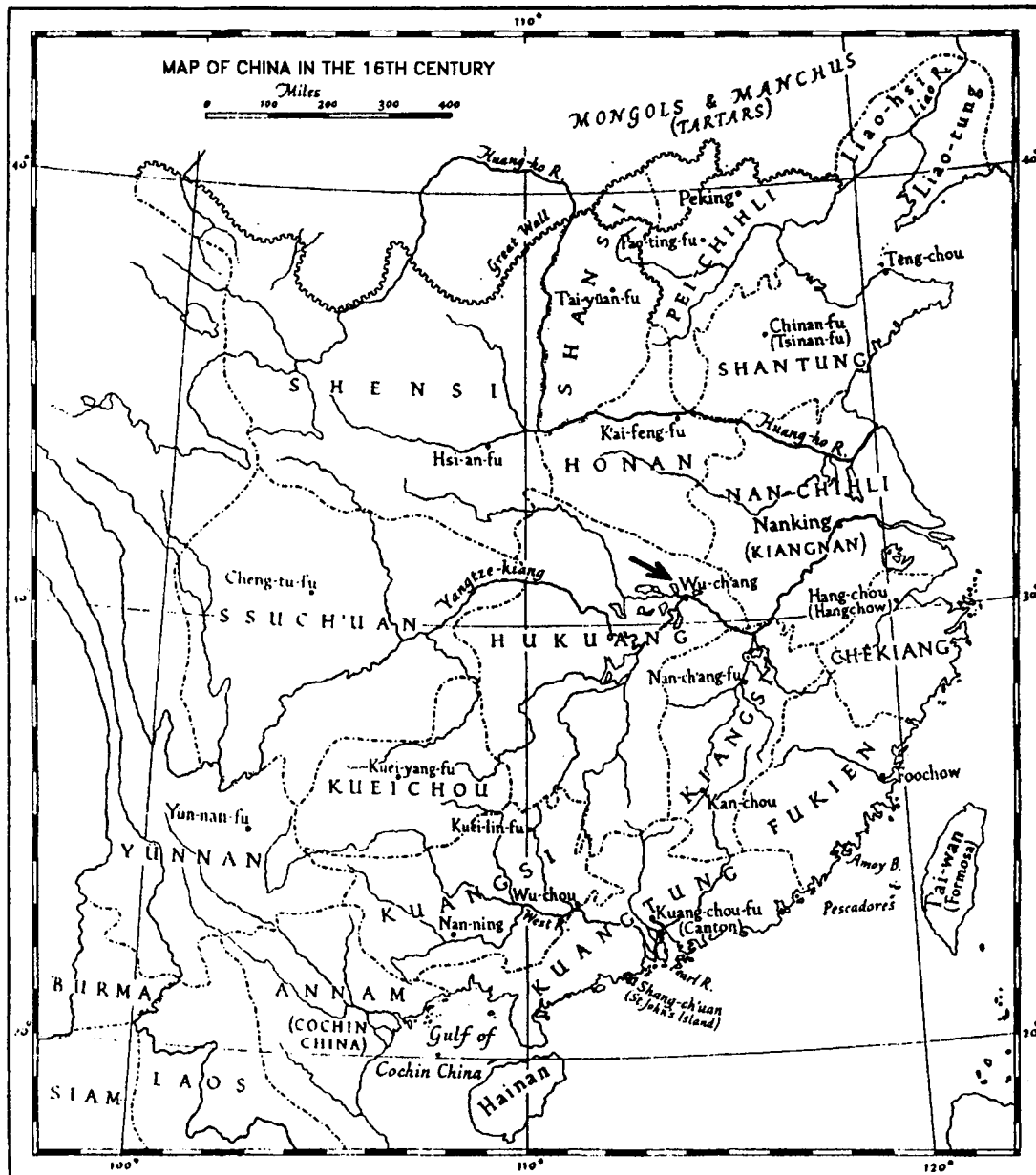
Aboard said patache the Viceroy of New Spain remitted 110,000 pesos in cash, 90,000 pesos of which are for this Royal Treasury and the other 20,000 pesos are for the stipends of the ecclesiastical state. In addition a few goods came to reprovision the Royal Warehouses. With this succor, and what has been collected and continues to be collected under various branches of the Royal Treasury that Y.M. has in these Islands, I will try to make sure that there will be the necessary funds to cover the wages and salaries of the infantry and other men, and for the outfitting of the galleon that, God willing, will be despatched next year to the port of Acapulco.¹

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 7 December 1694.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.²

1 Ed. note: The galleon Rosario was sent eastward in 1695.

2 Ed. note: This letter was repeated, with a postscript, on 10 June 1695. Notes on file say that the original was delivered to the Council of the Indies on 10 October 1695 by Don Diego de Villatoro, who seems to have been the gentleman, or mail courier, recently arrived by advice boat from Veracruz. The Council had already been advised of the despatch of the relief patache by the Viceroy, in a letter dated 9 April 1694. On 15 October 1695, they wrote to him to tell him to keep sending reliefs to the Philippines in a timely fashion.



Map of China showing location of Vu Cham Fu. *Fr. Peter van Hamme, a Belgian Jesuit who had met Fr. Bouwens in Guam in 1689 continued to write to him from his mission post in China. The city of Vu Cham, or Wu Chang, was one of 3 towns that have since amalgamated to become the metropolis of Wuhan, now the capital of the modern province of Hubei; it was then the capital of the much larger province of Hu-quam, which was soon after divided into Hubei and Hunan. (Map from C.R. Boxer's book: South China in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1953).*

Document 1694C

Letter from Fr. Peter van Hamme in China to Fr. Bouwens, dated Vu Cham Fu 27 October 1694

Source: AGR 2: 137-139v, which contains the signed original, and one unsigned copy.

Original letter in Latin.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P. E.

Varias scripsi Ræ Væ, sed unicam a V. R. accepi epistolam scriptam 24 Maij 1691, cui iam pridem respondi.

In hac Provincia Huquam nova sunt admodum pauca, qua tamen libenter perscribo. A bemestri circiter P. Philippus Grimaldi pervenit in aulam, et bene exceptus fuit ab Imperatore. In itinere fere in conspectu Goæ obiit P. Philippus Couplet, qui cum sociis redibat in Sinas. Adducebat secum duos Patres Flandro-Belgas P. Nicolaum Dufour, et P. Guilielmum vander Beken Bruxellensem: hic salvus pervenit Macaum, sed ille obiit circa Promontorium Bonæ Spei. P. Antonius Thomas aliquoties laboravit afflicta veletudine, sed credo eum nunc recte valere, et quodammodo sublevandum esse adventu Patris Grimaldi. P. Carolus Turcotti est Superior Residentiæ Cantoniensis.

Post decretum Imperratoris, anno 1692 editum in favorem Christianæ Religionis (de quo nuper scripsi) satis notabiliter propagatur fides; non defuerunt tamen hoc anno quædam persecutiones in Provincijs Fo-Kien, Xan-Tum, et Hu-Quam. Anno præterito hic orta fuit persecutio satis magna, quam ego commendavi Pro Regi hujus Provinciæ, qui mihi promisit, se habiturum curam; et rem totam tam bene direxit, ut brevi extincta fuerit non sine incremento divinæ gloriæ, et salutis animarum. Mense Augusto præterit iterum excitata est persecutio a gentilibus in pago quodam 40 leucis hinc distante, quam varijs Mandarinis, ac tandem Pro Regi hujus Provinciæ commendavi: ac proinde spero per Dei gratiam brevi finiendam esse: nec mirum videri debet oriri hic interdum persecutiones inter tot milliones gentilium, inter quos Christiani sunt velut agni inter lupos.

Aueo seive [sic] ex R. V., an in Insulis Marianis suscriptæ fuerint aliquæ expeditiones, et quo successu, an redacta sint subjugum Christi rebelles insulæ? Quot modo dagant missionarij in ijsdem insulis? Qui valeant Patres, qui mecum eo appulerunt, et ibidem remanserunt, quos omnes ex animo saluto. An denique Franciscus a Gramond (qui meus olim fuit famulus) etiamnum illic degat, etc.

SSmis. R. V. Sacrificijs humillime me commendo.

Vu Cham Fu (quæ est Metropolis Provinciæ Hu Quam) 27 octobris 1694.

R. V. Servum in Christo

Petrus van Hamme.

[P. S.] *Salutem plurimam adscribo Pris. Joanni Schirmeisen, alijsque Patribus mihi notis.*

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ

Peace be with you

I have written various letters to your Reverence, but have only received one from your Reverence, a letter dated 24 May 1691, which I have already answered.

In this province of Huquam news are rather rare, but I would like to write about them just the same. About two months ago, Fr. Philippo Grimaldi arrived at court and was well received by the Emperor. During the voyage, almost in sight of Goa, Fr. Philippe Couplet died; he was returning to China with some companions. He was leading two Flandro-Belgian Fathers, Fr. Nicholas Dufour, and Fr. William vander Beke from Brussels. The latter arrived safely at Macao but the former died near the Cape of Good Hope. Fr. Anthonio Thomas is struggling although his health is somewhat affected, but I believe that he is now doing alright, and that he can get up since the arrival of Fr. Grimaldi. Fr. Carlos Turcotti is Superior of the Canton Residence.

After the Emperor's decree, in 1692 an edict in favor of the Christian religion (about which I wrote earlier) is quite enough for the propagation of the faith. Nevertheless, it did not prevent this year's persecutions in the Provinces of Fokien, Xantum, and Huquam. Last year there was here such a big persecution that I referred it to the Viceroy whose province this is; he promised me that he would take care of it. He directed the whole thing so well that it soon died down, not without an increase in the divine glory and the salvation of souls. Last August again a persecution arose caused by gentiles in a village situated 40 leagues from here. I referred the matter to various Mandarins and also to the Viceroy whose province this is. From now on, I hope to God that it was the last one, but one must foresee a few persecutions now and then in a land with millions of gentiles, among whom Christians are like sheep among wolves.

Well then, you write from the Marianas about some expeditions, and their success. Have you not written that the rebels of the islands have been reduced to Christ? What method have the missionaries used in those islands? How are the Fathers doing, who came along with me and stayed behind there? I say a hearty hello to them all. Is not Francis Gramond (my former companion) also working there, etc.?

I humbly beg your Reverence to remember me during your very holy sacrifices.

Vu Cham Fu (which is the capital of the Province of Hu-quam) 27 October 1694.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ

Peter van Hamme

[P. S.] I send greetings to Fr. Juan Schirmeisen, and the other Fathers who know me.

Document 1694D

Letter from Fr. Silva Alencastre to Fr. Xaramillo, dated Manila 20 July 1694

Sources: Original ms. in RAH 9/2669 doc. n° 46; extract in NLA, which is translated in B&R 41:36.

News about shipping disasters of recent times

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Antonio Xaramillo

P. X.

*Estaba de prisa porque el tiempo no permite mas, por las fatalidades tan lastimosas que suceden, pues va para tres años que no se puede enderezar una carta para Mexico. Pues el año de 92 por Junio se quemó en el mismo Puerto el Patache que iba para Marianas, cargado, con mas de 20 mil pesos, el mismo año salió la Nao de **Santo Cristo** para Acapulco y desde 30 grados de altura arribo desarbolada, aunque con muy poca avería, esta partió desde el Puerto de Naga el año de 93 por Julio, y hasta la ora desta ni save de ella, ni en donde esta, y que fin a tenido, y mas quando el Patache quello [sic=que llego] este año no da noticias de averla encontrado, aunque se espera avia llegado ya. Pero todo esto era tolerable, sino huviera sucedido la ruina mayor que este año sucedio, y fue, que este año de 94 se fabrico un Galeon de 72 codos de aquilla [sic,] cosa sobervia, este se dio a la vela vispera de San Pedro y el sabado despues, cassi a vista nuestra junto a un Pueblo llamado Marigondon se hizo mil pedazos, cargado con mas de 12 mil Fardos, pues la rep[ubli]ca lo poco, o mucho que le havia quedado lo empleo, para llenar el vuque tan grande pues ubo personas que hasta la plata labrada, y joyas de sus mugeres las trocaron por Ropa, pues vea V.R. aora, que tal havia quedado esta tierra, que ruinas tan fatales, que al no venir el Santo Cristo se perdieron estas Yslas:] un tercio de cacao vale 500 pesos, y assi lo demas, y sino huviera venido el Patache, ni vino ubiera para missas, castigos todos que Dios embia estas tierras por los pecados que se cometen, y an cometido, pues se ven oy los ricos pobres, y los pobres pereciendo, este Collegio a echado los mas dichos sugetos por no tener que comer, y perdido todo lo mas que tenia: mas no dexare de dezir lo que en la Nao que se perdio*

sucedio: naufragò la mas de la gente y entre ella el Padre Pedro de Casanova que no quiso salir con el General, y el Padre Mauricio [Pereira] su compañero, sino quedarse para asistir a los pobres, y ayudarles a bien morir, y confesarlos, y Dios se lo pago con el Martyrio de la caridad, pues siendo asistir, a confesar a uno, vino una ola que le quebro los pies, y rompio la cabeza contra un palo, mas no paro su fervor, que arrastrando andava confesando, esta [= hasta] que cayo un palo, y lo mato, pudiendose librar como se libraron los dichos, y el Padre Mauricio, y Fray Juan de Paz Dominicano gran amigo de la Comp^a que iba a España con ellos: la tarde antes, currio un viento, que el hierro y plata vestia de morado, y la gente la mudava, pronosticos todos del azote de Dios y que paga el justo por el pecador.

El Governador se determino embiar esta año un Patache que es el que va con esta para dar noticia de que no esta esto perdido, aunque acabado con tales desdichas, y assi dicho Patache va solo a la ligera, quiere Su Mgd. llevarlo con bien y en bien traer el Santo Cristo...

...
Las cosas que Esplana haze en Marianas no son para tomar en la boca, que sino lo contara un Padre S^o [Santo?] no lo ceciera(?) las infamias que haze sin temor ni respeto a Padres comisando los Indios cogiendo todo el sustento que les ba para venderlo como quiere, pues dicho Padre dixo que de una tinaxa de tabaco avia echo quinientos Pesos: tiene aora desterrado a Chiroga y en fin se perderan aquellas mientras durare aquel azote pero lo peor de todo es que a V.R^a le cargan la culpa por que dizen fue causa de que estubiesse por Governador; mire VR^a por aquellos Pobres Marianos y queridos de V.R^a quitesse aquel hombre antes que con maior descredito nuestro se acabe todo[.] No canso mas a V.R^a sino que ya que no soi digno de que V.R^a nos escriba dos renglones, pues de varias cartas que escribo no e visto letra de V.R^a. Sirvasse aora de remitir essas cartas a mi Padre de que rezevire favor, y no se olvide V.R^a de algunas cosillas de devozion, y si ubiere por alla algunos sermones buenos remitalos V.R^a y con esto mande V.R^a cossas de por gusto a esste su siervo, y paisano, a que me allare siempre mui suio y querido, no se olvide V.R^a de ver a mi Hermano Joseph que es de la Comp^a y dele mis memorias.

*Guarde Dios a V.R^a muchos años,
 Siervo, y paisano de V.R^a
 Pedro de Silva Alencastre*

Translation.

My dear Father Antonio Xaramillo.
 Peace of Christ.

I was in a hurry because time does not permit, on account of the very deplorable disasters that have happened; indeed, it has been three years since one cannot address a letter to Mexico. In fact, in June 1692, the patache [San Gabriel] that was leaving for the Marianas burned down in the very port, with over 20,000 pesos. The same year the galleon **Santo Cristo** left for Acapulco, but she was dismantled in 30 degrees and turned

back, though with little damage to her cargo. She left from the port of Naga in July 1693, but until now no news has been received of her whereabouts, or her outcome, the more so when the patache [San José] that arrived this year brought no news of having met her, although it is hoped that she would have made it by now. However, all of this was tolerable, if only the greater ruin of this year had not happened, and that was, that this year 1694 a galleon of 72 cubits at the keel, something outrageous, was built.¹ She sailed on the eve of the feast of St. Peter and on the following Saturday, almost in sight of us, near a town called Marigondon, she broke into a thousand pieces.² She was carrying over 12,000 bundles. Indeed, the citizens had used as little, rather as much, as they had to fill such a large ship. In fact, there were persons who bartered even wrought silver, and the jewels of their wives, to get stuffs. Now then, let Y.R. judge the present condition of this country, with such fatal losses, now that the Santo Cristo has not returned and these Islands have been lost: half a load of chocolate costs 500 pesos, and so on with the rest, and if the patache had not come, there would not even be wine for masses—all of this is punishment sent to this country by God for the sins that are being committed, and have been committed; indeed, today one can see that some rich people have become poor, and the poor are perishing. This College has expelled most of its subjects, because there was no food available, and lost everything else that it had. However, I will not fail to mention what happened when the galleon was lost. Most of the people on board drowned, and among them **Father Pedro de Casanova** who did not want to leave with the General, and Father Mauricio [Pereira], his companion, but remained to assist the poor people, and help them to die well, and to confess them. God repaid him with martyrdom for his charity, because while he was assisting, and confessing one man, there came a wave that tripped him, and he hit his head against a mast, but that was not enough to put a stop to his fervor; he was dragging himself and confessing people, until a mast fell on top of him and killed him. He could have saved himself, as others did, such as Father Mauricio, and Fray Juan de Paz, a Dominican and a great friend of the Society who was on the way to Spain with them. The afternoon before, there blew a wind that iron and silver clothed with purple³ and the people were changing it; all of these were foreboding signs of the scourge of God and that the just would pay for the sinner.

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- 1 Ed. note: This was the short-lived galleon **San José** whose length of keel was therefore 120 feet, if one cubit, the length of an average forearm, is assumed to be 20 inches; however, O'Scanlan in his maritime dictionary, says that 1 "codo" was exactly 24 Burgos inches, which might be interpreted as a keel length of 144 feet. This was considered outrageously large at the time because it corresponded roughly to a capacity of 1,500 tons (see Schurz' *Manila Galleon*, chap. 5).
 - 2 Ed. note: Marigondon is at the mouth of Manila Bay, only about 40 km from the port of Cavite. The Jesuits ministered to that town. With reference to a missal and a perpetual calendar, the date of the shipwreck was indeed 3 July 1694 (see p. 592).
 - 3 Ed. note: Strange expression, unless a line is missing.

The Governor decided to send this year a patache, and this letter goes aboard it,¹ in order to give the news that everything is not completely lost, although in dire straits on account of such misfortunes, and so, said patache is going out without cargo. May His Majesty take it under His protection and in due course bring back the Santo Cristo.

...

The things that Esplana is doing in the Marianas are hard to swallow. According to what a saintly Father reports, the infamies that he does are still going on, without fear or respect for the Fathers. He is confiscating from the Indians, taking all their food supplies to sell them as he pleases; in fact, said Father reports that he placed a price of 500 pesos on one jar of tobacco. He has also sent Quiroga into internal exile. In the end those Islands will become lost, as long as that scourge is there, but the worst of it is that they blamed Y.R. for it, because it is said that you were the cause of his having been named Governor. Please Y.R. look after those poor and dear Marianos, and remove that man before everything comes to naught, and results in great discredit to ourselves. I will not bother Y.R. more, except to say that it appears that I am not worthy of receiving even a couple of lines from Y.R.; indeed, I have written various letters to Y.R. but have not seen one from you. Now, will you please forward these letters to my father? I will be most grateful. And please Y.R. not forget to enclose a few small devotional objects. If there be overthere a few good sermons, please Y.R. send them to me and along with them would you please send a few optional things to this your servant, and countryman. I will forever be lovingly yours. Please Y.R. not forget to see my brother Joseph, who is in the Society, and give him my regards.

May God save Y.R. for many years,
Y.R.'s servant, and countryman,
Pedro de Silva Alencastre²

1 Ed. note: This was the sail-boat that Arriola used to get back to Acapulco, by way of Marcus Island.

2 Ed. note: He adds a postscript giving the names of deceased Jesuits, e.g. Fr. Antonio Baraona, Fr. Pedro Cano, Fr. Juan Adan, Fr. Stapleaux. The letter was received on 2 May 1696.

Documents 1695A

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Marianas 1 May 1695

Source: AGR Jesuits, 872-915, vol. 2, folios 166-169.

Note: This document was used by Fr. Le Gobien in his "Histoire des Isles Marianes" to complete the story which he had copied from Fr. García's History.

Original texts in Latin, including a letter, mostly in Spanish, by Fr. Antonio de la Concepción.

[folio 166]

Reverende in Christo Pater

Pax Ejusdem

Anno proxime elapso 94 mense Mayo accepi quas ante biennium Bruxellis ad me dederet R^a V^a ei lætor meas anni 1690 fuisse redditas. Provinciæ procuraturam Romæ ex voto, nil dubito, expeditam; felicemque ad suos reditum gratulor: de iterato ibidem Rectoratu, nescio quid dicam: gratulerne Ræ Væ, an ei compatiar potius: quid enim miserrimis hisce temporibus timendum magis, quam curam sustinere aliorum, eum vix quisque sibi sufficit, ut substitat inter præsentis Patriæ ruinas. Si captis Hanoniæ Montibus, ut alterco suis anno 1691 R. V^a inseruit, etiam Namurcum, q[uo]d hic audimus, hosti cesserit. Quid Regi nostro superest in Belgio ut Gallo resistat, ei impetatur? Et si restiterit; extremum vel a defensere militi, tam numeroso ut alere eum vix posse videatur, perquam metuo, ut effugiat exilium. Meliora Deus, quem precor, in bonum monstra convertat.

Ego, quæ Dei est misericordia, vivo etiamnum ut Romæ retulit R. Væ Pr. Antonius Xaramillo: et sexagenario mejor, mi Pater, belle perquam valeo; hoc anno miser quod cælo necdum maturus: unde merito palmam mihi præemptus dicam, an eripuit Venerabilis P. Petrus charus mihi dum vixit fidelisque Achates. Aderit, ut spero auxilio, ut semper adfuit exemplo zeli vere apostolici, quo dilatam quidem, at forte non omnino ablatam nanciscor et ipse sortem illam felicissimam, quam rumore nescio quo (utinam vaticino) itineræ litteræ illæ, quæ Gadibus, ut ait R. V^a eo allatæ nuntiarant: Novissima mea facta fuisse illius simillima. Madriti etiamnum hæret P. Antonius, qui binis libellis Regi ibidem oblatis Provinciam egregie tuetur a malevolis æmulorum calumniis. Has, quod vobis notas existimen, referra supersedeo.

Navigacioni Hispano-Americanæ, dum reditum in Philippinas Insulas adornabat P. Alexius, quem Provinciæ Pri. Antonio, si forte opus esset, in procuraturam substituerat, immortalis est. Unus illum eo mitabatur Adjutor temporalis, et inde Ræ Væ forsitan Romæ, ubi tum temporis pharmacopolam age-

bat, non ignotus: Jacobus Chabari [sic = Chavarri] illi nomen est, qui postquam Mexici varias dederat artis Medicæ et Chirurgicæ experimenta, magno illic relicto sui desiderio nobis hic adjunctus est anno proximo et ipso, domesticis rem atque externis, tum militibus tum indigenis perquam charus; omnesque honorant medicum propter necessitatem, quæ in ultimo hoc nobis angulo inter gentem extreme indigam non potest non esse maxima. Hæc multorum vox est: se post Deum, cujus consilio huc advolavit, vitam ac salutem plane desperatam fratri Didaco deberio. Unum timeo, me hinc Manilam evocetur propediem, quo ab initio fuerat destinatus.

Inter alia, quæ mihi retulit illud est, quod Madriti Procuratorem habeat Provincia Flandro Beliga [sic] Pm. Franciscum Colins, mihi quidem ignotum, at a n[uest]ris illic imprimis estimatum, quod sane lætor; nec dubito, quin quæ de Jansenio ac Jansenistis melius novit ille, quam Hispani nostri non parum adjumenti attulerint P. Xaramillo ad detegendas fraudes et artes, quibus adversarii nostri non minus falso, quam indecore nos aggressi sunt Manilæ. At nihil occultum, quod non reveletur; proinde omnia vobis istic iam pridem innotuisse existinio ex litteris a P. Francisco Madriti datis. Provinciæ gratulor, et R. P. Provinciali, quisquis fuerit, nam nomen mihi reticuit R. V^a, ex animo gratias habeo pro remedio feliciter oportuneque adeo applicato, ut inde a cathedra fuerit amotus, qui Jansenium publice declamabat. Faxit Deus, pestem extinguant penitus, qui conquirendis remediis tam strenue constanterque indefessi laborant, ut sunt RR. PP. Professores, quibus bona R. Væ venia post tenerrimos amoris ac gratitudinis ergo amplexus, salutem adferibo cum delatione obsequii, nominatum R. P. Isaaco de Bruyn meo quondam in rudimentis discipulo: PP. item Professionibus n[ost]ris Antonio Grandon, et Richardo Arsdekin meque dum vixero, agnosco devinctissimum, uti Provinciæ universæ, cujus quotidie memor sum in meo ad aram sacrificio. Suspitem diu atque incolumen vobis conservet Deus Illustrissimum Mechiniensum(?); ab eo nomen audire forte non ignotum, qui tum intrepide glorioseque murum se opposuit pro domo Dei. Antecessor illius, ni fallor, fuit Illustrissimus D. Wachtendonck; de quo an et quando obierat, nihil hic nobis innotuerat, nisi dum de successore tam honorifice laudabiliterque hisce R. Væ meminisse placuit. An et vivere desiit alter ille Janseniorum malleus D. Nicolaus du Boys Regius Lovanii Professor. Et hoc meminisse invalid: quid quæstionis hoc tempore agitetur inter digladiantes istic n[uest]ros cum adversariis? Ultimis meis quæsi: an et Molinis unus irrepserat in Belgium, uti Hispalim et forte alibi cuncti cœperat in Hispania. Sed vix enatum virus sacra suffocavit Inquisitio, præsentissimum tum præcavendis, tum evellendis istius modi malis, quæ ex pulpitis cathedrisque erumpunt, et inscium vulgus inficiunt, remedium. Non absimile ei, quod D. Gomaro a Rege, tribus Metropolitæ Manilani ex ordine suo in Aula Madritensi Procuratoribus accidit a Supremo Indiarum Senatu. Nam interdicto duobus ex Hispania in Philippinas regressus, tertius Mexici jussus est subsistere nec ultra progredi. Decanus Ecclesiasticus Capituli Metropolitanani, qui post biennij ab illo Archiepiscopo incarcerationem Manilla adverserat Madritum multa iam canitie venerandus, ita curam Rege suam probavit innocentiam, ut in compensationem eorum, quæ male in eum decreverat Prælati illa, duobus Imperialium millibus annualium dum vixerit, e Regio Mexici ærario solvendis, dilatus abcesserit in Americam, inde enim oriundus erat, etiam episcopatu decorandus, si Insulas ambiisset. Quid quod et Philippinarum [166v] Gubernator D. Joannes de Bargas Hurtado, quem ab excommunicatione, qua illum per sexennium aut eo diutius innotum habuit, et nec lachrymis quidem, quas publice et de genibus vir nobilis et primarius istic Regis Minister veniam deprecabundus profudit, noluerat absolvere Præsul iste plus quam ferrens, nisi laqueo ad collum suspensio, causa, quæ tragædiis Manilansem præbuerat maturius eorum Rege in Suprema Indiarum Curia ventilata discussaque citra(?) culpam sustinuisse, quæ pertulit, declaratus est;

serius quidem, quam ut eo vivus frueretur solatio. Nam Archiepiscopo e vivis sublato censuras sustulit Episcopus Trojanus: Ecclesiæ itaque ac fidelium communioni restitutus saltem quoad forum externum (nam quoad conscientiam[?]) plure Manilæ viri docti censuram non tenuisse sustinebant, reditus ad suos in Hispaniam concensa navi iam instituerat una cum Conjuga D. Joannes; quando, quem tot mala præscripta frangere non potuerant, præsentia diuturnæ periculosæque navigationis incommodas sustulerunt. Interea quietus aliquanto res aguntur Manilæ sub novo Gubernatore, qui Prædecessori¹ morte repentina extincto successit a quinquennio. Conjugem ibi amisit a biennio, uti et in conspectu hujus Insulæ, dum ex America anno 90 transmitteret in Philippinas, alteram e duabus onerariis, quæ scopulis impacta, ne ullo quidem e vectoribus, desiderato, flammis deinde jussu Gubernatoris nostri, quem facti postea pænituit, injectis damno non contemnendo periit. Navem alteram percubuit infortunium: Gubernatorem namque vehebat una cum annuo pecuniarum subsidio, quæ insulæ istæ subsistunt. Ne litteræ quidem nobis submissæ quanto minus, quæ desiderabantur ad victum ac vestitum. Solita sua imprudentia novum Gubernatorem hic noster non parum offendit, ita ut in freto Manilano Sarcinas nostras, quas una cum militum Marianorum commeatu navis illa vehebat, in aliud navigium, quod ei occurrebat, impositis inde huc nobis transmiserit militari commeatu secum Manila asportato, qui biennio post alteri celoci impositus vulcano cessit in Portu Cavitano pridie, quam inde solveret in Marianas. Damnum quod inde Regi, nobisque emergit, quadraginta, ut minimum, Imperialium millibus estimatum est.

