

# **HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**

## **A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 12— CAROLINIANS DRIFT TO  
GUAM, 1715-1728**

Compiled and edited  
by

**Rodrigue Lévesque**

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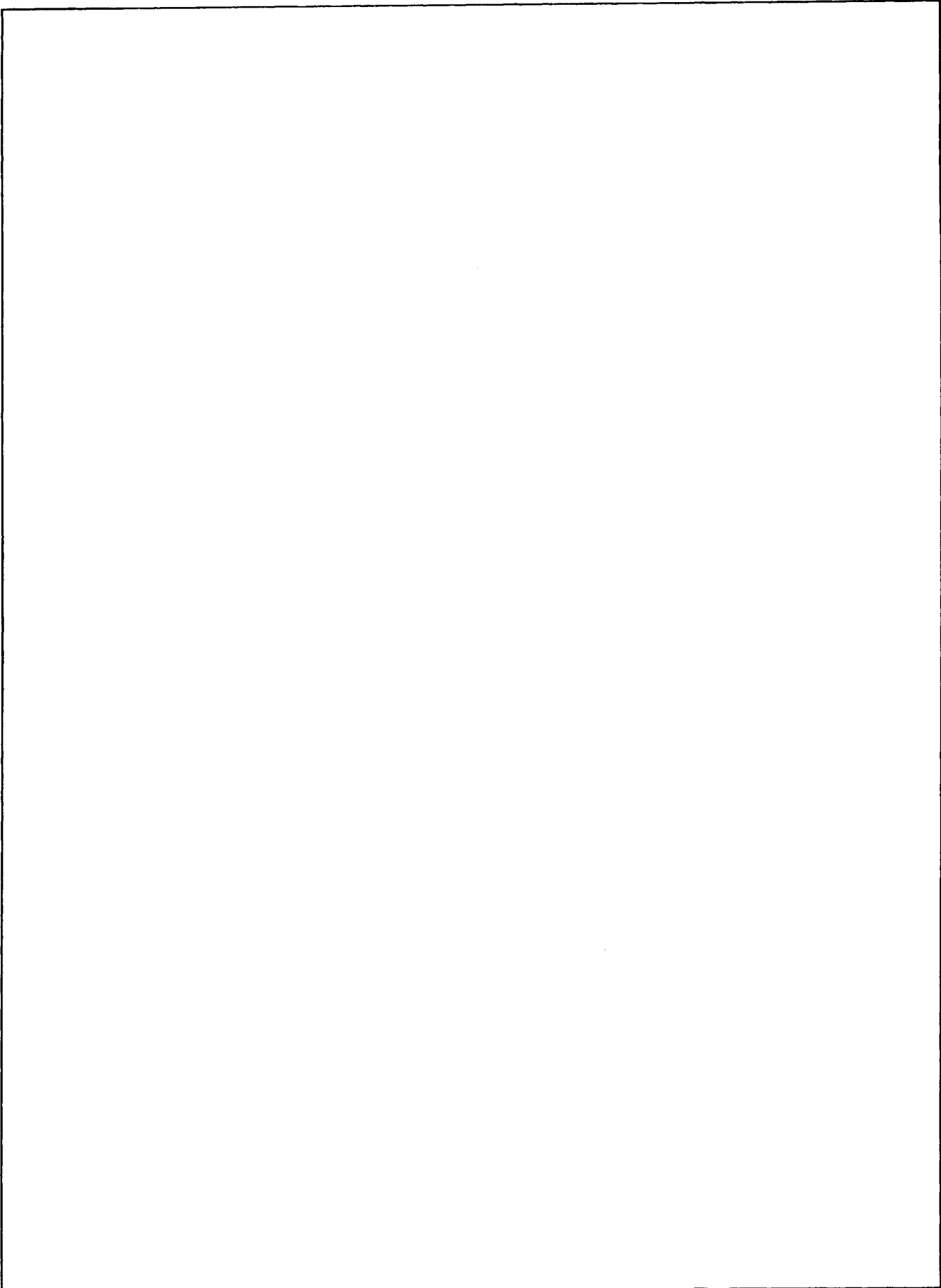
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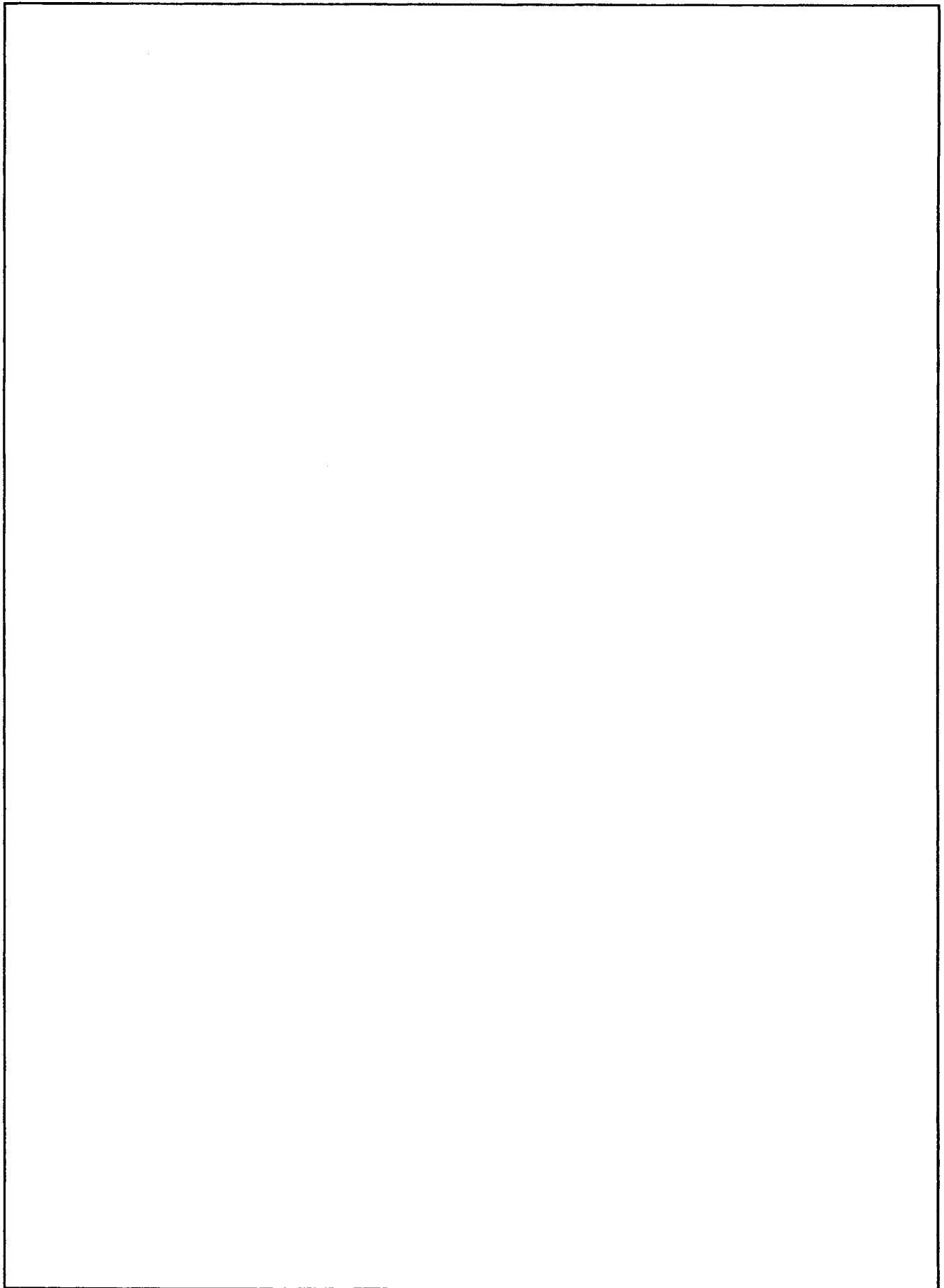
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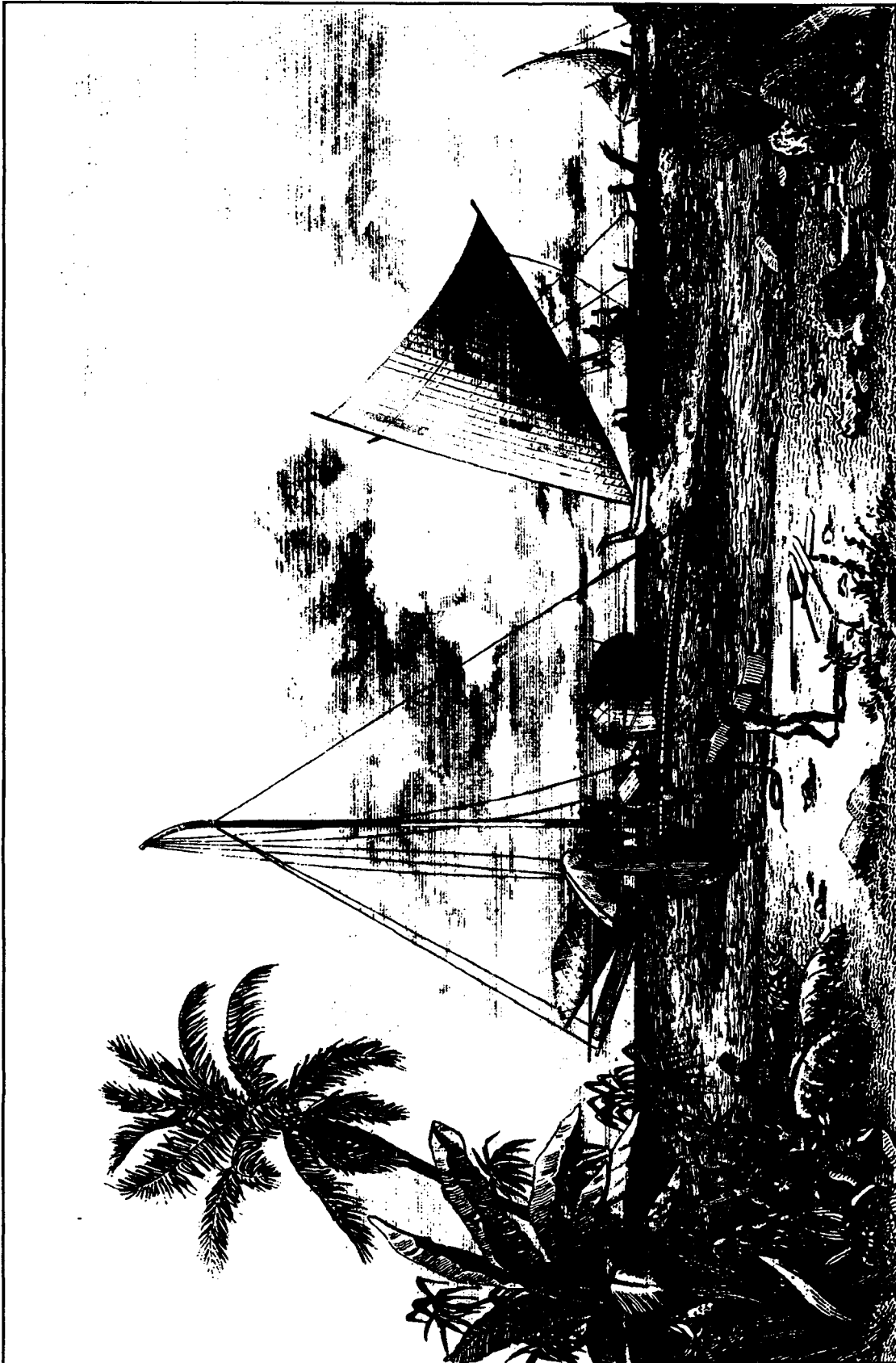
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**Front endpaper** Carolinian voyaging canoe, 18th-century.

**Rear endpaper** Chart of the Caroline Islands by Fr. Cantova, reproduced from the German Jesuit newsletter *Der Neue Welt-Bott*.

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## Abbreviations

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ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AGR	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
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.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
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)
SHM	Service Historique de la Marine, Palais de Vincennes, Paris.
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.

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## Foreword

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*“The object of history is to know and understand the past on all its sides.”*

[G. M. Trevelyan’s Autobiography, 1949]

The growth of a nation should be treated as one continuous development from many points of view: political, military, religious, traditional, etc. My job as an amateur historian<sup>1</sup> is to provide the **facts** to professional historians, who in turn should view those facts as **factors**, or variables, while writing interpretations for their social/cultural histories, whatever their chosen frame of reference may be. The task of the professional historian of Micronesia is now easier, since the facts are being made available in this series in their proper time frame, i.e. chronologically, as they happened, with all the factors together at one time, and within their proper context.

Volume 12 is an average volume, in that the period covered by it contains no great rebellion, major discovery, or new visitors to the Islands, except for some Carolinians. The Guam colony has settled into a routine that will last for many decades. Life continues to be a struggle, specially for the natives who suffer from endemic diseases for which there is no cure, oblivious to the opinion of sailors who view their island as a tropical paradise after many months at sea. Even the representatives of the mighty Inquisition have nothing startling to report, other than the case of a defrocked friar here, and a case of bigamy there. On the other hand, the Spanish treasury is always short of cash, although the subsidies keep coming every year, but never without an increase. Europeans long for simple pleasures, like bread and brandy.

The first period of religious conquest of the Marianas is truly over, with the death of the oldest founding missionary, Father Bustillo, in 1716, and the death of Captain Quiroga, the peace-maker, who also preferred to die in his adopted country, among friends. Another period of conquest is about to begin in the Carolines, and for a while, it will generate some real excitement. In the continuing search for a suitable place to set up a colony in the Carolines, specially after a new promoter is found in the person of Father Cantova, an Italian missionary, there was no longer any official interest. The King had indeed appointed a would-be Pizarro as frontier governor of the Carolines, but the gentleman in question did not accept the honor. Admiral Fernandez de Roxas (that was his name) had no money to finance the military conquest of those Islands, and his plan to colonize the Carolines was considered too costly.

---

1 Amateur historian, in its original meaning of lover of history. My aim has never been to become a history teacher as such. I hope that all my readers are also amateurs.

The last of the true pirates, Captain Clipperton, was beaten off Guam. His former associate, Captain Shelvocke simply avoided the island. The two men left at Guam by Clipperton were taken to Manila as prisoners; one died there, but his companion was carried all the way to Spain where he languished in jail for many years, until the British Admiralty admitted responsibility for their acts of piracy.

Carolinians had seen many Spanish ships sail by their islands in the 1710s. They already knew about the Marianas, from their legends, but the deliberate visit by two Carolinian canoes in 1721 was their first recorded visit to Guam. One voyaging canoe was so big that it was mistaken for a Spanish frigate by Chamorros, when still in the offing.

Last but not least, Father Bonani, a newly-arrived Austrian Jesuit, did a good review of ancient Chamorro customs.

Rod Lévesque  
Gatineau, November 1998.

### **Acknowledgments**

The publication of this volume was supported in part by a grant from the Commonwealth Council for the Humanities, Saipan, a Public Program of the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities, with the active support of the Historic Preservation Office, Saipan. The German translations in this volume have been done by Peter Hessel, a resident of Arnprior, Ontario.

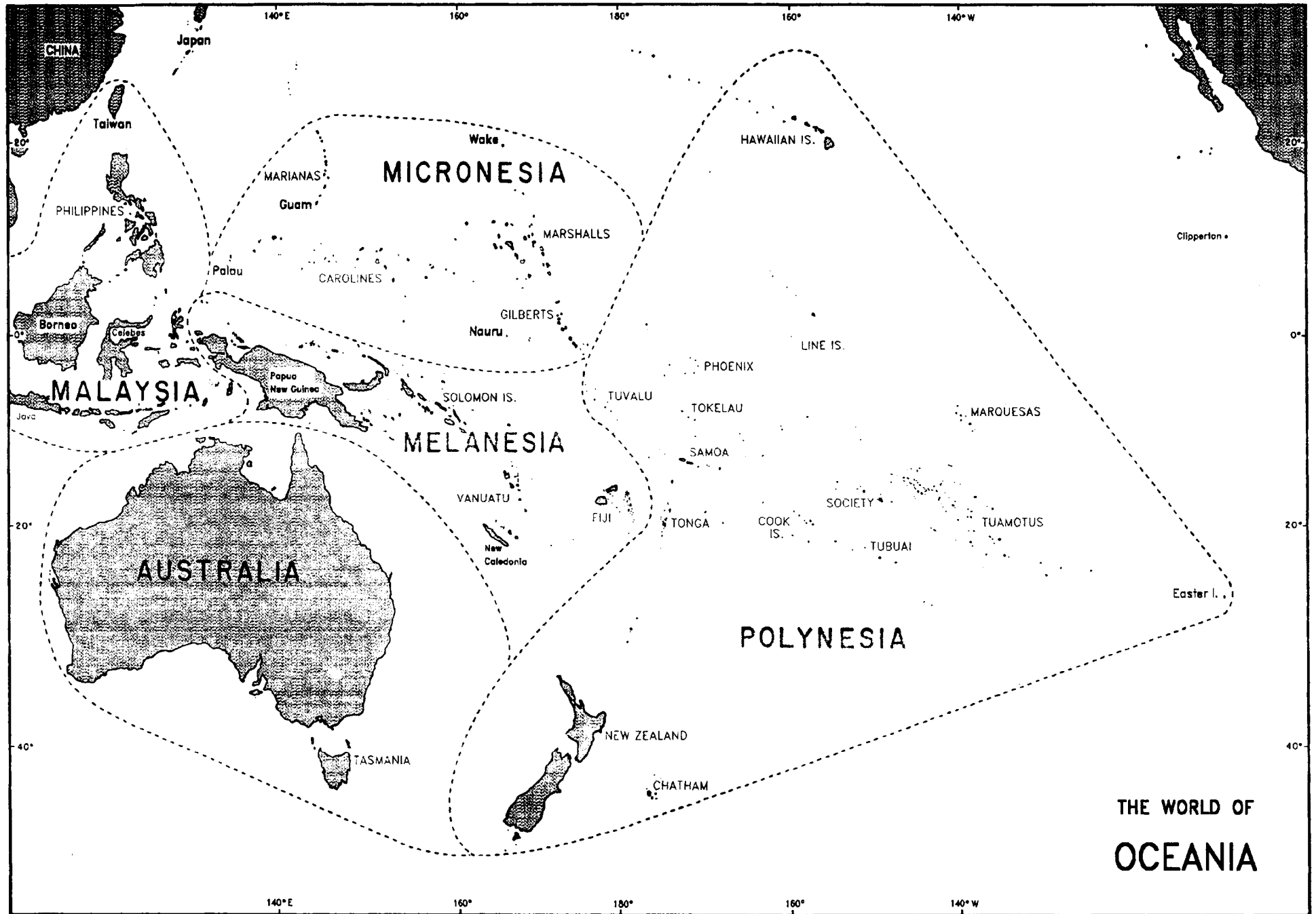
### **Errors and corrections**

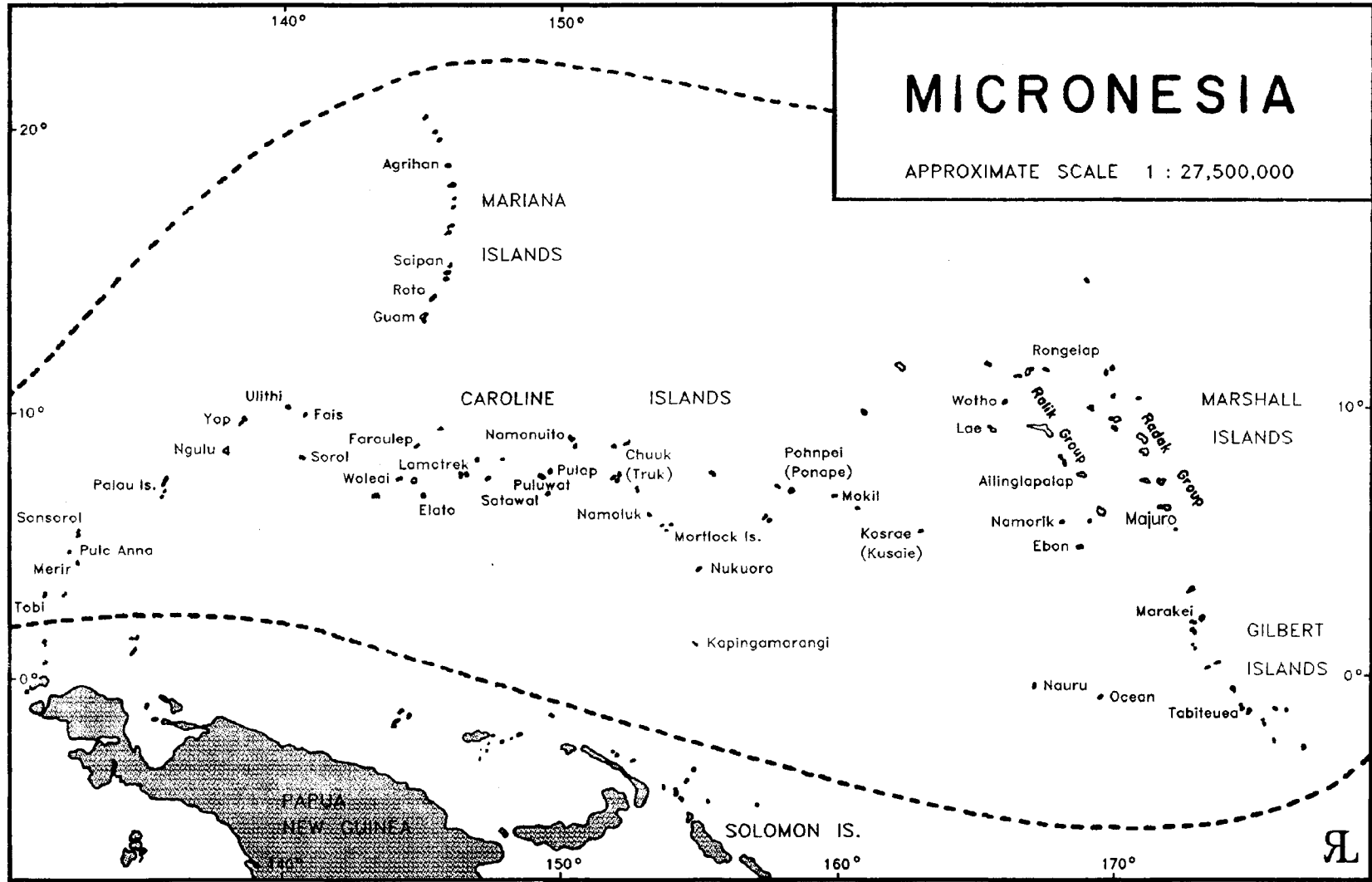
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

### **Note on 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.







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## Documents 1715F

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# Renewal of the royal decrees regarding the exploration of the Carolines

*Note: As early as February 1715, the King ordered the Council to prepare to renew his decrees about the exploration of the Palaos.*

## F1. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Aranjuez 20 June 1715

*Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 149v-150, pp. 354-355; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4, pp. 396-397.*

*Note: This letter is in answer to Pimentel (see Doc. 1709E). The exploration of the Carolines is not to be a private venture, but an officially sanctioned affair.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de las Islas Marianas ordenandole en respuesta de su carta lo que ha de ejecutar antes de proseguir con los descubrimientos en aquellas Islands. Don Juan Antonio Pimentel mi Governador y Capitan General en las Islas Marianas.*

*En carta de 24 de Noviembre del año passado de 1709, dais quenta de la determinacion en que os hallavais de hazer el descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas y Garvanzos a vuestra costa para cuió fin haviais pedido al Conde de Lizarraga Governor de la Ciudad de Manila conprase por vuestra quenta una balandra y dejasteis en aquellas Islas y os la remitiese prevenida de Pilotos[,] Marineros[,] Vastimentos[,] peltrechos y de Muniziones y que en caso de hallarse las referidas Islas sin avitadores passariais a las de los Palaos dando a entender que logrando el expresado descubrimiento y siendo preciso poblarlas, se os ha de concurrir, (haviendo reconocido sus Puertos) con los situados necesarios.*

*Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dejo mi fiscal de el[,] teniendose presente que los continuados descubrimientos que se hazen en esas Islas sirve de aumentar nuevos gastos a mi Real Hazienda quando su estrechez muchas veces no permite se acuda con el situado ordinario de ellas[,] ha parecido preveniros que en materias de esta gravedad se necesita un perfecto conocimiento sin el qual ara dudoso el fin que se desea y para que este se pueda conseguir con mas acuerdo os ordeno y mando que in ninguno*

*caso paseis vos a formar empeños semejantes sin dar primero quenta en el mencionado mi Consejo de las Indias y esperar las ordenes que sobre ello se os dieren, y fio de vuestro zelo al servicio de Dios y mio atenderéis la conservazion y adelantamiento de lo descubierto.*

*Fha en Aranjuez a 20 de Junio de 1715.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King

To the Governor of the Marianas, in response to his letter, ordering him what he must do before proceeding with new voyages of exploration among those Islands.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, my Governor and Captain General in the Mariana Islands.

In your letter dated 24 November 1709, you reported to me about your determination to go on a voyage of exploration of the Caroline, and Garbanzos Islands, at your expense, and to this end you had asked the Count of Lizarraga, Governor of the City of Manila to buy on your account a sloop that you left at those Islands and to send it to you equipped with pilots, seamen, food supplies, arms and ammunition; and that in case of finding the Islands in question without inhabitants, you would go on to the Palaos Islands; thus implying that, once the said exploration was successful, it would be necessary to settle them, and that (having surveyed their ports) you would need to be supported with the necessary subsidies.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about it, keeping in mind that continuous voyages of exploration throughout those Islands serve to increase expenditures made by my Royal treasury, at a time when on many occasions it was not possible to meet the current subsidies, it has been decided to warn you that in matters of such import a perfect knowledge is required, and that without it the desired aim becomes doubtful, and in order for this to be accomplished with more concertation, I order you that in no case you may go on to plan such enterprises without first submitting a report to my Council of the Indies and waiting for orders that would be given about it. And I trust that your zeal in the service of God and mine will make you take care of maintaining and advancing what has already been discovered.

Made at Aranjuez 20 June 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the Gentlemen of the Council.

## F2. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 20 June 1715

*Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 149-149v, pp. 353-354; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Legajo 13; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4, pp. 395-396.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de Manila participandole lo que se ordena al de las Marianas sobre nuebos descubrimientos para que observe lo mismo por su parte.*

*Mi Governador y Capitan general de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.*

*Don Juan Antonio Pimentel que lo es de las Marianas, dio quenta en carta de 24 de Noviembre del año passado de 1709 de la determinacion que tenia de hazer el descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas y Garbanzos a su costa con animo de pasar á las de los Palaos, en caso de no estar havitadas, insinuando que en caso de lograrlo y reconocido sus Puertos siendo preciso poblarlas se le havia de concurrir con los situados necesarios.*

*Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo mi fiscal de el teniendose presente que los continuados descubrimientos de esas Islas y las de Marianas sirven de aumentar nuevos gastos a mi Real Hacienda quando su estrechez muchas veces no permite se acuda con los situados ordinarios y que en materias de esta gravedad se necesita un perfecto conocimiento sin el qual se haze dudosa la empresa:*

*Ha parecido ordenar al Governador de las Marianas que en ningun caso pase a formar semejantes empresas sin dar primero quenta en el expresado mi Consejo de las Indias y a vos partiçiparos esta deliverazion para que por vuestra parte en lo que mira a esas Islas tengais presente su observancia que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fha en Aranjuez a 20 de Junio de 1715.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### Translation.

The King

To the Governor of Manila, letting him know the orders sent to that of the Marianas concerning new explorations so that he may observe them on his part.

My Governor and Captain General of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, who holds a similar post in the Marianas reported in a letter dated 24 November 1709 about the decision he had made to explore the Caroline and Garbanzos Islands at his own expense, intending to go on to the Palaos Islands, in case the former were uninhabited, thus insinuating that, in case of their being

discovered and their ports surveyed, it would be necessary to settle them, and they would then have to be supported with subsidies.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal said, keeping in mind that the continuous voyages of exploration in those Islands and in the Marianas only serve to create new expenses for my Royal treasury, at a time when even regular subsidies cannot always be met, and that in matters of such importance a perfect knowledge is required, otherwise the enterprise becomes doubtful; it has seemed proper to order said Governor of the Marianas to refrain from carrying out similar projects without first providing a report about it to the Council of the Indies, to give it an opportunity to let you know the outcome of its deliberation, so that you may on your part look to the interests of those Islands in accordance with this my will.

Made at Aranjuez, 20 June 1715

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the Gentlemen of the Council.

### F3. Second letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 20 July 1715

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215; AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 169-170, pp. 393-395; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Legajo 13.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de Manila ordenandole disponga la prosecuzion del descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos con la mayor brebedad.*

*Conde de Lizarraga mi Governador y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ziudad de Manila.*

*Haviendo remitido Andres Serrano de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs una relacion en que difusamente expreso el viage que en septiembre del año passado de 1710 se executo para el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos participo tambien al mismo tiempo el naufragio que suzedio de los dos navios que se destinaron a este fin haviendose salvado la gente y que siguiendo con el otro Navio el destino que llevaba se logro dar con una de dhas Islas llamadas **Sonsorrol** en donde hecharon la Lancha con gente para de reconocimiento; y se hallo estar havitada de 800 Indios de tanta dozilidad que prometia lo fazil de su combersion, en cuiá conformidad saltaron en tierra dos religiosos sazerdotes que iban por Misioneros con el numero de 12 personas y dejandolas alli prosiguió el navio sin la lancha en aquellos rumbos de diligencia de descubrir la isla principal [i.e. Palau] y no haviendo podido conseguirlo; ni arrimar de resultas el navio por falta de la lancha a la Isla primera, en que havia dejado la gente tubo por preziso sin ella seguir la buelta al Puerto de Cavite.*

*Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo mi fiscal de el y consultadoseme sobre ello[,] teniendose [presente] vuestra carta de 30 de Junio del año passado de 1711 he tenido por bien daros (como lo hago) particulares grazias por el cuidado en que quedavais, y por los medios que dezis aviais aplicado para el socorro de los dos religiosos y gente que quedo en la Isla descubierta ordenando-os no degeis de continuar las asistencias a dhas perssonas y adquirir noticias del estado en que se hallan. Y habiendo resuelto ultimamente por mi Real Decreto de 13 de Febrero de este año se repitan las ordenes para que con el mayor calor se prosiga la prinziada empresa del descubrimiento de las referidas Islas de Palaos, para establezer en ellas la ley evangelica; os ordeno y mando que (no obstante vuestra carta de 25 de Junio de 1712 en que dais quenta del ultimo viage que a instancia del menzionado Andres Serrano se executo y del infausto accidente de la perdida del vagel y gente en que se comprendio dho religioso) apliqueis vuestra actividad, y cuidado a fazilizar por los medios mas proporcionados y combenientes este descubrimiento a fin de que se bea logrado en ellas el establezimiento de nuestra sagrada Religion. Y fio de vuestro zelo no omitireis providencia que conduzca al logro de esta expidizion, por lo que combiene al servizio de Dios y [al] mio.*

*Fha en Aranjuez a 20 de Julio de 1715.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King

To the Governor of Manila, ordering him to arrange for the pursuance of the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos as soon as possible.

Count of Lizarraga, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus having remitted a detailed narrative of the voyage that took place during September of the past year 1710 for the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos, reported at the same time the shipwreck that happened to the two ships that were assigned for this purpose, though the men were saved and, with the other ship continuing to its destination, it succeeded in finding one of said Islands, called **Sonsorrol** where they put the launch overboard with men to go and reconnoiter; the island was found to be inhabited by 800 Indians of so much docility that their conversion promised to be easy. To this end, two Religious priests who were going there as Missionaries stepped ashore with a total of 12 persons and leaving them there, the ship without its launch continued along such courses as to try and find the main island [i.e. Palau] but, not having been able to achieve it, or to come close to results, the ship, for lack of the launch at the first island, where the men had been left, was forced to continue its return voyage to the port of Cavite without them.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my fiscal there said, and they having advised me about it, in view of your letter of 30 July

of the past year 1711 [see Doc. 1711D], I have thought it proper to give you (as I do now) special thanks for the attention that you have shown and for the means that you have applied to send help to the two Religious and men who remained at the island discovered, and I order you not to give up sending assistance to said persons and to acquire notices of the condition they are in. And having decided of late, by my Royal decree of 13 February of this year, to repeat the orders so that the enterprise already begun of the exploration of said Islands of the Palaos be pursued with greater vigor, in order to establish the Gospel law there, I order you (notwithstanding your letter of 25 June 1712 in which you reported on the last voyage made at the request of said Andrés Serrano and of the unfortunate accident of the loss of the vessel and men, among whom was included said Religious) to apply your activity and attention to facilitate this exploration work with more relative and appropriate means, in order to achieve there the establishment of our sacred religion. And I trust in your zeal that you will not spare any provision that might lead to the success of this expedition, given its importance for the service of God and mine.

Made at Aranjuez, 20 July 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.

#### **F4. Paper from the Marquis of Mejorada to Manuel de Vadillo, the King's secretary**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 234-235.*

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

***Carta del Marqués de Mejorada á D. Manuel de Vadillo sobre la promulgación del Santo Evangelio en las Palaos.—***

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*Muy Señor mio.*

*Varias vezes me oyó el Rey y no con desagrado el tiempo que estube inmediato á sus pies, celebrar con vaticinios de su feliz reinado, la abundancia no esperada de azogues en las minas del Almacen reservada para su tiempo por la divina providencia; y la noticia de las muchas y notablemente pobladas Islas Palaos, cuyo descubrimiento importante quizas para los intereses temporales, é importantísimo sin duda para las eternas, había de ser empleo de su piedad, y de su zeloso empeño.*

*No puedo dudar que en la admirable memoria del Rey se conserven bien presentes las ordenes apretadas y reyteradas encargos que se sirvió de espedir para este importante descubrimiento, desde que llegaron á sus oídos las primeras confusas noticias, adquiridas no por caminos regulares, de estas Islas, de su innumerable poblacion, y de la indole y disposicion maravillosa de sus abitadores para recibir el Evangelio.*



*La carta inclusa he recibido del Padre Francisco de Borja y Aragon Jesuita Procurador General en Mexico de todas las Misiones de Philipinas, segun lo que en ella se ve, ya el descubrimiento esta echo, y la noticia del Evangelio bien radicada, pues no es de creer, que aquella admirable separacion que Dios hizo de los dos Misioneros que quedaron en la Isla grande de San Andres haya sido para que no cogan opulentos frutos.*

*Esta carta pongo en manos del Rey por las de V.S. suplicando à S.M. se sirva de leerlas despacio, que estoy cierto le sera de gran consuelo, y que allara nuevos motivos para admirar los extraños medios de que se sirve la divina providencia para la execucion de sus altos fines. Los dos que propone el Padre Borja son sumamente faciles y oportunos, y no opuestos el uno del otro; antes bien conveniente abrazarlos ambos; el primero tiene de mejor lo menos costoso, respecto de las expediciones antecedentes las cuales entonces fueron necesarias para el descubrimiento de las Islas, pero ya logrado este y la seguridad de sus derroteros, vista lo que el Padre Borja propone. El segundo de que el Rey embiase titulo de Adelantado de las Islas Palaos à Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, dice bien el Padre Procurador, que seria eficazissimo como se practicó frecuentemente en los descubrimientos y conquistas de las Indias, y nunca regularmente en este genero de cosas, se han logrado mejores sucesos, y mas bentajas en el servicio de los Principes, que quando el interes y la gloria de los que los llevan à su cargo, ban à la parte en ellas.*

*Bien quisiera yo que en lo que el Rey se sirviere de resolver, y en la execucion de los despachos, no se interpongan las dilaciones que suelen padecerse en los Negocios de Oficio de las Indias, y mas quando en este tan contra los intereses del Infierno, es de creer, no omitira diligencia que pueda dificultar ó dilatar su logro.*

*Si el Rey fuere servido de mandar que se pongan en sus Reales manos los despachos, por principal, duplicado, y triplicado, y quisiere que yo quede de encaminarlos, lo executare con gran gusto, por el que he tenido desde los principios en ser Agente de este Negocio, y por desempeñar la palabra que di al Venerable Andres Serrano (à quien escogio Dios para establecer esta obra y le arrebató así para que desde la eternidad solicite su logro) de que continuaría siempre en serlo.*

*No ayudará poco a que todas las diligencias se acaloren, que ademas de las ordenes y encargos que por despachos se dieren al Virrey de Nueva España, su Magestad verbalmente al Marques de Valero le able en esto, y le de à entender, lo que deseará el adelantamiento de esta obra, que el la promueva quanto fuera posible, y que vaya informando à S.M. puntualmente de quanto en esto se abanzare[,] así para lo mas esencial de la propagacion del Evangelio como para las utilidades temporales que se puedan sacar de aquellas Islas.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.S. muchos años como deseo.*

*Madrid 7 de Agosto de 1715.*

*B.L.M. de su Merced,*

*El Marques de Mejorada.*

*[A] Señor D. Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco.*

**[The King's comments]**

*Con el papel adjunto, ha puesto el Marques de Mejorada en mis Reales manos la carta que acompaña, y le ha escrito Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador General en Mexico de todas las Misiones de su Religion en Philipinas proponiendo los medios, que le parecen mas oportunos y convenientes para el entero descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos y conversion de su innumerable Gentilidad; Y deseando Yo aplicar los mas eficaces al importante logro de someter estas Yslas al Evangelio: mando al Consejo de Indias que à este fin en vista del papel del Marques, y carta referida, me consulte luego lo que se le ofreciere, y pareciere.*

*Buen Retiro à 11 de Agosto de 1715.*

*Al Conde de Frigiliana.*

**Translation.**

**Letter of the Marquis of Mejorada to Don Manuel de Vadillo regarding the promulgation of the holy Gospel in the Palaos.**

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My dear Sir:

The King has many times heard me, and not with displeasure, when I was at his more immediate service, celebrate with prophecies of his happy reign, the unexpected abundance of quicksilver in the mines of the Warehouse reserved for his time by divine Providence, and news of the many and notably populated Palaos Islands whose discovery was, important perhaps for material interests and no doubt more important for eternal ones, had to become the target of his piety and of his zealous endeavor.

I cannot doubt that in the wonderful memory of the King there remain alive the specific orders and repeated urgings that he was pleased to despatch for this important exploration work, since the first confused notices of these Islands acquired by unofficial channels reached his ears, of their numberless population, and of the character and marvellous disposition of their inhabitants to receive the Gospel.

I have received the enclosed letter<sup>1</sup> from Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon, Jesuit Procurator General in Mexico for all the missions of the Philippines. According to it, the discovery has already been made, and the good news of the Gospel been well planted; indeed, it is permitted to believe that the wonderful separation that God made of the two missionaries who have remained behind in the bigger island of San Andrés was not for another reason than to gather opulent fruits.

I place this letter in the hands of the King through those of Your Lordship, begging H.M. to please read it slowly, because I am certain that it will be of great consolation to him, and that he will find new reasons to admire the strange means used by divine Providence for the execution of its high purposes. The two means that Father Borja recommends are extremely easy and timely, and not opposed to one another; rather, it

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1 Ed. note: Reproduced as Doc. 1714E.

would be proper to adopt both. The first one has the advantage that it is the least costly expedition, considering the costs of the previous ones, then necessary, for the discovery of the Islands, but now that such discovery has been achieved and sailing directions have made the route safer, in view of the recommendation of Father Borja. The second one is for the King to send the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos Islands to Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas; as the Father Procurator says it very well, it would be a most efficient means, as was frequently done during the discoveries and conquests of the Indies and generally no better successes were gained in these kinds of things and more advantages to the service of the Princes than when the interest and glory of those who carry them out are implicated in them.

It would be my sincere wish to assist the process by which the King be pleased to decide and in the execution of the despatches to follow, and not see this process suffer from the usual delay affecting the official business of the Indies, and the more so when the interests of Hell might intervene, it is to be believed that the Devil will not spare any effort to have it delayed or made hard of accomplishment.

If the King be pleased to order that the despatches be placed in his Royal hands, as a single main draft, or in duplicate or even triplicate copies and he wished to have me stay and see them through, I will oblige with great pleasure, because since the beginnings I have acted as an agent of this affair,<sup>1</sup> and to keep the word that I gave to the Venerable Andrés Serrano (whom God chose to establish this good work and snatched him away so that he might solicit its success from Heaven) to the effect that I would continue to be so [i.e. his agent].

Of much help in expediting this business will be all of the efforts made to issue orders and entreaties to the Viceroy of New Spain, and best of all the verbal encouragement to be given by His Majesty to the Marquis of Valero, if he were to let him know how much he desires the advancement of this good work, that he ought to promote it as much as possible, and that he should continue to inform H.M. regularly whenever progress is actually made, not only because of its essential component, which is the propagation of the Gospel, but also because of the material benefits that could be derived from those Islands.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

Madrid, 7 August 1715.

He who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Marquis of Mejorada.

[To] Don Manuel de Vadillo y Velasco.

**[The King's comments]**

Along with the attached paper, the Marquis of Mejorada has placed in my royal hands the letter that accompanies it, which was written to him by Francisco de Borja y

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1705J & K. Because of this comment, I suspect that the Marquis of Mejorada is none other than Don Juan Díaz de la Calle y Madrigal, a former Secretary to the King.

Aragon of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General in Mexico for all the missions of his order in the Philippines, recommending the means that seem most timely and appropriate to him for the full exploration of the Palaos Islands and conversion of their numberless heathen. And, wishing to apply the most efficient means to the important project of submitting these Islands to the gospel, I order the Council of the Indies to counsel me on this matter, in view of the Marquis' paper and the letter attached to it.

Buen Retiro, 11 August 1715.

To the Count of Frigiliana.

## **F5. The Council of the Indies to the King, dated 19 August 1715**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (2 copies); copy in Col. Pastells, fol. 239-242v.*

### ***El Consejo de Indias à 19 de Agosto de 1715.***

*Satisfaze al Real Decreto de V.M. en que se sirvio remitir un papel del Marques de Mexorada que acompañava una carta de Francisco de Borja de la compañía de Jhs, sobre el estado del descubrimiento de las Yslas Palaos, y en su vista representa a VMgd lo que se le ofreze.*

*Don Diego de Morales.*

*Conde de Frigiliana [Presidente]*

*Don Alonso Carnero*

*Don Joseph de los Rios*

*Don Miguel Calderon*

*Don Nicolas Manrique*

*Don Joseph Munibe*

*Don Diego de Zuñiga*

*Don Gonzalo Machado*

*Don Diego de Roxas*

*Marques de Grimaldo*

*Señor.*

*Con Decreto de 11 de este mes se sirve V.M. remitir al Consejo un papel del Marques de Mejorada con que va acompañava una carta que le avia escrito Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador General en Mexico de todas las Misiones de su Religion en Philipinas proponiendo los medios que consideraba mas oportunos y convenientes para el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos; y V.M. se sirve mandar al Consejo que, en vista de todo, lo consulto luego lo que se le ofreciere, y pareciere.*

*La carta de Francisco de Borja se reduce à participar que en virtud de ordenes de V.M. han hecho los Governadores de Philipinas diferentes aprestos para solicitar en varias ocasiones el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos ponderadas de muchas y muy*

*fertiles y de buena disposicion sus naturales à recibir el Santo Evangelio y salir de su ciega ygnorancia.*

*Que no se havia podido conseguir asta aora esta instancia por accidentes de temporales acaecidos en las embarcaciones que se destinaron à esta empresa pero que dos Pataches que se embiaron el año de 1710 se logro encontrar con dos Islas de las primeras de Palaos, a quienes se les nombraron de San Andres por haberse dado con ellas en el dia de este Santo Apostol.*

*En cuyo viage hubo la desgracia de aver barado en un bajo uno de los dos navios en que iba de Misionero Andres Serrano con un Piloto Mallorquin que avia asegurado saver mui por menor dichas Islas porque varias veces le avian mandado Olandeses, ir à ellas à quemar los Arboles de Clavo, y canela de que abundavan[,] cuiio accidente dificulto el entero logro del descubrimiento pues inhavilitada una de las dos embarcaciones[,] fue preciso despues de haver desembarcado en dichas dos Islas, algunas personas con el Piloto Mallorquin, y dos Religiosos, à reconocer el terreno, y la gente (que segun demonstraciones exteriores se manifestava mui docil) pasar con el Patache à seguir en los mismos rumbos, su principiado destino, para recojer despues la gente que havia quedado en tierra; en cuiio intermedio no pudo el navio bolber à dar fondo en dichas Islas, por un temporal que sobrevino por el qual se vieron obligados à tomar su derrota para Manila dejando à la expresada gente en las Islas referidas, y avistando en el viage otras muchas pequeñas y una mui grande de que hizieron derrotero con cuios moradores ablaron por señas: las quales se bolvieron à reconocer el año siguiente por el Patache con que se embio el situado à las Marianas à cuiio fin se le dio orden para que hiziese su tornaviaje (como lo executo) por la banda del sur logrando que algunos Indios naturales de dichas Islas subiessen, y estubiesen en el Navio.*

*Que con estas noticias, y llevado Andres Serrano del fervor de establecer el Evangelio en aquellas, ya descubiertas Islas, y socorrer al mismo tiempo à sus hermanos que se havian quedado en las de San Andres consiguio que se aprestase ultimamente un Patache y se embarco en el; pero aunque la Marineria con que iba tripulado era de la maior practica y satisfaccion no pudo resistir à una recia tempestad, que se levanto, la qual les obligo à perecer sin libertar mas que dos personas que pudieren salvarse en algunas tablas de aquella desbaratada embarcacion.*

*Este es el estado en que dice el Padre Borja quedava este descubrimiento y para obviar gastos à la Real Hazienda de V.M. considerando lo mucho que se han causado hasta aora propone dos medios que pudieron practicarse ambos para perfeccionar el logro de que estas Islas se sometan al evangelio, y que disfrute V.M. las utilidades que sus fertiles territorios puedan producir.*

*Uno de los medios es: el de que en el Patache que anualmente se envia à las Marianas con el socorro de aquellas Islas se embien quatro soldados que entendian carpinteria; una porcion de clavazon para fabrica de embarcaciones pequeñas con herramientas para labrar madera, azadones para levantar tierra[,] alguna cantidad de chuzos; quatro pedrecillos y unas armas de fuego con municiones correspondientes cuiio costo dice no llegaran à 500 pesos. Que el tiempo que se detiene las embarcaciones en*

*las Marianas se hagan la provisiones de carnes competentes para el gasto de un año; y que el tiempo regular en que devia hacer el navio su tornaviaje se embarquen 25 soldados de aquel Presidio con su Cavo pagados con lo mismo sueldo que alli gozan y dos Padres Misioneros socorridos con lo mismo que V.M. continuamente les da. Que en esta forma puede pasar à una de las Islas descubiertas y meterse en una de las ensenadas de ellas, y con algunos Arboles de los muchos que abundan; hacer una estacada pequeña para meter su matelotage, y que les sirva de retirada en qualquiera frangente: que puedan mantenerse alli un año en el interin que ba y buelbe el Patache de las Marianas à Manila y que en este tiempo se pueden reconocer los frutos de dichas Islas[,] atraer con el agasajo sus naturales y avisar el siguiente año el estado que tubiere la reduccion de aquellas gentes.*

*El otro medio que propone el Padre Borja por mui eficaz: es que V.M. embie titulo de Adelantado de los Palaos à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas Piloto graduado de Almirante de la Carrera de Philipinas y sujeto mui practico respecto de haversele oido decir muchas vezes que haziendole V.M. esta merced pasaria con gran gusto à la pacificacion de dichas Islas.*

*El papel del Marques de Mejorada con que pone en las Reales manos de V.M. la referida carta comprehende una recomendacion muy ferborosa de todo lo que el dicho Religioso representa considerando que respecto de estar logrado ya el descubrimiento y savido el derrotero de la navegacion de aquellas Islas son bastantes los dos medios que Francisco de Borja propone pues demas de ser faciles y combenientes son nada opuesto, y capaces de abrasarse ambos, haciendo reflexion para conferir el titulo de Adelantado de las Palaos à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas que en los descubrimientos y conquistas de las Indias se uso de iguales y equivalentes medios pues en este genero de cosas nunca se han logrado mejores sucesos y mas ventajas en el servicio de los Principes que quando el interes, y la gloria de los que lo llevan à su cargo van à la parte en ellos. Demas de los arvitrios referidos y las ordenes que la materia se dignare dar V.M. contempla el Marques por eficasissimo medio para acalorar esta empresa que V.M. haga verbal encargo al electo nuevo Virrey de Nueva España manifestandole lo que desea V.M. el maior adelantamiento de esta obra: y tambien se ofrece el Marques al cuidado de diferir y encaminar con toda seguridad los despachos que en este asunto se sirviere V.M. mandar expedir continuando de ser Agente de esta empresa no solo por lo piadoso y util de ella, sino por cumplir la palabra que dio al Venerable Andres Serrano de que no desistiria de este cuidado hasta conseguir su logro.*

*Enterado el Consejo de la sitada carta y del papel referido expondra à V.M. à mas de su dictamen las ordenes que para el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos estan dadas en virtud del Decreto de V.M.*

*En consulta de 25 de Junio del año pasado de 1714 puso el Consejo en la Real noticia de V.M. haver participado Andres Serrano y el Governador de Philipinas el descubrimiento de las dos Islas que se nombraron San Andres: los religiosos y gente que quedaron en ellas y la perdida de uno de los dos Navios que se aprestaron para el descubrimiento. Y enterado V.M. de todo se sirvio resolver conformandose con el Con-*

*sejo se diese gracias al Governador por el cuidado en que decia quedava de socorrer à los Religiosos y gente que se mantenian en las Islas descubiertas y que el Consejo en vista de las mas noticias que llegasen considerase los mas eficases medios para lograr perfectamente este deseado fin.*

*Expidieronse ordenes al Governador de Philipinas que se remitieron con aviso que salia de Cadiz para Nueva España en Abril de este año a fin de que no omitiese diligencia conducente à este descubrimiento procediendo siempre con el mayor ahorro posible de la Real Hazienda.*

*Ultimamente en decreto del 13 de febrero de este año se sirvio V.M. mandar al Consejo se repitiesen las mas estrechas ordenes sobre este descubrimiento por lo que deseava V.M. su entero logro tan conveniente al servicio de Dios y de V.M. y obedeciendo al Real precepto de V.M. se han embiado los despachos comprehendiendose en ellos con bastante aprieto la orden que V.M. se digno expedir.*

*Y viendo ahora el Consejo que segun las ultimas noticias que refiere Francisco de Borja y asegura en su papel el Marques de Mejorada se halla ya echo el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, y formado derrotero para la navegacion à ellas [,]haviendose calificado ser de bastante estimacion los frutos de que abundan, segun el Piloto Mallorquin havia experimentado y que los genios de aquellos Indios son tan dociles que a poca diligencia se lograra dichosamente establecer el Evangelio; considera el Consejo que en una materia de tanta importancia como es atender à la mayor exaltacion deben aventurarse no solo los cortos gastos que el Padre Borja propone en el primer medio que expresa sino maiores cantidades sin la necesidad las hiciere precisas pero pasando à discurrir el Consejo la forma en que mas brevemente y con mas acierto se pueda conseguir la reduccion de aquellas Islas al gremio Catholico; Es de parecer que respecto de hallarse Francisco Borja en Mexico (de cuiã virtud y prendas se tienen tan buenas noticias que iguala en estos à lo esclarecido de su nacimiento) y tambien el Governador de Philipinas que ha de suceder al actual Conde de Lizarraga, que es Don Manuel de Bustamant[.], se puede encargar al Marques de Valero electo Virrey de la Nueva España que luego que llegue à exercer sus cargos trate y confiera con los dos sujetos referidos las providencias que alli se considerasen por mas convenientes para el mejor y perfecto logro de el intento dando V.M. facultad al dicho Marques de Valero para que las que se discurrieren las pueda poner en execucion;*

*Y Francisco de Borja tiene por eficaz medio el segundo que propone de que V.M. confiera el titulo de Adelantado de las Islas Palaos à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas; y siendo conbeniente no omitir circunstancia alguna que pueda facilitar una obra tan grande, y propia del Catholico zelo de V.M. como es la conversion de tantos infieles maiormente apoyandolo esto el Marques de Mejorada con fundamentos y repetidos exemplares; es de dictamen el Consejo que el expresado titulo de Adelantado para este sugeto se puede entregar al Marques de Valero para que le rreciva por sumario debajo de la limitacion de que si llegare el caso (como se deve prometer) de que reducidas aquellas Islas empiezen à tributar sus naturales debajo de lo prevenido en las leyes, solo se havia de señalar à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas aquella renta proporcionada à lo*

*que con su disposicion huviese trabajado y correspondiente tambien à las utilidades que pudiesen quedar à favor de la Real Hacienda de V.M. entendiendose que de la que se señalare, y preeminencias que como tal adelantado hubiere de gozar se haia de dar quenta à V.M. y llevar confirmacion de el Consejo sin cuiã circunstancia no puede alegar derecho de posesion pues solo ha de mantenersele la renta y preeminencias por el termino regular que en aquellas Islas se señale para todas las gracias que necesitan de confirmacion para quedar executoriadas; pues como quiera que los gastos que se han ocasionado para el descubrimiento de estas Islas han sido mui excesivos en tantos repetidos aprestos de embarcaciones como se han hecho y perdidas de ellas hallandose constituido V.M. tambien en la obligacion de atender igualmente à las muchas Islas que hai en aquel Archipelago es menester que reducidas unas sirban para la conversion de las otras las utilidades que aquellas producieren.*

*V.M. mandara lo que fuere servido.*

*Fecha en Madrid à 19 de Agosto de 1715.*

**[The King's decision]**

*Quedo enterado de lo que el Consejo ha executado en esta materia, y conformandome con su dictamen sobre ella; he resuelto se sigan los medios propuestos por el Procurador general Francisco de Borja; assi se dara orden para que en el Patache de Marianas se embarquen soldados y vastimentos con que puedan subsistir por tiempo de un año[,] dos Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus y veinte y cinco soldados que seran los que iran al descubrimiento de estas Islas y à la averiguacion de sus frutos y que el año siguiente vuelva el mismo Patache à adquirir noticias del descubrimiento y à socorrer à los Misioneros y descubridores si lo nesecitaren; A Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas concedo con todas las circunstancias propuestas por el Consejo el titulo de Adelantado de estas Islas para que su mismo lustre y esperanza de maiores honrras le estimule à simentar el referido descubrimiento; De todo se prevendra al Marques de Valero, haviendole el encargo que el Consejo propone para lo que ha de executar luego que entre à exercer el Virreynato à fin de que con acuerdo de este Procurador general y del nuevo Governador de Philipinas se execute lo mas conveniente en tan importante materia.*

**Translation.**

The Council of the Indies on 19 August 1715.

Satisfies the Royal decree of Y. M. in which you were pleased to remit to them a paper by the Marquis of Mejorada enclosing a letter from Francisco de Borja of the Society of Jesus, regarding the state of the exploration of the Palaos Islands, and requesting a consultation on this matter.

Count of Frigiliana [President]

Don Alonso Carnero

Don José de los Rios



Don Miguel Calderón  
Don Nicolas Manrique  
Don José Munibe  
Don Diego de Zuñiga  
Don Gonzalo Machado  
Don Diego de Roxas  
The Marquis of Grimaldo

Sire:

In a decree dated 11th of this month, Y.M. was pleased to remit to the Council a paper from the Marquis of Mejorada which had attached to it a letter written by Francisco de Borja y Aragon of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General in Mexico for all the missions of his order in the Philippines, proposing means which he considered most timely and appropriate for the exploration of the Palaos Islands; and Y.M. was pleased to order the Council to give you advice based on everything.

The letter from Francisco de Borja has as its main point that, by virtue of the orders of Y.M., the Governors of the Philippines have, on various occasions, prepared expeditions for the discovery of the Palaos Islands, of which there are many and very fertile ones, with natives who are well disposed to receive the holy Gospel and to abandon their ignorance.

That such a result has not yet been achieved on account of accidents, such as storms that hit the vessels sent to this enterprise, but with the two pataches that were sent in 1710 some success was achieved in that the first of Palaos Islands were found and were given the name of San Andrés, because they were sighted on the feast-day of this saintly Apostle.

During said voyage took place the mishap of one of the two ships running aground upon a shoal, the one carrying the missionary Andrés de Serrano along with a Majorcan pilot who had insisted that he knew many things about the said Islands, because at various times the Dutch had ordered him to go there and burn clove and cinnamon trees that grew abundantly there. The accident in question placed the entire success of the exploration work in jeopardy; indeed, one of the two vessels was put out of commission. It then became necessary, after some persons had disembarked at these two islands with the Majorcan pilot, and two Religious, to survey the terrain, and the population (that showed itself very docile according to external demonstrations), for the patache to retrace its steps after it had reached its destination, in order to pick up the men who had remained ashore. During the intervening time, the ship was unable to anchor at said Islands, on account of a storm that intervened. That is why they saw themselves obliged to head for Manila, and leave said personnel at the above-mentioned islands. During the voyage they had sighted many other small islands and one very large one, for which they wrote sailing directions; their inhabitants spoke with sign language. They were the same islands that were once again seen the following year by the patache that was sent with the subsidy to the Marianas, that was specifically ordered to shape

its return voyage (as it did) by deflecting southward, and succeeded in getting some of the native Indians to climb aboard the ship and come on deck at said Islands.

That with such news, and carried away by the zeal to establish the Gospel in those newly-discovered islands, and at the same time to rescue his brothers who had remained behind at the Islands of San Andrés, Andrés Serrano has recently managed to have a patache made ready. He boarded said patache, along with crewmen who were the best of seamen with great experience and satisfaction, but it could not resist a stiff storm that arose and made the ship founder, with everyone perishing except two persons who were able to save themselves on top of some boards that came off that broken vessel.

This is the condition in which remained this exploration, says Father Borja, and to prevent the Royal treasury from making expenditures, considering the large sums spent so far, he recommends two means that could be adopted together the better to achieve success, i.e. see these Islands submit themselves to the Gospel, and have Y.M. benefit from the products of their fertile territories.

One of the means is: to have the patache that is sent every year to the Marianas with the succor of those Islands take aboard 4 soldiers knowledgeable about carpentry, a quantity of iron for the construction of small boats with wood-working tools, hoes to work the soil, a few pikes, 4 small mortars and some firearms with their respective ammunition, whose cost would not reach 500 pesos. That during the time that the vessels are detained in the Marianas sufficient provisions of meat should be made to last for one year; and that at the regular time for the ship to make its return voyage, to have 25 soldiers board it from that garrison with their officer paid with the same salary they enjoy there, plus two missionary Fathers supported as they always are by H.M. That in this manner it can sail to one of the discovered islands and go into one of the bays there, and with some trees from the many growing there, build a small stockade to store their sea supplies, and to be used as a place of refuge in case of some untoward incident. That they could maintain themselves there one year, while in the meantime the Mariana patache goes to Manila and returns, and that in the interval they can survey the products of said Islands, attract the natives with kindness and the following year give a report on the condition of the reduction of those peoples.

The other means proposed by Father Borja as very efficient is that Y.M. should send the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos to Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, a pilot who is a former admiral of the Philippine run and a very practical individual, considering the fact that he was heard many times to say that if Y.M. were to grant him the favor, he would go very willingly to the pacification of said Islands.

The paper by the Marquis of Mejorada, which accompanies the above letter placed in the Royal hands of Y.M., includes a very zealous endorsement of everything that said Religious has put forward, and ponders the fact that this discovery has now been made and sailing directions of those Islands have been written up, the two means proposed by Francisco de Borja are enough; indeed, besides being easy and appropriate, they are not in opposition, and could be adopted together. Furthermore, he suggests that conferring the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos upon Don Antonio Fer-

nandez de Roxas, as has been done during the discoveries and conquests of the Indies, when equal and equivalent means were used, is a good idea; indeed, in this type of things, no better success was ever gotten and more advantages gained in the service of the Princes than when the [private] interest and the glory of those who take charge of them also have a stake in them. In addition to the above-mentioned decisions and orders that Y.M. could give in this matter, the Marquis ponders the idea that a most efficient means to expedite this enterprise would be for Y.M. to verbally entrust the new Viceroy-elect of New Spain, by telling him how Y.M. wishes the advancement of this pious work. Also the Marquis offers himself to take care of preparing the despatches that Y.M. would be pleased to issue and see them through, as in doing so, he would just be continuing to act as the Agent of this enterprise, not only because it is a pious and useful project, but also to fulfil a promise he made to the Venerable Andrés Serrano, and he says that he will not desist from this concern until success has been achieved.