Præsidium militare subinde auerant plus centum ex iis, qui naufragaverant, præter alios 21 religiosos ex ordine Franciscano. Res angusta domi ad victum, aliaque hospitibus simul et nobis necessaria: quia quidquid eo anno expensis Regiis huc submittebant Mexicani, Manilam avexerat navis prætoria male et ipse sibi metuens a naufragio, si ut altera, quæ scopulis inhærebat, accessisset, propius; aut diutius substit[ui]sset ventorum furis imposita. Avolavit itaque illa, nosque numero auctos victu vesplet sum[m]e animal benedictione. Nam mense Augusto, eodem illo anno, qui fuit 90, adfuit nobis navigius Manila, ubi diplomate suo in annos singulos huc ablegandam Rex decreverat, sarcinis nostris onustum uti et commeatu omnibus indiscriminatum ex Philippinis submisso. Ita Deus vere benignus vere misericors militibus suis, si non duplicavit ut Sanctis Antonio et Paulo, certe quæ cum hospitibus pro charitate religiosa dividi poterat, subministravit annonam. Multa interea moliri poterat Gubernator hic noster, multa exequi in Regis Deique obsequium, si fuisset de semine virorum illorum, per quos salus in Marianis his insulis erat facienda. Nautas militesque simul numerabat supra trecentos: Bellicus apparatus aderat plus satis; Nec deerant animis unum si excipias Gubernatorem, qui Leonem similans leporem induit, latibulis aptior, quam Martis excubiis. Ne tamen nihil agere videratur, improbo labore cædendis dolundisque lignis ad navalem fabricam suos exercuit una cum Insularum incolis ipsomet opus tam importuna urgente, ut parum abfuerit quum [sic] exorta inter eos, qui naufragaverant conjuratione irremediabilis nos casus opprimeret. Rem accipa: Quidam ex iis, quos justitia Mexicana capitalis supplicii reos civili morte damnaveat, una cum reliquis, qui Manilam, petebant impacta, ut dixi flammisque consumpta nave hic substiterat: homo audax imprimis, et ad quodvis scelus promptus paratusque collatis consiliis in partes suos allebat sane multos laboris paupertatisque Marianæ pertæsos. Gubernatorem itaque Tribunumque manu

1 Fuit is D. Gabriel de Crucelegui [sic], qui anno 84 Philippinis Insulis a Rege præfectus archiepiscopo contra Gubernatorem plus æquo favens Rege quod sane facere debuerat, in consulto totum istic senatum Regium exempto hactenus inaudito exautoravit. Hinc illæ lachrymæ quas seruitrus(?) multis elicuit et iis ipse immortalis pænas effugit, quas non immerito timore potuit; quia gravissime in Patronatum Regium deliquerat.

sterenum [sic=strenuum?] armisque exercitatem ex improvise mactandos decernunt, tum ex militibus, quotquot adversarios suspicabantur, quin et nos et Franciscanos omnes uno e sacerdotibus reservati, qui penitentes absolveret, eadem impietate statuunt de medio tollendos; sacris deinde profanisque corrasis navigium, quod in dies præstolebamur ex Philippinis, concensuri, quod delati in partes orientales supplicium effugerent: festum D. Rosæ expectabant altrocitati destinatum, nec procul aberat, cum ecce navigium Manilanum sese conspiendum offert. Augebatur in dies numerus conjuratorum, e quibus unus aliquis conscientiae stimulis exagitatus convenit unum e nostris, eique qua maxima potest cautela, ne innotescat detectæ conjurationis auctor, secretum aperit, scriptoque exceptum, ne de rei veritate, si opus foret, invidice interrogatus retrocedere possit, nomine suo firmat. Non ita clanculum id agi potuit, quin apud reliquos, qui omnium nutus observabant, suspicionem miser incurrerit. Hominem itaque variis agrediuntur quæstionibus: at Deo linguam dirigente ita dextera amphibolyzabat, ut exagitare destiterint. Superiorem itaque convenit quidam conjurationis et ipse reus sagaciter inquisiturus, an aliquid nobis suboluisset ipsius quod inter complices fuerat decretum. De suis contemptum loqui cæperat, quando P. V[ice] Provincialis fraudem animadvertens ac si rem omnino ignorasset, de rumoris, cujus homo iste sermonem iam inchoaverat, auctoribus eum interrogat. Ille vero non nisi genetice loqueus reliqua dissimulabat; atque ita contemnendo quasi rumore dismissus rediit ad suos. Ad Gubernatorem secretis litteris ablegatur unus ex nostris, qui totius rei ignarus edoctat quid eo agatur. Tribunus militum (D. Josephus de Quiroga, Ipris ubi anno 1675 P. Collegii tunc Ministro, quem suæ conscientiae directorem habuit, non ignotus) de tota rei serie iam edoctus, eo ipso die 1^a noctis vigilia comprehensus summa cum sagacitate 20, et forte aliquot coniecit in vincula. Advolat, et portu Gobernador omnesque fractis postridie faucibus morte mulctavit; reversusque deinde ad suos eodem alius tres affecit supplicio, quo totius securiusque vitæ suæ consuleret. Ego, qui aberam, dum feralis ageretur hæc secua factum, quod non æque omnibus probabatur, haud quaquam indico.

Mense deinde Novembri eodem illo anno 90 iter suum repetiit navis Manilana, secumque e naufragis primarios quosque, et hos inter, Franciscanos omnes una cum tribus ex nostris, a Provincia personarum indiga evocatis, abduxit. Navigatio quæ plerumque inter 12 dies, duasve hebdomadas solet absolvi in tres prope menses protracta portum vix tenuit ut postea nobis perscriptum fuit tum a nostris, tum a PP. Franciscanis pro impensa sibi charitate perquam religiose gratis, ut hæc inter alias testantur eorum litteræ; quas his unice, ut scriptæ sunt, R. Væ qui idioma intelligit, transmittit:

[Letter from Fr. Antonio de la Concepción y de Urrea to Fr. Bustillo, dated Dilao 8 April 1692.]

[fol. 167]

Muy Reverendo Padre Lorenzo Bustillo,

...

Unus hic est ex 4 primis, qui V. P. Patri Didaco Aloysio de Sanvitores adjuncti missione hac fundata Manilam anno 1671 studia sua prosequuturus adjerat; indeque mihi huc redituro comes adjunctus anno 75 Mexici ad annum substitit, ut sacerdotis initiaretur, atque ita denum anno proxime subsequente 76 Marianas revisituris in navigatione, quod intro numerabatur R. P. Antonius Xaramillo, præfectus; mihi que in munus sucesserat a biennio quando anno 90 V. Provincialis omni officiorum genere Religiosos Naufragos prosecutus domi excepit, huic litteræ inscriptæ ita loquuntur, ut subjicio.

[Spanish text begins:] Despues de muchos dias, y aun meses, que avia aportado a estas islas el barco, que despachó el Sr. Gobernador D. Damian Esplana, llegué acaso a un pueblo llamado Macabayan tres leguas distante de Manila; y alli me entregaron la carta de V. Pd., que recibí gustoso, por participar en ella de su entera salud, y de la de todos los PP. Missioneros Apostolicos de essas Islas; a todos los quales saludo con cordial cariño, amo, y venero con voluntad afetuosa y humilde rendimiento, y ruego a la Divina Magd. les prospere ambas saludes p^a la conservacion, y aumento dessa Christiandad: de lo qual no dudo por el fervor ardiente, y Apostolico zelo con que lo procuran. Verdad es esta, que ví, y experimenté en mas de seis meses, que estubé hospedado con mis hermanos en la Residencia de Umatah, y Casa de la Compañía, de todo lo qual quedo, y quedaré tan edificado, como defensor de las buenas operaciones, y trabajos de essa Apostolica, y ferverosa mission. Pues ví lo que padecen VV. PPdes. en ese desierto por varios modos, y diversos contrastes, y persecuciones con peligros continuos y diferentes. A todos y en especial a V. Pd. les tengo en mi coraçon, y en él morarán todo el tiempo que viviere, assi por el exemplo que recibí en todo lo que ví, que acabe referido varias vezes, como tambien por la caridad con que fuimos acaraciados, recibidos, hospedados, y regalados de V. Pd., y assistidos del Pe. Miguel de Aparicio particularizandose tanto VV. PPdes, que no hallo palabras con que ponderar la gratitud de mi coraçon, y el conocimiento de mi entendimiento y el afecto grato de mi voluntad aunque con mi balbuciente lengua he referido y dicho muchas y repetidas vezes lo que sentia mi coraçon assi entre los Nuestros, como tan bien entre los estraños; y quando mas no podia, prorumpia mi lengua, como niño sartamudo [=sordomudo]: *A a--a nescio loqui, etc. Hoc vidí, et Hoc loquor, etc.* Obligacion mia era en semejantes lançes; pues, asi lo ví, y asi lo espermenté: A pie como Apostolicos varones, por los caminos asperos, lodosos, y en tiempos lluviosos a administrar los Santos Sacramentos a los Indios; por el mar con evidentes peligros, en las Residencias, y Ministerios con innumerables penalidades; y a de faltas de sustento, e inquietudes y molestias de sabandijas impertinentes, y asquerosas: como son la multitud de ratones, mosquitos, etc. La paz y charidad fraternal de todos los Religiosos; el zelo fervoroso del bien de las almas no perdonando a trabajo alguno por ellas, el vestido pobre, la comida vil, poca y desabrida; el exemplo de todos admirable, y de pocos imitable; la charidad, y misericordia con los Naturales ardiente; la afabilidad p^a con ellos modesta y agradable; y finalmente la predicacion del Santo Evangelio, y enseñanza continua, y frutuosa. Bien puede ser muy Reverendo Padre que a alguno le parezca ser estas palabras de adulacion y lisonjat: lo cierto es, que solo digo lo que siento, y a no ser asi, no lo fiara al papel ni a la pluma, que con la tinta da el sello de los caracteres, y testimonial estampado p^a ella. En fin concluyo con decir, que repito una, y mil vezes las gracias y las rindo con humilde obsequio, como ya lo insinue quando excrivi al Padre Miguel de Aparicio el año pasado 91 por via de Acapulco. No me puedo dilatar mas. Suplico a V. Pd. no me olvide en sus oraçiones, etc.

Dilao y Abril 8 de 1692.

Su más humilde siervo y afecto Capellan,
Fr. Antonio de la Concepción y de Urrea

[Letter from Fr. Bouwens (cont'd)]

Ita suis hisce gratum nobis, affectumque missioni Mariana exhibuit se religiosissimus illa Pater. Alii contra uti et Provinciam universam continuis eum criminationibus impetere non desistunt, perinde ac si nihil hic ageretur dignum, ut ærarium suum tam munifice effundat Res vere Catholicus: siquidem ab anno 89, quo Manila in Marianas redux D. Damianus Ezplana eas absoluto imperio gubernandas sus-

cepit plus quam 110 Imperialium millia in solos Præsidiarios Mexicanum Regis ærarium quo fides hic suscepta conservetur, distribuit præter alios sumptos, quibus abimur nos una cum inventute curæ nostræ commissa expensis item regiis. Fateor, nec invitus; nihil Missioni profuit (utinam nos obfuisset, Gubernator: perrexit ille ut cæperat ab initio, mechanica potius, quam militaria tractare: Ne tamem de pacificandis aliis insulis, quæ ab anno 84 Regi, Deoque etiamnum reluctantur, diffidere videretur, extuctam suo jussu naviculam conscendit a milite (eluso tamen eorum Tribuno, forte ne optato res conficere-tur successu, aparatuque bellico affatum instructam. Martem hunc Marianum, ne quid ei deesset ad solatium, adessetque ad animarum istic periclitantium subsidium, comitabatur R. P. Thomas Cardenoso, cujus potius, quam alterius ex nostris expetebat ille consortium. Prospero satis vento, marique pacato postridie navigationis Rotam, proximam hinc insulam conspexit; pede tamen non attigit ipse nec ipso permittente ullus ex omnibus, quos secum vehebat. Ignaviam dixerim, an timorem viri plus quam panicum non tulit Eolus, eique quodammodo succensit Neptunus: itaque ventos ille in adversum ciere, hic autem undas ex imo movere: quo conspecto velis remisque intra triduum, nequidquam relamantibus sociis, portum ignominiose repetiit, spar- [167v] -so in vulgus rumore (ut simulandi dissimulandique perquam ægregius est artifer) se naviculæ probandæ, non vero expeditionis suscipiendæ causa valificasse: Hanc commissurum se brevi Tribuno militum, ut conficiat. Mihi id, qui hominem, novi jutus et in ente, non persuasit; an aliis, nescio. Non nisi verba data, eventus docuit: Nam quo sibi vires adimeret, nobisque spem omnes rei bene gerendæ; eamdem naviculam una cum 80 plus minus partim militibus partim nautis ablegavit Manilam mense ab expeditione, quam retuli suscepta, vix elapso. Hominem dineris nolle intelligere, ut bene ageret: Nec adest auctoritas, quæ nolentem ab officio aut suspenda aut omnino amoveat. En remoram, Pater mi, quæ non quantumvis reluctantes sine motu detineat. Illa remota facilis erat progressus etiam ad Austrum, quod Septemtrione ad Deum Regemque reducto, visurum me spero, et quotidianis sacrificis precari non desisto.

Annis 92, et 93 Manilam relegit Navis Prætoria, quæ in Americam destinata navigationem prosequi non potuit, nescio qua de causa, aut quo ex infortunio. Navigando immortalis est P. Petrus Cano, quem Provincia Mexicum ablegabat, quo in Procuraturam istic succederet R. P. Ludovico de Morales, qui et ipse in fundanda hac missione socius quondam fuit R. Venerabilisque Pris. Sanvitores, uti et tertius ex ordine Romam Procurator R. P. Petrus de Casanova, cui quid acciderit Manilam repetenti; mihi necdum innotuit: timeo ut, nam tenuis admodum est valetudinis, periculum evaserit. Causam hic habe, Pater mi, cur rarius eo, quæ hinc mittuntur, perveniant.

Interea ordinarium, quod Indicis Gubernatoribus lege præscribitur, regiminis sui tempus expleverat noster hic D. Damianus, cui preinde expectabatur successor, qui rem perditam protinus restauraret. Unum hoc erat malorum remedium: At votis omnibus expeditum etiamnum differtur, ultra, quam ipse velit, licet non parum habeat, quod metuat a reddenda ratione villicationis suæ. Hinc fuit, quod anno 93 naviculam expediti jusserat, qua asportatis secum, quæ hic corraserat, sutius dilabaretur insalutato successore; si quis Prætoria in Philippinas redeunte advectus jussu Regis moram abire festinanti vellet injicere. Alii suspicabantur pejora, quæ multis quidem rationum momentis conabanter adstruere me semper repugnante: Neque enim nisi re omnino desperata, aut mente captus ipsius modi inire potuisset consilium. Oblivisci quippe non potuerat quanti constitisset hinc illum abiisse anno 88 ut valetudinem, quod quidem causabat, Manilæ recuperet et venia ad hoc petita quidem legitime, obtentaque; verum quia hinc discesserat prius, quam obtenta ad hoc licentia illi innotuisset, injectis vinculis Manilam adductum arctæ ibidem ad plures etiam menses custodiae mancipari jussit Insularum Gubernator: Actum miser putabat

de vita, periculumque, si quod imminebat; plus minus 20 Imperialium millibus putatur redimisse: tempus fuerit, si eo pluris emisset iterum pænitere.

Non equidem memini si meis ad R. Vam. datis inseruerim, quid hic eodem illo anno 88 successerit Tribuno Militum D. Josepho de Quiroga, qui dum aberat alter res moderabatur Rege ita invente. Pœnam paucis exhibeo, quo constat, quam continua contiguaque nobis, nec ab Indis tantum, immineant pericula. Auctoritatis non parum illi detraxerat Ezplana ubi primum metu liber sibi pudori duxit, videri se opis illius indignisse. Hominem itaque negligere, contemptum de illo loqui etiam publice, militibus invisum reddere: Hi autem dissolutius licentiusque vivere iam assueti meliorem oderant disciplinam, cui D. Josephus, ut erat integer vitæ, scelerisque purus, pedetentim introducendæ invigilabat. Sub initium Februarii [1688] altero Manilam abeunte Provinciam susceperat, eamque sustinuerat satis pacifice; quando pridie Ascensionis sub mediam noctem e militibus non nemo male sibi metuens a Tribuno ob delictum a se commissus, plerisque illi consilioque colligatis, fortalitium excluso Duce armis occupatum sibi detinet. Quid multæ? Ducem preventissimo vitæ periculo subductum domo [suest]ra violenter æque ac sacrilege extrahunt ne quid quam ex nobis tum ratione, tum precibus contra intentibus. In fortalitium, me comitante, ne, quid insolentius in hominem machinarentur, abducunt, conjiciuntque in vincula; sancte mihi Regem obtesta promittit factionis totius caput: hoc unum velle se aliosque sibi conjunctos, ut citræ læsionem avehatur Manilam. Nihil a nobis agi potuit per censuras, ne oleum igni injiceretur.

Interea res in dies avivat in peius: iteratis vicibus de vita pereclitatitem [sic] quibus potuimus mediis defendendo invimus, consilio et auxilio cœlitum implorato, quod semper illi adfuit ad solatium. Instabat iam tempus, quo annum nobis commeatum submittere solent Mexicani. Suspendius Indis minantur conjurati, si quis illorum aut nabem adeat, aut advehat [sic] ex nostris aliquem, chartasque deferat. Omnia fere deerant, etiam ad victum necessaria: quia neque ex Philippinis, neque ex America Navis advenerat a biennio. Consilio itaque inito inter nos ita res disposita, ut mihi, quia missionis tunc eram Superior, licitum fuerit navem pro more adire, quo quæ advehebat, exponerentur in littus lege tamen lata ut pœnam a nobis exigerent, si quid mali illis inde evenisset. Defectum Prætoris Manilanæ suplebat navis Peruviana, quam Mexicanus Prorex conduci jusserat in Acapulco (portus est ad mare pacificum in America[]): Metuebatur etiam, ne Insulæ Philippinæ gravius aliquid paterentur ex intestinis illis dissediis, quæ illic vobis iam non sunt ignota. Aderat itaque navis: Eam adeo adjuncto ex conjuratis socio, qui loquentem observat, imo ut novi postea, qui me in mare deturbet, si non prius in portu isse [ipse?] enim ne armati ex navi descenderent; prohibitorius subsistebat, factionis antesignanum convenissem. Commodum accidit meus in portum adventum sub nonam nocturnam. Nam conjurati, ut erat gens sine consilio, celocem detenuerant, et quotquot remigando undecim ex nostris advenerant ad terram. Res desperationi proxima: Evoco factionis caput adest: factum improbo. Solationem entorqueo eorum quos fure jusserat colligari: tribus ex undecim detentis ut Manilam petant, reliquis etsi ægre ad modum persuadeo: celocem conscendo summo mane pacatis utcumque nautarem animis: factum ut licuit extenuo publice; privatim vero Regios Senatores (quatuor aderant) quo loco retineatur militum tribunus, quoque versetur in periculo, edocreo: quid factu opus, sagaciter inquirō. Non vi nec artuis in præsentiarum tractandum decessuunt. Si quidem diutius hic illis subsistere nec licitum erat, et fuisset frustra meum. Mihi itaque oportuno tempore res committitur Regia auctoritate ac nomine componenda. Abeunt illi navigationem prosecuturi unum ex nobis adjungo R. P. Thomas Cardeñoso, qui superiores nostros [fol. 168] de tota rei serie informet. Humanis omnibus frustra tentatis ad divinam implorandam opem preces sacrificiaque nobis indicta; militibus vero missio promulgata concionem spiritum plane Apostolico ad illos habente uno ex

tribus, qui reliquis Manilam dilapsis nuperrimur hic remanserat. Hinc ut erat vir non minus convers audi gratia, quam fecundia verbi eximius, præ reliquis sibi devincire cæpit, qui tragædiam excitaverat; atque ut meliora versaret animo, ubi Deo reconciliandum admiserat, suasit, persuasitque: facti itaque pænitenz Tribunum, clam adiit, et de genibus veniam lachrymabundus precatur, Deum obtestans effecturum se, ut vinculis quatocius ereptus libertate ac honore pristino fructur. Nec fidem fefellit: Nam quo die nemo ullus id suspicabatur solutis compedibus custodia educit redditisque regimnis erepti insigniis inter festivos armorum boatus, quo tutius degeret, domi nostræ, dum ad portum ipse advolet reliquis istic sociis facti rationem redditurus, hospitem nobis commendat. Duo hic, in portu tertius quidam solutionem Tribuni iniquius ferentes sagacitate haud minora, quam fortitudine in vincula conjicit; fortalitiu quod novis stimulis sibi vindicabant pertinaces, non sine sui discrimine occupat e portu redux, collatisque cum Tribuno consiliis intra triduum publico supplicio tollendum curat, qui reliquos ad fovendam rebellionem maxime instigaverat; duobus, qui supererant eadem pæna mulctatis etsi non eodem die, nec loco; alii postea non omnino innoxii Manilam ablegati, ubi in carceres detensi non prius evasere periculum, quam Tribunus missas hinc litteris libertatem illis obtinuit. Hæc quidem anno 88, quæ forte tunc omiserim.

Anno deinde subsequenta summo omnium dolore Marianas pro rege gubernandas suscepit, qui, ut eo perscripsisse me memini, eas perdiderat non ita pridem. Quid inde evenerit ex ultimis meis intellexerit R. Væ qua reliqua sunt præter eaque 1^a litterarum parte iam retuli, subjungo ex iis anno superiore ad suos transmisit R. P. Joannes Tilpe natione Bohemus hunc in modum.

Relatio immanissimæ tempestatis, quæ accidit in insulis Marianis 1693 die 20^a Novembris.

*Labores in cultura animarum præterito præsentique hoc anno hisce in Insulis exantlati, soliti fuere et ordinarii: quos superindunere(?) tempestates, insolitis et encessivi. Navi carminus Manilana: Contrarii namque retroacta ventis Philippinas repetiit, uti postmodum retulit celox, quæ aliquid nobis subsidii solatiique allatura felicissimo usa cursu huc attigit, jactisque in portu Mariana anchoris stationem fecit a 3^a Augusti ad 4 usque mensis Novembris hoc eodem anno 93. Abundans fuit, quem advehebat, com meatus; meresque, quas una attulit, non paucæ: his distrahendis, dandæ carinæ, ac aplustribus reficiendis duas insupsit menses: et 4^a, ut dixi, Novembris portu solvens Manilam repetiit; quam quidem an attigerit fluctuamus ambigui ob formidinem, quam injecit nobis typho insolens, et formidabilis, qui 16^a postquam hinc discesserat die a Septemtrione sub vesperam exortus ferociter adeo ad mediam usque noctem desebeit; et mox in contrarum versus, parique ferocia, aut etiam majori ab Austro redux Insulam totam ita concussit, ut illam, aut sede sua movere penitus, aut superantibus undis submergere velle videretur. Nam immulsum a Borea tam prolixo, quam furioso mare in tam altos assurrexit fluctus, ut ruptis rapagulis, summaque transcendens littoræ impetuosa planitiem setemtrioni objectam invaderet, Agadniamque, et vicinos, citem pagos uno quasi diluvio involveret. **Fundibus eversum succubuit fortalitiu; abreptæ militum ædes; nostra quamvis fortis solidaque, reddita est inhabitabilis sublati tecto ac parietinis; Ecclesia penitus destructa. Idem vi ventorum cæteris accidit residentis. Indorum domus tota insula ad unam omnes subversæ:** Si qua namque Boream potuit sustinere Austro victa succubuit a quo exegitatum, etiam in plaga meridionalem mare vicinos littori pagos invadit; et evertit. In Portu Umatensi (forte fortuna aberat Gubernator, ubi et Tribunus militum) fluctibus non minus, quam cuniculis domum Gubernatoris suffadiens, nobiliorem ejus partem ac supelectilem hausit;*

reliquam vero implacabilis turbo, uti et vigiliarum Præfectu, militumque contuberimum; quin et templum venustum et solidum, domumque nostram destruxit et solo æquavit.

Agadniam ante biduum contenderat Gubernator, qui repentinis ibidem maris fluctibus tantum non periit, uti periere alii 13 partim adulti, partim parvuli: ex his unus illa ipsa hora vixdum natus cataclysmo illo involutus fuit fatali, sed Proh [sic] dolor, non salutari unda mersus. Pres. omnes, Misericordia Domini, quod non fuerint consumpti fluctibus abrepti quatuor vix evasere periculum: P. Didacus de Zarzosa tabulæ insidens a mari primum abreatus colliculo adhæsit, quod ipsi saluti fecit, haud sane sine prodigio. P. Franciscus Palavicinus altum amplens palum a decumanis susque deque agitabatur fluctibus, iamque succubiturus implorato S. Josephi auxilio, a quodam, qui eo vocabatur nomine ereptus periculum evasit. P. Michael de Aparicio, qui seminario Mariano Rector præerat, hinc a mari inde a fluvio uno et altero exuperante, et seminarium invadente circumcinctus, atque inclusus, tectique ventorum vi iam delapsi compagi una cum fratre Melchior de la Cruz, ac duobus alumnis incumbens, vehementibusque undis sensum sine sensu usque ad fortaliti rudera delatus, et in tuto collocatus fuit. Illis periculo tempestive oportuneque subductis, domus funditus eluta, atque evulsa corruit nullo omnino sui relicto vestigio. Reliqui Patrum tum hic, tum alibi passi sunt quæ temporis adio [=ad eo?] inclementi sunt propria. Fuit illud ventorum vi furiosam, adeo ac vehemens, ut pedibus niti vix posset etiam robustissimus: adeo frigidum, ut dentium stidorem cohiberet nemo; ita pluviosum pluvixque tam graves et impetuosæ, ut grando crederentur. Horrorem augebat nox ipsa obscurissima absque ullius solatio lucis præter quam illius, qua continuæ erruscationes, volantesque per aera, ac per littora discurrentes ignes, uti se vidisse nonnulli testantur, strictim inter mirabant. Diluento discussa tempestate mæstissima rerum facies. Penus ac repositoria nostra, cum Gubernatoris excussa omnia: merces ac com[m]eatus a celo huc advecta, disjecta a sex- [168v] -centis sordibus involuta, jactura naufragiis non dissimilis. Tota insula quasi igne flammisque adusta: littora exesa: oppido ac pagi arenæ cumulis tumulata: colles eluvione demoliti: rupes allisione confractæ ac ingentia sanorum pondera a mari partim hausta partim rapta. Campis sine viro-ra, sylvæ absque opacitate, spoliatæ et foliis et ramis arboræ, quæ loco constiterunt superstitis; radicibus evulsæ innumeræ luvimæ confractæ, læsæ omnes, sana omnino nulla. Illæ, quas Insulanei Rimmay vulgo nuncupant, et panis loco illarum vescuntur fructu, ab inuente Mayo ad finem usque Octobris, etiam cortice enutæ absque spe reverdiscendi, edendique fructu intra biennium. Perierunt plurimæ oryzae Indicique tritici sementes. Hinc, et quia radices (alterum panis genus) plurimum læsæ ab altero typhone, qui 29 Julii ab occidente nobis incubuit, iam dudum com[m]eatus penuria.

*Laboraremus, nisi illico partitis in diversa manibus, unam serendis agris, alteram rebus restaurandis applicassimus: atque ita spe citius templa, ædificiaque ad pristinam fere normam reduximus spe Indorum, quos exemplo suo ægregie stimulavit fidelissimus semper **Antonius Adyhi** [=Ayih]. Optimum senem tanta malorum congeries mente non nihil, at sancte amoverat. Comitatis enim vocibus sacrorum profanorumque hanc stagem hominum culpis unice imputandam exclamabat. At brevi sibi restitutus restaurando Agadniensi templo manum cum suis admovit, integreque restituit. Id ipsum in Residentia Hagatensi **Alfonsus Soon**; in Funnensi **Ignatius Chuguu**; in Pagensi, **Petrus Yao** sunt executi. Merizensis et Umatensis jussu Gubernatoris ab ædilibus Philippinis sunt restauratæ. Erectis itaque templis, animarumque administratione, et cultu divino in tuto collocatis, confidimus a picatissimo omnium Domino rebus perditis consultum iri appulsu navis, quam in Philippinas hac reducem prætolamur in America. Optimus enim Dominus est qui mortificat et vivificat; et Pater amantissimus, qui filios amat, quos castigat: uti hic omnino contigit: tempestatis et enim tam sævæ flagellum solam hanc, quam nos incolimus*

S. Joannis insulas attigit; aliis, quæ Regi etiamnum Deoque resistunt, aut nihil, ut nuper audivimus, aut leviter tactis, ita ad suos Pater ille. Ego Agadna tunc quidem aberam: at alibi eadam me excepit temporis inclementia, qui ab hominum memoria, ut omnes aiunt indignæ, similis haud qua[m]quam extitit. Dejecto fortalitie milites Præsidiarios in Portum Umatensem transtulit Gubernator. Precibus impetrarunt, ut collapsas sibi domos instaurara possent, quibus uxores liberosque eo transferre erat incommodo. Inter reliquos, qui amplam hoc anno messuere patientiæ segetem, memini cessit militum Tribunus: at in fracto animo semper sui compos virtute sua se involvit.

Adfuit subinde Navis Prætoria; non quidem illa, quæ infecta navigatione semel anno 92, iterumque 93 incredibili damno Manilam repetiit; sed quam altera iam vice in Portu Acapulco conduxerat Pro Rex Mexicanus, ne diutius Philippinæ, ac Marianæ Insulæ subsidio ad subsistendum necessario destituerentur quo per totum biennium fuerant frustrata. Etiam nunc spes nostra nos fefellit, quam tot annis foveramus, de alio in hoc(?) regimen militare subrogando: Nec successorem recusabat D. Damianus modo pacifice daretur Manilam reverti, imo hoc unum habebat in votis desperata iam valetudine. At Deo aliter visum, qui hominem hydropesia correptum lecto hic affixit, morboque in menses aliquot remediis frustra adhihitis, protracto amplum dedit pænitendi spatium, donec sacramentis omnibus rite munibus vivere desiit 16 Augusti anno proxime elapso 94.

Inter-regnum, ita Rex decreverat suo diplomata, suscepit Tribunus militum D. Josephus de Quiroga; qui ubi justa defuncto persolveret, Præsidium ex portu illo iterum Agadnæ restituit, omniamque militiæ ad meliorem disciplinam, revocandæ illico adjecit, quo citius expeditionem suscipiat in insulas Deo adhuc Regique reluctantes. Sub initium Of[c]tobris abruptis tantis per aliis curis, quæ hominem detinebant, iter instituit in Insulæ S. Annæ. Navigatio socium me designaverat obedientia, iamque suspensio, quo inter Indos fungebar ministerio, Agadnam advolaveram, quando R. P. V.-Provincialis Basilius Le Roulx Gallo-Belga, Patria Audomarensis (ab anno 79 hanc encolit vineam) cujus jussu adveneram, ventorum adversantium pertinacia rem diutius procrastinandam ratus ad meos interea me remissum jussit reverti, ubi primum jusimmessit [insumesset?]. Verum ex inopinato votis adfuit aura propitiior, qua incunctanter(?) jussu D. Gubernator, absentis vicem ut supleret ipse P. Vice Provincialis, qui promissis de me advocando, stare non poterat, in causa fuit. Res successit ex sententia: Nam excensione in insulam facta citra stripitum, nihil actum hostiliter: convocati insulani pacifice adfuere allatis terræ fructibus, quo hospites recrearent. Parvulos, quorum ingens turba, sacro fonte lustravit R. P. V.-Provincialis: e grandiusculis aliquot aduxit in Collegio expensis regiis inter reliquam juventutem educandos. Qui ex hac nostra insula in illam dilapsi citra culpam in conjuratione contractam reperiebantur; sicut(?) reduxit Gubernator, domum inter octiduum reversus communitio omnium gratulatione et applausu; quod pauculis diebus illa sua excursione plus missioni profuerit, quam tot idem annis alter, quamvis summis si duobus non inferiorem insolenter jactabat. Temerarius erat subinde, sed aliorum periculo, sui numquam.

[Two Chamorro canoes travel to Philippines in 1693]

Indicio sit, quod subjungo: ipsius forte intererat, non Regis, aut missionis nostræ, quod anno 93 sub initium Februarii nemine consulto Manilam ablegaverit binas ex patriis his[c]e naviculis: Hispanum unum vehebat altera, altera duos ex Indis Philippinis, reliqui naviculas gubernabant Insulani universim ocho: confessione rite peracta sacro muniti viatico vela fecerunt vento utcumque benigno. Verum, ut postea nobis retulere duo ex illis reduces, vir oculis se terra subduxerat, quando mari et venti ferocius insurgere, ægre sibi constare ac cohærere lembuli, turbari nautæ, periculum præsentissimum omnes timere. Com-

meatum ereutiunt(?) fluctus, quæ reliquæ erant sarcinulæ, ipsi ultro in mare projiciunt, quo vitæ consulant. Hinc ultra progredientibus mari utcumque pacato summa potus, cibique penuria. Sítium marinis undis; famem storeas ex palmæ foliis contentis masticando potius, quam comedendo non extinguebant, sed utcumque tolerabant per duodecim omnino dies, donec implorata sæpius Dei miserentis clementia, amissa una cum iis, quos vehebat, e naviculis altera (Neptunus haud dubie eam deglutiis numquam prædandi prandendique Satur) altera terram eminus detexit, postquam fame siti que enectum Hispanum dejecerat in mare. Vir erat, qui teneret gubernaculum ex iis, qui plusquam semi mortui vires animosque amiserant. Ægre admodum ad terram appulsi aquis ita immoderata ingurgitare sese, ut unus aliquis bebendi simul et vivendi finem faciens animam effaverit e vestigio. Reliqui utcumque reffectis viribus naviculam repetunt iter prosecuturi fretum, seu fauces po[r]tuis(?) freti Manilani post aliquot dies detegunt, in terram desiliunt reliqui omnino quinque e quibus detinet duos, qui Indis istic præerat a Governatore Manilano, ad quam Manila [hole]-gentur alii Philippinis alter, duo reliqui erant Mariani; qui deinde huc reversi litteris a Governatore all-[hole] [169] quibus factum improbabat, rem hic a me relatam communi omnium dolore pariter, ac stupore narravere: arrectis quidem; at ut existimo non gratis auribus hæc excipit, qui temeritatis hujus aliorumque, quæ prudentius decernere, et melius agere potuisset, Deo rationem exigenti iam dederit, utiam æquam et quæ ad sui justificationem suffecerit.

[News from China]

Nova Chinica illic haud dubie innotuerint ex datis a Pe. Petro van Hamme, qui binas ad me dedit Apostolatii sui iudicis: totidem accepi a Pe. Carolo Turcotti Patria Mediolanensi, qui me anno 72 in Marianis relicto Manilæ Theologiæ curriculo absoluta in Regnum Siau [in Celebes] ablegatus anno 74, occupata per Battavos illa insula in novam Battaviam aventus Macaum advenit satis humaniter habitus ab heterodoxis; ac deinde bona R. Pris. nostris Provincialis Veira Vice Provinciæ Chinensi adjunctus illam Xri. vineam excolit de[c]jem(?) iam aut amplius annos, suis itaque ex Fo-Xan 24 Aprilis 92 ita ait:

“Finis tandem impositus importunissimis vocariorum Apostolicorum contentionibus: Pontifex namque Regi Lusitano concessit tres Episcopos non Gallos. Macaensem expectamus etiam hoc anno in interiori Imperii parte adest non ita pridem e reliquis duobus alter Patria Venetus ex ordine S. Francisci, quam Rex agnovit admisitque pro suo. In Cochinchinam iam nunc redierunt tres ex nostris. Nihilominus Deo ita permittente missionibus hisce suæ namquam desunt persecutiones. Periculosissima nuper in legem sanctam erupit Mandarinorum unus Provinciæ conjuratio cui tamen ab Imperatore adhibendum speramus remedium. Haud minus timendum fuit a domestica nostrorum dissentione. Nam PP. nuper e Gallia huc appulsi independentiam affectando duobus in Civitate Imperatoria subsistentibus [sic] separatam a reliquis domum urgebant apud ipsum Imperatorum præsentem sane totius missionis pericula. Faxit Deus, ut P. Chicheri¹ Roma huc nuper reversus, quam ad se evocavit Imperator, Gallos Lusitanosque sua Prudentia, ut speramus, pacifice inter se componat. Etiam bonus P. Antonius Thomas Gallo Belga suspicionem affectus Gallici non effugit.”

Anno subsecuto 93 alteris ad me datis sequentia inserit idem P. Carolus:

“Plures Roma huc secum adduxit P. Ciceri Jus antiquum Patronatus Regii restituit Pontifex Regibus Lusitanis, ut ad Episcopatus, aliaque beneficia Ecclesiastica præsentent sibi subditos exclusis vicariis illis

1 Ed. note: Written Ciceri in Italian (see below).

Apostolicis, qui tantam nobis excitarunt tragædiam. Macaum iam advenit Illustrissimus D. Joannes Casal natione Lusitanus, nostris perquam amicus ac familiaris. Pro Diocæsi sua assignatas habet duas hasce Provincias: Ca[n]ton, y¹ Quansu una cum Insulis Macan, Haynan, aliisque vicinis. D. Bernardinus ab Ecclesia, qui ante vicarium agebat Apostolicum postquam Rex pro suo illum agnovit, in Episcopum consecratus quinque habet Provincias ad plagam meridionalem sibi in spiritualibus subjectas. Tertius hac ætate creditur ad futurum, qui præsit Civitate Imperatoria, et partibus septentrionalibus. Aliquot ex vicariis Apostolicis iam discessere ex China; subsistunt etiamnum alii suamque contra Episcopos tumentur auctoritatem, illisque nihil licitum volunt per se, nisi accedente vicariorum Apostolicorum nutu ac beneplacito. Vicariis in hoc contra Episcopos assentuntur religiosi, qui non ita pridem fuerant execrati vicarios iam vero, ne innotescant malæ illorum artes quibus una cum Clericis Gallis Romæ et alibi nos fuerant sinistre informando calumniati, adversariorum partes tumentur.”

Hactenus ille, nec plura ego hoc unum rogans, ne mei apud Deum in SS. suis sacrificiis umquam R. Væ oblivigentur, cujus memoria apud me in benedictione est eritque dum vixero. Salutem et obliquium omnibus et singulis, quorum me Sanctis Sacrificiis ac precibus enixe commendo.

In insulis Marianis 1 Maii 1695

R. V. Servus in Xro

Gerardus Bowens

[Endorsement:] Ex insulis Marianis P. Gerard Bouwens ad P. Libertus de Pape 1^a Maij 1695

Loose translation of the above texts.

Reverend Father in Christ,
Peace be to you.

This past year of 94 during the month of May I received the letter which Y.R. sent me from Brussels two years before, which I am pleased to receive, in answer to my own letter of the year 1690.² The note for the Procurator of our Province in Rome, I do not doubt, was sent happily along, and I am grateful. Again, about the Rector, I do not know what to say: I thank Y.R. and rather sympathize with that, as he speaks of the fear of very terrible times, the care he must give to others, with hardly anyone to bear the load with him, to take over among the crumbling ruins of the mother-land. If the Hills of Hainaut(?) were captured, the one Y.R. wrote that you took your people away from in the year 1691, even Namur, where we lived together, you would cease to be hostile.³ What will remain to our King in Belgium to resist France, if it is attacked? And if it were to resist, would the soldiers defend it to the end? [The French are] so numerous that are seen to have a lively force; I much fear that they will succeed. I pray to God that things will get better, that he will convert bad luck into good luck.

1 Ed. note: A slip, as this is Spanish for "et" in Latin, "and" in English.

2 Ed. note: A reference to his letter of 1690, probably mailed only in 1691 instead (see Doc. 1691D).

3 Ed. note: A reference the French invasion of the southern part of the Low Countries, in an effort to wrest such territory from under the control of Spain.

As for me, through God's mercy, I am alive enough to refer Y.R. to Antonio Xaramillo in Rome, and am a senior sexagenarian, dear Father, but completely healthy; I am unhappy about one thing, that I am not yet mature enough for heaven. Hence, I deserve a special prize, such as the Venerable Fr. Peter, so dear to me, who seized it from me while he lived, as a faithful Achates.¹ I wish he were present to help, as he was always showing a truly apostolic zeal to support anyone, but luckily not completely carried away by this very happy luck for himself, which I do not know about the rumor (if only prophetic) that appear in a letter to Cadiz from Y.R. in which Y.R. said to him that he would be found worthy. If only the news to me in Madrid had been very similar to his, still Fr. Antonio will remember, he who in two letters to the King also said that the Province had to be specially protected against malevolent calumnies from rivals. That which the letter refers to, I will touch upon.

In the ship, returning from Spain to the Philippines, there was Fr. Alexo [Lopez], who had accompanied Father Antonio, in case a substitute procurator had been needed to replace him. He brought along a coadjutor brother, whom Y.R. perhaps met in Rome, where the pharmacist then worked, not unnoticed: Jacob Chavarri is his name, he who after that one year that he spent in Mexico, much against his wish, devoting himself to experimenting in the medical and surgical sciences. He is to take care of internal and external needs, so dear to soldiers and Indians alike. Everyone honors the physician on account of the need which from our point of view here among extremely indigent people cannot be other than very great. The voice of many here is: to us after God, whose assistance is implored, we do owe our desperate life and health to Brother Diego.² I fear one thing, that soon he may be called from here to Manila, where at first he had been destined.

Among other things that have been reported to me, one is that the Procurator for the Flandro-Belgian Province in Madrid is Father Francis Colins,³ someone who is not known to me, and estimated according to the letters from there, about which I am glad; I doubt that he may do better than Jansenius and bring back Jansenism,⁴ which [if] sufficiently seconded in our Spain could be brought up to Fr. Xaramillo for the detection of frauds and arts, about which our adversaries will [say things] not less false, such as can be used in Manila to attack us. But nothing is hidden, that will not be lived; so, all of this has been known to us here for some time already through the letter that Fr. Francis sent from Madrid.

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- 1 Ed. note: An allusion to his countryman, Fr. Coomans, who suffered martyrdom. Achates was the loyal companion of Aeneas, in Virgil's Aeneid.
 - 2 Ed. note: Diego, or Jaime, in Spanish, but Jacob in English. A reference to Brother Chavarri, of course.
 - 3 Ed. note: Not to be confused with a Spanish Jesuit who wrote a history of the Philippines, Fr. Francisco Colin, who died in 1660.
 - 4 Ed. note: Cornelius Jansenius [1585-1638] was Bishop of Ypres (France). He published some thesis regarding the doctrine of grace as explained by St. Augustin. This rigorous point of view was rejected by Jesuits and most of the Catholic Church in the century that followed.

I congratulate the Province, and I gave my heartfelt thanks to the Rev. Fr. Provincial, whoever he might be, as Y.R. has kept his name from me, for the remedy luckily and timely applied, to take out of the chair there, the man who was proclaiming Jansenius publicly. May God have them extinguish the plague fully, and may they work strenuously and constantly in applying the remedy, as our Rev. Fr. Professors are doing, whom Y.R. gave news about. Therefore, I will bring them belated greetings, with the most tender love and gratitude, specially to Rev. Fr. Isaac de Bruyn, who was my elementary student at one time, also our Fr. Professors Anthony Grandon and Richard Arsdekin, and as long as I live, I recognize my strong ties to the universal Province, which I remember every day in my sacrifice at the altar. May God preserve ever safe for us the Most Illustrious Mechiniens(?), the sound of whose name is perhaps not unknown [to Y.R.], he who intrepidly and gloriously placed himself before the house of God. His predecessor, if I am not mistaken, was the Most Illustrious Mr. Wachten-donck, the date and manner of whose death we have heard nothing here, unless Y.R. would deign to remember his successors as honorably and with praise. Or else, that other hammer of Jansenism, Mr. Nicolas du Boys, the royal Professor at Louvain, has ceased to live. And what else should be remembered? What questions are to be debated with our one-time adversaries here? One last question, please: has Molinism been introduced into Belgium, as in Seville,¹ and perhaps it has begun everywhere else in Spain? However, would [not] the holy Inquisition, ever ready to prevent or to uproot this kind of evil, have suffocated it as soon as it was born? They usually provide a remedy, by expelling this evil from the pulpits or chairs, [that] might infect the ignorant layman. Not different from that, is that Mr. Gomaro has been promoted by the King to the Supreme Council of the Indies and, by his order the three procurators for the Metropolis of Manila have been effectively prevented from returning from Spain to the Philippines, for two were forbidden to go and the third has been ordered to stay in Mexico, and not go beyond. The Ecclesiastical Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter, who after having been imprisoned by the Archbishop (Manila would oppose Madrid concerning the venerable man already with white hair, so that he had to prove his innocence before the King, as a compensation to them, which that Prelate would detect some evil in it, until he could live on an annual pension of 2,000 pesos, to be paid from the royal treasury in Mexico, his going to America would be delayed, for he was originally from there) was also to be decorated by the bishop, if he left the Islands. That because the Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, who, following the excommunication, which affected him for a period of six years or more, remarked with some tears, lamenting that this noble man among men and first minister of the king was being deprecated publicly, this president did not want to absolve more than bearing, unless with a noose hanging from the neck, the cause of that Manila tragedy which was to be referred to the King, that is the Supreme Court of the Indies, for consultation on the charge, to be

1 Ed. note: Like Jansenism, Molinism had to do with the concept of divine grace. The Jesuit Father Molina had put forward theories regarding an agreement between grace and free-will.

heard, and decided. In any case, there is something to be enjoyed as a consolation; for the Bishop of Troya has removed the censures put on him by the Archbishop. Therefore, [he was] restituted to the communion of the faithful of the Church, at least as long as an external forum (for as long as conscience), many learned men in Manila would confirm that the censure did not hold; he would have been returned to his friends in Spain by the decision of a co-judge, Don Juan, when already aboard ship, but he could not break so many bad decrees. They bore the discomfort of a long and dangerous voyage. Meanwhile, things were rather quiet in Manila under the new Governor,¹ who succeeded his predecessor who had died suddenly, for a 5-year period. He sent a co-judge every two years, so that in the year 1690, this man came in sight of these Islands, while going from America toward the Philippines, when one of two galleons, which hit a reef, with none of the passengers missing, [or] fire, then by order of our Governor, who afterwards punished the deeds of one who had injected evil and perished without condemnation. Bad luck hit another ship; it was carrying the Governor with the annual money subsidy, that sustains these Islands. Not even the letters sent to us, and what we desired more, food and clothes [reached us]. With his usual lack of prudence the new Governor here offended our people sufficiently, but in the Manila Strait our baggage, which came with soldiers for the Marianas as supply ship, in that boat, which was meeting it, meant from there to us here, it would have transferred the soldiers, taking the supplies along to Manila, and two years later [in 1692] another patache caught fire in the Port of Cavite, on the day before it was to sail to the Marianas. The damage to the King and to us was estimated at 40,000 pesos at least.

Over 100 of those who were shipwrecked [in 1690] were immediately afterward added to the garrison, except for 21 of them who were Religious of the Franciscan order.² It was necessary for us to lodge the latter in our small house and to feed them along with the other guests, because although that year the Mexicans did send the royal subsidy, it was carried to Manila with the galleon, that, fearing it would also be shipwrecked by getting stuck on the reef, if it had not gone off to the high sea, where it was kept for a longer time by the fury of the wind. That [other] one was destroyed, and our number increased, the demand for food so great that meat was used as a supplement.

In the month of August of that same year, that is 1690, a ship came to us from Manila, where every single year by order of the King one must be despatched to us, but the food supplies are left entirely to the discretion of those in Manila. So, God truly had pity on his soldiers, as if he considered us like Saint Peter and Saint Paul, since he

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- 1 He was Don Gabriel de Crucelegui [sic], who in 1684 came to the Philippines as prefect for the King, favoring the Archbishop against the [previous] Governor in addition that he had of course to refer the matter to the King, and it was reviewed by the whole royal Council, something unheard of up to now. Here those tears did not prevent the punishment, and, even in death, he was not able to escape the fear of the punishment that he deserved; because he very seriously lacked the royal patronage.
 - 2 Ed. note: He refers to the shipwreck of the galleon *Pilar* on Cocos Island (Guam) in 1690, with a 6-month forced stopover at Guam of the Franciscans, until the Mariana sloop returned to Manila.

supplied enough annual subsidy to allow distribution among our guests out of religious charity. Meanwhile our Governor here could have gotten many things moving, many small things as a deference to King and God, if he had been of the type of those men, by whom the conservation of these Mariana Islands was to be done. The number of sailors and soldiers amounted to over 300. There was more than enough military equipment, nor were the spirits wanting except for one Governor, who had the heart of a lion more apt to seek his den than to fight. Nevertheless, so as not to be seen to be idle, with bad work some trees were felled and carried to a boat yard [to build boats], a task of such extreme urgency that **one boat was built by the natives of the Islands**; it was too much for them to start with, as they would have plotted to shipwreck us irremediably, had not the case been prevented.

[The attempted mutiny of 1690]

Hear this: one of them, who had been condemned to capital punishment in Mexico, with some others, who were being taken as convicts to Manila, intended as I said to burn the [coming] ship. He was a brave man, a bandit quick to use force and ready to hold councils to attract to his cause others who were tired of hard work and the poverty of the Marianas. Therefore, they decided to kill by surprise the Governor and the Commander of the army, as well as the soldiers whom they suspected of being adversaries, and also all of us and the Franciscans except for one priest, who would act as their confessor. With the same impiety they were to take away anything sacred or profane they could carry aboard the ship, which we were expecting from the Philippines within days, but which escaped disaster by being blown to the east and [thus] delayed. The feast-day of St. Rose had been selected to carry this out, but on account of the delay of this Manila ship, it was postponed. Within days, many joined the conspiracy, but one of whom had his conscience examined by one of us who, becoming aware of the trouble, gave maximum warning of the trouble, so that the author of the conspiracy could be detected, by revealing the secret; to prevent his retracting the truth, if he were interrogated under duress, he had him write the name down and sign his name. This way it could not be kept secret, so as not to arouse the suspicions of the others, who were observing for the least sign. Hence they questioned the man in question, but his tongue was guided over his teeth by God, so that they gave up their suspicion. Therefore, one of the conspirators called on [our] Superior, and this convict interrogated him craftily, in case something had been rumored concerning what had been decided among the accomplices. He would have begun to talk of the contempt for his [kind], when Fr. Vice-Provincial, recognizing the fraud, and [acting] as if he ignored completely the rumor which this man would have already begun to relate, by asking who were the authors of it. Indeed the man dissembled the rest and refused to go on; and also in this way he judged the so-called rumor to be negligable and returned to his own kind. One of us sent a secret letter to the Governor, who completely ignored the matter, for him to declare what had to be done. The military Commander (Don José de Quiroga, not unknown, as a Father from our College at Ypres, then the Minister there, was his director of conscience in the year 1675) who already learned about the whole matter, at the

first watch on the eve of the appointed day arrested with great sagacity 20 or more of them and luckily he placed them in irons. The Governor rushed from the port and the next day he punished them all to death by strangling [sic].¹ Returning to the port he inflicted upon some three others the same punishment, by which to make his life more secure. I, who was away in the boondocks,² I would have done these things differently, because it would not have been proved just to everyone, and by no means do I reveal [everything].

Afterwards in the month of November [rather December] of the year 1690 the Manila ship sailed again, with most of the shipwrecked people, and among them, all of the Franciscans, along with three of our people whom the Provincial had recalled. The passage, which normally takes 12 days, or two weeks, took three full months, before port was reached, according to what our people wrote to us, as well as the Franciscan Fathers, who wrote to give thanks for the religious charity shown toward them. I will reproduce one of their letters, written in Spanish, a language which Y.R. understands:

[Letter from Fr. Antonio de la Concepción y de Urrea to Fr. Bustillo, dated Dilao 8 April 1692.]

Very Reverend Father Lorenzo Bustillo,

...

Here is to one of the four, who were first to join the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores in founding that mission, who came to Manila in 1671 to complete his studies, and sailed from here as my companion when in 1675 he spent a year in Mexico, to be initiated as a priest, and the following year 1676 sailed back to the Marianas, when Rev. Fr. Antonio Xaramillo was mission band leader. To this man, who was Vice-Provincial when I became one of the shipwrecked Religious and was subsequently taken into his house. To him, I write the enclosed letter, which will speak for me:

Many days, and even months, after the boat that Governor Don Damián de Esplana had despatched to these islands, I arrived by chance at a town called Macabayan some three leagues from Manila; there they delivered to me the letter of Your Paternity, which I received with pleasure, given that the news is that you are in complete health, as well as all the Apostolic Missionary Fathers in those islands. I send greetings to all of them with cordial affection, love, and I revere them with an affectionate will and humble submission, and I pray the Divine Majesty to make both of their healths prosper for the preservation and increase of that Christian community; I have no doubt they will obtain that on account of their ardent fervor and apostolic zeal. It is the truth that I saw and experienced for over six months, during which I was lodged with my brothers at the Residence and House of the Society in Umatah, and about all of which I remain, and will remain, not only edified by but also defender of the good operations,

1 Ed. note: Another account says that they were executed by firing squad, but Fr. Bouwens here repeats his version of Doc. 1691D that they were garrotted instead.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens was then in the interior of Guam, in charge of the parish at Fena, or Fina.

and labors of that apostolic and fervent Mission. I certainly saw what their Venerable Paternities suffer in that desert through various means, many setbacks, and persecutions with continuous and different dangers. I keep you all in my heart, and specially Your Paternity, and you will stay there for as long as I live, not only because of the example I received in everything that I saw, which I have just mentioned several times, but also on account of the charity with which we were cherished, made welcome, lodged, and entertained by Your Paternity, and assisted by Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, Your Paternities standing out so much that I cannot find the words to express the gratitude of my heart, and the knowledge of my feeling and the thankfulness of my will, although with my stuttering tongue I have mentioned and said many a time what my heart felt, not only among our people but also among strangers. When my tongue will no longer be able to pronounce, like a deaf-and-mute child: *I, I--I don't know why I say this, but I say it, etc.* It was my obligation in such cases; well, that is what I saw, and what I experienced: on foot, like good apostolic men, by rough and muddy roads, and in rainy weather, to administer the Holy Sacraments to the Indians; by sea with obvious dangers, in the Residences, and Ministries with numberless hardships; not to mention the lack of food, and the disquiet and bother caused by impertinent and disgusting vermins, such as the multitude of rats, mosquitos, etc. The fraternal peace and charity of all the Religious, the fervent zeal for the good of the souls, going out of their way for them; the poor clothing; the vile, miserable and tasteless food; such an example can be admired by all but imitated by few; the burning charity and compassion for the natives; the modest and pleasant countenance toward them; and, finally, the preaching of the Holy Gospel, and the continuous and fruitful teaching. Well then, very Reverend Father, to some people these words may look like adulation and flattery; what is certain is that I only say what I feel, and if it were not so, I would not entrust it to paper nor to the pen, since its ink makes them indelible like the characters on an engraved testimonial. To conclude, I say, and repeat once more, and a thousand times, thank you, and I render this humble courtesy, the same as I insinuated when I wrote to Father Miguel de Aparicio this past year of 1691 by way of Acapulco. I have to stop here. I beg Your Paternity not to forget me in your prayers, etc.

Dilao,¹ 8 April 1692.

Your most humble servant and loving Chaplain,
Fr. Antonio de la Concepción y de Urrea²

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- 1 Ed. note: Dilao is a suburb of Manila, also called Paco. The Franciscan Fathers were in charge of the Paco Church there. The area was first settled by Japanese immigrants, circa 1600.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Le Gobien, who published his *History of the Mariana Islands* in 1700, reproduced this letter and added the following comment: "The obliging and cordial manner with which the Jesuits received these apostolic men did not prevent the enemies of the Society to publish that the Franciscans had been treated shabbily by the Jesuits."

[Letter from Fr. Bouwens (cont'd)]

So, this very religious Father speaks well of us, and showed his affection for the Mariana Mission.

[Synopsis of the rest: Since Esplana came back in 1689, the King's funds are being mismanaged. He brought back all kinds of military equipment, but did not use them to pacify the other islands which had been in rebellion since 1684. He made one effort, going as far as Rota, but was pushed back by the wind, and the lack of supporting canoes, he claimed. He then commissioned the Commander of the garrison to mount an expedition. He, at least, is a man in my view. He left with about 80 men, partly soldiers and partly sailors. If only he would go on to conquer to the south what he has conquered up north.]

[In 1692 and 1693, Manila sent a galleon to America, but it did not make it. Fr. Pedro Cano, who was on the way to Mexico, to replace Fr. Luis de Morales as procurator, died at sea.¹ Fr. Bouwens goes on to describe the despicable character of Governor Esplana, who shoots his mouth in public, and acts in a licentious manner, etc. whereas Quiroga lives virtuously. In 1688, while Bouwens was still Superior, Esplana went off to Manila, Quiroga took over but had to suffer a soldiers' mutiny. Meanwhile, there being no galleon that year in Acapulco, a Peruvian ship was substituted by the Viceroy.² When this ship was in Guam, the three ringleaders of the mutiny were captured and sent to Manila, as it was feared they might escape from prison otherwise. Fr. Bouwens used the opportunity to tell the four new members of the Audiencia of Manila who were aboard what he thought of Esplana and Quiroga. Fr. Cardeñoso left Guam aboard that same ship. Afterwards, three other mutineers were executed in Guam. This happened in 1688. The following years, already described, were to bring much grief to the Marianas.]

Narrative of the very huge storm that hit the Mariana Islands on 20 November 1693

[Synopsis: This is transcribed from the account which Fr. Juan Tilpe, from the Bohemian Province, had sent home. That year, the patache from Manila arrived on 3 August and left on 4 November. The typhoon began suddenly in the afternoon of 16 November with a strong northerly wind, which during the night switched to the south. The sea was so high that it broke free and invaded the northern plain, destroying the small huts along the shore. The flood almost covered one the villages neighboring Agaña. **"The foundations of the fort were destroyed, the soldiers' apartments pulled down; our house, as strong as can be, was rendered unlivable with the roof lifted and the walls in ruins. The church was severely destroyed. The force of the wind did the same thing to the other residences. The houses of the Indians**

1 Ed. note: In 1692, the ship Burgos turned back, but the Rosario must have made it, because Fr. Cano is reported as having died near Acapulco, on 18 December 1692, according to Fr. Murillo Velarde, fol. 369.

2 Ed. note: This was the patache San Fernando.

over the whole island were overturned.” The villages on the northern beaches were also flooded and turned topsy-turvy. In the port of Umatac (where the Governor and the military Commander both were then) the gallery of the governor’s house collapsed and part of the furniture was destroyed. The rest was left in disorder. As for the church, old but solid, and our house, the storm destroyed them and razed them.]

[In Agaña 13 persons were drowned, some adults and some children. One of the children has just been born during the cataclysm. None of the Fathers, thank God, were drowned, but four of them hardly escaped danger: Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, as soon as he felt the sea breaching, sought a small hill, by which he was saved, but not without something akin to a miracle; Fr. Francisco Palavicino embraced a tall post and would have been carried off by the waves, but he implored St. Joseph and avoided danger; Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, who was then Rector of the Mariana College, saw the waves surround his seminary, the wind having already blown the roof off, was left inside with Brother Melchor de la Cruz and two students; they were knocked senseless but managed to reach the fort. The storm left no trace of the college. The other Fathers, wherever they were, did not have an easy time of it either. The winds were so strong that even the strongest person could not stand. The rain came down in torrents. [Presumably after the storm,] the whole island was almost totally consumed by fire, mostly along the shore-line. Not a few of the villages had been invaded by piles of sand, with hills washed away by erosion. The woods were blocked by broken tree limbs, etc. The breadfruit trees, which provide the local equivalent of bread between May and October, were uprooted, and would not produce fruit in two years. Many fields of rice, the wheat of the Indians, perished. The root crops (another kind of local bread) had already been damaged by a typhoon on 29 July that struck from the west, and there was already a shortage of them.]¹

[We worked hard at restoring the fields. The Indians were encouraged forward by the ever faithful Antonio Ayihi. He helped to restore the church of Agaña with his own hands, and it was fully rebuilt. The same was done by Alfonso Soon at the residence of Agat, by Ignacio Chuguu in Finna, and by Pedro Yao in Pago. Under the direction of the Governor, the Filipino barracks were restored in Merizo and Umatac. The churches were also rebuilt for the administration of the souls, etc. The Governor transferred the military garrison to the port of Umatac. I have forgotten to mention the military Commander; his broken heart did not prevent him from always being virtuous.]

[No galleon brought the subsidy in 1692 or 1693. Our hope was beginning to fail us. Don Damian who had come back from Manila in bad health, was now fixed to his bed with dropsy. He was given the final rites before he died the following year, on 16 August 1694.]

[In the interval that a new Governor was named by the King, Don José de Quiroga, took over. The first thing he did was to transfer the garrison from the port of Umatac back to Agaña, to restore the discipline of the soldiers. He began planning for an ex-

1 Ed. note: This appears to be the spot where the narrative of Fr. Tilpe ends.

pedition to the islands in rebellion against God and the King. At the beginning of October, he suddenly went off to the Island of Rota. I was chosen by obedience to accompany him. I was about to rush to Agaña, when Rev. Fr. Vice-Provincial Basile Le Roulx, from the Gallo-Belgian Province and born in St-Omer (who had joined the vineyard in 1679), whose order I was following, ordered me back. The same Vice-Provincial substituted for me. Nothing of a war nature occurred at Rota. The natives peacefully gathered, bringing fruits to entertain their guests. The Fr. Vice-Provincial was able to baptize many children, and to bring back some older ones to be educated in the College and supported at royal expense.]