After the Council took cognizance of said letter and paper, it was to make a review for Y.M. of the orders that have already been issued as royal decrees of Y.M. for the exploration of the Palaos Islands:

In the consultation of 25 June [rather 14 June] of the past year 1714], the Council let Y.M. know information received from Andrés Serrano and the Governor of the Philippines, to the effect that two islands that were named San Andrés had been discovered, that some Religious and men remained behind there, and that one of the two ships outfitted for the exploration was lost. Once Y.M. was informed, you were pleased to decide, in agreement with the Council, that thanks should be sent to the Governor for the concern that he said he had for rescuing the Religious and men left at the discovered islands and that the Council was to figure out the most efficient means of achieving the desired end, whenever more information was received.

Orders were sent to the Governor of the Philippines that were remitted aboard the advice boat that left Cadiz for New Spain in April of this year, telling him not to omit any effort that might further this exploration work, while at the same time trying to save as much money to the Royal treasury as possible.

Recently, in a decree dated 13 February of this year, Y.M. was pleased to order the Council to re-issue very tight orders regarding this exploration, because Y.M. desired its full success, the better to serve God and Y.M. Obeying the Royal precept of Y.M. the despatches in question have been sent, including among them the rather tough order that Y.M. was pleased to issue.

Now that the Council has seen the latest news sent by Francisco de Borja, confirmed by the Marquis of Mejorada in his paper, to the effect that the discovery of the Palaos Islands has taken place, and sailing directions for them been written up, while the products that abound there are considered rather desirable, according to the experience of the Majorcan pilot, and those Indians are of such a docile nature that with little effort the establishment of the Gospel would luckily be achieved, the Council considers that, in a matter of such importance as is the greater exhaltation [of God], not only the small sums that Father Borja proposes for the first means should be spent, but also larger

sums, without the necessity of referring them back to the Council for further discussion; thus, the reduction of those Islands to the Catholic fold would occur more briefly and more assuredly. The consensus is that, given the presence in Mexico of Francisco Borja (whose virtue and qualities are well known, and commensurate with his high birth) and also of the Governor of the Philippines who must succeed to the present [Governor, the] Count of Lizarraga, that is, Don Manuel de Bustamante, the Marquis of Valero, the Viceroy-elect of New Spain can be entrusted with the task, as soon as he arrives to take over his functions, of dealing and conferring with the two individuals in question on the provisions that are seen as the most appropriate there for the better and perfect success of the project, by having Y.M. give authority to said Marquis of Valero so that he would be able to carry out those measures in question.

And Francisco de Borja thinks that the second means he proposes is an efficient one, that is, Y.M. should confer the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos Islands on Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas. And since it is appropriate not to omit any circumstance at all that might facilitate a project so great and befitting the Catholic zeal of Y.M. as is that of converting so many heathen, one that the Marquis of Mejorada mostly supports with basic reasons and repeated examples: it is the opinion of the Council that said title of Frontier Governor for this individual could be delivered to the Marquis of Valero so that he would receive him through an inquiry, with the restriction that, should the case arise (as it is hoped) that the natives of those Islands once reduced will begin to pay taxes, as foreseen by law, the only amount that would accrue to Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas would be an income proportional to the amount of work put in with good disposition, and corresponding also to the profits that would be left to the credit of the Royal treasury of Y.M. It is also understood that the income to be fixed, and the privileges that he might enjoy as such Governor would bring in the responsibility of reporting to Y.M. and getting a confirmation from the Council, without which he cannot claim rightful possession. Indeed, the income and privileges can only last for the regular term of office that are normal in those Islands, but that would be sufficient to open to all the favors that need confirmation to become executory. As it happens, the expenses that the exploration of these Islands have caused have been very excessive, with repeated outfittings of vessels, and loss of them, but Y.M. remains obligated to support the very many other Islands that exist in that archipelago as well. Therefore, it is necessary that, once reduced, the profits from the products of those islands may serve for the conversion of other islands.

Y.M. will order what you please.

Made at Madrid, 19 August 1715.

### **[The King's decision]**

I am aware of what the Council has done in this matter, and I agree with their opinion about it. I have decided that the means proposed by the Procurator General Francisco de Borja be followed; thus, an order is to be given for the Mariana patache to take on board soldiers and enough supplies to sustain for one year two Missionaries of the

Society of Jesus and 25 soldiers who will be those to go to the exploration of these Islands and to survey their products, and the following year the same patache is to return to acquire information about the exploration work and to rescue the Missionaries and the explorers, if need be. To Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas I grant with all the circumstances proposed by the Council the title of Frontier Governor of those Islands so that his very luster and hope for greater honors might stimulate him to lay the foundation of the discovery in question. The Marquis of Valero is to be informed of everything, and he should be entrusted with what the Council suggests that he should do, as soon as he begins to exercise his functions in the Vice-kingdom so that, in agreement with this Procurator General and with the new Governor of the Philippines, he carries out what is most appropriate in such an important matter.

## **F6. Letter from the Council's secretary to the Marquis of Valero, the newly-appointed Viceroy, dated Madrid 19 September 1715**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215; AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 152-153v, pp. 359-362.*

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

*Al Señor Marques de Valero, sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos.  
Excellentissimo Señor,*

*Haviendose ejecutado de orden de S.M. en diferentes tiempos por los Gobernadores de Philipinas y los religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs las mas convenientes diligencias para el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos ponderadas de muchas y mui fertiles[,] de gran docilidad sus naturales para abrazar nuestra sagrada Religion[,] se ha conseguido (segun las ultimas noticias que se han recibido sobre este asunto participadas por el Padre Francisco de Borja Procurador general en Mexico de todas las Misiones de su religion en Philipinas) encontrar con dos de ellas que se nombraron S. Andres y haverse formado derotero para todas las demas respecto de haver avido Persona que de orden de Olandeses avia estado en ellas muchas veces con el fin de quemar Arboles de clavo y canela de que abundan[,] la qual avia asegurado la opulencia de dhas Islas y el buen ingenio de sus avitadores. Y siendo el catholico Real animo de S.M. se prosiga con el mayor fervor en las diligencias para este descubrimiento no obstante los accidentes que han dificultado repetidas veces el perfecto logro de esta empresa con el fracaso de las embarcaciones que se han destinado a este fin y la ultima sentida desgracia de aver naufragado con un Patache el Padre Andres Serrano con cuia zelosa actividad se afianzavan los mas acertados medios para esta tan importante obra.*

*Ha rresuelto S.M. a consulta del Consejo de 19 del mes proximo passado que para ob[v]jar mayores gastos a la Real Hazienda y conseguir este deseado fin se expidan ordenes para que en el Patache que anualmente ba a las Marianas con el socorro de aquellas Islas se embien quatro soldados que entiendan carpinteria y una porzion de clavazon para fabrica de embarcaciones pequenas con herramientas para labrar madera; aza-*

*dones para levantar tierra; alguna cantidad de chuzos, quatro pedreros y unas armas de fuego con munisiones correspondientes. Que en el tiempo que dha embarcazion se detenga en las Marianas se hagan las prevenziones de carnes competentes para el gasto de un año y que al tiempo regular en que deva el Nabio hazer su tornaviage se embarquen 25 soldados de aquello Presidio con su Cavo pagados con el mismo sueldo que alli gozan y dos Padres Misioneros socorridos con lo mismo que S.M. continuamente les da: que en esta forma pase dha embarcazion a una de las Islas descubiertas y se meta en una de las ensenadas de ellas y que en el interin que ba y buelbe a las Marianas se mantenga en la Isla dha gente para que en este tiempo reconozcan sus frutos[,] atraigan con el agasajo sus naturales y bolviendo al siguiente año el mismo o otro Patache avisen el estado del descubrimiento[.] tambien ha mandado S.M. que para fomentar mas el entero logro de esta empresa y para que concurra a ella con su practica[,] celo y experiencias Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas Piloto graduado de Almirante de la Carrera de Philipinas se le despache titulo de Adelantado de las Palaos remitiendose este a manos de V.E. (como se executara) para que por ellas le reciva dho sugeto devajo de la limitazion de que si llegase el caso de que reduzidas aquellas Islas empezen a tributar sus naturales segun lo prevenido en las leyes solo se haya de señalar a Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas aquella renta proporcionada a lo que con su Disposizion huviese travajado y correspondiente tambien a las utilidades que pudiesen quedar a la Real Hazienda entendiendose que de la que se le señalase y preeminenzias que como tal adelantado huviere de gozar seria de dar quenta a S.M. para llevar confirmazion sin cuiá circunstancia no ha de poder alegar derecho de posesion.*

*Asimismo ha rresuelto S.M. se ponga en noticia de V.E. todo lo referido a fin de que por su medio se adelante y acalore el perfecto logro de este descubrimiento preveniendo a V.E. que respecto de hallarse en Mexico el Padre Francisco de Borja (de cuiá virtud y prendas se tienen tan buenas noticias que igualan a lo esclareado de este nacimiento[)] y tambien el Governador actual [sic] de Philipinas que ha de suceder al actual Conde de Lizarraga que es Don Fernando Manuel de Bustamante, S.M. trate V.E. y confiere luego que llegue a tomar posesion del Virreynato de N<sup>a</sup> España con estos dos sugetos las providencias que alli se consideraren por mas convenientes para el mejor logro del intento pues para poner en ejecuzion las que se discurrieren por mas acertadas da S.M. a V.E. la mas plena facultad.*

*De que participo a V.E. de acuerdo del Consejo para que lo tenga entendido y que todas las ordenes que emanan de la expresada Real deliverazion se dirigan a Manila en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca. Y de quedar V.E. enterado de todo se servira prevenirme para ponerlo en noticia del Consejo.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Madrid à 19 de Septiembre de 1715.*

*Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

### Translation.

To His Lordship the Marquis of Valero regarding the exploration of the Palaos Islands.

Most Excellent Sir:

The most appropriate efforts for the exploration of the Palaos Islands, thought to be many and fertile and with natives of great docility to embrace our sacred religion, have been carried out by order of H.M. at various times by the Governors of the Philippines and the religious of the Society of Jesus. What has been achieved (according to the last news that have been received about this matter from Father Francisco de Borja, Procurator General in Mexico for all the Missions of his order in the Philippines) was the discovery of two of them that were named San Andrés and to have formed sailing directions for all of the others, with respect to the appearance of a person who on order from the Dutch had been there [before] many times for the purpose of burning clove and cinnamon trees which are in abundance there, which had secured the wealth of said Islands and the good talent of their inhabitants. And it being of the Catholic royal mind of H.M. to pursue with greater fervor the efforts for this exploration, in spite of the accidents that many times have made the success of this enterprise difficult with the wreck of the vessels that were sent there for this purpose, and the latest sorry mishap, that of the shipwreck of a patache and death of Father Andrés Serrano whose zealous activity was behind the most definitive steps taken for such an important project.

H.M. has decided, in the consultation of the Council of the 19th of last month, to prevent greater expenses to the Royal treasury and to achieve the desired purpose, to issue orders for the patache that goes every year to the Marianas with the succor of those Islands to carry 4 soldiers who know something about carpentry and a supply of iron for the construction of small vessels, with tools to work wood; hoes to work the soil; a quantity of pikes, 4 mortars and some firearms with the corresponding ammunition. That during the time that said vessel is detained in the Marianas, a suitable stock of meat supplies is to be made to last for one year and that at the regular time that the ship must make its return voyage, 25 soldiers from that garrison are to embark with their officer, paid with the same salary that they enjoy there, and two missionary Fathers supported with the same stipend that H.M. gives them continuously. That in this manner said vessel is to pass to one of the discovered islands and place itself in one of the bays overthere, and that, in the interval that it goes and comes back from the Marianas, said personnel are to maintain themselves in said island and during that time make a survey of their products, attract their natives with kindness and, when the same or another patache returns the following year, they are to give a report on the status of the exploration. Also H.M. has ordered that, in order to foster even more the full success of this enterprise and to take advantage of persons with more knowledge, zeal and experience for its development, Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, former pilot and Admiral of the Philippine run, should receive the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos, and this title is being forwarded through the hands of Y.E. (as will be done) so that said individual may receive it, with the following limitation to the effect that, if

one day those Islands be reduced and its natives begin to pay tributes in accordance with law, the only part of that revenue that should go to Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas is to be a sum relative to the disposition he applied to the project and relative also to the funds that would remain in the Royal treasury, with the understanding that the income and privileges to be given to said frontier governor would be subject to a report being submitted to H.M. for their confirmation, without which he could not claim the right of possession.

In addition H.M. has decided to let Y.E. know about all of the above so that by this means be favored and expedited the perfect achievement of this exploration work, specially the fact that Father Francisco de Borja (whose virtue and qualities have made him famous, in line with the nobility of his blood) happens to be in Mexico, as well as the present Governor of the Philippines, Don Fernando Manuel de Bustamante, who will succeed the Count of Lizarraga. H.M. wishes Y.E. to deal and confer with these two individuals and, as soon as you take possession of the Vice-Kingdom of New Spain, take the provisions that are considered more appropriate overthere for the greater success of the project; in fact, H.M. gives Y.E. the most complete authority to put into execution those that will be found to be the most effective.

This is what I had to say to Y.E. at the request of the Council, the better to let you know of all the orders that came out of the above-mentioned royal consultation and will soon be sent to Manila at the first opportunity. And once Y.E. has taken notice of it, will you please inform me so that I may in turn inform the Council.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 19 September 1715.

Don Diego de Morales Velasco.<sup>1</sup>

## **F7. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Buen Retiro 11 November 1715**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215; AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 155-157, pp. 365-369; copy in AGI Ultramar 561, Legajo 13.*

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

*El Rey*

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas preveniendole lo que se ha de executar para conseguir el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos y ordenandole lo que por su parte ha de hazer.*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Las noticias que repetidamente me han asegurado lo conveniente que seria al servicio de Dios y mio el descubrir las Islas de Palaos para establecer en ellas el santo evangelio, mediante la docilidad de sus naturales y desfrutar lo fertil de sus territorios han sido*

1 Ed. note: The Marquis of Valero acknowledged receipt of this letter in a note dated Madrid 22 September 1715.



*motivo para ordenar a el a Don Domingo de Zabalburu vuestro antecesor en esos cargos como a Vos en disposicion de 2 de Noviembre de 1714 y 20 de Junio de 1715 apli-caseis la mayor actividad y diligencia al entero logro de este descubrimiento.*

*Y manteniendose mi Real animo en el ferboroso deseo de que se continue por los medios posibles en la solicitud de esta empresa, mayormente con las noticias participadas por Vos de averse descubierta ya dos de dhas Islas que se nombraron San Andres y las que ultimamente ha dado Francisco de Borja de la Compañia de Jhs y Procurator en Mexico de las Misiones de su religion en esas Islas en que avisa estar formado derrotero para todas las demas de las Palaos.*

*He rresuelto a consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias y con vista de vuestra carta de 25 de Junio de 1712 en que dais quenta de haver naufragado el Patache que se destino el año de 1711 para hazer este descubrimiento en que iba el Misionero Andres Serrano que respecto de que este contra tiempo y otros experimentados antezedentemente con diferentes embarcaciones han ocasionado muchos gastos a mi Real Hazienda se disponga para evitar estos y proseguir en tan importante obra con el mayor aorro que en el Patache que anualmente ba de esas Islas a las Marianas con el socorro de aquel Presidio se embarquen quatro soldados de esa Ziudad que entiendan carpinteria llevandose en el Navio una porzion de clavazon para fábrica de embarcaciones pequeñas[,] herramientas para labrar madera[,] azadones para levantar tierra[,] alguna cantidad de chuzos[,] quatro pedreros y unas armas de fuego con miniziones correspondientes y que en el tiempo que dha embarcazion se detenga en las Marianas se hagan alli las prevenziones de carnes competentes para el casso que en un año pudiere hazer la gente destinada para esta empresa a la qual iran 25 soldados del Presidio de las Marianas con un Cabo que los mande pagados con el mismo sueldo que alli gozan y dos Misioneros socorridos con lo mismo que siempre se les da y que en esta forma pase dha embarcazion a una de las Islas Palaos de que ay formado derrotero y deje en ella toda la referida gente continuando despues el Patache su tornaviage para que bolviendo el año siguiente con toda puntualidad a aquel Parage el propio u otro Navio llevando tambien a prevenzion algun socorro en la misma forma tome las noticias de lo que se huviere adelantado[,] de los frutos que huiesen reconocido y de si han podido ó no atraher con el agasajo los naturales de la Isla, y no omitiendo mi deseo circunstancia que pueda facilitar este intento[,] he mandado tambien despachar titulo de Adelantado de las Islas Palaos a Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas Piloto graduado de Almirante en la Carrera de esas Islas en atenzion a que concurra con su practica[,] zelo y experiencias al mejor logro y perfecto logro de la reduzion de dhas Islas cuió titulo (en la forma que le doy) recibira por mano del Marques de Valero mi Gentilhombre de Camara a quien e conferido los empleos de Virrey Governador y Capitan General del Reyno de la N<sup>a</sup> España. Y le e mandado que luego que llegue a Mexico y tome posesion de dhos cargos trate y comunique con los sugetos que le ordeno las providencias mas convenientes para facilitar el perfecto logro de establecer en todas las Palaos la luz ebangelica concediendole (como le he concedido) plena facultad para que ponga en execuzion todas las que se discurrieren oportunas:*

*En cuia conformidad: por la presente os ordeno y mando dispongais que se embarquen en el Patache que deve ir a las Marianas los quatro soldados[,] clavazon[,] herramientas[,] pedreros y las armas y muniziones que quedan referidas satisfaciendo su importe de caudales de mi Real Hazienda y asi mismo os mando executeis todas las ordenes que sobre este asunto os di en el expresado Marques de Valero y que concurráis por vuestra parte al mas exacto cumplimiento de todo lo referido preveniendo os que por despacho de este dia mando al Governador de las Marianas embarque alli los 25 soldados y las provisiones que quedan expresadas; y espero de vuestra actividad y zelosa aplicacion al servicio de Dios y mio no omitereis cosa alguna que pueda facilitar el conseguir enteramente que aquellos naturales se radiquen en la religion Catholica, el zelo que en esta materia se adelantare me dareis quenta con la mayor individualidad en todas ocasiones.*

*Fha en Buen Retiro a 11 de Noviembre de 1715.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

*Señalado del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines, to inform him about what must be done to achieve the exploration of the Palaos Islands and ordering him what he must do on his part.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

The information that has repeatedly been exchanged, to the effect that it would be to the service of God and mine to explore the Palaos Islands to establish there the holy gospel through the docility of their natives and to benefit from the fertility of their territories, has been a sufficient reason to order Don Domingo de Zabalburu, your predecessor in that post, to do so, in a letter dated 2 November 1714 and to you, on 20 June 1715, urging you both to apply the greatest activity and efforts for the complete success of this exploration work.

And my Royal mind still has the ardent desire to see this enterprise continue by all possible means, specially due to the notices received from you to the effect that two of said Islands that were named San Andrés have already been discovered, and lately received from Francisco de Borja of the Society of Jesus and Procurator in Mexico for the missions of his order in those Islands in which he advised that sailing directions exist for all the other Palaos Islands.

I have decided, after consulting my Council of the Indies and in view of your letter of 25 June 1712 in which you report the shipwreck of the patache that was sent to make this exploration in 1711, the one carrying the missionary Father Andrés Serrano, considering that this setback and others that have occurred previously with various vessels have occasioned many expenditures by my Royal treasury, to arrange for such expen-

ses to be avoided and still pursue such an important work with the greatest savings, to have the patache that goes every year from those Islands to the Marianas with the succor of that garrison carry 4 soldiers from that City who know about carpentry and to take along aboard the ship a supply of iron for the construction of small vessels, wood-working tools and hoes to work the soil, a quantity of pikes, 4 mortars and some firearms with their corresponding ammunition, and that during the time that said vessel is detained at the Marianas a provision of sufficient meat be made, for the supply of one year for the personnel destined to that enterprise, for instance, 25 soldiers from the garrison of the Marianas with one officer to lead them, all paid the same salary that they enjoy there and two missionaries supported the same way as always and in this way said vessel is to pass to one of the Palaos Islands, for which sailing directions already exist, and leave there all the above-mentioned personnel, the patache then continuing its return voyage, so that upon returning to that neighborhood without fail the following year the same or some other ship would also carry some preventive succor. In the same manner as before, information would be collected regarding the progress made, the products surveyed and whether or not the natives of the island have been attracted with kindness, not omitting anything that might fulfil my desire to facilitate this project. I have also decided to despatch the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos Islands to Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, a pilot who was formerly an Admiral of the run of those Islands, with regards to the contribution he can make with his practical knowledge and zeal toward the greater possibility of complete success in the reduction of said Islands; he will receive said title (in the form that I give it) from the hands of the Marquis of Valero, Gentleman of my Chamber, to whom I have conferred the posts of Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain. And I have ordered him to deal and discuss with the individuals in question, as soon as he arrives at Mexico and take possession of said posts, on the most appropriate provisions to facilitate the perfect success of the establishment in all of the Palaos of the light of the gospel, and granting him (as was in fact granted) full authority to carry out all of the measures that were thought most timely.

In consideration whereof, by the present I order you to arrange for the patache that goes to the Marianas to carry the 4 soldiers, iron, tools, mortars, weapons and ammunitions that were mentioned, charging their costs to my Royal treasury and also I order you to carry out all the orders that I gave you about this matter through said Marquis of Valero and to do your utmost on your part to comply most exactly with all of the above, and I inform you that in a despatch of today's date I order the Governor of the Marianas to put on board there the 25 soldiers and the supplies that are mentioned; and I expect from your activity and zealous application to the service of God and mine that you will not omit anything that might facilitate the complete achievement of having those natives embrace the Catholic religion. You are to report to me about the zeal that will be applied to this matter in the greatest of details at every opportunity.

Made at Buen Retiro, on 11 November 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.  
Countersigned by the Council.

## F8. Decree sent to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Buen Retiro 11 November 1715

*Sources: AGI Fil. 215; AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 157v-159v, pp. 370-374; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 297v-298v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de las Islas Marianas ordenandole lo que ha de executar para el descubrimiento de las Palaos luego que llegue el Patache que deve ir de Manila con el situado de aquel Presidio.*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas.*

*Las noticias que repetidamente me han asegurado lo conveniente que seria al servicio de Dios y mio el descubrir las Islas de Palaos para establecer en ellas el Santo Evangelio mediante la docilidad de sus naturales y desfrutar lo fértil de sus territorios han sido motivo para mandar a mis Governadores de Philipinas en varias ocasiones aplicasen la mayor actividad y diligencia al entero logro de este descubrimiento. Y manteniendose mi Real animo en el fervoroso deseo de que se continúe por los medios posibles en la solicitud de esta empresa mayormente con las noticias de haverse descubierto ya dos de dichas Islas que se nombraron San Andres y las que ultimamente ha dado Francisco de Borja de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs y Procurador en Mexico de las Misiones de su religion en Philipinas en que avisa estar formado derrotero para todas las demas de las Palaos.*

*He resuelto a consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias de 19 de Agosto de este año que para ob[v]iar los gastos que se han ocasionado con el apresto de varias embarcaciones destinadas a esta empresa de las que les ha fracasado la mayor parte y conseguir el descubrimiento con el mayor ahorro posible se disponga que en el Patache que de Manila hace viage anualmente a esas Islas con el socorro o situado de ese Presidio se embarquen en dho Puerto de Manila quatro soldados de aquella Ciudad que entiendan carpinteria[,] una porzion de clavazon para fabrica de embarcaciones menores[,] herramientas para labrar madera[,] azadones para levantar tierra, alguna cantidad de chuzos[,] quatro pedreros y unas armas de fuego con muniziones correspondientes que en llegando dho navio a ese Puerto se hagan en el las prevenciones de carnes competentes para el gasto que en un año pudiere hacer la gente destinada para esta empresa a la qual vayan 25 soldados de los de ese Presidio con un cabo que los mande pagados con el mismo sueldo que gozan en el y dos Misioneros Jesuitas de los que residen en esas Islas socorridos con lo mismo que siempre se les asiste de mi Real Hazienda. Y que en esta forma pase el Patache a una de las Islas Palaos de que ai formado derrotero y deje en ella toda la referida gente continuando despues el navio su tornaviage de Manila para que bolviendo el año siguiente en la misma forma el propio u otro vagel al mismo*

*parage llevando a prevenzion algun socorro tome las noticias de lo que dha gente huviere adelantado[,] de los frutos que se huvieren reconocido y de si han podido uno atraer con el agasajo los naturales de la Isla. Y no omitiendo mi deseo circunstanzado que pueda facilitar este intento he mandado tambien despachar titulo de Adelantado de las Palaos a Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, Piloto graduado de Almirante en atenzion a que concurra con su practica[,] zelo y experiencias al mejor y perfecto logro de la reduzion de dhas Islas cuió titulo (en la forma que se le doy) recibira por mano del Marques de Valero mi Gentilhombre de Camara a quien he conferido los empleos de Virrey Governador y Capitan General del Reyno de la N<sup>a</sup> España y le he mandado que luego que llegue a Mexico y tome posesion de dhos cargos trate y comunice con los sugetos que le ordeno las providencias mas convenientes para facilitar el perfecto logro de establecer en todas las Palaos la luz Evangelica concediendole (como le concedo) plena facultad para que ponga en execuzion todas las que se discurrieren oportunas en cuia conformidad por la presente os ordeno y mando que luego que de Manila llegue a ese Puerto el Patache con el situado de esas Islas y las prevenziones que quedan referidas para el descubrimiento de las Palaos sobre que doi la orden conveniente por despacho de este dia al Governador de Philipinas dispongais se embarquen en el los 25 soldados con su Cabo y los dos Misioneros Jesuitas con las prevenziones de carnes correspondientes al gasto de un año en la forma que queda expresado y satisfaziendo todos los costos de caudales de mi Real Hazienda y que dho Patache vaya a una de las Islas Palaos la que mas conviniere segun el derrotero que ay formado y que en ella deje y desembarque la referida gente como queda prevenidos.*

*Y asi mismo os mando executeis todas las ordenes que sobre este asunto os diere el Marques de Valero y que concurrais por vuestra parte al mas exacto cumplimiento de esta mi Real deliverazion. Y espero de vuestra actibidad y celosa aplicazion al servicio de Dios y mio no omitireis cosa alguna que pueda facilitar el logro de que aquellos naturales se radiquen en la religion Catholica. Y de lo que en esta materia se adelantare me dareis cuenta con toda individualidad en las ocasiones que se ofrezcan.*

*Fha en Buen Retiro a 11 de noviembre de 1715.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### *Lista.*

*Ocho Pedreros de Bronce con ducientos cartuchos de Metralla.*

*Ocho Arcabuzes de cuerda con quatro mil Balas de Plomo.*

*Seis pares de Pistolas con quinientas Balas.*

*Ocho Tinajas de Polvora gruesa.*

*Dos Tinajas de Polvora fina.*

*Dos Caxas de Guerra.*

*Dos Banderas de Manta.*

## **Translation.**

### **The King**

To the Governor of the Mariana Islands, ordering him to carry out his part for the exploration of the Palaos, as soon as the patache that must go from Manila with the subsidy of that garrison does arrive.

### **My Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands.**

The information that has repeatedly been sent to me to the effect that it would be appropriate to the service of God and mine to explore the Palaos Islands to establish there the holy Gospel through the docility of their natives and to benefit from the fertility of their territories, has been the reason for me to order my Governors in the Philippines on various occasions to apply the greatest activity and effort to the full success of this exploration. And since the ardent desire to see this work continue and this enterprise pursued by all possible means has not changed in my royal mind, specially thanks to the news of the discovery of two said islands that were named San Andrés and to the news I received lately from Francisco de Borja of the Society of Jesus and Procurator in Mexico for the missions of his order in the Philippines in which he advises me that sailing directions already exist for all of the other Palaos Islands.

I have decided, in a consultation of my Council of the Indies of 19 August of this year, to avoid the expenditures that have been occasioned by the outfitting of various vessels destined to this enterprise, most of which have been wrecked, and to achieve the exploration with the greatest savings possible to arrange for the patache that makes the yearly voyage from Manila to those Islands with the succor or subsidy of that garrison to take on at said port of Manila 4 soldiers of that City who would be knowledgeable about carpentry, plus some iron to built minor vessels, wood-working tools, hoes to work the soil, some quantity of pikes, 4 mortars and some firearms with corresponding ammunition, that, upon said ship reaching that port, it be loaded with a supply of meat, enough to last one year, to feed the personnel destined to this enterprise, to wit, 25 soldiers from those serving in that garrison with one officer to lead them, paid with the same salary that they enjoy presently, and two Jesuit missionaries from those who reside in those Islands, supported the same way as always by my Royal treasury. And that in this manner the patache is to pass to one of the Palaos Islands for which there are sailing directions and leave there all the above personnel, then continue its round trip from Manila, in order for the same or another vessel to return the following year in the same manner, to the same neighborhood, taking along some succor, there to collect information about the progress made by said people, the products that might have been recognized and whether or not the natives of the island have responded to kindness. And not forgetting my qualified desire to facilitate this project, I have also ordered despatched the title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos to Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, a pilot and former admiral, with regards to his practical knowledge, zeal and experience that he might apply to the better and more perfect success of the reduction of said Islands. He will receive said title (in the form that I give it) through the hands of the Marquis of Valero, Gentleman of my Chamber, to whom I have conferred the posts

of Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain and I have ordered him, as soon as he gets to Mexico and takes over said posts, to deal and communicate with the individuals whom I ordered on the most appropriate provisions to facilitate the perfect success of the establishment in all of the Palaos of the light of the gospel, by granting him (as I grant him) full authority to carry out all of those that might be found timely, in compliance of which by the present I order you, as soon as the patache arrives at that port from Manila with the subsidy of those Islands and the above-mentioned supplies for the exploration of the Palaos, regarding which I am despatching an order today to the Governor of the Philippines, you are to arrange the embarkation of the 25 soldiers with their officer and the two Jesuit missionaries with meat supplies corresponding to one year in the manner stated and charging all the expenses to my Royal treasury and that said patache is to go to one of the Palaos Islands that is most appropriate, in accordance with the sailing directions that have been written and it is to land said personnel there and leave them behind, as arranged.

And I order you as well to carry out all the orders that the Marquis of Valero might give you regarding this matter and you are to comply exactly on your part with this my Royal deliberation. And I expect out of your activity and zealous application to the service of God and mine that you will not omit any thing that might facilitate the attachment of those natives to our Catholic religion. And you are to report to me the full details of your actions in this matter at every opportunity.

Made at Buen Retiro, 11 November 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.

### List.

- 8 bronze mortars, with 200 cartridges of grapeshot.
- 8 arquebusses with fuses, with 4,000 lead balls.
- 6 pairs of pistols, with 500 balls.
- 8 jars of coarse powder.
- 2 jars of fine powder.
- 2 war drums.
- 2 flags of canvas.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: For continuation, see Doc. 1715D and 1718A.

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## Document 1716C

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### Short biographies of Fr. Bustillo and Fr. Morales, by Fr. Murillo Velarde

*Source: Fr. Murillo Velarde's Historia de Philipinas, Tome IV, Chapter 28.*

*Note: The correct way of writing Fr. Bustillo's name is without an -s at the end, as is clear from all primary-source documents. However, the secondary sources, such as Fr. García's Vida, and Fr. LeGobien's History, were responsible for first having misspelled his name.*

#### Original text in Spanish

*Capit. XXVIII. Del P. Lorenzo Bustillos [sic], P. Luys de Morales, y otros.*

##### [Short biography of Fr. Bustillo]

*917. El P. Lorenzo Bustillos, nació en el Arzobispado de Burgos à diez de Agosto de 1642, entrò en la Provincia de Toledo en año de 1664 y el de 1668, llegò à Marianas, donde fue insigne Misionero mas de quarenta años, y ocho de ellos Vice-Provincial, y seis años Rector del Seminario, y murió à dos de Marzo de 1716. En Alcalà estudiaba Philosophia el P. Bustillos con conocido aprovechamiento, quando le llamó Dios à la Compañia, donde entrò venciendo la repugnancia de su Padre. En la Religion le diò el Altísimo mas luz, con que alcanzò, acabado el Seminario, licencia, para venir à Philipinas, y aviendo llegado à Mexico, encontró al Ven. P. Diego Luys de Sanvitores, que solicitaba ir à Marianas à alumbrar aquellos Barbaros con la luz del Evangelio. Y no permitiendole al Herm. Bustillos mas dilaciones el fervor de su espiritu, determinò acompañar à dicho Padre à aquella gloriosa empresa, en medio de no ser aun Sacerdote. Aplicòse à la lengua con tal empeño, que salió en ella eminente, y consiguió por la propiedad, y elegancia, con que la hablaba persuadir à aquellos Isleños, à que abrazasen la Ley Evangelica, como con efecto muchos la abrazaron, y ofrecieron sus hijos al bautismo, que despues ellos mismos recibieron. No obstante, que empezase esta espiritual conquista con tan felizes progresos, avia muchos de aquellos Barbaros, que contrarios al Evangelio, perseguian à sus Ministros, de suerte que estos se hallaban frequentemente rodeados de varios peligros de la vida. Y Dios mostrò especial providencia con el H. Bustillos, pues algunas vezes corriendo los Pueblos del monte, para exhortarlos à recibir la Religion Catholica, salieron varios de aquellos Barbaros instigados del demonio à quitarle la vida: pero Dios le defendia cayendo en aquel tiempo*



*grandes aguaceros, con que los agresores se bolvian à sus chozas. Caminando una vez por una playa viò à lo lejos venir corriendo un Indio con un cuchillo en la mano, para matarle: detubose el Herm. encomendandose à Dios, y al ir à descargar el golpe, se quedò yerto el Indio, solo con estas palabras, que le dixo: en que te he ofendido? Las que dixo con tal ternura, y afecto, que deteniendo el furor arrebatado del Barbaro, le hizo bolver luego la espalda. En otra ocasion al pasar un rio, le iba à acometer un Indio con un **alfange desnudo**: pero llegando à este tiempo otro Indio mas piadoso detubo, y reprehendiò al agresor, y llebò al Herm. à su casa, donde lo regalò segun su posibilidad, y despues lo acompañò quatro leguas, hasta ponerlo en parte segura.*

*918. Dos años se ocupò el Herm. Lorenzo en estos Apostolicos empleos, los quales pasados, lo embiò el P. Sanvitores à Manila, para que prosiguiese sus estudios, y se ordenase de Sacerdote. Aplicose con gran cuydado, y aprovechamiento à las letras. Quando llegò la noticia de la muerte del P. Sanvitores, el Superior de aquella Mision instaba al P. Provincial, le embiase nuevos Operarios. Este viendo lo mucho, que podia trabajar, y adelantar aquella Mision el Herm. Bustillos, le propuso si queria bolver à ella, para lo qual era necesario dexar los estudios. Dificil era el sacrificio, que se le pedia: pero fue tal su humildad, y su fervor, que dexando enteramente los estudios, y las esperanzas de el grado, y esplendor, que por ellos podia conseguir, se ofreciò bolver con gran prontitud al cultivo de aquella copiosa, y necesitada mies.*

*Se embarcò para Acapulco, ordenòse en Mexico de Sacerdote, y en compaÑia del P. Manuel Solorzano bolviò à Marianas el año de 1676, donde trabajò con grande fervor, y mucho fruto de aquellos Isleños el resto de su larga vida. Los peligros, en que se viò, las necesidades, que padecio, y los trabajos, que sufriò, se pueden inferir facilmente de lo que hemos dicho de los martyrios de los Padres, que acabaron à manos de los barbaros, y de los varios lebantamientos, que ubo. Cuydaba de aquella Christiandad, y de su mismo aprovechamiento con gran exaccion. Para lo qual tenia dos horas de oracion cada dia, y à lo ultimo se puede decir, que era su oracion continua, exercitòse en las demas virtudes Religiosas con edificacion, hasta que muriò à dos de Marzo de 1716 à setenta y quatro años de edad, de que gastò la mayor parte en aquella Mision, que viò nacer, la viò casi arruynada, y ultimamente muriò con el consuelo de dexarla floreciente.*

*919. El P. Francisco Diez...*

**[Short biography of Fr. Morales]**

*920. El P. Luys de Morales, naciò en Tordesillas à veinte y nueve de Septiembre de 1641, entrò en la Provincia de Castilla el de 1658 dia de S. Agustin, de quien desde entonces fue especial devoto. En Salamanca estudiò Theologia, y de alli le sacò Dios para esta Provincia. En Mexico encontró al Ven. P. Diego Luys de Sanvitores, que de tornaviage se avia de quedar en las Islas de los Ladrones, y al llegar à ellas el año de 1668, eligiò para aquella nueva conquista al P. Morales, aunque no avia acabado sus estudios. Le cediò el P. Sanvitores el primer bautismo, que se hizo en aquella tierra, como lo executò con grande consuelo el P. Morales, poniendo el nombre de Mariana à la niña, como flor consagrada à Maria Santisima. Y acaso el P. Sanvitores le cediò esta*

*gloria, como por prenuncio de aver de ser el P. Morales **el primero, que derramase alli su sangre**, como à poco tiempo sucediò en la Isla de Saypan, donde à catorce de Agosto del mesmo año, estando administrando el bautismo, le atravesaron el muslo con una lanza, que por ser de hueso humano, fue de grande peligro, como fue bien sensible el remedio, pues porque el hueso no enconase la herida con muerte del Padre, fue necesario sufrir la dolorosa carniceria de rasgarle, y abrirle la carne, hasta donde llegaba la herida, para que no quedase alguna particula del hueso, lo que llebò el Padre con gran paciencia.*

*Despues de la primera correria hasta Saypan lo señalò el P. Sanvitores, para que fuese à descubrir las Islas de Norte desde Zarpana. Dexò en Tinian al P. Cardeñoso, y prosiguiò solo hasta las ultimas Islas, que hazen la cordillera, y aviendo bautizado muchos niños, y algunos adultos, y publicado el Evangelio en todas aquellas Islas, bolviò à la cabezera de Agaña à los seis meses. Al mismo tiempo se aplicò con sumo cuydado à formar **un Catecismo, y un Confesonario** para la mejor, y mas permanente instruccion de los Indios, y ayuda de los nuevos Ministros. Y lo que es mas, pudo componer **un Vocabulario** de aquella estraña, y dificil lengua, tan perfecto, y tan cabal, que mereciò la aprobacion del P. Sanvitores, y de los Indios mas capazes, y ladinos de aquellas Islas.*

*921. Tres años cultivò el P. Morales aquella nueva Viña con gran cosecha de trabajos para si, y gran fruto de aquellas almas. Y el año de 1671 vino à Manila à proseguir sus estudios, y acabados, le mandaron aprender la lengua Tagala, y le encargaron los dos grandes Pueblos de **Yndang, y Maragondong**, que cada uno necesita de un Ministro, y no de pocas fuerzas por la dispersion de los Indios, sobre [todo] su numero. No obstante el P. Morales administraba à los dos, y el dia de fiesta decia Misa, y predicaba en el uno, y despues iba à el otro à decir Misa, y predicar, sin que fuese embarazo à su fervor la distancia de quatro leguas de camino, y lo molestò del tiempo, ò de lluvias, ò de soles. Y aun ubo tiempo, en que cuydo de los tres Pueblos de Maragondong, Yndang, y Silang...*

*...  
El año de 1676 à dos de Febrero hizo la Profesion de quatro votos, y luego le dieron el Rectorado de Antipolo, donde compusò la casa, y la Iglesia...*

*El año de 1681, fue electo en la Congregacion Provincial por Procurador de esta Provincia para Madrid, y Roma el P. Geronymo de Ortega Rector del Colegio de San Joseph; y por su compañero el P. Luys de Morales, y aviendo muerto el P. Ortega, quedò encargado de los graves negocios, que entonces tenía la Provincia el P. Morales.*

*922. El año de 1683, se embarcò, y fue increíble lo que padeciò en el viage penosissimo de aquel año, pues durò nueve meses, enfermaron los mas navegantes, murieron muchos, y fue preciso, que el Padre hiziese los oficios de Predicador, de Confesor, de enfermero, y de grumete. Pues le tocaba tres, ò quatro vezes al dia dar à la bomba, para que el Galeon no se fuese apique con la mucha agua que hacia...*

*Pasò à España el año de 1685, y negociò con felicidad el despacho de su Mision, y otras dependencias en Madrid, pasò el año siguiente à Roma, donde diligenciò los nego-*

*cios de esta Provincia, De alli bolvió à España, y despachò en Sevilla la Mision, y sin dar descanso à su cuerpo en tantas fatigas, bolvió à Roma à la Congregacion general, en que fue electo N.M.R.P. Tyrso Gonzalez por General de la Compañia. Entonces consiguió de la Santidad de Inocencio XI, varias Reliquias, y de la Santidad de Alexandro VIII la revalidacion, y extension de nuestros Privilegios en tres Breves...*

*Le quiso detener en España nuestro P. Tyrso Gonzalez; pero fueron tantas las instancias, que le hizo el P. Morales, verdadero hijo de esta Provincia, por bolverse à ella, que se lo concedio N.P. General. No obstante le diò pliego cerrado, que abierto en Mexico, le mandaba quedarse en aquella Ciudad por Procurador de esta Provincia, que ubo de aceptar con obediencia ciega. Alli despachò con felicidad los negocios de esta Provincia, y de la Mision de Marianas, y concluyó un pleyto muy antiguo, y prolijo con sentencia favorable à esta Provincia. Embióle N.P. General la Patente de Visitador de la Provincia de Nueva España...*

*Eran tan continuas las instancias, que hacia por bolverse à esta Provincia, que le concedieron en Roma la licencia deseada, y aviendo estado siete años en Mexico, bolvió à ella con gran sentimiento, de quantos en Mexico le avian tratado. Y el Virrey Conde de Galves explicò la estimacion, que hacia del Padre, diciendo, que avia perdido un grande, y fiel Consejero. Bolvió pues à esta Provincia, y à poco tiempo le vino la Patente de Provincial, y concluydo el triennio, fue Rector del Colegio de Manila quatro años, despues vivió como doze [rather diez] años de particular con varios achaques, que ultimamente le quitaron la vida despues de tan larga preparacion, recibidos todos los Sacramentos en el Colegio de Manila à catorze de Junio de 1716.*

**[Eulogy of Fr. Morales]**

*923. Desde que entrò en la Compañia el P. Luys de Morales diò muestras en la compostura, y observancia de un perfecto Jesuyta, ni es menester mas prueba para esto, que el juyzio del Ven. P. Sanvitores, que asi lo explicò varias vezes de palabra, y mucho mas por el hecho de averle elegido con el P. Luys de Medina, para la gloriosa empresa de la conquista, y conversion de las Islas de los Ladrones. Alli, aun siendo estudiante, hizo una vida Apostolica, y atendiendo al bien de los proximos, no se descuydaba de si mismo, antes siguiendo el consejo del Apostol, atendia a sí, y à la doctrina. Alli cumplió con exaccion los tres votos Religiosos de pobreza, castidad, y obediencia. La comida regular era de rayzes, cocos, arroz, algun pescado, y otras cosas de poca substancia, y nada apetitosas, pues aun no se avia introducido la sal. De la ropa, y vestidos, que llebaba de Nueva España, le desnudò la caridad, para abrigar à otros pobres, y ganar la voluntad à los Isleños. La sotana, y aun el bonete, era de palmas, que tegian à modo de esteras, que aqui llamamos petates, de lo mismo era el calzado, quando lo llebaba, porque muchas vezes iba descalzo, caminando sobre la yerba, y tierra llena de espinas, que le ensangrentaban à poco tiempo los pies, que con este lustre eran tan hermosos, como los viò Isayas, en los que Evangelizan la paz. La castidad se hizo mas admirable, por andar entre gentes, que criadas en una barbara libertad, con una suma desnudez, no hacian aprecio del recato, sin deberles la modestia, ni aun el menor cuy-*

*dado. La obediencia fue ciega, pronta, y activa, pues supo vencer las dificultades, y empeños arduos, y llenos de peligros de vida por mar, y por tierra con otro sin numero de trabajos, que se ofrecian en el descubrimiento de aquellas Islas, y en la reduccion de aquellos Isleños. A este tenor continuò el resto de su vida. En toda ella se reconociò un animo constante, para emprender, y acabar qualquier negocio por arduo, que fuese con felicidad. A que ayudaba mucho su genio afable, con que se ganaba las voluntades de todos los que trataba, y la destreza, y sagacidad, con que iba proporcionando los medios suavemente para la consecucion del fin. En Manila, en Mexico, en Madrid, y Roma acabò felizmente negocios graves, y dificiles como hemos visto, y en Manila consiguió diez mil pesos de algunos bienhechores, para satisfaccion de una deuda, à que diò cuerpo lo ajustado de su genio escrupuloso. Hizo los dos quartos de nuestro Colegio, que siendo tan costosos por su mole, y fortaleza, no parece se ubiera conseguido fabrica tan costosa, y dificil sin la industria del P. Morales, que era el Rector.*

924.  *En medio de tantas dependencias, y ocupaciones era admirable la paz interior de su espiritu, y las devociones que tenia como consta de muchos apuntes, que se le encontraron. Era aplicado à la oracion, y era muy frequente assunto de ella la dolorosa Pasion del Señor. Visitaba muchas vezes al Santisimo, especialmente los ultimos años. Siempre, que podia, decia Misa, sin que se lo estorvasen los caminos, ni ocupaciones. Se empleaba con grande gusto, y empeño, en quanto conducia al bien de las almas. Este zelo le detubo tres años en Marianas, aun siendo estudiante, en que fue grande el fruto, que hizo, predicando a aquellos Gentiles el Evangelio, de que se siguieron muchos bautismos, asi de adultos, como de niños.*

...

*Y porque todos lograsen la caridad, solicitò en Roma muchas Indulgencias para las benditas animas del Purgatorio, de quien fue tan devoto, que parecia un Agente solícito suyo.*

...

*Lo que especialmente se experimentò en la jornada de Europa, iba en una ocasion el Padre con su compañero por un camino peligroso, quando tropezando las mulas, cayeron por un despeñadero un monte abajo, y al llegar à lo hondo del barranco, quando se imaginaban descoyuntados, y mal heridos, se hallaron sin ninguna lesion, se recobraron del susto, y continuaron su camino, y à dos tiros de mosquete encontraron varios hombres maniatados, à quienes despues de robarlos avia dexado alli la crueldad de los salteadores en el mismo tiempo, que avia sucedido la cayda, cuya detencion los librò de la furia de aquellos hombres. Este beneficio atribuyò el P. Morales à las animas benditas...*

925.  *El V.P. Sanvitores instruyendo al P. Morales para su Apostolado de Marianas le dize: **todo lo empieze V.R. con Maria, todo lo continue con Maria.** Y el P. Morales cumplio exactamente esta instruccion, pues fue devoto de esta Soberana Reyna, y en los apuntes se vè la ternura, con que la amaba. Y esta benignisima Señora le agradecia sus obsequios, y aviendo dado los Barbaros al Padre **una lanzada en Saypan, se apareciò tres dias despues en Tinian à un Indio llamado Ignacio Hipaga, y con pa-***

*labras sentidas, y semblante severo, se quejó de los de Saypan, por aver herido à su siervo el P. Morales. Estas, y otras devociones tenia el Padre en si mismo, y las procuraba promover, y propagar en otros, repartiendoles Libros espirituales, medallas, relicarios, y otras cosas de devocion. Lo que padeciò el P. Morales en tantas navegaciones, caminos, negocios, empleos, y enfermedades fue mucho, pero mayor fue la paciencia, con que sufrìò las mortificaciones interiores, y exteriores, que se le ofrecieron. Yendo à la visita de Bisayas, quando era Provincial, se perdió con un bagoio, ò uracan furioso la Caracoa, en que iba el Padre, que con su compañero saliò à tierra mojado, y solo cubierto con un capotillo de un criado. Y hallandose en una playa desierta sin abrigo, sin casa, y sin comida, no se le oyo queja alguna, ni la menor señal de impaciencia. Mas heroyco fue el sufrimiento, que mostrò en la carnizeria, que hizieron en su cuerpo, quando le sacaron la punta de la lanza de hueso, que le clavaron en Saypan. No fue menor el que tuvo en una cayda, que diò en una de las jornadas de Europa, donde aviendo caydo de la cavalleria, se dislocò, y maltratò el hueso del brazo izquierdo, y en medio de aver sido agudo, y penetrante el dolor, no diò muestras de ello, diciendolo al compañero, ni aun significandolo en el semblante. Ocultò entonces su sufrido silencio, y estuvo este accidente, nueve años, hasta que en esta Provincia se le hinchò notablemente el brazo con la intemperie de los Nortes, y para que le aplicasen el remedio competente, ubo de descubrir lo que tantos años avia callado su paciencia. Fue preciso componerle el brazo, que despues de tantos tiempos no solo le renovò, pero le aumento mas agudos dolores de los que padeciò en la cayda.*

*De los trabajos de Marianas sacò dos quebraduras, y hinchazon en las piernas, à que despues se añadió una penosisima asma, que con sus ahogos le ponía varias vezes, casi en terminos de espirar. Todo lo llevaba con tal sufrimiento, que uno, que le comunicò mas de treinta años, afirmó, que ni en trabajos, ni en caminos, ni en desayres, ni enfermedades, no le notò impaciencia alguna, ni aun inmutada la serenidad del semblante. Estas virtudes, y prendas le hizieron amado de Dios, y de los hombres, y le sacaron con felicidad de tantos empeños, y oficios como tuvo en su dilatada vida. De el Padre hazen mencion el P. Francisco Garzia, y el P. Carlos Gobien en la Historia de Marianas.*

## Translation

### Chapter 28. About Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Fr. Luis de Morales, and others.

#### [Short biography of Fr. Bustillo]

917. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo was born in the Archdiocese of Burgos on 10 August 1642. He joined the Province of Toledo<sup>1</sup> in 1664, and he arrived at the Marianas in 1668. He served there as a famous missionary for over 40 years, 8 of which as Vice-Provincial, and 6 years as Rector of the Seminary. He died on 2 March 1716. At Alcalá, Fr. Bustillo was studying Philosophy with known progress when God called him to the Society, which he joined after overcoming the repugnance of his father. In the Order the Almighty gave him more guiding light, which he took advantage of, once he had finished the Seminary, to get permission to come to the Philippines. After he arrived at Mexico, he met the Ven. Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores who was soliciting missionaries to go to the Marianas to enlighten the barbarians there with the light of the Gospel. And the fervor of Brother Bustillo's spirit wished for no more delays; he decided to accompany said Father on that glorious enterprise, although he was not yet a priest. He applied himself so well in learning the local language that he came out very good at it, to such a degree of naturalness and elegance that he succeeded in persuading those islanders to embrace the Gospel law, and many did in fact embrace it, and offered their children for baptism, which they themselves received later on. Notwithstanding that this spiritual conquest began with such lucky progress, there were many of those barbarians who remained opposed to the Gospel and persecuted its Ministers, so that they were often surrounded by various dangers to their lives. But God showed a special providence toward Br. Bustillo, because a few times when visiting the towns of the interior to exhort them to accept the Catholic religion, [once] some of those barbarians, instigated by the devil, **tried to take away his life**, but God was defending him and He caused heavy rainfalls at that time, enough to make his aggressors return to their huts. Once when he was walking along a beach he saw from afar an Indian running with a knife in his hand, **to kill him**. The Brother stopped and commended himself to God, but when the Indian was about to give him the blow, he remained rigid when he told him the following words: **"In what did I offend you?"** He said these words with such tenderness, and affection, that they stopped the fury of the barbarian, and made him bring down the sword afterwards. On another occasion, upon crossing a river, an Indian was about to attack him with a **naked sword**, but another Indian stepped in at that time to detain, and reprehend the aggressor, taking the Brother to his house, where he entertained him according to his means, and afterwards he accompanied him for four leagues, until he had led him to a safe area.

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1 Ed. note: Centered not at Toledo, but at Alcalá de Henares.

918. For two years Brother Lorenzo was occupied in these apostolic chores, after which Fr. Sanvitores sent him to Manila to pursue his studies and become a priest. He applied himself with great care and progress in letters. When the news of the death of Fr. Sanvitores arrived [at Manila in 1672], the Superior of that Mission requested the Fr. Provincial to send new workers. Seeing how much Brother Bustillo could work and make that Mission progress, Fr. Provincial asked him if he wished to return to it, for which he would have to leave his studies. The sacrifice that was being asked of him presented a difficult choice, but his humility and his zeal were such that, abandoning completely his studies, and any hope for a degree, and the splendor that he could have gained by them, he volunteered to return promptly to cultivate that copious and needy harvest.

He embarked for Acapulco, and was ordained a priest in Mexico City and, in company with Fr. Manuel Solorzano returned to the Marianas in 1676, where he worked with great zeal, and much benefit for those islanders for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup> The dangers that he experienced, the needs that he suffered, and the hardships that he endured, can be easily inferred by what we have narrated about the martyrdoms of the Fathers who died at the hands of the barbarians, and about the various uprisings that took place. He cared for those heathen and saw to his own improvement with great exactness. For this purpose he reserved two hours of prayers every day, but toward the end, one can say that it was a continuous prayer; he exercised himself in the other religious virtues with edification, until he died on 2 March 1716 at the age of 74 years. He had spent most of his life in that Mission; he saw it being born, he saw it almost in ruins, and finally he died with the consolation of leaving it in a flourishing state.

919. Fr. Francisco Diez...

#### [Short biography of Fr. Morales]

920. Fr. Luís de Morales was born in Tordesillas on 29 September 1641. He joined the Province of Castile in 1658 on the feast-day of St. Augustine, toward whom he held a special devotion from then on. He studied Theology in Salamanca, but God took him out of there to send him to this Province [of the Philippines]. In Mexico, he met the Ven. Fr. Diego Luís de Sanvitores who, in the return voyage was to remain at the Islands of the Ladrones. Upon getting there in 1668, he selected Fr. Morales for that new conquest, although he had not yet completed his studies. Fr. Sanvitores let him perform the first baptism which took place in that country; Fr. Morales was very pleased to do so, and he gave the name of Mariana to the small girl, as a consecrated flower offered to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Perhaps Fr. Sanvitores yielded this glory to him, as he foresaw that Fr. Morales was to be **the first to shed his blood there**. This happened a short time later at the Island of Saypan, where, on 14 August of the same year, while he was administering baptism, they threw a spear that pierced his thigh. Unluckily the spear had a human bone at the tip and his life was at great risk. The remedy was also

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Bustillo was still actively working at Umatac in 1715 (see HM11: 640)...

very painful; indeed, to prevent the bone from infecting the wound and causing the death of the Father, it was necessary to go through the painful operation of having the flesh torn open, as deep as the bottom of the wound, so that no particle of bone would be left in it, something that the Father endured with great patience.

After the first foray as far as Saypan, Fr. Sanvitores assigned him to go and discover the islands north of Zarpana. He left Fr. Cardeñoso in Tinian and went on alone as far as the last islands making up this range of islands, and having baptized many children and a few adults, and preached the Gospel in all of those islands, he returned to the capital of Agaña at the end of six months. At the same time he was busy composing a **Catechism, and a Confessionary** for the better and more permanent teaching of the Indians, and to help the new Ministers.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he was able to compose a **Lexicon** of that strange and difficult language, so perfect and so complete that it deserved the approval of Fr. Sanvitores, and of the smarter Indians, and the interpreters in those islands.<sup>2</sup>

921. Fr. Morales cultivated that new vineyard for three years, with a great harvest of hardships for himself, and great benefits for those souls. In 1671 he came to Manila to pursue his studies and, once he had finished them, they sent him to learn the Tagalog language, and they assigned him the two large towns of **Indang, and Maragondong**, each of which deserves a Minister, one with physical strength because of the dispersion of the Indians, and above all their number.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Fr. Morales looked after both, and on holidays he would say mass and preach in one, and afterwards he would go to the other to say mass and preach, without the long distance of 4 leagues being an impediment to his zeal, nor the bothersome weather, either the rain or the sun. Furthermore, for a while he took care of three towns: Maragondong, Indang, and Silang...

...

On 2 February 1676, he made his profession of the 4 vows, and then they gave him the Rectorate of Antipolo, where he built the house, and the church...

During the Provincial Congregation of 1681, Fr. Gerónimo de Ortega, the Rector of the College of San José was elected Procurator of this Province in Madrid and Rome, and Fr. Luís de Morales as his companion. But Fr. Ortega died and Fr. Morales inherited the serious affairs that the Province had at the time.

922. In 1683 he embarked and it was incredible what he suffered during the very arduous voyage of that year, which lasted 9 months, and during which most of the sailors became sick, and many died. It became necessary for Fr. Morales to act as Preacher, Confessor, male nurse, and ship's boy. Indeed, twice or thrice a day, he had to take his turn at the pump, so that the galleon would not sink, because she was very leaky...

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- 1 Ed. note: Unfortunately, these manuscripts, which must have been improvements to Fr. Sanvitores' first drafts (see HM4, App. A), have been lost, probably burned during the 1684 revolt.
  - 2 Ed. note: The early interpreters were Filipinos and Spaniards who had survived the 1638 shipwreck of the galleon *Concepción*.
  - 3 Ed. note: Indang and Maragondong are located south of Manila, in the direction of Lake Taal.



He went on to Spain in 1685 and negotiated successfully for the despatch of his mission band, and other dependencies in Madrid. The following year he went on to Rome, where he transacted the business of this Province. From there he returned to Spain, and despatched the mission band in Seville, and without stopping to rest his tired body, returned to Rome to attend the General Congregation, the one in which our Most Rev. Fr. Tyrso Gonzalez was elected General of the Society. At that time he managed to get from His Holiness Innocent XI various relics, and from His Holiness Alexander VIII the revalidation and extension of our Privileges in three Briefs...<sup>1</sup>

Our Fr. Tyrso Gonzalez wished to detain him in Spain, but the many requests by Fr. Morales, a true son of this Province, to return to it, were so forceful that our Fr. General finally consented. Nevertheless, he gave him a sealed letter which, when opened in Mexico, ordered him to remain in that City as Procurator of this Province, a post he had to accept with blind obedience. There he despatched with success the business of this Province, and of the Mariana Mission, and concluded a very old and long law-suit, with a sentence that was favorable to this Province.<sup>2</sup> Our Fr. General sent him the patent of Visitor of the Province of New Spain...

The requests that he made to return to this Province were so continuous that finally Rome granted him permission to do so. So, after a stay of 7 years in Mexico, he returned to it [in 1697] at the great sorrow of all those he had dealt with in Mexico. Even the Viceroy, the Count of Galve, explained the esteem he had for the Father, by saying that he had lost a great and loyal adviser. So, he returned to this Province, and in a little time came for him the patent of Provincial [in 1699]. Once his 3-year term was over, he became Rector of the College of Manila for 4 years. After that he lived for 12 [rather 10] more years in retirement, suffering from various illnesses that finally took his life, that came after a such a long preparation that he had the time to receive all the sacraments, at the College of Manila, where he died on 14 June 1716.

### [Eulogy of Fr. Morales]

923. As soon as Fr. Luís de Morales joined the Society he gave signs of having the composure and observance of a perfect Jesuit. No further proof of this is needed, other than the judgment of the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores, who explained it thus various times verbally, and much more so by the fact that he had selected him with Fr. Luís de Medina for the glorious enterprise of the conquest and conversion of the Islands of the Ladrones. There, even when still a student, he lived the life of an apostle and, looking after the good of his neighbors, he did not forget himself; rather, he followed the advice of the Apostle, by taking care of himself, and of the ministry. There he complied with exac-

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- 1 Ed. note: This second visit to Rome must have lasted at least two years, because Gonzalez became General in 1687 and Alexander became Pope in 1689.
  - 2 Ed. note: I think he is referring to the inter-province dispute involving the bequest of Governor Salcedo.

tion the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. His regular food was made of root vegetables, coconuts, rice, some fish, and other things of little substance, and never appetizing; indeed, even salt had not yet been introduced.<sup>1</sup> Even the clothes and garments that he had brought from New Spain he gave up because of his charity, to shelter others, who were poorer than himself, and to gain the islanders' good-will. His cassock, and even his hat, were made of palm, which they were weaving, in the style of mats [i.e. *esteras*], which we call *petates* overhere. His shoes were made of the same material, when he used footwear, because many times he walked barefoot, walking upon the grass, and earth full of thorns that within a short time made his feet bleed; they were then as beautiful as the feet of those who preach peace, as Isaias said. His chastity was the more admirable because he walked among people who were raised in a barbarian freedom, with an extreme nudity, and did not appreciate such notions as reserve, or modesty, and were not concerned in the least about them. His obedience was blind, quick, and active; indeed, he learned how to overcome the difficulties, arduous endeavors, full of risk for his life, at sea and on land with numberless hardships that came up during the exploration of those Islands, and in the reduction of those islanders. The rest of his life was filled with similar examples. During it, he showed a constant willingness to undertake, and then finish, any business, no matter how arduous it was, successfully. He was much helped by the affable character with which he gained the good-will of everyone he came in contact with, and the skill and sagacity with which he applied softer methods to achieve his purpose. In Manila, in Mexico, in Madrid, and in Rome, he successfully concluded serious business, difficult ones as we have seen, and in Manila he obtained 10,000 pesos from some benefactors, for the satisfaction of a debt which his scrupulous nature made him recognize. He built the two annexes of our College, that were so costly on account of their bulk and sturdiness, that it seems that such a costly and difficult construction could not have been done, except with the industry of Fr. Morales, who was its Rector.

924. In the midst of so many dependencies, and occupations, it was admirable to see the internal peace of his spirit, and the devotions that he had, witness many [personal] notes that were found with him. He was fond of praying, and the painful Passion of the Lord was one of his favorite subjects. He often paid visits to the Most Holy, specially in his last years. As long as he could, he would say mass, and he was not put off by the roads, or his occupations. He would employ himself happily, and with dedication, to whatever led to the welfare of souls. This zeal is what kept him for three years in the Marianas, even when he was but a student, and the fruit he harvested there, by preaching the Gospel to those heathen, was great, and there followed many baptisms, not only of adults, but also of children.

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1 Ed. note: This statement is false, of course; salt-making, from sea water evaporation, belongs to the prehistory of the Marianas.

And because he wanted everyone to obtain charity, in Rome he solicited many Indulgences for the blessed souls in Purgatory, toward which he was so devout that he seemed to be their very own, solicitous Agent.

...

An example of this special devotion is an incident that took place during his voyage to Europe. Once the Father was making his way with his companion along a dangerous road, when the mules tripped and they fell downhill through a steep defile and, upon reaching the bottom of the ravine, when they imagined themselves to be disjointed and badly wounded, they found themselves to be without any lesion. They recovered from the shock and continued on their way and, at a further distance of two musket shots, they came upon various men who had had their hands tied by cruel thieves who, after robbing them, had left them stranded there, at the same time that their fall had occurred, and thus had delivered them of the fury of those men. Fr. Morales attributed this favor to the blessed souls...

925. The Ven. Fr. Sanvitores, upon preparing Fr. Morales for his apostolate in the Marianas, tells him: ***Your Reverence is to begin everything with Mary, and to continue everything with Mary.*** And Fr. Morales complied exactly with this instruction; indeed, he was devout to this sovereign Queen, and in his notes can be seen how tenderly he loved her. And this very kind Lady would be thankful for his attentions; for instance, after the barbarians of Saypan **wounded him with a spear, she appeared** three days later in Tinian to an Indian named **Ignacio Hipaga**<sup>1</sup> and, with deep-felt words, and a severe demeanor, complained about the Saypanese, for having wounded Fr. Morales, her servant. These, and other, devotions were kept private by the Father, but he tried to promote and propagate them in others, by distributing spiritual tracts, medals, relics, and other devotional objects. What Fr. Morales suffered during so many sea voyages, overland trips, businesses, jobs, and illnesses was much, but the patience, with which he endured the internal and external mortifications that presented themselves, was greater. During the visit he did of the Visayas, when he was Provincial, the caracoa carrying him and his companions **became lost at sea during a typhoon**, or furious hurricane. He reached the shore all wet, and covered only with the poncho of a servant. Upon finding himself on a deserted beach, without shelter, or house, and without food, he was not heard to complain, nor show the least sign of impatience. On the contrary, he was rather heroic in suffering pain; he showed it when they butchered his body, in order to remove the tip of the bone-tipped spear that the people of Saypan had planted in him. The pain received from a fall he made during one of his journeys in Europe, when he fell from a horse and dislocated and hurt the bone in his left arm; in spite of the pain having been sharp and penetrating, he did not show any sign of it, not telling his companion about it, and not even showing it by his demeanor. He hid it then and suffered in silence during 9 years, until in this Province, with the inclemency of the weather, his arm became so swollen that he had to divulge what

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1 Ed. note: Written Ipaga, and Ipapa, in primary-source documents.

his patience had endured for so many years, in order to receive the proper remedy. It became necessary to reset the bone, so that the pains that he had suffered in the fall so long ago were not only renewed, but made sharper.

From the hardships that he suffered in the Marianas, he came out with two ruptures, and one swelling in the legs, to which was added later a most painful asthma, which gave him a shortness of breath that brought him close to expiring many times. He endured all such sufferings so well, as one who knew him intimately for 30 years asserted, that no matter what hardships, travels, slights, or sicknesses, he was not seen to show any impatience, or even change the serenity of his demeanor. These virtues, and qualities made him loved by God, and men alike, and made him come out successfully from so many endeavors, and offices that he held during his long life. Mention of him is made by Fr. Francisco García, and by Fr. Charles Le Gobien, in the History of the Mariana Islands.

...

### Population statistics for the Marianas, 1710s

*Source: Murillo Velarde's History, 1st ed. 1716 (folio 421), and same information repeated as is in the 2nd ed. 1749.*

*Note: See Doc. 1737B for statistics for 1737, 1749, and 1755; and also Doc. 1749B.*

Agaña	650
Agat	275
Umatag [sic]	192
Merizo	159
Ynarayan [sic]	133
Pago	142
Rota	187

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[Total: 1,738 with no mention of Saipan, though still inhabited.]

### Population statistics for the Marianas, 1710-1887.

*Source: Antonio del Campo Echeverría. España en Oceanía (Santander, Blanchard y Arce, 1897).*

*Note: The exact primary sources that he used are not given.*

1710	3,590
1722	1,936
1800	4,070
1818	5,506
1833	6,817
1849	8,569
1878	8,665
1887	10,000.

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## Documents 1717B

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### Mission band led by Fr. Valdivieso

*Sources: AGI ex-45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 117 et seq.*

#### B1. Petition by Fr. Alemán

##### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *1717.—Misión de 37 Religiosos Sacerdotes y estudiantes y 4 Coadjutores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs que a expensas de la Real Hazienda pasan a las Misiones y Conversions de las Yslas Philipinas en el Galeon nombrado **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y Señor Don Antonio** Almirante de la flota que se esta despachando a Nueva España a cargo del Gefe de Escuadra Don Antonio Serrano.—Superior y Comissario el Padre Marcelo Valdiviesso.*

*Ygnacio Aleman de la Compañia de Jesus procurador general de las misiones que en mi religion tiene en las Yndias:*

*Digo que como parece de la orden que presento del Supremo Consejo de las Yndias dirigida a V.S. por el Señor Secretario Don Andres del Coro Barrutia y Zupide se a servido S.M. conceder pasen a expensa de su rreal hazienda quarenta y uno religiosos de la misma Compañia por quenta de los cinquenta que estavan concedidos a la Provincia de las Yslas Filipinas para las misiones y conversiones de aquellas provincias de los quales dichos quarenta y uno religiosos son los treinta y siete sacerdotes y estudiantes y los quatro coadjutores en cuiu numero esta incluso el Padre Marcelo de Valdiviesso que va por Superior de dicha Misión que estan aprovados por dicha Carta y que la real Zedula que asimismo presento es S.M. servido mandar que los Oficiales reales de la Veracruz y en su defecto los de Mexico paguen lo que importaren el aviamiento[,] Viatico y entretenimiento[,] flete y pasaje de dichos quarenta y uno religiosos en cuiu virtud necesito que V.S. se mande dar el despacho de embarcacion que necesitan estos religiosos para executar su viaje en el Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**[,] almiranta de la flota que se esta despachando a la Provincia de Nueva España á cargo del Gefe de Escuadra Don Antonio Serrano y que se ajusten y liquide lo que importare el aviamiento[,] Viatico y entretenimiento[,] flete y pasaje y que de todo se me de certification en la forma que se acostumbra y respecto de que los dichos religiosos se hallan en la ciudad de Cadiz donde ultimamente llegaron y que de hazerlos venir a esta Ciudad se les seguiria notable perjuicio ademas de lo mucho que estrecha el tiempo en la sali-*

*da de la dicha flota motivos todos por que V.S. se a de servir dispensar que la reseña de ellos se cometa al Señor Juez que V.S. fuere servido de los dos que asisten en Cadiz.— Por tanto:*

*A V.S. pido y suplico le provea y ande como llevo pedido que en ello recibira merced de la grandeza de V.S. &a.*

*Jhs*

*+ Ignacio Aleman +*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] 1717.—Mission band of 37 Religious Priests and students, and 4 Coadjutor Brothers of the Society of Jesus who are passing to the Missions and Conversions of the Philippine Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury aboard the Galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y San Antonio**, belonging to the fleet that is being despatched to New Spain under Rear Admiral Don Antonio Serrano.— Superior and Commissioner: Father Marcelo Valdivieso.

I, Ignacio Alemán of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Missions that my Order has in the Indies:

Declare that, as shown on the order that I exhibit to the Supreme Council of the Indies, addressed to Your Lordship, through their Secretary, Don Andrés del Coro Barutia y Zupide, H.M. has been pleased to grant passes to 41 Religious of the same Society at the expense of his Royal treasury, out of the 50 who were granted to the Province of the Philippines for the missions and conversions of those provinces, of whom said 41 Religious consist of 37 priests and students and 4 Coadjutor Brothers, in whose number is included Father Marcelo de Valdivieso who goes as Superior of said mission band, who are approved by said letter and that, in the Royal decree which I also exhibit, H.M. is pleased to order the Royal officials in Veracruz, and failing them those in Mexico, to pay the eventual total expenses for the outfits, food, accommodation, baggages and fares of said 41 Religious. On the basis of same, I need to have Your Lordship order the despatch of embarkation for these Religious for them to make their voyage aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, the almiranta of the fleet that is being despatched to the Province of New Spain under the command of Rear Admiral Don Antonio Serrano,<sup>1</sup> and that be adjusted and liquidated whatever total amount be represented by the outfits, food, accommodation, baggages and fares, and let certificates be issued to me in the usual manner. And with regards to those Religious who are presently at the city of Cadiz, where they have recently arrived, considering the fact that they would be greatly inconvenienced if they had to come to this City [of Seville], in addition to the shortage of time before said fleet sails, good reasons those for Your Lordship to be pleased to arrange for their physical inspection to be referred to one of the two Judges of Your Lordship's choice who are presently serving in Cadiz.

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1 Ed. note: The fleet of 1717 arrived at Veracruz on 9 October, and left again on 8 May 1718 (ref. Ternaux-Compans).

Consequently:

To Your Lordship I beg and beseech to provide for my request, and I expect to receive this favor from the largesse of Your Lordship, etc.

Jhs

+ Ignacio Alemán +

## B2. Physical inspection before boarding

Before me, Don Francisco de Varas y Valdés, member of His Majesty's Privy Council in this City, being employed in various capacities for the royal service, and royal disposition, concerning the preparation and despatch of the fleet scheduled to sail to New Spain under the command of Rear Admiral Antonio Serrano, there appeared 41 religious of the Society of Jesus, who are on their way to Missions in the Philippines at the expense of the Royal treasury, for the purpose of inspecting them, in accordance with the despatch of the Gentlemen President and Official Judges, dated 12th of this month; and consequently, the following are their names, places of birth, ages and characteristic marks:

1. Father Marcelo Valdivieso, Procurator and Superior of said mission band.

...

4. **Father Antonio [sic] de Helguero [sic], priest, professed of 4 vows, born in Burgos, 35 years old, small and slim.**

...

8. **Father Joseph Bonani, priest, born in Alt[d]orff, Diocese of Constance, 29 years old, medium height and blond.**

9. Father Fulgencio Spelumbergo [i.e. Spilimbergo], priest, born in Venice, 28 years old, tall and blond.

...

17. **Father Antonio Canto[y]a, native of Sestri, in Genoa, 24 years old, bright red hair, slim, and rather tall.**<sup>1</sup>

...

Cadiz, 14 July 1717.

Francisco de Varas y Valdés<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: Sestri is a transcription error for Stresa (see my notes in Doc. 1734C).

2 Ed. note: Travel papers in Latin had been issued to Fr. Cantova by Fr. Pompeo Franchi, the Provincial of Rome, on 16 April 1716; the same to Fathers Spilimberg and Bonani by Fr. Valentinus Guaeq. (?), Provincial of Germany, and dated College of Monachi [= Munich], 30 May 1716. There are no signs of either Fr. Forneri or Fr. Heipel, although they are said to have arrived at the Marianas at the same time as those listed above; they were already either in Seville, or waiting in Mexico.

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## Document 1717C

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# The Inquisition to Fr. Ibarguen, dated 4 February 1717

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 254-255, 257-258v.*

### Original text in Spanish

#### ***Despachos remitidos por el Tribunal a las Yslas Philipinas y de las Marianas este año de 1717.—***

*Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas el Padre Ignacio de Ybarguen de la Compañía de Jesus, se le remitió el Edicto sobre la opinion prohibida por el Sor. Inquisidor General, con copia de lo resuelta por el Tribunal en orden a ella.—*

#### ***Al Padre Ignacio de Ybarguen de la Compañía de Jesus Comisario en las Yslas Marianas en los Autos acerca Juan Antonio Retana.***

*En 22 de Marzo del año de Marzo del año pasado de 715: se abiso a nuestro Comisario del recibo de la suya de 8 de Mayo del año antecedente con el Santo de la del padre Pedro Cruidolf, sobre la denuncia de que si hizo Juan Antonio Retana alias fray Nicolas Lopez; y la retratacion que este hizo, ante nuestro Comisario, y notario; y havien- dose recibido el duplicado de todo en 8 de henero de este año, emos mandado, le repita el aviso de dho recivo, y decir de nuestro Comisario; que havien- dose mandado por este Tribunal; en vista de la primera noticia que nos dió, a que se justificase, en Guathemala, y en el Conbento de Mercenarios [sic] de ella, lo que parecio combeniente, resulto, y consta ser cierto que un Nicolas Lopez, natural de la Villa de Sonsonate, hijo lexiti- mo del Capn Francisco Lopez, y de Doña Melchora Seren de los Rios tomo el abito de lego en el conbento grande de los Mercenarios de dha ciudad de Guathemala, en seis dias del mes de septiembre del año pasado de seiscientos nobenta y dos; siendo Comen- dador del dho conbento el Rdo. Padre Maestro fray Diego Camasco, y Maestro de nobicios, el definidor de Provincia fr. Lorenço Perez.*

*Y asimismo consta que el dho Nicolas Lopez profeso como tal lego en siete de sep- tiembre del año siguiente de nobenta y tres; siendo comendador, el referido Padre fr. Diego Camasco, y Maestro de Nobicios el dho fr. Lorenço Perez en presencia de fr. Pedro Dieguez, y fray Ignacio del Castillo; y asimismo consta que el tal fr. Nicolas Lopez despues de haver profesado como lego, y por el año de 710, y onze, se fue y ausento sin*



*causa ni motibo del dho conbento grande donde servia de refitolero, á Sonsonate, en donde parece se allava, y en el conbento que alli tiene su religion por el año pasado de 715; que es quanto por aca se a podido justificar, y que conjunto con lego dho Juan Antonio Retana á dho de haver profesado en dha Religion, y ordenadose de Diacono ó subdiacono, por el año pasado de nobenta y uno, parece haver sido falsa su primera denuncia, y cierta la retratacion, que de ella hizo, y asi no ay que hazer con el cosa alguna mas que el reprehenderle su temeridad, y perjuro que lo hara nuestro Comisario, segun buenamente pudiere imponiendo le paternal, y caritativamente, en lo nezesario para el reparo de su alma, y en que el Tribunal del Santo Oficio, en atencion á considerarle en el desamparo, y angustias de el destierre en que se allava, no aze con el la demostracion que merecia, porque respecto de que á salido cierto, de que el religioso fray Nicolas Lopez que nombro, lo es y profeso como lego en el combento grande de Mercedarios de Guathemala, segun arriba ba dho, mire si es el ó no, y diga que motibo tubo para nombrarle procurando en todo caso salvar su alma, y reparar su conciencia por los caminos que deva, y le aconsejaren sus prudentes confesores: que es quanto se ofrece, y emos querido ynsinuar a nuestro Comisario por el bien de esa pobre alma pues no se puede pasar á mas, asi por lo que el dho, como por lo que á benido y resultado de Guathemala, concluyendo con añadir el que respecto de que tambien dixo el tal Juan Antonio Retana haver sido condicipulo, en letras y mapas del Padre Antonio Arias, y que se ausento de Philipinas, porque no le conoziese, podra nuestro Comisario escribirle con las señas del tal para que le avise y diga lo que se le ofreciere, y se acordare.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 4 de 1717 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Cienfuegos, Garsaron y Palacio, ante el Secretario.*

## Translation

### Despatches sent by the Tribunal to the Philippine and Mariana Islands.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, Father Ignacio de Iburguen of the Society of Jesus, is remitted the Edict regarding the opinion forbidden by the Inquisitor General, with a copy of the resolution of the Tribunal to implement it.—

**To Father Ignacio de Iburguen of the Society of Jesus, Commissioner in the Mariana Islands in the case against: Juan Antonio Retana.**

On 22 March of the past year 1715, we acknowledged receipt of a letter from our Commissioner, dated 8 May of the previous year, with the sworn statement of Father Pedro Cruydolf, about the denunciation to find out if Juan Antonio Retana was indeed fray Nicolas Lopez; and the denial that he made, before our Commissioner, and notary; and having seen the duplicate of everything on 8 January of this year, we have ordered that our Commissioner be advised of receipt of same, and of his declaration; and of the decision taken by this Tribunal: in view of the first notice that he gave us, asking that it be verified, in Guatemala, and at the convent of the Mercedarians there, the

result was that it is certain that a certain Nicolas Lopez, born in the town of Sonsonate, legitimate son of Captain Francisco Lopez and Mrs. Melchora Seren de los Rios, took the habit of a lay brother in the big convent of the Mercedarians in said city of Guatemala, on 6 September of the past year 1692, at the time that Rev. Fr. Master fray Diego Camasco was Commander and Master of Novices there, and the Definitor of the Province was fray Lorenzo Perez.

And in addition it is clear that said Nicolas Lopez made his profession as lay brother on 7 September of the following year 1693, when said Father fray Diego Camasco was Commander, and said fray Lorenzo Perez was Master of Novices, in the presence of fray Pedro Dieguez and fray Ignacio del Castillo; and in addition it is clear that said fray Nicolas Lopez, after he had professed as a lay brother, and during either 1710 or 1711, went away and absented himself without cause nor reason from said big convent where he served in the refectory, to Sonsonate, where it appears that he was living, in the convent that his Order has overthere, in the past year 1715; that it is all that has been possible to find out from here. So, taken as a whole, what said Juan Antonio Retana declared in his first denunciation about having professed in said Order, and having been ordained as a deacon or sub-deacon, during 1691, seems to have been false, but correct in the denial that he made. Therefore, there is nothing that should be done with him, other than scold him for his temerity, and perjury, and our Commissioner is to do just that, by scolding him as kindly as possible, in a fatherly and charitable manner, and as necessary for the mending of his soul. As far as the Tribunal of the Holy Office is concerned, since it considers him to be suffering from solitude and anxiety from his being in exile, does not remonstrate with him as he deserves. With regards to the facts that were verified, that is, that the Religious known as fray Nicolas Lopez that he named, is indeed so, and he professed as a lay brother in the big convent of the Order of Mercy in Guatemala, as mentioned above, let him declare whether or not he is the same person, and what motive led him to name him, while trying in all cases to save his soul, and mend his conscience by the methods that he must, following the directions of his prudent confessors. That is all we can communicate to our Commissioner and wish to insinuate to him for the good of that poor soul; indeed, nothing more can be done, considering not only what he himself said, but also what has come from Guatemala, but we conclude by saying that, with regards to what said Juan Antonio Retana also said about having been a classmate of Father Antonio Arias,<sup>1</sup> in literature and geography, and that is why he fled from the Philippines, so as not to be recognized by him, our Commissioner could write to the latter, describing him, so that he could advise and say what he might know, and remember.

May God, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 4 February 1717.

Gentlemen Inquisitors Cienfuegos, Garsaron, and Palacio, before the Secretary.

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1 Ed. note: Jesuit who previously served in the Marianas, from 1703 until before 1708.

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## Documents 1717D

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### Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1716 and 1717

#### D1. Subsidy sent aboard the galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos in 1717

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1, fol. 215-222v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho de los dos Situados de las Yslas Philipinas tocantes à los años de 1716 y 1717 en el Galeon capitana Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo, y las Benditas animas.***

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caxa de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Los quinientos mill pesos de los dos Situados pertenecientes al año pasado de mill settecientos y diez y seis, y al presente de mill settecientos y diez y siete, tocantes a esas Yslas, que vino a conducir y lleva a ellas el Galeon Capitana **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo, y las Venditas Animas**, se ajustan y cumplen con las partidas siguientes:*

#### *Situados*

...

#### *Gastos independientes de los Situados.*

...

#### ***Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Sesenta y un mill settecientos y treinta y ocho pesos un tomin y tres granos, pagados de esta Real Caxa: los quarenta y dos mill settecientos y cinquenta pesos de ellos para el Governador, Sargento maior, y sesenta soldados de la Dotacion del Presidio de Marianas; y los diez y ocho mill novecientos y ochenta y ocho pesos un tomin y tres granos restantes para diez y ocho Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, catorze Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Islas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Cristiandad, y augmentando nuestra Santa Fee, en servicio de la Divina Magd, y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno, y otro, por los situados, tocantes a los años de mill setecientos y diez y seis, y mill settecientos y diez y siete, el uno cumplido, y el otro anticipado, segun lo dispuesto y costumbre, en que tambien se yncluyen los del Seminario de niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de los Padres son in-*

*struidos de costumbres Cristianas y politicas; y los del vino y azeite, para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Missa, y ensender lamparas, que alumbren al Santisimo Sacramento del Altar, delante de onze sagrarios colocados allí, en otras tantas yglessias, con toda desencia, y adorno posible, en cumplimiento de la Real Voluntad, y conforme a certificaciones, y listas remitidas y presentadas ..... 61,738p 1t 3g*

...

*Guarde Dios a V.Ms muchos años.*

*Mexico a 13 de Marzo de 1717.*

*Joseph de Bollio*

*Simon de Carragal*

*Don Pedro de Varrío*

### Translation.

**Despatch of the two subsidies of the Philippine Islands for the years 1716 and 1717 aboard the flagship galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Animas.**

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal Treasury in the City of Manila.

The 500,000 pesos of the two subsidies belonging to last year 1716, and to the present year of 1717 concerning those Islands, which the flagship galleon **San Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo, y las Benditas Animas** has come to convey thither, are broken down as follows:

### Subsidies.

...

### Expenditures independent of the Subsidies.

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

61,738 pesos 1 tomin 3 grains paid by this Royal treasury, 42,750 pesos of which for the Governor, Sergeant-Major, and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas; and the 18,988 pesos 1 tomin 3 grains for the 18 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 14 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, employed in the missions of those Islands, preaching the Holy Gospel, advancing their new Christian community, and promoting our holy Faith, in the service of the Divine Majesty and that of the King our Lord. Both sums are for the subsidies of the years 1716 and 1717, the former past due and the latter in advance, in accordance with the custom, and in which are also included the subsidies for the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of the Fathers, and those for the wine and oil to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and to keep lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar, within 11 sanctuaries located inside as many churches, with as much decorum and adornment as possible, in compliance with the Royal will, and in agreement with certificates and lists remitted to justify same ..... 61,738p 1t 3g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.  
 Mexico, 13 March 1717.  
 José de Bollio  
 Simon de Carragal  
 Don Pedro de Varrio

## D2. Manifest of the goods shipped aboard the galleon Burgos

Source: AGN AHH 332.

### Original text in Spanish.

**Testimonio de rexistro de las piezas que fueron a Marianas el año de 1717.**



*En la ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en veinte y dos dias del mes de marzo de mill setecientos y dies y siete años ante mi el escrivano y testigos el Sargento mayor Don Juan Domingo de Nebra Maestro del Galeon Santo Xpto de Burgos San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Animas, capitana de las Yslas Phelipinas surto en la Baya de este Puerto y de proximo a hazer su torna viaje a las Yslas Philipinas con el Real Zituado de ellas otorgo haver rezevido y confesso tener a bordo debajo de escotilla:*

*Veinte y dos caxas viscocheras toda de bastimentos; quatro bar- riles de vino; tres zurrone de cacao Guatemala; quatro tercios de metates sin manos todo con la marca del margen;*

*Y assi mismo otras doce caxas viscocheras de bastimentos; otra de sombreros; dos surrones de cacao Guatemala; un fardo de ropa de los Religiosos; un tercio de suelas; y un caxonsito de botica(?) todo con la segunda marca; ambas partidas para entregar en las Yslas Marianas al R.P. Ygnacio de Ybarbuen [sic] Vize Provincial de las Misiones de dhas Yslas ô a quien en su lugar estubiere. Y dho Maestro se obligo a que llevandole Dios y a dho Galeon a dhas Yslas Marianas, darà y entregará todo lo referido â dho muy R.P. ô a quien por dhas Misiones fuere parte lexitima[,] a cuyo cumplimiento se obligo con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver segun y como puede y deve ser obligado otorgo partida de rexistro en toda forma y declaro hazer rezivido lo referido de Don Francisco Bentura de Rezaval de orden del Padre Andrés de Veytia de la sagrada Compania de Jesus y el otorgante de quien doy fee conosco assi lo otorgo el presente siendo testigos Don Pedro Somontef,] Don Manuel(?) Ortiz y Xptoval Lapiditao.*

*Don Juan Domingo Nebra.*

*Ante mi D. Antonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.*

*Concuerta con la partida de rexistro que original queda en el quaderno de Rexistro de carga a que me refiero y para que conste donde convenga de pedimiento de el dho Don Francisco Bentura de Rezaval doy el presente cierto y verdadero corregido y concertado en la ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en veinte y dos dias del mes de*

*Marxo de mill settecientos y dies y siete años, siendo testigos Don Joseph de Alfaro[,] Don Francisco Antonio Mrnz. [=Martinez] y Diaz presentes, y va en pliego del sello quarto doy fee.*

*Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:*

*Antonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon, escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Certified extract from the manifest of the pieces that were shipped to the Marianas in 1717.**

In the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on 22 March 1717, before me the notary and witnesses, Sergeant-Major Juan Domingo Nebra, Master of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Ánimas**, flagship of the Philippine Islands, anchored in the bay of this port and about to sail on her return voyage to the Philippine Islands with their Royal subsidy, acknowledged the receipt of the following which he admitted having stored below deck:

—22 biscuit boxes full of food supplies; 4 barrels of wine; 3 pouches of cacao from Guatemala; 4 half-loads of mortars without pestles, all with the mark in margin;

—And in addition 12 more biscuit boxes full of food supplies; 1 box of hats; 2 pouches of cacao from Guatemala; 1 bundle of clothes for the Religious; 1 half-load of sole-leather; and 1 small crate of medicines(?), all with the second mark.

Both consignments are to be delivered in the Mariana Islands to Rev. Fr. Ignacio de Ibarguen, Vice-Provincial of the Missions of said Islands or to whomever may replace him. And said Master obliged himself, God willing to let him and said galleon reach said Mariana Islands, to give and deliver all of the above to said Rev. Father or to whomever might be his legal representative, and in compliance thereof, he pledged his person and property, present and future, as he can and must, and he executed this extract from the manifest in due form and declared having received the above items from Don Francisco Ventura de Rezaval, as ordered by Father Andrés de Veytia of the sacred Society of Jesus, and the executor, whom I know and vouch for, executing same in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Pedro Somonte, Don Manuel Ortiz, and Cristobal Lapiditao.

Don Juan Domingo Nebra.

Before me, Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

This is a certified copy of an extract from the manifest whose original remains in the record book of the cargo manifest, to which I refer, and for whom it may concern, at the request of said Don Francisco Ventura de Rezaval, I give the present, a true and corrected copy, in the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on 22 March 1717, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don José de Alfaro, Don Francisco Antonio Martinez y Diaz, and it is written upon stamped paper.

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

### D3. Acknowledgment of the Master of the galleon, dated Acapulco 23 March 1711

*Source: AGN AHH 332.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Recivo de el Maestre de los Reales y caxones que fueron á Marianas y Philipinas el año de 1717.***

*Digo yo el Sarjento Mayor Don Juan Domingo de Enebra [sic] Maestre que soy de la nao capitana **Santo Xpto. de Burgos San Judas Thadeo y las Venditas Animas** del cargo del General Don Fernando de Angulo surto y anclado en este Puerto de Acapulco y de prosimo p<sup>a</sup> su torna viaje a las Yslas Philipinas, que es verdad y confieso haver rezivido de Don Francisco Ventura de Rezaval residente en dicho Puerto treinta y quatro piezas con la primera del marjen de n<sup>o</sup> 1 á 34 que se componen de veinte y tres cajones[,] quatro barriles de vino; tres zurrone de cacao de Guatemala y quatro tercios de metates sin manos que pertenecen a las misiones de Marianas y entregare al Padre Vice Provincial Ygnacio de Ybarguen;*

*Asi mismo he rrezivido de la segunda del marjen diez y ocho piezas de n<sup>o</sup> 1 a 18 que se componen de catorce cajones ynclusos dos de sombreros[,] dos zurrone de cacao de Guathemala[,] dos tercios[,] uno de suelas y otro enjergado para el Colejio seminario de niños de Marianas[,] todo lo qual he rezevido enjuto y vien acondicionado que ba en partida de rejistro que entregare en la misma conformidad al Padre ô Padres que salieren a la nao en Marianas y por que asi lo cumplire me obligo en todo forma de derecho y firme tres de un tenor[,] el uno cumplido los demas no balgan[,] siendo testigos Don Juan Antonio Ruiz de Salas[,] Don Bernardo Lope García[,] Ygnacio de Michelena[,] fecho en Acapulco a 23 de marzo de 1717.*

*Juan Domingo Nebra*

#### Translation.

**Receipt from the Master of the cash and crates that were shipped to the Marianas and Philippines in 1717.**

I, Sergeant-Major Juan Domingo de Nebra,<sup>1</sup> Master of the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Ánimas**, commanded by General Fernando de Angulo, moored and anchored in this Port of Acapulco and about to make her return voyage to the Philippine Islands, do declare that it is true and I acknowledge having received from Don Francisco Ventura de Rezaval, a resident of said Port, 34 pieces with the first mark in margin, numbered 1 to 34, which consist of 23 crates, 4 barrels of wine; 3 pouches of cacao from Guatemala, and 4 half-loads of

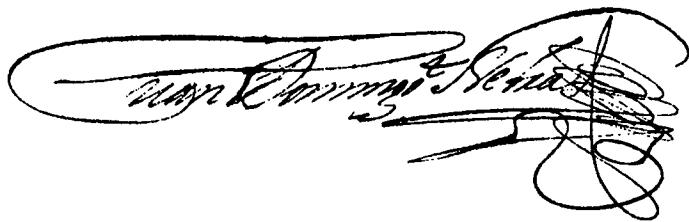
1 Ed. note: Born ca. 1680, he was then about 37 years old. He was to become General of the galleons of 1726 and 1736. He was involved with galleons until 1750 at least (see B&R 48:154).

mortars without pestles that belong to the Mariana missions and I will deliver to Father Vice-Provincial Ignacio de Iburguen;

In addition I have received, bearing the second mark, 18 pieces numbered 1 to 18, which consist of 14 crates, including 2 with hats, 2 pouches of cacao from Guatemala, 2 half-loads, 1 of sole-leather and another wrapped in cloth, for the College seminary of the children of the Marianas; all of which I have received dry and in good condition, as listed in one entry of the manifest, which I will deliver the same way to the Father or Fathers who might come alongside the galleon in the Marianas. And the better to comply, and to oblige myself legally to do so, I sign three copies of the present, one original and the others duplicates, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Juan Antonio Ruiz de Salas, Don Bernardo Lope García, Ignacio de Michelena.

Made at Acapulco on 23 March 1717.

Juan Domingo Nebra

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Juan Domingo Nebra". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background and is somewhat stylized and difficult to decipher.



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## Documents 1717E

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# Governor Pimentel's comments about a planned colony in the Carolines

*Sources: AGI Fil. 168 (formerly 68-4-17); also in AGI Ultramar 561, legajo 13.*

*Note: B&R 53: 328 mentions this document with a wrong date, 23 January 1712, instead of 1717.*

## E1. Letter from Governor Pimentel to the new Governor of the Philippines, dated Umatac 13 June 1717

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Ilustre Señor*

*El Capitan General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador de estas islas Marianas, habiendo logrado la coyuntura de conferir con V.S. sobre el cumplimiento de la Real Cédula de S.M. (que Dios guarde) que se dirige à la reduccion y descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, forma de su socorro de viveres de boca y guerra que anualmente se han de llevar à ellas con lo demas que V. Señoria tiene entendido, me ha parecido poner en su consideracion lo que sobre esta materia me parece digno de reparo.*

*Lo primero que S.M. previene vayan veinte y cinco hombres de este presidio en el Patache que de la Ciudad de Manila debe venir y siendo como es corto el número de infanteria que actualmente assiste en estas islas como consta de las listas que remitiré al Señor Virrey de la Nueva España quien manda S.M. coadyube à este fin y demuestro à V. Señoria de donde podrá inferir no tener gente para dar satisfaccion à esto y mas àun quando para este presidio faltan; y por que segun la mente Real es que cada año puede ir el patache à dichas Islas de Palaos viniendo de la Ciudad de Manila sobre que V. Señoria podrá reflexionar pues habiendo hallado por combeniente los Señores Gobernadores de Filipinas que no venga à estas islas el patache sino es cada dos años será negado el socorro anual à dichas Islas Palaos, sino se hace para este efecto solamente despacho de embarcacion; y entonces es visto que es acrecentamiento de gastos de la real hacienda; ademas de que respecto del temperamento cálido de dichas islas no se podrán conservar los vastimentos en ellas un año, que mucho menos se conservaran en dos si se espera à la tornabueta de dicho Patache de que se siguira por la falta de los alimentos la desesperacion de las personas que hubieren de destinarse à esta em-*

*presa cesando por este inconveniente el buen exito que S.M. desea en la reduccion de aquellos infieles.*

*Lo otro sobre que vayan dos Misioneros Jesuitas de los que residen en estas islas socorriendolos de la Real Hacienda como siempre se ha hecho se encuentra el inconveniente de que en estas islas se carece de dichos religiosos que solamente se hallan existentes seis religiosos sacerdotes ancianos por no haber venido mision desde el año setecientos y nueve, y los pocos que aqui se hallan son muy necesarios para el cultivo de las almas de estas islas, todo lo cual he querido poner en la consideracion de V. Señoria para que atendiendo à este punto con la madurez y celo que acostumbra se sirva dar providencias lo mas combeniente, haciendo excequible la real voluntad à cuyo fin como real vasallo no dejare de dedicarme hallandome siempre pronto à obedecer ciegamente sus reales preceptos.*

*Umata y Junio trece de mil setecientos diez y siete años.*

*Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.*

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir:

Captain General, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of these Mariana Islands, having had the chance to meet and confer with Your Lordship about the execution of the Royal decree of H.M. (whom may God save) regarding the reduction and exploration of the Palaos Islands, the manner of supporting with food supplies and war supplies to be sent there every year, plus the other matters that Your Lordship has mentioned, it seemed proper for me to bring to your attention what seems to me worthy of mention regarding this matter.

Firstly, about the royal provision for 25 men from this garrison to board the patache which must come from the City of Manila: since the number of infantrymen who are presently serving in these Islands—as shown in the lists that I will remit to the Viceroy of New Spain, who has been requested by H.M. to collaborate for this purpose—I hope to show same to Your Lordship, by which it is possible to infer that there is not enough personnel to satisfy this need, and the more so, when this garrison is understaffed. Also the royal idea is to have the patache that comes from the City of Manila go on to the said Palaos Islands every year, but Your Lordship should reflect about this; indeed, the [former] Governors of the Philippines had found it appropriate to reduce the number of voyages of this patache to these Islands to every two years, something that would negate a yearly succor to said Palaos Islands, unless the despatch of a vessel be done specifically for this purpose, hence a necessary increase in costs for the Royal treasury. Furthermore, regarding the hot climate of said Islands, the food supplies would not last there one year, much less two years, if one were to wait for the return of said patache. A lack of food would result in despair on the part of the persons who might be sent on this enterprise, and thus would cease the good outcome that H.M. wants, that is, the reduction of those heathen, on account of this disadvantage.

Secondly, regarding the idea of sending two Jesuit missionaries from those residing in these Islands, supported by the Royal treasury as always, the disadvantage is that these Islands already lack said religious, as there are only six old religious priests left, since no mission band has come since 1709, and the few left here are very much needed for the cultivation of the souls of these Islands. All of which I wanted to bring to the consideration of Your Lordship, so that, considering this point with your usual maturity and zeal, you may issue the most appropriate provisions, to make the royal intention attainable, to which end I, as royal vassal, will not stop to dedicate myself, and I remain as always ready to obey blindly his royal precepts.

Umata, 13 June 1717.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.

## **E2. Detailed list of the soldiers manning the garrison of Guam in 1717**

*Note: Attached to the above letter, same source. This list is fully reproduced, for the sake of local history and interest in genealogy.*

I, Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel of His Majesty's Council, his Governor and Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, conquered or yet to be conquered, certify that the Sergeant-Major of this garrison and royal camp of San Ignacio of Agaña, the Captains, Officers, soldiers and other military men, Spanish or Pampango, who make up said royal camp, correspond exactly to those shown on this actual breakdown of the positions mentioned on this list, and are continuously serving H.M. (whom may God save) and whose names and officers are as follows:

- Governor and Captain-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.
- Sergeant-Major Don José de Quiroga y Losada.

### **Company of the Captain of the Guard, Don Juan de Argüelles Valdés:**

- Said Captain Don Juan de Argüelles Valdés.
- Lieutenant Francisco de Rivas.
- Sergeant Manuel Coronado.<sup>1</sup>
- Adjutant Miguel Lozano.
- Adjutant Manuel de los Santos.

### **Minor positions:**

- Drummer: Ventura Romero.
- Drummer: Nicolas de Molina.
- Fifer: Manuel Salvador.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Born ca. 1693 Adjutant by 1721 (see Doc. 1721D).

## Soldiers:

- Captain José Ramirez.<sup>1</sup>
- Captain Diego Cervantes.
- Captain Gabriel Gomez.
- Captain José de la Cruz.
- Captain José de Sandoval.<sup>2</sup>
- Captain Don Fernando de Agüero.
- Captain Vicente Botera.
- Adjutant Agustín de Zauzedo [= Salcedo].
- Adjutant Agustín de Espinosa.
- Adjutant Miguel Rendon.
- Adjutant José de Luna.
- Adjutant Juan de Estrada.
- Adjutant José de Herrera.
- Adjutant Antonio Montufar.
- Adjutant Manuel de Saldaña.
- Adjutant Juan de la Peña.
- Lieutenant Felipe de Cárdenas.
- Lieutenant Gregorio del Castillo.
- Lieutenant Francisco José.
- Sergeant Juan Martín.
- Sergeant Jacinto de Mesa.<sup>3</sup>
- Sergeant Mateo Delgado.
- Sergeant Manuel de Agüero.
- Sergeant Manuel de Benavente.
- Sergeant Antonio Lequisanes.
- Francisco Callejas.
- Salvador de Zarate.
- Antonio Guemes.
- Nicolas Alexandro.
- Manuel de la Vega.
- Eusebio Hipólito.
- José Guerrero.
- Clemente Valdés.
- Miguel de Montezuma.
- Domingo de Cepeda.
- Lázaro García.
- Juan de Dios Sanchez.

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1 Ed. note: Was in charge of the Government Warehouse in Agaña in 1720 (see Doc. 1721D).

2 Ed. note: Then 46 years old, destined to become interim Governor.

3 Ed. note: Had been promoted to Adjutant by 1721 (see Doc. 1721D).

**Company of Captain Juan Nuñez:**

- Said Captain Juan Nuñez.
- Lieutenant José de Sotomayor.
- Sergeant Domingo Dominguez.
- Adjutant Francisco de Apelo.

**Minor positions:**

- Drummer: Santiago Morales.
- Drummer: Nicolas de Rivera.
- Fifer: Alfonso Francisco.

**Soldiers:**

- Captain D. Manuel de Argüelles Valdés.
- Captain Nicolas de la Vega.
- Captain Lorenzo Lopez.
- Captain Francisco de Fuentes.
- Captain Antonio Ramirez.
- Captain D. Juan de Molina.
- Captain Juan de Ojeda.
- Adjutant Sebastian del Castillo.
- Adjutant Cristobal de Villagomez.
- Adjutant Lorenzo Tenorio.
- Adjutant Diego de León Tenorio.
- Adjutant Diego de León Guerrero.
- Adjutant Miguel Rodriguez.
- Adjutant Antonio Martin.
- Adjutant Pedro Manuel Montufar.<sup>1</sup>
- Lieutenant Nicolas de Solís.
- Lieutenant Pablo de la Cruz.
- Lieutenant José Lopez de Castro.
- Lieutenant Tomas de la Rosa.
- Sergeant Baltasar de Espinosa.
- Sergeant Juan Marcial.
- Sergeant Francisco Acosta.
- Juan del Sondero.
- Juan Montejo de Nava.
- Francisco de los Rios.
- Juan de Castro.<sup>2</sup>
- Juan Luis Sanchez.
- Juan de Sierra.

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1 Ed. note: A young Mexican from Puebla (see Doc. 1721D).

2 Ed. note: Born in Agaña in 1687 (see Doc. 1721D).

- Pedro Tomas Gonzalez.
- Antonio de Carabajal.
- Antonio de Salas.
- Francisco del Carmen.
- Manuel Cerezo.
- José de Marchena.
- Juan Barroso.
- Pablo de la Cruz.
- Hipolito Manuel.

**Pampango Infantry Company:**

- Master-of-Camp D. Agustin de Torres.<sup>1</sup>
- Sergeant-Major D. Lucas del Castillo.
- Captain Santiago Teodoro.
- Lieutenant José de Luna.
- Sergeant Francisco de la Rosa.
- Adjutant Pedro de la Cruz.
- Adjutant Roque de los Reyes.<sup>2</sup>

**Soldiers:**

- Sergeant-Major Pedro de la Cruz.
- Sergeant-Major Mateo de Guevara.
- Sergeant-Major D. Andrés Arceo.<sup>3</sup>
- Sergeant-Major Pedro Marcelo.
- Sergeant-Major Francisco Ramirez.
- Sergeant-Major Nicolas Pamintuan.<sup>4</sup>
- Sergeant-Major Juan Antonio Mariano
- Sergeant-Major Eugenio Magasual.
- Sergeant-Major Nicolas Buzquez.
- Sergeant-Major Francisco de Robles.<sup>5</sup>
- Captain Domingo de la Cruz.
- Captain Pedro Romero.
- Captain Manuel de la Concepción.
- Captain Francisco Rodriguez.
- Captain Nicolas Lorenzo Ramos.

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1 Ed. note: Born in Cadava in Pampanga in 1678 (see Doc. 1721D).

2 Ed. note: In 1721, he was Major, and acting as Majordomo of ex-Governor Pimentel. He then became fearful of being arrested and sought refuge in the College and the protection of its Rector, Fr. Cantova.

3 Ed. note: From Apalit. Was Mayor of the Pago District in 1710 (see Doc. 1721D).

4 Ed. note: Rather Sarmintuan. Arrived at Guam from Macabebe in 1701. Later became Master-of-camp (see Doc. 1721D).

5 Ed. note: Had been promoted to Master-of-camp by 1721 and was Mayor of Agat.

- Captain Juan Esteban de Legazpi.
- Adjutant Martin Crisostomo.
- Lieutenant Juan de S. Nicolas.
- Lieutenant Ignacio de los Santos.
- Lieutenant Felipe Malavitan.
- Lieutenant Lázaro Payrala.
- Lieutenant Cristobal García.
- Lieutenant José de Castro.
- Lieutenant Pedro de la Cruz.
- Lieutenant Agustin Quito.
- Sergeant Juan de los Reyes.
- Sergeant Ignacio de la Cruz.
- Sergeant Juan Pablo.
- Sergeant Pedro Pablo.
- Nicolas de Terrenate.
- Salvador de Medina.
- Mateo Martín.
- Martin Agustin Latiz.
- Roque de los Santos.
- Ambrosio de la Cruz.
- Juan Bautista.
- Santos de la Cruz.
- Nicolas Antonio García.
- Juan Blas.
- Andrés de Arias.
- Julian Cayetano.
- Miguel de la Cruz.
- José Alberto de Jesús.
- Agustín de la Cruz.
- Domingo Sebastián Hernandez.
- Juan de Aguilar.
- Hermenegildo de Atienza.
- Martin Francisco de León.<sup>1</sup>

Made at this town of Umata on 13 June 1717.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.

By order of His Lordship, Don Juan de Argüelles Valdes, official secretary.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There is said to be 145 positions listed above, the increase of 15 having been made in anticipation of the despatch of a small garrison to the Caroline Islands. The list is countersigned by Father Iburguen and Major Quiroga. The native militia men and very old retirees have been excluded from this list, although the names of a few are given in Doc. 1721D.

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## Documents 1717F

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### Captain Boisloré and his ship *Éclair*—Part 3

#### F1. Letter from Juan Ignacio Vertiz to the King, dated Manila 27 July 1716 [sic]

*Source: AGI Escribania 405C.*

*Note: The correct date for this document is 1715, because of the dates shown in the accompanying affidavits, and the statement that the galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos arrived back at Cavite during the auction, which is the subject of this letter.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Don Juan Ygnacio de Vertiz Alcalde ordinario de la Ciudad de Manila su termino y Jurisdiccion en estas Yslas da cuenta à V.M. de las Comisiones que han sido, y son a su cargo conferidas por el Superior Gobierno de estas Islas sobre las Almonedas, venta, y remate de los bienes comissionados à Monsieur de Boislore, y entrega de ellos al Capitan Don Pedro Vavaze en quien se hizo el remate.*

**SEÑOR**

*Por Comission del Gobierno Superior de estas Yslas, que se me confirió por Decreto de veinte y ocho de Mayo del presente año (como consta del testimonio adjunto) por hallarse impedido el Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, Oydor de esta Real Audiencia y Governador en lo politico de estas Yslas en ella, passé à entender en las diligencias de Almonedas, que se celebraron de los Bienes comissados à Don Juan de Boislore de nacion frances, comendante del Navio, que se dize el **Relampago** por aver aportado à estas Yslas, admitiendo las posturas, que hizieron diferentes personas, y siendo mexor la de un Sangley Mercader, que reside en los extramuros conocido por Canco, por cubrir el monto de la Abaluacion de los generos, y frutos, que incluye la carga de dho Navio, quien ofrecio dar de contado, doce mil pesos, [mas] treynta mil al tiempo regular de la llegada de la platta del Galeon, que esta en las Yslas de torna viaje este dho año, y su resto al cumplimiento de dha abaluacion el año inmediato que viene por el mismo tiempo, asegurando con personas de valor, y fiadores de todo abono la puntual satisfaccion à los referidos plasos, Hize pregonar la dha postura, a cuyo estado dos Sangleyes, que se nombran Cienco, y Domingo Sayco residentes de dhos extramuros, me entregaron un escrito que presentaron en Gobierno por el qual ofreçen dar*



*por todo el Comisso la cantidad de su importo, de contado treçe mill pesos y lo demas en los dos plasos como el antecedente con que dentro de dos dias se les avia de hazer el remate, en cuiá atencion y à la admision de dha postura por Decreto de dho Superior Gobierno de ocho del Corriente mes de Jullio la hize tra[er] al pregon, y al tercero di quenta con Consulta à dho Superior Gobierno à cuiá continuacion, [por] Decreto del dia nueve, se mandó hazer de remate en ellos, con zitacion del Fiscal, interessados y postores, llegado el dia señalado para el efecto, se retrataron por escrito expressando haverseles passado el termino condicional de los dos dias, y no estar obligando à mantenerse en dha postura, si bien que à la zitacion que seles hizo para el dho remate dan por respuesta, que el motivo de esta retratacion fue porque los Mercaderes, que les prometieron comprar los generos de el dho Comisso se havian hecho fuero por la noticia, que el dia antecedente adquirieron con la llegada del Pliego del Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** de la mala feria, que tubieron las mercancías en el Puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España.*

*Y por mi visto los expressados motivos con dicha respuesta, y lo constante por certificacion del escrivano de dha Comission de no averse cumplido el acuerdo termino condicional, dexando detenidos à los dhos dos Sangleyes en la Carcel publica de esta dha Ciudad. Consulté el caso à Gobierno con los autos, y por decreto del dia diez se mandó assegurar las personas de dhos Sangleyes en la Real Carcel de Corte de ella (de donde inmediatamente fueron sueltos) y que se devolviese el expediente para que yo continuase en los pregones. Y estando en estas diligencias el Capitan Don Pedro Vavaze vezino de esta dha Ciudad me entrego un escrito, que presento en Gobierno en que hazia postura à todos los dhos vienes comissados ofreciendo dar todo su importo, como sele hiziesse revaja de un diez por ciento, y el remate en el prizisso termino de veinte, y quatro horas, dando diez mill pesos luego, que llegasse à esta Ciudad la platta del Registro del dho Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, y el resto de dho año proximo venidero al mismo tiempo, quedando assegurada la paga con fianzas abonadas que prometio dar; Y respecto a que por Decreto proveido à dho escrito se admitio dha postura, y se mando hazer el remate en dho termino con tal, que empesasse à correr el siguiente à las doze horas del dia en adelante, y que para ello fuesen zitados el dho fiscal, é interezados: hize, que se pregonase dha postura, y al cumplimiento del assignado plasso precediendo las zitaciones prevenidas, y abiso de todo ello a dho Superior Gobierno por medio de dho escrivano quien me intimó nueva orden verbal sobre que se hiziesse el dho remate[,] lo qual se executo assi el dia diez y seis, y quedo fho en el dho Capitan Don Pedro Vavaze quien inmediatamente presento escrito à dho Superior Gobierno pidiendo que no obstante de no estar otorgadas las fianzas que prometio dar para el seguro de la Real Hazienda se le hiziesse entrega de todos los dhos bienes con que sele remataron ofreciendo nuevamente otorgada conclusa esta diligencia. Y por decreto à él proveido en dho dia diez, y seis se mando hazer dha entrega de toda la carga de dho Navio comissado, que se havia trasportado à esta dha Ciudad[,] confiandome nueva Comission para que con asistencia de unos de los Oficiales Reales la executase luego, en lo qual me hallo entendiendo.*

*Y pareciendome, que en cumplimiento de mi obligacion devo dar quenta de todo à V.M. por estar actualmente entendiendo dha Comission por la presente lo hago.*

*Dios guarde la Catholica y Real Persona de V.M. muchos años como toda la Christianidad ha menester.*

*Manila, y Jullio 27 de 1716 [rather 1715].*

*Juan Ygnazio de Vertiz.*

### **Translation.**

Don Juan Ignacio de Vertiz, alderman of the City of Manila, his term and jurisdiction in these Islands, reports to Y.M. about the commissions that were given to him by the superior Government of these Islands regarding the auctions, and sale, of the goods confiscated from Mister Boisloré, and delivery made to Captain Pedro Babaze, whose bid was received.

### **SIRE**

By Commission from the Superior Government of these Islands that was conferred upon me by Decree of 28 May of the present year (as shown in the transcript, attached), on account of the indisposition of Licenciado Gregorio Manuel de Villa, member of this Royal Audiencia and interim Governor for political affairs,<sup>1</sup> I began to carry out the steps to have an auction, that indeed took place, of the goods confiscated from Don Juan de Boisloré, a Frenchman, captain of the ship whose name is said to be **Relámpago**, for having arrived at these Islands; firstly, I admitted the bids made by various persons and, finding that of a Chinese merchant residing outside the walls and known as Canco, since it covered the amount of the valuation of the goods and products included in the cargo of said ship, as he offered to pay 12,000 pesos cash, plus 30,000 pesos at the regular time of the arrival of the silver aboard the galleon that is returning to these Islands this year, and the rest making up said valuation the year following at the same time, and in the meantime, providing the names of trustworthy persons as bondsmen to guarantee satisfaction within said deadlines. I had said bid announced by cryer, at which time two other Chinese named Cienco and Domingo Sayco, residing outside the walls, delivered to me a paper registered by the Government, by which they offered to give for all confiscated goods the sum of its valuation, i.e. 13,000 pesos in cash and the rest in two terms as the previous bid, if the sale were to be finalized in their favor within 2 days. To this effect, their bid having been accepted by Decree of said Superior Government dated 8th of the current month of July, I had it announced by cryer, and on the 3rd I reported with consultation to said Superior Government, and another Decree was issued on the 9th granting the sale to them, with the Fiscal being advised, as well as the interested parties and bidders. [However,] on the day of adjudication, they withdrew in writing, stating that the conditional term of 2 days for maintaining their bid had passed; that is why, when summoned to said sale, they gave as a reply that the

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1 Ed. note: Governor Ursua, Count of Lizarraga, had died on 4 February 1715.

reason for this change of heart was because the merchants who had promised to buy the goods from said confiscation had asked to be excused from their pledge, because of the news they had just received, with the arrival of the mail from the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, of the bad fair that their merchandise had had at the port of Aca-pulco in New Spain.

And having seen said reasons given in said answer, and the certification presented by the notary of said Commission to the effect that the agreement on the conditional term had not been complied with, there resulted the imprisonment of the two Chinese in question in the public jail of this City. I consulted the case with the Government, for the record, and by decree of the 10th, an order was given for the two Chinese in question to be taken to the jail of the royal court (whence they were immediately released), and for the file to be given back to me, for me to continue with public advertising. When I was occupied at doing so, Captain Pedro Babaze, a resident of this City, handed me a paper, certified by the Government, by which he bid for all of the confiscated goods, offering to pay their full value, if he were given a rebate of 10 percent, with the adjudication to take place within 24 hours, giving 10,000 pesos as soon as the silver of the subsidy in said galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** would get to this City, and the rest next year at the same time, and guaranteeing the payment with bonds that he promised to give. And given that said bid in writing was admitted by Decree, and the adjudication was ordered to take place as stated, that is, before noon of the next day, and therefore the fiscal and the interested parties were to be advised. This I did, publishing said bid, and when the deadline came, it had been preceded by the foreseen summons and advice given about everything to said Superior Government through said notary, who gave me a new verbal order for me to proceed with the adjudication. This was done, on the 16th, and it was in favor of said Captian Pedro Babaze who immediately presented a request in writing to said Superior Government to the effect that, notwithstanding the fact that the bonds that he had promised to give to guarantee the Royal income had not yet been delivered, he should be delivered all of said goods that he had won, and offering again to deliver same as soon as this step were taken. And by a decree that he was granted on the 16th, said delivery was ordered of the whole cargo of said confiscated ship, that had been brought to this City, and I was given a new commission to do so, with the assistance of some of the Royal officials. I am presently busy doing so.

And, believing that I would comply with my obligation to report everything to Y.M., as I am presently carrying out said commission, I do so by the present.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as the whole of Christendom needs.

Manila, 27 July 1716 [rather 1715].

Juan Ignacio de Vertiz.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: This letter was passed to the Fiscal of the Council on 27 July 1717. He suggested that it be simply attached to the rest of the case file then under review. The Council agreed on 7 September 1717.

## F2. Royal consultation dated Madrid 22 September 1717

*Source: AGI Fil. 94.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Don Andres de Pes.*

*Don Alonso Araciel.*

*Marques de Rivas.*

*Don Manuel de Silva.*

*Don Diego de Zuñiga.*

*Don Gonzalo Machado.*

*Don Martin de Mirabal.*

*Don Manuel de Vadillo.*

*Señor*

*Con Decreto de 25 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1716 se sirvió V.M. remitir al Consejo el oficio que pasó el Duque de Santainan [sic] Embajador de Francia sobre la ynstancia que contiene un Memorial que con el acompañò de Menan Duplesis, y V. Coquelin, en que pretenden la Livertad de un Navio que embargo con toda su carga zón el Governador de las Yslas Philipinas, para que en su ynteligencia y con las notiçias que de ello hubiere Consulte à V.M. lo que se ofreciese y pareçiese.<sup>1</sup>*

*En el Memorial, refieren que por el mes de Noviembre de 1710 armaron un Navio nombrado l'Éclair su buque de 350 toneladas de 32 piezas de Artilleria, y de 140 hombres de equipaje, vajo del comando del Capitan Don Juan de Boislorè, cargado de Mercaderias, y con los pasaportes del Rey Cristianissimo, y Comision del Almirante de Françia, para pasar a la China, en cuiã navegacion, apresò un Navio portugues, y aunque el Capitan Boislorè quiso pponer parte de su jente en el, neçesitando de ella no pudo hazerlo ni escusarse de consuzirle à Buenos Aires, para venderle y continuar su Viaje a la China como lo executò habiendo llegado con gran numero de enfermos y en mui mala ocasion para la Livertad de su Comerçio, pues con los robos que el nombrado Bouynot havia echo en los Mares de Levantedonde tomò un Navio de la China que venia de Vatabia, y robo à otros 10 ó 12, dio motivo à que esta naçion se yrritase contra los franzeses, de manera que llegando el Capitan Boislorè poco despues de estas desordenes quisieron vengarlas en el, quien advertido del designio de los Chinos se vio prezisado à comprar las Mercaderias que mas promptamente hallò y à salir luego de aquel Pais con el maior sijilo, y no pudiendo lograr el pasaje del Estrecho de Malaca respecto de que estava ya ocupado por algunos Navios que querian cojer à Bouynot le fue yndispensable para evitar aquel riesgo a cojerse en la Canal de la Ysla de Luzon dependiente de las Philipinas à donde llegò todo desecho, y maltratado por el mal temporal que havia padezido y habiendo tomado el Puerto de Soloc soloc, diò quenta de*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The French version of this Memorial is reproduced as Doc. 1714A2.