[Two Chamorro canoes travel to the Philippines in 1693]

[At the beginning of February '93 two native canoes set out on a voyage to Manila, with one Spaniard, two Filipino Indians, and the rest Islanders, eight in all. They ran out of food and for the last twelve days had nothing but palm leaves to chew on. The Spaniard died before reaching the Philippines. One who was a chief among them took over as leader. Upon reaching the shore, they ate and drank so much that one of them died. The rest later took to their canoe and proceeded up the strait leading to Manila. Two of them were delegated to go up to see the Governor, one a Mariano and the other a Filipino. They brought back here a letter from the Governor, which they could not read, but they gave me a full verbal report about their experiences.]

[News from China]

[Synopsis: Fr. Peter van Hamme wrote two letters to me from China. I received as many from Fr. Carlos Turcotti, who is from Milan, who had accompanied me in 1672 as far as the Marianas, and gone on to Manila to study Theology, then went to Siau [in Celebes] in 1674, where he was captured by the Dutch and taken to their island at New Batavia, and made his way to Macau in civilian disguise. He shared with me news about our Rev. Fr. Provincial Veira, of the Vice Province of China who has attached him to that vineyard of Christ for ten or more years. Here follows an extract from his letter dated from Fo-Xan 24 April 1692:

["The Pope has granted to the King of Portugal three non-French bishops. We in Macau expect that two of them from the Order of St. Francis, whom the King has accepted, will go to the interior of China. In Cochin-china, we now have three of our people... The law of God is meeting some resistance on the part of the Mandarins of the Province. But not less is the dissention within our own house: two French Fathers in the Imperial City have gone on to establish their own house. May God, and Fr. Chicheri in Rome, reverse the situation, while the problem between the French and Portuguese Fathers has been brought up to the Emperor for a solution. We hope that the problem will be peacefully resolved. Also the good Fr. Antoine Thomas, from the Gallo-Belgian Province, did not arouse the suspicion of the Frenchmen."]

[The following year, 1693, in the other letter addressed to me, there is another one inserted from Fr. Carlos:]

["Many letters were brought to me from Rome by Fr. Ciceri... The Pope has restituted the royal patronage formerly enjoyed by the Portuguese Kings, so that they may appoint bishops and apostolic vicars, exclusively from among their own subjects, something which has excited a tragedy in us. Already the Most Illustrious Don Juan Cassal, a Portuguese, has arrived at Macau; he is friendly to us. He has assigned two provinces within his diocese: Canton, and Quansu which makes one with the Island of Macau, Haynan, and other neighboring ones. Don Bernardino Iglesias(?), who acted formerly as Vicar Apostolic, was consecrated as bishop of the southern coast. A third one may later be appointed for the Imperial City and the northern parts. Some who were formerly vicars apostolic for China, are contesting the authority of the new bishops..."]

[So ends that quote, and I have nothing further to add here. Please do not forget to remember me in Y.R.'s holy sacrifices, etc.]

From the Mariana Islands, 1 May 1695.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

Gerard Bouwens

[Endorsement:] From Fr. Gerard Bouwens in the Mariana Islands, to Fr. Libert de Pape, 1 May 1695.

Document 1695B

Letter from Major Quiroga to the King, dated Guam 23 May 1695

Sources: AGI Fil. 15-1-32; formerly in 14-1-7 (see note p. 21); ; also in AGI Ultramar 562 (colección Simancas), formerly 67-6-15; copy in AHN Fil. 5854; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 334-336, and Fil. 8, p. 125.

Notes: In 1829, this document was taken out of file 14-1-7 following a request from the Ministry of Finance of the Indies. The King will answer this letter (see Doc. 1696P). In it, Major Quiroga reports the death of Governor Esplana and the reduction of the northern Mariana Islands.

Quiroga announces the death of Governor Esplana

Original text in Spanish.

Carta que escribe el Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, en que da cuenta á Vuestra Real Magestad de la muerte de el Gobernador y Capitan general de ellas y reducion de una de las Islas del Norte al servicio y obediencia de Vuestra Magestad.

Señor.

A Diez y siete de Agosto del año pasado de mil seiscientos noventa y cuatro, fué Dios servido llevarse para si al Gobernador y Capitan General de estas islas por cuya ausencia me hallo gobernandolas en interin como Vuestra Real Magestad lo tiene asi ordenado por su Real Provision.

Luego que he entrado en dicho Gobierno procuré pasar á las islas del Norte sublevadas desde el año de mil seiscientos ochenta y cuatro, y solo pude conseguir pasar á la primera la cual se redujo al servicio y obediencia de Vuestra Real Magestad de forma que los Padres Misioneros pudiesen bautizar y predicar el Santo Evangelio: las otras islas que estan mas distantes al Norte no se ha podido conseguir, habiendo hecho todas las diligencias posibles, luego que halla viento favorable pasaré á su reduccion, y de lo que resultare daré parte como es mi obligacion á Vuestra Real Magestad, cuya vida guarde Dios nuestro Señor para aumento de su iglesia y bien de toda la Monarquia.

De esta Isla de San Juan de estas islas Marianas y Mayo 23 de 1695 años.

B.L.P. de Vuestra R.M. su mas afecto y rendido vasallo,

D. José de Quiroga y Losada

...

Junta: Este sugeto es Sargento mayor de este Presidio y tiene despacho para servir en interin de vacante y asi lo está ejecutando hoy.

Junta 17 de Julio 696. Recibido aprovacion y que se espera noticia.

[Signatures]

Translation.

Letter written by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, in which he reports to Your Royal Majesty the death of their Governor and Captain General and the reduction of one of the Northern Islands to the service and obedience of Your Majesty.

Sire:

On 17 August of last year 1694, God was pleased to take to Himself the Governor and Captain General of these Islands, in whose absence I find myself governing them by interim as Your Royal Majesty has so ordered by your Royal Provision.

As soon as I took charge of said Government, I tried to pass to the Northern Islands that have been in rebellion since the year 1684, but I was only able to make it to the first Island [i.e. Rota], which I reduced to the service and obedience of Your Royal Majesty, in such a way that the missionary Fathers were able to baptize and preach the Holy Gospel. The other Islands that are further north could not be reached, no matter how many efforts were made. As soon as I will find a favorable wind, I will go on to reduce them, and, as is my obligation, will report on the outcome to Your Royal Majesty, whose life may God our Lord save for the propagation of His Church and the welfare of the whole monarchy.

From this Island of San Juan in these Mariana Islands, 23 May 1695.

He who kisses the feet of Your Royal Majesty, your most affectionate and humble vassal,

Don José de Quiroga y Losada

...

The Council: This subject is Sergeant-Major of this Garrison and holds a despatch to serve by interim when the post is vacant, and thus is carrying it out today.

Meeting of 17 July 1696: Approved. Let us wait for further notice.

[Signatures]

Document 1695C

Letter from Fr. Leroulx to Fr. General Gonzalez, dated Agaña 23 May 1695

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 86-87.

Account of the reconquest of Rota

Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Reverendo P. General Tirzo Gonzales
P. C.*

Agradesco en nombre de todos y le doy a V.P[aternida]d las devidas gracias por avernos socorrido en el tiempo mas oportuno embiandonos al carissimo hermano Jacobo Chavari que llevo a estas Islas Marianas por Mayo del año 1694. Cierto que lo haze como un Angel y ya tiene echo muchas curas estupendas, y muchos despues de Dios le deven al Hermano la vida por averles restituido la salud que tenian desesperada con apostemas y rotura de venas.

Con la venida del Hermano Jayme Chavari recevi con muy particular gozo dos cartas de V.Pd. de Marzo y Junio de 1692. En ellas entre otras cosas me mandava V.Pd. diesse la Profession de 4 votos al P. Miguel de Aparicio sin esperar aviso del P. Provincial[;] que tomasse el Informe de quatro sugetos para el grado de los Padres Joachin Assin, Phelipe Muscati, y Garzia Salgado, y le remitiesse en la primera Occasion al P. Provincial; de los otros dos no, por aver sido llamados a Philipinas, adonde estan de assiento.¹

Finalmente que hallandose esta Isla tan enteramente instruida en todo lo que toca a la Religion y buenas costumbres era necessario intentar el passo a otras Islas, y por esta razon me encargava V.Pd. con todo el affecto de su [fol. 86v] corazon, que por todos los medios posibles solicitasse tan gloriosa empresa con el Governador representandole el gran servicio que en esto se havia a Dios nuestro Señor en sacar aquellas

¹ Note in margin: "Desde aqui se ha de copiar."

Almas de las tinieblas de su ignorancia a la luz del Santo Evangelio y del camino de la perdicion eterna al de su eterna salvacion.

Negocio era este el mayor de nuestros deseos, pero por mas instancias que haziamos, estava irremediabilmente desesperado, si Dios nuestro Señor no uviera metido en ello la mano, llevando para si al Governador D. Damian de Esplana el qual murio de Hydropesia a 16 de Agosto del año 1694.

Por la muerte entro a gobernar en interim nuestro Sargento Mayor D. Josef de Quiroga, y a toda prissa dispuso lo necessario para el passo a las otras Islas queriendo su christiano zelo conquistarlas quando antes y sujetarlas al yugo del Evangelio.

Empezo la Jornada por la Isla de Rota como mas cercana a la Nuestra; a este intento embarcose en 22 de Setiembre de 1694 con uno de los Nuestros y con cinquenta soldados[.] fue el viage tan felis que navegando todo el dia con viento prospero anochechieron sobre Rota sin ser sentidos de sus Moradores hasta verlos amanecer a sus puertas, los quales asustados con la inopinada llegada de tales huespedes, y sin osar pelear se rindieron de paz, de suerte que en espacio de nueve o diez dias se hizo la facion a medida de nuestros deseos, castigose un pueblo del Monte que confiado en lo aspero y encombrado de su sitio quiso probar ventura, y resistio de venir a la obediencia, quemosele entre otras una casa llena de sus armas, que son hondas piedras, y lanzas de guesso [=hueso] humano, arrancose la gente y se avezindo en Guahan; en toda la Isla se hizieron muchos bautismos de Parvulos, huyose aca toda la gente [fol. 84] fugitiva de Guahan en veinte y seis bancas de Rota y algunos niños y niñas Rotenses para su buena crianza en los Colegios. Desta manera quedo reducida aquella Isla y restituida la comunicacion y trato pacifico con la nuestra y abierto y allanado el camino para su enseñanza.

Despues de tan buenos principios no se aguardava otra cosa que sazon y tiempo para ir adelante mas como el Norte y Nordeste se llevassen todo el tiempo entre medio difiriose el viage hasta dos de Fevrero de 1695 dia de la Candelaria cuya vispera confessaron los señalados para la empresa, y el dia siguiente aviendo comulgado hizieronse todos a la vela; el Señor Governador acompañado de dos de los Nuestros iba en una galeota con el mayor trozo de la gente, cuyo resto iba en dicho barco luengo, seguian veinte embarcaciones de la tierra, y en ellas los Indios mas amigos de la Isla combidados a la empresa todos alegres y con viento prospero si uviera continuado, mas engolfados entre Guahan y Rota lo sintieron tan contrario, y las corrientes tan incontrastrables que fue menester arribar a Guahan hasta que el tiempo diesse lugar a passar adelante, como se volvio a intentar en 23 de Marzo con la misma fortuna y malos vientos que si bien atrassaron el viage, no afloxaron el animo y la resolucion, por el mes de Julio y los siguientes segun el curso ordinario el infalible la expedicion[.] los aguardamos con santa impaciencia confiando en el Señor que con la primera ocasion podre escribir a V.P. las felices nuevas de la entera pacificacion de todas las Islas Marianas, y de su reducion a nuestra Santa fee.

N. Señor guarde la Persona de V.Pd. felixsimos años como lo deseamos y hemos menester.

*Agadña de S. Juan y Mayo 23 de 1695.
De vuestra Paternidad muy siervo y humilde hijo,
Basilio Leroulx.*

Translation.

Most Reverend Father General Tirso Gonzalez.

Peace of Christ.

On behalf of everyone I have the pleasure of thanking Your Paternity for having succored us in a most timely manner, by sending us our dearest brother Jacob Chavari, who arrived at these Mariana Islands in May of 1694. He surely behaves like an Angel and has already made stupendous cures, and many, after God, owe their life to the Brother, for having restored them to health which they had precarious with apostumes [i.e. abscesses] and broken veins.

With the coming of Brother Jaime Chavari, I received with a very special pleasure two letters from Y.P., dated March and June 1692. In them, among other things, Y.P. asked me to give the Profession of 4 vows to Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, with no need to wait for the advice from Fr. Provincial; and that I should make the Report on four subjects for the degree, i.e. for Fathers Joaquin Assín, Felipe Muscati, and García Salgado, and should remit it to Fr. Provincial at the first opportunity; but not for the other two, because they have been recalled to the Philippines, where they now live permanently.¹

Finally, now that this Island has been fully instructed in everything that touches on Religion and good customs, it was necessary to attempt an expedition to the other Islands, and for this reason Y.P entrusted me with the full affection of your heart, to make every possible efforts to achieve such a glorious enterprise with the Governor, by representing to him the great service that would be done to God our Lord by taking those souls out of the darkness of their ignorance into the light of the Holy Gospel and from the way of eternal perdition to that of their eternal salvation.

This business corresponded to our greatest desires, but no matter how many requests we made, the case was simply hopeless, until God our Lord intervened by taking unto Himself the Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, who died of dropsy on 16 August 1694.

On account of this death, our Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, became Governor by interim, and very quickly he took the necessary steps for an expedition to the other Islands, because his Christian zeal made him wish to conquer them as soon as possible and subject them to the yoke of the Gospel.

He began by journeying to the Island of Rota, as it is the nearest one to ours. On 22 September 1694, he embarked on this enterprise with one of our people and with 50

¹ Ed. note: At this point there is a note in margin that says: "From here on, it must be copied." Perhaps the remaining text was reproduced in the overall annual report for the whole Philippine Province.

soldiers. The voyage was so lucky that, after sailing the whole day with a prosperous wind, they spent the night near Rota, without being detected by its inhabitants. By morning, they were seen but by then they were already on their doorsteps. The local people were frightened by the unexpected arrival of such guests, but they did not dare to fight and they peacefully surrendered, so that in the space of 9 to 10 days the expedition took place in accordance with our expectations. One town in the interior was punished; trusting in the steepness and difficult access of their site, the people there had decided to try their luck, and resisted before submitting themselves to obedience. One house that was full of their weapons, that are slings, stones, and spears made with human bones, was burned. The people were taken out of there to become settled in Guahan. Throughout the whole Island many baptisms of infants were performed. All the fugitives from Guahan were driven back aboard 26 canoes from Rota, along with a few boys and girls from Rota for their good upbringing in the Colleges. In this way, that Island remained conquered, contact and peaceful dealings restored with our Island, and the way opened and smoothed for their instruction.

After such good beginnings, nothing else was being awaited then except the right time and weather to go beyond, but the northerlies and northeasterlies were in control of the weather that intervened, and the voyage was postponed until 2 February 1695, Candlemas, on whose eve those earmarked for the enterprise went to confession, and the next day, after communion, they all sailed away. The Governor, accompanied by two of our people, was in one galliot with the greater part of his men, and the rest of them were on board the so-called long boat. Following them were 20 local canoes, and aboard those were more friendly Indians of the Island who had been invited to join the enterprise. They were all happy and, if only the favorable wind had continued, but in the strait between Guahan and Rota it became so contrary, and the currents so invincible that it became necessary to turn back to Guahan and await the proper weather to proceed beyond. So, on 23 March the attempt was renewed, with the same bad luck and bad winds, and the same result of postponement of the voyage, but this in no way reduced the enthusiasm and determination, because during the month of July and the months that follow, the ordinary weather is such that the expedition will surely take place. We therefore await that time with holy impatience [sic], trusting in the Lord that I will be able next time to write to Y.P. about the happy news of the complete pacification of all the Mariana Islands, and of their reduction to our Holy Faith.

May our Lord save the person of Y.P. for very many happy years as we all wish and need.

Agadña in San Juan, 23 May 1695.

Your Paternity's humblest servant and son,
Basilio Leroulx.

Documents 1695D

Fr. Xaramillo presented his new credentials in mid-September 1695

Source: AGI Fil. 86-7-257 & -258.

Notes: He says that he has been appointed Procurator General for the Indies.

D1. Note addressed to the Secretary of the Council, dated 1 October 1695

Original text in Spanish.

Filipinas. 1695.

Señor

Antonio Xaramillo de la Compañía de Jhs Procurador General de la Prov^a de Philipinas: Dice que Thirso Gonzalez Preposito General de dha Comp^a de Jesus le à elegido, y nombrado Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias de dha su Religion, como consta del Poder original en lengua Latina, y su traduzion que en forma con este presenta, para introducir en el Real Consejo de las Indias los negocios tocantes a dhas Provincias.

A V.Mgd pide, y suplica aya por presentado dho poder, y que le de licencia para tratar dhos negocios a su tiempo, y que se le buelva original dho poder, en que rezivira merced de la grandeza de V.Mgd.

Antonio Xaramillo.

[Decision of the Council]

Consejo.

Presenta la Patente que le a dado el General de su Religion en que le nombra por procurador de las Provincias de las Indias con trasumpto de ella y suplica se le de licencia para usar de ella volviendole la original.

Consejo 1^o de octubre 1695.

Al Señor Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

El Fiscal Dice a visto este memorial y el Poder o nombramiento de procurador original dado por el General de los Jesuitas al Pe. Antonio Xaramillo, y siendo el Consejo servido se le podria conceder la licencia que pide para usar de el por lo que toca a las Provincias de las Indias.

Madrid y octubre 1º de 695.

Consejo 1º de octubre 1695.

Como lo dice el Señor Fiscal.

Translation.

Philippines 1695.

Sire:

Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines:

Declares that Tirso Gonzalez, General in charge of said Society of Jesus, has selected him and appointed him Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies of said religious order, as appears in the original Letter of Appointment in the Latin language, and its translation that is presented in due form with the present, in order to enable him to transact business touching on said Provinces with the Royal Council of the Indies.

He begs and beseeches Y.M. to please accept this his credential, and give him a license to transact said business in due course, and to have the original letter returned to him, which he would consider a favor from the largesse of Your Majesty.

Antonio Xaramillo.

[Decision of the Council]

The Council.

He presents the Patent that the General of his Order gave him, in which he is appointed as procurator of the Provinces of the Indies, with a translation of it, and he begs to be given a license to use it, with the original being returned.

The Council, 1 October 1695.

To the Fiscal.

[Opinion of the Fiscal]

The Fiscal: Declares that in view of this memorial and the Patent or the original letter of appointment as procurator delivered by the General of the Jesuits to Fr. Antonio Xaramillo, the Council could be pleased to grant him the license that he requests, to be used by him for whatever business dealing with the Provinces of the Indies.

Madrid, 1 October 1695.

The Council, 1 October 1695.

Do as the Fiscal says.

D2. Official translation from Latin of the Letter of Appointment, made by the King's Secretary

Official text in Spanish.

Thyrso Gonzalez Preposito General de la Compañia de Jesus.—

Al muy amado in Christo Padre Antonio Xaramillo sacerdote de la dicha Compañia salud sempiterna en el Señor.—

Por quanto assi en Madrid y otras partes como por la residencia del Consejo y de otros gravissimos tribunales y assi mismo por otras ocasiones se ofreceis varios y frequentos negocios de la Compañia nuestra de las Provincias de la India occidental, para cuya direccion es necessaria una muy gran prudencia y solicitud y por el tanto se necesita de un Procurador que residiendo en Madrid solicite los dichos negocios en nombre de dichas provincias y procure cuidar dellos y despacharlos teniendo como tenemos bien conocido su fiel e-----[vulem?]e industria en el Señor, se haremos nuestro y de las dichas Provinçias, procurador agente, solicitador de dichos negocios y tambien para cobrar y recoger las rentas, tributos, derechos, censos y qualesquier otras cosas que pertenezcan a las susodichas Provincias de la India o a sus colegios y personas por qualquier derecho que sea de debido legado ó mandado, y dabamos en esta parte toda nuestra autoridad que convenga para haver solicitar lo que dicho es, an facultad tambien de substitutos uno o mas procurador communicandole la en el nombre del Padre,] del Hijo y del Espiritu Santo.

Dado en Roma a primero de Henero de mil y seiscientos y noventa y cinco.—

Thyrso Gonzalez.—

Lugar de sello +

Traducido de Latin por mi Juan Antonio Gracian Secretario de su Mgd. y de Interpretacion de lenguas.

Madrid y Setiembre a veinte y siete de seiscientos y noventa y cinco.

Juan Antonio Gracian.

Translation.

Tirso Gonzalez, General in charge of the Society of Jesus.—

To my beloved Father in Christ Antonio Xaramillo, priest of said Society, greetings everlasting in the Lord.—

Inasmuch as you offered yourselves for various and frequent business of our Society in the Provinces of the western part of the Indies occurring not only in Madrid and other places where the Council and other very grave tribunals sit, but also on other occasions, the management of which necessitates a very great prudence and care, and inasmuch as there is a need for a Procurator residing at Madrid to solicit said business on behalf of said provinces and to try and take care of them, and to make despatches to them, given that we very well know your faithful ----- and industry in the Lord, we will make you our procurator agent for said Provinces, solicitor of said business and

also to collect rents, tributes, fees, poll taxes, and any other things that belong to the above-said Provinces of the Indies or to their Colleges and persons for whatever dues may be owed, bequeathed, or pledged, and by this instrument we give our full authority to make such solicitations, and also the power to act as substitute for one or more procurators, and we communicate same in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Given at Rome on the first day of January of 1695.—

Thyrso Gonzalez.—

Place of the seal +

Translated from the Latin by me, Juan Antonio Gracian, Secretary of His Majesty and for the interpretation of languages.

Madrid, 27 September 1695.

Juan Antonio Gracian.

Document 1695E

Letter from Fr. van Hamme to Fr. Bouwens, dated Vu Cham Fu 2 November 1695

Source: AGR 2: 140-142v.

Original text in Latin

[fol. 140]

Vu Cham Fu ii Novembris 1695.

Reverende in Christo Pater

P. E.

Litteras Ræ Væ, 5^a Maij hujus anni scriptas, accepi 31^a Octobris, sat cito, et sat bene, utpote ingenti solatio et gaudio illis perfusus, eo quod intelligam, Ram. Vam. vivere, et mei memorem vivere. Humillimas ago gratias Ræ Væ pro litteris non minus amplis quam curiosis; quia nescio quo solatio perfundimur fratrum nostrorum in Vineâ Domini laborantium studio et labore. Apertas accepi litteras Ræ Væ una cum binis Rde. P. Liberti de Pape, quis vero eas aperuerit ignoro. Præter has accepi etiam litteras Ræ Væ scriptas 24^a Maij 1691: sed nullas alias accepi. Varias ego scripsi, sed dubito, an R^a V^a eas acceperit, cum nullam de ijs faciat mentionem.

P. Philippus Couplet, quam R^a V^a adsalutat in epistola, obiit in mari fere in conspectu Goæ. P. Philippus Grimaldi anno præterito ex Europa huc redijt cum aliquot socijs, et modo præest hinc V. Provinciæ. P. Antonius Thomas aliquoties laboravit morbo, quem vocant famem caninam; sed modo rectius valet. Nescio, an P. Joannes Baptista Maldonado adhuc sit Macai, nec ne; nam a multis mensibus illi scripsi, sed non accepi responsum.

Pergit Imperator favere nostris, et anno præterito erigi jussit novum templum intra muros palatij sui, quod concessit patribus Gallis. Patres Lusitani et Galli Pekini degentes inter se dissentiunt, et R.P. V. Provincialis præcedens ibidem excommunicavit Patres Gallos, qui hactenus nolunt agnoscere culpam, uti nec absolvi ab excommunicatione. P. Carolus Turcotti Superior Residentiæ Cantoniensis mense Junio

mihī scripsit, Episcopum Macaensem (clericum Lusitanum) mandasse Clericis Gallis, et Patribus Franciscanis Cantone habitantibus, ut peterent jurisdictionem a se, vel a Pe. Carolo Turcotti suo vicario; eos que noluisse obedire, ac proinde Episcopum iam excommunicasse predictos clericos et religiosos. Videat R^a V^a, quas his seminet discordia dæmon, et quibus periculis exponant totam hanc missionem tali modo procedendi inter gentiles tam suspiciosos, et ab extraneis abhorrentes.

Hoc biennio proxime elapso in hac mea provincia Hu-quam passus sum quatuor persecutiones a gentilibus excitas, quarum duæ fuerunt tam graves, ut nisi habuissem Pro-regem hujus provinciæ mihi valde amicum (ad quam recurri, et omnia illi coram exposui) res probabiliter deferenda fuisset ad Imperatorem: reliquas duas faciliori negotio exstingi et iam, quæ Dei benignitas est, utcumque quiescimus.

18^a Majj hujus anni sensimus hic terræ motum, sed satis exiguum; verum eodem die in Provincia Xan-su terræ motus fuit tantus, ut tres civitates funditus everterit, nulla domo relicta superstite; totque incolas sub ruinis sepeliverit, ut vix decima pars hominum supersit. Terra habuit hiatus maximos; et uno in loco erumpens aqua plurimos homines involuit. Triduo precedente auditi sunt horribiles mugitus subterranei. In Provincia Xen-si mense Augusto præterito dicitur cecidisse grando tantu magnetudinis, ut æquaverit suum gallinaceum, agros destruxerit, et oves passim occiderit in campis.

Anno præterito Macao Tumkinum discesserunt aliqui Patres missionarij, inter quos erat R. P. Provincialis Provinciæ Japonicæ Franciscus Nogueira: iam scribunt, Pem. Provinciale cum duobis alijs Patribus jussu Regis captivum detineri. Intelligo modo ex Christianis, Imperatorem Tartaro-sinicum cum exercitu processisse extra murum sinicum contra aliquos Tartaros occidentales, sed nostri hactenus mihi non scripserunt illa nova, quia a multo tempore nullas Pekino litteras accepi: imo augeo asserere, in nulla Provincia totius Imperij Sinici pauciora intelligi nova, quam in hac Provincia Hu-quam: hac de causa cogor breviores scribere litteras, quam ego ipse desiderem, et R^a V^a a me merito expectet.

Amantissimam salutem adscribo Patribus Marianis mihi notis, viris apostolicis, ferentibus pondus diei et ætus, quorum SS. Sacrificiis ac laboribus enixe me commendo, rogoque Ram. Vam., ut apud Deum mei sincere dignetur meminisse.

Ex Metropoli Provinciæ Hu-quam ii Novembris 1695.

R. V. Servus in Chro

Petrus van Hamme.

[P. S.] Excedit mihi scribere, quod P. Carolus a Manderscheyt penitentiarius Romæ obierit, ita scribit P. Secretarius.

Insuper accepi litteras a R. P. Ignatius Diertins, meo quondam Provinciali in Belgio, qui modo est visitator et vice Provincialis in Russia, in Provincia Soctis. Jesu: sed non scribit nova memorabilia.

[Address, 140v:] Reverendo Patri in Christo

P. Gerardo Bouwens, Soctis. Jesu

In Insulis Marianas.

Ex Imperio Sinensi.

Loose translation.

Vu Cham Fu, 2 November 1695.

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace be with you.

I received the letter which Y.R. wrote on 5 May of this year, on 31 October, so quickly and so well, because of the consolation and joy it brought overthere; as I understand, Y.R. is alive and I live in your memory. I give very humble thanks to Y.R. for the letter with news as ample as they were curious; I do not know what consolation is to be found by our brothers studying and working hard in the Vineyard of the Lord. I received the letter of Y.R. open, with another from Rev. Fr. Libertus de Pape [inside]; I certainly do not know who had opened them. However, I also received a letter from Y.R. written on 24 May 1691, but have received no other. I wrote many, but I doubt that Y.R. would have received them, as you make no mention of them.

Fr. Philippe Couplet, to whom Y.R. sends greetings in your letter, has died at sea almost in sight of Goa. Fr. Filippo Grimaldi left here to return to Europe last year with other companions, also from this Vice Province. Fr. Antoine Thomas sometimes worked while sick, with what they call the canine hunger, but is now in better health. I do not know whether Fr. Juan Bautista Maldonado is in Macau or not, although I wrote to him there a few months ago, but have received no reply.

The Emperor continues to favor us, and last year he ordered that a new church be built within the walls of his palace, that he conceded to the French Fathers. The Portuguese and French Fathers in Peking do not get along among themselves, and Rev. Fr. Vice Provincial has once again excommunicated the French Fathers, who up to now do not want to acknowledge their guilt, so that they have not been absolved of the excommunication. Fr. Carlos Turcotti, Superior of the Residence of Canton, wrote to me last June [saying] that the Bishop of Macau (a Portuguese secular priest) has sent French secular priests and Franciscan Fathers to live in Canton, for them to try and obtain jurisdiction for himself, or for Fr. Carlos Turcotti his vicar. As they did not wish to obey, the Bishop has therefore excommunicated the above-mentioned priests and religious. As Y.R. can see, the Devil has sown discord, and danger has exposed this whole mission, added to the fact that we deal with such suspicious heathen, who hate foreigners.

During the past two-year period in my province of Hu-quàm I have suffered four persecutions created by heathen, two of which were so serious that, had not the vice-governor of this province been a good friend of mine (to whom I resorted, and exposed all my heart) the thing would probably have been referred to the Emperor. The two others were easier for me to extinguish, and already, by the grace of God, we are quiet in any case.

On 18 May of this year, we felt an earthquake here, but it was rather mild. It is true that on that same day in the Xan-su Province the earthquake was so strong that three cities were completely destroyed, with not one house left standing; so many of the inhabitants were buried under the ruins that hardly one-tenth of the people survived. The

earth showed very large cracks, and at one place the water swallowed many men. During the three-day period that preceded, some horrible underground noises were heard. In the Xen-si Province during the month of August last, it is said that so many people died that their chicken [population] was wiped out, fields destroyed, and sheep killed in the fields everywhere.

Last year some missionary Fathers were sent out from Macau to Tonkin, among whom was Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Japan Province, Francisco Nogueira. Already they wrote that the king has ordered the Fr. Provincial and two other Fathers arrested. I understand from some Christians, that the Tartar-Chinese emperor is to go outside the walls of China to attack some western Tartars, but our [Fathers] have not written to me any news about it so far, as I have received no letters from Peking for some time. Rather, I dare to assert that in no other Province of the whole Chinese empire are news so scarce as I understand that they are in this Hu-quam Province; for this reason, I am forced to write shorter letters than I would like, and that Y.R. deserves to expect from me.

I send very loving greetings to the Fathers in the Marianas who know me, apostolic men, bearing the load of the day and of the hot weather, to whose holy sacrifices and labors I strongly commend myself, and I beg Y.R. to deign to remember me sincerely before God.

From the Metropolis of the Hu-quam Province, 2 November 1695.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter van Hamme.

[P.S.] It befalls me to write that Fr. Charles Manderscheyt has died at the penitentiary of Rome, according to what the Fr. Secretary wrote.

In addition, I received a letter from Rev. Fr. Ignatius Diertins, who was my Provincial in Belgium; he is now Visitor and Vice-Provincial in Russia, in the Jesuit Province there; but he did not write any worthwhile news.

[Address:] To the Reverend Father in Christ,

Fr. Gerard Bouwens, S.J.

In the Mariana Islands.

From the Chinese Empire.

Other references to Fr. Bouwens by Fr. van Hamme

Extract from a letter dated China 25 February 1697.

Source: Bibl. Royale, Brussels, Mss. 1691-93, fol. 34-35, in a letter addressed to Fr. van Callenberghe.

Mense præterito accepi unam epistolam ex Regno Mexicano, et alterum ex Insulis Marianis a P. Gerardo Bouwens via Manilana allatas, nullos vero Europæ illa via accepi, quod moror...

Littera a P. Gerardi Bouwens ex Insulis Marianis missa, recentiores fuerunt, continentque expeditiones factas, et subjugatas aliquas insulas, quæ ante decennium rebel-

laverant occisis aliquot Patribus. Hæc fusus non prescribo, quia scio, P. Gerardum omnia accuratis, sive perscribere in Belgium, et quia iam non est mihi opportunitas plura scribendi, et spero cras redire ad meam missionem...

Loose translation.

Last month I received a letter from the Mexican Kingdom, and another from the Mariana Islands from Fr. Gerard Bouwens by way of the Manila transports, but I received none from Europe that way, something I worry about.

...

The letter from Fr. Gerard Bouwens sent from the Mariana Islands was more recent, and contained the details of some expeditions and conquests of other islands that had been in rebellion for one decade before that, and where some Fathers had been killed. I do not repeat those details here, because I know that Fr. Gerard has written accurate news to Belgium, and because I do not have the same numerous opportunities to write, and I secretly hope to return to my mission...

Postscript from a letter dated China, 2 October 1712.

Source: Idem, BR mss. 1691-93, fol. 49. This letter was addressed to Fr. Janning.

Ab aliquos tempore litteras accepi Manila, quibus mihi scribitur, Patrem Gerardum Bouwens (missionarium ab Insulis Marianis) navigasse, ut quæreret Insulam aliquam novam, non ita pridem detectam; sed illa non inventa navis ventorum vi impulsæ est ad aliquam Insulam Philippinarum: ubi intelligens illud navigium, ne elaboretur occasio citissime redeundi ad optatissimam suam Missionem Marianam, nullo modo transire voluit Manilam usque, ut ibi salstaret [sic] suum Provinciale, aliosque Patres suæ Provinciæ sibi notos, tot annis tanto marium tractu a se separatos; sed vir vere sanctus ac zelosissimus jam prope octogenarius, et adhuc robustus, illa navi rediit in Insulas Marianas. Annis singulis continuamus inter nos litterarum commercium: et aliquoties mihi transmisit suas litteras a Rdo. Pe. Liberto de Pape scriptas, ut eas legerem.

Loose translation.

I received a letter from Manila some time ago, in which I am told that Father Gerard Bouwens (missionary in the Mariana Islands) had sailed, in order to find some new Island, that had been discovered some time before; but the ship did not sight it on account of the force of the winds and was carried off toward one of the Philippine Islands, where it is understood that the ship in question only waited for an opportunity to return very quickly to his beloved Mariana Mission. In no way did he want to transit via Manila, in order not to shock his Provincial, and the other Fathers of his Province who knew him, since he had been separated from them for so many years; however, this truly holy and very zealous man, nearly an octogenarian already, but still strong, returned to the Mariana Islands aboard that ship. Every year we exchanged letters between ourselves; and sometimes he sent me the letters he had received from Rev. Fr. Libertus de Pape, so that I would read them.

Document 1695F

Purchase of the patache San José y la Bendición

Source: AGN AHH 12240/2, fol. 103-103v.

Order to pay 26,000 pesos to Captain Figueroa

Original text in Spanish.

*Mandamiento del superior gobierno para la paga de 26,000 pesos que se considero valor legitimo del Navio **San Joseph y la Vendicion** que el año de 1695 fue con el situado de Philipinas.*

Contaduria de la Real Hazienda

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silva y Mendoza Conde de Galve Virrey desta Nueva España &a.

Por quanto. Yo mande formar la Junta siguiente en la Junta de Hazienda que en seis de Mayo de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco años tubo el Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galbe Virrey Gobernador y Capn. general desta Nueva España con los Señores Don Jazinto de Bargas Compuzano y Don Pedro de la Bastia(?) oydores desta Real Audiencia Don Matheo Frz de Santa Cruz, Contador del Real Tribunal de quantas, Don Sebastian de Guzman, y Don Joseph de Urrutia, oficiales Reales de la Real Caja desta Corte, y Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa Contador general de Tributos desta Nueva España. —

*Haviendose visto en esta junta estos Autos y lo resuelto en la Junta general de veinte y cinco de febrero deste presente año, y despacho en su virtud librado, por su Ex^a en dho dia en que para entrar en conocimiento del valor del Navio **San Joseph y la Vendicion** que fue en conserba del Patache que vino de las Yslas Philipinas de socorro à ellas este dho año, y para comprarlo por quenta de la Real Hazienda, se mando al General Don Andres de Arriola que con interbencion del Castellano, y oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco y del Capitan de Mar y Guerra Vicente de Aramburu pasasen con los Maestros de Rivera y Calafateria, y con las demas personas inteligentes y de su mejor satisfacion que se hallasen en aquel Puerto al recocinimiento del dho*

*Navio **San Joseph y la Vendicion**, y que estos despues de haverlo hecho declarasen devajo de juramento su justo valor, y precio; y que hechas estas diligencias las remitiesen con ynforme los dhos general Don Andres de Arriola, Castellano y oficiales Reales y el dho Capitan Vizente de Aramburu, que egecutaron todo lo referido y que por las diligencias que en su virtud hicieron tassaron el valor de dho Navio con variedad en veinte y tres mil pesos, veinte y quatro, veinte y ocho, y treinta mil pesos. Y el dho Don Andres de Arriola en su carta con fecha de tres de Marzo escrita à su Ex^a el de veinte y tres mil pesos, y lo pedido por el Capitan Don Francisco Antonio de Figueroa dueño de dho Navio en que pidio à su Ex^a le mandase librar y pagar la cantidad de treinta y ocho mil pesos que hera lo que justamenta valia y le tenia de costo; los treinta y dos mil pesos por compra que havia hecho de el; y los seis mil pesos en gastos de aderezos y reparos que havia hecho en el. Y lo que en vista de dho pedimiento y demas Autos respondió el Sr. Fiscal de su Magd. en su respuesta de dos del corriente en que dijo que tenia lugar la cantidad que pedia y pretendia de treinta y ocho mil pesos tan crecido y exorbitante y que se le podria satisfacer de dos o tres mil pesos mas sobre la cantidad de veinte y quatro mil pesos—se resolbio de comun aquerdo se le librasen y pagasen por oficiales Reales desta Corte al dho Capitan Don Francisco Antonio de Figueroa veinte y seis mil pesos de oro comun, que es la cantidad que tiene, y considera esta junta por justa, proporcionada y competente del valor del dho Navio **San Joseph y la Vendicion**: los quales dhos oficiales Reales carguen por quenta de los situados que se deven atrassados a dhas Yslas Philipinas conforme a lo resuelto en la junta general arriva citada y haver resultado en beneficio, y utilidad de dhas Yslas, para la conduccion del socorro que se las hizo, como para que en ellas se quedase dho Navio, y que pudiese servirles para qualquiera ocasion que se les ofresca. Y asi lo resolbieron, y rubricaron con su Ex^a.—*

*Y por mi visto conformandome con lo resuelto en dha junta inserta por el presente mando a Oficiales Reales desta Corte libren a la persona de dho Capitan Don Francisco Antonio de Figueroa veinte y seis mil pesos de oro comun por el valor del dho Navio **San Joseph y la Vendicion**, que se le compro como Dueño que hera de el para que fuera con el socorro que se hizo este presente año a las dhas Yslas Philipinas en la forma que se refiere en dha junta, cargando dhos oficiales Reales dha cantidad por quenta de los situados que se deven atrassados a dhas Yslas Philipinas segun esta determinado, que con este Mandamiento, Carta de pago y los demas recaudos nezesarios se les pasaran en Data dhos veinte y seis mil pesos.*

Mexico diez de Mayo de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco años.

El Conde de Galve.

Por mandado de su Ex^a, Don Francisco de Morales.

Translation.

Order of the superior government for the payment of 26,000 pesos that was considered the legitimate value of the ship **San José y la Bendición** which went off with the subsidy of the Philippines last year.

Accounting Department of the Royal Treasury

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Cerda Silva y Mendoza, Count of Galve, Viceroy of this New Spain, etc.

To wit: I had ordered the Treasury Council to meet and the meeting did take place on 6 May 1695, in the presence of His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, along with the following gentlemen, Don Jacinto de Vargas Compuzano and Don Pedro de la Bastia(?), members of this Royal Audiencia, Don Mateo Fernandez de Santa Cruz, Accountant of the Royal Tribunal of Accounts, Don Sebastian de Guzman and Don José de Urrutia, Royal officials of the Royal treasury of this City, and Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Accountant General of Excise Taxes of this New Spain.—

After these statements were seen in this meeting and in view of the decision taken by the general meeting of 25 February of this year, and the despatch that was issued as a result thereof, by His Excellency on said date, to ascertain the value of the ship **San José y la Bendición** that went in company of the patache that had come from the Philippine Islands, to the succor of said Islands that same year, and in order to purchase it on behalf of the Royal treasury, General Andrés de Arriola was ordered, along with the Fort Warden and Royal officials of the Port of Acapulco, and Marine Captain Vicente de Aramburu, to make use of the ship builders and caulkers, and any other knowledgeable persons of their choice residing there, to carry out a survey of said ship **San José y la Bendición**. Such gentlemen were afterwards to make a sworn statement as to its just value, and price, and then after such efforts had been completed, said General Andrés de Arriola, the Warden and Royal officials and said Captain Vicente de Aramburu submitted a report describing the steps that had been taken to that effect while judging the value of said ship, with estimates varying from 23,000, 24,000, 28,000, to 30,000 pesos. Said General Andrés de Arriola, in his covering letter dated 3 March which he wrote to His Excellency, stated 23,000 pesos, whereas Captain Francisco Antonio de Figueroa, owner of said ship, has requested His Excellency to be pleased to order the release of the sum of 38,000 pesos which [he said] was its just value and actual price, given the facts that he had purchased it for 32,000 pesos and spent 6,000 in repairing and refitting it. What His Majesty's fiscal wrote, after seeing said request and the other papers, in a statement dated 2nd of this month, was that he found the requested sum of 38,000 pesos to be exaggerated and exorbitant but that he would admit as reasonable some 2 to 3,000 pesos over and above the sum of 24,000 pesos. It was unanimously decided that the sum of 26,000 pesos of common gold be released by the Royal officials of this City to said Captain Francisco Antonio de Figueroa, since this is the sum that this meeting considered the just, appropriate and proper value of said ship **San José y la Bendición**; said Royal officials were to charge same against the subsidies that are owed to said Philippine Islands, in accordance with the decision made by the above-mentioned general meeting, to the benefit and advantage of said Islands, for the conveyance of the succor made to them, so that said ship could remain over-

there, and be of use to them for whatever purpose they might choose. And so they decided, and signed along with His Excellency.—

And this matter having been seen by me, I agree with this decision of said meeting (enclosed herewith) and order the Royal officials of this City to release to the person of said Captain Francisco Antonio de Figueroa 26,000 pesos of common gold as the value of said ship **San José y la Bendición**, that was purchased from him as former owner thereof, for the purpose of transporting the succor that was sent this year to said Philippine Islands in the manner referred to in said meeting, and said Royal officials are to charge said sum against the subsidies that are owed to said Philippine Islands as per said decision, which, along with this order, letter of accounts and the other necessary papers, must be filed together as justification of said payment of 26,000 pesos.

Mexico, 10 May 1695.

The Count of Galve.

By order of His Excellency, Don Francisco de Morales.

Document 1695G

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1693 & 1694

Source: AGN AHH 1240/2, fol. 90-95v.

Original text in Spanish

Señores Jueces Oficiales de la Real Hazienda de la Ciudad de Manila.

*El Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galbe, Virrey Governador y Capitan general de estas Provincias... se sirvio mandarnos remitir a esas Yslas, en las presentes Naos, nombradas **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**, y **San Joseph**, doçientos y cinquenta mil pesos efectivos, correspondientes al Situado de un año de Reales y generos...*

Governador y Sargento mayor de Marianas.

Seis mil pesos a Don Damian de Esplana, y Don Diego [sic] de Quirogua Governador y Sargento Mayor de las yslas Marianas a cuenta de los sueldos vencidos o que hubiesen de devengar con dhas ocupaçiones, quatro mil al primero y dos mil al otro 6,000 p

Soldados del Presidio de Marianas.

Treinta y siete mil y ochozientos pesos a los sesenta ynfantes que tiene de dotaçion el Presidio de Marianas para sus sueldos tocantes a los años de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres y seiscientos noventa y quatro, respecto de diez y ocho mil y noveçientos por año, y de treçientos y quinze pesos cada soldado 37,800 p

Seminarios de Marianas.

Dies mil pesos a los dos Seminarios donde los Niños y Niñas Marianas, son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas para su mantenimiento dhos dos años 10,000 p

Religiosos Misioneros de Marianas.

Y dies mil y cinquenta y siete pesos y quatro tomines a los dies y seis Religiosos de la sagrada Compañia de Jhs, doce Saçerdores y quatro legos misioneros de Marianas: nueve mil y ochoçientos pesos por su estipendio tocante a los años de noventa y tres, y nobenta y quatro y dosçientos y çinquenta y siete pesos y quatro tomines por el vestuario, avio, matalotage, y sustento del Hermano Jaime Cheverri [sic] que el

año de mil seisçientos y nobenta y quatro paso, à aquellas Yslas, hasta desembarcar en ellas 10,057 p 4t

103,842 p 5t

Montan las partidas suso escritas, çiento y tres mil ochocientos y quarenta y dos pesos y cinco tomines los mismos que desde el día seis de Marzo, de mil seisçientos y nobenta y dos emos satisfecho de la Real Haçienda de nuestro cargo, por quenta de gastos de esas Yslas, a las personas y para los efectos que dicen.—

...

Mexico a 12 de Marzo de 1695.

D. Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa

Joseph de Urrutia

Translation

Gentlemen Official judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

His Excellency the Count of Galve, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of these provinces... was pleased to order us to remit to those Islands, aboard the present galleons named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** and **San José** the sum of 250,000 pesos, corresponding to the annual subsidy in cash and in kind...

Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Marianas.

6,000 pesos to Don Damian de Esplana and Don Diego [sic] de Quiroga, Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, on the account of their salaries, owed or coming due, with respect to their occupations, 4,000 pesos to the former, and 2,000 to the latter 6,000 p

Soldiers of the Garrison of the Marianas.

37,800 pesos to the 60 infantrymen forming part of the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas for their salaries for the years 1693 and 1694, at the rates of 18,900 per year, and 315 pesos per soldier 37,800 p

Seminaries of the Marianas.

10,000 pesos for the two Seminaries for Mariano boys and girls who are being taught Christian and civilized customs, for their maintenance for said two years 10,000 p

Religious missionaries of the Marianas.

And 10,057 pesos 4 tomines to the 16 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 12 priests and 4 lay brothers, missionaries of the Marianas: 9,800 for their stipends for the two years 1693 and 1694, and 257 pesos 4 tomines for the clothing, outfit, sea supplies and sustenance of Brother Jaime Cheverri [sic] who passed to those Islands in 1694, until he reached them 10,057 p 4t

103,842p 5t

The above-mentioned entries total one-hundred-and-three thousands eight-hundred-and-forty-two pesos and five tomins, and that is the same as the total sum that we have paid out from the Royal treasury in our care since 6 March 1692, and charged to those Islands, to said persons and for stated purposes.—

...

Mexico, 12 March 1605.

Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova

Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa

José de Urrutia

Document 1696A

Letter from Governor Cruzat to the King, dated Manila 9 January 1696

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Notes: He tells him that he has appointed José Quiroga interim governor of the Marianas on account of the death of Damián de Esplana. He also says that he is making ready a patache to take the new governor of the Marianas, i.e. José Madrazo. He adds that there have been some abuses with the subsidy of the Marianas. Postscript is dated 30 May 1696. Report of the inquiry attached. See also Doc. 1696J for the case file regarding Esplana's estate.

Possible replacements for Esplana, appointment of General Madrazo as interim Governor, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*En carta de 25 de Junio del Año proximo pasado, que recibí [sic] por via de Nueva España di cuenta à V.M. de haber fallecido en 16 de Agosto de 1694 el Gobernador de las Islas Marianas Don Damian de Esplana; y ahora lo hago como en cumplimiento de lo que V.M. tiene dispuesto por Real Cédula de treinta de Marzo de 1686, de que en caso de vacar dicha Plaza la gobierne el Sargento Mayor de ellas Don José de Quiroga, en el entretanto que por este gobierno se nombra persona que la sirva en interin que V.M. se sirve proveerla en propiedad (que es lo mismo que se ha practicado en otras vacantes) tengo elegido y nombrado por el Gobernador interino de las dichas Islas Marianas, al General D. José Madrazo, persona de toda satisfaccion por su calidad y servicios y de asistirle las partes de valor y experiencias militares que se requieren para obtener dicho Puesto, para el cual en consideracion de lo referido le propongo à V.M. en primer lugar; cuyos servicios se reduzen à haber veinte y seis años, que pasó à estas islas donde ha sido Alférez y Capitan de infanteria, y sargento mayor de ella en este Real Campo; tres veces alcalde mayor, una de la Provincia de Bulacan, y dos de la de Panay; y dos veces general de la carrera de Nueva España, una del Galeon Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que ejecuto viage el año de 1691, y otra del Galeon **San***

José que padecio naufragio el año de 1694 en cuya causa no le resultó cargo ni culpa alguna al dicho General D. José Madrazo, declarandose la perdida por casual fortuita, segun tengo dado cuenta à V.M. con testimonio de autos.

En segundo lugar propongo à V.M. al general D. Juan de Morales Valenzuela, que actualmente está sirviendo en interin la plaza de Castellano de la fuerza de Santiago de esta Ciudad, para cuya propiedad lo tengo propuesto à V.M. en primer lugar, y por si en ella no le tubiere, le incluyo en esta proposicion, por ser à proposito y venemerito para dicho Gobierno de las Islas Marianas respecto de la aprobacion con que ha servido en estas Filipinas, desde el año de 1659 que pasó à ellas de Capitan de Infanteria, hallandose en diferentes Armadas, y otras funciones, asi en estas Islas como en las funciones, y fuerzas de Terrenate y Zamboanga; fué Sargento Mayor de este campo, alcalde mayor de la Provincia de Bulacan; justicia mayor de la Provincia de Zebu; dos veces General de la armada de Caracoas de aquella Provincia; y embajador despachado por mi antecesor al Reyno de Borney.

En tercer lugar propongo à V.M. al Sargento mayor D. Pedro de Oriosolo, que despues de haber servido algunos años en la Armada de Barlovento hace doce que pasó à estas Islas donde ha sido Alferes, y Capitan de infanteria de este Real Campo, Sargento mayor del Puerto de Cavite, y Castellano interino de aquel Castillo y Puerto de Cavite, en cuyos empleos ha dado buen cuenta de su persona, y le asisten las partes que se requieren de experiencia y valor para obtener dicho Gobierno. Y la causa Señor de no proponer à V.M. para la propiedad del dicho Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, al Sargento Mayor actual de ellas Don José de Quiroga es, por las noticias que he adquirido de que, aunque es persona de calidad, y de exemplar vida, y que ha muchos años que sirve en ellas, no es apropiado para mandar, sino solo para obedecer; y por la misma razon he dexado de nombrarle en interin en esta vacante; no obstante sugeto mi dictamen al Superior que V.M. se dignare hacer de sus méritos, y à lo que V.M. se sirviere proveer y mandar que será lo que mas combenga.

*En cumplimiento de una real cedula de V.M. de 30 de Diciembre de 1687, inserta en ella otras, en que se me manda despachar todos los años un Patache à las Islas Marianas, tengo dispuesto se ejecute asi, este presente, à cuyo fin, **se está ya carenando el Patache que se ha destinado para ello** que saldrá al tiempo regular, segun por dichas Reales Cedula está dispuesto y se embarcará en el el dicho Gobernador interino, de que en cumplimiento de mi obligacion, doy cuenta à V.M. para que en ese Real y Supremo Consejo haya noticia de lo referido.*

Nuestro Señor guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad necesita.

Manila y Enero 9 de 1696.

Añadido.

Señor

Despues de haber escrito lo de arriba por la costa de Coromandel, falleció el Sargento mayor, D. Pedro de Oriosolo, que es el tercero que en ella propuse à V.M. para el

gobierno de las Islas Marianas, por cuya razon cumpliendo con mi obligacion propongo à V.M. en su lugar al Sargento Mayor D. Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, Castellano actual nombrado por V.M. de la fuerza de San Felipe de Cavite, y justicia mayor de aquel Puerto, quien à mas de veinte años que sirve en estas islas, de donde es natural, habiendo obtenido los puestos de Capitan de infanteria y Sargento Mayor de ella, en este Real Campo, Alcalde Mayor de la Provincia de Balaya[n], y del Parian de los Sangleys, extramuros de esta Ciudad, en cuyos exercicios, ha obrado y obra con toda aprobacion, y le tengo por muy a proposito para dicho gobierno de Marianas.

*En conformidad de lo que V.M. tiene dispuesto, por una real cedula su fecha de trece de Noviembre de 1680, perciben los Gobernadores de dichas Islas el situado que cada año se remite de la Nueva España, para la infanteria de ellas en cuya distribucion he llegado à saber que Don Damian de Esplana obró con mucho desorden, y sin guardar igualdad ni forma en los socorros y pagamentos de los soldados dando à unos mas, y a otros menos, haciendo lo mismo en la reparticion de las municiones, y otros generos, que asi de la Nueva España, como de estas islas se llevan de cuenta del situado de dicha infanteria, la cual se halla perjudicada, no solo por el referido desorden, sino tambien por algunos excesos que se han reconocido en los costos y gastos de dichos generos, añadiendose à esto el presumirse que dicho Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana es deudor à la infanteria, de algunas cantidades de dichos situados, como se deduce de una carta que me escribio el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga, con cuyo motibo y el de suponer que dicho Gobernador por sus albaceas ó herederos ha de dar cuenta de dichos situados y residencia de su cargo para lo que le pueda resultar, me parecio ser de mi obligacion, pasar al dessorrimiento y embargo de sus bienes como lo hice segun doy cuenta à V.M. con carta à numero... y para remedio de los excesos y mala forma que hasta aqui ha habido, y que los situados se distribuyan conforme à la Real mente de V.M. y que cualquiera Gobernador que fuere haya de dar cuenta de ellos siempre que se le pida, con la justificacion necesaria, de cuya obligacion han juzgado estar exentos, respecto de la despotiguez con que han obrado; he dado una **instruccion** al nuevo Gobernador interino, previniendole en diferentes capitulos lo que en el exercicio de su puesto ha de observar y guardar, de la cual remito à V.M. con esta traslado autentico, para que sirviendose mandarla ver con inspeccion de ella, provea y mande V.M. lo que fuera de su mayor servicio.*

Y por que hasta ahora no estan señalados los sueldos que deben gozar asi el dicho Gobernador de Marianas, como el Sargento Mayor de ellas sin embargo de que V.M. fué servido mandar por una Real cedula de 30 de Marzo de 1686, dirigida al Conde de Paredes, Marques de la Laguna, siendo Virrey de la Nueva España, señalase dichos sueldos segun le pareciese mas preciso y ajustado à proporcion de dichos empleos, pidiendo para ello informe à este gobierno; me ha parecido dar cuenta à V.M. como el Virrey Conde de Galve, en virtud de dicha real cédula me despacho ruego y encargo su fecha en Mexico à 17 de Marzo de 1695 pidiendome el informe referido el cual le remito en esta ocasion diciendo que el sueldo proporcionado que me parece se puede y debe señalar al Gobernador de dichas Islas (segun su empleo, exercicio y gastos, y el estado

que tienen al presente aquellas Islas) es el mismo que V.M. señaló al Maestro de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia que son 110 escudos de à diez reales de plata al mes que al año importan 1,650 pesos y que el Sargento Mayor se le podrá señalar la mitad que son 825 pesos al año de cuyo informe y del ruego y encargo referido remito à V.M. el testimonio adjunto, para que en su vista se sirva V.M. determinar lo que mas combenga.

Nuestro Señor guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad à menester.

Manila y Mayo 30 de 1696.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

Sire:

In a letter dated 25 June of last year, which I received [rather despatched] by way of New Spain, I reported to Y.M. the death on 16 August 1694 of the Governor of the Marianas, Don Damian de Esplana. And now I do so in compliance with the orders of Y.M. in your Royal decree of 30 March 1686, to the effect that in case of a vacancy in said post, the Sergeant-Major there, Don José de Quiroga, should fill it on an interim basis, until this Government has appointed a person to serve by interim, until such time as Y.M. be pleased to provide another officially (which is also the practice for other vacant posts). I have chosen and appointed as interim Governor for said Mariana Islands, General Don José Madrazo, a person of complete satisfaction on account of his rank and services, in addition to the valor and military experiences that are required to fill said post. That is why, in consideration of the above, I am proposing him to Y.M. in first place. His services can be summarized as follows: they go back 26 years, when he came over to these Islands, where he has been Lieutenant, and Captain of infantry, and Sergeant-Major of this Royal camp; three times he was Magistrate, once of the Province of Bulacan, and twice of Panay; twice he was General of the run to New Spain, once aboard the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that made the voyage in the year 1691, and the second time with the galleon **San José** that suffered a shipwreck in the year 1694, but in the latter case there resulted no charge or guilt whatever for said General Don José Madrazo, as the loss was declared accidental and fortuitous, according to the report that I have already sent to Y.M., complete with the record of proceedings.

In second place, I propose to Y.M. General Don Juan de Morales Valenzuela, who actually is serving by interim in the post of Warden of the fort of Santiago of this City, for whose post I have proposed him in first place [as permanent replacement], and, in case he were not accepted, I include his name in the present proposal, on account of his being suitable and deserving for said Government of the Mariana Islands, in view of the satisfaction he has given in these Philippines since the year 1659 when he came over as Captain of infantry; he has served aboard various fleets, and in other functions, not only in these Islands but also in functions exercised in the forts of Ternate and Zamboanga; he was Sergeant-Major of this camp, magistrate of the Province of Bulacan,

senior judge of the Province of Cebu; twice General of the fleet of caracoas of that Province; and ambassador sent by my predecessor to the Kingdom of Bornei.

In third place, I propose to Y.M. Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Oriosolo who, after having served for a few years in the Windward Fleet, came over to these Islands 12 years ago, where he has been Lieutenant, and Captain of infantry of this Royal camp, Sergeant-Major of the Port of Cavite, and interim Warden of that fort and port of Cavite, in whose jobs he has given a good account of his person, and in addition, his experience and valor are added qualifications for him to obtain said Government. And the reason, Sire, why I do not propose to Y.M. the actual Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, Don José de Quiroga, for the permanent post of Governor there is on account of the news that I have acquired about him. Although he is a person of rank, with an exemplary life, and that he has served for many years there, he is not suitable for command, but only for obeying; and for the same reason, I have stopped naming him to fill this post on an interim basis. Nevertheless, I submit my decision to the superior judgment of Y.M. who should be pleased to recognize his merits, and please provide and order that he be given what he deserves.

In compliance with a royal decree of Y.M. dated 30 December 1687, that included others inserted in it, it was ordered that every year a patache be despatched to the Mariana Islands. I have arranged for this to be done this year; to this effect, **the patache chosen for the voyage is being careened**¹ and it should leave at the regular time, in accordance with the dispositions in said Royal decrees and the said interim Governor will be on board. This I report to Y.M. in compliance with my obligation, so that that Royal and Supreme Council will be informed of the above.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 9 January 1696.

Postscript.

Sire:

After I had written the above and sent it by way of the Coast of Coromandel, Sergeant-Major Don Pedro de Oriosolo died, he who is proposed in third place for the government of the Mariana Islands. For this reason, to comply with my obligation, I propose to Y.M. in his place Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, actual Warden, officially appointed by Y.M., of the fort of San Felipe of Cavite, and senior judge of that port, who has served in these Islands for over 20 years, where he was born, having obtained the posts of Captain of infantry and Sergeant-Major of this Royal camp, Magistrate of the Province of Balaya[n], and of the Parian of the Chinese just outside of the walls of this City, in whose functions he had performed and performs with complete satisfaction, and I find him very suitable for said government of the Marianas.