*su arrivo al Governador de Philipinas, y de las razones que havia tenido para retirarse de mano de los Chinos à que el Governador en lugar de embiarle socorro le mando condujese su Navio à Manila ó continuase su Viaje, y hallandose imposibilitado [sic] de poder navegar en la sazón pareze repondio con alguna aspereza al oficial que le trajo la orden el qual en la relacion que hizo al Governador le pondero mas de lo que havia dicho pues hallandose la Ysla de Luson casi disierta y sin comercio no podia el Governador de Philipinas tener el menor reçelo del arrivo à ella del referido Navio l'Éclair donde su Capitan se mantubò 2 meses, y 20 dias en cuiò tiempo supo que el Cosario Buinot se hallava en Manila vendiendo las presas que havi echo a los Chinos, quien temiendo que Boislòrè se quejase de sus robos persuadiò al Governador à que le hiziese de tener como à falsario cuià impostura causò al Capitan Boislòrè una desesperacion creiendo no tedria ni sacaria razon del Governador, y se hizo a la vela en 21 de Febrero de 1714, y apenas havia salido del Puerto de Soloc soloc, quando se viò obligado à entrar en el de Salamagre de donde à pocas oras vio venir à el dos Navios que temiendo fuesen Portugueses se previno y puso en estado de defensa, pero habiendo reconocido el pavellon de España los aguardò, y le mandaron amainar sus velas, y aunque conozio que esto prozedia de la mala ynfluencia de Buynot no teniendo porque temer obedezì esta orden y la de que manifestase sus pasaportes, y Comision, mandaronle fuese à bordo lo qual executò sin resistencia, pero se maravillò quando los oficiales de estos dos Navios le dijeron que sus pasaportes y Comision eran falsos, y sin mas razon le detubieron preso, se apoderaron de su Navio y Carga, y de todos sus papeles embiaron el equipaje por tierra à Manila quedandose los referidos ofiçiales con sus Navios dos dias en el Puerto de Salamagre para robar mas façilmente el Navio l'Éclair que condujeron despues al Puerto de Cavite donde el Castellano llegò à bordo para hazer clavar y poner los sellos sobre las escotillas y à Boislòrè pusieron preso en el referido castillo à donde pasados algunos dias llegè de Manila Don Gregorio de Villa con orden de hazer descargar las Mercaderias, y desarmar el Navio lo qual se executò y pasaron à Boislòrè a las prisiones de Manila y no hallando el Governador motivo para acusarle de Pirata[.] para disculpar su yerro y violencia le acusò de que tenia animo de yr à vender sus Mercadurias a los reynos del Perú Chile ó Buenos Ayres, porque la maior parte de ellas eran de seda, de que se infiere que la acusacion puesta contra Boislòrè es de un crimen de voluntad sin execuzion el designio que sele ymputa de hir à vender sus Mercadurias al reyno del Perú, y que el Governador de Philipinas no era Juez competente en esta causa, pues no habiendo comerciado en su distrito devia dexar juzgassen los Governadores del Perú caso que hubiese executado su designio, tomandose por pretexto de estta violencia el que sus pasaportes son falsos, y reconocido el engaño para que no se manifieste toman declaraciones à Matalotes Merçenarios ó sobornados à quienes han pagado 20 meses de salario para que puedan salir del Pais y en fuerza de ellas se dà Sentencia por la qual se declara por malicioso y afectado el arrivo del Navio l'Éclair, confiscandole con su cargazon, y quedando preso su Capitan, y vendiendose à pregon las Mercaderias y concluien pidiendo a S.M. Cristianissima made reclamar por su Embajador à V.M. la persona del Capitan Boislòrè con el Navio l'Éclair y las*

*Mercaderias que estaban en su bordo tales y en el estado que se hallavan quando se apoderaron del referido Navio y su carga poniendo en libertad al referido Capitan sobre que ba pasadò oficios con V.M. el Embajador de françia en consequençia de haverle escrito sobre esta materia el Consejo de la Marina de aquel Reyno, afin de que V.M. se sirviese condeszender a su ynstancia.*

*Visto en el Consejo el Real Decretto de V.M. con que se sirvio remitir la ynstancia y oficios de que queda echa expresion acordò que por Secretaria se notasen los antecedentes que hubiese, y haviendolo executado se bolvio à ver este expediente con una Carta del Governador de Philipinas Conde de Lizarraga su fha de 21 de Julio de 1714,<sup>1</sup> en que da quenta con Autos del arrivo al Puerto de Soloc, soloc, del expresado Navio del cargo de Don Juan de Boislore (quien dijo venia de Canton, y que el mal temporal le havia obligado a tomar dicho Puerto nezesitado de reparar su Bajel) y que estando para verse en el acuerdo avisò el Alcalde maior de la Provinçia de Ylocos tenia yndividual notiçia que dicho Navio havia salido 3 años antes de Françia para el Perú donde havia estado vastante tiempo, y que de alli havia pasado al Puerto de Cantton del Reyno de la China, y comprado en el las Mercaderias que acostumbran con designios de bolber al Perú cuyas notiçias participo tambien Don Gabriel de Urquiso pasajero del mismo Navio, con cuios motivos, y con el de no haver dado razon el Capitan à aquel gobierno de su arribo despacho orden à dicho Alcalde maior para que le notificase saliese de dicho Puerto ó pasase al de Cavite por lo que hubiese menester y que de no ejecutarlo procurase con sagacidad cojerle en tierra, ó al Factor, y con buena guardia remitirselo à Manila; y que si tratavan de poner en tierra la carga de dicho Navio no les permitiese bolverla à embarcar, Y visto todo en el acuerdo le previenieron que por resultar sospechosa la llegada de este Navio devia continuar las providençias para asegurarle, y que en su conformidad habiendo constado por las diligençias, que hizo el Alcalde que dicho Capoitán se substraia de executar la orden antezedente con el pretexto de estar maltratado su Bajel, y Justificadose lo contrario por declaraciones juridiciales, à que se añadia haver oydo a la jente del referido Navio que su buelta era derechamente al Perú, despachò segunda orden para que sele embarazese el embarque de la carga que hubiese echado en tierra y que en caso de querer obedezarla viniese por tierra, y no de otra manera, y que no cumpliendo con estas ordenes no le asistiesen con cosa alguna, y aunque se le yntimaron por primera[,] segunda y terçera vez, no tobo efecto. En cuió estado el Cavildo de aquella Ciudad, y su Comercio pidieron que en atençion a los perjuicios que de seguir su viaje a la America este Navio se havian de seguir à aquellas Yslas continuase en dar las mas vigorosas providencias hasta asegurarle à cuió fin ofrecieron servir à V.M. para los gastos de estas disposiçiones en caso de no conseguirse la captura con 3 mil pesos à que condeszendio disponiendo con toda brevedad se apprestasen dos Navios de particulares que despachò à cargo del General Don Bernardo de Aizoain y Almirante Don Joaquin de Vusea con orden de que llegando a el referido Puerto de Solocsoloc hiçiesen al Capitan franzes los requirimientos nezesarios para que*

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1714A1.

*manifestase las patentes y lizenias con que vinia, y que constando no traer las nezesarias le requiriesen se entregase preso con su varco y jente, y en caso de ynobediencia le ymposibilitasen su salida y rindiesen con las Armas no pudiendo de otra manera, que no fue menester, porque le ympidieron la salida del Puerto aunque la yntentò despues de haver exsvivido una patente ó Lizençia de S.M. Cristianissima, y otra del grande Almirante de françia, en que se le conzede pueda pasar con dicho Navio a los Puertos de Canton, ó Limpo del Reyno de la China, prohibiendosele el Comerçio en los Mares del Sur con pena de confiscazion del Bajel y Mercanzias, y multa de 50 mil libras frrancezas, y por no haver constado de Despachos de V.M. lo aprendieron y trajeron con su varco y jente al Puerto de Cavite, que visto en el acuerdo con un Ymbentario de los libros y papeles que sele cogieron por donde resultava mas comprobazion de ser su buelta al Perú sele dio por voto consultivo devia declarar por vien aprehendida la persona del referido Capitan Don Juan de Boislorè su Navio y jente y continuar su aseguacion pasando à su ymbentario, y reconozimiento de su carga con asistencia de un ofiçial Real y zitacion del Fiscal y executado se reçiviesen las declaraciones del caso al Capitan y ofiçiales del Navio, y expeçialmente al Piloto mandandosele exçiviese el diario ó derrotero desde Europa à aquellas partes y conformadose con este votto nombrò para su execuzion al Oydor Don Gregorio de Villa, en cuiã virtud con zitacion del fiscal, y asistencia de Don Juan Antonio de Ybarra ofiçial de la Real Hazienda paso al Puerto de Cavite al cumplimiento de esta Comision por cuias diligencias parece que dicho Navio lo armaron particulares en Françia con lizençia para la China y designio para el Peru, y su porte 43 codos de quilla, 30 cañones y la jente con que se hallava 85 personas en plaza, Que la carga prinçipal que saco de Françia, se componia de fierro, Azero, Zera, castores, Lienzos, Papel, Ropa de Lana, y otras cosas, que ymportavan de 36 à 37 mil pesos; que desde que salieron de Brest siguieron la derrota derechamente al Perú, en cuias costas vendiò toda su carga, y asimismo una presa portuguesa cargada de vino y aguardiente que apresò en las costas del Brasil en cantidad de 13 mil pesos, que redujeron à Mercaderias de françia y vendieron tambien en dho Reyno que el prinçipal producto de la carga importò 50 mil pesos poco mas ó menos, con cuiã cantidad pasaron al empleo de la China que executaron en las mercanzias ymbentariadas con que arrivo à aquellas Yslas jeneros todos gastables en el Perú en donde otorgaron algunos conoçimientos de cortas cantidades que suponen la buelta de la China al mismo Reyno del Perú y Chile y otros adminiculos que lo comprueban, de que se dio vista al fiscal, quien pidio se llevase el expediente à Junta de Guerra para que en ella se estimase si à dicho Capitan se devia guardar la buena correspondencia prevenida por Reales Zedulas y habiendose formado, fueron todos los que la compusieron de parecer, que estandose ventilando como se ventilava en Justicia con voto del Acuerdo no hallavan que el examen del cumplimiento ó contravençion a las ordenes tocasse a Junta de Guerra, y aunque se insistiò por el Fiscal que exspresasen sus pareceres sobre su pedimientto sele devolvieron a el los Autos con voto del acuerdo para que usase del derecho que hubiese lugar, y respondiò que se determinase con el voto del acuerdo lo mas combeniente, que visto en el sele dio por voto consultivo deverse declarar por vien preso à dicho capitan*

*Boislore, y executar la misma prision en el factor de dicho Barco Don Nicolas de Gargan, y Escrivano Estevan Roquet, y que por el Oydor que entendio en estas diligencias seles hiçiese la culpa, y cargo que resultava de ella, y tomase sus confesiones como se executo y en su vista dijo el Fiscal seles oyese en Justizia, y que despues hallando meritos deduçiria las açiones que tubiesen lugar, y con voto consultivo del Acuerdo mandó dar traslado a los referidos y cada uno de ellos para que usasen de su derecho dentro de terçero dia y pasado se reçiviese la causa a prueba, en cuió estado quedava; y concluye ofreciendo que en la primera ocasion darà quenta con Autos de su resulta.*

*El Consejo ha puesto en la Soberana comprehension de V.M. la ynstançia de los expresados Menan Duplesis y V. Coquelin y el ofiçio que sobre ella ha pasado con V.M. el Embajador de françia motivado de haverle escrito sobre esta materia, el Consejo de la Marina de aquel Reyno y asimismo lo que resulta de los autos que ba remitido el Governador de Philipinas con Carta de 21 de Julio de 1714 que en substancia se reduce à que este negocio se hallava por concluir y determinar, pues quedava en estado de prueba, y en esta inteligencia deve hazer presente a V.M. no consta se aia dado la Sentençia de comiso que se refiere en el Memorial de los expresados Menan Duplesis y V. Coquelin, faltando en el a la verdad del echo, por ser contrario el ynforme y autos del referido governador de Philipinas à lo que ellos representan, à quien añade que el Despacho de Francia les prohíve pasar à comerçiar a la Mar del Sur, como expresamente se declara en la patente con que ibà este Navio, en que sele conzede lizenzia para los puertos de Canton ó Limpo del Reyno de la China y sele prohíve el comerçio en los Mares del Sur, con pena de confiscazion del Bajel, y mercaderias y multa de 50 mil Libras franzesas, y aunque segun lo que resulta de los Autos en el estado que vienen es muy conforme la declaraçion del Comiso por la Justificazion que trahen de haver comerçiado este Navio en el Reyno del Perú y que su tornaviaje de la China era con animo de bolber à comerçiar en el, sin embargo no pudiendose haze conzepto fixo ni tomar resoluzion hasta tener presentes todos los Autos, es de parezer se devera expedir zedula al Governador y Audiencia de Manila para que sin la menor dilazion remitan los Autos integros que se quedavan formando sobre la sujeta materia, y que en llegando se les podra oyr en Justizia a la parte de los ynteressados del expresado Navio y su carga. V.M. mandara lo que mas sea de su Real agrado.*

*Madrid a 22 de septiembre de 1717.*

### **Translation.**

[The greater part of the above document has already been translated in Doc. 1714A]

The Council has placed before Y.M. the request of the above-mentioned Menan Duplesis and V. Coquelin and the note which as a result of it the French Navy Council of that Kingdom wrote on the matter and forwarded to Y.M. through the French Ambassador, as well as a summary of the record of proceedings remitted by the Governor of the Philippines with a letter dated 21 July 1714, which in substance says that this affair was about to be concluded and determined; indeed, it was then at the trial stage. In this wise, the Council must point out to Y.M. that the sentence of confiscation had



not been presented, the one referred to in the Memorial of the above-mentioned Menan Duplesis and V. Coquelin, which obviously is not in fact true, because the report and record from the above-mentioned Governor of the Philippines are contrary [to their assertion]. He also adds that their despatch from France prohibits them from going to trade in the South Sea, as expressly stated in the license under which this ship was sailing, in which it was permitted to go to the ports of Canton or Limpo in the Kingdom of China but was forbidden to trade in the South Sea, under penalty of confiscation of the vessel, and merchandise, and a fine of 50,000 French pounds, and although according to the results of the proceedings, in their present state, it seems that such a declaration of confiscation is more than valid, on account of this ship having traded in the Kingdom of Peru and that its plan for the return voyage from China included trading there again, nevertheless, we are not in a position to make a clear decision, until all of the records of proceedings are available for study, and we are therefore of the opinion that a decree should be issued to the Governor and Audiencia of Manila, to urge them to remit the full transcripts of proceedings that were yet to take place in this subject matter, and when they get here it will be possible to hear the legal presentation of the parties interested in the above-mentioned ship and its cargo. Y.M. will order what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 22 September 1717.

### F3. Royal decree sent to Manila, dated 9 January 1718

*Source: AGI Fil. 94.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Real Zedula en que su Magestad ordena que primera ocasion remitan los Autos fhos. sobre la acogida que hizo un bajel en el Puerto de Solocsoloc, del cargo del Capitan Don Juan de Boisloré de navion frances.*

*El Rey*

*Presidente y Oydores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en las Yslas Philipinas.*

*Por parte de Menan Duplesis, y V. Coquelin se me ha representado que aviendo aprestado por el año de mill setezientos, y diez un Navio nombrado **Leclair** su Buque trezientos y cinquenta toneladas, treinta y dos piezas de Artilleria, y ççiento y çinquenta hombres de equipaje cargado de mercaderias con pasaportes del Rey Cristiano, y comission del Almirante de Françia para pasar a la China a cargo del Capitan Don Juan de Boislore, y haziendo su viage a aquel Reyno se vio preçisado a acogerse en la canal de la Ysla de Luzon por hallarse maltratado del temporal que avia padeçido y que aviendo tomado el Puerto de Solocsoloc de essas Yslas, y dado quenta de su arribo al Governador de ellas, y de las razones que le causaron su entrada en el le mando conducir su Navio a essa Ciudad ó que continuase su viage el qual por motivo de no poderle executar a causa de su imposivilidad se mantubo en el expresado Puerto por espacio de mas dos mezes en cuyo tiempo aviendo savido que el corsario Buinot se hal-*

*lava en essa Ciudad vendiendo las presas que avia echo a los chinos en los mares de Levante, y teniendo que el referido Don Juan Boislore se quejase de sus robos persuadio al Governador de essas Yslas a que le tubiese como falzario cuya impostura, y por redimir su vejaçion le preçiso a hazerse a la vela saliendo del mençionado puerto, y a poco tiempo de averlo executado se vio obligado a entrar en el de Salamague a cuya zason viendo venir a el dos Navios, y temiendo ser Portugueses, se previno para su defensa, y reconociendo mi Real Pavellon los aguardo, y habiendo llegado, y mandadole amainar sus velas, y pasar abordo conociendo que esto procedia de la mala influencia del expresado corsario Buinot, y no tener otro motivo que le causase reselo alguno lo executo pontualmente, y reconociendole sus pasaportes sele imputaron de falzos, y pasaron a ponerle preso. Apoderandose de su vagel, y carga dandolo por de comisof,] suplicandome que en esta conçideraçion fuese servido mandarseles restituya el expresado Navio **Leclair** con todas sus] mercaderias, y se ponga en livertad de su prision al referido Capitan Don Juan Boislore.*

*Y aviendose visto esta instancia en mi Consejo Real de las Yndias con un testimonio de Auttos remitido por el Conde de Lizarraga siendo Governador de esas Yslas con carta de veinte, y uno de Julio de mil setecientos, y catorze en que dio cuenta del estado de esta dependensia ofreciendo executar lo de su conclusion, y consultadome sobre ello,] He resuelto que para hacer concepto fixo, y poder tomar determinacion en ella remitais sin dilacion alguna en primera ocasion los auttos integros, que se quedavan formado pertenecientes a esta materia en cuya conformidad por la presente os ordeno, y mando que assi lo executeis dandome quenta de su pultual [sic] cumplimiento (como, por despacho de este dia ordeno lo mismo a mi Governador y Capitan General de essas Islas).*

*Fecha en Madrid a nueve de Henero de mil setecientos y diez, y ocho.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Andres del Coro Barrutia, y Çupide.*

### **Translation.**

Royal decree by which H.M. orders that at the first opportunity be remitted the complete set of transcripts regarding the arrival in distress of the vessel at the port of Solocoloc, under the command of Captain Juan de Boisloré, from France.

The King,

[To the] President and members of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

On behalf of Menan Duplesis, and V. Coquelin, I have been told that a ship named **l'Éclair** of a capacity of 350 tons, carrying 32 guns, 150 crewmen, and merchandise, was outfitted in the year 1710, with passports from the Christian King, and a commission from the Admiral of France to go to China under the command of Captain Jean de Boisloré. That while it was pursuing its voyage to that Kingdom, it was forced to seek refuge in the channel of the Island of Luzon, on account of its having been battered by a storm. and that after having sought the port of Solocoloc of those Islands

and reported its arrival to the Governor there, and given the reasons that had caused its arrival, they were ordered to bring their ship to that City, or to pursue their voyage. However, since they would not do so, because they could not, the ship stayed in the above-mentioned port for a period of more than 2 months, during which time they learned that the corsair Bouynot was then in that City selling the prizes that he had taken from the Chinese in the Eastern Sea and that, since he feared that said Juan Boisloré might complain about his piracies, he convinced the Governor of those Islands to judge him as a falsifier and impostor. So, to overcome his frustration, it became necessary to set sail, and he left the above-mentioned port, but within a short time he was forced into the port of Salamague; at this time, he saw two ships making for him and, fearing that they were Portuguese, he made ready to fight, but upon recognizing my Royal flag, he waited for them. When they arrived, they ordered him to lower his sails and to go aboard them. Upon realizing that this was happening as a result of the bad influence of the above-mentioned Bouynot the pirate, and also because he had no reason to fear anything, he obeyed the order immediately. And upon checking his passports, he was accused of having presented false ones, and they made him prisoner. They then seized his ship and cargo, thus confiscating them. Now, they beg me that under these circumstances I be pleased to order the restitution of the above-mentioned ship *P'Éclair* with all of its merchandises, and to release said Captain Jean Boisloré from prison.

And this request having been reviewed in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with a record of proceedings sent by the Count of Lizarraga, then Governor of those Islands, with a letter dated 21 July 1714 in which he reported about the status of this pending litigation, and offering to conclude it, having been consulted about it, I have resolved that, in order to judge this situation properly and be able to make a determination, you are to remit without any delay at the first opportunity a full set of transcripts of the records of the proceedings regarding this case. Hence I order you to do so, and report to me about your timely compliance (the same way as I have ordered my Governor and Captain-General of those Islands on this date).

Made at Madrid on 9 January 1718.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Andrés del Coro Barrutia y Zupide.

**Editor's notes:**

The above decree arrived at Manila aboard the galleon *Sacra Familia* in June 1720, and was first seen by the Audiencia on 3 July. The Fiscal reviewed the files (10 copy-books) and recommended, on 31 May 1721, that it be obeyed. On 9 June 1721, the Audiencia agreed, and a full transcript was mailed to Madrid aboard the galleon then leaving for Acapulco (see Doc. 1721J, K, and L).

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## Documents 1718A

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### Exploration of the Carolines (cont'd)

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 561, Legajo 13; perhaps originally from Fil. 134.*

#### **A1. Representation made by General Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, Frontier Governor of the Palao Islands, dated 18 January 1718**

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

*Muy Ilustre Señor:*

*La obligacion en que rendidamente me hallo à la magnifica y real dignacion de S.M. (que Dios le guarde) por la nueva merced que me sirvió hacerme por su real cédula de once de Noviembre de mil setecientos y quince en que apreciando mi insuficiencia me nombró por adelantado de las Islas Palaos, nuevo descubrimiento en que con celo Católico y Real benegñidad procura concurrir por el beneficio y bien espiritual de sus naturales, me precisa à sacrificarme mi voluntad en cumplimiento de dicho empleo, solicitando por todos los medios que à mi cortedad ha parecido conbenientes à facilitar el reconocimiento de aquellas islas y sus Puertos para la consecucion de tan Cristiano fin, sobre cuyo efecto se me ofrecen proponer los puntos siguientes.*

*El primero que segun las noticias que tengo adquiridas de los Pilotos y otras personas inteligentes que fueron al descubrimiento de dichas Islas Palaos el año pasado de mil setecientos y diez, en el Patache nombrado la **Santissima Trinidad** y en su conserva una Balandra, la cual se perdió en la costa de Laguan prosiguiendo dicho Patache su viage à dicho descubrimiento en cuyo ingreso en cinco grados y medio de altura del norte y de diferencia de longitud oriental del Cabo del Espiritu Santo ocho grados descubrieron dos Isletas que llamaron San Andres, por haber ido en el día de este glorioso Santo Apostol, acercandose dicho Patache à la Isla mayor, salieron de ella algunas embarcacioncillas de Indios, que les pareció, à los del patache ser buena gente por el agrado y afabilidad que demostraron, de lo cual engañados los nuestros sin haber dado fondo por falta de surgidero, saltaron en su barca yendose à tierra los Padres Misioneros, el Piloto y Contramaestre de la Balandra perdida y algunos soldados de esta costa todos armados con el indio Palao y su muger que llevaban de esta Ciudad de los que habian venido derribados, quedando el Patache sin ninguna estabilidad y con la fuer-*

*za de los corrientes y vientos se desgarró en cuyo extravío descubrieron otra isla grande en altura de siete grados y medio de la cual dice salieron algunas embarcaciones de Indios armados de flechas y lanzas, demostrando braveza y cautela en sus acciones pues se arrojaban como à querer acometer al Patache hasta que fueron espelidos con dispararles algunos mosquetes, y que aunque solicitaron puerto ó surgidero no le hallaron, y entrándoles viento favorable, hicieron su derrota en buelta de dichas isletas de S. Andres.*

**[Cannibalism suspected]**

*Y llegado à ellas solicitaron acercarse esperando saliesen los de la barca, y no pareciendo esta ni otras embarcaciones de Indios tubieron por cierta la fatalidad de la gente de dicha barca, persuadiendose los del Patache por la misma barbaridad de aquellos Indios haber muerto à nuestra gente y comidoselos como por esperiencia se tiene de otros barcos que comen carne humana, y de los de estas Islas Palaos lo confirma el testimonio de dos de ellos cuando los traxeron à esta Ciudad, hablando de los de la Isla de Panloc.*

*El segundo que en prosecucion de (este viage) dicho descubrimiento se despachó el patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman** que salió de esta Ciudad para las Marianas, y de ellas à dicho descubrimiento à fines del mes de Enero del año de mil setecientos y doce, y segun las noticias que dieron en su torna buelta descubrieron mas de veinte isletas rasas en alguna altura de diez grados largos, y al leste de dicho Cabo del Espiritu Santo, como trece grados de longitud de las cuales islas dicen salieron algunas embarcacioncillas de Indios que demostraban la misma braveza cautela y estrañez, y no hallando en esta surgidero tomaron derrota en busca de la Isla grande Panloc, y habiendola hallado queriendo buscar surgidero no se consiguió por lo tempestuoso de aquellas mares, fuerza y duracion de los vientos que tubieron reconociendose muchos vajos que asi mismo impidieron la solicitud de surgidero, viendose en ocasiones asi los de este Patache como los del antecedente, à punto de perderse, y habiendoles salido algunas banquillas y logradose con mucho trabajo coger dos indios de ellas para traerlos despues de haber dado muestras de mucha braveza y herido à uno de los marineros de dicho Patache el uno se arrojó de él à mas de diez leguas à la mar de dicha Isla, manifestando en esta ocasion su barbaridad y el dicho Patache prosiguió su viage en busca de las Islas de San Andres, y aunque llegaron à ellas no salieron embarcaciones ni hicieron señas ni demostracion alguna en tierra de que se califica la fatalidad de aquella nuestra gente.*

**[Plan to occupy Palau in 1714]**

*Presupuestas estas noticias de la estrañez y brabaza de aquellos naturales Palaos y el no haberse descubierto puerto ni surgidero ninguno de dicha Isla avistada previene mi cortedad y discurso deseoso del cumplimiento de mi obligacion de concurrir al logro de tan Cristiano fin en servicio de ambas magestades que esta empresa se podrá intentar en dos modos:*

*El primero que aprestandose del Puerto de Cavite tres Galeotas de las mejores trafico de estas Islas por el mes de Abril ó Mayo tiempos bonancibles para lograr la quietud de aquellos tempestuosos mares de dichas Islas, llevando à lo menos cien soldados Españoles escogidos y disciplinados, y cien Pampangos y entre ellos algunos carpinteros, herreros y dos galafates, buenas armas con la suficiente municion y tren de guerra lo necesario para tales empresas con tripulacion de gente de mar buena à lo menos la mitad Españoles para el pronto mareage de los bageles, y estos con algunos cañones y pedreros llevando de respeto suficiente polvora y lo demas necesario y del corporal vastimento para un año, por la dificultad que se considera de nuevo socorro; y que saliendo dichas Galeotas à desembocar por el estrecho de S. Juanico, desde alli se forme derrota en busca de aquella Isla grande llamada Panlooc, y llegados à ella se solicite puerto seguro antes que entre la fuerza de los bendabales por que cogiendo el desabrigo de dichos Galeotas como insuficientes à contratar ni mantenerse en el rigor de aquellos mares, ni bolber à coger puerto de estas Islas se espondrán à evidente peligro de perderse, y asentado por primer fundamento de solicitarse puerto de seguridad de donde la tengan dichas embarcaciones, como asi mismo terreno y lugar aproposito para fortificarse la Infanteria debajo del amparo de la artilleria de dichas embarcaciones, conseguido este fin se esperanzará el logro del principal con esta prevencion, y otras que el mismo caso puedan ofrecerse segun los acaecimientos.*

*El segundo modo que se me ofrece proponer por mas combeniente seria que en el Patache que de este puerto sale con los vendabales de Junio y Julio, à llevar el situado para las islas Marianas, siendo este ademas buque, que el que estos años pasados ha ido se embarque la armazon de una Galeota tablazon y lo demas necesario para ella y para componer otra embarcacion la mejor de las que en dichas islas Marianas sirven en su tragino y descarga de sus situados para que llegado à ellas alli se arme y acabe y apresten para que salgan con dicho Patache, con todo la prevencion de guerra vastimentos y demas necesarios que va esspresado en el modo antecedente por principio del mes de Abril del siguiente año, y se forme derrota en busca de dicha Isla Panlooc, y llegados se solicite buscar puerto seguro en la misma forma que en el antecedente modo se ha espresado fortificandose debajo del seguro de la artilleria, y asi conseguido prosiga el Patache su torna buelta à estas Islas quedandose dichas Galeotas y gente en dicha isla à emprender la conquista de sus naturales que segun las noticias espresadas de su braveza y cautelas, y de que son aficionados à la guerra y gente crecida y robusta será combeniente mucha vigilancia y precautelarse siempre de sus astucias con el auxilio y retirada de la fortificacion por la defensa de su artilleria, procurandose la reduccion por los medios afables, aunque con desconfianza disimulada, y en caso de su tenacidad y soberbia se procurará su humiliacion con el rigor de la guerra que fortificados en puerto seguro podrán conducir los socorros de gente y bastimentos y esta fuerza aplicarse à la conquista de dicha Isla con prudente acuerdo segun las ocasiones que ofrecieren los acasos de ella, y vencida esta continuandose los socorros de gente y municiones suficientes se podran emprender las demas aunque con sumo trabajo y riesgos, y ser necesarios tiempos propios y oportunos para el transporte à ellas por la suma distancia en*

*que se hallan unas de otras, pues de la dicha Isla de Panlooc, à las dichas de San Andres habrá como cinco [sic] leguas, en solo cada año se podrá concurrir con socorro, y asi en las demas que se fueren descubriendo, y no ejecutandose en uno de los dos modos que van espresados será contingente el que se hagan mas crecidos gastos de la real hacienda y perdida de gente sin fruto y desairadas las armas Católicas debajo de las cuales con las espresadas circunstancias en cumplimiento de la obligacion en que la real voluntad se ha dignado constituirme con dicha nueva merced[.] estoy pronto à abandonar mi quietud casa y familia à satisfacer [rather sacrificar] mi ya cortas fuerzas y salud quebrantada y gastada en el real servicio, aunque no halla salido con la utilidad que mi leal deseo y rendimiento tubiera por bien empleada y en su prosecucion continuaré hasta el ultimo rendimiento y en caso que se estima por mejor, este segundo medio hallo por combeniente el que la Nao que saliere de estas islas para la Nueva España lleve orden para que à la torna buelta dexé en las Marianas de la Infanteria que tragere cincuenta soldados, los que parecieren mas aproposito para el efecto con cuya diligencia los podrá el Patache llevar menos de los ciento que se habian de sacar de este campo, que será de alivio. Este es, Señor, mi sentir segun las proposiciones que hago en el ingreso de esta mi espresion que en todo la sugeto rendidamente à la superior correccion y esperiencias de V.S. en casos de esta igualdad como à las censuras de las personas que asi mismo la tengan (à quienes siendo necesario) se sirviere V.S. combocar para estas providencias.*

*Guarde Dios la muy ilustre persona de V.S. muchos años.*

*Manila y Enero diez y ocho de mil setecientos diez y ocho años.*

*Señor*

*Besa la mano de V.S. su mas rendido subdito,*

*Antonio Fernandez de Roxas.*

*[A] Muy Ilustre Señor Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda del Consejo de S.M. Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Islas Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir:

I find myself humbly obliged by the magnificent and Royal dignity of H.M. (whom may God save) for the recent favor he was pleased to do me through his Royal decree of 11 November 1715 in which, appreciating my shortcomings, he appointed me Frontier Governor of the Palaos Islands, a new discovery, where his Catholic zeal and Royal largesse tries to obtain the benefit and spiritual good of the natives. I am obliged to sacrifice my will to comply with said employment, by soliciting all the means, that have seemed appropriate to my short judgment, to facilitate the exploration of those islands and their ports for the pursuance of such a Catholic purpose, and to this effect I wish to propose the following points:

The first point is that, according to the notices that I have acquired from the pilots and other knowledgeable persons who went to the exploration of said Palaos Islands

in the past year of 1710 aboard the patache named **Santísima Trinidad** and aboard the sloop, its consort, that was lost on the coast of Laguan, but said patache having pursued its voyage to said exploration, when they reached 5°30' of latitude north and a difference in longitude of 8° east of Cape Espiritu Santo, they discovered two islets that they named San Andrés, on account of said patache having approached the major islet on the feast-day of this glorious Apostle. Some very small vessels with Indians came out of it, and these men seemed to be good people to those aboard the patache, on account of the agreeableness and affability that they demonstrated. Our people were tricked by it all, and, although the patache could not anchor for lack of an anchorage, the Missionary Fathers, the pilot and boatswain of the shipwrecked sloop stepped into their launch, with a few soldiers from this coast, all armed, plus the Palao Indian and his wife whom they had carried along from this City, from those who had drifted in. The patache remained unstable and with the strength of the currents and winds it was carried off; while they were going astray they discovered another large island at a latitude of 7°30' from which came out a few craft with Indians armed with arrows and spears, showing bravery and caution in their actions; indeed, they charged as if they wanted to attack the patache until they were expelled with a few musket shots. And although they looked for a port or anchorage, they did not find any. And when a favorable wind returned, they made their way back to the above-mentioned small islets of San Andrés.

**[Cannibalism suspected]**

Upon arriving at them, they tried to get near, hoping for those of the launch to come out, but they did not appear and no other craft of Indians either. So, those of the patache were led to believe that the people of the launch must surely have been killed, by the same barbarity of those Indians, and have been eaten, as we know from the experience of other ships that they eat human flesh, and from the people of these Palaos Islands themselves who confirm it, for instance, the testimony of two of them who were brought to this City, when referring to the people of the Island of Panloc.

The second point is that when this exploration work was pursued by the patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman** which departed from this City for the Marianas, and from them to said exploration at the end of the month of January 1712, according to the notices that they gave, during their return voyage, they discovered over 20 low-lying islets a little over 10° of latitude and about 13° longitude east of said Cape of Espiritu Santo. From said islands, they say that a few craft came off with Indians who showed the same bravery, caution and wonder, but since they did not find anchorage there, they pursued their voyage in search of the big Island of Panloc, and having found it, they tried to look for an anchorage. Not finding one, on account of the storminess of the those seas, the strength and duration of the winds that they experienced, they surveyed many shoals that were also preventing them from anchoring, coming close to becoming shipwrecked at times, like those of the previous patache had been. After a few small canoes came off and, with much effort, they had managed to capture two Indians from



said canoes, in order to bring them along, after they had shown themselves to be very brave and one of them had wounded one of the sailors of said patache, one of them threw himself overboard when at over 10 leagues at sea from said Island, thus showing his barbarity on this occasion. Said patache pursued its voyage in search of the Islands of San Andrés, and although they reached them, no craft came off and no signals or show of human presence either from ashore, from which can be deduced the death of our people there.

#### **[Plan to occupy Palau in 1714]**

Given these notices about the strangeness and bravery of those Palaos natives and the fact that no port or anchorage was discovered at said Island that was sighted, my shortcomings and wishful thinking in the compliance of my obligation to contribute to such a Christian project in the service of both their Majesties, make me think that this enterprise can be done in two ways.

The first way consists in making ready in the port of Cavite three of the best galliots, and in leaving these Islands during either April or May, when the weather is moderate enough to ensure the calmness of the [usually-] stormy seas around said Islands, taking at least 100 Spanish soldiers, selected and disciplined, and 100 Pampango soldiers and among the latter group some carpenters, smiths and two caulkers, taking good weapons with a sufficient quantity of ammunitions, plus a war train, the usual for such enterprises, with a good sea crew, at least half of them Spaniards, to increase the readiness of the vessels. The vessels themselves should have a few guns and mortars, a sufficient stock of powder and the other necessities and enough food to last one year, on account of the difficulty of getting re-supplied. Now then, with said galliots going out of the Strait of San Juanico, from there the route would be in search of that big island called Panlooc. Once there, a safe port would be searched for, before the strength of the monsoon winds begins, because if the wind should ever catch said galliots in the open, as they are too small to withstand it or even to maintain themselves in those seas, or return in time to find a port in these Islands, they would be exposed to obvious dangers of being shipwrecked. That is why the first concern would be to seek a safe port where said vessels can be safe. That, plus looking for a terrain and appropriate site to fortify the infantry under the protection of the guns of said vessels. Once this purpose has been gained, and these and other precautions taken, as circumstances would dictate, the success of the main venture is to be hoped for.

The second way that I wish to propose as most appropriate would be for the patache that leaves this port with the monsoon winds in June and July to take the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, to be one with more capacity than the one that went out these past few years, and to load upon it the frame of one galliot, its deck boards and the rest that is necessary for it, and, in order to build another boat somewhat larger than those used in said Mariana Islands for their inter-island transport and for the unloading of their subsidies, so that, upon arriving there, it be put together and finished, to be able to sail in company with said patache, completely equipped with war supplies, food supplies

and other necessities that was mentioned under the first way, at the beginning of the month of April of the following year, and both would head for said Panlooc Island. Once there, a safe port would be sought, in the same manner as mentioned under the first way, and a fortification built under the protection of the guns. Once this has been achieved, the patache would continue its return voyage to these Islands. Said galliots and men would remain at said island and undertake the conquest of its natives who, according to the given notices about their bravery and cautious behavior, and the fact that they are warlike, tall and robust men, much vigilance would be appropriate; furthermore, precautions should always be taken against their trickeries by withdrawing to the safety of the fortification and be protected by its guns. However, the reduction should be through affable means, though mistrust need not be shown, and in case of tenacity and haughtiness on their part, their humiliation is to be sought through the rigor of war; since the reserve supplies of men and food would be fortified within a safe port, this force could be applied to the conquest of said Island, prudent decisions being taken according to circumstances there. Once this island has been conquered, assuming that sufficient reinforcements in men and ammunition be continued, the conquest of the other islands could be undertaken, although with extreme hardship and risks; for instance, an appropriate and timely weather would be necessary to transport men and supplies to them, given the extreme distance between one island and another; indeed, from said Island of Panlooc to said Islands of San Andrés there are about 5 [rather 50] leagues. Also succor would come only once a year. So, in the other islands that would be discovered along the way, if neither one of the two ways that I have expressed be carried out, there would proportionally be more expenditures made by the Royal treasury and more men lost, without fruit and with the Catholic arms being unsuccessful.

Now then, I stand ready to serve under such Catholic arms under the above-stated circumstances, in compliance with the obligation that the Royal will has been pleased to place upon me, with this new favor. I am ready to leave behind my quiet life, my house and family, to sacrifice my already-diminished vigor and health, broken and spent in the Royal service, even though I did not get the benefit that my loyal desire and understanding expected from it; yet I will continue until my last breath. And, in case the second way be considered the better option, I find it appropriate for any galleon that might leave these Islands for New Spain to carry an order, so that during the return voyage it may leave at the Marianas 50 soldiers from among the most suitable of the infantrymen carried on board. In this case, the patache would need to take along fewer than the 100 soldiers that were to have been taken from this camp, which would be a relief. This is, Sir, my opinion and my recommendations, but in stating them, I nevertheless humbly submit them to the superior correction and experience of Your Lordship, as is usual in cases of such inequality, as well as to the censures of persons of mark, should Your Lordship consider it necessary to convene a meeting of them for these measures.

May God save the most illustrious person of Your Lordship for many years.

Manila, 18 January 1718.

Sir,

Your humblest subject who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,  
Antonio Fernandez de Roxas.<sup>1</sup>

[To] the most Illustrious Field-Marshal, Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Member of H.M.'s Privy Council, President, Governor and Captain-General of these Philippine Islands.

## A2. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 21 June 1718

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Presidente y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas: da cuenta à V.M. de haber recibido las Reales Cédulas con fechas de dos de Noviembre de setecientos catorce, y veinte de Junio y once de Noviembre de setecientos quince sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos en razon de que se continuan las diligencias ejecutadas de haberse visto y determinado las juntas que se han dificultado, y en ellas haber parecido mas practicables los medios propuestos por el Adelantado Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, condecorado con este Título para el mismo efecto que se le entrego y tiene entregado y aceptado, ofreciendo concurrir con su persona con calidad de darse cuenta à V.M. con los testimonios correspondientes à esta carta.*

*Señor*

*Doy cuenta à V.M. de haberse recibido en este Gobierno en el despacho del Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** à la buelta de viage que consiguio à estas islas Filipinas el año proximo pasado las reales cédulas de dos de Noviembre de setecientos catorce y veinte de Junio y once de Noviembre de setecientos y quince en razon de los descubrimientos de las Islas Palaos, y en que V.M. se sirve de aprovar las diligencias ejecutadas por mi antecesor en este Gobierno, el Conde de Lizarraga, y los gastos que se contribuyeron de la Real hacienda con el piadoso celo de V.M. para la predicacion de nuestra sagrada religion, y consecucion de que los infieles que en ellas habitan, logren el beneficio de la combersion de que carecen que sin embargo de haberse dificultad en los cinco años pasados con pérdida de Navios y gente y algunos religiosos que se quedaron en la Isla de S. Andres, de que hasta ahora no se ha podido saber ni adquirir dichas noticias por los Pataches que han ido à las Islas Marianas, à buelta de los viages que han hecho con derrotas para el reconocimiento de las referidas Islas[.] parece se habia suspendido este empeño, hasta mejor oportunidad, y motivandose nuevamente por el cumplimiento*

1 Ed. note: This man, who was known generally as Mr. Roxas, rather than Mr. Fernandez, is referred to below as a General (of galleons). He never went to the Carolines, as the project to conquer them was postponed indefinitely. In any case, General Roxas was close to retirement. His last known activity was his command of a fleet against the Moro pirates that left Manila in July 1721 (B&R 46: 38).

*debido à las Reales Cédulas de V.M. especialmente por la de once de Noviembre de setecientos y quince, dirigida por mano del Marques de Valero, Virrey de la Nueva España, a quien asi mismo ordena V.M. contribuya con las providencias convenientes, para facilitarse el descubrimiento de estas Islas, interponiendo las mas oportunas diligencias de aprestos, ynfanteria, municiones, armas mayores y menores, y demas peltrechos con prevencion de herraduras, clavazon y otros menesteres con lo que asi mismo en estas islas se ha de concurrir à este fin.*

*Y por que en el referido despacho se incluye la merced con que V.M. se sirvió honrrar à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas con el Titulo de Adelantado de las Islas Palaos en atencion à que concurra con su practica y aplicacion à el mismo efecto, y que su despacho se me recomendó, dirigiendose à este Gobierno, por el Virrey de la Nueva España a quien habia entregado el Real Titulo, y tomando largo informe en razon de los referidos descubrimientos me comunicó las noticias con que se hallaba y los medios que discurria poderse aplicar que redujo à espresar señalando tiempos oportunos[,] salidas de embarcaciones, el número de Infanteria, y aprestos que serán necesarios concurriendo con su persona, hasta su mayor empeño de lo cual tube formar una Junta general de Hacienda y que en ella concurrieron el Reverendo y devoto padre Provincial de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, con alguno de los religiosos Misioneros de las Islas Marianas, por la practica que le podria asistir con las noticias de las referidas Islas Palaos, para que discurriendose sobre los puntos y medios propuestos por el referido General Don Antonio de Roxas, y tambien las dificultades que le ocurrieron al Gobernador de las islas Marianas al tiempo que el año pasado verbalmente y por escrito me significó haciendo escala en dichas islas para un transporte en estas que dificultaba tambien por su parte no poder coadyubar con infanteria ni tener por factible el que con el despacho regular de cada dos años, que se hace de estas islas à aquellas se pueda lograr el socorro de municiones y bastimentos de los que habian de pasar à las referidas de Palaos, asi porque no solamente se aventuraba à la pérdida y corrupcion por no poderse conservar en dos años los bastimentos necesarios como por que tambien hallaba por muy preciso el que se dirigiera embarcacion separada para dichas islas Palaos con acrecentamiento de muchos gastos à la Real hacienda[.] que vistos unos y otros pareceres en la referida junta, y que el devoto Padre Provincial, y rector del Colegio de S. José que se hallaron en ella, dificultaron tambien el concurrir de presente por falta de religiosos misioneros, admitiendo [omitiendo?] à las dificultades propuestas por el Gobernador de las referidas islas Marianas les pareció conformar con los medios propuestos por el referido Don Antonio de Roxas que se deduce à lo siguiente:*

*Que el Patache que cada dos años se remite à las islas Marianas lleve en cuarteles una Galeota, ó dos con las maderas necesarias de poderse armar, y aderezar las que hallare en las islas Marianas, y que construidas, aprestadas, y peltrechadas con buena esquifason salgan con el Patache à principios del mes de Abril del año siguiente, conformandose derrota en busca de la isla Panloc, donde buscando Puerto seguro y donde hacerse fuertes con la defensa de la artilleria, y siguiendo despues su viage el patache à estas islas quede la gente, y las Galeotas en el referido Puerto comenzando desde dicha*

*Isla la empresa de la pacificacion de aquellas islas, usando de diferentes medios que les fueren posibles y conforme les ofrecieren las ocasiones hasta la oportunidad de los tiempos por estar unas y otras islas bastantes cincuenta [sic] leguas y que en cada un año solamente podrán ser socorridos sin poderse escusar aquellos gastos precisos que el tiempo y la dificultad ofreciere, valiendose de otros medios de la calidad referida, para los referidos descubrimientos, y en inteligencia de ellos en la referida junta, pareció ser lo mas conforme para el efecto de los referidos descubrimientos de las islas Palaos el ponerse en ejecucion los medios propuestos por el referido Don Antonio de Roxas, con la calidad de proceder el darse cuenta à V.M. para que en vista de todo se ejecute lo que fuere mas del Real agrado de V.M. y de lo ejecutado remito el testimonio correspondiente à esta carta para su mayor claridad.*

*Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.  
Manila y Junio 21 de 1718 años.*

*Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda.*

### Translation.

Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands: reporting to Y.M. that he has received the royal decrees dated 2 November 1714, 20 June 1715 and 11 November 1715<sup>1</sup> about the exploration of the Palaos Islands, written to motivate the continuance of efforts previously made, that have come to be seen as difficult in the meetings, but in them have been judged as more practical the means proposed by the Frontier Governor Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, the man decorated with this Title for the same purpose that it was offered to him. It was offered to him and he accepted, offering to personally take part, with the proviso of reporting [first] to Y.M. with the corresponding records of proceedings (attached).

Sire:

I report to Y.M. that there have been received in this Government in the despatch of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that completed her return voyage to these Philippine Islands last year the Royal decrees of 2 November 1714, 20 June 1715 and 11 November 1715, to motivate the exploration of the Palaos Islands, and in which Y.M. is pleased to approve the efforts made by my predecessor in this Government, the Count of Lizarraga, and the expenses that were contributed by the Royal treasury with the pious zeal of Y.M. for the preaching of our sacred religion and to succeed in giving the heathen inhabitants there access to the benefit of the conversion which they lack now, in spite of the difficulties that have been met with in the past five years, with the loss of vessels, men and some Religious who were marooned at the Island of San Andrés, about whose fate nothing has been learned so far, not even through the pataches that have gone to the Mariana Islands, whose orders included a return voyage by way of the above-mentioned Islands. It seems as if this enterprise had been suspended, until a

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1714D2, 1715F2 & F7 respectively.

better opportunity, but I was newly motivated by the compliance due to the Royal decrees of Y.M., specially that of 11 November 1715, addressed to me through the hands of the Marquis of Valero, Viceroy of New Spain, to whom Y.M. also orders to contribute with appropriate provisions, to facilitate the exploration of these Islands, by interposing the most timely efforts to get outfittings, infantrymen, ammunitions, large and small weaponry, and other equipment with a good supply of iron bars and spikes, and other necessities, which these Islands must also provide for this purpose.

And because in said despatch was also included the favor which Y.M. was pleased to grant to Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, i.e. the Title of Frontier Governor of the Palaos Islands, since his practical experience and application could be useful to the same effect, and that in his despatch he was recommended to me, while addressing this Government through the Viceroy of New Spain to whom the Royal commission [for him] had been delivered. After he did some research on the above-mentioned voyages of exploration and communicated to me the notices that he found and he discussed some means that could be applied, drawing a conclusion, as to appropriate seasons/weathers, departures of vessels, number of infantrymen, and outfittings necessary, and volunteering his services to improve the chances for the success of the enterprise. In view of this, I called a general meeting of the treasury, in which participated the Reverend and devout Father Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus, with one of the religious missionaries of the Mariana Islands,<sup>1</sup> for the practical knowledge they had of the notices regarding said Palaos Islands. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the points and means proposed by General Antonio de Roxas, and also the difficulties brought up by the Governor of the Marianas, verbally and in writing, when I made a stopover at said Islands,<sup>2</sup> regarding a transport in these [sic], that it would also be difficult on his part to be able to collaborate with infantrymen, and he did not think feasible, with the regular despatch every two years that is made from these Islands to those, that enough ammunitions and food supplies could be collected to send to the Palaos, not only because one took a chance of seeing them get lost and rotten, as the necessary food supplies could not last for two years, and also because he thought that it would be very necessary to send a separate vessel to said Palaos Islands, hence the great increase in cost to the Royal treasury. These opinions and others were examined in the above-mentioned meeting. The devout Father Provincial, and the Rector of the College of San José who were present, also mentioned the difficulties of collaborating at present for lack of religious missionaries; notwithstanding the difficulties put forward by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, their opinions were supportive of the means proposed by Don Antonio de Roxas, which can be reduced to the following:

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- 1 Ed. note: In 1718, the Provincial was Fr. Francisco Alonso (see below). The man said here to have been a Mariana missionary was Fr. Antonio de Arias, who had stepped ashore in the Marianas in 1703. He had accompanied Fr. Bobadilla during the unsuccessful 1708 expedition, says B&R quoting Murillo Velarde.
  - 2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1717E.

That the patache that is sent every two years to the Mariana Islands should take aboard one galliot in pieces, or two with the necessary timber to be able to put them together, and to rig those that might be found in the Mariana Islands and, once built, made ready and equipped with good crews, to have them sail in company with the patache at the beginning of the month of April of the following year, and to follow the route in search of Panloc Island, where they would look for a safe port and a place to built a fort with the defence of the guns. The patache would then follow its voyage to these Islands. The men and the galliots would stay in the above-mentioned port and would begin there the enterprise of pacifying those Islands, making use of various means as possible, and whenever suitable occasions arise, specially the opportunity of the weather, since there are 50 leagues between one group of islands and the other, and the fact that they could be succored only once a year, it being impossible to avoid those necessary expenses that the weather and difficulty would cause, by taking advantage of other means with the above-mentioned condition, for said exploration work. After discussion of those means, it was the consensus of said meeting to apply them to said exploration of the Palaos Islands and to carry out the means proposed by Don Antonio de Roxas, with the condition that a record of proceedings would be sent to Y.M., so that in view of everything be carried out what may be of the Royal pleasure of Y.M. To this effect, I remit the record of proceedings corresponding to this letter for greater details.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 21 June 1718.

Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.

[A Council meeting was called on 2 May 1718 at Manila. The Jesuits were represented by Fr. Provincial Francisco Alonso, and Fr. Antonio de Arias, the rector of the College of San José. The opinion of the missionaries was as follows:]

### **The lack of Jesuit missionaries.**

Said Reverend Fathers said that, in reference to the matter presently discussed, they were unable to give Fathers for said Palao Islands. For instance, said the Fr. Provincial, in the last two years, more than 20 subjects have died, and he would be forced to give up those of the mission band that is due to arrive. Also the letter from the Governor of the Marianas pointed out the difficulty of giving up the 25 soldiers mentioned in the royal decree of 11 November 1715, because its garrison is not full strength, and also the uncertainty of any food supplies lasting for up to two years without spoiling. Also the despatching of the Patache to said Mariana Islands every two years, in order to avoid excessive costs to the royal treasury, was in accordance with the proposal made by said Frontier Governor General Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas.

Said royal officials and members of the Audiencia were of the opinion and vote that the discovery of said Palaos Islands be made in accordance with the proposal made by said Frontier Governor, but that before action be taken, the recommend-ation should

be passed to H.M. (God save him) in order for him to state what is most appropriate for his royal service and the spiritual and temporal good of the said islanders.

### **A3. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 25 June 1718**

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

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de las islas Filipinas: Da cuenta à V.M. del recibo de la Real Cédula de veinte de Julio de setecientos y quince en que se sirve ordenar lo que debe ejecutar en razon de los descubrimientos de las islas Carolinas, y de Garbanzos para que se observe su real decision en este Gobierno. Y da cuenta de lo que en su cumplimiento ha ocurrido sobre el de otras dos reales Cédulas de veinte y nueve de Junio, y once de Noviembre de setecientos y quince sobre el mismo descubrimiento y la determinacion que ha tenido por mas acertada, hasta mas cierto informe que remitirá en primera ocasion testimonio de lo ejecutado.*

*Señor*

*Habiendo buuelto el Galeon Capitana **Santo Cristo de Burgos**, à estas Islas Filipinas el año proximo pasado con el real situado que condujo del Reyno de la Nueva España, y transportandome para servir los empleos que V.M. se sirvió conferirme en este Gobierno se recibió la real cédula, con fecha de veinte de Julio del año pasado de mil setecientos y quince en que se digna V.M. de noticiar la representacion fecha por parte de Don Juan Antonio Pimentel actual Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, en que dando cuenta à V.M. en carta de veinte y cuatro de Noviembre del año de setecientos y nueve de la determinacion en que se hallaba pasar al descubrimiento de las islas Carolinas, y de Garbanzos à su costa, y con ánimo de intentar el mismo descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos, instando en que se le concediese con la calidad que pidió de que solamente se le asista con los sueldos necesarios para mantener las Poblaciones en quietud y defensa.*

*Y que havindose tenido presente esta proposicion, y el que las referidas islas Marianas solo sirven de recrecimiento de gastos pensionando en ellos à la Real hacienda, en su mayor estrechura con los situados ordinarios, sin dispensarse por la limitacion que se considera y que para materias de tanta gravedad debe preceder el necesario y perfecto conocimiento, para efecto de emprender semejantes descubrimientos; en vista de ello se digna V.M. de órdenes al dicho Gobernador de las Islas Marianas que por ningun caso, pase a tomar semejantes empeños sin especial orden de V.M. Por lo que mira à las referidas islas, y procure su puntual y debida observancia; en cuyo cumplimiento ocurre en este Gobierno haber de concordar à un mismo tiempo el Real contexto, y decision de las Reales Cédulas de veinte y nueve [sic] de Junio, y once de Noviembre del año de setecientos y quince, dirigida esta última por mano del Marques de Valero, Virrey de la Nueva España, à quien asi mismo se enuncia la direccion de ór-*



*denes de V.M. para concurrir de continuarse el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos; à fin de que se establezca, y facilite su mejor logro y pacificacion y por que en estas habia diligencias corrientes de Autos y se ha substanciado las que corresponden directo à la misma ejecucion de dichas Reales Cédulas lo que en su debido cumplimiento se ha ejecutado aca en esta remesa y despacho quedando por lo que mira à esta Real cédula con la reflexion que debe preponderar mi cuidado, por los motibos que me previene su real decision para su mejor inteligencia en que mi atencion la deva preferir.*

*Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Personal de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester. Manila y Junio 25 de 1718 años.*

*Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.*

### Translation.

Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, informing Y.M. of the receipt of the Royal decree of 20 July 1715<sup>1</sup> in which you were pleased to order what he had to carry out with regards to the explorations of the Caroline Islands, and of the Garbanzo Islands, in order to observe your Royal decision taken by this Government. And he reports what has happened in compliance with two other decrees, those of 29 [rather 20] June and 11 November 1715 regarding the same exploration work and the decision that he had taken as being the best, until a further report that he will remit at the first opportunity with a record of actual proceedings.

Sire:

The flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** having returned to these Philippine Islands last year with the royal subsidy that she brought from the Kingdom of New Spain, and carrying me to serve in the functions that Y.M. was pleased to confer upon me in this Government, the Royal decree dated 20 July of last year 1715, in which Y.M. was pleased to notify me of the representation made by Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, present Governor of the Mariana Islands, when he reported to Y.M. in a letter dated 24 November of the year 1709<sup>2</sup> the idea that he had of going to the exploration of the Caroline and Garbanzo Islands at his expense, and with the idea to go as well to the exploration of the Palaos Islands, requesting that he be granted permission, with the condition that he requested that he be only assisted with the salaries necessary to maintain the settlements quiet and defended.

And that, after having taken note of this proposal, and that said Mariana Islands would not serve to increase costs, thus grieving the Royal treasury that is already short of funds because of the ordinary subsidies, and could not be expended further, and

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1 Ed. note: Doc. 1715F3.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1709E.

because matters of such gravity must be preceded by a necessary and perfect knowledge, in order to proceed with similar expeditions,<sup>1</sup> in view of which Y.M. was pleased to give orders to said Governor of the Mariana Islands that in no case he was to undertake similar enterprises without a special order from Y.M.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, as far as the above-mentioned islands are concerned, and the timely and due observance of the Royal decrees by this Government, it has occurred to this Government to observe them at the same time and within the same context, specially those of 29 [rather 20] June and 11 November 1715, the latter of which was forwarded by the Marquis of Valero, Viceroy of New Spain, who also indicated the direction of the order of Y.M. to push for the continuation of the exploration of the Palaos Islands, and to establish and facilitate its success and their pacification. And because these decrees implied records of up-to-date proceedings, giving the details of the latest efforts made here to comply with said Royal decrees, and the present despatch that is in answer to this specific Royal decree [of 20 July 1715] that must attract my special attention, for the reasons given by your Royal decision for a greater understanding on your part, which is something that I should pay attention to on a priority basis.<sup>3</sup>

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 June 1718.

Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Meaning a detailed budget for the project.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1715F1.

3 Ed. note: Such gobbledegook appears in the original Spanish text as well.

4 Ed. note: This letter was read in the Council of the Indies on 9 July 1721. However, there was a large gap in the exploration of the Carolines. For continuation of this topic, see Doc. 1731A.

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## Document 1718B

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### Letter from Fr. José Bonani to Fr. Pettinati, dated Acapulco 25 March 1718

*Sources: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, VII, n° 174; the original ms., in Latin, or a copy, is in the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Aragon, at Sant Cugat del Vallès, near Barcelona, ms. E-I-a-18, n° 3, fol. 150(?).*

*Notes: Fr. Bonani was an Austrian Jesuit who arrived at Guam in 1718. Fr. Pettinati was Rector of the Jesuit College in Zagreb, Croatia (see Doc. 1718C). On the same day, there was also a letter sent to Fr. Sigismund Pusch, chancellor of the Jesuit College of Graz. The mission band lost sight of Mexico City on 4 March, arrived at Acapulco on the 17th, and was due to sail for the Marianas on 30 March.<sup>1</sup>*

#### Published text in German

*Inhalt. Seine Reise von Mexico bis dahin, und verschiedene auferbauliche Begebenheiten.*

*Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!*

*P. C.*

*Nach meiner Ankunfft in Americam habe ich Euer Ehrwürden mit meinem erstem Brief aufgewartet, diesen zweyten aber schreibe ich aus dem See-Haafen Acapulco.*

*Den 4. Martii sind wir unser zehen Jesuiter von Mexico nicht ohne Schmertzen hieher abgereiset, in danckbarer Erwegung so gutthätiger Liebs-Bezungung, mit welcher unsere Ordens-Leute zu besagtem Mexico uns angesehen haben. Wir brachen von dannen erst Nachmitag um 3. Uhr auf, weil wir Vormittag vor unserm Abzug uns von denen Genuesischen Handels-Leuten und Herrn Albrecht Bender von Trier, welcher uns so wol Teutsche als Wälsche Jesuiter auf der Reise wie seine leibliche Kinder geliebt hatte, beurlauben wolten. Gegen Abend langten wir bey dem Heiligen Augustino von Cuevas an, allwo wir für eine gewisse im Gefängnuß sitzende siebenzehen-jährige Person das Königliche Kopff-Geld erlegt, hiemit aber sie von ihrer Angst erlöset haben. Unsere Nacht-Herberg nahmen wir bey denen Ordens-Geistlichen von Sanct Didaco [sic].*

*Den 5. nachdem, so viel Priester unter uns waren, wir alle Meß gelesen hatten, giengen wir vor Tags fort über einen hohen Berg, dessen Gipffel wir um 9. Uhr Vormittags*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Streit III, n° 114-116, refers to the existence of 3 letters giving an account of his voyage as far as Mexico in 1717.

erreicht, und allda bey denen Soldaten auf ihrer Wacht-Stuben Tschocolata getruncken hiernechst weiters gereiset, und das Mittagmahl zu Guicilatsche<sup>1</sup> bey dem Commendanten, so ein Indianer war, eingenommen haben. Hiehen ist nun zu mercken, daß die Herren Spanier solchen herrlichen Nahmen ihrem allhier bestellten Zoll-Einnehmer geben, um ihm hiemit ein desto grössers Ansehen zu machen, und dieses verdrißliche Amt vielmehr einem fremden als einem gebohrnen Spanier auftragen, damit sie allen Haß von sich auf die Indianer selbst ablehnen. Nachmittag zogen wir über einen rauhen und staubichten Weg wieder Berg ab bis in den Flecken Küh-Horn (Cuer-na Vacca). Wie waren vor Müdigkeit halb todt, absonderlich Pater Doria, als welcher nicht allein schwer von Leib, sondern auch des Reitens gar nicht gewohnt ware. Wir blieben in dem Haus des Herrn Antonii Suvia [sic], so dem geistlichen Gericht vorstehet, über Nacht; er hat uns mit so freygebiger Lieb empfangen, daß wir auf seine Bitte gern den andern Tag daselbst verharret wären, wann wir nicht für rathsamer befunden hätten, denen Patribus Augustinern, zumalen da einer und der andere aus ihnen unpäßlich waren, welche bald solten nachfolgen, den Platz, welcher sonst würde zu enge worden seyn, aus brüderlicher Liebe zu überlassen, damit sie desto besser unterkommen, und ihrer Gesundheit pflegen mögten.