1 Ed. note: The name of this patache was Concepción (see Doc. 1696H).

In conformity with the orders of Y.M. in a Royal decree dated 13 November 1680, the Governors of said Islands perceive the subsidy that every year is remitted from New Spain for the infantry there.¹ It has come to my knowledge that in distributing same, Don Damian de Esplana performed with much disorder and without respecting equality or form in the succors and payments to the soldiers, giving more to some, and less to others, and the same thing with the distribution of the ammunition, and other goods, that are taken care of as part of the subsidy to said infantry, not only from New Spain but also from these Islands. The result is some prejudice to said infantry, not only caused by the above-mentioned disorder, but also by a few excesses that have been recognized in the costing and expenditures of said goods. Furthermore, it is presumed that said Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, owes money to the infantry, that came from said subsidies, as can be deduced from a letter written to me by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga. For this reason and the fact that it can be supposed that said Governor through his heirs and assigns must give an account of said subsidies and undergo an audit of his term of office, for whatever outcome may follow, it seemed to me that it was my duty to order that his private property be sought and embargoed, which I did, according to the report I made to Y.M., along with letter n° [blank]. And to remedy the excesses and bad form that have taken place so far, and to make sure that the subsidies be distributed in accordance with the royal mind of Y.M., and that any Governor whatever would report on them whenever asked to do so, with the necessary justification—so far they have thought that they were exempt from such an obligation, and have performed in a despotical manner—I have given an **instruction** to the new Governor by interim, warning him under various headings what he must observe and obey the functions of his position, of which I remit an authenticated copy to Y.M.,² so that you may order it to be reviewed, and then may order what Y.M. be pleased to have done for your greater service.

And because until now the salaries that must enjoy not only the Governor of the Marianas but also the Sergeant-Major have not been officially set, in spite of the fact that Y.M. was pleased to order in a Royal decree dated 30 March 1686, addressed to the Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna, who was then Viceroy of New Spain, asking that said salaries be fixed, according as it seemed more correct and adjusted relative to said employments, asking this government to inform about the matter, it seems to me that I must report to Y.M. how the Viceroy, Count of Galve, in view of said royal decree, has made me a despatch, dated Mexico 17 March 1695, begging and entrusting me to inform on the matter. By the same occasion as the present, I am remitting a report to him, telling him that the appropriate salary that I think should and must be paid to the Governor of said Islands (in line with his job, exercise and expenses, and the condition of those Islands at present) is the same that Y.M. has fixed for Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, which is 110 escudos of 10 silver reals per month, amounting

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1680S.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1696I.

to 1,650 pesos per year, and that the salary of the Sergeant-Major could be fixed at half of that, which are 825 pesos per year. I remit copies of this report and of the above-mentioned request to Y.M. in the enclosed record of proceedings, so that, in view of same, Y.M. may decide what is most appropriate.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 30 May 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

[The instruction given to the new Governor (see Doc. 1696I) included good accounting practices, a fair distribution of the salary moneys, the embargo and despatch to Manila of all the property owned by former Governor Esplana, a regular muster and parade of the infantry once a month, etc. A new census is ordered taken. Governor Mardrazo is also reminded that the salvage of the bronze cannon from the **Concepción** shipwreck is to be completed.]

Document 1696B

Instruction to the new Jesuit Procurator, 1696

Source: AGI Fil. 83-6-178, and Fil. 82-6.

Note: Father Magino Sola appointed Fr. Juan de Irigoyen as new Procurator for the Philippines and Marianas, to replace Fr. Xaramillo who had been promoted Procurator for the Indies (Doc. 1695D). He then instructed him, and his companion and substitute, Fr. Pedro Martín, on the requests they were to present to the King on behalf of the Marianas.

Instruction given by Fr. Sola to Fathers Irigoyen and Martín, dated Manila 29 February 1696

Original text in Spanish.

Instruccion que da el Pe. Magino Sola Provincial de la Prov^a de Philipinas de la Comp^a de Jhs a los Pes. Juan de Irigoyen, y Pedro Martin de la misma Compañia que van por Procuradores de dha Prov^a a Madrid, y Roma de los negocios que han de tratar con el Rey Nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) en su Real, y Supremo Consejo de Indias, tocante a dha Prov^a y Vize Prov^a de Marianas.

Primeramente lizencia para que puedan passar a dha Prov^a copioso numero de sugetos por la grave necesidad, que tiene de ellos para los Misiones, y doctrinas de su cargo.

Idem, numero señalado de sugetos para la Mission de las Islas Marianas.

Idem, la prorogacion de la limosna, que Su Magd. siempre à hecho para quatro operarios del Colegio de Manila: Y a su semejanza nueva conzession de limosna que Su Magd. se a de servir de hazer, para dos, o mas operarios para el Colegio de Cavitte.

Idem, la prorogacion de la limosna, que tambien a hecho Su Magd. para medicinas.

Idem, la confirmacion de la encomienda que dio el Governador Don Fausto Cruzat al Colegio de San Joseph executando dos zedulas de su Magd. de la limosna de 20,000 pesos en 10 tributos vacos.

Idem, nueva confirmacion de la limosna de vino de Missas, y Azeite para las lamparas del Santissimo [Sacramento] que Su Magd. à hecho, y continuado desde el principio de la conquista a la Comp^a de Jhs, y a todas las Religiones de esta Prov^a é Islas para todas las Iglesias curadas, y no curadas de dentro y fuera de Manila.

Idem, todo aquello que a dhos Padres Procuradores pareciese conveniente, y necesario tratan con Su Magd. en dho Supremo Consejo para el alivio de las Cassas, Collegios, Doctrinas, y Misiones de dha Prov^a é Islas Marianas.

En este Colegio de la Compañia de Jhs de Manila a veinte y nueve del mes de Febrero de mill seiscientos y noventa y seis años.

Magino Sola.

Translation.

Instruction given by Fr. Magino Sola, Provincial of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus, to Fathers Juan de Irigoyen, and Pedro Martín of the same Society who are going as Procurators of said Province to Madrid, and Rome for the business that must be transacted with the King our Lord (may God save him) in his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, regarding said Province and Vice-Province of the Marianas.

Firstly, a license for the passage to said Province of a copious number of subjects on account of the serious need of them for the missions and parishes under its care.

Idem, a certain number of subjects for the Mariana Island Mission.

Idem, the extension of the alms that His Majesty has always given to 4 workers for the College of Manila. Similarly, a new concession of alms, that His Majesty may be pleased to grant, for two or more workers for the College of Cavite.

Idem, the extension of the alm that His Majesty has also been giving for medicines.

Idem, the confirmation of the land-grant that Governor Don Fausto Cruzat gave to the College of San José, in carrying out two decrees of His Majesty for the alms of 20,000 pesos in 10 vacant tributaries.

Idem, a new confirmation of the alms of wine for masses, and oil for the lamps of the Most Blessed Sacrament that His Majesty has been giving, and that since the beginning of the conquest, to the Society of Jesus, and to all the religious Orders of these Province and Islands for all the churches, with or without curates, within and outside of Manila.

Idem, all that which may appear appropriate and necessary to said Fathers Procurators to deal with His Majesty in said Supreme Council for the relief of the Houses, Colleges, Parishes, and Missions of said Province and Mariana Islands.

In this College of the Society of Jesus of Manila, on the 29th of the month of February of 1696.

Magino Sola.

Document 1696C

Convicts sent to the Philippines by the Inquisition in 1696

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 174v-175.

Note: Such a decision was a regular event in those years. Some of the convicts remained forever in the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish

Al Comisionado de Manila, remitiendo la Relazion de los reos que en esta Nao se remitten a Philippinas.

Con esta remitimos al pie(?) la relacion adjuntta de los reos que por este Santo Oficio fueron condenados por dho sentencias en Auto de fee que celebró el dia 15 de henero de este presente año, a que sirban a su Magd en esas Islas, a disposicion del Governador y Cap. Gen. de ellas, que en la presente Nao se remiten con otros forzados por la real sala del Crimen de esta corte; para que haviendole recibido nuestro Comisionado, este advertido de los que por delictos cometidos contra nuestra Santa fee, sean condenados por este santo officio, haciendo cumplan en todo todas las penas que dho santo officio se les inpuso, y que al recivo desta, nos dara aviso en la primera ocasion.

Guarde Dios &a. Inqn. de Mexico y Marco 15 de 1696.

...
[Nota:] Los reos son: Pedro Juarez, Melchor de los Reyes, Andrés Gracia, Pedro Carretera, Pablo de Losada, H. de Albarado.

Translation

To the Commissioner of Manila, remitting the list of the prisoners who are being sent to the Philippines aboard this galleon.

With the present we enclose the list of the prisoners who were condemned by this Holy Office and sentenced, during the autodafé that took place on 15 January of this

year, to serve His Majesty in those Islands, at the disposal of their Governor and Captain General, and who are being sent with other persons convicted by the royal criminal court of this city. The purpose of the present is to warn our Commissioner about those who have been condemned by this holy office for crimes committed against our holy faith, and to make sure that they fully serve the sentences imposed upon them by said holy office, and upon receipt of the present, he is to acknowledge same at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 15 March 1696.

...

[Note:] The names of the prisoners are: Pedro Juarez, Melchor de los Reyes, Andrés Gracia, Pedro Carretera, Pablo de Losada, H. de Alvarado.

Document 1696D

Power-of-attorney granted by Major Quiroga, dated Agaña 20 May 1696

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Original text in Spanish

[Endorsement:] Poder General otorgado por el Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga, Governador Interino de las Islas Marianas, al Padre Procurador que es, ó fuere, por la Provincia de Philipinas en esta Nueva España, para las cobranzas, y negocios pertenecientes á aquel Real Campo, otorgado el año de 1696.

En la Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Hagadña de estas Ysslas Marianas en veinte dias del mes de mayo de mill y seiscientos y noventa y seis años Ante mi el Capitan Andres García Fernandes Escrivano de su Magd. nombrado para despachos tocantes al Real servicio Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra Veedor en estas dhas Yslas Marianas y testigos ynfraescritos, El Sr. Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Lozada Actual por el Rey nuestro Sr. Governador en interin de estas dhas Ysslas a quien doy fee conosco otorgo por la pressente que la mejor via y forma que pueda y deva da su poder general cumplido bastante que de derecho se requiere y es nessesario al Padre Luis de Morales de la Compañia de Jesus y su procurador General de la provincia de Philipinas y de estas Marianas en la Ciudad de Mexico de los Reinos de la nueva España ó al que en su lugar huviere para que en todos los negocios que pertenecieren a estas dhas Ysslas y pressidio prensipalmente en cobrar los sueldos y situado que Su Magd. (que Dios guarde) tiene asituado y es servido remitir a estas dhas Ysslas para el socorro de la Infanteria y gentte de Guerra de su guarnicion y para que por el otorgante y en nombre de dho pressidio y representando su misma perssona paresca Ante el Excelentíssimo Sr. Virrey de la Nueva España y Ante qualquiera Audiencias Juezes Justicias de su Magd. Eclesiasticas ó seculares que con derecho pueda y deva pida aya y ressiiva y cobre todo quanto le fuere pertenesciente a dho Pressido otorgo escripturas y ressiivos en

forma y valgan como si el otorgante lo hiziera y haba de todo lo que cobrare perteneciente a dho pressidio lo que se tiene comunicado y ultimamente haga lo que el otorgante hiziera pressente y todo quanto se ofresca y pueda ofrecer aunque aquí no vaya espre-sado ni declarado porque es voluntad de el otorgante que se estienda este poder para quanto ofrecerse se le pueda a dho presidio tocante a todos sus negocios de el qual ha de ussar dho Padre Luis de Morales de la Compañía de Jessus y su procurador General de la Provincia de Phelipinas y de estas Marianas en la Ciudad de Mexico de la nueva España o el que estuviere en su lugar el qual se da con libre y general administracion y con facultad de sustituirlo en la persona que le pareciere o personas que le parecieren por una dos o tres o mas vias y a cumplimiento de lo dho obligo el otorgante sus vienes y rentas haviles y por haver en nombre de dho pressidio con renunciacion de leyes en forma y lo firmo con los testigos infraescritos que le fueron el Sargento Mayor Francisco Massonso [i.e. Masongsong] y Ayudante Joseph Maínar Panyagua y Alférez Augustin de Espinossa pressentes a lo hazer los quales firmaron este dho poder con dho Sr. Governador respecto de no haver en estas partes Escribanos publicos ni Reales que puedan comprobarlo y va en este papel por no hussarse de el sellado en ellas &^a

Joseph de Quiroga y Losada

Francisco de Masungung [sic]

Joseph Maínar Panyagua

Augustin de Espinosa

En testimonio de verdad lo firme

Andres García Fernandez

Escribano nombrado.

Translation

[Endorsement:] General power-of-attorney granted by Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga, interim Governor of the Mariana Islands, to the present, or future, Father Procurator for the Province of the Philippines in this New Spain, for the collections and business pertaining to that Royal camp, delivered in 1696.

In the city of San Ignacio de Agaña in these Mariana Islands on the 20th day of the month of May of 1696: Before me, Captain Andrés Garcia Fernandez, royal notary of- ficially appointed for despatches concerning the royal service, Secretary for Adminis- tration and War, Inspector in these Mariana Islands, and in the presence of the witnesses mentioned below, I, Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada, presently acting as interim Governor of said Islands on behalf of the King our Lord, do hereby let it be known by the present that I do grant my general power-of-attorney in the best legal way and manner possible that is required under the law to Father Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the province of the Philippines and these Marianas in the City of Mexico in the Kingdoms of New Spain, or to whomever

might be acting in his place in all the business matters that might concern these Islands and garrison, such as the collection of the salaries and subsidy that His Majesty (whom may God save) has set and is pleased to remit to these Islands for the succor of the Infantry and soldiers of the garrison and so that, on behalf of the grantor and in the name of said garrison, he may personally appear before His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain and before any royal Audiencia, Judge, or Justice, ecclesiastical or secular, and be able to lawfully perceive, collect and receive whatever sum that might be owed to said garrison, issue writs and receipts in due form and they are to be as valid as if the grantor had written them himself and, with respect to matters concerning said garrison, he is to collect all sums owed to it, and finally he is to act upon matters brought to his attention by the grantor and for whatever other matter not so clearly specified herein, because it is the wish of the grantor that this power be extended to all the business conducted on behalf of said garrison. Said Father Luis de Morales of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines and of these Marianas in the City of Mexico in New Spain, or anyone acting in his stead, may freely make use of the present power-of-attorney for general administration but the grantor reserves the right to substitute him for a person or persons as he pleases, by one, two or more ways. In compliance thereof the grantor pledges his property and income, present and future, in the name of said garrison, renouncing his regular legal rights, and I signed my name in the presence of the following witnesses, to wit, Sergeant-Major Francisco Massonso [i.e. Masongsong], Adjutant José Maínar Panyagua, and Second-Lieutenant Augustin de Espinosa, who have signed this power-of-attorney along with said Governor, because of the absence in these parts of any notary, public or royal, who might ratify it, and it is written on this paper for lack of stamped paper, etc.

José de Quiroga y Losada

Francisco de Masungsung [sic]

José Maínar Panyagua

In witness whereof I have signed my name,

Andrés García Fernandez, appointed notary.¹

1 Ed. note: This man could have been the same man as Andrés Gracia, one of the convicts mentioned in the previous document.

Document 1696E

Letter from Major Quiroga to the King, dated Guam 22 May 1696

Source: RAH 9/2678, doc. 5 (2 copies).

Note: Both copies are signed originals, one sent via Mexico, the other via India. Therefore, it seems that neither were delivered to the King, because at least one copy would now be at AGI Seville, and an answer would be on record as well. However, a similar letter, sent to the Duchess of Aveiro, of same date, was indeed delivered, and has been found among her papers in modern times.

Original text in Spanish.

Carta del Governador de Marianas en que da cuenta de la Reducion de dichas Islas alzadas desde el alzamiento general de ochenta y quatro y de como queda reduzida la jente de las treze a tres.

Señor

El año pasado e dado parte a V. Real Magd. de la muerte del Governador de estas Islas por cuiu muerte las entre a gobernar: como V. Real Magd lo tiene hordenado por su Real Cedula y juntamente avisaba de la reducion de la Isla de Rota y que quedaba aprestando envarcaciones y jente para luego que el tiempo diese lugar pasar a la reduzion de las otras que estan mas hazia el norte llamadas las principales Seipan, Tinian y Agiguan. Y despues de mucha resistencia de los Barbaros con muerte de algunos, y eridos muchos se consigio la entrada en las dos Islas mas retirandose los Barbaros a la de Agiguan, que es una peñada tajada en medio del mar, sin playa ninguna con tal fortaleza estaban los Barbaros ysleños tan soberbios que no quisieron admitir partidos por muchos que les ofrezia de su conbeniencia, y viendo conbenia dicha empresa para gloria de Dios y del credito de las armas de V. Real Magd. emprendí dicha subida, la qual se consigio con muerte de algunos de ellos y eridos de nuestra parte y quedaron tan aturdidos que asta las postreras Islas vinieron a dar la obediencia negada con todas las demas desde el alzamiento de ochenta y quatro y les mande se biniesen a vivir a la Isla de Seipan en la qual quedo un padre sin presidio y luego que sea tiempo oportuno reducir todas las Islas y sus moradores a esta por ser capaz para ello y para que ansi queden las harmas desocupadas para la nueva conquista del Sur, de la qual e dado parte a V. Real Magd desde el año de ochenta y cinco, que dizen esta muy corta distancia de esta.

Dios nuestro Señor lo disponga para mucha gloria suya y aumento de la Monarquia de V. Real Magd. cuya vida guarde nuestro Señor para salbazion de muchas almas y aumento de su yglesia.

De esta Isla de San Juan y Mayo 22 de 1696 años.

Beso los Pies de V. Real Magd., su mas rendido vasallo, Joseph de Quiroga y Losada.

Translation.

Letter from the Governor of the Marianas in which he reports the Reduction of said Islands that had been rebellious since the general uprising of 1684, and how the people have been reduced from 13 to 3 Islands.

Sire:

Last year I reported to your Royal Majesty on the death of the Governor of these Islands, on account of which I came to govern, as your Royal Majesty has ordered by your Royal decree, and in addition I advised about the reduction of the Island of Rota and that some vessels and men had been made ready to go on, when the weather permitted, to the reduction of the other Islands that are more to the north, the main ones of which are named Seipan, Tinian and Agiguan. And after much resistance of the barbarians, with the death of a few of them, and the wounding of many, the conquest of two of them was achieved, but the barbarians retreated to the Island of Agiguan, which is a crag rising abruptly in the middle of the sea, without any beach. Inside such a fortress the barbarian Islanders were so haughty that they refused to admit any deal, no matter how many appropriate offers were made them. Given that said enterprise was for the glory of God and the credit of the royal arms of Your Majesty, I undertook said ascent, which was achieved with the death of a few of them and some wounded on our side, and they remained so stunned that from as far away as the last Islands they came to give the obedience that they had also denied along with the others since the uprising of 1684, and I ordered them to come and live in the Island of Seipan, where one Father [i.e. Bouwens] stayed, without a garrison. Later on, when the time is ripe, I will reduce all the [other] Islands and their inhabitants to this Island, as there is enough space in it, and in this way the arms will remain available to go to the new conquest to the South, about which I have already reported to your Royal Majesty as far back as the year 1685, which they say lie a very short distance from this one.

May God our Lord so arrange it for His greater glory and the increase of the Monarchy of your Royal Majesty, whose life may our Lord save for the salvation of many souls and the increase of His Church.

From this Island of San Juan, 22 May 1696.

Your most humble vassal, who kisses the feet of your Royal Majesty,
Joseph de Quiroga y Losada.

Editorial note.

There supposedly exists a letter written by Quiroga to the Duchess of Aveiro on same date. Streit & Dindinger, vol. 21, p. 49 say that it was attached to another letter dated 30 May 1682 (Doc. 1682J1); its present location is unknown. In it, he supposedly mentioned the native rebellion, the position of the Spaniards, the names of the missionaries, etc.

Document 1696F

Jesuit annual report for 1696, anonymous, dated 1 April 1696

Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, folios 306-325v (3 versions: a printed report in Spanish, its corresponding ms. in Spanish, and a translation in Italian); also 2 copies in RAH 9/2678, doc. n° 4.

Notes: A manuscript note on file says that three copies of the printed report arrived in the hands of the Jesuit General on 11 November 1698. On 28 November 1698, he gave one copy to the Pope. Although anonymous, the probable author was a Spanish father residing in Agaña, not Fr. Le Roulx, and not the other eyewitness, Fr. Bouwens, who wrote his own account in Latin (Doc. 1696G); besides, the ms. copy is not in Fr. Bouwens' handwriting, not that of Fr. Bustillo either. The report was written in Guam. This report was printed at the time, without place or date; a printed copy was listed among the Jesuit papers seized at Manila in 1769. For the actual conquest of the Gani Islands, see Doc. 1699B.

Narrative of the reconquest of the Northern Mariana Islands in 1695

Original text in Spanish.

Relacion de la conquista, y restauracion de las Islas Marianas.

Despues de la larga noche de tormentas, y trabajos, que por espacio de onze años ha padecido esta afligida Mission, y christiandad de Marianas ocasionados de la suble-bacion universal desta Islas sucedida el año de 84, quiso Dios nuestro Señor, que este año passado de 95 le amaneciese el dia claro de su total restauracion; quedando todas conquistadas, y pacificadas como se dirá en esta breve relacion.

Por muerte de Don Damian de Esplana Governador de estas Islas sucedida por Agosto de 94 entrò à governar en interim el Sargento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada; cuyo zelo siempre activo de dilatar la fee, aplicò luego las fuerzas de este Presidio à la conquista de la Isla de Rota (Zarpana por otro nombre) y saliendo con un barco, y algunas embarcaciones de los Indios en compañía del Padre Basilio LeRoulx Vice Provincial desta Mission de la Compañia de Jesus, consiguió sin sangre el dexar la [isla] sugeta, y pacificada. Bautizó el dicho P. Vice Provincial en los pocos días, que alli estuvieron, los parvulos de la Isla, y recogiendo los naturales desta de Guahan, que

estaban en Rota se condujeron à esta Isla gozosos del buen suceso, de que se dieron à Dios las debidas gracias.

Tuiose este feliz suceso por pronostico de que Nuestro Señor queria ya apiadarse de tantas almas como en las otras Islas se perdian, y abrirles las puertas para su enseñanza y remedio, y assi juntando con vigilancia el dicho Governador Don Joseph de Quiroga las maiores fuerzas que pudo, es a saber 80 hombres parte soldados, y parte marineros Españoles unos, y otros Indios Filipinos, y algunos Indios de la tierra de los mas leales, y esforçados se hizo à la vela llevando en su compañía à los PP. Basilio Le-Roulx Vice Provincial, y Gerardo Bouwens à los 11 de Julio de 1695. Componiase la Armadilla de una Galeota, un barco, y 20 embarcaciones de la tierra. Navegóse con viento favorable desde [las 10 de] la mañana hasta el anochece, que estando a vista de Rota arreció tanto, y el mar se alborotó de suerte, que no pudiendo proseguir sin riesgo el barco, y las embarcaciones de los Indios se entraron en Rota à guardar tiempo mas benigno.

La Galeota prosiguió su viage, aunque con algun trabajo de aguaseros, y mar alborotado, y al amanecer se halló sola sin [descubrir ninguna]/{saberse} de las otras embarcaciones, no sin temor de que con la tormenta huviessen padecido, ó percido algunas [de ellas]. Diose vista luego à la Isla de Aguiguan, que no causó poco consuelo; porque temian los marineros averse apartado del rumbo, y aviendo {la} montado [a Aguiguan] se encaminaron à Tinian, a donde entraron al ponerse el Sol; y dieron fondo.

[Attack on Tinian]

Alborotóse la Isla, y luego echaron sus embarcaciones al agua, y en ellas transportaron à la de Aguiguan, que està en frente una legua de distancia, las mugeres, y niños, y de buelta embarcaron gente de pelea. En esto, y en hazer trinchera[s], y parapetos en la playa gastaron toda la noche, y los nuestros en prevenirse para pelear el dia siguiente, y saltar en tierra. Amaneciò el dia 13 y estando ya todo prevenido, y señalados los puestos que cada [uno]/{qual} avia de defender, mandò el Governador acercarse [a remo] para intentar el desembarque; llegaron à tiro de cañon, y luego empeço una recia batalla; porque à los tiros de mosquete, y arcabuz respondian los Indios con piedras de honda, que son labradas de marmol con dos puntas agudas [que las dexan clavadas en los arboles], y ellos mui diestros en tirarlas. Como ellos eran millares, y estaban esparcidos, y los nuestros apiñados en la Galeota, hizieron bastante daño hiriendo à algunos soldados, y ellos no le recibieron menor de las balas, pues muchos fueron heridos, y algunos quedaron muertos.

[Conquest of Saipan]

Reconocióse impossible el tomar tierra; porque la Galeota no podia arrimarse mucho, y los que huviessen de saltar avian de mojar las armas, y aun peligraran en los arrecifes, y assi se resolvió bolverle al primer puesto hasta que llegassen las embarcaciones menores. Passóse aquel dia, y no pareció ninguna, con que no poco se temió les

huviessse sucedido alguna desgracia: mas quiso Dios que al amanecer del dia siguiente se descubrieron todas. Grande fue la alegria de todos al verlas, y luego el Governador saliò à recibirlas con la Galeota; y aviendo llegado todas con el barco determinò ir à tomar tierra [en]/{à} Seipan por ser mejor puerto, y menos escabrosa la playa desta Isla. Assi se executò con poca resistencia; porque à los primeros tiros de una piezezilla, mosquetes, y arcabuzes los Indios desampararon sus trincheras, y se huieron unos al monte y otros en sus embarcaciones à las otras Islas del Norte, y algunos à [la Isla de] Agui-guan.

Aviendo desembarcado, y dispuesto el Real se emplearon algunos dias en hazer varias correrias por la Isla para sacar de sus madrigueras à los fugitivos, que poco à poco fueron perdiendo el miedo, y saliendo à presentarse al Governador. Mandòseles estar quietos en sus casas, y que avisasen à los otros, que como no fuessen matadores de Padres, ó soldados en el levantamiento se le perdonaban todos los otros delitos, como se sugetasen à la obediencia de su Magestad, y se dispusiesen á oir la palabra de Dios, y admitir en sus tierras à los Predicadores del Evangelio. Con esto se consiguò en pocos dias el que todos los que estaban en la Isla viniesen à sus casas, y pueblos.

[Conquest of Aguijan]

A este tiempo los de Tinian no teniendose por seguros en su Isla la desampararon, y se passaron los mas de ellos à la Isla de Agui-guan pensando estar en ella seguros, por ser un peñasco tan inaccessible que parece una fortaleza en medio del mar. No es mui grande, mas tiene arriba una llanura de tierra para sembrar, y vivir, bastantemente capaz, y aunque no tiene agua, con la que cogían del cielo, y acarreavan de Tinian se mantenian en ella sus habitantes. Tiene la subida tan agria que causa horror el verla, y por todo lo demas està tajada como un muro.

Concluida la conquista de Seipan passò el Governador con toda la gente, y embarcaciones à Tinian, aunque ya despoblada, à intentar si podia reducir por bien à los fugitivos à bolverse à su[s] tierra[s], y à sus casas, mas por varios medios, que se [tomaron]/{intentaron} ninguno tuvo efecto; y assi para primer castigo se les quemaron todas las casas viendolas ellos arder desde Agui-guan. Despues se les sitiò la Isla con embarcaciones para embarazarles el conducir [bastimentos]/{mantenimiento}, y agua para que la hambre, y sed les obligue á rendir[se]; [mas estando con todo eso]/{hasta que finalmente viendolos sumamente} pertinaces se determinò cogerlos por asalto, que aunque siempre pareció, ó temerario, ó impossible, Dios quiso facilitarlo, ò por mejor decir obrarlo milagrosamente, aunque se deve mucho al valor, y resolucion del Governador, y sus soldados.

Despues de varias conferencias, y discursos se determinò el asalto para el dia 12 de Agosto, en que aviendo oydo Missa de madrugada repartiò el Governador la gente escogida para el asalto en esta forma: embió el Barco por delante con 10 embarcaciones de Indios, y en ellas algunos soldados, é Indios amigos, [con order de ir]/{para que fuessen} à la subida de la Isla que està al Poniente; y [dar]/{alli diessen} bateria à los que la defendian, saliò despues el Governador con el Padre Gerardo Bouwens, y los

soldados de mas valor destinados para el assalto, y algunos Indios de confiança, y alien-to en 13 embarcaciones. Llevaban prevenidas escaleras para arrimarlas por la parte del leste adonde se avia visto una subida, que aunque dificultosa se juzgó bastante.

Llegaron à dicho parage, y vieron fortificadas con trincheras de piedras dicha subida, y con bastantes Indios, que la defendian, estos dixeron à los nuestros: que por la parte del Poniente se estava ajustando la entrega, y tratavan de pazes, y ellos lo sabian fingir bien, porque estando [las embarcaciones] a tiro de sus piedras, no dispararon nin-gunas, con que el Governador mando, que no les disparassen, ya sea por averlos crei-do, ó por juzgar [intratable]/{impossible} la subida por aquella parte; fuè costean-do la Isla por el Norte hasta llegar à las dos de la tarde à juntarse con el Barco, y las otras embarcaciones delante de la subida de la Isla. Allí se descubrieron los enemigos detras de sus trincheras de piedras, y maderos, y recibieron à los nuestros con grande algaza-ra, y con una lluvia de piedras de honda, respondiòseles con las armas de fuego, y se fueron acercando nuestras embarcaciones, y llegando-se à la lengua del agua saltaron en tierra, los primeros, el Capitan Nicolas Rodriguez, el Ayudante Joseph Ramirez, Matheo de Guevara, Sargento mayor de los [Pampangos]/{Philipinos}, y el Capitan Pedro Inoz [sic], Indio de Guahan, y por entre piedras que arrojavan de arriba espesas, como granizo se fueron à guarecer al abrigo de una peña; por los mismos riesgos les fuè a hazer compañía el Ayudante Nicolas de la Vega: entre tanto subieron arriba los prime-ros, el Sargento Juan Perez Bello, y un Capitan Philipino, Pablo de la Cruz, con algu-nos otros, siguieronseles los que estavan en el abrigo de la peña, y a estos fueron siguiendo otros, y entre ellos el Padre Gerardo Bouwens trepando por las peñas, asien-dose para no despeñarse àl mar; iban disparando a trechos las armas de fuego [con el trabajo y riesgo que se deja entender]. Los de el Barco, y las otras embarcaciones, no cessavan de disparar à los de las trincheras, y especialmente el Governador, que es dies-trissimo, y acertadissimo en sus tiros, y luego les siguiò, (no con pequeño riesgo). Los que subieron {los primeros} peleavan {arriba} con los Indios que estavan tan empeña-dos, que muchos quedaron muertos en su puesto. Un soldado, aviendo disparado, fue acometido de dos Indios, que le tenian ya en el suelo para matarle, mas acudiò un Indio amigo, y atravejó con una lança al uno [de los agresores], {y le acabò de matar con un cuchillo}, con que huyó el otro, y [quedó salvo]/{se escapó} el soldado {herido}, aun-que [algo lastimado]/{sanó despues}. Viendo los Indios ganada su fortaleza se huyeron todos, y muchos escaparon las vidas amparandose del Padre, y pidiendo de rodillas, que por amor de Dios no los matasen. De los nuestros, soldados é Indios no hubo muer-to ninguno, aunque algunos heridos de poco riesgo.