Den 6. Mertzzen 1718 nach gehaltener Meß reiseten wir durch die Indische Völkerschafft Temisco und Gucitepatsche [sic] über einen Bach bis Apuilleka, allwo wir um 11. Uhr Mittags eingetroffen, und bis 4. Uhr Abends ausgeruhet haben. Nachdem wir von dannen ihren Stund [sic] weiters gewandert, nahmen wir endlich wahr, daß wir den Weg durch einen ungebahnten Umweg oder Wildnuss um 11. Uhr Abends in dem Indischen Dorff Awowecingo ein; allda wir einen gefangenen Indianer mittleydig betrachtet, dess Kercker nichts anders ware/ als der Stock, in welchen er mit seinen Füßen geschlossen gewesen, nebst einer Wacht, so ihn öffentlich verwahrte.

Den 7. Nachdem wir aus dem Brevier die Reis-Gebetter sambt dem Rosen-Krantz gebettet, und die Litanen unserer lieben Frauen gesungen hatten, welche deren Andachten wir täglich gleich bey Antritt unserer Reise verrichtet/ und niemals ausgelassen haben, ritten wir durch einen reissenden Bach, in welchem unser lieber **Bruder Georgius Maisler** bald hätte schwimmen gelernt, indem sein Maul-Esel sich mit ihm wolte in Mitten des Gewässers niedersetzen, doch hat er mit denen Spohren ihn noch ermeisteret, und sich des Unglücks errettet. Als wir die Völck-erschafft Makusake erreicht, und auf Bitt der Einwohner einen gestern gestorbenen Indianer (den unsere vorausgangene Mit-Priester vor seinem End von seinen Sünden loßgesprochen) begraben hatten, kamen wir endlich gegen 11. Uhr vormittag auf des Hr. Lucae de Ocampo Meyerhof Nahmens Tepotlapan. Unter währendem Mittagmahl ware ein solcher Anlauff von armen Indianischen Christen, welche ihre Beicht verrichten wolten, daß wir mit denselben erst bey der Nacht fertig worden. Mittler Weil haben unsere Ordens-Genossene, die keine Priester sind, die des Orts befindliche Zucker-Mühlen betrachtet. Die Ursach aber so vieler Beicht-Kinder ist die Entlegenheit ihres Pfarrers, dessen Sitz von dem Ort

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1 Ed. note: Huachilache, I think.

*zehen Meil entfernt ist. In vielen andern Orten, ja in diesem Neu-Spanien durchgehends, müssen die Schäflein wol funfzehn Meil weit zu ihrem Seelen-Hirten reisen, weil nemlich dererselben Zahl gar dünne angesäet ist.*

*Den 8. lasen wir, nemlich Pater Doria und ich, auf der Tenne vor unserm Haus frühe um 3. Uhr Meß, und speiseten mit dem H. Altar-Sacrament zusammen dreyßig bis vierzig Personen, die uns gebeichtet hatten. Wir brachen hierüber noch vor Tags auf, und marschierten über die zwen kalte Herbergen Palmitas und Paxarito (allwo wir, wie sonst fast aller Orten, unterschiedliche Beichten gehört) nach daselbst eingenommenem Mittagmahl aber einen hohen Berg auf Plantanillo, allda wir Nachmittag um 4. Uhr angelangt, und von denen Patribus Augustianis, welche uns gestern, da wir uns mit Beicht-hören verweilten, den Vorzug abgewonnen hatten, mit Speiß und Tranck sind erquickt worden. Wir giengen von hier aus sambt ihnen auf einem Hauffen über eine Fläche bis Neudorff (Pueblo Nuevo) und hörten alldort Beicht bis in die spate Nacht.*

*Den 9. Mertzzen 1718, begaben wir uns in Gesellschaft der Patern Augustinern drey Stund vor Tag wieder auf die Reise: bey Sonnen-Aufgang wolten sie voraus reiten, aber gegen 12. Uhr zu Palula ankommen. Indem wir uns hieselbst aus 13. Eyern für 28 Personen das Mittag-Essen bereiteten, haben sich gedachte Patres bey uns sambt unsern Saumthieren, auf welchen wir etwas von Reiß im Vorrath mitführten, zu beyderseits gröstem Trost wieder eingestellt. Nach dem Mittagmahl ruheten wir eine Zeitlang in unserer Rohrhütten bis fünff Uhr; wir wären wegen der starcken Hitz noch später abgereiset, wann Pater Doria, welcher nicht geschwind reiten konte, uns nicht ehender aufzubrechen veranlaßt hätte. Allermassen die Sonne da herum so heiß brennt, daß man an der Strassen eine Menge Maulthiere und Roß, so vor Hitz verreckt sind, antrifft. Eine Stund nach Sonnen-Untergang kamen wir in der Venta oder Lähren Herberg von Carizal zu stehen, welcher wir wegen Menge des giftigen Ungezieffers den Nahmen verändert und Scorpion-Hütten benahmt haben; dann kaum waren wir abgestiegen, als ein Scorpion einen Bedienten der Patren Augustinern so gefährlich gestochen hat, daß er gewißlich würde daran gestorben seyn, wann wir ihn nicht mit dem Indianischen Schlangenstein Pedra di Cuobra [sic = Piedra de Cobra?] errettet hätten. Darum ruheten wir unter dem freyen Himmel, und ich zwar in meinen Stieffeln, weil ich mit Beicht-hören der Indianern, welche durch eifferiges Zusprechen unserer hiedurch voraus gegangenen Priestern zu solcher Andacht waren bewogen und bereitet worden, bis Mitternacht bin beschäftigt gewesen.*

*Den 10. setzten wir vor Tag die Reise fort, und kamen frühe um 8. Uhr an das Ufer des Floß-Stroms, Rio de las Balsas, also genannt von einer geweißen Art Hand-Flössen, auf welche die Reisende gesetzt, und von einem Indischen Schiffmann, so mit einer Hand schwimmt, mit der andern aber den Floß vest hält (einer nach dem andern) an das gegen über gelegene Ufer gezogen werden. Das Vieh hingegen wird an einander gehenckt, und also schwimmend hinüber getrieben. Diesen Morgen sind wir durch Orgel-Wälder gezogen, also genannt von gewissen Bäumen, die ohne Aeste Senckelgrad in die Höhe wachsen. Erwehnter Fluß wird sonst von denen Indianern Mescala, das ist, Salß genannt; weil er kein süßes, sondern gesaltzenes Wasser führt. Nichts ist*

*in dieser Gegend denen Wanders-Leuten beschwerlicher, als eine gewisse Art kleiner Mucken, so zwar nicht grösser, als die Flöhe sind, aber wie Wolcken so dick herum stiegen, und dermassen empfindlich stehen, daß so gar die Augen, Nasen und Mund vor ihnen nicht sicher sind. Keinen aus uns haben sie mehr liebgekoset als **Patri Helguero** [sic = Halguero], welchen sie dergestalt zugerichtet, daß er mehr einem aussätzigen Siechen, dann einem Menschen wegen angeloffenen Händen und Angesicht gleich gesehen, und nach unserer Ankunfft zu Acapulco hat Aderlassen müssen. Das beste Mittel sich wider diese Cinifes [sic] oder Mücklein zu verwahren ist der edle Toback-Rauch. Unser Nachtlager ware bey der nach dem Fluß also genanten Völckerschafft Mescala, also die Sonne so heiß brennt, daß durch ihre Strahlen vielmal die Häuser angezündet werden, da nemlich die Pöltz von Rohrbäumen, auf welchen das Dach ruhet, in ihrem faulen Marck anfangen zu glimmen, hieraus aber ein unvermeidliche Feuers- Brunst entsteht. Mit einfallender Nacht zogen wir in Gesellschaft der Patern Augustinern unter Anführung eines Botens weiter durch das Cannada-Thal, welches sich zwischen zwey hohen Gebürgen gantz eng und eben auf 10. Meil hinaus erstreckt; wegen unerträglicher Hitz ist unmöglich bey Tag durch dasselbe zu reisen; an statt einer Latern haben wir uns des Mondscheins bedient. In Mitten des Thals stehet eine höltzerne Herberg, die man auf ihren Waltzen von einem Ort in das andere schieben kan; in welcher wir ein weneg ausgerastet, und unser Viehe gefüttert haben. Uns kame wunderlich vor, daß gleich bey des Thals Eingang ein Bächlein mit Untergang der Sonnen hervor quillt, und nächtlicher Weile gedachtes Thal nach der Länge in zwey Theile entscheidet, mit Sonnen-Aufgang über sich wieder verliret.*

*Den 11. Mertzen erreichten wir die aus Spaniern, Indianern, Mestizen und Mulaten vermischte Völckerschafft Cimpango,<sup>1</sup> welches so viel als Gab heisset wegen dem Vorrath des besten Brods, so man allhier antrifft. So bald mit der Glocken das Zeichen unserer Ankunfft auf Befehl des Pfarrers ist gegeben worden, versammelte sich in der Kirchen eine grosse Schaar Beicht-Leute, welche wir gedultig angehört, nach Sonn-Untergang aber, nachdem wir einen hohen Berg überstiegen, bey dessen Fuß Herrn Vincentium Galdiano der Heil. Schrift Doctorem, des Orts Cimpal-Zango<sup>2</sup> Pfarrern und grossen Jesuiter-Freund, so unser allda wartete, angetroffen haben. Er empfinde uns mit gröster Liebe, und führte uns sambt denen Patern Augustinern in seinen Pfarrhof welcher eine allgemeine Herberg ist aller Missionarien, welche über Americam nach Ost-Indien fahren.*

*Den 12. Mertzen giengen zwar erwehnte Patres Augustiner weiters, wir hingegen musten diesen gantzen Tag und Nacht die Leut Beicht hören, welche zum Theil zwölff bis sechzehen Meil Weegs zu solchem Ende hieher gereiset waren. Uns betrubte nicht wenig, daß wir aus Umwissenheit der Indischen Sprach nicht allen und jeden haben dienen können, angesehen das Land-Volck, so weit von denen Städten und Spanischen Flecken entfernt ist, insgemein keine andere dann seine Indische Mutter-Sprach ver-*

1 Ed. note: Recognizeable as Zumpango today.

2 Ed. note: Recognizeable as Chilpancingo today.

*stehet, und gleichwie es mit eigenen Seel-Sorgern nicht versehen ist, also auch ein viehisches Leben führet.*

*Den 13. waren wir allda Vor- und Nach-mittag noch in der Kirchen beschäftigt bis um 4. Uhr, da uns des Herrn Pfarrers Enckel über Petakillias nach Mazatlan begleitet, wir aber daselbst gleichfalls mit Beicht-hören die Zeit zugebracht haben.*

*Den 14. giengen wir lange vor Tags fort. Das Mittagmahl hielten wir zu Quaewinilapa, das Nachtmahl aber zu Caminos. Die Einwohner sind Indianer, so des Jahrs nur einmal, nemlich zu österlicher Zeit, da sie der Pfarrer besucht, Meß hören; so oft aber einer kranck wird, ihn von zwanzig Meilen her müssen abholen. Vormittag setzten wir über den Fluß Arroyo de la Virgen, also genannt, weil nechst demselben in einem hohen Felsen ein von Natur gantz deutlich gestaltete grosse Bild-Säulen unserer lieben Frauen von Loreto zu sehen ist; wiewol einige Leute, so den Ort bestiegen, in der Höhe und von nahem nichts als einen ungestalteten Felsen angetroffen haben; herwärts [sic] des Bachs wanderten wir durch die Cacones-Kisten, welcher Nahmen von dannen ersprossen, weil beyderseits nebst dem schmalen Fuß-Pfad so hohe Wände von Felsen emporsteigen, daß ein Reisender wie in einer Kisten zwischen denenselben fort marschiret.*

*Den 15. Mertzzen stiegen wir um Mittag in der Herberg Cacaguatal ab, Abends aber gegen 5. Uhr setzten wir über der Fuß Papagayo, an welchem unzählig viel Papageyen herum stiegen. Ihre Nester sind wol drey Spannen hoch, und hangen an denen Aesten wie gefüllte Säcklein. Der Strom ist sehr tieff, schnell und gefährlich, wegen der Menge Klippen, so aus demselben aufsteigen; er schießt an dem Fuß eines hohen Bergs vorbey, welchen die Spanier den Papagey [rather Papagayo] heissen: fast auf dessen Gipfel siehet man ein Creutz, bey welchem ein Priester begraben ligt. Wir musten diesen überaus gähen [sic] Berg zu Fuß wie die Gämsen übersteigen: auf dessen westlicher Seiten, da man wieder Berg-ab gehet, hangt ein grosser Felsen hervor, welcher von weitem, wie ein Pilgram mit dem Staab anzusehen ist und derowegen die Pilgrame-Nisten (Cuesta del Peregrino) benahmet wird. Endlich kamen wir vor Mattigkeit gantz zer schlagen in der an dem Fuß des Bergs herwärts gelegenen Pilgrams-Herberg (Venta del Peregrino) an. Gleichwie unsere Reise sich in der Fasten geäussert geäussert, also haben wir solche, so gut wir konten, doch nach Teutscher Art, gehalten, da unser lieber **Bruder Georg Maisler** unter Weegs uns gekocht, und nach Möglichkeit embsig bedient hat. Unser Glück war, daß er sich auf Mehl- und Eyer-Speisen wohl versteht, an diesem Ort aber so wohl Mehl und Eyer, als Milch und Butter gnug angetroffen hat.*

*Den 16. fanden wir um acht Uhr Vormittags bey der Herberg des verborgenen Wassers (Venta del agua escondida) einen würcklich in die Zügen greiffenden Mann, welchen aber besagter liebeiche Bruder Maisler, seiner Professsion nach sonst ein Apothecker, mit Weingeträncktem Brod, so er ihm aufgelegt, und mit Alkermes [sic] wider in so weit zu seinem Verstand gebracht, daß ob schon er wegen Abgang der Sprach nicht beichten konte, er danoch uns verstanden, und, weil er mit gar deutlichen Zeichen uns, daß er seine Sünden bereue, und dero Ablaß verlange, zu erkennen gabe, die Sacramentalische Absolution vor seinem Tod, der noch vor unserer Abreiß erfolgte, emp-*

*fangen hat. Um 4. Uhr Abends setzten wir uns abermal auf, ritten durch Arroyos, und blieben zu Egido, über Nacht.*

*Den 17. wie sonst allzeit, stunden wie lang vor Tags auf, und waren um 8. Uhr frühe schon zu Atatscho, allwo wir geruhet, und ein ziemlich gutes Mittagmahl eingenommen haben; dann wir fanden allda nicht allein frische Fisch, sondern auch nebst anderer Nothdurfft Sinischen aus Coccus-Bäumen gemachten Wein.*

*Noch an diesem Tag Abends langten wir mit der Gnad GOTTes zu **Acapulco**, so das Ziel unserer Land-Reise war, glücklich an. Es ist zwar ein offener Ort, etwann von hundert und funfftzig Häusern, doch hat er den Nahmen und die Freyheiten einer Stadt wegen seinem in der gantzen neu- und alten Welt berühmten Meer-Hafen.*

*Unser erstes Geschäft war eine von uns allhier angestellte und heut beschlossene Mission, da die Ehrwürdige Patres Augustiner-Baarfüßer wechselweise mit uns geprediget, und sich Abends so wol bey dem Rosen-Krantz als täglichen Umgang fleißig eingestellt haben. Wir Beicht-Vätter theilten uns in vier Kirchen, so schlechten Hütten besser als GOTTs-Häusern gleich sahen, aus Vorgestern Abends haben drey Unserige, ein jeder besonders, in Gesellschaft anderer Ordens Mänern die Stadt von Hauß zu Hauß besucht, und aller Orten theils mit Predigen, theils mit Schuß-Gebettlein die Leute nicht allein zu einer vollkommenen Reu und Leyd, sondern auch zum Gewin des vollkommenen Ablaß, welcher der Mission gebührt, eifferig angemahnet. Vor jeder Procession wurden vielerley Liechter nebst dem crucifix vorgetragen, hierauf folgten die Weltlichen, diesen aber die Ordens-Personen, alle mit brennenden Kertzen in der Hand, nach solchen gienge ein weltlicher Priester mit dem Crucifix, hinter ihm letztlich das mit uns untermengte Volck. Wegen Neuigkeit dieser Sach, wegen Schröcken der Nacht und Menge deren Liechtern ware ein grosser Zulauff; die Schluß- Predigen hielte mit nicht geringerem Eiffer als Nutzen unser Pater Superior, da er alle vermahnete, sich ohne Berschub mit GOTT durch die Buß außzusöhnen. Allhier sind wegen ungemainer Hitz schier immerwährende Hunds-Täge, und ist gar nicht nöthig, den Schweiß wit Geld zu kauffen, oder mit Artzneyen zu befördern.*

*Das Schiff, auf welchem wir nach denen Philippinischen Insulen fahren sollen, ist zwar an sich selbst sehr groß, doch für eine dergestalt zahlreiche Menge Leut und Waaren schier zu klein. Dann nebst denen Ordens-Männern und der Hof- Stadt des Bischoffs von Neu-Segovia werden noch über sieben hundert Personen dasselbe besteigen. In dem obersten und vierten Gaden oder Stock der Kajutte [sic] wird besagter Herr Bischoff; in dem dritten sechs und dreyßig Augustiner mit weiten Ermelen samt sechs-zehen dieses Nahmens Baarfüßern und zwey Priestern aus dem Orden des Heiligen Didaci [sic]; in dem andern Gaden wir Jesuiter; in dem untersten aber andere Stands-Personen ihre Wohnung nehmen. **Sechs aus uns, ohne zu wissen, wen dieses Glück betreffen solle, werden auf denen Marianischen Insulen ausgesetzt werden, und allda verharren.***

*Diese gantze Reise hat uns viel Mühe und Leydens gekostet. Dann jetzt von dem ewigen Auf- und Absteigen des Gebürgs, von deren Flüssen und Wäldern Gefahr, von denen schlechten Herbergen, dem Ungezieffer und Staub nichts zu melden, so trifft man*



*arme Leute an, daß einer gedencken solte, der Hunger habe in diesem Land den Durst geheyrahet; die Innwohner können dem hungerigen Wandersmann nichts aussetzen als eine halb-gebackene Tortilliam oder abgeschmackten Kuchen aus Türckeschem Korn, (so andere Guckerutz nennen) nebst einem parr Eyer, doch diese nicht aller Orten. Darum ist nöthig, alle Lebens-Mittel von Mexico bis hieher mitzuführen, zumalen, wann man, wie uns wiederfahren ist, in der Fasten reisen will. Nichts destoweniger haben wir alle diese Mühseeligkeiten mit der Gnad GOTTes nicht allein gedultig, sonder noch freudig überstanden, inmassen der Allerhöchste, wie ein Adler seine Jungen, diejenigen, so er nach Indien berufft, gleichsam auf seinen Schultern dahin trägt. So hat auch das Aug unter Weegs an Betrachtung so vieler seltsamen Bäumen, Früchten und Bögeln zuweilen seine Ergötzung gehabt.*

*Euer Ehrwürden wollen dem Schreiber die in diesem Brief begangene Nachlässigkeit verzeihen, und denselben GOTT in Dero Meß-Opffer imbrünstig befehlen, damit er das Apostolische Amt, so er unwürdig von GOTT empfangen hat, nach seinen wenigen Kräfften wärdiglich erfülle; dann er verbleibt mit tieffer Ehrerbietigkeit*

***Euer Ehrwürden***

*Datum an dem Meer-Hafen Acapulco in West-Indien, den 25. Mertzen 1718.*

*Unnützer Diener in Christo*

*Josephus Bonani, der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarius.*

## Translation, by P.H.

**Contents:** His journey from Mexico to there, and a few amusing occurrences.

**Reverend Father in Christ.**

Peace of Christ!

I obliged Your Reverence with my first letter after my arrival in America, but this second letter I am writing in the port of Acapulco.

On 4 March, we were 10 Jesuits who left Mexico to come here, not without sorrow, being grateful for the benevolent kindness with which the men of our Order had treated us in Mexico. We only left at 3 in the afternoon, because in the morning of our departure we wanted to take our leave of the Genoese traders and of Mr. Albrecht Bender of Trier, who had treated us—the German as well as the Italian Jesuits—with so much kindness on this journey as if we were his own children. In the evening we arrived at San Agustín de las Cuevas, where we posted the King's bail for a certain 17-year-old person who was in jail and thus liberated the person from fear.<sup>1</sup> We stayed overnight with the Brothers of the Order of St. James [sic].

On 5 March, with many priests present, we celebrated mass, and then left before day-break across a high mountain whose summit we reached at 9 in the morning. There, we drank some chocolate in the soldiers' guard-house before we continued. We had our noon meal at Huachilache, with the commander who was an Indian. It should be noted

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<sup>1</sup> Translator's note: The sex of this person is not specified.

here that the Spaniards gave such a high-sounding title to the locally-appointed customs collector to assure him of greater respect. They prefer to give this dreaded office to a native and not to a born Spaniard, so that the natives hate their own kind rather than the Spaniards. In the afternoon, we took a rough and dusty road down the mountain to the hamlet of Cuernavaca. We were half-dead from fatigue, specially Fr. Doria, who is not only a heavy person but also quite unused to the saddle. We stayed overnight in the house of Don Antonio Suvia [Soria?], who is in charge of the clerical court. He welcomed us with such generous kindness that we would have liked to follow his plea and stay for another day, but we found it advisable out of brotherly love to vacate the place for the Augustinian Fathers<sup>1</sup> who were to follow us soon, specially since some of them were not well. The place would have been too crowded for all of us, and this gave them an opportunity to have better accommodation and take care of their health.

On 6 March 1718, after we celebrated mass, we travelled through the Indian villages of Temisco and Huachilache, crossing a creek to Apuilleca, where we arrived at 11 in the morning and rested until 4 in the afternoon. Then we continued our journey until we finally realized that we would not reach the Indian village of Aovecingo by way of an unmarked trail until 11 at night. There we pitied the fate of a captured Indian whose prison was nothing but the stock to which his feet were chained, while a guard watched him in public.

On 7 March, after we had recited the pilgrim's prayers from the breviary, we recited a rosary and sung the Litany of Our Lady, prayers that we have never omitted. Immediately we set out on our journey and rode through a rapidly-flowing creek in which our dear **Brother Georg Maisler** almost learned to swim because his mule wanted to sit down with him in the middle of the water. But he was able to get the better of him with his spurs, thus saving himself from a mishap. When we reached the village of Maku-sake [i.e. Amacusac], we buried, at the request of the inhabitants, an Indian who had died the day before and whom the priests who had preceded us had absolved from his sins. Finally at 11 in the morning we arrived at San Lucar de Ocampo, a farm named Tepotlapan. While we were having our noon meal, there was such a crowd of poor Indian Christians who wanted to confess that we were not finished with them until evening. In the meantime, those men of our Order who are not priests visited the sugar mill located at this place. The reason why there were so many penitents was that their pastor is based ten miles away from the place. In many other villages, and indeed almost everywhere in New Spain, the lambs must travel as far as 15 miles to see their shepherds who are very few and far between.

On 8 March, Fr. Doria and I celebrated mass at 3 in the morning on the threshing floor in front of our house, and we served holy communion to some 30 to 40 people who had confessed. We left before daybreak and rode past the two cold roadside inns of Palmitas and Pajarito, where—as almost everywhere—we heard various confessions, and where we had our noon meal, [then] across a high mountain to Plantanillo, where

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1 Ed. note: They were discolped Augustinians, or Recollects (see below).

we arrived at 4 in the afternoon. There we were treated to food and drink by the Augustinian Fathers, who had passed us on the previous day when we were busy hearing confessions. From there, we went together with them across a plain to Pueblo Nuevo, where we heard confessions until late at night.<sup>1</sup>

On 9 March 1718, some three hours before daybreak, we continued our journey together with the Augustinian Fathers. At sunrise they wanted to ride ahead, in order to arrive at Palula at about noon. While we prepared the noon meal with 13 eggs for 28 persons, said Fathers returned to everyone's great consolation, together with our beasts of burden on which we were carrying a supply of rice. After the noon meal, we rested for a while in our bamboo huts until 5 o'clock. Because of the great heat, we would have left even later if Fr. Doria, who could not ride very fast, would not have urged us to leave earlier. Everywhere in that region, the sun is so hot that one finds many dead mules and horses along the road that have died of the heat. An hour after sunset we arrived at the vacant inn of Carrizal, whose name we changed to Scorpion Hut, because of the many vermin there. We had hardly dismounted when a servant of the Augustinian Fathers was bitten by a scorpion so badly that he would have certainly died, had we not saved his life with the Indian snake stone "Piedra de Cobra." For that reason, we rested outdoors, and I kept my boots on because I was busy until midnight hearing the confessions of Indians who had come because the priests preceding us had urged them to do so.

On 10 March, we continued our journey. At 8 in the morning we reached the banks of the Rio de las Balsas (the river of rafts), so named because of a certain type of raft on which travellers are placed by an Indian boatman who swims with one arm and holds the raft with the other (one after the other), thus pulling them across to the other shore. The animals are linked together and made to swim across. That morning we travelled through Sail forests, so named because of certain trees which grow tall without branches, like ship masts(?). The Indians call this river Mezcala (salt river) because its water is not fresh but brackish. Nothing in this region is more troublesome to travellers than a certain kind of small gnats, which are no bigger than fleas, but who rise up in dense clouds and cause very severe bites, not even sparing the eyes, nose and mouth. They loved none of us better than **Fr. Halguero**<sup>2</sup> whom they tortured so much that with his swollen hands and feet he looked more like a leprosy patient than a normal human being. He had to be treated by blood-letting when we arrived at Acapulco. The best antidote against these "Cinifes,"<sup>3</sup> or gnats, is good tobacco smoke. We camped overnight in the village of Mezcala which got its name from the river, and where the rays of the sun are so hot that they often set houses on fire, when the rotten cores of the bamboo beams holding the roof begin to smolder, this never fails to cause a conflagration.

1 Ed. note: Pueblo Nuevo was also called Tuspa (ref. Gemelli-Careri, 1698).

2 Ed. note: Fr. Francisco Halguero was a Mariana missionary from Spain who, obviously, arrived at Guam in 1718. Some of his other companions were Fathers Forneri, Cantova, and Heipel.

3 Ed. note: I think this is a misprint for "chinchas." They are now called "sancudos."

When night fell, we continued our journey—in the company of the Augustinian Fathers, led by a guide—through the very narrow Cañada Canyon, which lies between two high mountain ranges and stretches for 10 miles.<sup>1</sup> Because of the unbearable heat, it is impossible to traverse this valley by day, and instead of a lantern we took advantage of the moonlight. Half-way along this canyon there is an inn built of wood, which is on rollers and can be pushed from place to place. Here we rested a bit and fed our animals. We were surprised to see a little brook at the entrance to the valley that begins flowing when the sun goes down, dividing the valley lengthwise into two sides, but as soon as the sun rises, it stops again.

On 11 March, we reached the village of Cimpango [i.e. Zumpango], which is inhabited by Spaniards, Indians, mestizos and mulattos. Its name means “gift” because of the supply of the best quality bread which is found here. As soon as the curate ordered the bell to be sounded as a sign of our arrival, a large crowd of penitents assembled in the church. We heard them with much patience. After sunset, we climbed over a high mountain at the foot of which we found the curate and great friend of the Jesuits, Don Vincente Galdiano, Doctor of Canon Law, at a place called Cimpal-Zango [i.e. Chilpancingo]. He welcomed us with much kindness. He took us and the Augustinian Fathers to his parish house, which serves as a general inn for all missionaries on their way from America to the East Indies.

On 12 March, the Augustinian Fathers continued their journey, while we had to hear confessions all day and all night for the people, some of whom had travelled 12 to 16 miles for that purpose. We were quite sad that for lack of knowledge of the Indian language we were unable to serve everyone, specially since the country folk who live so far from the towns and the Spanish villages that they do not understand anything but their own Indian mother tongue. Since they are not provided with their own priests, they live the lives of animals.

On 13 March, we were still occupied in the church all morning and afternoon until 4 o'clock, when the curate's grandson [sic]<sup>2</sup> escorted us through Petaquillas to Mazatlán,<sup>3</sup> where we also spent time hearing confessions.

On 14 March, we left before daybreak. We had our noon meal at Quaewinicilapa [sic],<sup>4</sup> and the evening meal at Caminos. The inhabitants are Indians who can hear mass only once a year at Easter time, when the curate visits them. If someone becomes ill, they have to pick up the curate from 20 miles away. In the morning we crossed the river

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1 Ed. note: The modern name is the Zopilote (Vulture) Canyon.

2 Ed. note: Probably an error of interpretation on the part of the author, for nephew, as Catholic priests are not married. I know from experience that the Spanish word “nieto” is sometimes used by non-Spaniards, instead of “sobrino.”

3 Ed. note: Corresponds to modern-day El Ocotito.

4 Ed. note: Rather something like Caguimicuilapa. Not the same as Chilapa, which lies on the former alternate trail of the 16th century.

called Arroyo de la Virgen [Stream of the Virgin], so called because nearby in a high rock, nature has provided a clearly-visible sculpture of Our Lady of Loreto, although some people who have climbed closer to it have seen nothing from below or nearby but a rough-shaped rock. On the other side of the creek, we went through the Cacones.<sup>1</sup> It was given this name because on both sides of the footpath, steep walls of rock rise up so high that the traveller proceeds between these walls as if he were inside a chest.

On 15 March, we stopped at the inn of Cacaguatal.<sup>2</sup> At 5 in the afternoon, we crossed the Papagayo River, along which countless parrots were stalking around. Their nests are perhaps three spans high, and they hang from tree branches like full bags. The river is very deep, rapid and dangerous because of the many rocks rising from it. It rushes past the foot of a high mountain which the Spaniards call *Papagayo*, the Parrot. Almost at its peak, one sees a cross where a priest is buried. We had to cross this extremely-steep mountain [dismounted and] on foot, like mountain goats. On its western slope, where we climbed down again, a large rock protrudes which from afar looks like a pilgrim with a staff and is therefore called *Cuesta del Peregrino* (Pilgrim's Slope). Finally, quite worn out with fatigue, we arrived at *Venta del Peregrino*, i.e. Pilgrim's Inn, situated at the other foot of the mountain, where we breakfasted, thanks to our dear **Brother Georg Maisler**, who cooked some German-style food for us along the way, and served us to the best of his ability. It was our good fortune that he has experience with flour and egg dishes and that at this place he found both flour and eggs as well as enough milk and butter.

On 16 March, at 8 in the morning, at *Venta del agua escondida* (which means The Inn of Hidden Water), we found a man who truly was in the throes of death. Our Brother Maisler, whose regular profession is that of pharmacist, brought him back to his senses with wine-soaked bread which he laid on him, and with grains of kermes. He could not confess because he did not know our language, but he could understand us because he gave us clear signals that he regretted his sins and wished absolution. He received holy absolution before his death, which occurred even before we left. At 4 in the afternoon, we mounted again. We rode through Arroyos and stayed overnight at El Ejido.<sup>3</sup>

On 17 March, as always, we got up long before daybreak. At 8 in the morning we were at Atatscho [i.e. Atlaxo], where we rested and had a rather good noon meal, for there we found not only fresh fish, but also—in addition to other necessities—Chinese [sic] wine made from coconut trees.<sup>4</sup>

In the evening of the same day, with God's help, we reached **Acapulco**, which was the destination of our overland journey. It is an open place, with about 100 or 150

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1 Ed. note: Probable misprint for "cañones" (canyons), or "cajones" (crates). Both interpretations are possible, given the German text.

2 Ed. note: Next to Tierra Colorida.

3 Ed. note: In other words, they passed by a ranch called Arroyos, i.e. Streams, and an Ejido, i.e. Commons, or surveyed homestead.

4 Ed. note: This was his first experience with "tuba," also referred to as arrack, or coconut brandy. This practice had been introduced at Acapulco by Filipinos from the galleons.

houses, but it has the name and the freedom of a town due to its port, which is famous in the New as well as in the Old World.

Our first business was a mission which we planned and decided upon here, when the Reverend Fathers, the discalced Augustinians, took turns with us in preaching. They were with us not only in the evening for reciting the rosary, but we also had regular contact with them on a daily basis. We father-confessors divided ourselves among four churches, which resembled poor huts more than houses of God. The night before yesterday, three of us, accompanied by men from other Orders, visited the town, going from house to house. Everywhere we spoke to the people with sermons and little prayer, urging them to show not only repentance and sorrow, but also to find complete absolution, which is part of the mission. Ahead of each procession, many candles were carried beside the crucifix. Then came the secular authorities, followed by the men of the [religious] orders, all with burning candles in their hands. Walking at the end was a secular priest carrying a crucifix, and then finally came the people who mingled with us. Because of the novelty, because it was at night, and because of the large number of lights, there was a great crowd. The final sermon was read by our Fr. Superior with as much enthusiasm as practical benefit, since he urged everyone to appease God without delay by means of indulgences. Because of the uncommon heat here, there is constant mid-summer, and it is by no means necessary to purchase perspiration with money or to promote it with medicine.

The ship aboard which we are to sail to the Philippine Islands is actually quite large, but too small for such a great number of people and goods.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the men of the Orders and the retinue of the Bishop of New Segovia, more than 700 other people will come aboard. Said Bishop will occupy the cabin on the upper, or fourth deck. The 36 Augustinians and two priests of the Order of St. James [sic] will be on the third deck. The Jesuits will be on the next deck, and the lowest deck will be occupied by persons of other ranks. **Six of us, without knowing who will be the lucky ones, are to be dropped off in the Mariana Islands and will remain there.**<sup>2</sup>

The whole journey has caused us much hardship and suffering. Not to speak of the constant up and down over mountains, the perils of rivers and forests, the poor inns, the vermin and the dust, we met people here so poor that one would think that thirst is married to hunger in this country. The inhabitants cannot offer a hungry traveller more than a half-baked tortilla, a tasteless cake made of Turkish corn [=maize], which others call Guckerutz, and a few eggs, but these not even everywhere. For that reason it is necessary to carry food from Mexico to here, specially when one wants to travel—as we did—during Lent. Nevertheless we have endured all these hardships with God's help, not only patiently, but joyfully, since the Almighty carries those whom he calls to serve in the Indies on His shoulders, as an eagle carries its young. The eye also sometimes had its pleasure along the way, observing so many strange trees, fruits and birds.

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1 Ed. note: She was the galleon Nuestra Señora de Begoña.

2 Ed. note: Only five of them remained in the Marianas, but the author was included in this number.

May Your Reverence forgive the writer the negligence committed in this letter and be so gracious as to commend same to God through the holy sacrifice of the mass, so that he may honorably carry out according to his ability the apostolic office, which, though unworthy, he has received from God. I remain in deepest humility,

Written in the port of Acapulco, in the West Indies [sic], 25 March 1718.

**Your Reverence's**

Useless servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

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## Document 1718C

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# Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pettinati, dated aboard the ship *Begoña* in sight of the Marianas, on 16 June 1718

*Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott VII, n° 150.*

*Note: The original ms., now lost, was probably written in Latin.*

### Published text in German

***Brief P. Josephi Bonani, Der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii, aus der Oesterreichen Provintz, An R.P. Jacobum Pettinati, Des Collegii Soc. JESU zu Agram in Croatiën Rectorem.***

***Geschrieben den 16. Junii 1718 auf dem Schiff im Angesicht deren Marianischen Insuln.***

***Innhalt.* Seine Reise von Acapulco bis auf die Marianische Insuln.**

***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

***P.C.***

*Den 30. Mertzen dieses lauffenden Jahrs 1718. sind wir von Acapulco unter Segel gängen- und nach einer Schiff fahrt von 77. Tügen den 16. Junii an dem H. Fronleichnams-Tag allhier glücklich angelangt/ allwo wir die Marianischen Eyländer im Gesicht haben, mit unserm Schiff aber (so den Namen von unserer Lieben Frauen di Bigonna [=Nuestra Señora de Begoña] führt) unter dem 12. Grad 30. Minuten der Norder-breite stehen.*

*Nachdem wir zu Acapulco eben diejenige Mutter-Gottes-Bild- Sälen, so wir gesamte Ordens-Leute während der Mission allda auf einer Bühne in der Stadt selbst auf unsern Schultern täglich herum getragen, auf eben solche Weiß mit einem feyerlichen Umgang auf das Schiff gebracht hatten, giengen wir noch denselben Tag, nemlich den 30. Mertzens, unter Segel, da sowol in der Vestung als auf dem Schiff die Stuck zum letzten Gruß wacker gedonnert; und einander Glück gewünscht haben. Nichts destoweniger haben wir erst den 3. Aprilis das veste Land gäntzlich aus dem Aug verlohren, folgends aber denen neun-tägigen Andachten und See-Missionen einen Anfang gemacht. Solcher waren in allem drey, nemlich zwey von denen Patribus Augustinern, und eine von uns*



angestellt; jener waren 16. Baar-füßige oder reformierte, und 36 mit weiten Aermelen, **unserer aber acht und vierzig Jesuiter**, nebst zwey Patern Franciscanern, aus dem Orden des H. Didaci, und zwey Priestern aus dem Prediger-Orden, derer einer zum Bischoff von Neu-Segovia in denen Philippinischen Insulen erwählt ware; wie nicht weniger ein weltlicher Priester, als Schiffs-Caplan, welcher ein gebohrner Indianer ist, und seine Studia unter denen Missionariis de Propaganda in dem Königreich Siam vollendet hat; item, ein Pater Minorit, samt 150. Soldaten, in allem 563. Personen.

Den 12. Aprilis befanden wir uns schon in gleicher Welt-Breite mit denen Marianischen Insulen unter dem 13. Grad der Polus-Höhe, derenwegen wir von diesem Tag an den Schnaabel grad gegen Westen gerichtet haben.

Den 17. begunten die Haupt-Wind oder Brisen zu blasen, welche die von America nach denen Philippinischen Insulen fahrende Schiff pflegen schnell vorzutreiben; solche sonderbare Gnad haben wir theils denen täglichen Fasten-Predigen, theils denen in der Car-Wochen angestellten Kirchen-Ceremonien nebst der Oesterlichen Beicht und Communion, so die Schifffahrer verrichtet, hauptsächlich zu dancken; dann ich kan versichern, daß besagte Kirchen-Gebräuch auf unserm Schiff mit nicht geringerer Andacht und Pracht, als in einer jeglichen Kirch seynd angestellt worden, das Heilige Grab allein ausgenommen, weil ausser dem H. Meß-Opffer verboten ist; das allerheiligste Altar-Sacrament auf dem Schiff zu bewahren.

Eben diese Heilige Wochen hab ich einen Sterbenden mit der Weeg-Zehrung des Göttlichen Fronleichnams versehen, welcher zwar wieder genesen, und, da er von neuem erkrankt, nochmal mit höchst gedacht aller heiligstem Altar-Sacrament und letzter Oehlung ausgerüstet, endlich verschieden, und üblicher maßen in das Meer ist begraben worden. Allhier darff ich nicht umgehen unserm Patri Leonardo Finck, Ober-teutscher Provintz, sein Lob zu sprechen, welcher die ihm von unserm Patre Superiore aufgetragene Seel-Sorg kranker Soldaten und Boots-Leuten mit dergestalt unermüdetem Eiffer getragen hat, daß er insgemein ein anderer Xaverius ist benahmet worden; gleichwie er aber die Seelen, also hat auch Bruder Georg Maisler die Leiber mit Artzneyen bedient, welchem gewißlich ihrer viel das Leben oder wenigstens ihre Gesundheit schuldig sind.

Den 17. Aprilis, als an dem Heil. Oster-Fest wurden die Missiones und Buß- oder Sitten-Predigen auf acht Tag ausgestellt; am weissen Sonntag aber fienge die neun Täg, hindurch fortgesetzte Andacht des Heil. Rosen-Krantzes an; nach welcher wir Jesuiter in besonders eine neun-tägige Verehrung des Heil. Nähr-Vatters Josephi gehalten haben; dann die Rosen-Krantz-Mission ware allen Ordens-Leuten gemeinschaftlich, da bald dieser, bald jener zu dem Volck predigte. Hiedurch ward nicht allein das liederliche Karten-Spiel, sondern noch vielmehr das aus demselben erfolgende Gottslästeren, Fluchen und Schwehren unter Straff drey mal in das Meer getaucht zu weerden, scharff verboten; es würde auch solche Straff zweiffels-ohne an einem Ubertretter auf ernstlichen Befehl des Generals seynd vollzogen worden, wann dieser nicht auf Vorbitt des Herrn Bischoffs von Neu-Segovien dieselbe für dieses mal nachgelassen hätte.

*Den 21. Maji fiengen wir die ebenfalls auf neun Täge ausgetheilte Xaverianische Andacht an, und verkündigten krafft unserer Freyheiten ein vollkommenes Jubilæum auf den 26. und 29. dieses Monats, ohne mittler Weil des Fests Beati Francisci Regis zu vergessen, welches wir vielleicht mit grösserer Feyerlichkeit, als die unsere zu Triest begangen haben, dann die Herren Patres Augustiner sangen mit ihrem Herrn Patre General-Commissario die este Vesper, der Hochwürdigste Herr Bischoff aber unter Trompeten und Paucken, auch Loßbrennung der kleinen Artillerie das Hoch-Amt. Abends, nach verrichteter Andacht hielten die Boots-Leute ein Schau-Spiel, und etliche Tänzte verschiedener Indischen Nationen, worauf eine herrliche Jausen von allerhand kostbaren Geträncken und Zuckerwerck erfolgt; es fehlte hiebey nicht an gutem Holländischen Bier in solchem Überfluß, daß wir des Herrn Generals, so dieses Fest auf eigene Unkosten ausgehalten, großmüthige Freygebigkeit nicht sattsam loben können.*

*Den 5. Junii als am H. Pfingst-Sontag fiengen wir an auf Unkosten des Ober-Steuermanns den Heiligen Antonium von Padua ebenfalls mit einer Andacht von neun Tagen zu beehren.*

*Jetzt werden Euer Ehrwürden mir nicht in Ubeln vermercken wann ich Dieselbe er suche, mir einen kurten Begriff deren allgemeinen Kirchen-Geschichten nebst andern Büchlein; so ihres Erachtens mir auf meinen Missionen dienen können, unter einer Überschrift, an unsern deren Indianischen Missionen General-Procuratorem zu Genua unschwer zu überschicken welcher das Paquet hieher zu beförderen schon Mittel und Weg finden wird.*

*Wir wären ehender allhier angelangt, wann nicht von dem 1. Junii an uns eine Meer-Stille; so vier Tag anhielte, gehemmet hätte. Den 14. dito aber setzt- uns die Schifflait in grosse, doch eitele Forcht, als sie geschryen, daß vor dem Schiff-Schnabel das Wasser aufwalle und starck anschlage, welches sonst ein gewisses Zeichen derer unter dem Wasser verborgenen Klippen ist. Allein wir wurden bald innen, daß die Sonnen-Strahlen sie verblendet und gängstigt haben.*

*Das süsse Wasser wurd auf dem Schiff ebenfalls beklemm, wann wir nicht den 16. Junii als am Fest des Göttlichen Fronleichnams unsers Herrn Jesu Christi die Marianische Insuln, auf welchen ich als Missionarius verbleiben werd, erblickt und erreicht hätten. Damit ich nun auf denenselben zur Ehr GOTTes und mancher Seelen Heyl viel Gutes schaffe, wollen doch Euer Ehrwürden und gesamte Provintz durch Dero Andacht mir bey dem Geber aller Gnaden auswücken, als*

***Euer Ehrwürden***

*Gegeben auf dem Schiff, den 16. Jun. 1718.*

*Wenigstem Diener in Christo,*

*Josepho Bonani, der Gesellschaft Jesu Marianischem Missionario.*

## Translation, by P.H.

**Letter by Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Austrian Province, to the Most Reverend Fr. Jacob Pettinati, Rector of the Jesuit College in Agram [=Zagreb], Croatia.**

**Written on 16 June 1718 aboard the ship in sight of the Mariana Islands.**

**Contents:** His voyage from Acapulco to the Mariana Islands.

### **Most Reverend Father in Christ.**

Peace of Christ!

On 30 March in the current year of 1718, we sailed from Acapulco. After an ocean voyage of 77 days, we arrived here aboard our ship (which is named after Our Lady of Begonia) on 16 June, the Feast of Corpus Christi, where we are now in 12°30' lat. N., in sight of the Mariana Islands.

After we and all the other men of the Orders had every day carried the statue of the Mother of God on a platform on our shoulders all around the town of Acapulco during our mission there, we carried it in the same manner aboard ship in a solemn procession, and we sailed on the same day, namely on 30 March, while in the fort as well as aboard the ship the cannon thundered a farewell salute, and we were wishing one another good luck. Nevertheless, we only lost sight of the mainland completely on 3 April. Then we began our novena sessions, two by the Augustinian Fathers and one by us. The Augustinians counted 16 disalced, or reformed, members, and 36 [regular ones] with wide sleeves. **We were 48 Jesuits**, and there were two Franciscan Fathers of the Order of St. James [sic], two priests from the Order of Preachers [i.e. Dominicans], one of whom had been elected Bishop of New Segovia in the Philippine Islands.<sup>1</sup> There also was a lay preacher, a ship's chaplain who is a native Indian and has completed his studies under the missionaries sent by the Propaganda to the Kingdom of Siam, that is, a Friar Minor.<sup>2</sup> There were 150 soldiers, and a total of 563 persons on board.

On 12 April, we had already reached the same latitude as the Mariana Islands, at 13 degrees north. From that day our bow was pointing due west.

On 17 April, the tradewinds began to blow which tend to speed up ships sailing from America to the Philippine Islands. Such special favor we owe partly to our daily Lenten sermons, partly to the Church ceremonies we celebrated during Easter week, and also to the Easter confession and communion which the sailors conducted. I can assure You that said Church customs have been carried out aboard our ship with no less piety

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1 Ed. note: New Segovia corresponded more or less to what is now called Cagayan. I have been unable to find the name of this bishop. However, his predecessor, who died in 1715, was Diego de Gorospe é Irala, O.P.; his successor was Juan de Archedera, O.P.

2 Ed. note: The Friars Minor were one of at least three branches of Franciscans. The missions to South East Asia were then controlled directly by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome.

and splendor than in any church, except for that of the Holy Sepulcher. While the holy sacrifice is allowed, it is forbidden to carry the sacred host on the altar aboard a ship.<sup>1</sup>

During Holy Week I gave to a dying man provisions for his journey by administering the Body of Christ. The man recovered, and since he became ill again, I provided him again with the sacred host and with the extreme unction. When he finally died, he was buried at sea, as is the custom. In this connection, I must not omit to praise our Fr. Leonardo Finck, from the Province of Upper Germany, who undertook the pastoral care of sick soldiers and sailors, with which he was entrusted by our Fr. Superior, with such tireless devotion that he was generally called another Xavier. As much as he served their souls, Brother George Maisler served their bodies with medicine, and certainly many of them owe them their lives or at least their health.

On 17 April, that is to say on Holy Easter Sunday, the missions and the sermons of penitence or morals were suspended for eight days, but on Whit Sunday the nine-day continuous recitation of the Holy Rosary began, according to which we Jesuits celebrated a special nine-day veneration of Saint Joseph, the Foster Father. The rosary novena was led jointly by all men of the Orders, who took turns in preaching to the people. In the course of this mission, not only the bad habit of card playing, but also the resulting blasphemy, swearing and cursing was strictly forbidden, and violators were to be dunked three times in the sea. Such punishment would no doubt have been administered to a violator, at the stern order of the General, if the latter had not pardoned him this time at the request of the Bishop of New Segovia.

On 21 May, we began our Xaverian devotional exercises, also spread out over nine days. On the basis of our privileges, we announced a complete jubilee for the 26th and 29th of that month, without forgetting the feast-day of the Blessed Francis Régis which we celebrated perhaps with more ceremony than we did in Trieste,<sup>2</sup> for the Augustinian Fathers with their Fr. General-Commissioner sang the first vespers, while the Reverend Bishop celebrated the high mass, with trumpets and drums, and a firing of the small guns. In the evening, after the service was over, the sailors performed a play and a number of dances by various Indian nations, which was followed by magnificent refreshments consisting of all kinds of good drinks and sweets. There was no shortage of good Dutch beer, which flowed in such quantities that we could not find enough praise for the General's great generosity, who had arranged this feast at his own expense.

On 5 June, that is to say on Pentecost Sunday, we began to celebrate a novena devoted to Saint Anthony of Padua, at the expense of the First Mate.

Now Your Reverence will allow me to request a short overview of Church history and some other books, which Your Reverence may feel appropriate to be of service to me in my missions. It would be easiest to address them to the Procurator General in

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1 Ed. note: Because of the motion of the ship that could topple the sacred vessels.

2 Ed. note: A city on the Adriatic in NE Italy, through which the German mission band had passed. Jean-François Régis (1597-1640) was a French Jesuit who later became a saint. His feast-day is on 26 June.

Genoa, who will have no difficulty in finding ways and means to forward the package to me here.

We would have arrived here earlier, had we not been delayed by a calm that began on 1 June and lasted for 4 days. However, on 14 June, we were suddenly in great but unwarranted fear, when the sailors cried out that water was boiling and breaking ahead of the bow, a certain sign of rocks hidden under the water. But we soon realized that they had only been blinded and misled by the rays of the sun.

Fresh water would have become scarce aboard ship, had we not, on 16 June, i.e. on the feast of Corpus Christi, sighted and reached the Mariana Islands, where I will remain as a missionary. Since I may work here for the glory of God, doing much good for many souls, I am asking Your Reverence and the entire province to pray for me to the Provider of all Grace,

Written aboard ship on 16 June 1718.

**Your Reverence's**

Least Servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in the Marianas.

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## Document 1718D

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### Letter from Fr. Valdivieso about the Marianas

*Sources: RAH 9/2678, part of doc. 13; copy in Archivo de la Provincia de Aragon, Barcelona, ms. E-I-c5-r, fol. 321-325.*

### Letter from Fr. Marcelo Valdivieso to Fr. Juan Marín, dated Capul 19 July 1718

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Mi Padre Juan Marin*

*P.C. &a.*

*Esta escribo despues de passadas las Islas Marianas llamadas asi por la Reyna nuestra D<sup>a</sup> Mariana de Austria en cuio tiempo se comenzaron aquellas Misiones; Que aviendo sido el principal Esmero del gran Zelo de la Sra. Duquesa de Aveiro es preciso, que aviendoles faltado un tan grande patrocinio, como el Zelo de tan santa Señora, para que no se malogre lo mucho que alli han trabajado los Ministros del Evangelio, desean V.R. las favorezca en adelante, pues oy mas que nunca necesitan de tan superior patrocinio, pues quado avrian de vivir con mas paz y quietud aquellos Isleños, por estar ya reducidos al gremio de nuestra Santa fee, padecen maiores trabajos, y desdichas por la summa codicia del Sugeto, que oy las gobierna; Y como es absoluto, è independiente del Governador de Philipinas, y de su Audiencia, no ay freno con que moderar sus agravios, è injusticias con aquellos pobres recien convertidos; y asi aquello se va atrasando notablemente: Y los Indios aburridos por verse en una tan pesada esclavitud, hacen cosas indignas de la fee, que profesan. Los pobres PPs. si quieren poner remedio, è irlle à la mano, ó son despreciados, ó no oidos, ó son amenasados con destierros, y así se ven si obligados à padecer mas de lo que padecian àl principio en la conquista de aquellas Islas, que entonces con una lanzada acababan sus trabajos, y oí el martirio con tantas pesadumbres, y penas les dura muchos años. Lo que conviene P. mio hacer para remediar todos estos daños, es que el Governador no le elija su Magd. de los pretendientes, que ay en esa Corte, sino que dexe la disposicion de su Eleccion àl Governador de Manila con la aprobacion del Padre Provincial de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus de la Provincia de Philipinas, que con eso se obviará el que vaían hombres desbaratados, que ciegos con la codicia esclavitarían los Indios, y Soldados, y aun à los Ministros Evangelicos quieren tener sugetos à la voluntad con los gravissimos inconvenientes, que de*

*esto se siguen. Conviene tambien que à los Indios, y demas Vecinos de aquellas Islas, les dexen libres el cuidado de sus Casas, y haciendas, y no los tenga ocupados el Governador todos los dias en sus Intereses, y para esto, que se les señalen sus terminos en las tierras à cada Pueblo, y dentro de aquellos terminos su parte de tierra à cada vezino, mas ó menos segun sus principalías; y no que el Governador se ha hecho dueño de todas aquellas tierras.*

*Al Colegio de los PP. tambien se les ha de destinar un pedazo, para que hagan sus siembras, y crien algun ganado para sus sustento, que hasta esto les quita el Governador, siendo así que de Mexico llebaron los PP. algunos animales de los que oy ay en aquellas Islas.*

*Conviene tambien se ponga en execucion la cedula, que sacó la Señora Duquesa de Aveiro, para que pasen ochenta, ó noventa familias de Indios de Manila en el patache, que va con el situado y aunque sean 200, para que à su exemplo aquellos Barbaros se gobiernen en policia, y que à estas familias se les señalen tierras en el lugar donde huviesen de poblar en cantidad proporcionada àl numero que fuere de familias, y que el Governador no les impida trabajar en ellas concediendoles tambien los Privilegios, que ay concedidos en Indias à Pobladores, y Conquistadores. Esto tambien conviene se haga en las nuevas Misiones de la Isla de Mindanao, porque si el Governador no fuese à eleccion del Padre Provincial de Philipinas no se podria adelantar nada porque oi la codicia en los Cabos sirve de grandissimo estorvo para la Conversion de todas estas Gentilidades: y no seria malo que en lo de Mindanao se señalase Obispo, como ya apuntè à V.R., quando estubè en la Corte porque es Isla mui grande, tiene ya bastantes Christianos y este servirá de gran fomento para el aumento de la gee y de freno considerable à los Cabos en sus desordenes.*

*Dios nuestro Señor haga todo se ponga de la suerte que conviene para su Servicio, y à V.R. me le Guarde muchos años.*

*Capul y Jullio 19 de 1718 años.*

*Muy siervo de V.R.<sup>a</sup>*

*Marzelo de Valdiviesso.*

### **Translation.**

My dear Father Juan Marín

Peace of Christ, etc.

I write this letter after I visited the Mariana Islands, called thus after our Queen Mother, Doña Mariana de Austria, in whose time those missions were opened. However, it was in fact thanks to the main concern and great zeal of the Duchess of Aveiro that this happened. If such a great patroness had not been found—the zeal of this Lady being so saintly—most of what had been gained by the efforts of the Gospel ministers would have been lost. The Marianas look to Y.R.'s favors in future, because today more than ever they need such a superior patron; indeed, when those islanders ought to live with more peace and quiet, since they have already been reduced to the flock of our Holy Faith, they suffer greater hardships and misfortunes, on account of the extreme

greediness of the individual who now governs them. And as he is absolute and independent from the Governor of the Philippines, and of his Audiencia, there is no curb that can moderate his abuses and injustices against those recently-converted poor people; so, that mission is noticeably regressing. The Indians, bored because they see themselves in such a harsh slavery, do things unworthy of the faith which they profess. The poor Fathers, when they wish to apply a remedy, and give him a hand, they are either despised or not listened to, or they are threatened with exiles. So, nowadays they see themselves forced to suffer more than what they suffered at the beginning of the conquest of those Islands; then their hardships could be terminated by the throw of a spear, but today their martyrdom can last for many years, with so much grief and sorrow. What is needed, my dear Father, to remedy all of this damage, is for the Governor not to be selected by His Majesty from among the pretenders who live in that Court;<sup>1</sup> rather, the matter of his election should be left to the Governor of Manila, with the approval of the Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus of the Province of the Philippines. This way, men who are corrupt, men who are blind with greed, would not go there to enslave the Indians, and soldiers, and even the Gospel Ministers, and try to make them subject of their will with the most serious disadvantages that follow from this. It would also be proper for the Indians, and other residents of those Islands, to be left free to take care of their houses, and properties, and not for the Governor to keep them occupied every day in his interests, and to accomplish this, land boundaries would have to be given to each town, and within those boundaries a plot of land to each resident, more or less according to their ranks, and not have the Governor make himself the owner of all of those lands.

The College of the Fathers should also be given a piece of land, on which to grow crops and raise some cattle for their sustenance, because even this was taken away from them by the Governor, although it was the Fathers who originally brought the animals that are in those Islands today from Mexico.

It would also be proper to put into execution the decree that the Duchess of Aveiro obtained, so that 80 or 90 families of Indians from Manila would go there aboard the patache that carries the subsidy, and even though only 200 persons would go, by their example those barbarians would behave in a more civilized manner. Lands should also be reserved for these families in the place where they would settle, by an amount proportionate to the eventual number of families, and the Governor should not impede them from working that land, by granting them also the privileges usually granted in the Indies to colonists, and conquerors. That too should be done in the new missions in the Island of Mindanao, because if the Governor is not elected by the Father Provincial of the Philippines, nothing can possibly progress, because of the greed of the Leaders nowadays serves as a very great impediment to the conversion of all of these heathen populations. Also, it would not be a bad idea to name a Bishop for Mindanao, as I have already told Y.R. when I was at Court, because it is a very large island, one

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1 Ed. note: From this remark, it is clear that Fr. Marin was then living at Madrid.



that already has enough Christians, and he would serve as a great promoter for the advancement of the faith and as a considerable curb on the leaders in their disorders.

I hope that God our Lord will let everything be done that suits His service, and that He may save you for me for many years.

Y.R.'s servant,

Marcelo de Valdivieso.

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## Documents 1718E

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# The abuses by the Government store in Agaña

*Source: AGI Ultramar 561.*

## E1. Royal decree of 17 August 1718

### Original text in Spanish.

***Real Cédula al Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila, ordenandole ponga remedio à los excesos que se ha tenido noticia se cometen en las Islas Marianas.***

*El Rey*

*Mi Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas Presidente de la Audiencia Real que reside en la Ciudad de Manila, por persona zelosa de mi servicio se me ha dado cuenta de que los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas tienen una tienda en que se empeñan los soldados y por viciosos y escandalosos que se han hecho no les hechan de la tierra ni borran las plazas por no perder ellos sus ganancias, que à esta tienda no se lleva polvora y armas como se acostumbraba[,] que el vestuario que por cuenta de la Infanteria se debia llevar se pone en la tienda donde se compra à subidos precios, y si está el soldado, no está empeñado en ella ó vende algunas cosas que compra en el Patache ó Nao es mal visto y recibe bejaciones, y últimamente que con los brebajes de vino y aguardiente que en la misma tienda se venden demas de embriagarse emferman muchos por la mala composicion de las bebidas:*

*Y enterado de lo referido he resuelto ordenaros (como lo hago) deis las providencias necesarias para remediar los mencionados escesos y deis órdenes, si hallareis ser ciertos se cometen por los Gobernadores de las islas Marianas, ú otra qualquiera persona à fin de que los soldados, y habitantes de ellas no esperimenten los daños y vejaciones que me han representado, y fio de vuestro zelo à mi servicio lo ejecutareis asi satisfaciendo à la obligacion en que os hallais constituido dandome cuenta del recibo de este despacho, y de su cumplimiento en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca para que me halle en su inteligencia que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fecho en San Lorenzo el Real à diez y siete de Agosto de mil setecientos y diez y ocho.*

*Yo el Rey*

*[Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,] Don Miguel Fernandez Durán.*

**Translation.**

**Royal decree to the President of the Audiencia of Manila, ordering him to put a remedy to the excesses that were reported taking place in the Mariana Islands.**

The King

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, President of the Royal Audiencia located in the City of Manila:

A person zealous for my service has reported to me that the Governors of the Mariana Islands have a store to which the soldiers are indebted and, no matter how vicious or scandalous they have become, they are not expelled from the country, nor are their names taken off the payroll, so that they would not lose their earnings. Besides, powder and weapons are no longer brought to this store, as in the past; that the clothes that was supposed to have been brought in on the account of the Infantry are placed inside the store, where they are sold at inflated prices, and if there is a soldier who is not indebted to the store, or sells a few things that he buys aboard the patache, or galleon, he is badly seen and receives annoyances, and finally, with the drinking of the wine and brandy that are sold in the same store, besides getting drunk, many of them become sick because of the bad composition of the drinks.

And thus informed about it, I have decided to order you (as I do now) to issue the necessary directive to remedy the above-mentioned excesses and to issue orders, if you should find out that it is true that such excesses are committed by the Governors of the Mariana Islands, or any other person, so that the soldiers and inhabitants there will not suffer the damages and annoyances that have been reported to me, and out of your zeal for my service I expect that you will do that, to satisfy the duty that I have placed upon your shoulders. You are to report to me to acknowledge the receipt of this despatch, and compliance with it, at the first opportunity that may offer itself, so that I may be informed about it, as such is my will.

Made at San Lorenzo el Real, 17 August 1718.

I the King.

[By order of the King our Lord,] Don Miguel Fernandez Durán.

[Note: On 3 July 1720, the interim Governor of the Philippines, Fray Cuesta, signed a sworn declaration to the effect that, since similar orders had already been received from the King in 1717, Captain Sanchez de Tagle, the Governor-elect of the Marianas had already been instructed to have the abuses in question stopped.]

## E2. Letter from the new Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 22 June 1722

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Gobernador de Filipinas da cuenta à V.M. del devido obedecimiento que se ha dado à la Real Cédula de 17 de Agosto de 1718, para remediar el esceso de las tiendas públicas que tienen los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas.*

*Señor*

*Para el debido obedecimiento de la real Cédula de 17 de Agosto de 1718, en que V.M. se sirvió de mandar poner el remedio combeniente à el daño que resulta del trato y contrato de los Gobernadores de las Islas Marianas con tienda pública que tienen en ellas; se han hecho las diligencias de que constan en el testimonio adjunto; de las cuales habiendo resultado en la residencia del que era Gobernador este cargo, se queda actuando sobre el por esta Real Audiencia, a quien toca su determinacion.*

*Dios guarde la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.*

*Manila y Junio 22 de 1722 años.*

*El Marques de Torrecampo.*

### Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines reports to Y.M. about the execution of the Royal decree of 17 August 1718 to remedy the excesses of the public stores owned by the Governors of the Mariana Islands.

Sire:

For due compliance with the Royal decree of 17 August 1718, in which Y.M. was pleased to order that an appropriate remedy be applied to the harm done by the trading and lending done by the Governors of the Mariana Islands with a public store that they own there, the efforts reported in the attached record of proceedings have been made and, since those accusations became part of the management audit of the man who was Governor then, this Royal Audiencia is presently acting on the case, and its determination belongs to it.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 22 June 1722.

The Marquis of Torrecampo.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: For continuation of this topic, see Doc. 1719C and 1721D, the case against ex-Governor Pimentel.

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## Documents 1718F

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### Extracts from two letters by Fr. Spilimbergo, dated Manila 1718 & 1719

*Source: Booklet entitled: "Lettere del P. Fulcherio Spilimbergo, D.C.D.G., missionario nelle Filippine (1717- 1741)," published in Portogruaro in 1881 (available at the Jesuit General's library in Rome).*

*Note: Fr. Spilimbergo was in fact an Italian, born in Friuli (near the town of Spilimbergo) in 1682. He was educated at the Jesuit College in Bologna, entered the novitiate in 1708 and belonged to the Province of Venice, until he went to Germany to complete his studies. He left Genoa for the Philippines on 4 May 1717.*

#### F1. Letter dated Manila 18 August 1718

##### Original in Italian.

*Molto Reverendo in Cristo Padre,*

*Dopo un anno e venti giorni dalla nostra partenza di Cadice, finalmente siamo giunti al termine desiderato delle nostre missioni in Manilla capo delle Isole Filippine. In realtà che un viaggio così lungo e di mare e di terra pare impossibile che possa compirsi senza una speciale provvidenza di Dio, la quale si è mostrata singolarissima nella nostra missione, essendo che nessuno è mancato di 58 missionari, che tanti erano li soggetti inviati in questi paesi...*

*Cinque mesi aspettammo in Messico l'arrivo del galeone delle Filippine...*

*Dopo 15 giorni di cammino, giungemmo finalmente ad Acapulco, nel qual porto ci aspettava la nave. C'imbarcammo 15 giorni in circa avanti le feste di Pasqua, dando principio ad una nuova navigazione più lunga della passata almeno 1500 miglia. Però fu così felice, come sempre suol essere alla venuta qua, che senza provare nè calme nè venti contrari in 75 giorni arrivammo alle isole Marianne ove lasciammo cinque missionari<sup>1</sup> in soccorso di quei pochi che ivi dimoravano e dopo un giorno e mezzo di riposo proseguimmo il rimanente del viaggio, che consiste in poco più di 1200 miglia, le quali felicemente compimmo in 14 giorni, fino alla vista delle isole Filippine...*

...  
*Mi raccomando a V.P. con che resto  
Manilla 18 Agosto 1718.*

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1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Halguero, Forneri, Bonani, Cantova, and Heipel.

*Indegno in Cristo Servo  
Fulcherio di Spilimbergo d.C.d.G.*

### **Translation.**

Manila 18 August 1718

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

One year and twenty days after our departure from Cadiz, we have finally arrived at the desired end of our mission in Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands. It was indeed a rather long voyage by sea and by land, and it seems impossible that it could have taken place without a special providence from God, which showed itself most particularly in our mission band, since none of the missionaries was lost from among the 58 composing it, as such was the number of subjects sent to these regions...

In Mexico we waited five months for the galleon to arrive from the Philippines...

After 15 days of travel, we finally arrived at Acapulco, in which port the ship was expected. We embarked about 15 days before the Easter holiday, thus beginning a new navigation longer than the previous one, at least of 1,500 miles. However, it was rather a happy one, as it always is when one travels without encountering neither calm nor contrary winds; in 75 days we arrived at the Mariana Islands where we left five missionaries to relieve the few who lived here and after a day and a half of rest, we proceeded with the remainder of the voyage, which consisted in a little over 1,200 miles, and which we happily completed in 14 days, until we sighted the Philippine Islands...

...

I recommend myself to Your Paternity, and remain

Your unworthy servant in Christ,

Fulcherio Spilembergo, S.J.

## **F2. Letter dated Manila 3 June 1719**

### **Original text in Italian.**

*S. Matteo, Villa vicina alla città di Manilla, scritta oggi 3 Giugno 1719.*

*Carissimo Fratello,*

*Suppongo che avrete ricevuta un'altra mia che scrissi l'anno passato stando io ancora nel Messico, nella quale lettera vi dava ragguaglio del viaggio da Cadice fino a questa città. Colla presente non vi dò altra notizia che del viaggio dal Messico fino a queste isole Filippine...*

*La navigazione ci riuscì felicissima fino alle isole Marianne, che s'incontrano 1200 miglia prima delle isole Filippine...*

*Queste isole Marianne sono amene alla vista, per quanto io notai in quel poco tempo che ivi si fermò la nave, però molto sterili in sostanza, e ciò che rende maggiore la sterilità loro si è una moltitudine di sorci [sic] silvestri che rovinano quanto si semina, onde pochissima è la terra lavorata per la infestazione di quei dannosi animali. Dopo un gior-*

*no e mezzo di riposo in quelle isole, ripigliammo la navigazione, ed in 15 giorni fummo alla vista di queste isole Filippine...*

### **Translation.**

San Mateo, a town in the vicinity [i.e. NE] of Manila City, written today 3 June 1719.

Dearest Brother,

I suppose that you have received another letter of mine that I wrote last year when I was still in Mexico. In that letter I gave you a report about the voyage from Cadiz as far as that city. In the present letter there is only news about the voyage from Mexico to these Philippine Islands...

The navigation had a very lucky outcome as far as the Mariana Islands, which are found to be 1,200 miles from the first of the Philippine Islands...

I had those Mariana Islands in sight and observed them, during the little time that the ship stopped there. However, they are very infertile as far as food production, and what makes their sterility worse is that there is a plethora of wild rats that destroy whatever is sown; that is why very little of the land is cultivated on account of the infestation of those harmful animals. After a day and a half of rest in those islands, we pursued our navigation, and in 15 days we were in sight of these Philippine Islands...

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## Documents 1718G

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# Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1718

## G1. Approval of the subsidy for the Philippines

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1, fol. 175-185.*

*Note: We learn from this document that the full name of the galleon Begoña was Nuestra Señora de Begoña, San Luís de Francia, y San Cipriano.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho de el Cituado de las Yslas Philipinas, tocante a este año de 1718 en el Galeon Capitana Nuestra Señora de la Begoña, San Luís de Francia, y S. Cipriano.***

*Señores Juezes Oficiales de la Real Hazienda y Caxa de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por la Carta quenta que el dia treze de Marzo de el año proximo passado de mill setecientos y diez y siete arreglado a Reales disposissions formamos y remitimos a V.Ms., dimos cumplimiento y llena satisfacion por nuestra parte a los dos Cituados que tocaron a essas Yslas en los dos años proximos passados de mill setecientos y diez y seis, y mill setecientos y diez y siete; y por esta ejecutamos el que le pertenece al presente de mill setecientos y diez y ocho, compuesto de las partidas siguientes:*

### *Cituado.*

...

### *Gastos independientes del Cituado.*

...

### ***Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Treinta mill ochosientos y sesenta y cinco pessos tres tomines y ocho granos, tambien pagados de esta Real Caxa; los veinte mill quinientos y cinquenta pesos de ellos a la parte del Governador y sesenta ynfantes de la dotacion del Precidio, de las Yslas Marianas; y los diez mill trescientos y quinze pesos tres tomines, y ocho granos restantes a la parte de los diez y ocho Religiosos de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, Catorze Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores, empleados en la predicassion de el Santo Evangelio; en aquellas Yslas, aumento de nuestra Santa Fee, y nueva Christiandad, en servicio de ambas Magestades, y de el sueldo del Sargento mayor del referido Precidio; uno y otro por el Cituado tocante a este presente año de la fecha, anticipado segun lo dispuesto y*



*costumbre, en cuja cantidad se incluyen assi mismo los Religiosos de el Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde a su cuidado son instruidos en costumbres christianas y politicas; y los estipendios de vino y azeite para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Missa, en onze sagrarios que se hallan colocados allí, en otras tantas Yglesias adornadas con la desencia posible, encender lamparas que ardan delante de el Santissimo Sacramento de el Altar. Todo conforme a la Real Voluntad, y a las Zertificaciones y Listas remitidas y presentadas ..... 30,865p 3t [8g]*

***Mission de la Sagra[da] Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus.***

*Veinte mill doscientos noventa y quatro pesos, un tomin y seis granos, pagados de esta Real Caxa a la mission de quarenta y siete Religiosos; los quarenta y tres Sacerdotes; y quatro Coadjutores consedidos a la Sagrada Compania de Jesus, en Real Cedula fecha en San Lorenzo a veinte de Junio de mill setecientos y diez y siete, refrendada de el Señor Don Andres del Coro Barrutia y Zupide, para passar de mission de los Reinos de Castilla a essas Yslas; lo qual ejecutaron en la ocassion presente en esta manera; los quarenta y uno Religiosos de los referidos transportados de los Reinos de Espana; y los seis cumplimiento al numero referido que de las Cassas y collegios de este Reino, se han podido dedicar para este efecto, con permiso de este superior gobierno, dado en mandamiento de diez y siete de Febrero de este año, y expedido à representacion del R.P. Marcelo de Baldibiesso, Superior de la espressa mission; cuja cantidad se le satisfizo en conformidad de el Real Orden citado; y por el abiamiento, viatico, entretenimiento, y pasaxe que debengaron; los unos desde que salieron de sus Collegios y Cassas, hasta llegar a esta Ciudad, en que se incluyen el gasto de la curacion, regalo, y dieta de los que enfermaron en ella, y estos, y los otros por el avio, sustento y matalotaxe de sus personas, ropa y libros desde esta Ciudad hasta desembar[car] en esas Yslas ..... 20,294p 1t 6g*

...  
*B.L.M. de V.Ms sus mayores servidores,  
 Dor. Don Joseph Francisco de Ozaeta  
 Joseph de Bollio  
 Simon de Carragal  
 Don Pedro de Varrios*

**Translation.**

**Despatch of the Subsidy of the Philippine Islands, for this year 1718, aboard the flagship galleon Nuestra Señora de Begonia, San Luis de Francia, y San Cipriano.**

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

As per the Letter of accounts, dated 13 March of last year 1717, that we wrote and remitted to Your Graces, in accordance with royal orders, we gave full compliance and complete satisfaction on our part to the two subsidies that concerned those Islands for the two years 1716 and 1717; and by the present we execute the subsidy accounts for the present year of 1718, which consists of the following entries:

## Subsidy.

...

### Expenditures besides the Subsidy.

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

30,865 pesos 3 tomins and 8 grains, also released by this Royal treasury, 20,550 pesos of which correspond to the Governor and the 60 infantrymen on the establishment of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands; and the remaining 10,315 pesos 3 tomins and 8 grains to the 18 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 14 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, employed in preaching the Holy Gospel in those Islands, propagating our Holy Faith, and the new Christian community, in the service of both Majesties, and toward the salary of the Sergeant-Major of the above-mentioned Garrison: both consignments being part of the subsidy for the present year, in advance as is the rule and custom. Said sum covers not only the Religious of the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are being taught Christian and civilized customs under their care, but also the stipends for wine and oil, to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, in 11 sanctuaries that exist there, inside as many churches, adorned as decently as possible, and to keep lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar, everything in accordance with the Royal will, and the certificates and lists submitted to that effect ..... 30,865p 3t [8g]

#### **Mission band of Jesuits.**

20,294 pesos 1 tomin and 6 grains released by this Royal treasury to the mission band of 47 Religious, i.e. 43 priests and 4 coadjutors, conceded to the sacred Society of Jesus in a Royal decree dated San Lorenzo 20 June 1717, countersigned by Don Andrés del Coro Barrutia y Zupide, for permission to pass to the Spanish kingdoms in those Islands; and which they executed as this time as follows: 41 of these Religious came over from the Kingdoms of Spain, and the other 6 come from various residences and colleges of this Kingdom and represent the number that it was possible to gather, with the permission of this superior government, in an order dated 17 February last, issued at the request of Rev. Fr. Marcelo de Valdivieso, Superior of the above-said mission band. Said sum was paid out to satisfy said Royal order and covering the following: the outfitting, travel expenses, maintenance and fare, outstanding, i.e. what it cost, on the one hand, to bring the former from their colleges and residences as far as this City, including expenses made for the cure, treatment, and food for those who became sick while here, and on the other hand, to provide outfits, maintenance and food supplies for the sea portion of the voyage of the former and latter group as far as those Islands ..... 20,294p 1t 6g

.....20,294p 1t 6g  
Your best servants who kiss the hand of Your Graces:

Dr. Don José Francisco de Ozaeta

José de Bollio

Simon de Carragal

Don Pedro de Varrios

## G2. Organization of the mule train from Mexico to Acapulco

*Source: AGN AHH 332.*

*Notes: Everything was packed with the capacity of the mules in mind, with two even "tercios", or half-loads, for each pack mule, and each load was of the same approximate weight. The containers for these half-loads seemed to be readily available in the market place, as well as the leather-bound trunks, etc. It becomes clear that a regular-size "piece" aboard the galleons was therefore a regular-size half-load for a pack mule.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Digo yo Juan García Fernandez de Cordova, Dueño de requa, y vecino de esta Ciudad de Mexico, que he rezevido de el Padre Andres de Veytia de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, y su Procurador General de la Prov<sup>a</sup> de Philipinas en este Reyno; sesenta y siete tercios empetatados, enguangochados, y cavereados de cuero; es a saver; los quarenta y cinco cajones de Atercio; dos cajas sombrereras; cinco baules de atercio; doze tercios de baules de dos en dos; dos frasqueras, y un barril de tercio; yten dos sobornales, el uno un barrilete suelto, y el otro con tres barriletes mas pequeños, que por todas hazen sesenta y nueve piezas, y todas con la marca de el margen de n<sup>o</sup> 1 a 69;*

*Todas las quales las he rezevido enjutas, y bien acondicionadas; y me obligo de llevarlos al Puerto de Acapulco, y entregarlos conforme los he rezevido al Padre Francisco Aguaron de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, residente en dho Puerto, a cuió cumplimiento, obligo mi persona y requa; y es declaracion, de que voi satisfecho y pagado de todo lo que importa el flete hasta dicho Puerto; y por que assi lo cumplire firme dos de este thenor, el uno cumplido, el otro no valga, que es fho en este Hospicio de San Francisco de Borja en 21 de febrero de 1718 años.*

*Juan García Fernandez de Cordoba*

### Translation.

I, Juan García Fernandez de Cordoba, owner of the mule train, and resident of this City of Mexico, do declare that I have received from Father Andrés de Veytia of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the Province of the Philipines in this Kingdom: 67 half-loads, covered in either leather, or oil-cloth, or topped with leather, to wit: 45 regular crates for half-loads; 2 hat boxes; 5 regular trunks for half-loads; 12 half-loads of trunks tied two by two; 2 bottle frames, and 2 barrels for a half-load; 2 extra half-loads of the same, one being a small loose barrel, and the other being 3 even smaller barrels, which all in all make 69 pieces, and they all bear the mark in margin and are numbered from 1 to 69.

All of the above pieces, I have received dry, and in good condition, and I oblige myself to take them to the Port of Acapulco, and to deliver them in the same condition as I have received them to Father Francisco Aguaron of the Society of Jesus, residing in said Port, in fulfilment of which I pledge my person and mule train. And I am satisfied

PP § =

with this declaration and acknowledge having been paid everything that was due for the conveyance of all the above to said port. And, the better to secure its fulfilment, I signed two copies of this statement, one original and the other a duplicate, both dated at this Hospice of San Francisco Borja, on 21 February 1718.

Juan García Fernandez de Cordoba

### G3. Extract of the manifest of the galleon *Begoña* in 1718

*Source: AGNAHH 332.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Año de 1718. Testimonio del Situado que passa de la Nueve España que passa a las Yslas Marianas, remitido por la Sagrada Compania de Jesus de su Prov<sup>a</sup>***

*En la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en veinte y cinco días del mes de Marzo de mill setecientos y diez y ocho años; Ante mi el escrivano y testigos el Sargento mayor Don Antonio Sanchez Zerdan[,] Maestre del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas Nuestra Señora de Vegoña surto en la baia de este Puerto otorgo haver recibido de Don Ygnacio de Miquelena Encomendero y residente al presente en este Puerto:*

*Seis caxones de atercio con la primera marca del margen numerados de numero uno a ocho por comprehenderse en dichos numeros una sombre[re]ra, y un zurrón de cacao Goatemala que haze ocho piezas;*

*Y diez y ocho tercios compuestos de treze caxones, dos barriles de vino[,] tres zurrónes de cacao con la segunda marca del margen, cuios numeros no expreso la parte; y todas las dhas veinte y seis piezas dho Maestre confesso tener a bordo debaxo de escotilla y se le entregaron de horden del Padre Andres de Beitia de la sagrada Compania de Jesus y su Procurador de la Provincia de Philipinas; y se obligo a que llevandole Dios a salvamento con dho galeon â las Yslas Philipinas [y] Marianas dara y entregara todo lo referido al Padre Ygnacio de Ybarguen [Vice] Provincial de la Mision de dha sagrada Compania en dhas Yslas, o a quien en su lugar estubiere por ser pertenecientes a la asignacion de su Situado[.] p<sup>a</sup> ello se obligo con su persona y bienes havidos y por haver en toda forma y conforme deve ser obligado, otorgo partida de rexistro y lo firmo, siendo testigos Don Antonio de Villacorte, Don Joseph Delgado, y Christoval Lapiditao.*

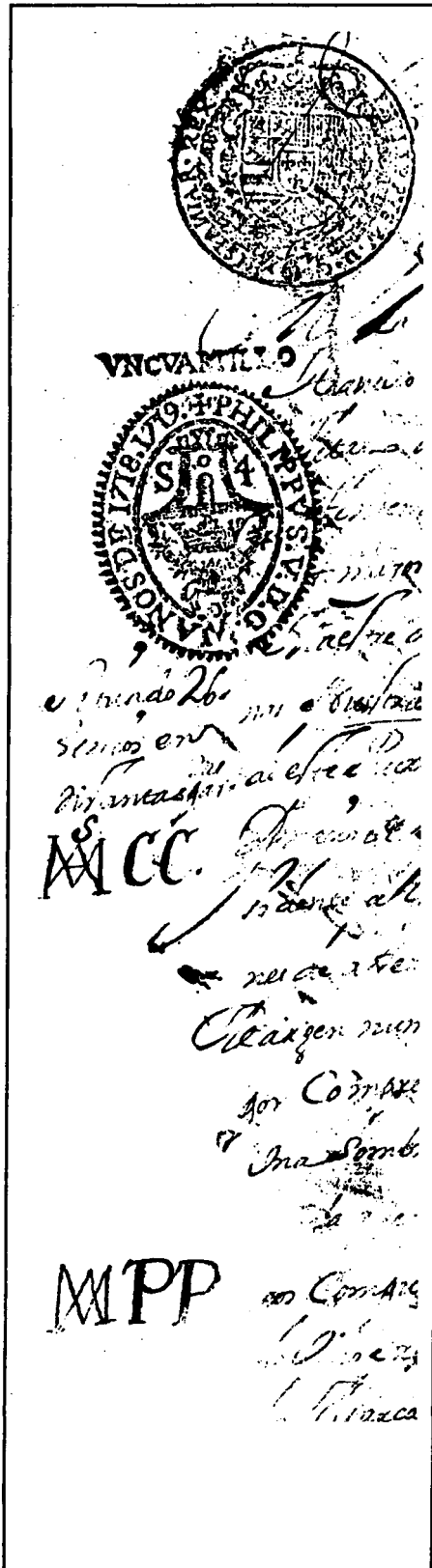
*Antonio Sanchez Zerdan*

*Ante mi Manuel de Esquibel escrivano Real y Receptor.*

*Sacose p<sup>a</sup> la parte en el día de su otorgamiento corregido en pliego del sello quarto, por duplicado doy fee:*

*Hago mi signo, en testimonio de verdad:*

*Manuel de Esquibel, escrivano Real y de Real Hazienda.*



**Translation.**

**Year of 1718. Certified copy of the subsidy sent from New Spain, for transport to the Mariana Islands, by the sacred Society of Jesus of that Province.**

In the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco on 25 March 1718; Before me the notary and witnesses, Sergeant-Major Antonio Sanchez Zerdan, Master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, anchored in the bay of this port, did acknowledge having received from Don Ignacio de Michelena, a landlord residing at present at this port:

—6 crates of regular size for half-loads, bearing the first mark in margin and numbered from 1 to 8, because 1 hat box and 1 pouch of cacao from Guatemala were included in this number, which makes a total of 8 pieces;

—And 18 half-loads consisting of 13 crates, 2 barrels of wine, 3 pouches of cacao with the second mark in margin, whose numbers the party in question did not specify; and all of said 26 pieces said Master acknowledged having them aboard below deck, and they were delivered to him by order of Father Andrés de Veytia of the sacred Society of Jesus and its Procurator for the Province of the Philippines; and he obliged himself, God willing to let him and said galleon reach the Philippine [and] Mariana Islands safely, to give and deliver all of the above to Father Ignacio de Iburguen, [Vice-] Provincial of the Mission of said sacred Society in said Islands, or to whomever may replace him, since they belong to the assignment of their Subsidy. To this effect, he pledged his person and his property, present and future, in due form, as he must be so obliged, executing this part of the manifest and he signed it, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Antonio de Villacorte, Don José Delgado, and Cristobal Lapiditao.

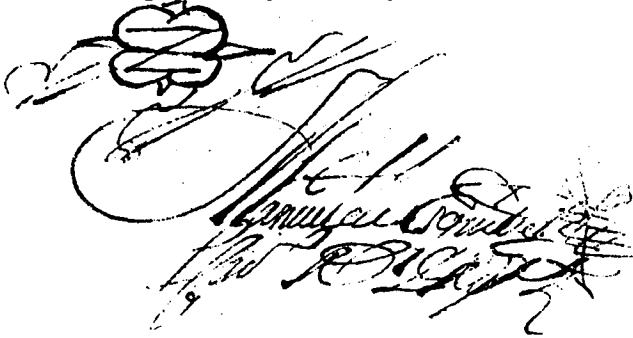
Antonio Sanchez Zerdan

Before me, Manuel de Esquibel, royal notary and Receiver.

Two copies were made at the request of the party in question, and corrected, using stamped paper, of which I vouch.

In faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Manuel de Esquibel, royal notary and Receiver.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Manuel de Esquibel". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. It features a large, stylized initial 'M' and 'E' at the beginning, followed by the rest of the name in a fluid, connected script. There are some decorative flourishes and a small star-like mark at the end of the signature.

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 Document 1719A
 

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## Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pettinati, dated Rota 27 May 1719

*Sources: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott VII, n° 151 (in German); original Latin ms. 1227 Vienna Library under "Litt. Ann. S.J. Austr. 1686."*

*Note: Part of this letter, the part about the death of Fr. Boranga, was also included in a letter to Fr. Pusch, of same date, and published separately by Stöcklein (see Doc. 1685X2).*

### Published text in German

#### ***Brief Patris Bonani, An R. Patrem Pettinati, Geschrieben auf der Marianischen Insul Rota, den 27. Maij 1719.***

*Innhalt. Beschreibung der dreyzehen Marianischen Insuln; von deroselben Zustand/ Religion und Sprach. Tod P. Joannis Schirmeisen/ und R.P. Gerardi Bowens/ Soc. JEsu.*

#### ***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

*P.C.*

*Gebe der gütigste GOtt und seine Preiß-würdigste Jungfrau Mutter, daß dieser Brief Euer Ehrwürden und gesamte unsere wertheste Oesterreicher Provintz, vor allem aber das Allerdurchlauchtigste Käyserliche Ertz-Hauß nicht allein in erwünschtem Wohlstand, sondern dieser letztere auch mit einem männlichen Erben vermehrt an-treffe! Solcher Wunsch stehet mir desto besser an, je reiffer ich erwege, daß gegenwärtige Marianische Mission solchen Nahmen von ihrer mildreichen Stiffterin ererbt habe, nemlich von der Durchleuchtigsten Königin und Ertz-Hertzogin Maria Anna, Caroli des andern, Königs in Spanien Frau Mutter, Philippi des vierdten, zweyter Gemahlin, und Käysers Ferdinandi des dritten Tochter, welche Anno 1649 gebohren, und 1691 selig gestorben ist. Als ich nun verlittenes Jahr an dem Göttlichen Fronleichnams-Fest auf diesen Marianischen Insulen angelangt ware, erhielt ich Befehl, mit vier andern Priestern unserer Gesellschaft, nemlich mit P. Philippo Maria Forneri, einem SICKler; P. Francisco Halguero, einem Spanier, P. Joanne Antonio Cantova, einem Meyländer, und P. Jacobo Heipel, einem Cöllner vom Rhein allda zu verharren. Der Tag und Jahr unserer Ankunfft ist derenwegen merckwürdig, weil vor funffzig Jahren auf eben diesen Tag Venerabilis Pater Didacus Aloysius à San-Vittores, aus unserer Gesellschaft der*

*Mission erster Stifter und Apostel diese Eylande zum ersten mal betreten, den Heil. Creutz-Fahn allhier ausgesteckt, aber vier Jahr hernach von denen undanckbaren Heyden zu seinem Lohn die Marter-Cron erlangt hat, indem ihn die Insulaner aus einem falschen Wahn; als thäte er ihre Kinder durch die Heilige Tauff tödten, erbärmlich hingerichtet haben; welche Sach sich folgender Gestalten zugetragen hat: Der selige Pater San-Vittores beschäftigte sich auf dem Dorff Tugun [rather Tumhun], in der Insul Guahan, (so unter allen Marianischen Insulen die gröste ist, und in ihrem Umfang bis 40 Spanische Meilen begreiff) er beschäftigte sich, sag ich, mit Unterweisung deren Neubekehrten, mit der Kinder-Tauff, und dergleichen mehr. Da er nun in beständiger Übung solcher Mühewaltungen zu dem Hauß eines gewissen wilden Heydens, Namens **Matapangs**, kommen ist, und allda ein neu-gebohrnes Mägdlein gesehen hat, beehrte er dasselbe zu täuffen; man thate seinen Willen. Kaum hatte er dem Kind das Sacrament der Wiedergeburch ertheilt, als der barbarische Vatter nach Hauß kommen, und dem frommen Priester den Tod angedrohet hat; da dieser ihn nun fragte, warum er ihn wolte todt schlagen? **Darum**, sprach der rasende Heyd, **weil du meine Tochter durch deine Tauffung gleichsam dem Tod geopffert hast, daß sie bald darüber sterben wird.** Vergebens wolte ihn der Pater bereden, daß die H. Tauff das zeitliche Leben nicht benehme, sondern vielmehr das Ewige dem Menschen mittheile; dann wie der wilde Mann kein anderes, als allein das zeitliche Leben erkannte, also hat er seine Gesellen und Nachbarn zu des Patris San-Vitores Mord angereizet, ihn demnach aufgesucht, und, da er denselben an dem Meer-Ufer antraffe, mit dem Wurff-Pfeil starck über das Haupt gehaut, die Brust aber mit einer Lantzen durchstoichen, und den Leib in das Meer geworffen. Des Apostolischen Blut-Zeugens letzte Worte waren diese: **Vergelte es GOTT/ mein lieber Matapang.***

*Als ich nun, wie gedacht worden, in dem Meer-Haafen Umatac ausgestiegen; empfienge mich P. Joannes Schirmeisen aus der Böhmischen Provintz, ein wahrhaftig Apostolischer und bewährter Mann, als welcher bereits im Jahr 1689 allhier angelangt, mit beyderseits gröster Freud, die ich aber nicht lang geniessen dorffte; inmassen da ich nur ein paar Tage meine Kräfte in etwas erholt hatte, ich von dem Vice-Propincial R. Patre Ignatio von Ybarguen, als Ambts-Gehülff dem Patri Petro Cruydolff welcher die Insul Saypan oder S. Josephi anvertraut ware, bin zugesellet: mitterweil erwehnter Pater Schyrmeisen den 20. Hornung dieses lauffenden Jahrs zu gröstem Leidwesen der Mission, so ohne dem nur in 9 Priestern bestehet, zu einem besseren Leben ist abgefordert worden. So bald ich auf die Haupt-Insul Guahan zurück kommen werde, bin ich gesonnen dessen Lebens-Ruhm aufzusetzen, und solchen entweder der Böhmischen Provintz oder Euer Ehrwürden zu überschicken. Die Marianische Mission stehet übrigens als eine Vice-Propincial unter der Philippinischen.*

*Als ich von dem Schiff ausgestiegen, und auf der Haupt-Insul S. Johannis oder Guahan in dem Dorff Agadna [sic] meine Ordens-Gelübde in unserm Collegio daselbst erneuert hatte (allda auch eine mit 300 Spanischen Kriegs-Leuten besetzte Schantz ist) verreisete ich von dannen mit obgemeldetem P. Petro Cruydolff von Gent aus Flandern gebürtig, einem Mann von etwann 44 Jahren, nach besagtem Eiland Saypan, welches*



er bereits vier Jahr gantz allein verwaltet hatte. Diese grosse und anmuthige Insel zehlet dermal nur achthundert Einwohner, derer doch vor funffzig Jahren zu Anfang der Mission wol achttausend waren.

Die gröste Beschwehruß eines Missionarii, so gantz allein sich auf diesem Eiland befindet, ist nebst dem, daß er mit einem tummen, barbarischen, ungeschlichteten und dem Christlichen Glauben abholden Volck zu thun hat, die Trostlosigkeit eigener Seel, weil er seine Beicht zu verrichten entweder nach der Haupt-Insul Guahan, so viertzig, oder nach dem Eiland Rota, so vier und zwanzig Meil entfernt ist, reisen, und da er krank wird, von eben so weit, wann ihm GOtt so viel Zeit vergönnt, daß oftmahl unmöglich ist von einer Insul auf die andere zu fahren, theils wegen der Winden Unbeständigkeit, theils wegen der Marianischen Schiffen gefährlicher Beschaffenheit, deren Bau ich allhier kürztlich beschreiben will.

Die Marianer bauen ihre Schiff aus den Baum Dave [sic], oder wie ihn die Spanier nennen, Palo Maria, aus welchem ein in denen Europäischen Apothecken bekandter Balsam heraus gezogen wird, dessen ich ihnen wann wir näher beysammen wären, gantze Fäßlein voll könte lassen zukommen. Solcher Stamm nun ist dem Nußbaum zwar fast gleich, doch also, daß dessen Holtz ausserhalb des Meer-Wassers leichtlich fault, in demselben aber härter und stärcker wird. Sie schneiden aus diesem Baum dünne Bretter und Dillen, die kaum einen Finger dick seynd, sie fügen dieselbe ordentlich auf einander und nehen sie mit Schnüren zusammen; die Fugen werden mit einem gewissen aus zerstoßenem Stein und Kalch vermengten Malter gecalfatert oder überstrichen, welches auch bey tobendem Meer dermassen vest hält, daß kein Tropff Wassers mag durchschlagen. Die Länge des Schiffs hat insgemein 14. Ellen, die Höhe aber kaum vier Spannen, und die Breite drey. Die Gestalt betreffend, ist zwischen dem vordern und hindern Theil kein Unterscheid, damit sie sich desto behender für sich und hinter sich schwencken können. Dergleichen Fahrzeug nennen die Einwohner **Sagman**/ dessen Seegel seynd unsern Binsen-Decken gleich, aber wie ein Hasens Ohr dreyeckigt, das Mast-Bäumlein aber ist von einem Stamm Nahmens Pago, der unserer Hollerstauden gleich siehet: die Tauen oder Seil hingegen werden aus Coccus-Haar geflochten, die Fischer-Netz aber aus gewissem Meer-Graß, so sie **Loo** oder **Roo** heissen, zusammengestrickt. Auf jeglichem dergleichen Schiff befinden sich gemeiniglich drey Schiff-Leuthe, einer bey dem Steuer- der ander aber bey dem Zeug-Ruder; der dritte letztlich schöpft das Wasser aus. Der erste heißt Umurin, der andere Mamuxai, der dritte Manuhgui. Auf daß aber der stürmige Wind das Schiff nicht umbstürzte, wird es mit 2 Bäumen in das Gleich-Gewicht gesetzt; solche werden gleich einem Floß zusammen gefügt, und an dem End mit einem Richa oder höltzernen Block beschwehrt. Die Marianer wissen mit diesem Schiffelein meisterlich wohl innzugehen, ohne sich des Schiffbruchs oder Untergangs zu besorgen.

Auf dergleichen einem bin ich letzt-verwichenen Hornung nicht ohne Gefahr auf die Insul Rota (sonst der H. Annä benahmet) übergangen: dann kaum war ich zwey Stund lang gefahren, als das Meer begonne mit Gegen-Winden zu toben. Was ware da anzufangen? zuruck konten wir nicht wegen sehr krummen Eingang in den Haafen und Un-

*gestüme des Meers: vorzufahren ware nichts anders als sich selbst in den Untergang stürzen. Das einzige noch übrige Mittel ware an die dermahl unbewohnte Insul Tinian anzuländen. Indem wir nun dahin schifften, ist die Rahe oder Seegel-stange zweymahl entzwey gebrochen, das Mast-stänglein sehr für sich umgebogen, das Schifflein aber fast mit Wasser bedeckt worden; doch hat uns GOTT durch Vorbitt seiner Mutter und des H. Xaverii noch gerettet, daß wir auf besagter Insul Tinian glücklich angelangt seynd. Die fünff Täge, als wir uns auf diesem verlassenem Eiland aufgehalten, hab ich den mit einem aufgerichteten Creutz gezeichneten Ort gesehen, allwo ehedessen Venerabilis P. Augustinus Strobach Böhmischer Provintz aus Haß des Glaubens ist hingegerichtet worden. Bey uns muste der Palm-Baum allda das beste thun, mit dessen Laub wir uns bedeckt, mit denen Früchten aber gespeist und getränckt haben. Von hieraus, weil unsere Nachen alle übel zugerichtet waren, schickte ich einen derselben an P. Petrum Cruydholf [sic] zuruck, welcher mir einige andere zu Hülff sandte, so mich endlich auf die Insul Rotam glücklich überbracht haben.*

*Das Eiland Rota oder Sanct Anna liegt mitten zwischen beyden Insuln Guahan und Saypan: ist sehr gebürgicht, die Weege aber rauhe und felsicht. Vor 50 Jahren seynd an statt der 344. Seelen, so noch übrig bliben, derer wol 4000 gezehlt worden. Auf dieser Insul hat Venerabilis Pater Carolus de Boranga aus unserer Oesterreichischen Provintz, um des Evangelii wegen sein Blut vergossen. Dieses Blut-Zeugens Gedächtnuß ist hier mein gröste Freud, obschon ich dermahl weder mit Haus noch Kirchen versehen bin, nachdem vergangenes Jahr beyde von einem hefftigen Sturm-Wind sambt denen Obst-Bäumen seynd über den Hauffen geworffen worden: solche nun wieder aufzubauen, bin ich dermal über Halb und Kopff beschäftigt; beyde führen den Nahmen von dem H. Francisco Borgia. Wann gesambte Seelen, so auf der Insul sich befinden, beysammen wohneten, würde keine grosse Mühe seyn dieselbige zu versorgen; da sie aber in unterschiedliche Dörffer und auf die gantze Insul ausgetheilt sind, fällt die Verwaltung desto schwerer. Die zwey, so gegen Mitternacht, und zwey, so gegen Aufgang liegen, seynd so weit von meiner Residentz, als Grätz in Steyermarck von unserer lieben Frauen zu Fernitz entfernt. Die übrige drey liegen etwas näher. Ihre Nahmen seynd Seac und Gagani, Targua und Titito; item Sosan-haya, Sosa-nago und Mirine. Die vormalige Völckerschafft Agusan, wo ehemahls der seelige Pater Boranga gelitten hat, ist dermahl geschleiff und öd.*

*Mit seinem Tod aber, gleich wie ich von einem glaubwürdigen Mann, so es mit Augen angesehen, selbst vernommen hab, ist es also hergangen. Gedachter Pater Carolus verwaltete damahls die Residenz von Agusan, als die Rebellion wider den Christlichen Glauben auf der Haupt-Insul Guahan einen Anfang genommen; Er wuste aber von solchem Aufstand eben so wenig, als sein Gespan, V.P. Augustinus Strobach, der seinen Sitz zu Sosanago hatte: allwo ich würcklich wohne. Die Barbarn schickten aus erwehnter Haupt-Insul Gual an [sic = Guahan] einen Nachen auf gedachtes Eiland Rotam, mit Befehl, beyde Patres zu tödten, in der Hoffnung, daß, wann nur einmahl diese zwey Jesuiter hin wären, alles für die Meuterey wurde sicher seyñ. Die Überbringer solches Befehls waren von der Insul Saypan, dero Innwohner diesen Priester Mord gern*

über sich genommen hatten. Nachdem sie also bewaffnet, graden Weegs nach Sosanago kommen waren, und gefragt hatten, wo der Pater wäre? der Indianer aber, so ihn bediente, geantwortet, sie könnten nicht vorkommen, weil er jetzt verhindert wäre; sind sie graden Wegs von dannen nach Agusan gezogen, und in den Pfarr-Hof getreten, allwo sie mit einem Wurff-Pfeil den seligen Patrem Carolum auf dem Haupt und an der Gurgel tödtlich verwundet, demnächst aber ihn halb todt haben liegen lassen, und nach verrichteter That in die Insul Saypan, so ihr Vatterland ware, über gefahren sind. Erst folgenden Tag ist gemeldeter Pater an seinen Wunden gestorben, mithin nicht, mit Kolben erschlagen, sondern mit Wurff-Pfeilen [sic], und nicht von denen Rotanern, wie ein gewisser Pater geschrieben hat, sondern von denen Saypanern verwundet worden. Dessen Gebein hab ich zwar gesucht, aber nicht gefunden.

Die Marianer waren ehedessen ein wildes Volck, welches gleich denen unvernünftigen Thieren bloß allein dem Trieb der Natur gefolgt hat. Sie wußten zwar von GOTT nichts, doch glaubten sie, die Seel seye unsterblich, als welche, wie sie meyneten, nach dem Tod auf der Welt verharre, und, wann man sie anruffe, ihren Verehrern zu Hülff käme. Darum hat der Satan, welcher anderwärtig sich selbst läßt anbetten, hier wenigstens noch dieses zu wegn gebracht, daß die verdammten Seelen angeruffen wurden, derer, hinterlassene Hirn- Schaale, Gebein und dergleichen die Marianer fleißig bewahrten, und in solchen denen hingschiedenen Seelen, so sie in singulari Aniti, in plurali aber Manganiti nennen, Göttliche Ehr erwiesen. Doch hatten sie weder Tempel noch Opfer. Alle und jede Insulaner verehrten zwar die Seelen, aber diese liessen sich nicht mit allen in Gemeinschaft ein; derenwegen brachten sie ihre Krancken zu denen Macahna oder **Wundersmännern**/ welche die Seel mit folgendem Gebett angeflehet haben: **O Vatter Geist ich bitte dich/ du wollest doch diesem Siechen innerhalb eines Jahrs die Gesundheit verleyhen; ich bitte dich/ erhöre mich; dann es ist besser/ daß ersterbe/ als daß er also kranck bleibe.** Indem er aber solche Wort aus sprach, besprützte er den Krancken ohne Unterlaß mit Wasser ward dieser nun binnen eines Jahrs gesund, so mußte er dem Macahna, als ein Knecht des Aniti, aus Dankbarkeit dienen. Nichts destoweniger hat nicht ein jeder Macahna den Geist die Krancke zu heilen; dann einer hat den Geist zu fischen, der andere des Regens, ein anderer des vom Himmel herab gezogenen/ Feuers, ein anderer deren Winden. Da auch mancher einen kurtzweiligen, der ander einen barmhertigen, der dritte einen grausamen Geist hatten; als wurden sie auch entweders geliebt, gehaßt oder gefürchtet, ihre Haar, Gebein und Uberbleibseln aber wi ein grosser Schatz bewahrt. Dergleichen Todten-Kopff samt einem Bein hab ich unlängst zu Aschen verbrant.

Den Gebrauch des aberglaubischen Wassers betreffend, kommt solcher meines Erachtens von dem her, daß bey ihnen die höchste Höflichkeit ist, einem Gast Wasser (zum Trincken, oder zum Händ- und Füß-Waschen) anzubieten; wobey sie sich dieser Worten bedienen: *Ho ati, ich geb dir Wasser; oder Ho ati canoimo, ich geb dir Wasser die Händ zu waschen; oder Ho ati adingmo, ich giesse Wasser, deine Füße zu waschen.* Solcher Aberglauben gegen ihre Todten klebt ihnen noch heftig an; dann, obschon alle getauffte Christen sind, so muß man sie dennoch ohne Unterlaß mit Worten und

*Schlägen ihrer Schuldigkeit vermahren; weil sie Kinder der Forcht sind, welche mit Ruthen wollen erzogen und gezwungen werden. Gönnst man ihnen aber ein gutes Auge, so werden sie gleich unbändig und stolz.*

*Als ich einen aus ihnen fragte, was sie vormals, als welche von GOtt nichts wußten, in Betrachtung der himmlischen Liechtern gedacht hätten? **Ach Sayna**, (welches Wort bey ihnen Vatter bedeutet, und ihr höchster Ehren-Titul ist) **Ach Sayna**, sprach er, **wir waren der Meynung/ daß die Stern am Himmel/ wie die Bäume auf Erden wachsen. Sonn und Mond aber belangend/ glaubten wir hievon unsern alten Liedern/ welche lauten/ daß der Puntan den Acha gebohren/ dieser aber nach dem Tod des Puntans aus dessen Augen Sonn und Mond/ aus seiner Bauch-Haut das Firmament/ aus denen Schultern die Erden samt Berg und Thal/ aus denen übrigen Beinen alle anders Geschöpff; aus seinen (salva venia) verschlagenen Winden den Donner/ aus seinem Harn oder Urin das Meer erschaffen habe. Ich forschete weiters, ob sie dann nicht vermerckt hätten daß dergleichen Gedichte lächerlich, ja unmöglich wären, angesehen der Puntan, wann er doch gestorben wäre, von einem andern müste seyn erschaffen worden? Die Antwort ware: **Ach, Vatter! wir hatten nicht im Brauch/ dergleichen Sachen nachzusinnen/ sondern unsere ganze Sorg ware Essen/ Trincken/ Huren/ Spatzieren/ und die Unbilden Rächen; nach euer Ankunfft aber sind uns die Augen allgemach ein wenig aufgegangen.*****

*Ihre Zeit-Rechnung ware ungleich, da einige zwölf, andere an der dreyzehen Mond-Läufe für ein Jahr rechneten, und zwar beyderseits mit so bitterer Hartnäckigkeit, daß sie derenwegen oft mit einander schwere Kriege geführt haben; doch dauerten ihre Schlachten nicht lang; dann so bald man Blut sahe, ward zum Abzug geblasen, und von beyden Seiten Gesandte gegen einander mit Geschencken geschickt, so da in Schild-Krotten-Schaalen bestunden, derer sie sich als ihres einzigen Schatzes an statt Golds, Silbers und Gelds, von welchem sie noch nichts wußten, bedient hatten: Aber jetzt, da die Schild-Krotten-Stücklein zwar annoch gelten, ist ihnen das Geld viel lieber, und so angenehm, daß man bis auf diese Stund die Kelch derer Priester, so sie um das Leben gebracht, von ihnen nicht hat zuruck haben können; **dann/ sprechen sie: i Calix maulig nga ginelia, sa ti memachuda, das ist, der Kelch ist ein guter Hauß-Rath/ weil er nicht leichtlich bricht.***

*Sie haben zwar weder Uhren noch ausgetheilte gleiche Stunden, doch geben sie unterschiedlichen Tag- und Nacht-Zeiten ihre besondere Nahmen, gleichwie aus nachgesetzter Tafel erhellet; dann*

*Schatanmag heißt vor dem anbrechenden Tag.*

*Masta Agupa " der anbrechende Tag.*

*Manena " der heitere Tag.*

*Sumpod adao " Sonn-Aufgang.*

*Fanmagngan " drey Stunden nach Aufgang/ wann die jungen Leut von der Arbeit ruhen.*

*Guin singao rahi 4 oder 5 Stund nach Aufgang/ wann die Manner von der Arbeit ausrasten.*

Taro adao " **Mittag.**

Nga tugua gui adao **um 1 Uhr/** oder wan die Sonne wieder absteigt.

Ehaan " **um 2 Uhr Nachmittag/** wann der Tag schon mercklich abnimmt.

Ghaan Fanghoyong machocho **um 3 Uhr/** wann die Arbeit wieder angehet.

At nga sarineyan adao **gegen Abend/** wann die Sonne noch eines Mast-Bäumleins hoch ist.

Quetereg adao " **wann die Sonn will untergehen.**

Sumaas adao " **Gleich nach Sonn Untergang.**

Matimoim Tartao **die Demmerung/** da sich die Leut von der Gassen verliehren.

Gape " **Nachttessens-Zeit.**

Papringi " **die Nacht.**

Gosgape oder Cudhud **die tieffe Nacht.**

Taro poingi " **Mitternacht.**

Abysmus " **Nachmitternacht.**

So zehlen sie auch ihre Zeit nicht nach dem Tag, sondern nach der Nacht, und sagen folgendes nicht: **vor 1, 2 oder 3 Tagen sondern vor 1, 2 oder 3 Nächten.**

Sie lebten vorhin ohne Gesetz und ohne Obrigkeit, weil keiner mit dem andern nichts zu schaffen hatte; doch theilten sie sich in drey unterschiedliche Ständ, nemlich in den adelichen, mitteren, und gemeinen ab; der adeliche heißt Matóá, der mittlere Acháot, der dritte Mangachang. Es ware ein Schand-Fleck, ein Weib aus einem geringeren Stand zur Ehe zu nehmen. Sie hatten ihre Schied-Brief, fast wie die alten Hebräer; doch muste der Mann dem Weib Haab und Guth überlassen. Gleichwie nun die Weiber den Meister spielten, also blieben viel Männer ledig, und lebten ihrer etliche dergleichen bey-sammen in einem Hauß; deßgleichen thaten auch die ledige Weibs-Personen; eine solche heisset allhier Lao, jener aber Urritáo, welche dann einander nach Belieben pflegten zu besuchen, und eine abscheuliche Vertreulichkeit unterhielten.

Bey der Ankunfft des seligen Patris Sanvittores wurden auf diesen dreyzehen Insulen gegen 50000. [sic] Seelen gezehlet, welche dermal sich nur auf drey Insuln zusammen gezogen haben, und nicht über fünff tausend mehr ausmachen, folgendes, wann sie auf der Haupt-Insul beysammen wohnen solten, von wenigern Priestern würden können versorgt werden; aber derer Spanischen Gewalthabern Geitz läßt solche Versammlung nicht zu.

Die Ursachen eines so grossen Abnahms dieses unbändigen Volcks seynd folgende: Erstlich seynd unzehlig viel Kinder bald nach der Tauff gestorben. Zweytens haben die immerwährenden Unruhen, und die aus solcher entstandene Mühseligkeiten sehr viel aufgezehrt. Doch seynd hievon die Rotaner außzunehmen, welche unter allen Marianern die besten, und ihrem König jederzeit treu gewesen seynd. Drittens haben sich viel wegen verlohnrer alten Freyheit, und dem ihnen unerträglichen Spanischen Joch zu todt bekümmert. Viertens sind viel, da sie die Flucht immer von einer Insul auf die andere nahmen, durch Sturm oder Ungewitter in dem Meer ertränckt worden. Fünfftens hat eine gewisse Seuche im Jahr 1709 und 1710 eine unzählige Schaar Marianer durch eine noch auf diese Stund unergründete Kranckheit aufgerieben, wann nicht villeicht

der Unglauben und Mißbrauch göttlicher Sacramenten, wie ehedessen bey denen Corinthern daran Ursach ist welchen der H. Paulus also schreibt: **Darum seynd unter euch viel schwach und kranck/ und sterben ihrer viel;** dann, gleichwie diese Corinthen, also hatten auch die Marianer sich zwar äusserlich als eyferige Christen angestellt, und das Heil. Altar-Sacrament öffters genossen; aber erst vor wenig Jahren hat man ihnen endlich die Larven abgerissen, und den Deckmantel, unter welchem sie ihre Schalckheit verhüllet, aufgehoben, hiemit aber handgreifflich entdeck, daß sie Macahna oder zauberische Seelen-Verehrer seyen, als bey welchen viel aberglaubischer Zauber-Zeug ist gefunden worden. Derewegen ist nicht zu beschreiben, mit was Behutsamkeit wir mit denenselben verfahren, zumalen, wann sie die H. Communion verlangen, damit sie nicht den Leib des Herrn zu ihrem Gericht unwürdig geniessen. Ich hab letztverwichene Ostern mich der Thränen nicht enthalten können, als um eben die Zeit, da in Europa alle Christglaubige beichten und communiciren, ich auf meiner gesambten Insul kaum 10 Communicanten gezehlt, auch diesen den Leib Christi nicht anderst, als mit Furcht und Zittern gereicht hab, nur damit solche osterliche Andacht nicht völlig solte in das Stecken gerathen.

Euer Ehrwürden wollen also für diese fleischliche Christen ernstlich betten, in welchen das in der Tauff empfangene Glaubens Liecht fast völlig erloschen ist; welche, ob schon ich sie mit Gewand überflüßig versehe, dennoch dasselbe nicht tragen, sondern mit allem Gewalt gleich denen Schweinen nackend daher gehen wollen; darum hat R.P. Gerardus Bowens, so viertzig Jahr lang auf der Insul Saypan, unerachtet deren Wunden, so er empfangen, und deren Lebens-Gefahren, so er ausgestanden, dennoch unter Göttlichem Schutz standhaftig gearbeitet, und vor wenig Jahren seinen Lauff gleich einem Heiligen Xaverio vollendet hat, nicht nur einmal gesprochen, **alle diejenige würden auf eine wunderliche Weiß betrogen/ welche nach Indien beruffen wären.** Um uns aber wegen dergleichen Widerwärtigkeiten zu trösten, und zugleich unsere Gelübde samt dem Geist zu erneuern, kommen wir alle Jahr einmahl am Fest des Heiligen Vatters Ignatii auf der Haupt-Insul Guahan zusammen, mit welcher Gelegenheit wir uns über dem Zustand unserer Missionen zugleich berathschlagen. Die Patres hingegen, so auf gedachter grossen Haupt-Insul wohnen, versammeln sich jährlich zweymal. Dergleichen Erneuerung ist desto nothwendiger, je mehrers der Geist unter so mancherley Geschäften ausraucht; allernaßen ich nebst der Seel-Sorg auch muß die Schwein und Hüner füttern, Früchten bauen, Wurtzel pflanzen, und dergleichen verächtliche Arbeit mehr verrichten, damit ich nicht allein samt denen Meinigen zu leben habe, sondern auch denen krancken Spanischen und andern Frembdlingen, wann sie hie durch von Acapulco nach denen Philippischen Insulen fahren, mit etwas zu Hülf kommen möge.

Zum Beschluß muß ich ein Wort von der Marianischen Sprach verlihren, welche sehr kurtz, und, weil sie viel zweydeutige Wort hat, zum Spotten sehr bequem ist. So hat sie auch vor vielen andern Sprachen den Vorthail, daß, was die Eß-Waaren, den Fisch-Fang und die Schiffahrt betrifft, sie mit Wörteren überflüßig versehen ist. Hergegen kan man die Geeheimnussen unsers Glaubens in derselben kaum erklären;

*inmaßen, jetzt von andern zu geschweigen, so hat weder GOTT, noch das Reich, noch die Schuld, noch die Kräfte der Seel bey ihnen einen Nahmen, weil sie die Seel zwar erkennen, aber dero Tugenden und Eigenschafften nicht unterscheiden. Dahero haben unsere erste Missionarii, um ihren Irrthum zu bestreiten, Dieselbe vor allem gefragt: **Wo habt ihr dann diesjenige hohe Leiter/ über welche man in den Himmel steigt?** Als sie nun erstummeten, forschte der Missionarius ferner: **Woher hat der Acha die Leiter genommen/ auf welcher er stunde/ da derselbe die Haut des Puntans an dem obersten Himmel ausgespannt/ mithin aus solcher das Firmament gemacht/ auch Sonn und Mond aufgehenckt hat. Da gabe ihm einer zur Antwort: Vatter! deine frag ist uns gar zu schwer; sage uns selbst/ wie wir dieselbe sollen beantworten.** An eben dem, sprach er, solt ihr die Wichtigkeit euers Wahns von dem Puntan und Acha, wie auch von der Erschaffung aller Dingen erkennen, und eine bessere Lehr von mir annehmen.*

*Gleichwie aber ihre Sprach gantz irrdisch und fleischlich, mithin mit geistlichen Worten oder Nahmen gar nicht versehen ist, also, wann ich einem aus ihnen sagen will: **GOTT wird dich seelig machen oder verdammen/ muß ich mich dieses Umschweiffs bedienen:** Dios, (dann so gar den Nahmen GOTTes müssen wir aus der Spanischen Sprach entlehnen) Dios, das ist, **GOTT wird dich entweder in den Himmel hinauf steigend machen/ oder aber in eine feuerige Grube hinunter Stürzen/ allwo du ohne Ende brennen wirst.***

*Gleicher Gestalten, weil sie das Wort Reich nicht geben können, müssen wir jene Bitte: **Zukomme uns dein Reich/** also umschreiben: **Laß uns dasjenige zukommen/ durch welches du wahrsam und glückseelig bist.** Um eben dieser Ursache willen, so oft wir ihnen von dem Heiligen Geist, von der Beicht, Communion, Gnad, Sacrament, Tauff und dergleichen reden, behelffen wir uns mit denen Spanischen Nahmen: *Spirito Santo, Confessar, Comulgar, Gracia, Sacramentos, Bautizar* und so weiter. Solche Wort aber können sie leichter aussprechen als verstehen, weil sie sich um das Geistliche gar nicht bekümmern wollen, obschon nicht bald einer zu finden ist, der nicht den Catechismum auswendig aufzusagen wüßte.*

*Nun bin ich mit Erlehnung dieser wilden Sprach bereits so weit kommen, daß ich nicht allein Beicht hören, sondern auch die Christliche Lehr in derselben halten kan; damit aber solches zu vieler Marianern Seligkeit gereiche, hab ich Euer Ehrwürden und gesamter Provintz, Dero ich mich samt meiner Mission inständig empfehle, Vorbitt höchst nöthig, als*

**Euer Ehrwürden**

*Auf der Insul Rota oder Sanct-Anna, den 27. Maji 1719.*

*Wenigster Diener in Christo/*

*Joseph Bonani, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.*

## Translation, by P.H.

### Letter from Fr. Bonani to Rev. Fr. Pettinati, written from the Mariana Island of Rota, on 27 May 1719.

**Contents:** Description of the 13 Mariana Islands; about their conditions, religion and language. Death of Fr. Juan Schirmeisen, and of Rev. Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, of the Society of Jesus.

#### Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

May our gracious God and his Blessed Virgin Mother make this letter reach Your Reverence and our entire dear Austrian Province, but specially the most illustrious Imperial House, not only finding You in a desirable state of well-being, but also the latter with the addition of a male heir! Such a wish is even more appropriate, since I am considering that the present mission of the Mariana Islands has inherited such a name from its gracious founder, namely the most illustrious Queen and Archduchess Maria Ana, mother of Charles (the second King of Spain with that name), second wife of Philip IV, and third daughter of Emperor Ferdinand, who was born in 1649 and died in peace in 1691. When last year on the feast of Corpus Christi, I arrived here at these Mariana Islands, I was ordered to remain here together with four other priests of our Society, namely with Fr. Felipe María Forneri, from Sicily; Fr. Francisco Halguero, from Spain; Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, from Milan; and Fr. Jacob Heipel, from Cologne on the Rhine. The day and year of our arrival is worth noting because on the same day, exactly 50 years earlier, the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis Sanvitores, of our Society, founder and apostle of the mission, set foot on these islands for the first time and raised the standard of the Holy Cross. Four years later, the ungrateful heathen paid him back with the crown of martyrdom. They executed him in the wrong belief that he was killing their children through holy baptism. The incident took place as follows: The Ven. Fr. Sanvitores was busy educating the newly-converted, baptizing children, etc. in the village of Tugun [rather Tumhun] on the Island of Guahan (which is the largest of the Mariana Islands, having a circumference of up to 40 Spanish miles). When in the course of such activities he came to the house of a certain wild heathen named **Matapang**, where he found a newborn girl, he wished to baptize her, and he was allowed to do so. Hardly had he given this child the sacrament of rebirth, when the barbarian father came home and threatened to kill the pious priest, who asked him why he wanted to do this. The outraged heathen said: **“Because with your baptism you have virtually sacrificed my daughter to death, and she will soon die as a result.”** The Father tried in vain to persuade him that holy baptism does not take worldly life away from a child but conveys its eternal life. But since the savage recognized no life other than worldly life, he incited his friends and neighbors to murder Fr. Sanvitores. He looked for him, found him on the seashore and hit him hard over the head with a spear [rather machete].



Then he ran a spear through his chest and threw his body into the sea. The apostolic martyr's last words were: **"May God forgive you, my dear Matapang."**

When as planned, I disembarked at the port of Umatac, I was welcomed by Fr. Juan Schirmeisen from the Bohemian Province, a truly apostolic and experienced man who had been here since 1689. We were both very glad to meet, but I was not allowed to enjoy his company for long. A few days later, as soon as I had regained my strength, the Vice-Provincial, Rev. Fr. Ignacio de Iburguen, assigned me as assistant to Fr. Pedro Cruydolf who was in charge of the Island of Saypan (or San José). In the meantime, said Fr. Schirmeisen was despatched to a better life on 20 February of this year, to the greatest detriment of the mission which now consists of only 9 priests. As soon as I will be back at the main Island of Guahan, I intend to compose his obituary and send it either to the Bohemian Province or to Your Reverence. Incidentally, the Mariana Islands are a sub-province of the Philippine Province.