La hazaña quantos la vieron la tienen por prodigiosa, y dicen {todos} que no pare-cian hombres, sino rayos que volaban todos, assi soldados, como Indios amigos. Lo que no puede [dexar de] calificarse de cosa mas que natural, es, que entre tantas peñas, que cafan de arriba, y tantas piedras tiradas con honda en una subida, que parece despe-ñadero, no muriese ninguno. El Padre Gerardo Bouwens, que subiò con los primeros escribe diziendo: que no sabe como subiò, ni como subieron los otros, pues era menes-ter asirse con pies, y manos para no caer [al mar]. Fuè sin duda favor del [glorioso] Ar-

*changel San Miguel, {que fuè el} Patron elegido para la empresa, que con sus Angeles los llevaron en palmas, y apartaron las piedras, para que no les ofendiesen; como lo tiene Dios prometido à los que confian en su proteccion [divina]. Y assi con razon se puede llamar este asalto la victoria de San Miguel, [para lo qual concurrio]{y por} otra circunstancia particular, y fuè, que en castigo de su rebeldía los condenó el Governador, luego que se entregaron rendidos, assi à los de Aguiguan como à los de Tinian à despoblar sus Islas, y venirse à vivir à esta de Guahan, como ya se ha executado, con que se les acomoda mui bien de **neque locus amplexus¹ est eorum amplius**: que dixo San Juan en su Apocalypsi de la victoria que consiguió el glorioso Archangel de Lucifer, y sus sequaces echandolos del Cielo. Mas [con]{estos por la gran misericordia de Dios tienen} esta diferencia, que los Angeles malos despoblaron el Cielo para poblar el Infierno, y estos antes rebeldes, y aora rendidos han despoblado sus Islas, y tierras para poblar el Cielo, como se espera de la [misericordia]{bondad} de Dios que les ayuda [copiosamente] con los socorros de su gracia, como se reconoce en las ansias con que piden el bautismo, y aprenden la Doctrina [Christiana]; pues en los pocos meses que ha que vinieron à esta Isla, ya todos los parvulos y casi todos los adultos estan bautizados, y alistados en la milicia christiana.*

Conseguida esta feliz victoria se dixo Missa el dia siguiente, dando à Dios las gracias; bautizaronse muchos niños, y luego se quemaron las casas de los Pueblos de Aguiguan permitiendoles sacar la hazienda que llevaron à Tinian, y de alli à Guahan. Condenose á muerte à un Indio principal de Tinian, que avia sido el mas culpado en la muerte del Venerable Padre Augustin de Estrobac, y murió bautizado. De los otros matadores se ajustició otro en esta Isla, y de los demas quedan pocos, porque Dios los ha castigado con desgraciadas muertes: [unos quedaron muertos en el asalto de Aguiguan], unos ahogados, otros alanzeados, y otros que tomaron el castigo por sus manos ahorcandose desesperados.

Bolvió la armada (que bien merece aora este nombre por victoriosa) à Tinian, y alli dió orden el Governador de ir embarcando la gente de Tinian, de Aguiguan, y la mucha que avia de esta Isla en mas de cinquenta embarcaciones, que se pudieron [luego] aprestar, y estas, y otras muchas que han venido de las Islas del Norte han estado continuamente acarreando gente desde Agosto de 95 hasta el tiempo que esto se escribe, que es à primero de Abril de 96, y aun queda todavia mucha gente de la que se huió à las Islas mas remotas, que poco à poco va viniendo.

Las Islas de Gani que son ocho, aunque no mui pobladas [aterradas]{atemorizadas} con la[s] nueva[s] del asalto de Aguiguan embiaron luego mensageros al Governador [a rendir la obediencia], y este {les} ordenó que se [viniesen]{vengan} à vivir à Seipan para que [mejor pudiesen]{puedan} ser doctrinados en la fee, y ellos obedientes lo van executando.

Dió la buelta el Governador con el Padre Vice Provincial, y toda su gente à esta Isla por primeros de Octubre, dexando ya levantada la Iglesia en Seipan, y casa para el Padre

1 Ed. note: The ms. copies say “inventus” instead of “amplexus”.

Gerardo Bouwens que quedò por Ministro de dicha Isla, a donde ha tenido inmenso trabajo con la multitud de gente que ha concurrido à aquella Isla, unos de paso para esta [de Guahan], y otros para poblar en ella. Bien necessitava de compañero que le ayudase, mas la cortedad de sugetos no lo ha permitido, pues todos tienen ministerio, y si enferma, ó muere alguno no ai otro que supla su falta.

Al entrar por la barra de Agadña la Galeota en que venia el Governador, y el Padre Vice Provincial con la maior parte de los soldados barò en un escollo, y bolcandose echò al mar toda la gente con lo demas que traía de carga. Acudieron luego embarcaciones de tierra al socorro, y salvaron las vidas de todos, menos 4 soldados, que quedaron ahogados. El Padre Vice Provincial salió medio ahogado sin vista, habla, ni sentido, mas quiso Dios que con los prompts remedios que le aplicó el Hermano Jaime Chiavarij [= Chavarri], bolvió en si, aunque ha tenido [mucha agua salada que tragó, de que ya gracias a Dios este mui aliviado]/{mucho que padecer en una larga, y penosa enfermedad, que ha padecido originada de la mucha agua salada que tragó, de que ya gracias à Dios}. [El Governador y sus soldados salieron tambien mui lastimados y casi de milagro no perecieron. Fue misericordioso el golpe, con el qual quiso Dios], que el gozo de la victoria tuviera la extremidad del llanto, contera, y fin de todos los gustos de esta vida, de que no sacó su Magestad poco fruto.

Luego se trató de lebantar Iglesia en Rota, que aunque conquistada el año antecedente, no se le avia podido dar Ministro de asiento, por no poder asegurar su vida de los rebeldes de las otras Islas. Fue señalado para dicha Isla el Padre Juan Tilpe,¹ el qual ha trabajado mucho desde noviembre del año passado de 95 en instruir de nuevo aquellos naturales, que aunque christianos los mas, lo eran solo en el nombre, y estaban como una inculta selva por averles faltado la enseñanza, y cultivo desde el alzamiento del año de 84.

Fuera alargar mucho esta relacion si se huvieran de referir por extenso los frutos que se han [cogido]/{experimentado} desta conquista, y restauracion universal de estas Islas. Baste decir en general, que [a] muchos adultos, ó por vejez, ó por enfermedad cercanos à la muerte, y no pocos niños parece les conservò nuestro Señor la vida con piadosa providencia: para que recibidos los Santos Sacramentos, unos del Bautismo por ser gentiles, otros de la Penitencia, Viatico, y Extremauncion, que eran ya christianos, volasen al Cielo. Muchos de los fugitivos, que solo huieron por miedo en el levantamiento han dado à entender, [que aunque no agenos de los pecados que ocasiona la libertad, y el mal exemplo, eran y son Christianos de corazon.] Assi en no averse apartado de las mugeres con quienes estaban casados por la Iglesia, como en venirse à confesar sin ser llamados, ni instar el tiempo del precepto, luego que tuvieron Padres con quien poder desahogar sus conciencias. Uno [Indio] que avia sido Fiscal de un Pueblo, y procedió siempre bien; temiendo que era delito grave el averse huido con un pariente suyo, que avia echado al mar un soldado, en lo qual el no avia intervenido, embió à

1 Ed. note: The printed version has this misprinted as Felipe.

dezir al Governador; que el no tenia mas culpa que la dicha; pero que si era delito digno de castigo, que el era christiano, y vendria á recibir el castigo, y morir como tal.

[Dejo]{Omito} otros casos particulares, y concluyo esta relacion suplicando al Autor de todo bien, que como ha empeçado à derramar sus misericordias en la tierra antes esteril de estos Isleños, assi continue el riego de sus auxilios para que dè muchos frutos para el Cielo, y se conosca, que estas aunque pobres Islas Marianas estando debajo de la proteccion de la Soberana Virgen Maria, son ricas minas de los bienes del alma; que esa Señora con su intercesion les solicita, y comunica desde el Cielo. Demos assi mismo las gracias que immorrales(?) las merece, [a] la catholica piedad de nuestro gran Monarca, que Dios guarde, que à sus expensas mantiene esta Apostolica Mission, y Presidio, y à la siempre Augusta Señora Reyna Madre Doña Mariana de Austria, que con su gran piedad la fundò, y con su Real proteccion la defiende, y ampara, para bien de tantas almas, [credito y] aumento de nuestra Santa Fee, y confussion de los herejes.

Translation.

Narrative of the conquest and restoration of the Mariana Islands.

After the long night of torments, and hardships, that, for the space of eleven years, these afflicted Mission and Christian community of the Mariana Islands have had, caused by the global uprising of the past year of 1695, the dawn of their total restoration has arrived. They have been all conquered, and pacified, as will be narrated in the following brief account.

As a result of the death of Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of these Islands, which occurred in August of 1694, Major Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada became Governor by interim. Ever zealous to spread the faith, he then used the forces of this garrison in the conquest of the Island of Rota (otherwise known as Zarpana). Going out with a boat, and a few Indian canoes, in the company of Father Basilio Le Roulx, Vice-Provincial of this Mission of the Society of Jesus, he managed to leave it [the island] in a subjected state, and pacified. The said Fr. Vice-Provincial baptized the young children of the Island during the few days of their stay there. They collected the natives of Guam, who were in Rota, and led them back to this Island, happy with the good outcome, for which thanks were given to God.

This happy outcome was taken as a good omen that Our Lord wished to take pity on the large number of souls that were being lost in the other islands, and to open for them the doors to their indoctrination and salvation. Thus, said Governor Don Joseph de Quiroga gathered with care as many forces as he could, that is, 80 men made up partly of soldiers, partly of sailors, some being Spanish, and the others Filipino Indians, and a few local Indians from among the most loyal, who were pressed into service. He sailed on 11 July 1695, taking along Fr. Basilio Le Roulx, Vice-Provincial, and Fr. Gerardo Bouwens. The little fleet consisted of 1 galliot, 1 boat, and 20 local canoes. They

sailed with a favorable wind from [10 in]¹ the morning until nightfall, when, being in sight of Rota, the wind became so brisk, and the sea so rough, that the boat could no longer proceed without risk, and the Indian canoes put into Rota, to await more benign weather.

The galliot pursued its voyage, although it had problems with rain showers, and a rough sea. Come morning, it found itself alone, not knowing what had happened to the other craft, and fearing that the storm might have caused damage to, or destroyed, some [of them]. The Island of Aguiguan was sighted later on, something which caused no little consolation, because the sailors had feared that they had lost their heading. Having bypassed it [Aguiguan], they made their way to Tinian, where they put in at sunset, and anchored.

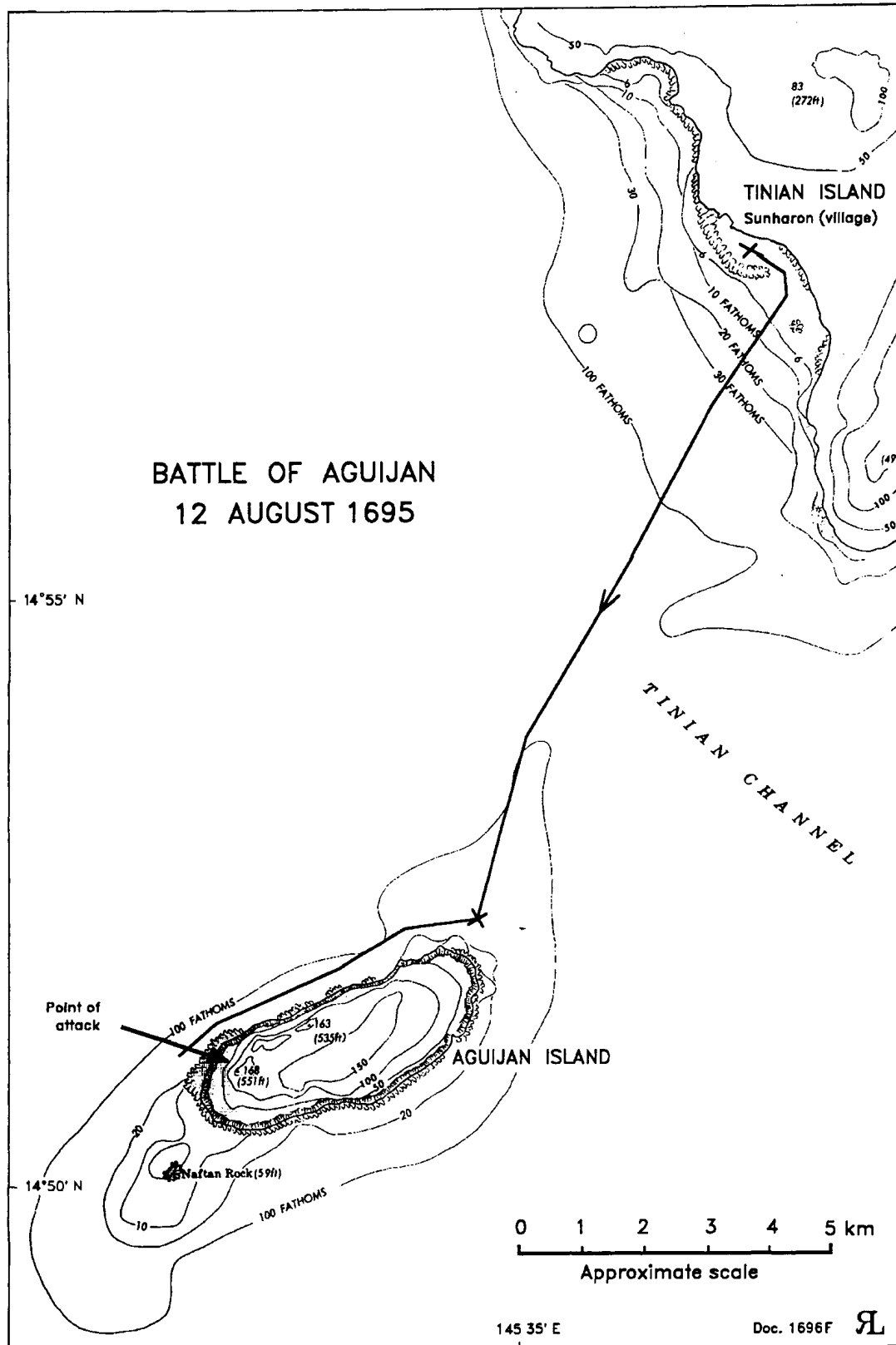
[Attack on Tinian]

Commotion hit the Island, the people then launched their canoes aboard which they carried off the women and children to Aguiguan Island, which lies before it at a distance of 1 league, taking back fighting men on the return trip. They spent the whole night doing this, and also digging trenches and protective walls on the beach. Our men spent it preparing for a fight the next day, and for a landing. When sunrise came on the 13th, everything was in readiness, and every man had been assigned a battle station. The Governor ordered the ship taken closer to the beach [with the oars] in order to attempt a landing. They came within gun range, and then a brisk battle ensued, because the Indians reacted to shots from muskets and arquebus with stones from slings. Such stones are fabricated from marble with two sharp points [which leave them planted into the trees], and they are very skilled at throwing them. As there were thousands of them, and they were spread out, while our men were jammed in the galliot, they made some harm indeed, wounding a few soldiers; they too suffered no less from the balls, since many were wounded, and a few were left for dead.

[Conquest of Saipan]

The impossibility of capturing the land was recognized, because the galliot could not go close to the shore, and those who had to step ashore would have had their weapons soaked, and might even had had problems on the reefs. So, it was decided to return to the first station, until the arrival of the small craft. That day passed, and none of them showed up; hence, it was much feared that some misfortune might have happened to them. However, God willed that they all showed up the next day at dawn. The joy of everyone was great upon seeing them, and then the Governor went off to welcome them with the galliot. Since they had all arrived, the boat included, he decided to go to the conquest of Tinian, as there was a better port there, and the beach is not so rough. So, his order was carried out with little resistance, because at the first shots from a small

1 Ed. note: The words appearing in brackets are variations between the manuscript, and printed versions.



cannon, the muskets and arquebuses, the Indians abandoned their trenches, some fleeing to the bush and others aboard their canoes to other northern islands, and a few to [the Island of] Aguiguan.

Having disembarked, and made camp, a few days were employed in making various sorties throughout the Island to force the fugitives out of their dens. Little by little, they began to lose their fear, and they came out to present themselves to the Governor. He ordered them to go home and stay there, and to pass word to the others that, since they were not killers of missionaries, and had not fought in the uprising, they were pardoned all their other crimes, if only they accepted allegiance to his Majesty, and prepared themselves to listen to the word of God, and admit preachers of the Gospel to their island. The result of this approach was that, within a few days, all those then present on the island had returned to their homes, and villages.

[Conquest of Aguijan]

Meanwhile, those of Tinian, not considering themselves secure in their island, abandoned it and most of them moved to the Island of Aguiguan, thinking they would be safe there, since it is such an inaccessible rock island that it looks like a fortress in the middle of the sea. It is not very big, but it has on top a flat prairie for agriculture, and for housing, rather spacious, and although there is no water, its inhabitants maintain themselves with water collected from the sky, and transported from Tinian. The access trail is so steep as to cause horror, just to look at it; everywhere else it is cut like a wall.

Once the conquest of Seipan was over, the Governor took all the men and boats to Tinian, although it was already depopulated, to try and force the fugitives to accept to return to their island, and their homes, but none of the various measures adopted had any effect. So, as a first punishment, all the houses were burned down, knowing that the fires were being watched from Aguiguan. Next, the island was blockaded with canoes, to prevent them from getting any food supplies, including water, so that hunger and thirst might force them to give [themselves] up, [but the result of all this]/ {until finally, seeing them still so} persistent, it was decided to take them by assault, although this seemed either presumptuous, or impossible, God willed to make it happen, better said, willed to produce a miracle, although the valor and determination of the Governor and soldiers had much to do with it.

After a few conferences, and discussions, the assault was scheduled for the **12th of August**. On that day, after mass had been said at dawn, the Governor assigned the men selected for the assault in the following manner: he sent the boat ahead with 10 Indians canoes, carrying a few soldiers and friendly Indians, with orders to go to the access trail of the Island, located on the western side, and once there, to shoot at those defending it. The Governor left afterwards with Father Gerardo Bouwens, and the more valiant soldiers earmarked for the assault, and a few trustworthy and courageous Indians, in 13 canoes. They took along some ladders to disembark upon the eastern shore, where a trail going up had been seen; though difficult it appeared, the climb was judged feasible.

When they arrived in the vicinity, they saw that the said climbing trail had been fortified with stone entrenchments, and a goodly number of Indians defending it. The Indians in question told our men that on the western side surrender was being negotiated, and peace terms were being discussed. They were good tricksters, because, while they [the canoes] were within range of their stones, they did not shoot any. Therefore, the Governor ordered not to shoot, either because he believed them, or because he judged the ascent impossible at that place. He went on, following the coast on the north side of the Island until, at 2 p.m., he came to where the boat and the other canoes were, facing the access trail up to the Island. There they saw the enemies behind their entrenchments of stones and tree trunks, who welcomed our men with a great uproar and a shower of sling-stones. They were answered with the firearms, and our canoes went in closer. Upon reaching the tongue of water [sic], the first ones to step ashore were Captain Nicolás Rodríguez, Adjutant José Ramírez, Mateo de Guevara, who is Major of the Filipino [Pampango] troops, and Captain Pedro Inoz [sic]¹ an Indian from Guahan; under a thick shower of stones raining down from above, they went to take shelter behind a rock outcrop. They were soon joined by Adjutant Nicolás de la Vega, who took the same risks. Meanwhile, the first ones to begin the ascent were Sergeant Juan Perez Bello, and a Filipino Captain, Pablo de la Cruz, with a few others. Those who had been sheltered by the rock outcrop followed them. Behind these, others followed, and among them was Father Gerardo Bouwens, climbing up the rocks, hanging on so as not to fall off the rocks into the sea. From time to time, they stopped to fire the firearms [with the labor and risk that one can imagine]. Those in the boat and the other craft, did not stop firing at those in the entrenchments. The Governor stood out among them, because he is very skilled, and a very good marksman. He then followed the others upward (at some great risk to himself). The first ones to reach the top engaged the Indian defenders; the latter were so entrenched that many died at their post. One soldier, having fired his weapon, was then attacked by two Indians² who already had him down upon the ground in order to kill him, when a friendly Indian joined in, and transpierced one of them [agressors] {and finished him off with a knife}, whereby the other one fled, and the wounded soldier was saved, although he was rather in bad shape {he recovered later on}. When the Indians saw that their fortress had been invaded, they all fled, and many saved their own life by seeking the protection of the Father, falling on their knees, and begging not to be killed for the love of God. No-one from among our men, soldiers or Indians, was killed, although a few were wounded but not fatally.

All those who witnessed this feat judged it to be miraculous, and they {all} say that the soldiers, as well as the friendly Indians, had not acted like mere men; rather, all had appeared like thunderbolts. What cannot be [omitted and] {but} described as something supernatural, is that in the midst of so many rocks falling from above, like an avalanche, and so many stones thrown with slings during the ascent, no-one died.

1 Ed. note: Thus, in the printed version, but the ms. copies clearly say Inoc.

2 Ed. note: During the interval necessary for reloading.

Father Bouwens, who went up with the first ones, writes saying: that he does not know how he made it, nor how the others made it, since it was necessary to cling on with both feet, and hands, in order not to fall [into the sea]. No doubt it was thanks to the [glorious] archangel St. Michael, who had been chosen as the patron saint for the enterprise; his angels must have carried them in their hands, and diverted the stones, so that they would not hurt them, in accordance with God's promise to those who trust in His [divine] protection. So, this assault can truly be called the victory of St. Michael; the proof of this comes from another special occurrence, which goes like this. In punishment of their rebellion, the Governor condemned the people of Aguiguan, as well as those of Tinian, after they had surrendered themselves, to being deported from their Islands, and to come and live at this Island of Guahan (this has now been carried out), so that what St. John has said in his Apocalypse about the victory of the glorious Archangel won over Lucifer, and his followers, by ejecting them from Heaven, applies very well to them: **neque locus amplexus est eorum amplius**,¹ with the following difference, that the bad angels were deported from Heaven to go and populate Hell, whereas these former rebels, who have now surrendered and used to reside in their own Islands, have come to reside in Heaven, since it is hoped that God's mercy will help them [generously] with the succor of His grace. We are seeing signs of that, in the earnestness with which they are seeking baptism, and learning the [Christian] Doctrine. In fact, in the few months since they have come to this Island, all the young children, as well as most of the adults, have already been baptized, and enlisted in the Christian militia.

After this happy victory was achieved, mass was said the next day, to give thanks to God. Many children were baptized, and then the houses of the villages of Aguiguan were burned, after permission was granted them to take out their belongings which they took to Tinian, and from there to Guahan. A principal chief of Tinian, who had been the most guilty in the death of the Venerable Father Augustin de Strobach, was condemned to death; he died a baptized man. As for the other killers, one other was executed at this Island, and those who remain are few in number, because God has punished them with unpleasant deaths: [some died during the assault upon Aguiguan], some drowned, others were speared, and others applied the punishment to themselves by hanging themselves in despair.

The fleet (this word is appropriate now as it was victorious) returned to Tinian, and there the Governor gave an order to have the people of Tinian, Aguiguan, and those from this Island who were many, to embark aboard more than 50 canoes, that were [then/later] made ready. Such canoes, and many others that had come from the Northern Islands have been continuously transporting people since August 1695 until the time that this letter was written, which is on 1 April 1696. There still remains many people from those who had fled to the more remote islands, but they are coming in little by little.

1 Ed. note: The ms. copies say "inventus" instead of "amplexus". Latin phrase from the Bible, Rev. 12:8: "Neither was their place found any more in Heaven."

The Gani Islands are 8 in number, although not very populated. As soon as the people there heard about the assault upon Aguiguan, they were terrified and they sent messengers to the Governor [to pledge obedience]. He ordered them to come and reside at Seipan, so that they could be [better] indoctrinated in the faith; they have been obeying this order.

The Governor came back to this Island with Father Vice-Provincial, and all his men, at the beginning of October, leaving behind a new church built in Seipan, and a house for Father Gerardo Bouwens, who remained behind as Curate of the said Island, where he has had ample work with the multitude of people who have flocked to that Island, some passing through on the way to this one [of Guahan], and others to settle there. He really needs a companion to help him, but the shortage of subjects had not permitted it, since everyone has his own assignment, and if anyone should sicken or die, there is no-one else to take his place.

When the galliot carrying the Governor and Father Vice-Provincial came over the bar at Agadña with the majority of the soldiers, it hit a reef and overturned, throwing all the people and their freight into the sea. Local canoes then rushed in to help and they saved the lives of everyone, except 4 soldiers, who drowned. Father Vice-Provincial came out half drowned, having lost his sight, speech, and feeling, but God willed to have him respond to the quick remedies applied by Brother Jaime Chiavari [=Chavarrí]; he regained consciousness, although he suffered {much from a long and painful illness, that originated} from the large quantity of salt water that he had swallowed, but thank to God he has already [recovered a lot from it]. [The Governor and his soldiers came out also with much harm to themselves and recovered almost miraculously. This trial was a Godsent, since God wished by it], that the pleasure of victory be replaced by tears, and sharp pain, a normal end for all the pleasures of this life; his Majesty did get some fruit out of this.

Later on, the building of a church in Rota was discussed. Although it had been conquered the year before, it had not been possible to give it a permanent Curate, because his life could not be guaranteed against the rebels from other Islands. Father Juan Tilpe¹ has been assigned to the said Island and has worked hard since November of last year 1695 in instructing again those natives, who, though most of them were Christian, were Christian in name only, and were like a wild jungle, because they had not been taught and taken care of since the uprising of the year 1684.

This narrative would be made much longer if one were to refer in detail to the fruits that were gathered as a result of this conquest and global restoration of these Islands. Suffice to say in general that it seems as if Our Lord had preserved the lives of many adults, those who were either old, or ill with impending death, and not a few children, in order to have them receive the Holy Sacraments (some to receive baptism, as they

1 Ed. note: The printed version has his last name misprinted as Felipe, a good guess on the part of the editor who thought that it must have been some Spanish first name. However, Fr. Johann Tilpe was Austrian.

were gentiles, others penance, eucharist and extreme unction, if they were already Christian) before flying to Heaven. Many of the fugitives, who had fled only out of fear during the uprising, have made us realize [that although they were not strangers to sins occasioned by freedom, and bad example, they were and are Christian in their heart.] For instance, they did not separate from the wives whom they had married in the Church, also they came to confession without being called in, or being the time of year officially assigned for this, when they had access to Fathers with whom to be able to unburden their conscience. One [Indian] who had been Fiscal of a village, and had always behaved properly, thinking that it was a serious crime to have fled with a relative of his, who had thrown a soldier into the sea, but in which he had not participated, sent someone to tell the Governor that he was a Christian, and that he would come to receive the punishment, and die as such.

I omit other individual cases, and conclude this narrative by begging the Author of all goodness, since He has begun to pour His mercies upon the heretofore-sterile land of these Islanders, to please continue to irrigate it with His blessings, so that it will bear fruit for Heaven, and become known that, although these Mariana Islands are poor, since they are under the protection of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, they are rich mines as far as the wealth of the soul is concerned, and that Lady watches over them and has contact with them from Heaven. Thus, we give numberless(?) thanks to those who deserve them, [to] the Catholic piety of our great Monarch (God save him) who, at his expenses maintains this Apostolic Mission, and Garrison, and to the ever August Lady, the Queen Mother, Doña Mariana de Austria, whose great piety made her found it, and who defends and protects it with her Royal patronage, for the good of so many souls, [to the credit and] increase of our Holy Faith, and confusion of the heretics.

Document 1696G

Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Ægidius Estrix, dated Saipan 28 May 1696

Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott II, n° 36.

Notes: The original, now lost, was probably, as usual with the Belgian Fathers, in Latin, before it was published in German. Fr. Poncelet (see earlier Bibliography) says that Fr. Égide Extrix, the addressee, was born at Malines (Mechlen), Belgium and died at Rome on 23 April 1694; so, he never read this letter by Fr. Bouwens. He had been Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province before, but after the 13th general assembly of the Jesuits, he had been retained in Rome by Fr. General de Noyelle to act as secretary of the Order. There exists a modern French translation in the archives of the Southern Belgian Province of the Jesuits in Brussels.

Published text in German.

Brief R.P. Gerardi Bovvens, der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii, und ehedessen Provincials auf denen Marianischen Insuln/ auß der Fländrischen Provintz. An P. Ægydium Estrix, besagter Societät Priestern.

Geschriben zu Fatiguan, auf der Marianischen Insul Zaypan, den 28. May/ 1696.

Innhalt: Herr Josephus de Quiroga wird endlich zum obersten Statthalter über die Marianische Insuln bestellt: erobert hierüber die Insuln Zaypan und Tinian: fährt nach Guahan zuruck/ und leidet Schiff-Bruch. Seltsame Liebe eines Indianers gegen dem Pater Jesuiter-Provincial. Deß Patris Bovvens Bemühung auf der Insul Zaypan. Blut-Zeugnus P. Ludovici Medina, und P. Petri Comans S.J. Der Brief R. Patris Bovvens lautet also:

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!