After I had disembarked and renewed the vows of my order on the main Island of Guahan (or San Juan), in our college there in the town of Agaña, where a garrison of 300 Spanish soldiers is located, I left with said Fr. Pedro Cruydolf, who was born in Flanders, a man about 44 years old,<sup>1</sup> to said Island of Saypan, which he had already administered all by himself for 4 years. This large and beautiful island has only 800 inhabitants now, while 50 years ago, when the mission began, it had probably 8,000.<sup>2</sup>

The greatest burden for the missionary who is all alone on this island—apart from the fact that he must deal with a stupid, barbarian, coarse people who dislike the Christian faith—is the despair of his own soul because to make his confession, he must travel either to the main Island of Guahan, which is 40 miles, or to the Island of Rota, which is 24 miles away. If he becomes ill, he must travel as far, if God allows him enough time, but it is often impossible to sail from one island to the next, partly because of the inconsistent winds, partly because of the dangerous condition of the Mariana canoes, whose construction I will briefly describe here.

#### [Description of Chamorro canoes]

The Mariana Islanders make their canoes from the *Dave* [sic]<sup>3</sup> tree, or as the Spaniards call it, *Palo Maria*, from which a balm is extracted that is known to European pharmacies.<sup>4</sup> If we were situated closer to them, I could ship them barrels of it. The

1 Ed. note: He was then 50 or 51 years old.

2 Ed. note: This figure had been grossly exaggerated (see my HM4:15-16 for comments).

3 Ed. note: A misprint for "Daog". The scientific name is *Calophyllum inophyllum*. In the Philippines, where it is called *bitanhol*, or *dangcalan*, it was first used to make the futtock-timbers, knees and compass-timbers of all the ships built there by the Spanish (ref. B&R 18:169, 173), but later on it was only used for ship top-masts and yards, as better woods were found for most ship-building needs; it is a wood equal or superior to pine, both in strength and lightness (B&R 51:148).

4 Ed. note: The author may be mistaken here. I have found no reference to any medicinal property.

stem of this tree is almost identical to walnut, but while its wood is subject to rot outside the water, it becomes harder and stronger in the water. From this tree they cut thin boards and hollow slats<sup>1</sup> hardly a finger in thickness. They place these neatly on top of each other and tie them together with cords. They seal or coat the joints with a certain mortar made of ground stone and lime which remains so tight, even in rough seas, that not a drop of water can get through. The length of the canoe is usually 14 yards, its height hardly 4 spans, and the width 3 spans. As far as their shape is concerned, there is no difference between the prow and the poop, which means that they can quickly change direction. The natives call such a vessel *Sagman*. Their sails resemble our rush blankets, but they are triangular like rabbit's ears. The little mast is made from a tree called *Pago*, which resembles our elder<sup>2</sup> bushes. The ropes are braided from coconut coir, while the fishing nets are knitted together from a certain sea grass which they call *Loo* or *Roo*. In every canoe of this kind are usually three people, one at the helm, one at the oars, while the third bails out the water.<sup>3</sup> The first man is called *Umurin*, the second *Manuxai*, the third *Manuhgui*.<sup>4</sup> To prevent the storm from capsizing the boat, it is balanced by means of 2 [outrigger] poles, which are added in raft-fashion and weighted down at the end by a *Richa* or wooden block.<sup>5</sup> The Mariana Islanders are masters at handling this vessel and are not worried about drowning or being shipwrecked.

On such a vessel I was transported to the Island of Rota (also called Santa Ana) last February, not without danger, for we had hardly gone for two hours, when the sea began to boil with a strong head-wind. What to do? We could not turn back because of the very rugged entrance to the harbor and the wild sea; to sail ahead would have meant nothing but suicide. The only way out was to head for the then-uninhabited Island of Tinian. As we headed for this island, the yard broke twice, while the mast bent down sharply, and the canoe was almost filled with water. But God, through the pleas of His Mother and Saint [Francis] Xavier chose to save us, and we arrived safely at said Island of Tinian. During the 5 days which we spent on this deserted island, I saw a cross erected on the spot where the Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach, from the Bohemian Province, was killed out of hatred for the faith. We had to do as best we could there with a palm tree, covering ourselves with its foliage, eating and drinking from its fruits. From

1 Translator's note: The term "hollow slats" is only a guess. I cannot find an explanation for the German word "Dillen," which may be dialect for "Dellen," meaning hollows.

2 Translator's note: "Holler" is the ancient form of "Holunder," which usually meant elder, but sometimes also lilac. Editor's comments: It is the wild hibiscus, or *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

3 Ed. note: In actual fact, the first two both had steering oars, but only one at a time acted as helmsman, depending on the direction the canoe travelled.

4 Ed. note: There may be some misprint(s). On long sea-going voyages, the first man, the *Umorin* was indeed the helm's man, or pilot. He was also the leader, a word related to Chamorri, in the same way as the Carolinian word *Tamol* was used to mean both chief, and pilot/navigator. The second word should probably be spelled Mamorai; the original Latin text needs to be checked.

5 Ed. note: That is, the solid float. *Richa* is another Chamorro word not previously recorded.

here, because all our canoes were badly damaged, I sent one back to Fr. Pedro Cruy-dolf who sent me some others to come to my assistance, and these finally returned me safely to the Island of Rota.

The Island of Rota or Santa Ana lies half-way between the two Islands of Guahan and Saypan. It is very mountainous, its roads are rough and rocky. Fifty years ago, about 4,000 souls were counted here instead of the 344 who live here now.<sup>1</sup> On this island, the Ven. Fr. Carlos Boranga from our Austrian Province has shed his blood for the sake of the Gospel. This martyr's memory is my greatest joy here, although I am no longer provided with a house or a church, both of which were destroyed last year by a severe storm, together with the fruit trees. I am now up to my neck in re-building these; both are named after Saint Francis Borgia. If all the people on this island were living close together, it would not be so much work to look after them, but since they are spread out over the whole island in various villages, administration is a chore. The two villages to the north and the two villages to the south are as far away from my residence [at Sosa] as the distance between Graz in Styria and the church of Our Lady at Fernitz.<sup>2</sup> The other three are somewhat closer. Their names are Seac and Gagani, Targua and Titito, Sosan-haya, Sosa-nago, and Mirine.<sup>3</sup> The former village of Agusan, where the Ven. Fr. Boranga has suffered, has been razed and is now deserted.<sup>4</sup>

**[The death of Fr. Boranga in 1684]**

As I was told personally by a reliable man who was an eyewitness, his death occurred in the following manner. Said Fr. Carlos then administered the residence at Agusan, when the rebellion against the Christian faith started on the main Island of Guahan. But he knew as little about such a rebellion as did his colleague, the Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach, who had his seat at Sosanago where I am in fact living now. The barbarians sent a boat from the main island of Guahan to said Island of Rota with the order to kill both Fathers, hoping that once these two Jesuits were dead, everything would be safe for the mutiny. The conveyers of this order were from the Island of Saypan, whose inhabitants would gladly have carried out the murder of these priests. When they went in arms straight to Sosanago, they asked where the missionary was. The Indians who served him told them that they could not speak with him because he was otherwise engaged. So they went straight to Agusan and went into the parish house where they

1 Ed. note: The earlier statistic is not credible, as I have said many times before.

2 Ed. note: Both of these places are in SE Austria, near the Slovenian border.

3 Ed. note: Two of those names cannot be tied accurately to modern place names on Rota: Seac, and Mirine. However, Targua is recognizable as a misprint for Tatgua, Titito is the same as Teteto (two former villages on the north coast), and Sosa South and Sosa North correspond to Rota Village today. Gagani, or Gagane, is on the south coast, just east of Poniya Point (N° MI 14-28 in Bryan's Place Names). Seac must have been close to Gagani; it is perhaps a misprint for Sao.

4 Ed. note: The paragraph that follows is virtually the same as that of his letter to Fr. Sigismund Pusch, of same date (see Doc. 1685X2).

wounded the Ven. Fr. Carlos mortally in the head as well as in the throat and left him there half-dead. After the deed was done, they returned to their homeland, namely the Island of Saypan. Only on the following day did said Fr. Carlos die of his wounds. Therefore, he was not killed with a club, but with spears, and not by the Islanders of Rota (as a certain Father has written), but by the Saipanese. I have looked for his bones, but could not find them.<sup>1</sup>

**[Ancient Chamorro customs]**

The Mariana Islanders used to be a savage people who—as mindless animals—followed only their natural instincts. They knew nothing about God, but they did believe in an immortal soul which they thought would remain on earth after death and come to the assistance of its worshippers when invoked. That is why Satan, who in other places is worshipped himself, had accomplished here at least that the damned souls were invoked, that the skulls, bones and such were diligently preserved by the Mariana Islanders, and that they were honoring the departed souls, which they call *Aniti* in singular and *Manganiti* in plural. But they had neither temples nor sacrifices. While all islanders worshipped the souls, those did not communicate with everyone. That is why their sick were brought to the *Macahna* or **miracle workers**, who addressed the souls with the following prayer: **“Oh, Father Spirit, I beg you to make this sick person healthy again within a year. I beg you to hear me; it would be better for him to die than to remain as sick as he is.”** As he was saying these words, he continuously sprayed water on the patient. If he recovered within a year, he had to become the *Macahna*'s servant out of gratitude. However, not every *Macahna* had the power to heal patients. Some had powers for fishing, others for rain, some for fire pulled down from the sky, others for the winds. Since some had an amusing spirit, some a merciful spirit, others a cruel spirit, they were either loved, hated or feared, respectively. Their hair, bones and other remains were preserved as great treasures. I have recently turned one such skull and a leg bone into ashes.

In my opinion, the superstitious use of water has to do with the custom that it is considered highest hospitality to offer water to a guest (for drinking or for washing his hands and feet), for which they use the following words: *Ho ati*, I give you water; *Ho ati canoimo*, I give you water for washing your hands; *Ho ati adingmo*, I pour water for washing your feet. Such a superstition in relation to their dead is still very strong in them. Although all of them are baptized Christians, one must constantly remind them of their duties with words and blows, because they are children of fear who want to be trained and forced with the rod. As soon as one has a kind word for them, they become unruly and haughty.

I asked one of them what in the early times, when they had known nothing of God, they had thought of the lights in the sky. He said: **“Oh, *Sayna* (this word means Father, and it is their highest title of honor), we believed that the stars in the sky grow as**

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1 Ed. note: The bones had been shipped to Austria in 1692 (see Doc. 1720B).

the trees do on earth. As far as the sun and moon are concerned, we believed what our old songs say, which is that *Puntan* gave birth to *Acha*, who after the death of *Puntan* took his eyes to make the sun and the moon, the skin of his abdomen to make the firmament, his shoulders to make the earth with mountains and valleys. He took the other bones to make all other creatures, and he took his wind (pardon the expression) to make thunder and his urine to make the sea. I inquired further whether they had not realized that such fiction is laughable and impossible, considering that *Puntan*, since he died, must have been created by another being. He answered: “Oh, Father, it was not our custom to think about such things. Our only concern was eating, drinking, fornicating, going for walks, and revenging injustices. After your arrival, we gradually opened our eyes a little.”

There were uneven ways in which they calculated time, some were dividing the year in 12, others in 13 months. They were so stubborn about this that they often fought bitter war against one another over it. However, their battles did not last very long. As soon as blood was shed, the retreat was sounded, and both sides sent emissaries to the opposite side bearing gifts consisting of turtle shells, which was the only treasure they used in lieu of gold, silver and money, of which they knew nothing yet. But now, while turtle shells are still in use, they much prefer money, so much so that to this hour it has not been possible to retrieve the cups belonging to the priests they killed. Then they say: *i Calix maulig nga ginelia, sa ti memachuda*, which means: **the cup is a good implement because it does not break easily.**

They have neither clocks nor is their day divided into even hours, although they do give distinctive names to the different times of day, as the following table explains:

<i>Schatanmag</i>	<b>before daybreak</b>
<i>Masta agupa</i>	<b>daybreak</b>
<i>Manena</i>	<b>a clear day</b>
<i>Sumpod adao</i>	<b>sunrise</b>
<i>Fanmagngan</i>	<b>3 hours after sunrise</b> (when the young people rest from their work)
<i>Guin singao rahi</i>	<b>4 or 5 hours after sunrise</b> (when the men rest from their work)
<i>Taro adao</i>	<b>noon</b>
<i>Nga tugua gui adao</i>	<b>about 1 p.m.</b> (when the sun is in decline again)
<i>Ehaan</i>	<b>about 2 p.m.</b> (when the day is becoming noticeably shorter)
<i>Ghan Fanghoyong machocho</i>	<b>about 3 p.m.</b> (when work continues)
<i>At nga sarineyan adao</i>	<b>toward evening</b> (when the sun is still as high as the mast of a canoe)
<i>Quetereg adao</i>	<b>when the sun is about to set</b>
<i>Sumaas adao</i>	<b>immediately past sunset</b>
<i>Matimoim Tartao</i>	<b>dusk</b> (when the people come in from the street)
<i>Gape</i>	<b>supper time</b>

<i>Papringi</i>	<b>night</b>
<i>Gosgape</i> or <i>Cudhud</i>	<b>deep of the night</b>
<i>Taro poingi</i>	<b>midnight</b>
<i>Abysmus</i>	<b>after midnight</b>

They do not count their time by days, but by nights, and they will therefore not say **1, 2 or 3 days ago**, but **1, 2 or 3 nights ago**.

They used to live without law or authorities because no-one had anything to do with one another. But they divided themselves into three different classes, namely the aristocracy, the middle class, and the commoners. The highest class is called *Matóá*, the middle class *Acháot*, the third *Mangachang*. It would have been a disgrace to marry a woman from a lower class. They had their divorce rules,<sup>1</sup> almost as the old Hebrews did, but the husband had to leave all belongings to the wife. As the women played the master, many men remained single, living together in one house. Single women did the same, and they were called *Lao*, while the men were called *Urritáo*. The latter used to visit one another as they wished, maintaining a disgusting familiarity.

When the late Fr. Sanvitores arrived, about 50,000 [sic] souls were counted on these 13 islands.<sup>2</sup> Now, they are all collected on only three islands and do not amount to more than 5,000. If they were all to live together on the main island, a few priests could take care of them, but the greed of the Spanish potentates does not allow such an assembly.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons why these unruly people have been so greatly reduced are as follows: First of all, countless children have died shortly after baptism. Secondly, the constant unrest and the resulting hardships have cost many lives. But to the excluded from this are the islanders from Rota who are the best among all the natives of the Marianas and have always been loyal to their King. Thirdly, many have died of anxiety over the old freedom they lost and the Spanish yoke which they found unbearable. Fourthly, since they constantly fled from one island to another, many have drowned at sea in storms and bad weather. Fifthly, a certain disease, the cause of which is still unknown, killed countless numbers of Mariana Islanders in 1709 and 1710. Perhaps the reason was their disbelief in and misuse of the holy sacraments, as it used to be with the Corinthians of whom Saint Paul writes: **“Therefore many among you are weak and sick, and many die.”**<sup>4</sup> Just as those Corinthians, the Mariana Islanders had posed as devout Christians and partaken of holy communion, but a few years ago their masks were finally torn off, and the mantle under which they had hidden their villainy was removed.

- 1 Translator's note: The expression “schied-Brief” is hard to translate, as “schied” could mean divorce or separation, but also decision, judgment.
- 2 Ed. note: This fact could not have been known to this author; he was probably copying from the book by Fr. García (not from copies of the original annual reports, because they had been destroyed in 1684). If Fr. Coomans had been alive, he would have set him straight about population statistics.
- 3 Translator's note: The original in German is similarly confused.
- 4 Ed. note: Another possible quote reads: “That is why many of you want strength and health, and not a few have died [literally, have fallen asleep].” I Cor. 11:30.

Evidence was shown that they were *Macahna* or magic-soul worshippers, and much superstitious sorcery medicine was found with them. It cannot be described how carefully we must deal with them, specially when they are asking for holy communion, so that they do not consume the body of Christ in an unworthy fashion, just as food. Last Easter, I could not help but cry because at a time when in Europe all Christians confess and take communion, I could hardly count 10 communicants on my entire island, and even to those I gave the body of Christ in fear and apprehension, so as not to bring such an Easter service to a complete halt.

I ask Your Reverence to pray in earnest for these carnal Christians in whom the light of faith, which they received in baptism, has almost completely gone out. Although I provide them with clothes in abundance, they will not wear them but insist upon walking about as naked as swine. For that reason, the Reverend Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, who worked under God's protection on the Island of Saypan for 40 years, in disregard of the wounds that he received and the dangers to his life that he faced, whose life ended a few years ago like that of another Saint Xavier, has said not once but many times that **all those sent to the Indies would be cheated in a strange way.** But to console ourselves in view of such adversity and also to renew our vows and our spirits, we all meet once a year on the feast of Saint Ignatius on the main Island of Guaham,<sup>1</sup> when we also have an opportunity to discuss the state of our missions. However, the Fathers who live on the main island congregate twice a year. The more our spirit evaporates in the course of our daily business, the more it is necessary to have such a renewal. In addition to my pastoral work, I also must feed the pigs and chickens, plant and cultivate roots and other crops, and do similar menial work, so that I not only have enough food for myself and my servants,<sup>2</sup> but can also provide a little help to the sick Spaniards and other foreigners when they are passing through on the way from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands.

In closing, I must say a word about the language of the Mariana Islanders, which is very short and—because it has so many words with a double meaning—is very practical for mocking. Its advantage in comparison with other languages is that as far as food, fishing and navigation are concerned, it is abundantly endowed with words. On the other hand, the secrets of our faith can hardly be explained in that language. Not to speak of many other concepts, there are no words for God, kingdom or guilt, or to describe the power of the soul, since they do recognize the soul but cannot differentiate its virtues and characteristics. For that reason, our first missionaries, in arguing against their error, asked them this main question: **“Where do you have such a high ladder on which you may climb into the sky?”** When they said nothing, the missionary asked further: **“Where did the *Acha* take the ladder on which he stood to make the sky from the skin of *Puntan*, and how did he attach the firmament, the sun**

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1 Ed. note: The date is 31 July.

2 Translator's note: He does not really say “my servants,” but simply “myself and mine,” indicating that there are others in his household.

**and the moon?"** One of them answered: **"Father, your question is too difficult for us. Tell us yourself how we should answer it."** From this, he said, you shall recognize the importance of your delusion about *Puntan* and *Acha* as well as learn how all things were created and accept a better doctrine from me.

Because their language is completely worldly and carnal, that is to say without any spiritual words or names, I must resort to the following detour when I want to tell someone: **"God will either bless you or damn you: *Dios*** (for even the name of God we must borrow from the Spanish language) ***will either make you climb up into heaven or plunge you down into a fiery pit where you will burn without end.*"**

Because they do not have a word for kingdom, we must circumscribe the prayer **"Thy Kingdom come"** by saying: ***Let us have that by which you may become truthful and happy.*** For that reason, whenever we talk to them about the Holy Ghost, communion, grace, sacrament, baptism and so forth, we use Spanish words: *Spirito Santo, confesar, comulgar, gracia, sacramentos, bautizar, etc.* But it is easier for them to pronounce such words than to understand them because they do not want to bother at all with the spiritual, although there is hardly one among them who cannot recite the catechism by heart.

I have already made so much progress in learning this wild language that I can not only hear confession, but can also preach the Christian doctrine. So that I can help many Mariana Islanders to be saved, I urgently need the prayers of Your Reverence and those of the entire Province, for which I beseech.

From the Island of Rota, or Santa Ana, 27 May 1719.

**Your Reverence's**

Least Servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.



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## Documents 1719B

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# Two letters from Major Quiroga to the King, dated 1719 and 1720

*Sources: AGI Fil. 95-1 & -2, documents n° 1, 3 & 6; also in AGI Ultramar 561; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 247v-257.*

*Note: The English translations of B1 & B2 are compliments of the Micronesian Seminar's Director, Fr. Francis X. Hezel, S.J.*

### B1. First letter, dated 8 June 1719

*Summary: He reports that Governor Pimentel had ordered the internal exile of two Jesuits, Father Ignacio de Ibarguen, Vice-Provincial, and Father Antonio Cantova, Rector of the college, but that he was able to avoid carrying out this order by claiming sickness.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor*

*Habiendome el Gobernador de estas islas Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, mandado de parte de V.M. que fuese con soldados à ejecutar dos decretos del mismo Gobernador en que desterraba dos Padres de esta Mision, el uno el Padre Ignacio Ibarguen, Vice-Provincial y el otro el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, rector de este Seminario de Agaña, y Ministro de este Presidio, me escusé por estar enfermo en la cama, como era la verdad, y por constarle al Gobernador admitió mi excusa. Pero me alegro de haberme hallado enfermo, porque me parece que V.M. no se habia de dar por bien servida de mi en esta ocasion, que me consta y no dudo que constará tambien à V.M. de la inocencia de estos dos sugetos y de los demas padres de esta Mision.*

*Lo que yo puedo asegurar à V.M. es, que en cuarenta años que he tratado muy intimamente los Padres de esta Mision siempre me han parecido en sus palabras y hechos unos angeles de Dios, y unos hombres apostólicos, verdaderos hijos de S. Ignacio y herederos de su espiritu, asi los presentes, como los pasados, pues no solo han empleado y emplean todo lo que tienen de V.M. en bien corporal y alivio de estos pobres naturales contentandose para su persona de loa preciso y escaso sustento sin regalos, ni comodidades, mirando à no darles trabajo, antes procurando que no se lo dieran otras personas sino tambien han empleado y emplean todos sus cuidados en el provecho espiritual de los mismos, con varios medios, y trazas que les han costado à unos la sangre y à otros los sudores, la salud y la vida.*

*Por lo que toca à los dos Padres contra los cuales por otra mano se ha ya ejecutado el destierro con desconsuelo y desamparo de estos pobres indios y Españoles, à mi entender no ha habido causa ninguna, por que si el Vice-Provincial no quiso dar las cuentas del Seminario fué por no poder conforme su instituto, segun el dice, y segun à mi tambien parece, por haber siempre oir decir que los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus no admiten estos colegios sino esentos de dar cuentas mas que à sus superiores y de hecho seguro el dicho Padre con esta razon apelo à V.M. y fué admitida primero su apelacion que despues se le bolbió à rebocar; ni me puede pasar por la imaginacion que los dichos Padres administren mal la limosna que da V.M. para el Colegio, pues veo lo bien que la emplean en provecho de estos niños.*

*El Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, à quien trata este Gobernador de rebeltoso é inquieto y de imprudente, asi en los pulpitos como en las confesiones, yo le he oido vastantes veces predicar y siempre me han parecido muy santas y muy razonables, y prudentes sus proposiciones. De las confesiones, no puedo dar tanta razon y puedo solamente decir que habiendo à veces en Agaña hasta cuatro confesores ni à mis oidos ha llegado contra el Padre quexa ninguna sino esta del Gobernador de que no quiero saber la causa[;] antes he oido, y el fruto grande que despues de su llegada se ha hecho en esta Ciudad las muchas combersiones y mutaciones de vida, todo sin ruido, sin inquietud, y sin escándalo aunque me dicen ahora que este Gobernador en un escrito contra los Padres, que yo no he querido leer, le levanta al dicho Padre Cantova, y a todos los demas varias calumnias de que estraño muchisimo y estoy muy desconsolado por el crédito en que he tenido, y tengo mas ahora à estos Santos varones, por la paciencia, humildad y mansedumbre, con que se han portado siempre, y mas ahora en estos ultimos trabajos.*

*Espero en la bondad de Dios y recta justicia de V.M. que todo se compondrá à mayor gloria de Dios, quien guarde à V.M. dilatados años para el bien de su Monarquia.*

*De estas islas Marianas y Junio 8 de 1719.*

*B.L.R.P. de V.M. su menor vasallo,*

*José de Quiroga y Losada.*

### **Loose translation.**

Sire:

The Governor of the Marianas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, has just ordered the exile of two priests, Fr. Ignacio Ibarguen and Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova—the first is Vice-Provincial and the second is Rector of the seminary in Agaña. Since I was sick in bed at the time, the Governor excused me from carrying out the orders. I was just as happy since I felt that the two priests were innocent. In the 40 years that I have worked with the priests intimately, they have always seemed to me to be true sons of St. Ignatius and heirs of his spirit.

The people here, native and Spanish, were shocked at hearing what happened. The only cause was that the Vice-Provincial would not give over the funds for the seminary since he could not do so in compliance with the constitution of the Society of Jesus. But

he said that people should not imagine that he misuses the funds that Your Majesty gives to the school.

Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova was accused of being rebellious and upsetting in what he preaches and in his advice in the confessional. I have heard him preach many times, and he seems reasonable and prudent to me. There has never been any word of his offence in the confessional. They say that the Governor has charged the priests with scandal in writing, but I have no desire to read this recital of calumnies.

I hope in the goodness of God and the justice that Your Majesty will bring about, and that all will work out to the greater glory of God. May He keep Y.M. for many more years for the good of the Monarchy.

From these Mariana Islands, 8 June 1719.

He who kisses the royal feet of Y.M., your minor vassal,  
José de Quiroga y Losada.

## B2. Second letter, dated 26 May 1720

*Summary: He reports on the temporal and spiritual conditions of the Mariana Islands, and the bad treatment of the natives by Governor Pimentel.*

*Note: Besides the following loose translation by the Micronesian Seminar, another translation by Marjorie C. Driver has since been published in JPH 27:1 (1992): 101-106.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor*

*Los grandes males que suceden en estas islas Marianas, donde tengo la dicha de haber servido à V.M. mas de cuarenta años, procurando la reduccion de estos indios à nuestra Santa fé y à la obediencia de las Magestades Católicas me obligan à solicitar de su real providencia el remedio presentando sinceramente à V.M. los verdaderos informes del estado espiritual y temporal de estas islas.*

#### [Population decline and poverty of the natives]

*El estado temporal es digno de lastima por que los naturales que al principio de la conquista pasaban de cincuenta mil en una sola isla, ahora entre todas las islas no llegan à cuatro mil y muchos de estos enfermos y llagados y todos en una extrema pobreza y miseria[;] la causa de tanta pobreza y desdicha ha sido en primer lugar la venganza del Todopoderoso, que por su pasada resistencia y dureza en admitir nuestra Santa fé, y en matar los Ministros del Evangelio los ha alcanzado y asi acabado con varias epidemias: pero parese que para castigarlos se ha servido y cada dia mas se sirve su divina Magestad, no solo de las causas naturales y necesarias, sino tambien de las libres, esto es de este presidio y de la crueldad de los Alcaldes mayores Españoles y muy particularmente de las injusticias de este último Gobernador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, que con los intolerables trabajos, y sin el alivio de la paga los van consumiendo de modo tal que algunos cayendo enfermos no quieren curarse porque dicen mas vale una vez morir, que vivir continuamente rebentando. Estos trabajos que son presente la causa*

*del estado miserable de estos pobres naturales son casi todos excusables, por que no sirven sino à la codicia del Gobernador y de los Alcaldes.*

*Tales son primero el mandar à coger alcaparras en cantidad por muchos meses del año à todos los hombres y a veces tambien à las mugeres para venderlas à carisimo precio en el Galeon à Patache, ó en Manila ó en Acapulco, Este trabajo es muy recio y peligroso por los peñascos y despeñaderos donde se han de coger las alcaparras bien lexos de lo habitado; con todo eso no se paga sino con pocas ojas de tabaco tan ruin que muchas veces los indios lo tiran.*

*2º Los Petates, danglones, velas de embarcaciones, que por ser las obras mas aseadas de estas islas tienen estimacion en Filipinas donde las manda à vender el Gobernador de Marianas, y aqui las paga como todo lo demas con poquissimas ojas de Tabaco malo.*

*3º Las sementeras particulares asi de arroz como de otras maizes de la tierra, de maiz[,] de sandias, melones, frijoles, unas para su propio regalo, y otras (como las de arroz maiz y raizes) para vender al presidio, ú à otras personas, partiendo la ganancia con los alcaldes, los cuales parte por la propia codicia parte por miedo del Gobernador atarean sin piedad à los indios; siendo la causa al mismo tiempo de que los pobres malogren sus propias sementeras, porque han de dexar para el Gobernador la mejor tierra, y gastar lo mas del tiempo y del trabajo.*

*4º Muchos gallineros y chiqueros en cada partido, y cada uno de estos Gallineros y chiqueros tiene uno dos ó tres indios de asiento que no se ocupan en otra cosa sino en cuidarlos con la sola paga acostumbrada de dos ó tres hojas de Tabaco por cada dia sin darles en varios partidos nada de comer y asi siendo casados la muger ha de ir à buscar la comida para el marido; siendo solteros han de remudarse y mientras el uno va à buscar la comida queda el otro a la guardia de los cerdones y de las gallinas dexando aun de oír misa todos los dias festivos. Para el sustento tambien de estos cerdones se ocupan cada semana uno ó dos dias casi todos los indios é indias del partido en buscar y cachar coco, sin otra paga que la de dos ó tres ojas de Tabaco. Todo esto pasa debaxo de color del bien comun de la infanteria, pero casi todo en la realidad es particular provecho del Gobernador el cual vende bien caro à los mismos soldados las gallinas los cerdones, la manteca[,] el azeite, menos lo que le hurtan los Alcaldes para vender à su cuenta ó para agasajar à sus amigos. Es cosa en la verdad digna de lastima que habiendo tantas gallinas que se crián con nombre del bien comun de la infanteria un pobre soldado por mas que este emfermo no comera gallina en su vida si no la compra ó no se la dan de limosna los Padres. Hay ademas en algunos partidos indios señalados por cazadores, y otros por pescadores del Rey, pero de la Caza y de la pesca el Gobernador da una parte a la infanteria y parte la vende.*

*Finalmente dexando otras cosas menos considerables, casi en todos los partidos de esta isla de San Juan, manda el Gobernador sacar vino, y aguardiente de coco, y luego lo vende menudeado en el Cuerpo de guardia, ó en su tienda à precio exorbitante, la paga de todos estos trabajos segun lo dicho arriba son unas vilisimas hojas de Tabaco de tal manera que valuando el Tabaco aqui en Marianas al doble de lo que vale en*

*Manila el trabajo de un dia aunque recio, se viene à pagar à estos indios con la vigesima parte de un real de plata en una tierra donde un pobre para merear cuatro varas del genero mas vil que se vende en la tienda del Gobernador para hacerse un Calzon tiene menester à lo menos seis ú ocho reales y por lo consiguiente el trabajo de cuatro ó seis meses en los cuales si quiere trabajar con calzon como combiene à la modestia Cristiana lo ha de gastar dos ó tres veces por la ruindad del género, y asi es cosa ordinaria que los Padres vistan de limosna à los indios que sirven al Gobernador, para que no vayan desnudos; yo tambien en cuanto puedo no dexo de socorrer las necesidades de estos Pobres, pues me parece que no puedo hallar mejor empleo al sueldo que V.M. me concede que el dar de comer al hambriento y vestir al desnudo.*

*Hay otros trabajos que parecen inescusables estos son:*

*1º las sementeras de maiz, y otros panes de la tierra, para el sustento de la infanteria en que se ocupan à lo menos un dia de la semana casi todos los indios; los varones en el trabajo las mugeres en el de buscarles y traerles la comida, lo cual no es menos trabajo en eta tierra; y donde esto no se practica los varones que trabajan se han de prevenir la comida ó no esmerar aquel dia.*

*2º Los grumetes del barco y otros marineros de todos los partidos para el acarreo asi continuo de viveres y de otros trastes.*

*3º Los grumetes de la estancia de Apurguan, los cuales de ordinario son dos de cada partido, y se remudan unos cada semana y otros cada mes. Estos se ocupan en dicha estancia en cazar toros del monte en hacer cal y carbon, y sementeras para la infanteria ademas de los vaqueros que guardan el ganado manso y de los carreteros que andan con las carretas.*

*Pero todos estos trabajos aunque parezcan inescusables, con todo eso se pudieran escusar en parte y en parte aliviar. Se pudieran escusar à los indios los trabajos de la estancia de Apurguan, que son los mas intolerables para ellos, por haber de dexar sus casas y sus mugeres, y ser tratados en dicha estancia peor que esclavos. Se pudiera (donde andan varatos) unos esclavos Malavares à este fin; conforme à lo que los Padres le han aconsejado. Se aliviara tambien à los indios de trabajo necesario, si se les diera en los dias del trabajo comida y paga suficientes.*

*Finalmente seria un gran alivio de estos naturales si se minorara el presidio reduciendolo à cincuenta ó sesenta plazas, pues estas bastan para mantener en la debida obediencia tan pocos indios ya sugetos y mansos. Ahora estan en plaza entre Españoles y Filipinos mas de ciento y treinta; y tantas plazas no sirven sino para oprimir à los naturales y para llenar de pesos la bolsa del Gobernador, y la tierra de escandalos.*

*En lo dicho hasta ahora tiene V.M. un ensayo de la desdicha temporal de estos naturales; pero no es nada inferior la miseria de los Españoles y Filipinos que sirven à V.M. en este presidio.*

*Primeramente por el sueldo que en estos ultimos años se les da menguado: esta mengua de sueldo la atribuyo en parte al acrecentamiento de las plazas, y en parte no se à que atribuirle, y asi teniendo cada uno poco que gastar lo ha de gastar todo con que todo va à parar muy presto à la tienda del Gobernador.*

2° *Por los precios esorbitantes de esta misma tienda donde unicamente se venden los géneros el chocolate, el azucar, tabaco[,] vizcocho, miel, vino, aguardiente, otras cosas con la ganancia de trescientos cuatrocientos ó quinientos por ciento, y en faltando un año el Galeon ó el Patache de Manila suben luego los precios doblados, hasta ganar mil y dos mil por ciento; injusticia horrible singularmente en esta tierra sumamente pobre y donde no hay otra tienda que la del Gobernador.*

3° *Por la racion de ropa: esta en tiempo de mi Gobierno y de otros Gobernadores se daba tan abundante que daba gusto el ver à esta infanteria marchar tan lucida con sus libreas bien aseadas: ahora no se les da casi nada para cubrirse y asi andan los mas no solamente sin librea (que ya no se les da) sino tambien sin medias, sin zapatos, cuasi desnudos ciertamente muy indecentes aun en el dia de solemnidad cuando marchan con el Gobernador y varios se cubren las carnes con lo que reciben de limosna de los Padres, ó de otra parte. El mismo Gobernador que habia de insistir a que los soldados de V.M. andubiesen decentes, coopera mucho à lo contrario; por que el dia que les da aquella escasa racion de ropa luego les ofrece por mano de sus criados unos reales por ella, y muchos se la venden por una nada, para tener unos reales con que jugar.*

4° *El juego finalmente es una gran causa de la miseria de este Presidio, y este Gobernador en lugar de atajarlo en alguna manera lo promueve con todo esfuerzo: siendo suia la coyma, me la pidió para correr con ella, dexesela yo para escusar pleitos y con esto acaba el Gobernador de agotar la plata de esta tierra. Pues sobre el juego el dia del socorro vende por medio de sus criados varias cosas, chocolate, vizcocho, dulces, aguardiente de suerte que unos pierden la plata y otros que la ganan la gastan en dichas cosas, y todo con lo de la coyma va à parar en la bolsa del Gobernador. Hay otros que buscando con que jugar lo sacan fiado sobre el propio sueldo de la tienda del Gobernador veinte pesos en géneros y luego buelta à comprarlos con diez pesos en plata potable, con esto quedan deudores en la tienda de veinte pesos en plata que despues van à pagar con el socorro, y este es el estilo corriente de esta tienda de unos años à esta parte.*

*Casi todos asi Españoles como Filipinos estan de continuo empeñados en dicha tienda, y algunos lo estan por no perder la plaza, aunque pudieran estar desempeñados; teniendose por asentado que el Gobernador borra la plaza à los que sacan limpio su sueldo como ha sucedido à muchos por esta causa unicamente; entre los cuales hay algunos de los ancianos que han servido en este presidio fielmente à V.M. muchos años, y han pasado conmigo muchos trabajos en la conquista. A cada rato este Gobernador quita y pone y buelbe à quitar unas plazas; el primer mes que entra un soldado ó un oficial en la plaza no se le da el sueldo por que todavia no ha servido, cuando se le borra tampoco aunque halla cumplido el mes de servicio. Lo mismo sucede con la racion de ropa[.] al principio no se les da por no haberla todavia merecido, y al fin se les quita aunque la tenga debendada.*

*Dexo otras cosas de esta materia por pasar à lo mas digno de lástima, que es el estado espiritual de estas islas. Estos indios aunque en los años pasados fueron muy rebeldes y contumaces en admitir nuestra Santa Fé; ahora estan todos muy mansos y*

*christianos. Pero aquellos vicios de luxuria que llevan el mundo de maldades, tiene en modo especial perdida esta tierra y casi sin remedio; porque el zelo, el cuidado, el exemplo, de vida immaculada de los Padres, tienen muy poco fuerza contra el mal exemplo de muchos Españoles y Filipinos. Los mas de los Españoles que han venido en estos ultimos años de Nueva España, son como la basura de ella, unos huidos de sus Padres[,] otros desterrados[,] otros vagamundos, otros llenando cada dia mas esta tierra de escandalos, enseñando à los naturales los vicios que antes no conocian, y quitandoles el temor, y la verguenza para los que tenian ya conocidos: no dexan muger ni doncella, ni casada que no soliciten, y engañen, aprimiando aun con amenazas à los maridos para que les dexen à su infame alvedrio las propias mugeres y casas. Todo esto no dexa de saberlo el Gobernador porque claman los Padres, y claman los mismos escandalos tan descarados y universales, pero no le aplica el remedio que combiene ni consiente que se lo apliquen los Padres, y aunque algunos oficiales, ó Alcaldes ó criados suyos esten publicamente amancebados con unos disimula porque son de su privanza y otros declaradamente los ampara porque le son de provecho. Finalmente el mayor escandalo sale de Palacio; porque siendo este Gobernador hombre de edad y sin muger, ha tenido siempre en su casa como un Colegio de Niñas, el cual al principio no pareció muy mal, pero en el discurso del tiempo se han llegado à saber muchas cosas indignas de escribirse esto es deformidades y abominaciones propias de viejos dexados de la mano de Dios, y que no quieren dexar las mugeres aunque no esten mas para ellas: ya se ha buuelto en publico escandalo y murmuracion universal asi en Marianas como en Manila, hasta llamar al Palacio de este Gobernador con el nombre de serrallo del gran turco.*

*Estas niñas las casa despues con soldados unas con vastante consentimiento, y otras casi por fuerza, segun dicen ellas, y aun despues de casadas prosiguen algunas à vivir en Palacio amancebadas por el mismo Gobernador, los maridos si lo consienten suben muy brebe à los puestos militares de Alferes y Capitanes, si buelven sobre si, y quieren atajar la ofensa de Dios y su propia deshonrra, baxan con mayor brevedad de la con que subieron, pierden la gracia y el amparo del Gobernador, se les borra la plaza, son condenados al cepo y rebentados à palos, las mugeres con tal arrimo hacen de sus maridos, y à la primera ocasion los desamparan, y si se refugian en Palacio donde hallan pronto la acogida, los martirios de unos pobres maridos son insoportables.*

*Cada año acercandose con la Semana Santa el tiempo de cumplir con la Iglesia, se ha reparado alguna aparente enmienda por haberse despedido de Palacio estas mugeres pero despues de Pascua han siempre buuelto, y el escandalo se ha mantenido en pie; un exemplo tan perverso del mismo Gobernador vera V.M. el pesimo efecto que puede haber hecho en tantos años en estos indios naturales y filipinos, y criollos de Nueva España tan dispuestos por su parte à seguirlo.*

*El remedio que todos tenemos contra un tal vicio es el uso frecuente de los Santos Sacramentos. Pero aun à este se opone el Gobernador el cual como no confiesa y comulga sino una vez al año quisiera que todos siguieran su exemplo pues ha llegado à enojarse publicamente en la iglesia por haverse dado la Santa Comunion en la presencia, y se ha declarado con los Padres que no den la comunion estando el presente en la*

*iglesia. Cuando se confiesa por la Semana Santa el efecto ordinario de su confesion son rencores y quejas contra los confesores contando publicamente los cargos que le han hecho en la confesion, y amenazando de cortar las lenguas à los que sospechaba hubiesen noticiado a los Padres de sus escandalos, aunque eran notorios. Hay algunos que quisieran confesar y comulgar à menudo, pero no lo hacen por miedo del Gobernador y de sus familiares; porque los pocos que con valor cristiano frecuentan los Sacramentos han prdido por eso la gracia del Gobernador y algunos aun la plaza. A todos estos males han procurado los Padres de solicitar el remedio, asi con Sermones publicos como con consejos privados: pero siendo los años pasados tan corto el numero de padres ministros (por muerte de algunos de ellos) que el solo Padre Vice-provincial Ignacio Ibarguen habia de acudir ademas de su cargo à tres Ministerios uno de Españoles y dos de Indios, no podian ejecutar todo lo que les dictaba el celo, dos años ha esto es, y el año de 1718 pasó con la Nao la mision de la Compañia de Jesus para Manila, y dexó en Marianas por las muchas instancias que hicimos cinco Sacerdotes: con tal socorro de operarios se animaron de concierto los Padres à procurar primero la reforma de las costumbres de este presidio, lo hicieron con los Ministerios propios de su Santo instituto, y sobre todo con los ejercicios especiales de San Ignacio en iglesia, los cuales quisieron inducir con oportunas razones al mismo Gobernador para que animará à los otros con su exemplo; pero no fué posible aunque lo hubiese varias veces prometido. El fruto que resultó en los que acudieron à estos Santos ejercicios, fué la encienda muy notable de su vida, pero en los que dexaron de acudir especialmente en el Gobernador fué mover persecucion contra los recién combertidos como hipócritas y santurrones, y contra los Padres como inventores de novedades y perturbadores de la republica, hasta desterar al padre Ignacio Ibarguen, vice-provincial y Comisario del Santo Oficio, y al Padre Juan Antonio Cantova rector del Seminario, ambos sugetos de singular prudencia y virtud. Estos dos Padres eran los que habian inmediatamente trabajado por tener su residencia en esta Ciudad de Agaña el aprovechamiento principal de este presidio; y fueron indignamente estrañados à los Reynos de Castilla, con achaque de que no querian entregar las cuentas del Seminario que el Gobernador les pedia, y de que decian palabras escandalosas en los sermones y dilataban la absolucion à los Penitentes, y cosas semejantes; siendo todo una pura calumnia, y una invencion diabolica para estorvar el fruto y la salvacion de las almas.*

*El efecto que hizo esta persecucion fué el que podia desear el comun enemigo, esto es que los ans de los combertidos prevaricasen otra vez dexasen la comunicacion con los Padres espirituales y la frecuencia de los Sacramentos y los buenos propositos concebidos en los ejercicios.*

*El destierro se ejecutó hasta el Puerto de la Villa de Umatag, pero no fuera de las islas por no haber venido ese año ni el galeon ni el Patache de Manila. Entretanto el Gobernador bolbiendo en si mostro arrepentimiento, pidió perdon à los Padres retrató por escrito el decreto del destierro y otros papeles infamatorios de esta Santa y Apostolica Mision, que habia publicado, pidió y obtuvo la absolucion de las censuras que habia incurrido. Con todo eso no dexando el rencor contra los Padres: todavia se opone*



*à lo que intentan en bien de las almas quiere mal y persigue à los que comunican con ellos, y tiene toda esta republica parados[;] bolbió à intimar la estrañez al Padre Juan Antonio Cantova ahora Vice-provincial de esta Mision, solamente porque no quiso absolverle de la escomunion que habia dicho Gobernador incurrido por las violencias hechas à un retraidou sacado à fuerza de la iglesia y pretendia ser absuelto sin querer dar la mas minima satisfaccion à la parte agravada. Despues de algunos dias desistió del intento de estrañar al Padre Vice-Provincial, pero nunca ha desistido de mostrar con palabras y con hechos el mal ánimo que tiene contra los Padres.*

*Todos estos males me han finalmente movido à solicitar el remedio representando à V.M. el estado tan miserable de estas islas y de estos sus vasallos que imploran el amparo de su real clemencia, quien puede únicamente despues de Dios remediarlos. Todo lo espero de la piedad tan católica de V.M. que Dios guarde muy dilatados años à beneficio de toda la Monarquia.*

*De la Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agaña y Mayo 26 de 1720 años.*

*B.L.R.P. de V.M. su menor vasallo,*

*José de Quiroga y Losada.*

### **Loose translation.**

Sire:

The great evils that have befallen these islands in which I have had the fortune to serve you for 40 years while achieving the reduction of the islands compel me to seek a remedy from Your Majesty.

### **[Population decline and poverty of the natives]**

The sad fact is that the number of natives, which once exceeded 50,000 on a single island, is now barely 4,000 in all the islands, and many of these are sick, while all live in extreme poverty.<sup>1</sup> The cause of their poverty and misery is, first of all, the retribution of God for their resistance to the faith and their murder of the ministers of the Gospel. This retribution has just ended with various epidemics; but it is not just natural causes that have afflicted the people, but also the licentiousness of the garrison, the cruelty of the Spanish village mayors, and specially the injustices of the past Governor, Antonio Pimentel. He has imposed on the people intolerable work without pay which has worn them down to such an extent that some of those who fall ill do not now even want to be cured since they say it is better to die once than to live a life of continuous attrition. The labor that is the cause of their present misery is due to the greed of the Governor and the mayors. The latter forced the people to collect **capers**<sup>2</sup> in great quantity for several months of the year so that they can be sold at a high price to the galleon

1 Ed. note: We now know that the early estimates of population in the Marianas were grossly exaggerated, having been actually at most 20,000 in 1668.

2 Ed. note: In Spanish *alcaparras*. Capers are prickly bushes whose flower buds are used in flavoring food.

or the patache or in Manila or in Acapulco. This work is very hard and dangerous because they have to gather the capers far from their homes on the hills and precipices of the interior. The only payment the people get for this work is a few leaves of tobacco so bad that the natives often throw it away.

The mats used for boat sails,<sup>1</sup> one of the finest products of these islands, have a good market in the Philippines where the Governor sells them, paying the people only a few leaves of tobacco for them.

Some crops, specially rice, corn and root crops, together with melons and beans, are appropriated for his own table or sold to the garrison. Other persons enjoy the profits with the mayors, some of them out of greed and some of them out of fear of the Governor. The reason the people neglect their own crops is that they have to reserve for the Governor most of their land and spend most of their time and effort on these crops.

There are many who raise pigs and chickens in each village, and each of them has two or three natives who do nothing but care for these animals for the usual two or three leaves of tobacco. They are given no food [in return]—if they are married, their wives have to look for food for them; if they are single, they take turns in going out to look for food while the other watches the pigs and chickens, and they do not bother to attend mass on feast days. To provide food for the pigs all the men and women in the village must work one or two days weekly to collect coconut and make copra. Although all of this goes under the name of public support for the garrison, in actual fact the Governor profits from it by selling the chickens and pigs to the troops—and the lard and oil too, except for what the mayors steal to sell on their own account or to give to their friends. It is sad that, although there are so many chickens on the island, a poor soldier will not eat chicken at all in his life unless he pays for it or the priests give it to him out of charity. There are also some people in the villages appointed to hunt or fish for the Crown—in reality for the table of the Governor and for sale to the garrison. Finally, to omit matters of lesser importance, the Governor has the people make wine and *aguardiente* [coconut brandy] that he then sells at an exorbitant price to the troops at the Government storehouse. And the payment for all this work is a few leaves of tobacco which are priced at double their value in Manila. So a day's work, even hard work, is remunerated at the rate of a 20th of a silver *real*.<sup>2</sup> Yet in this place a poor man who wants to buy four yards [of cloth] to make himself a pair of trousers of the cheapest kind must spend at least 6 to 8 reals; hence, it takes him 4 to 6 months to earn enough for a pair of pants. So, the priests must supply these for the natives to keep them dressed modestly. I also help out to the extent that my resources allow me.

There are other enforced tasks that seem inexcusable. Firstly, the raising of crops for the support of the garrison—corn and other crops—in which all the natives work at least one day a week. The men do the work in the fields and the women gather the crops and bring the food to the Governor—not a small job in this place. Sometimes the men

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1 Ed. note: They were woven from the dried leaves of the screw-pine or pandanus tree.

2 Ed. note: A *real* was the 8th part of one peso.

do not eat on the day they do this work. Secondly, they must serve as stewards and sailors on the vessels that continuously bring supplies and other things to parts of the island. Thirdly, the stewards on the estate at Apurguan—usually two from each district who take turn with one another each week or each month. These men work on the estate hunting wild bulls, making lime and charcoal, and growing crops for the infantry. In addition, there are also the cow-boys who tend the domestic animals on the estate.<sup>1</sup>

These labors are bad enough, but the worst thing is that those working at the estate at Apurguan have to leave their homes and wives to be treated worse than slaves. All of this could be excused if the government had brought from Manila some Malabar slaves to handle these things, as the priests have suggested, or if the natives were paid for their work with food and adequate salary.

Finally, it would be a great help to the people if the garrison were reduced to 50 or 60 positions, since this is enough to keep the people peaceful and obedient. Now there are more than 130 Spanish and Filipino troopers, and this serves no other end than to oppress the people, fill the pockets of the Governor with pesos, and create scandals on the island.

I have spoken of the misery of the native people, but the **condition of the soldiers** serving in the garrison is no better. Their salary has decreased in recent years—partly because the number of positions has grown (without the funds to pay them), partly because the salary is not distributed to them. What they do have to spend goes very quickly to the Governor's storehouse.

Moreover, the prices of the supplies sold in the government storehouse are exorbitant. There alone can be bought chocolate, sugar, biscuit, tobacco, honey, wine, brandy and other things that are sold at 300, 400 or 500% profit. During the years that the galleon or the patache from Manila do not come, prices are doubled so that profits of 1,000 or 2,000% are made on the items. This is a terrible injustice in a place where there is no other source of supply than the Governor's storehouse.

Since the ration of cloth was so abundant during my governorship and that of others, it was a pleasure to watch the troops march by with their neat uniforms. Now they not only do not have uniforms, but they do not have shirts, shoes or other clothing. Even on feast days when they march with the Governor and others, they cover their bodies with whatever clothes they have received from the priests as gifts. The very Governor who insisted that the troops be dressed decently has made it impossible for them to do so because as soon as cloth becomes scarce he buys it all up and sells it at outrageous prices.

Gambling is another reason for the poverty of the garrison. Instead of trying to eliminate it, the Governor supports it with all his power. The Governor offered me a rake-off on the gambling and asked me to go along with it and ignore the fights that broke out. In this way, the Governor has exhausted the money in these islands. Besides

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1 Ed. note: This estate must have been a relatively-huge one, and occupy the whole of Maite and/or Tamuning of today.

the gambling, on the day of the arrival of the subsidy, the Governor has half of his servants selling various things: chocolate, biscuit, and brandy, with the result that some lost their salary on pay-day while those who won spent their earnings on the things being sold. All this, together with the rake-off on the gambling, goes into the pocket of the Governor. There are other people who look around for money to gamble with and so withdraw money against their salary from the Governor's storehouse. The Governor then gives them 20 pesos in credit, which he gives them in goods; he then buys the goods back at a price of 10 pesos. They then go off to gamble with the 10 pesos and remain in debt to the storehouse for 20 pesos, which they must later pay from their salary.

Almost all the Spaniards and Filipinos are in debt to the storehouse, and some are in debt so as not to lose their position, even though they could get themselves out of hock. It is a fact that the Governor removes the position of those who draw their salary in full without debt. This has happened to many people, including some of the old soldiers who served faithfully for many years during the conquest. Every once in a while the Governor withdraws, replaces and withdraws again some of the positions. For the first month that a soldier takes up his position, he is not given his salary because he has not served when his name was off the list, even though he has completed the full month's service. The same thing happens with the allotment of cloth: at the beginning they are not given it, because they have not yet entirely merited it, and at the end it is left out when the service ends.

I omit other things touching on the material condition of the people to get to the **spiritual condition of the natives**. The natives, rebellious and stubborn in the past, are today meek and Christian. But the vices of the world reign here since the holy lives of the priests have less force than the bad example of many of the Spaniards and Filipinos. Most of the Spaniards who have come in recent years from Mexico are scum: some chased out by their parents, others exiled or vagabonds. Some of them fill this land with scandals and teach the natives vices that they did not know before. There is not a woman, married or single, whom they do not pursue, often attempting to urge their husbands, even to the point of threat, to leave their houses and women to their lust. The Governor knows this, since the priests protest, but there is no remedy applied consistently by the priests. Even though some of the mayors and other officials are living in open concubinage, he dissimulates with respect to some of them and shelters others.

But the biggest scandal of all is that of the palace. The Governor, who is rather old and without a wife, has used his house for the girls' school. At first this did not seem bad, but as time went on people have come to know many things that should not be described here. The girls do not want to leave the palace, and the scandal has reached Manila where the Governor's palace [here] is called the harem of the Great Turk.

These girls later marry soldiers, some with some degree of consent but others almost by force, it is said. Even after they are married some continue living in the palace with the Governor in concubinage. If their husband agrees to this, they are promoted to the positions of lieutenant and captain in a short time, while those who object fall out of favor with the Governor, lose their position and are condemned to the stocks. Their

wives make a joke of their husbands, leave them at the first opportunity and flee to the palace where they are added to the collection of women.

Each year around Holy Week the Governor dismisses the girls from the palace, but after Easter they always return again.<sup>1</sup> The Governor's example has had the worst effect on the natives, the Filipinos and the *criollos*<sup>2</sup> who are already disposed to follow it. The Governor confesses and receives communion only once a year and apparently wants everyone else to follow his example, for he is annoyed when communion is given in his presence and has told the priests not to give communion when he is present in the church. The ordinary effect of his annual confession during Holy Week is rancor and quarrels against the confessors, for he accuses them of making known his sins, even though they are well known and public. There are some who would like to receive the sacraments more frequently, but refrain from doing so for fear of the Governor and his staff, since the few who frequent the sacraments have fallen from his favor and some have even lost their position. The priests have tried to correct these abuses through public sermons and private talks, but the number of priests has become so small through the death of some of them that the Vice-Provincial Ignacio Ibarguen alone has to take on three separate ministries, one for the Spaniards and two for the natives. The Jesuits have asked for five more priests...<sup>3</sup> They have asked the Governor to make a retreat several times in the hopes of inspiring him to set a good example, but he has not done so, although he has promised to do it on several occasions.

The Governor persecutes those who have changed their lives as hypocrites and sanctimonious persons, and he rails against the priests as inventors of novelties and rebels against the republic, even to the point of exiling Fr. Ignacio Ibarguen, the Vice-Provincial, and Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, Rector of the seminary. These two priests were the ones who had tried recently to have him make his residence in Agaña for the good of the garrison.<sup>4</sup> They were exiled to the Kingdoms of Spain on the pretext that they did not want to take on the accounts of the seminary that the Governor asked them to

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- 1 Ed. note: He did this in order to go to confession (a yearly obligation for Catholics then) and not be refused absolution.
  - 2 Ed. note: The creoles, or white men born in America.
  - 3 Ed. note: The translation is faulty at this point. The sentence should read: "This happened two years ago. In 1718, the galleon that passed by here was carrying a mission band of the Society of Jesus on its way to Manila. On account of the many requests that we made, it left five priests here. With such a succor of workers, the Fathers took courage and tried first to reform the customs of this garrison; they did so with the ministries that are proper to their holy Institute, and above all with the special exercises of St. Ignatius in the church." Ed. comment: The 5 priests who arrived in 1718 were: Fathers Halguero, Forneri, Bonani, Cantova, and Heipel.
  - 4 Ed. note: Apparently, he mostly lived in the so-called palace at Umatac.

do,<sup>1</sup> and that they said scandalous things in their sermons, delayed sacramental absolution, and the like—all of which was a calumny and pure invention.

The effect of this persecution was that most of the converts went along with this, cut off contact with the priests and stopped receiving the sacraments.

The exile was to the port of Umatac, not off the island since the galleon and the patache had not come that year.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, the Governor came to his senses, repented for what he had done, and asked forgiveness from the priests. He retracted the decree of exile and other defamatory papers that had been published, and so received absolution from the censures that he had incurred. But his bad feelings toward the priests continued and he continued to oppose their work for the good of souls. In recent days the Governor has again begun to hint that he might exile Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, now Vice-Provincial of the mission, since the latter did not want to absolve him of the excommunication that he incurred after his violence toward a shy person who was pulled away from the church by force.<sup>3</sup> He sought absolution, but without showing the slightest inclination to make satisfaction to the injured party. After some days he stopped speaking about exiling the Fr. Vice-Provincial, but he never desisted from showing enmity toward the Fathers by words and deeds.

All of these evils have finally moved me to solicit a remedy by placing before Y.M. the sad state of these Islands and of these your vassals who beg for the protection of your royal clemency, as you are the only one after God who can remedy them. I hope to get it all from the so Catholic piety of Y.M., whom may God save for many more years for the benefit of the whole Monarchy.

From the city of San Ignacio of Agaña, 26 May 1720.

José de Quiroga y Losada

### B3. Consideration by the Council of the Indies in 1722

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor*

...

*Con papel de 18 de Noviembre del año proximo pasado remitio al Consejo Don Andres de Pes [Les?] de orden de V.M. dos cartas de Don José de Quiroga y Losada Sargento mayor de las islas Marianas sus fechas de 8 de Junio de 1719, y 26 de Mayo de 1720, para que en vista de sus contenidos consulte à V.M. lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere.*

1 Ed. note: Perhaps this really means that they were unwilling to submit to an audit of such accounts, since they already controlled the funds.

2 Ed. note: In 1719 (see B1 above). Since there was no galleon either in 1720, all three of Quiroga's protest letters did not leave Guam until 1721.

3 Ed. note: The person, perhaps accused of some crime, had sought refuge in the church.

*Reduzese el de una y otra à espresar difusamente el lamentable estado en que se hallan aquellas islas y sus naturales con los irregulares procedimientos y escandalosa vida de su Gobernador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, y escesos de los Alcaldes Mayores Españoles que estan en ellas, de que se origina la total ruina espiritual y temporal de los pobres indios, pues empleandolos asi hombres como mugeres en la continuada fatiga de sementeras de frutos, pesca, caza de animales silvestres, y crianza de diferentes ganados sin satisfacerles su intolerable trabajo mas que con unas infimas ojas de tabaco, se hallan en la mas estrecha miseria y sugesion à la voluntad de dicho Gobernador sin poder adquirir el menos alivio en el padecer que experimentan, pues solo tiene el conato en el interes del comercio por todos los medios que le arbitra su codicia, hasta ser su casa publica tienda donde à muy crecidos precios se venden y trafican sus géneros sin esceptuar de sus lucros à la pobre infanteria de aquellas islas, obligandoles por varios modos à tomar ropas y otras cosas comestibles de forma que por esta razon y la de sus utilidades en la permission de juego, rara vez suelen percibir los sueldos en especie de dinero, pues cuando llega el situado se queda por este motibo la plata en poder de dicho Gobernador y los soldados continuamente empeñados y sin consuelo alguno, aun en la disposicion de que se hallen equipados de la preciso vestuario que necesitan por la indecencia y desnudez que padecen; à que se añade el mantener en su misma casa un recogimiento de niñas y mugeres con notable escandalo por las resultas que de ello producen; y que aunque los Padres Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus han solicitado por varios modos asi de Consejos privados como en Sermones publicos persuadirle à la continencia de sus escesos y mal egemplo de vida, no ha tenido efecto, pues antes bien resultó de ello haber desterrado de aquellas islas à los Padres Ignacio de Ibarguen, Vice-Provincial, y Juan Antonio Contoba [sic] rector del Seminario de ellas, sin mas fundamentos que el pretestar no haberle querido entregar las cuentas de aquel Seminario, y que en los Sermones decian palabras escandalosas, siendo muy al contrario por la singular prudencia, doctrina y virtud de estos sugetos como lo acreditaba el comun desconsuelo que causó à aquellos naturales semejante determinacion y concluye pidiendo que en inteligencia de la representacion que sobre todo hace se den las providencias mas combenientes al alivio y consuelo que se espera de la real benignidad y clemencia de V.M.*

*El Consejo en vista de las espresadas cartas y de lo que al mismo tiempo escribió el Gobernador que fué de Filipinas Don Fernando Bustillo Bustamante en otra de 20 de Agosto del año pasado de 1720 [rather 1719] participando haverse seguido autos contra el referido Don Juan Antonio Pimentel en virtud de real Cedula de V.M. de 24 de Julio de 1712, sobre la acogida que dió à los piratas ingleses que el año de 1710, apresaron en aquellas islas la Nao **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** declaradosele por culpado en los cargos que se le hicieron[,] mandado se le pudiese preso y embargasen sus bienes, cuya ejecucion cometió al Capitan Don José Ruiz, a quien nombró por Juez de residencia, para que sustanciada la causa y puesta en estado de sentencia, la remitiese con el reo, à aquella Audiencia; y nombró al mismo tiempo para servir en interin aquel Gobierno al general Don Manuel de Arguelles, dandoles à cada uno los despa-*

*chos necesarios para ello, con lo que en inteligencia de todo dixo el fiscal, considerando el Consejo lo mucho que importa el que se averiguen los procedimientos del referido Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, à fin de aplicar los medios mas oportunos para liberar aquellas islas y sus naturales de las vejaciones que padecen, y que queden castigadas tan injustas operaciones. Es de parecer se sirva V.M. tener à bien se de especial orden al Gobernador de Filipinas para que aplique todas las providencias que tubiere por combenientes (segun el estado en que estubiere la causa) para la averiguacion de todo lo que contienen las dos citadas cartas del mencionado Sargento Mayor Don José de Quiroga y Losada, y que hecha la Sumaria, y resultando de ella justificados dichos escesos se proceda conforme à derecho contra el espresado D. Juan Antonio Pimentel y demas personas comprendidas en ellos, y que en caso de no habersele tomado la residencia, ni hechoso la plena justificacion de su causa y procedimientos, ó estarse actuando en esta materia por el Jues que pasó à su ejecucion continúe en ella, la persona que nuevamente se combrare, y no hallando substanciados los autos y ejecutadas las demas diligencias en la forma devida los haga de nuevo conforme las circunstancias que ocurrieren y hallaren por mas conducentes para la justificacion de todos los cargos que resultaren contra el mencionado Gobernador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, y especialmente los que incluyen las dos cartas espresadas del sargento mayor de aquellas islas, dando cuenta al Consejo en primera ocasion y remitiendo los autos de todo lo que en este asunto se ejecutare para que en su vista se tome la providencia que se tubiere por mas combeniente.*

*V.M. mandará lo que fuere de su real agrado.*

*Madrid 11 de Febrero de 1722.*

*Hay cuatro rubricas.*

**Membrete.**—*Consejo de Indias à 11 de Febrero de 1722: Pone en la real noticia de V.M. las que ha participado el Sargento Mayor de las islas Marianas sobre los irregulares procedimientos del Gobernador de ellas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel y representa lo que se le ofrece. Publicada en 14 de Marzo de 1722.*

*De orden del Rey remito à V.S. las cartas adjuntas del Sargento Mayor de las islas Marianas, à fin que V.S. las haga presentes al Consejo para que en su vista consulte à S.M. lo que se le ofreciere y pareciere.*

*Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años como deseo.*

*Palacio à 18 de Noviembre de 1722.*

*Andres de Les(?),*

*[Al] Sr. Don Andres de Elcorobarrutia.*

*Consejo en 22 de Nobiembre de 1722.*

## **Translation.**

Sire:

...