P.C.

Ich berichte Euer Ehrwürden mit wenigen Worten viel von dem nunmehr weit glückseeligern/ als vorhin jemahls gewesenenen Zustand deren Marianischen Insuln/ allwo die Sachen ein bessers Außsehen gewinnen nach dem Todt deß Herrn Damiani Explana, welcher diesen Eylanden seit Anno Tausend/ sechshundert drey und achzig unglücklich vorgestanden ware. So bald dessen Amts-Nachfolger Don

Josephus de Quiroga den 16 Augusti 1694 die Regierung angetreten/ thate er gleich einen Versuch auf die nächst-gelegene Insul/ welcher ihm so wohl gelungen/ daß er ohne Blut-Stürzung dieselbige GOTT/ und dem Catholischen König von Neuem gantz friedsam unterworffen hat. Sein Wunsch und Vorhaben ware demnach/ die weiter gegen Mitternacht gelegene Eyland ebenfalls zu eroberer/ welches aber vor dem Julio deß nächst-darauf gefolgt 1695. ten Jahrs sich auf keine Weis hat thun lassen: Als er den 13. Heumo-nat/ oder am Vor-Abend deß heiligen Bonaventuræ den Einnahm der Insul Tinian vergebens versucht hat/ weil er nemlichen mit Nachen und Schaluppen nicht versehen/ folgends an das Land auß-zusteigen nicht im Stand ware. Liesse also den anderen Tag die Ancker heben/ und nahm den Ruck-Weeg/ mit sehnlichem Verlangen/ einige dergleichen kleine Fuhrzeug an sich zu ziehen; welches ihm dan nach Wunsch von statten gieng/ da gegen Mittag-Zeit beyläuffig zwanzig kleine Schiff sich zu ihm geschlagen/ er aber mit solcher Beystand gegen fünf Uhr Abends die Insul Zaypan ohne Widerstand eingenommen hat; weil die Innwohner gleich auf die erste Lös-Donnerung deß Geschützes auß Forcht sich verlossen hatten: welche auszuzuchen/ und jeden wieder in seinen vorigen Sitz zu treiben er die übrige Zeit erwehnten Monats zugebracht/ demnächst samt den Seinigen in Beglaltung unsers Patris Vice-Provincialis, der mich zu seinem Gespan mitgenommen hatte/ auf die Insul Tiniam zuruck gekehrt ist/ ohne daß sich vor Schröcken ein einziger Mensch vor ihm hätte blicken lassen/ mithin er sich bemüssiger befunden/ einige Mannschafft außzuschicken/ welche die Flüchtlingen auß der Insul Agiguan, wohin sie sich geflüchtet hatten/ zuruck brächten. Weil aber dieselbe sich auf die unüberwindliche Klippen und Felsen dises Eylands/ hinter welche sie sich versteckt hatten/ gänzlich verliessen/ haben sie sich gewagt/ in ihre alte Wohnungen zuruck zu kehren/ und zwar dergestalt halsstarrig/ daß/ als ihnen der Statthalter getrohet/ ihre Dörffer/ wan sie nicht folgen wurden/ in den Aschen zu legen/ sie solches lieber haben geschehen lassen/ als daß sie wären heim gegangen/ folgends ihn durch disie Widerspenstigkeit gelehrt haben/ daß ihnen auf eine gantz andere Weis müßte heim geleuchtet werden.

Um diser Ursach willen nahm er den 13. Aug. 1695 eine erkleckliche Schaar außerlesenes Kriegsvolck zu sich/ bestiege mit denenselben eine auß Waidling und Nachen zusammen getriebene Flotill/ ersuchte mich/ ihn auf disem Zug zu begleiten/ und entschlosse sich/ den wilden Feind mit denen Waffen zu Paaren zu treiben: welches ihm auch bestens gelungen; dann/ als wir bey der Insul Agiguan angelangt/ sprang auß unsern Schiffen der erste (mitten zwischen denen Klippen) auf das Land ein gewisser bereits in seiner Jugend getaufft/ und von der Zeit an in seiner Treu gegen GOTT/ und den König standhaffter Marianer/ dem andere so wohl von Seiten deren Spanischen Soldaten/ als auch deren treuen Insulanern durch Weeg- und Steeg-lose Oerther nachgefolgt/ welche aber von dem verzweifelten einheimischen Feind mit einem dicken Stein-Hagel von oben herab seynd empfangen worden; dan dieser hatte ihm von dergleichen Wurff-Steinen gleichsam Brust-Wöhr gebaut/ und sich mit denselben so vortheilhaftig verschantz/ daß ihm ohne Hand-greifliche Lebens-Gefahr/ in welcher ich nebst andern mich befand/ niemand könnte zukommen. Doch unterliesse unser Statthalter nicht denselben mit einem immerwährenden Feuer auß Mußqueten so lang zu schröcken und zu schwächen/ bis daß etliche dern Unserigen die Gipffel und Anhöhe dern Felsen bestiegen/ den Feind auß seinem Vortheil vertrieben/ und von dessen Heer fünfzehn Mann/ welche sich in Ergreifung der Flucht gesaumt hatten/ siegreich erlegt haben. Es wurden ihrer mehr über die Klippen gesprungen seyn/ wan ich sie durch mein Vorbitt bey dem zur Vor-schonung ohne dem sehr geneigten Obrist nicht errettet hätte: Auf dessen Befehl alle und jede/ so sich dahin geflüchtet hatten/ gantz Gewöhr-los vor ihm erschienen seynd. Einer auß ihnen/ welcher im Jahr 1684 den Gottseeligen Patrem Augustinum Strobach; um deß Glaubens willen/ hatte tödten geholfen/

ward mit dem Strang hingerichtet/ den er um desto mehr verdiente/ weil er seinen Cammeraden/ der mit ihm gesamter Hand hochgedachten Priester erwürget/ ebenfalls um das Leben gebracht hatte. Alle übrige/ an der Zahl etwan vier Tausend/ warden/ nachdem ich vorhin ihre ungefähr zweyhundert kleine Kinder getaufft hab/ auf die Insul Guahan mit langwürriger Mühe und harter Arbeit übersetzt/ ihre auf der Insul Agiguan erbaute Wohnungen aber und Häuser ohne Unterschied alle verbrannt.

Nach also verrichteten Sachen zoge der Statthalter mit seinem Heer nebst dem Pater Vice-Provincial über beyde Insuln Tinian und Zaypan wieder zuruck auf das Eyland Guahan: ich aber ward befehlet/ auf vorgedachter Insul Zaypan zur Geistlichen Nothdurfft selbiger Innwohnern zu verharren/ welche den P. Ludovicum de Morales, unserer Gesellschaft Missionarium, Anno 1670 mit einer auß Menschen-Bein gemachten Lantzen tödtlich verwundet/ und nicht lang vorhin unseren Gottseeligen Patrem Ludovicum von Medina mit eben dergleichen Zeug todt gestochen hatten; welches sie vor wenig Jahren an dem Lobwürdigen Pater Petrus Comans gesegneter Gedächtnus ebenfalls wiederholet/ und ihn zum Ritter/ ich will sagen/ zum Blutzegen Christi geschlagen/ oder vilmehr gestochen haben. Diß erinnert mich/ was ich zu hoffen und zu wünschen habe/ wan meine Sünden/ wie bisher/ also auch künfftighin/ mich eines so herrlichen Sieg-Crantzes nicht unwürdig machen.

Als nun/ wie gedacht/ der Statthalter mit Patre Provinciali zu Anfang Octobris samt den Seinigen heim gefahren/ litten sie nach einer sonst glücklichen Reise gleichsam an dem Ufer einen erbärmlichen Schiff-Bruch/ weil nemlich das Schiff durch Gewalt deß Winds von denen Meer-Wellen auf Klippen/ so unter dem Wasser unsichtbarlich verborgen waren/ dergestalt häfftig angestossen/ daß es zerscheitert/ ihrer vier ertruncken/ der Herr Statthalter selbst sich kümmerlich errettet/ und Pater Provincialis von einem gefangenen armen Sünder/ welcher das Leben verwürckt hatte/ dem Todt auß dem Nachen ist gerissen worden; dan der arme Mann/ so ein Marianer war/ setzte ihn auf seine Schultern und schwumme samt ihm glücklich an das Land. Dieser war eben der jenige/ welcher Anno 1684 bey damahliger Aufruhr einen deren Unserigen umgebracht hatte/ ohne daß man hinter den Thäter hätte kommen können/ bis er erst diser Tügen verrathen/ auch in Eisen und Band ist geschlagen worden. Angesehen aber er dem Pater Provincial das Leben/ so er einem andern Jesuiten genommen hatte/ erstattet/ und erhalten hat/ ward er aufjenes Vorbitt ohne fernere Straff wieder auf freyen Fuß gestellt. Ein anderer Marianer hingegen ward mit dem Strang abgestrafft/ weil er zwey Spanische Soldaten meuchel-mörderischer Weise getödtet hatte: noch andere drey sitzen wegen eben dergleichen Todtschlägen/ welche sie gemeldetes 1684. te Jahr bey damahligem Aufstand begangen/ annoch gefangen. Drey oder vier Marianer hatten solchen erregt/ derer Rädelführer den vorigen Statthalter Don Explana selbst hinterstelliger Weis zu erwürgen ihm zwar hatte vorgenommen/ aber zu seinem eigenen Verderben; weil er in würcklicher That abscheulich ist ertappt/ und erschlagen worden. Denen übrigen Anstiffteren besagter Meuterey ist es um nichts bessers ergangen. Nur einer war noch übrig/ welcher/ als er vergangenen Monat April auß denen Nord-Ländischen Insuln/ in welche er auß Henckers-Forcht geflohen war/ zuruck kehrte/ von eben dem jenigen elendiglich ist erstochen worden/ bey welchem er hoffte auf das sicherste verhüllet zu seyn; gestaltsam diser sein Hauß-Würth mit solchem frembden Todt sein eigenes Leben/ welches er verwürckt hatte/ erhalten wolte.

Unter solchen zur Aufruhr/ Mord und Todtschlägen von Kindheit auf geneigten Schächeren/ welchen gleich gilt/ ob sie lügen/ oder die Wahrheit reden/ wohne ich nun gantz allein ohne Gespan/ ohne Gehilff/ ohne Gewöhr/ auch ohne andern Schutz/ als den ich von der Göttlichen Vorsichtigkeit genieße/ welche die Ihrigen auch in Mitten der Gefahr zu bewahren weiß. Dessen ich unlängst eine handgreiffliche

Prob an mir selbst erfahren hab. Die Sach begab sich folgender Gestalt: Ein gewisser deß Todts schuldig erkandter Marianer wolte sein Leben mit eines anderen Todt erhalten. Ein dritter/ so dises vernommen/ mahnete ihn von einer dergestalt abscheulichen That ab/ allein der Ubelthäter liesse sich so fern von ihm nicht abreden/ daß er eben disen guten Mann/ welcher Fried stifften wolte/ auf die Haut gelegt/ auß keiner anderen Ursach/ als damit er dem jenigen/ den er vorhin zu morden im Sinn hatte/ nicht könnte beystehen. Dergleichen Mißthat nun zu gerechtfertigen/ verschwiege er solche Ursach (die auf eine andere Weis an den Tag ist kommen) und gabe vor/ er wußte keine andere Entschuldigung dises Todtschlags/ als meinen Befehl/ dann ich hätte ihm gebotten/ den Menschen hinzurichten; welches gewißlich eine grobe Lug/ entsetzliche Andichtung und abscheuliche Verläumdung war. Allein GOtt/ welcher die heim dückische Lugen mit offenbarer Warheit strafft/ hat nicht zugelassen/ daß dem Böswicht geglaubt/ sondern vilmehr verhängt/ daß seine listige Anschläg/ und Schandthaten bekandt wurden: folgends mein Ehr und Ansehen so fern nicht verringert/ sondern hiedurch vilmehr ist vermehrt worden/ gleichwie der Folg erwiesen hat;

Dan gleich den andern Tag/ nachdem solcher lasterhafte Ruff erschallen/ verfügte ich mich in eben das Dorff/ in welchem ehedessen/ wie oben erwähnt hab/ der seligfte Pater Ludovicus de Medina mit Lantzen/ oder Wurff-Pfeilen ist erstochen worden: beruffte allda die Gemeinde/ und beredete sie ohne Widerrede/ ihre Wohnung an ein anders Orth zu versehen/ damit ich sie desto leichter unterrichten/ und versorgen könnte. Eben solches thaten auf Befehl deß Spanischen Statthalters alle und jede Inwohner diser Insul (welcher Umfang sich etwan auf achtzehen oder zwantig Stund Weegs sich erstreckt) die vorhin in beyläuffig dreyßig Dörffer und Nester zersträuet waren/ nun aber alle sich in einen Orth/ oder Wohnstatt zusammen gezogen haben. Dise vorher so weit außeinander gelegene Dorffschafften müßte ich ohne Unterlaß durchwandern/ um die Kinder zu tauffen/ die Unwissende zu lehren/ die Krancken zu versehen/ und die heiligen Sacramenten zu ertheilen/ unerachtet ich bereits über sechzig Jahr alt ware. Ich thate es gern/ ja mit Freuden/ weil der gütigste GOtt mir meine Kräfte und Apostolischen Muth dermassen frischete/ daß mich alles leicht ankommen ist. Allein meine Obere auß Sorg/ ich möchte einem so schwären Last unterligen/ haben vor gut befunden/ besagter Massen die Wohnungen dern Indianern näher zusammen zu rucken/ welchem dise willig nachgelebt/ und nunmehr also hohe gelagert seynd/ daß ich gegen Sud nit über zwo/ gegen Norden aber nur drey Stund zu gehen hab/ so oft es die Noth/ oder die Christ-liche Lieb erfordert;

Dan so oft ich von einer Kinds-Beth höre/ lauff ich gleich hin/ die Frucht zu lauffen/ damit ich dem Todt vorkomme/ weil ich erfahren/ daß viel Kinder noch denselben Tag/ viel aber kurtz hernach gestorben seynd/ auf daß ich mich der Seeligkeit gesamter unmündig-hinscheidenden Jugend auf meiner Insul hiemit gänzlich versichere. Mit solchem Fleiß hab ich bereits über fünfhundert Kinder durch das Wasser der Wieder-Geburt dem Himmel gewonnen. Triff ich aber erwachsene Leuth an/ welche zwar krank/ aber noch nicht so weit unterwiesen seynd/ daß sie die heiligen Sacramenten empfangen dәрfften/ laß ich sie in eine nicht weit von meinem Quartier/ nächst der Kirch zu solchem End eigens erbauete grosse Spital-Hütten zusammen bringen/ allwo ich sie in dem Christenthum so lang lehre/ und ernähre/ bis sie desselben fähig werden. Unter alten Leuthen ist niemand mehr zu finden/ welcher nicht den Glauben in so weit verstunde/ als zur heiligen Tauff erfordert wird; welches ich weder ohne unaußsetzlich Mühe und Arbeit hab zuwegen gebracht/ noch in solchem Vollstand ohne beständige Sorg erhalten kan. Derowegen lege ich die Christliche Lehr ohne Unterlaß auß/ bald bey einem auf denen Gassen aufgerichteten Creutz/ bald in dem öffentlichen GOtts-Hauß/ in welchem sie alle Abend sich versamlen/ die Hauptstück deß

Christlichen Glaubens allda gegen einander aufsagen: auß denenselben einer den andern außfragen: die Eltern ihre Kindlein mit Versprechung neues Gewand aufmuntern: letstlich ich selbst dazu komme/ und sie öffentlich theils außforsche/ theils unterweise. Weil aber dise vorhin wilde Leuthe durch immerwährende Verkündigung deß Evangelii bereits also zaum waren gemacht worden/ daß sie auß der ganzen Insul um die Kinderlehr-Predig/ und die heilige Meß anzuhören zusammen liessen/ mithin die Weitest-entlegene schon Abends vorher sich um die Kirch herum lagerten/ und den folgenden Tag/ als erste/ das GOtts-Hauß dergestalt gänzlich anfülleten/ daß die Nähergelegene/ welche späther gekommen/ keinen Platz mehr hatten/ sondern ihrer drey bis vierhundert außgeschlossen/ folgendes unter dem freyen Himmel stehen müßten; als hab ich die Kirchen also erweitert/ daß jetzt nicht allein meine gesamte Pfarr-Kinder der Insul Zaypan, sondern auch die Innwohner anderer Eylanden/ wan sie sich nur wollen einfinden/ in derselben gar füglichen Platz haben.

Ja/ weil die übrige Insuln sehr rauhe/ unfruchtbar/ und Gewerb- los seynd/ hat der Statthalter sehr weislich verordnet/ daß alle dererselbigen Insassen sich zu mir sollen herüber/ und zusammen ziehen/ damit meine Insul von ihnen desto mehrer angebauet/ und sie hingegen nach abgelegten wilden Gemüth von mir in dem Christenthum desto füglicher mögen erbaut/ und abgehobelt werden. Die Vorsteher von drey Insuln haben gedachtem unserein Gubernator hierinnfalls bereits zugesagt/ auch von ihren Untergebenen die Einwilligung außgewürckt/ daß ich ihrer alle Tag gewärtig bin. Gebe GOtt/ daß auch dise harte Stein zu Kinderen Abrahams werden. Das Außstocken wird viel Arbeit kosten. Ich wird manchen Karst und Reuthacken zerschlagen/ bevor dergleichen Wildnus zu einem Frucht-trächtigen Wein-Garten werde; dan dergleichen unmenschliches Gewild muß ich erstlich zu Menschen/ demnächst aber auß Menschen erst zu Christen machen/ mit der Gnad deß Jenigen/ der allein alles vermag/ und mich/ wiewohl gantz Unnutzen/ zu seinem Werckzeug in diser so wichtigen Sach/ an welcher die ewige Glückseligkeit hange/ ohne meine Verdiensten erwählet hat/ demnach aber villeicht in andere unlängst gegen Mittag neu-entdeckte Eyländer übersetzen wird/ von welchen uns eine zimlich schmale Meer- Enge absöndert. Die den Augenschein eingenommen haben/ versichern/ solches Land seye von der Insul Guahan nicht über zwanzig Stund Weegs entlegen. Wan ich (ach gebe es GOtt) dieselbe Erden wird mit Füßen betreten haben/ will ich meinen Gespänen/ oder Ordens-Genossen in Europa wincken/ daß sie zum Fisch-Zug kommen/ und mir helfen das Netz so vieler Seelen ziehen/ welcher/ wie auch meine eigene Seeligkeit (dan wie insgesamt durch den allgemeinen Preis deß kostbaristen Bluts unsers HERRN JESU Christi seynd erlöset worden) ich in Euer Ehrwürden allerheiligstes Meß-Opffer inständigst befihle.

Euer Ehrwürden

Gegeben zu Fatignan [sic] auf der Insul Zaypan, den 28. May/ 1696.

Diener in CHristo/ wie auch unwürdiger Discipulus, und gantz unnutzer Sohn

Gerardus Bovvens, der Gesellschaft JESU Missionarius.

Translation.

Letter from Rev. Fr. Gerard Bouwens, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Flemish Province, and former [Vice-] Provincial of the Mariana Islands, to Fr. Ægidius Estrix, priest of said Society.

Written in Fatiguan, in the Mariana Island of Saypan, on 28 May 1696.

Contents: Finally, Don José de Quiroga is appointed top commander of the Mariana Islands. He conquers the Islands of Zaypan and Tinian, returns to Guahan and is shipwrecked. An Indian's strange love for the Father Provincial of the Jesuits. Martyrdom of Fr. Luis Medina and Fr. Peter Coomans, S.J. The letter of Fr. Bouwens reads as follows:

**Reverend Father in Christ,
P.C.**

I wish to provide you with information about the Mariana Islands whose condition is much happier than it was previously. This happy change has taken place since the death of Don Damian de Esplana whose ill-fated term of office began in 1683. As soon as his successor, Don José de Quiroga, took effective control of the government on 16 August 1694, he carried out an expedition against the neighboring islands, and has succeeded so well that he has reduced them all once again peacefully to the service of God and of Spain, without any bloodshed. His wish or his plan was to make the re-conquest of the northernmost islands also, but he was totally unable to do so before the month of July of the year 1695.

So, on 13 July [1695], that is, on the eve of St. Buenaventura's Day, he tried to re-take Tinian Island but in vain, because he did not have enough canoes sufficiently prepared to effect a landing. The next day, he weighed anchor and returned with the ardent wish to bring along a few light craft. He got his wish fulfilled, because at about noon some 20 canoes came and with this help he arrived at **Saipan** at 5 p.m. with complete confidence, encountering no resistance. Indeed, at the first display of our fire-power, at the first volley, the islanders fled. He spent the rest of the month looking for them and bringing them back to their primitive homes.

Then he returned to **Tinian**, followed by his soldiers and Father Vice-Provincial [Le Roulx] who had taken me as his companion. Not one islander dared to show himself before him. That is why he had to send a few men to **Agiguan** Island in order to bring back those who had fled there. However, those who had sought refuge there felt secure enough, on account of the reefs and inaccessible cliffs of that island, to declare that they would not return to their homes. They were so adamant that they would have preferred to see their houses reduced to ashes, as the Governor had threatened to do, rather than return home. It was therefore necessary to use other means to make them return.

On 13 August 1695, he took with him a select group of soldiers, distributed them among the canoes in the fleet, begged me to accompany him on this expedition, and decided to reduce the enemy by force of arms. The enterprise succeeded completely. When

we had come near Agiguan Island, one Indian soldier, baptized since childhood and known to have been faithful to God and Spain for a long time, was first to rush over the reefs. He was soon followed by Spanish soldiers and islanders who had remained faithful, through a landscape without any trail. They were soon assailed by a shower of stones thrown by the islanders from the top of their rocks. The latter had prepared themselves by making a sort of protecting wall with the stones they intended to throw down. They were so well entrenched that no-one could approach them without imminent danger, in which I found myself involved along with the others. However, the Governor did not cease to frighten them and weaken their resistance by maintaining a steady fire, until a few of our people were able to climb to the top of their rocks, clear the enemy from their advantageous position and victoriously capture about 50 of them who had tarried longer than the others. Most of them would have committed **suicide** by jumping off the cliffs, if I had not saved them by interceding on their behalf with the Governor who was, by the way, inclined to show clemency. Upon his order, all the fugitives were asked to appear before him without weapons. One of them, who had in 1684 helped to kill Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach for the sake of the faith, was hanged; he had well deserved this punishment, given that he had in addition murdered his accomplice. All the others, numbering about 4,000, after I had baptized their 200 small children, saw themselves transported to the island of Guam. This voyage was the cause of much suffering and dangers. All the houses they had built at Agiguan were burned down.

Once this transportation was over, the Governor, followed by his army and Fr. Vice-Provincial, returned to Tinian and Saipan and then returned to Guam. As for me, I was ordered to remain permanently in Saipan to provide for the spiritual needs of these same inhabitants who had in 1670 mortally wounded Fr. Luis de Morales,¹ and a short time later massacred Fr. Luis de Medina. The same treatment had been given afterwards to the Ven. Fr. Peter Coomans, who thus joined the glorious phalanx of the martyrs. These events point out quite clearly to me what I am to expect and hope for, as long as my sins do not make me unworthy of so noble a crown.

When the Governor, followed, as I have said, by his soldiers and Fr. Vice-Provincial, left here at the beginning of October, he first enjoyed good sailing, but when he neared Guahan, he was miserably shipwrecked. The violence of the wind had pushed the ship with all its force against some rocks hidden below the surface and it broke open. Four crewmen perished. The Governor himself narrowly escaped. The Fr. [Vice] Provincial was saved only through the help of one captive; this poor Mariano native placed him upon his shoulders and thus swam for the shore. This captive had previously massacred one of our missionaries during the 1684 rebellion, but his identity and whereabouts were unknown until he was reported and then placed in irons. However, given that in exchange for a missionary he had killed, he had saved another's life, he was released following the request of the Fr. [Vice] Provincial. Another Mariano native was garroted for having treacherously killed two Spanish soldiers. The prisons still contain

1 Ed. note: He may have been wounded, but not mortally.

three other criminals who had committed similar crimes during the same rebellion. This rebellion had been incited by three or four islanders whose ring-leader had sworn to kill the then-Governor, Don [Damian de] Esplana, but without any other result than seeing himself captured and condemned to death.¹ The other rebels did not enjoy a better end. Only one had until now escaped justice, but last April, upon returning from the northern islands where the fear of the gallows had kept him, he was killed by the very man whom he thought would provide him with a safe shelter. This man thought he could save his own life, compromised as a result of some misdeed, by taking the life of his guest.

It is among these rabble-rousers, accustomed since infancy to rebellion, murder and pillage, for whom the truth has no greater price than lies, that I now live, without a companion, without weapons, with no means of defence other than the Providence of God who cares for His own children when they are surrounded with dangers. I recently had one solid proof of this. A Mariano native who had deserved death wished to avoid it by taking the life of his neighbor. A third party who had heard about his plan tried to make him desist from it, but the result was that, instead of letting himself be persuaded, the rascal killed the honest adviser, for the sole purpose of preventing him from warning the one he wanted to kill in the first place. In order to justify this crime, he carefully hid his real motive (which was later found out through other means), but he declared that his only motive for murder had been the order I had given him. God who punishes lies and calumny did not allow the words of this criminal to be believed, but granted that all his misdeeds be revealed. This end result not only made me keep my conviction, but strengthened it, as the following events proved.

[The population of Saipan resettled on the west coast]

Indeed, the other day, after this calumnious rumor had had ample time to spread, I went to the village where, as I have said, Fr. Luis de Medina had been killed with spears and arrows.² I called on all the inhabitants to gather, and was able to persuade them, without a single objection, to quit their land to go and live elsewhere, the better for me to instruct them and take care of their spiritual needs more easily. By the way, this transmigration did take place over the whole island (whose circumference can be walked in

1 Ed. note: A reference to Antonio Yura.

2 Ed. note: At Cao, near Raurau Bay. Since Chamorros did not use bows and arrows, this may be a faulty German translation for lances or javelins.

18 to 20 hours) by order of the Governor. The inhabitants who were spread out in about 30 villages or hamlets have all come to settle at one place.¹ Before that, I had to walk relentlessly between separated settlements to go and baptize the newborn babies, to instruct the ignorant, visit the sick and administer the sacraments, and this in spite of my 60 years of age.² Nevertheless, I would willingly endure this fatigue, because God was pleased to give me such a good health and strength that everything seemed easy to me. However, the Superiors, fearing that I would fall under the strain of such labor, decided that the homes of the Indians should be moved closer together, and they willingly obeyed. They now live close enough, because towards the south, I have no more than 2 leagues to go, and 3 leagues towards the north whenever necessity or charity requires my services there.³

[Saipan's first hospital, 1696]

As soon as I learn of a new birth, I rush in to baptize the child, because I know from experience that many newborn babies die on the very day of their birth or soon afterward; hence, I am assured of the salvation of all those children who are not yet adults on my island. Thanks to my diligence, I have already baptized over 500 children, besides some sick adults who were not yet sufficiently instructed to receive the sacraments. I have the latter carried to the hospital which consists of some huts that I have had built near the church, not far from my quarters, and there I instruct them until they are ready to receive the sacraments. Among the old people, there is not one person left who does not already possess the level of religious instruction considered necessary to receive baptism. One cannot imagine how many fatigues and efforts were required to obtain this result, and how many more are necessary to maintain it. That is why I continuously explain the Christian doctrine, either at the foot of a cross erected along the streets, or inside the church where they gather every night to recite to one another the main points of the Christian doctrine and then question one another. The parents stimulate their children by promising them some new clothes. Finally, when I get there myself, I also question them or else I instruct them. After having heard the Gospel so many times, these islanders, savages not too long ago, were now so changed that they would flock from everywhere to hear mass and the explanation of the catechism. Those living farther away would come and camp overnight around the church so as to be first inside in the morning. They filled it so much that the people living nearby would not find a place inside, but had to stand in the open outside the entrance, as many as 300 to 400

- 1 Ed. note: Before the reader may judge this to have been the first concentration camp established at Susupe (the other occurred in 1945), the rest of the letter makes it clear that he means that about 15 kilometers of the western coast, perhaps from Muchot Point down to Obyan Point, remained inhabited. This situation lasted until about 1730 when Saipan was depopulated.
- 2 Ed. note: He was almost 62 when he wrote this.
- 3 Ed. note: This means that, then and now, the center of religious activity in Saipan was located at or near the place called Chalan Kanoa today; the place was then called Fatiguan by Fr. Bouwens, but had been called Catanhuda earlier, in 1684. Notice that Fr. Bouwens's league is worth about 3 kilometers, not miles.

of them. Recently, I have enlarged the church sufficiently that not only my Saypan parishioners but also the inhabitants of other islands can easily fit inside it.

In any case, given that these islands are poor and sterile and without any industry, the Governor has wisely ordered all the inhabitants to come and settle near me. The island of Saypan will only be better cultivated this way and the newly-arrived settlers will more easily be instructed in the true faith. Those in charge of three [Gani] islands have presented a plan to the Governor and gotten the approval of their subordinates, so that I am expecting to see them soon. May it please God to have sons of Abraham come out of those stones. The work will not be easy. I will have to use my hoe and hose many times before I can see this desert become a fertile vineyard. One must first make them into men before making some kind of Christians out of them. With the grace of the One who can do it all and who has chosen me as His instrument in an endeavor involving eternal salvation, in spite of my unworthiness, maybe this same God will then carry me southward to some recently-discovered islands¹ separated from us by only a small space of ocean. Those who have seen them assert that they are not farther than the Island of Guahan than about 20 leagues.² When I finally will have walked on that promised land, I will beckon to my companions, to my brothers in Europe, so that they may come and take part in the fishing and help me draw in the net full of souls.

Written from Fatiguan,³ Saypan Island, on 28 May 1696.

Your Reverence's servant, disciple and devoted son in Christ,
Gerard Bouwens

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Caroline Islands.

2 Ed. note: In this statement, one finds another proof that the discovery of Santa Rosa Bank and that of Carolina [Yap] in 1686 were confused in everyone's mind from the start.

3 Ed. note: As mentioned earlier, Fatiguan appears to have been located where Catanhuda was before, i.e. in the area called Chalan Kanoa today.

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