Enclosed with a paper dated 18 November of last year, Don Andrés de Pes [or Les?] remitted to the Council, by order of H.M., two letters from Don José de Quiroga y Lo-



sada, Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, dated 8 June 1719 and 26 May 1720 respectively, so that in view of their contents it may counsel H.M. what might seem most appropriate under the circumstances.

The synthesis of the contents of both of these letters is that the condition of those Islands and their natives are lamentable, as a result of the irregular proceedings and scandalous life of their Governor, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, and the excesses of the Spanish Mayors who live there, that are at the source of the total ruin, spiritual and material, of the poor Indians; indeed, by employing them continuously, men as well as women, in the tiresome growing of fruits, fishing, hunting of wild animals, and raising of various cattle without compensating their intolerable labor with more than a few vilest leaves of tobacco, they are found in the tightest of miseries and subjection to the will of said Governor, and unable to gain the least relief from their suffering; indeed, his only concern is the interest he has in trading by all the means that his greed dictates, to the extent that his house is a public store where his goods are sold at very inflated prices. The poor infantrymen of those Islands are not exempt from his profits, since he forces them by various means to take clothes and other things, such as food items, so that, for this reason and that of the earnings he gets from licensing gambling, they seldom collect their salaries in the form of money; indeed, when the subsidy arrives, the silver remains in the possession of said Governor for this reason and the soldiers are continuously indebted and without any consolation, not even that of being equipped with necessary clothing to become decent and cover their nakedness; to which can be added the maintenance in his own house of a collection of girls and women, thus causing a notable scandal, about which the Missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus have tried in various ways, not only by private counsels but also in public sermons, to convince him to moderate his excesses and the bad example of his life. There was no effect; rather, to the contrary, it resulted in his expelling Fathers Ignacio de Ibarguen, Vice-Provincial, and Juan Antonio Cantova, Rector of the Seminary, from those Islands, without more basis than the pretext that they had refused to hand over to him the accounts of that Seminary, and that in the sermons they were saying scandalous words, when the contrary was true, because these individuals were specially virtuous in words and deeds, witness the disconsolateness caused in those natives by such a decision, and he concluded by asking that, once his complaint be known, the most appropriate provisions should be issued for the relief and consolation that are expected from the Royal kindness and clemency of Y.M.

The Council, in view of the above-mentioned letters and of what at the same time wrote the former Governor of the Philippines, Don Fernando Bustillo Bustamante in another letter dated 20 August of the past year 1720<sup>1</sup> to inform on his having taken proceedings against said Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, as a result of the Royal decree dated 24 July 1712, regarding the welcome he gave to the English pirates who had captured the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** in those Islands [sic] in 1710, after he

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1 Ed. note: Rather 1719 (see next document).

had been declared guilty of the charges against him, and been ordered arrested and had his property frozen, said execution he had committed to Captain José Ruiz, whom he appointed as Judge of the judicial inquiry of his term of office, so that, once the cause had been substantiated and the sentence ready for a summons to be issued, he was to remit it along with the prisoner to that Audiencia. At the same time he appointed General Manuel de Argüelles interim Governor of that Government, giving the necessary despatches to that effect to both of them. The Fiscal, after taking cognizance of all of the above, considering the importance given by the Council to the investigation of the procedures used by said Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, in order to apply the most appropriate means to free those Islands and their natives from the annoyances that they suffer, and to punish such unjust operations, is of the opinion that Y.M. be pleased to consider issuing a special order to the Governor of the Philippines to apply all of the provisions that he would judge appropriate (according to the state of the case) for the investigation of everything contained in the two above-mentioned letters from said Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada, and once the summary investigation be completed, and said excesses proved by it, a process should be made against said Juan Antonio Pimentel in accordance with law. In case the judicial inquiry into his term of office has not yet been taken, nor yet done the full justification of his case and proceedings, or still under investigation by the Judge assigned to this case, he is to have it continued by the person whom he is to appoint once again. Should the records show that the case was not substantiated, or that the other avenues were not pursued in due form, they are to be redone, under the circumstances that might arise and be found more conducive to justify all of the charges that might result against said Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel, and specially those included in the two letters from said Sergeant-Major of those Islands, reporting to the Council at the first opportunity and remitting the records of proceedings of everything that was done in this matter, so that, in view of same, the most appropriate decision can be taken.

Y.M. will order what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 11 February 1722.

There are four signatures.

**Endorsement.**—The Council of the Indies, 11 February 1722: Forwarding to Y.M. the news sent by the Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands regarding the irregular proceedings of their Governor, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, and representing what offers. Published on 14 March 1722.

By order of the King, I remit to Your Lordship the enclosed letters from the Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, so that you may present them to the Council so that, once seen, they may counsel H.M. on what offers and he might do.

May God save Your Lordship for many years, as I wish.

From the Palace, 18 November 1722.

Andrés de Les(?)

[To] Don Andrés de Elcorabarrutia.

[Seen by the] Council, on 22 November 1722.

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## Document 1719C

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# Letter from Governor Bustillo Bustamante to the King, dated Manila 20 August 1719

*Source: AGI Fil. 906, formerly Fil. 108-2-8 (27 N° 99); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 244v-246.*

*Notes: The management audit of Governor Pimentel's term of office and his replacement by a new Governor did not take place in 1719 as planned, because the frigate Carmen was forced back to Manila. Other legal and transport delays intervened. Therefore, years after the royal decrees of 24 July 1712 and 6 July 1714, Pimentel was still untroubled even by his first mistake, that of having helped the English pirates in 1710.*

## File against Governor Pimentel of the Marianas

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda Presidente Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas.*

*Señor*

*Haviendose seguido autos en virtud de Real Zedula de Vuestra Magestad de 24 de Julio del año de setecientos doce contra el Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel como Governador de las Islas Marianas sobre la acogida refresco y bastimentos que dio a los Piratas, que apresaron la almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** del cargo de Don. Juan Preberti, y contra los demas comprehendidos en dicha perdida, de los quales autos se mando dar quenta à Vuestra Magestad por decreto del Conde de Lizarraga siendo Governador de estas Yslas de veinte y tres de Diciembre del año pasado de mil setezientos y onze, por las razones que expresa, se previno suspender la determinacion de esta causa hasta que Vuestra Magestad se sirviese mandar lo que fuese mas de su Real agrado y aunque se executaron otras diligencias subsecuentes y con efecto por acuerdo de veinte y quatro de Jullio de setecientos y catorce se declaro por culpado à dicho Theniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel y que por estar de proximo para ir a subceder el Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle provisto por Vuestra Magestad para aquel gobierno[,] al Juez de la residencia se le cometiese la averiguacion sobre este negocio y que sustanciada la causa la remitiese con la persona de dicho Don Juan Antonio de Pimentel[,] lo que no pudo tener cumplimiento por haber arribado aquel año el patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman** en que iba el referido Don*

*Luis [Sanchez] de Tagle y habiendose suspendido hasta otro despacho para aquellas Yslas quando este se ofrecio se hallo el embarazo de tener dicho Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle causa pendiente en esta capitania general por la que le fulmino el Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba governando en interin; y suspendidole por esta razon su viaje y en su conformidad habiendose llevado al Real acuerdo los citados autos se proveyo por auto de diez y seis de febrero de mil setecientos diez y siete, que sin embargo de las demas determinaciones dadas en dichos autos despues del citado decreto de veinte y tres de Diciembre del año pasado de setecientos y onze que constava haverse dado quenta a Vuestra Magestad y que en su virtud y por constar el impedimiento de dicho capitan Don Luis [Sanchez] de Tagle y que segun lo consultado de Vuestra Magestad se esperaba su primer[a] determinacion en el primer despacho se suspendiese la remision de Juez a dichas Islas y que se remitiese el dar cuenta a Vuestra Magestad:*

*Y habiendose recevido otra Real Zedula de Vuestra Magestad fecha en el Pardo à seis de Julio de mil setezientos y catorce en que Vuestra Magestad se sirve de decir que queda esperando noticia de haverse cumplido y ejecutado todo lo prevenido en el Real despacho de veinte y quatro de Julio de setecientos y doze y dadose vista a la parte fiscal que con lo que digo vistos los autos en acuerdo celebrado en veinte y quatro de Abril de este año se determino que sin embargo del citado auto de veinte y seis de febrero de setecientos y diez y siete se llevase a puro y debido efecto el auto acordado de veinte y quatro de Julio de setezientos y catorce en que se declara culpado por lo que de la averiguacion fecha resulta al Theniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel y que se librasen los despachos necesarios hasta poner la causa en estado de sentencia para cuyo efecto y que para el nombramiento de dichas comisiones, como para la providencia del Gobierno de dichas Yslas se tragese à este gobierno y que por lo que mirava a los demas comprendidos en la perdida de dicha Almiranta bolviesen los autos al fiscal interino para que pidiese lo conveniente y assi se cumpliese lo prevenido en los citados Reales Despachos dando de todo quenta a Vuestra Magestad como de todo consta del testimonio de autos adjuntos y en su consecuencia pase a nombrar por Governador interino de aquellas Yslas el General Don Manuel de Arguelles y Valdes y por Juez de Residencia y esta averiguacion al Capitan Joseph Ruiz à quienes se les dieron sus despachos corrientes en la forma ordinaria, y quedan para salir de el puerto de Cavite a las Yslas Marianas, y de lo que produjere en vistas de las diligencias que en ellas se ejecutaren dare cuenta en primera ocasion à Vuestra Magestad Cuya Catolica y Real Persona Guarde Dios como la Christiandad ha menester.*

*Manila Agosto 20 de 1719.*

*Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda.*

### **Translation.**

Field-Marshal Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Sire:

Having pursued proceedings, by virtue of the Royal decree of Your Majesty dated 24 July 1712, against Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, as Governor of the Mariana Islands, for having welcomed and given refreshments and food supplies to the Pirates who captured the almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** commanded by Don Juan Preberti, and against the others included in said loss, records of which proceedings were ordered sent to Your Majesty, by decree of the Count of Lizarraga, being Governor of these Islands on 23 December of the past year 1711. For the reasons stated therein, it had been decided to suspend this cause until Your Majesty was pleased to order what might be of your Royal pleasure, although other suits were subsequently carried out and, by an agreement dated 24 July 1714, said Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel was declared guilty. Since Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle was then about to go and succeed him in that Government, in accordance with a royal provision, the investigation of this business was to be committed to the Judge of the judicial inquiry into his term of office, and that, once the case had been substantiated, it was to have been remitted along with the person of said Don Juan Antonio de Pimentel, but this could not take place, because of the turning back that year [i.e. 1714] of the patache **Santo Domingo de Guzman** aboard which was said Don Luis [Sanchez] de Tagle. The matter was suspended until another could be made to those Islands, but when this was about to take place, there arose the problem that said Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle had a case pending in this Captainty General, the one that Doctor José de Torralba, then interim Governor, instigated against him.<sup>1</sup> His voyage was therefore suspended for this reason and in this wise, the Royal agreement in the above-mentioned cases came up and, by certificate dated 16 February 1717, it was decided that, notwithstanding the other decisions given in said proceedings after said decree of 23 December 1711, which said that a report had been submitted to Your Majesty and that, by virtue of it, and since said Captain Luis [Sanchez] de Tagle was impeded, and that, according to the consultation given to Your Majesty, its first determination was expected in the first despatch, the sending of a Judge to said Islands was ordered suspended and Your Majesty was to be informed of it.

And having received another Royal decree from Your Majesty dated El Pardo, 6 July 1714, in which Your Majesty was pleased to say that you were awaiting the notice of the accomplishment and execution of everything provided for in the Royal despatch of 24 July 1712, the matter was referred to the Fiscal. In view of what he said, and of the proceedings that took place on 24 April of this year, it was decided that, notwithstanding said proceeding of 26 February 1717, the agreement of 24 July 1714 was to be purely and duly put into effect, i.e. the one declaring Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel guilty as a result of the investigation. Also the necessary despatches to put the case in condition of sentencing were to be done. To this effect, and for the appointments to be made for said commissions, as well as for the provision of a Governor for said Islands, he was to be brought to this government. As for the others

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See the comments of Capt. Boisloré on p. 615.

included in the loss of said almiranta, their records of proceedings were to be sent back to the interim Fiscal, for him to demand what was appropriate and thus have said Royal despatches be complied with, then have a report sent to Your Majesty, as shown in the enclosed records of proceedings.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, I went on to appoint as interim Governor of those Islands General Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés, and as Judge of the judicial inquiry and of this investigation Captain José Ruiz. Both were given their current despatches in the usual manner, and are ready to leave the port of Cavite to go to the Mariana Islands.<sup>2</sup> Once the eventual products and results of those efforts will become known, at the first opportunity I will inform Your Majesty, whose Catholic and Royal person may God save, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 20 August 1719.

Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.

### Editor's notes.

There are at least four other letters by Governor Bustillo Bustamante, written in 1718 and 1719, that may be relevant to the history of Micronesia. They are cited in B&R 53: 329 as follows:

—“Carta del mariscal de campo dando cuenta de franceses.—28 July 1718.” in AGI 68-3-11 [i.e. new Fil. 129]; some depositions are attached.

—“Carta del mismo. 17 July 1719. Same pressmark as above.”

—“[Two letters to the court.] Manila, 8 & 9 July 1719. AGI 105-4-9 [i.e. new Fil. 394]. Each letter is accompanied by testimonios with a map.”<sup>3</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Not reproduced here, as the legal wrangling in this file is just too much; in any case, it is made evident in the present summary by the Governor of the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: However, the frigate Carmen did not complete its voyage either (see next document).

3 The letter dated 8 July 1719 could be the same text as Doc. 1719E.

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## Documents 1719D

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# The return in distress of the patache Carmen in 1719

*Source: AGI Ultramar 561, year of 1722.*

*Note: The full name of the patache was Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias Relámpago [or Lightning]. It was the French ship Éclair, renamed that way, after being confiscated from Captain Boisloré in 1714.*

## D1. Letter from the Audiencia to the King, dated Manila 26 June 1722

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. de la arribada del Patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** despachado para las Islas Marianas.*

*Señor*

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. con compulsa de Autos, que habiendo el Gobernador de estas Islas Don Fernando de Bustillo y Bustamante, despachado el Patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** con el situado para las Islas Marianas, el año de 1719, al cargo del Capitan Don Domingo Iturralde, y llegado de arribada al Puerto de Cavite el mismo año, y noticiado vuestro Reverendo en Cristo Arzobispo, Gobernador que era de estas Islas por el Cabo de dicho Patache, en carta su fecha en el Puerto de Batangas, à diez y siete de Octubre de dicho año, con la Junta que se celebró en dicho Patache el dia 27 de Setiembre de dicho año para hacer dicha arivada, y en otra carta, y certificacion de el Capellan de dicho Patache de donde parece consta haber arribado, por ser imposible continuar su derrota, à dichas Islas Marianas por la mucha agua que hacia dicho Patache, à causa de hallarse muy maltratado y podridas sus maderas y no haberse carenado, para hacer dicho viage, en vista de lo cual mando dicho Gobernador se llevasen dichos recaudos à Junta general de Hacienda que se celebró el dia veinte de Octubre de dicho año, y en ella se determinó que en atencion à la representacion que en dicha junta hicieron los Oficiales de Vuestra Real Hacienda de no contenerse en dicho Patache de cuenta de S.M. mas intereses que los peltrechos con que iban à dichas Islas, dichos Oficiales se hicieron cargo de su recaudacion con la cuenta y razon de el caso; y por lo que mira al caso de la causa de la arribada, se sirviese dicho Presidente Gobernador y Capitan general, de remitirlo al Real Acuerdo, para la mejor providen-*

*cia, y en el que se celebró en veinte y uno de dicho mes y año se determinó se nombrase un Ministro Togado que substanciase la causa de dicha arribada en la forma ordinaria hasta ponerla en estado de sentencia difinitiva, y en defecto de persona togada la persona de mayor satisfaccion del Presidente, hiciese dha substanciacion, y por la inopia que en dicha Audiencia habia de Ministros Togados, nombró el dicho Presidente para dicho encargo al Licenciado Don Bernardo Antonio de Arcilla, abogado de dicha Real Audiencia, y pasando dicho Licenciado Don Bernardo Antonio de Arcilla à exercer su comision, hizo que se reconociese el estado en que se hallaba dicho Patache por personas inteligentes y peritas, y con efecto el Sargento mayor Don Guillermo de Torres, Maestro de fabricas, el Alférez Lucas Perez, Cabo de obras, con asistencia de el Capitan Domingo Bautista Carranza, patron de la Ribera del Puerto de Cavite, y Capitan de la gente de mar, ante el escribano receptor de dicha causa pasaron à bordo de dho Patache y reconociendolo declararon hallarse rendido el escudo de popa, despedido de su propio lugar, con dos burdas de un entremiche que tiene en el combes tronchadas, y las demas de los otros entremiches desmentidas, por cuyos defectos necesitaron para mantenerse y escapar las vidas, poner à dicho Patache, los tortores con que se hallaba y prosiguiendo dicho Juez en su comision hizo imformacion examinando suficiente numero de testigos que de ella constan.*

*Que aunque dicho Cabo se hizo cargo de dicho Patache, pero que por la precision y corto tiempo que hubo desde que fué nombrado Cabo, hasta la salida de dicho Patache, no tubo tiempo suficiente par reconocerle con cuidado, y ver si necesitaba de carena, y que aunque era publico en el Puerto de Cavite, que dicho Patache estaba necesitado de carena, para poder navegar, pero que considerando dicho Cabo lo rigurosas que eran las órdenes del Gobernador, no se atreveria a proponer se carenase dicho Patache, y mas cuando consta que los oficiales de dicho Patache pidieron cada uno de ellos lo que necesitaba, y se les respondió no podia darse ni hacerse cosa alguna sin orden del Gobierno, respecto de que los Oficiales que habian registrado dicho Navio, aseguraban estar con suficiente carena para navegar hasta las Islas Marianas. Asi mismo consta de dha imformacion que dicho Patache no se detubo en parte alguna por culpa de dicho Cabo, y que salio de Cavite zafó ligero y boyante. Que los diarios que fueron leidos à los testigos segun su entender, estan ciertos por la esperiencia que tienen de varios viages que han hecho, que el Piloto es inteligente en su arte, y que la arribada fué legitima, y no por interes particular, y que aunque dicho Cabo [no] llevó órdenes ni instrucciones de el Gobernador, sino una carta orden, para que desde el Puerto de Ticao, siguiessen su derrota à las Islas Marianas, pero que dicho Cabo dió las ordenes y disposiciones suficientes como experto y capaz en la materia, y que se ejecutaron puntualmente. Parece tambien de dicho imformacion que despues que dicho Patache salió de Cavite, no se le cargó de suerte que no pudiese seguir su derrota, y quanto en el discurso de su viage no hizieron fuerza de vela considerando lo maltratado que se hallaba dho Navio, y que antes que les sobreviniese el temporal que les puso en la precision de arribar hicieron las prevenciones posibles para resistir en qualquiera accidente de temporal, y que no fueron bastantes para que pudiesen proseguir su derrota à Marianas, por que luego*



*que cesó el temporal, reconocieron el vagel y le hallaron de modo que fué preciso determinar la arribada, no por que faltase ánimo y valor en los Cabos y gente de mar, que todos van muy contentos con el buen trato que les daban, sino por lo muy parado que estaba dicho Patache.*

*Y tomadas las confesiones à los Cabos de dicho patache, haciendoseles culpa y cargo de lo que contra ellos resulta de dicha imformacion afirman haber hecho de su parte todas las diligencias para la seguridad de dicho Patache, pero que no hicieron efecto, por la mucha aceleracion que hubo de parte del Gobernador para que saliese dicho Patache de el Puerto de Cavite y vista los Autos, con lo que sobre ellos dixo y alegó, el Oidor fiscal, por el presente y Oidores de dicha Real Audiencia, proveyeron auto à los veinte y tres de Junio del año pasado de mil setecientos veinte y uno, diciendo que atendiendo à que los fundamentos de las acciones fiscales en este negocio, consisten en el modo y tiempo de el despacho de dicho Patache, y su estado para el viage, à dichas Islas Marianas, y que esta principalmente se deben dirigir contra bienes del Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando de Bustamante, en cuyo gobierno se despachó y debieron dar las providencias competentes sin que conste de órden para la visita y reconocimiento que debió preceder sobre la carrera y carena que dicho barco necesitaba ni la de su salida para Marianas, sino solo de armada para el embocadero y à lo demas que en razon de la precision de la arribada, resulta de la pesquisa y demas diligencias declaraban y declararon deberse suspender el progreso de esta causa, y remitir à juicio de la vindicacion de dicho Gobernador, y que el proceso se pusiese en el Archivo Secreto, y con testimonio de lo obrado se diese cuenta à V.M. cuya Católica y Real Persona, guarde Dios como la Cristiandad a menester.*

*De los estrados de la Audiencia de Manila y Junio 26 de 1722.*

*El Marques de Torre Campo*

*Licenciado Don Antonio Pabon*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez*

*Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. about the turning back of the patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** after it was despatched to the Mariana Islands.

Sire:

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. with authentic records of proceedings the following events. The Governor of these Islands, Don Fernando de Bustillo y Bustamante, had despatched the patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** with the subsidy for the Mariana Islands in 1719, under the command of Captain Domingo Iturralde. It turned back and arrived at the port of Cavite that same year. Your Reverend in Christ Archbishop, then Governor of these Islands, was notified by the captain of said patache, in a letter dated from the port of Batangas, 17 October of said year, along with the [proceedings of the] Meeting held aboard said patache on 27 September of said year in order to decide said return, and in another letter, and certification, provided by the

Chaplain of said patache, by which it seems that the return in distress was due to the impossibility of continuing the voyage to said Mariana Islands, on account of the serious leaky condition of said patache, caused by its being in very bad shape, with rotten boards, and because it was not careened before making said voyage. Said Governor then referred said documents to a General Meeting of the Treasury, which was held on 20 October of said year, and in which it was decided, in view of the statement made by the Officials of your Royal Treasury to the effect that the interests of Y.M. in said patache were not involved beyond the equipments that was being shipped to said Islands, said Officials were to take charge of them and account for them. As for the cause of the return, said President, Governor and Captain General was to refer the matter to the Royal agreement [i.e. a judge of the Audiencia] for greater study. This took place on the 21st of said month and year, it was decided that a Royal minister should substantiate the case of said return in the usual manner, until it reached the stage of a definitive sentence, but, in case of the non availability of a Royal minister, a person who would best meet with the approval of the President, was to make said substantiation. And, because of the shortage of Royal ministers in said Audiencia, said President appointed Licenciante Bernardo Antonio de Arcilla, a lawyer of said Royal Audiencia, to carry out said task. Said Licenciante Bernardo Antonio de Arcilla went on to exercise his commission and arranged for some knowledgeable and expert persons to survey the condition of said patache. To this effect, Sergeant-Major Guillermo de Torres, Master of Shipbuilding, Second-Lieutenant Lucas Perez, Superintendent of Works, with the assistance of Captain Domingo Bautista Carranza, foreman on the shore of the port of Cavite and Captain of seamen, before the notary assigned to said case, went on board said patache and surveyed it. They declared that the stern frame was loose, with the two "burdas" of the chock that meets the deck being broken, and the rest of the other chocks being out of line. Because of such defects, in order to maintain themselves and save their own lives, they had to make use of the strappings that were still in place. Said Judge proceeded with his commission and carried out his inquiry, by interrogating a sufficient number of witnesses, figuring in his report.

It turns out that said Captain took over said patache, but the time between his appointment and the date of departure of said patache was too short to enable him to do anything but a cursory survey and decide if careening was necessary, although it was well-known in the port of Cavite that said patache needed careening to be able to sail, but said Captain, considering that the orders from the Governor were so rigorous that he did not dare careen said patache, the more so when each of the officers of said patache were requesting what they needed, but they were told that he could not give anything nor do anything without an order from the Governor, because of the fact that the officers who had inspected said ship had reported that it did not need careening before sailing to the Mariana Islands. In addition, the report of said inquiry says that said patache did not stop anywhere and that was a mistake of said Captain, and that it left Cavite clear, light and buoyant. As for the logbooks that were read by the witnesses, according to their judgment, they were true based on their own experience with many

voyages, the pilot knew his business, and the return was lawful, and not on account of private reasons. Said Captain did not have any other orders or instruction than one letter from the Governor, telling him that, after the port of Ticao, he was to make his way directly to the Mariana Islands; however, said Captain gave sufficient orders and directions, as an expert in the matter, and he was accurately obeyed. The report of said inquiry also points out that, after said patache left Cavite, it was not loaded in excess, such as to hinder its voyage, and during the course of the voyage they did not strain the sails either, considering that said ship was in such bad shape and, before they were hit by the storm that forced it back, they had made every possible effort to resist any accident during a storm, and that was not enough to allow them to pursue their voyage to the Marianas, because as soon as the storm ceased, they inspected the vessel and found it in such a shape that it was necessary to turn back, not because the officers and sailors lacked spirit and courage, as everyone was very happy with the good treatment they were afforded, but because said patache was finished.

And, having taken the confessions of the officers of said patache, and charged them with the accusations that resulted from said inquiry, they affirm that they have made all the efforts that were possible on their part for the safety of said patache, although they were not effective, on account of the great urging on the part of the Governor to have said patache leave the port of Cavite. And, in view of what the Fiscal said and alleged about the records of proceedings, the undersigned and other members of said Royal Audiencia issued a provision on 23 June of the past year 1721, stating in effect that, given the fact that the basis for the fiscal actions in this business having to do with the manner and timing of the despatch of said patache, and its condition for making a voyage to said Mariana Islands, and that such ought to be directed principally against the property of Field-Marshal Fernando de Bustamante, in whose term of office it was despatched and proper orders should have been issued, since there had been no provision for an inspection and survey to be done before the run and careening that said ship needed, nor for its departure for the Marianas, but only a mention that it had to act as consort as far as the Embocadero, and for other reasons given for the return in distress, the result of the investigation and other efforts was a decision to suspend the progress of this case, and to remit it for judgment of the vindication of said Governor; so, the process papers were to be kept in the secret archives, and the records of proceedings up to that time were to be sent to Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may God save, as Christendom needs.

From the tribunes of the Audiencia of Manila, 26 June 1722.

The Marquis of Torrecampo

Licenciate Antonio Pabon

Doctor Francisco Martinez

Doctor Francisco Lopez Adan

## D2. Letter from Captain Domingo de Iturralde to the new Governor, Archbishop Cuesta, dated Batangas 17 October 1719

### Original text in Spanish.

*Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor.*

*Estando en entera noticia que V. Y. se halla gobernando estas Yslas por muerte del Mariscal de Campo, quien me despachó de Cabo Superior en el Patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** de mi cargo, con el socorro de las Yslas Marianas, habiendo llegado á este Puerto del Pueblo de Batangas, Provincia de Taal, doy parte de la arribada fecha que los rigores del tiempo lo han causado, segun el recaudo que va adjunto por donde verá V. Y. de su contesto que el haber tomado Puerto en este paraje, fue para hacer aguada, y sabiendo del Reverendo Padre Prior del termino el presente despacho, me hallo de proximo á seguir el viage para el Puerto de Cavite; es quanto se me ofrece participar á V. Y. cuya dignisima persona guarde la Magestad de Dios Nuestro Señor dilatados siglos, para amparo y fomento de estas Yslas.*

*A bordo en este de Batangas, en diez y siete de Octubre de mil setecientos diez y nueve.*

*Beso los pies de V. Y. su muy humilde criado,  
Domingo de Yturralde.*

### Translation.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

With the understanding that Your Lordship is now governing these Islands on account of the death of the Field Marshall, who despatched me as Senior Officer of the patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** in my charge, with the succor of the Mariana Islands, upon arriving at this port of the town of Batangas, Province of Taal, I report the return in distress that the rigors of the weather have forced upon it, as stated in the enclosure, by which Your Lordship will see that the stopover at the port of this neighborhood was to take on water. And, learning from the Reverend Father Prior of the nearness of the present despatch, I find myself about to pursue the voyage to the port of Cavite. That is all I had to report to Your Lordship, whose most worthy person may the divine Majesty of God our Lord grant you long centuries, for the protection and development of these Islands.

On board in this port of Batangas, 17 October 1719.

Your humblest servant who kisses the feet of Your Lordship,  
Domingo de Iturralde.

### D3. Minutes of the meeting held aboard ship, on 27 September 1719

#### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Junta para arribarse el Patache, por no poder proseguir su viage á las Yslas Marianas.*

*A bordo de esta Nao Capitana [sic] Nuestra Señora del Carmen en veinte y siete dias del mes de Setiembre de mil setecientos diez y nueve, yo el Capitan Don Domingo de Yturalde, Cabo Superior de dicha Nao que hacia viage á las Yslas Marianas, para el socorro de ellas, de orden del Muy Ilustrisimo Señor Mariscal de Campo, Don Fernando Manuel del Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda, Gobernador y Capitan general de las Yslas Filipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de ellas:*

*Digo que siguiendo como se seguia el viage para las referidas Yslas Marianas, en término de diez y ocho dias de navegacion para ellas, por haber salido el dia nueve del mes corriente del Puerto de San Jacinto y desembocado de la Ysla [sic] de San Bernardino el dia siguiente diez, con bendabal que duró tres dias poco mas ó menos que se reconoció el estar dicha Nao, de la cinta para arriba abierta, pues hacia cada ampollete, doce puntos de agua, por lo cual fué fuerza ponerse ocho tartores para sugetar los costados, y no obstante se prosiguió el referido viage, y el dia Jueves que se contó veinte y uno de este dicho mes, sobrevino el temporal por el Norte y norueste y luego pasó á Oeste con muchisimo viento y mas fuerza, y mucho mas áquella noche con el Sudueste [rather SE?] se obligó á correr para el Norueste, no pudiendo ir á nuestro viage y hacia tanta agua que desde el dicho dia, hasta el lunes, no cesaron las dos bombas, por no poderse agotar la mucha agua, y temiendose de la mucha indebilidad de la Nao se hecharon doce tortores mas, por haber faltado dos curbas, y al reconocer que los costados con los valances se abrian en todo el discurso del tiempo, tapandose siempre por adentro de la popa llana por arriba; y el dia Martes veinte y seis, se aplacó el viento, pero nunca cesaban los balances y las dichas bombas para el registro de la popa llana baxaron embalsados el Contramaestre, el Maestro de Galafate y el Carpintero, y un Marinero llamado Alexandro Baro, que entiende del oficio de Galafate, y hallaron que habia faltado de los Cabos de la cinta de la manga donde se afirmaba contra la aleta, yendole á dar un clavo no lo pudo recibir por que estaba podrida la aleta. Y asi mismo reconocieron que á los balances que daba el Navio jugaba el codaste juntamente con el yugo, y al tenor de esto todos los pernos de la jarcia mayor y del trinquete se salian de podrida que estaba la cinta, cuya relacion para su mayor verificacion en caso necesario en el Puerto de Cavite, podrán darla en forma de derecho, los aqui espresados, y habiendose reparado lo que se pudo se iba siguiendo el viage, hasta que entre cinco y seis de las horas de la tarde de este dicho dia veinte y seis entró el viento brisa con mucha fuerza que apuraron los balances, á cuya vista, y el riesgo tan manifesto que ámenazaba para la prosecucion del viage, y viendo la mucha agua que hacia se combocó toda la gente del Navio, y de mancomun pidieron arribada, para cuyo efecto, y la instancia que hacian para la ejecucion, se llamaron á los oficiales de ella, y el R. Padre Juan Cermeflo*

*de la Compañía de Jesus, Capellan de la Nao, y el Señor General Don Manuel de Argüelles, Gobernador que iba á las Yslas Marianas, y el Piloto de la Nao, y el Capitan Don José Ruiz, que asi mismo iba de Juez de residencia, y juntos con toda la dicha gente de mar se combinieron en que se arribase, y se debolbiese para el embocadero á ganar la tierra para no peligrar las vidas y almas de todos los que vienen en dicha Nao, y se efectuó con harto trabajo, por los rigores del tiempo, y para que conste en donde combenga el presente recaudo hoy de la fecha referida lo firmé con el dicho R. Padre, y el dicho Señor General, y Piloto, y los referidos oficiales y demas que supieron firmar para su validacion.*

*Domingo de Yturralde*

*Juan Cermeño*

*Manuel de Argüelles Valdes*

*Juan Ruiz de Acosta*

*José Ruiz*

*Juan Bartolo*

*Baltasar Cayetano de Herrera*

*Lorenzo Martinez Machado*

*Miguel Mallari*

*Domingo Hernandez*

### **Translation.**

**Council for the patache to turn back, on account of not being able to proceed on its voyage to the Mariana Islands.**

Aboard this flagship galleon [sic] **Nuestra Señora del Carmen** on the 27th day of the month of September of 1719, I, Captain Domingo de Iturralde, Senior Officer of said galleon on her way to the Mariana Islands, for their succor, by order of the Most Illustrious Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and President of their Audiencia and Royal Chancellery, do declare:

That, while on the way to the afore-said Mariana Islands, at the end of 18 days of sailing in their direction, because we had left the port of San Jacinto on the 9th of this month, and come out of the Island [sic] of San Bernardino on the next day, the 10th, with the monsoon wind that lasted three days more or less, when said galleon was recognized to be open from the waist up; indeed, with each hour-glass it leaked 12 points of water. That is why it became necessary to install 8 strappings to hold the sides down, notwithstanding which the said voyage was proceeded with, and on Thursday the 21st of this same month, there came a storm with northerly and northwesterly winds, which later became westerlies, accompanied with very strong gusts, and much more so that night, with southwesterlies [rather southeasterlies?] forcing us to run toward the northwest, preventing us from making progress in the right direction. Besides, it made so much water that from that day until Monday, the two pumps were constantly being used, because the water kept on coming in. Fearing the great weakness of the galleon,

12 more strappings were installed, because two knees had failed and, recognizing that the sides were opening up more and more as she rolled, and bending inward from the flat stern upward;<sup>1</sup> The Boatswain, the Master Caulker and the Carpenter, and a sailor named Alejandro Baro who knew something about caulking, were put in slings and lowered. They found that the beam supporting the wale had failed where the latter comes into contact with the fashion-piece.<sup>2</sup> When they tried to nail it down, it did not hold because the fashion-piece was rotten. In addition, they found out that, with each roll of the ship, the stern-post would move past the transom, and because of that all the bolts of the main- and fore-mast rigging were coming off because the wale was so rotten. A more detailed description can be had about this, in case there should be a need at the port of Cavite to check the above statements, in accordance with law. After some possible repairs were effected, the voyage continued until about 5 to 6 in the afternoon of the same day 26th, when an easterly wind arose violently; it made the rolls much worse. Upon seeing this, and the obvious danger that threatened if the voyage were continued, in addition to the important leakage, the whole ship's crew was gathered and they unanimously asked for a return. For this purpose, and at their request for same, all the officers were called to a meeting, along with Rev. Father Juan Cermeño of the Society of Jesus, the ship's chaplain, and General Manuel de Argüelles, the newly-appointed Governor of the Mariana Islands, and the pilot of the galleon, and Captain José Ruiz who was going to the Marianas to carry out a management audit. They all agreed with the crew, that turning back was necessary, and that we should seek to make a landfall through the Embocadero so as not to risk the lives and souls of all those who were on board said galleon. This decision was carried out, with much labor required, on account of the rigors of the weather. And for whom it may concern, I have signed the present document on this day, along with said Rev. Father, said General, the pilot, and the above-said officers and others who knew how to sign, for its validation.

Domingo de Iturralde

Juan Cermeño

Manuel de Argüelles Valdés

Juan Ruiz de Acosta

José Ruiz

Juan Bartolo

Balthasar Cayetano de Herrera

Lorenzo Martinez Machado

Miguel Mallari

Domingo Hernandez

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1 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

2 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

## D4. Certification by the ship chaplain, Fr. Juan Cermeño

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Certificacion del Padre Capellan:—*

*Yo el Padre Capellan de este Patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias Relampago**, certifico, y juro in verbo sacerdotis como los oficiales Pedro Moreno de la Osa, Galafate, el Guardian Tomas Suarez, los Marineros [sic] Alexandro Baro, el Alferez Carlos de Villegas, Esteban Martin, el Sargento Francisco de Figueroa, Juan Payan, Cabo de la gente de mar, José de Leon, Cabo de la gente de mar, no saben firmar y por eso no firmaron este recaudo, hoy catorce de Octubre de mil setecientos diez y nueve.*

*Juan Cermeño*

### Translation.

#### **Certificate by the Father Chaplain:—**

I, said Father Chaplain of this patache **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias Relámpago**, do certify, and give my word as a priest, that the officers Pedro Moreno de la Osa, Caulker, and the Boatswain's mate Tomás Suarez, and the seamen Alejandro Baro, the Second-Lieutenant Carlos de Villegas, Estevan Martín, Sergeant Francisco de Figueroa, Juan Payan, able seaman, José de León, able seaman, do not know how to sign, and that is why they did not sign this document, today the 14th of October 1719.

Juan Cermeño

## D5. Letter from Fr. Cermeño to the Governor, dated Batangas 17 October 1719

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Carta del Padre Capellan.—*

[A] *Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor Maestro Don Fray Francisco de la Cuesta Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor:*

*Hoy diez y siete del corriente, tubimos noticia como Vuestra Señoria Ylustrisima, por divina ordenacion, y para remedio de tanto afligido nos gobierna gracias á Dios nuestro Señor por tanto bien como quiere hacernos á todos despues en tanta borrasca, y áflición, que no fué poca la que padecemos en la mar desde el dia veinte y uno de Setiembre hasta el dia veinte y cinco, que puedo y podemos todos los arrivados decir **misericordia Domine quia non sumus consumpti**.*

*Supongo que el Cabo da parte á Vuestra Señoria Ylustrisima de lo sucedido del Navio, y del modo con que el Señor Mariscal nos hecho á la mar, mas para experimentar el naufragio que para hacer el viage, por que desde que salió de Francia, parece que no se carenó el Patache. Supongo el que Vuestra Ylustrisima verá al Cabo, y á los Oficiales con las entrañas de Padre, pues no han trabajado poco en que llegasemos á este Puerto con vida pues en cinco días no se interrumpió un solo credo, el dar á las bom-*



*bas, por que el agua era mucha, por estar podrido y abierto el Navio de la cinta para arriba, y que veinte tortores no son bastantes á detener el que no se abra.*

*No canso mas á V. Y. por que en el papel va todo lo sucedido, solo si deseo ponerme á la obediencia de Vuestra Ylustrisima, á cuya disposicion y orden vamos todos los de este Patache, y con deseo de que V. Y. nos mande á todos cosas del agrado de V. Y., ceso y no de pedir á Dios nuestro Señor, guarde á Vuestra Señoria Ylustrisima muchos y felices años.*

*Batangas, y Octubre diez y siete de mil setecientos diez y nueve.*

*Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor.*

*Besa los pies de Vuestra Ylustrisima su siervo y Capellan,*

*Juan Cermeño*

### Translation.

**Letter from the Father Chaplain.—**

[To the] Most Illustrious and Reverend Master Fray Francisco de la Cuesta.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

Today the 17th of the present month, we received notice that Your Most Illustrious Lordship, by divine predetermination, and to remedy so many afflicted people, is governing us. Thanks be to God our Lord for so much good such as you might do us all, after such a great storm and affliction that we all went through at sea, between the 21st and the 25th of September, that I may, and all of us who have turned back we may, say *miscordia Domine quia non sumus consumpti*.<sup>1</sup>

I suppose that the Captain reports to Your Most Illustrious Lordship what happened to the ship, and the manner with which the Field-Marshal threw us to sea, more to have us founder than to make a voyage, because it seems that ever since the patache left France it had not been careened.<sup>2</sup> I presume that Your Most Illustrious Lordship will look upon the Captain and the Officers with the entrails of a Father, since they have indeed labored not a little to make sure that we made it to this port alive. Indeed, during five days the work of pumping was not interrupted, not even for the duration of one Credo, because the ship leaked so much, on account of its being rotten from the waist up, so much so that 20 strappings were not enough to stop the leaks.

I do not wish to tire Your Lordship any more, because the details are already on paper, but I do wish to place myself at the service of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, at whose disposition and order all those of us in this patache are, hoping that Your Lordship will order us anything that may please him. I now stop this letter, but not my prayers to God our Lord. May He save Your Most Illustrious Lordship for many happy years.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Thank God that we are not dead."

2 Ed. note: This important remark confirms the fact that **Carmen, alias Relampago**, was none other than the former French ship **Éclair**, which the Spanish authorities at Manila had seized from Captain Boisloré (see Doc. 1725C for his claim). The ship had left France in 1710 (see Doc. 1713B).

Batangas, 17 October 1719.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

Your servant and chaplain, who kisses the feet of Your Most Illustrious Lordship,  
Juan Cermeño

## **D6. Letter from General Manuel Argüelles Valdés, dated Batangas 17 October 1719**

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

***Carta del General Don Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, Gobernador que iba á Marianas.***

[A] *Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor Don Fray Francisco de la Cuesta.*

*Ylustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor,*

*Despues de besar la mano de Vuestra Ylustrisima, solicito desde este Puerto de Batangas noticias de la salud de Vuestra Señoria Ylustrisima, que nuestro Señor guarde y prospere por muchos años.*

*Yo con todos los arrivados vamos para servir á Vuestra Ylustrisima buenos y con deseo de ponerme á la obediencia de V.Y. que lo haré luego que tomemos Puerto en Cavite para donde vamos.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde á V.Y. muchos y felices años de mi deseo.*

*Batangas y Octubre diez y siete de mil setecientos diez y nueve.*

*Ylustrisimo Señor,*

*Besa los pies de V.Y. su menor servidor,*

*Manuel de Argüelles Valdés.*

### **Translation.**

**Letter from General Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, the Governor who was on his way to the Marianas.**

[To the] Most Illustrious and Reverend Fray Francisco de la Cuesta.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir:

After kissing the hand of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, I solicit from this port of Batangas news of the health of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, whom may God save and make prosper for many years.

I, and all those who arrived back with me, wish to offer our services to Your Most Illustrious Lordship. I wish to place myself at the feet of Y.L. and will do so as soon as we make the port of Cavite, where we are headed.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many happy years, as is my wish.

Batangas, 17 October 1719.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Your minor servant who kisses the feet of Your Lordship,

Manuel de Argüelles Valdés

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## Document 1719E

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# Captain Roche joined in Macao by fleeing Count of Lizarraga

*Sources: AGI Escribanía de Cámara 406A; a copy is perhaps to be found in Fil. 394.*

*Notes: The ship of Captain Roche was the Pontchartrain. The young Count of Lizarraga was the son of the former Governor, deceased, and his name was General Joaquín de Ursua y Arismendi. In the same file, there is also a letter from the Archbishop of Manila, dated 9 June 1720, which repeats the same story.*

## Letter from Governor Bustillo Bustamante, dated Manila 8 July 1719

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Presidente Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas.*

*Da Quenta à V.M. que un Navio frances del cargo de Don Luis Rocha, Vezino y natural del Puerto de Santa María, haviendo salido huyendo del Reyno del Peru, en que hizo algunas hostilidades, vino a la Ciudad de Macao, de donde se llevó al Conde de Lizarraga, que havia hecho fuga de la Ciudad de Manila, dejando pendientes distintas acciones del Real fisco y de partes, assi çiviles, como criminales, y dà quenta para que V.M. mande librar las Ordenes que fueren de su Real Agrado.*

*Señor*

*Este presente año se tubo notiçia en este Gobierno que el passado de setezientos y diez y ocho llego a la Ciudad de Macao un Navio frances que venía huyendo del Reino del Peru en donde por haverle hechado su Virrey en conformidad de las ordenes de V.M. hizo dho Navio repetidas hostilidades[,] daños, y muertes y graves perjuiçios en aquella costa hasta venir a dha Ciudad de Macao en la que se mantubo comerciando con las Cantidades de plata que trajo de dho Reino del Peru, y luego que tubo tiempo oportuno intento su viage para la Europa, y se dize, que con animo de yr en derecho a Cadiz, porque su Capitan que se llama Don Luis Rocha es natural, y vezino del Puerto de Santa María aunque se crio en françia: de dha Ciudad de Macao llevó consigo a el Conde de Lizarraga, que por Abril de dho año de setezientos y diez y ocho hizo fuga de esta Ciudad, y con ella dejo deçiertas las acciones de todos los que pudieran pedir en la Residencia de su difunto Padre, y las del Real fisco, en los autos proçesados contra dho Conde de Lizarraga por la arrivada del Galeon Nuestra Señora de*

*Vegoffa que fue a su cargo el año de setezientos y quince como otros autos, y causas asi civiles, como criminales, por dos muertes alevosas intentadas contra dho Conde a pedimiento de partes, y Obras pías, cuyos atrassos, y perjuicios deve satisfacer; pero lo que me à parecido dar quenta à V.M. para que hallandose dho Conde en essos Reinos mande V.M. librar las ordenes que mas sean de su Real Agrado; Y para que con el referido Rocha, como Pirata que infesta la Costa del Peru, y acanoneo algunos Puertos y llevo muchos intereçes, mande V.M. se tenga presente una, y otra apelacion para las providençias mas combenientes que se sirviere librar V.M.*

*Cuya C.Y.R.P. Guarde Dios como la christiandad, ha menester.*

*Manila, y Julio 8 de 1719.*

*D. Fernando de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.*

### Translation.

Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands.

Reports to Y.M. that a French ship under the command of Luis Rocha, a resident and native of the port of Santa María [near Cadiz], having fled from the Kingdom of Peru, where he had been involved in some hostilities, came to the City of Macao, whence he took away the Count of Lizarraga, who had fled from the City of Manila, leaving pending various civil and criminal cases tried by the Royal fiscal and other parties, and he reports same so that Y.M. may order the issue of orders that may be of your Royal pleasure.

Sire:

This present year, this Government received news that last year 1718 there arrived at the City of Macao a French ship that had fled from the Kingdom of Peru where it was thrown out by the Viceroy, in accordance with the orders from Y.M. and where it committed repeated hostilities, damages, deaths and serious harms on that coast, until it came to said City of Macao where it stayed to trade with the sums of silver that it brought from said Kingdom of Peru, before it could get the right weather to pursue its voyage to Europe. It is said that it intended to go straight to Cadiz, because its Captain, who is named Luis Rocha, is a native and resident of the Port of Santa María, although he was raised in France. From said City of Macao he took along the Count of Lizarraga who, during the month of April of said year of 1718, fled from this City, leaving behind some unfinished legal actions, such as all of those undertaken in the Residencia of his late Father, and some brought by the Royal fiscal, in proceedings against said Count of Lizarraga for the return in distress of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** which had been under his command in the year 1715, as well as other proceedings and cases, civil and criminal, for two perfidious murders committed by said Count, at the request of the parties, and Pious Works, for whose debts and prejudices he must give satisfaction. However, the main reason for me to report to Y.M. is for you to order what may please you, upon the return of said Count in those Kingdoms. And also to deal with the above-mentioned Rocha, as pirate who infested the coast of Peru, fired

some cannon in some ports, and took away many interests, Y.M. may be pleased to have appeals started, in either or both cases, by issuing the most appropriate provisions to suit the service of Y.M.

Whose Catholic and Royal person may God save, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 8 July 1719.

Don Fernando de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.

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## Document 1720A

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### Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pettinati, dated Rota 24 November 1720

*Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott VIII, n° 185.*

#### Published text in German

***Brief P. Josephi Bonani, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarii aus der Oesterreicher-Propinz. An R.P. Jacobum Pettinati, des Collegii gedachter Societät zu Agram in Croatien dermalen Rectorem.***

***Geschrieben auf auf der Marianischen Insul Rota den 24. Novembr. 1720.***

***Inhalt: Die Gottesfurcht fangt auf der Insul Rota durch Unterweisung der zarten Jugend Wurtzen. Zeitungen von unsern Oesterreichischen Missionariis in Sinâ und Tunkin. Todt P. Franchi. Der Brief lautet also:***

***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

***P.C.***

***Das von Euer Ehrwürden an mich unter dem 2. Octobr. 1717 von Sanct-Veit am Flaum erlassene Schreiben hat mir vor Freuden und Trost die Thränen aus denen Augen getrieben. Es dienet mir an statt eines geistlichen Seelen-Weckers/ womit ich mich in dem HErrn aufmuntere/ da es mir sonst an allen dergleichen Mittlen geistlicher Vollkommenheit gänzlich gebricht: dann ich lebe allhier one Obern/ ohne Beichtvatter/ ohne Beyspiel/ ohne Haus-Predig/ ohne Wecker/ ohne Ordens-Gefährte und ohne Europäische Gemeinschaft ganz allein auf einer Barbarischen Insul/ welche ich sonst niemals verlassen/ sondern des Jahrs nur einmal unsere Patres auf der Haupt-Insul Guahan besuchen und zu gleicher Zeit meine Beicht verrichten darff. Darum lise ich bey Abgang anderer Gesellschaft Euer Ehrwürden Brief zum öfftesten/ auf daß ich durch denselben mich selbst in dem Geist erbaue/ tröste/ aufmuntere und entzünde; zu solchem Ende aber/ damit er mir niemals aus dem Aug und Sinn komme/ hab ich ihn auf meinen Bettschämmel zu denen Füßen Unserer Lieben Frauen von Passau gelegt/ allwo er gleich einer ausgespannten Taffel allzeit offen siehet. GOtt gebe nur/ daß ich die Väterliche Lehren/ so E.E. mir in demselben ertheilen/ wol zu Nutzen mache und so vielen Gefahren/ von welchen ich hier unter diesen nackenden Wild-Christen gleichsam bela-***

*gert bin/ nicht unterliege; dann obschon ich mich befeisse dieselben zu kleiden/ so findet sich dennoch unter zehen Personen kaum eine/ welche ausserhalb meiner Gegenwart nicht alles Gewand von sich legte und nackt daher gienge.*

*Vergangenes Jahr hab ich in meinem letzteren Schreiben Euer Ehrwürden den Zustand dern Marianischen Insuln vor Augen gestellt/ jetzt will ich nur ein Wort melden von der geistlichen Frucht/ die ich mit der Gnad GOTTes unter diesen Barbarischen Christen gesammelt hab/ nicht zwar an erwachsenen Leuten/ an welchen nach Beobachtung des H. Xaverii also zu sagen Hopffen und Maltz verlohren ist/ sondern an der noch unschuldigen Jugend/ welche ich alle Tag einmal bey meinem Haus versammele; hieselbst die Knaben auf die eine/ die Mägdlein aber auf die andere Seiten stelle und jegliche Parthey absonderlich unterrichte. GOTT hat auch mein Beginnen so reichlich gesegnet/ daß die Kinder nun ohne Scheuen von Glaubens-Sachen auferbaulich sprechen und ihre Eltern in die Schul führen können: das Weyhewasser aus welchem sie bisher ein Gespött gemacht/ jetzt alle Wochen fleißig nach Hauß tragen und allda bewahren: Die Bilder dern Heiligen von mir begehren und andächtig verehren: denenselben Altärlein bauen und vor solchen so wol unter Tags als absonderlich Abends geistliche Lieder/ so ich ihnen aufgesetzt hab/ anmuthig singen. Daß aber alles solches nicht/ wie vorhin/ eine verstellte Gleißnerey/ sondern ein aufrichtige Andacht und Gottsfurcht seye/ nemme ich aus unterschiedlichen Ursachen ab/ sintemal ein junges Eheweib sich von einem andern Mann ehender lassen halb todt schlagen/ als in sein geiles Begehren hat willigen wollen: Eine Jungfrau hat einem Buhler mit Hinbietung ihres Halses geantwortet/ lieber wolte sie tausendmal ihren Kopff hergeben/ als ihre Jungfrauschafft besudlen und den Göttlichen Vatter erzürnen: Ein andere/ weil sie sich nicht anderstreiten könnte/ hat ihren Vatter und Mann geruffen/ hiemit aber den geilen Bock/ so sie versuchte/ abgetrieben. So hat auch ein Jüngling/ als ihn der Stachel des Fleisches plagte/ seine Hand so lang über das Feuer gehalten/ biß der höllische Geist von ihm gewichen/ und die Liebes-Flamm in ihm erlöschet ist.*

**[News about the China Mission]**

*Von dem betrübten Zustand der Sinischen Mission melde ich nichts; weil Euer Ehrwürden denselben mit Holländischen/ Englischen/ Frantzösischen/ ja/ wie ich vernemme/ auch mit Kayserlichen Schiffen geraden Weegs viel ehender/ als von hieraus über Americam werden verstanden haben: doch will ich eins und das andere nicht ungemeldet vorbeigehen/ als nemlich/ daß Pater Hieronymus Franchi Anno 1718. das Zeitliche gesegnet habe: daß Pater Joannes Baptista Messarius sich in dem Reich Tunkin, Pater Fridelli zu Pecking/ Pater Miller zu Cantung und Pater Bakovski zu Macao befinde; dieser letztere/ nachdem er in der Quamsischen Haupt-Statt Quelin, in welcher V.P. Wolffgangus Xaverius Koffler um des Glaubens willen von denen Tartarn ist getödtet worden/ einige Jahr lang als Missionarius gearbeitet hatte/ ward durch eine Kranckheit zu fernerm Predig-Amt untüchtig gemachte und seiner Cur wegen nach Macao gebracht allwo er laut seines eigenen an mich Anno 1715 geschriebenen und erst dieses Monath empfangenen Briefs annoch seiner schwachen Gesundheit pflegt.*

*Aus dem Sendschreiben aber Patris Miller so er erst dieses Jahr den 23. Hornung außgefertiget hab ich mit Freuden erschaut daß R.P. Ignatius Kögler aus der Oberteutschen Provintz den 8. Jenner jetztgedachten lauffenden Jahres von dem Sinischen Kayser zum Præsident des höchsten Mathematischen Hof-Gerichts sey ernannt und bestellt worden/ wiewol erwehnter Pater Kögler in seinem den 22. Hornung an mich datierten Brief/ zweiffels-ohne aus Demut dessen keine Meldung thut.*

*Meine Kirch und Residenz wird bald fertig und auf nechstkünftige Ostern geweyhet werden wozu ich Euer Ehrwürden/ wann sie nicht so weit ablägen/ gern einladen mögte. Aber was soll ich andere hieher entbieten/ wann ich nicht weiß/ ob ich selbst dabey werde erscheinen dürffen? inmassen ich nach Manilam in die Philippinische Insul beruffen bin/ ohne zu wissen/ ob unser Marianischer P. Vice-Provincial bey --sem(?) Abgang dern Priestern mich entlassen werde. Allein dessen bekümmere ich mich nicht im geringsten/ sondern überlasse solche Sorg meines Oberen und der Göttlichen Vorsichtigkeit. Ich schreibe mit eben dieser Gelegenheit R.P. Sigismundo Pusch, dessen tröstlichen Brief ich mit ungemeiner Freud richtig empfangen hab. Ich befehle mich in das H. Meß-Opffer und Gebet. Die Gnad unsers Herrn JESu Christi sey mit Euer Ehrwürden und mit mir beharrlich; ich verbleibe*

***Euer Ehrwürden***

*Auf der Insul Rota den 24. Nov. 1720.*

*Wenigster Diener in Christo*

*Joseph Bonani S.J.*

*derm Marianischen Insulen Missionar.*

## Translation, by P.H.

**Letter by Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus, from the Austrian Province, to Most Rev. Fr. Jacob Pettinati, Rector of the Jesuit College in Agram [Zagreb], Croatia.**

**Written at Rota, Mariana Islands, on 24 November 1720.**

**Contents:** The fear of God is beginning to take root on the Island of Rota, thanks to our educating the very young. News from other Austrian missionaries in China and Tonkin. Death of Fr. Franchi. The letter reads as follows:

**Reverend Father in Christ.**

Peace of Christ!

The letter Your Reverence wrote to me on 2 October 1717 from Sankt Veit on the Flaum<sup>1</sup> has brought tears of joy and consolation to my eyes. It serves me in place of a spiritual book, and I use it to refresh my soul before the Lord, since I am otherwise com-

1 Translator's note: There are three towns in Austria called Sankt Veit, none of which appears to be on a river called Flaum. Ed. comment: These could be former place names in Croatia.



pletely without such means of spiritual perfection. I am living here alone, without a superior, without a father confessor, without examples, without a home sermon or waking call, without fellow missionaries, and quite without any European company, completely alone on a barbarian island which I never leave except once a year when I visit our Fathers on the main Island of Guahan to make my confession. Because I have no other company, I read Your Reverence's letter often, to strengthen, console, encourage and excite my spirit. For that reason, so that it is never far from view and from my mind, I have laid it on my bedside stool, at the feet of Our Lady of Passau, where it is always open like a spread-out table. May God let me heed well the fatherly advice Your Reverence has given me in the letter, so I will not succumb to the many perils by which I am virtually beleaguered here among these naked savages. Although I am making every effort to clothe them, there is hardly one among ten persons who will not shed all clothes and walk about naked when I am not present.

Last year, in my last letter, I described to Your Reverence the conditions in the Mariana Islands. Now I want to say a word about the spiritual fruit which I have with the grace of God harvested among these barbarian Christians, not among the adults, who—as Saint Xavier has observed—are hopeless cases, but among the innocent youth, whom I gather once a day near my house. Here, I place the boys to one side, the girls to the other, and teach them separately. So richly has God blessed my endeavors that the children now talk about religious matters without fear, and they can lead their parents to church. Holy water, about which they used to make jokes, they now diligently carry to their homes every week and keep it there. They ask me for and devoutly cherish pictures of the saints. They build little altars for them, where in the daytime and specially in the evening, they charmingly sing spiritual songs which I have taught them. I have seen several indications that they do this not by acting to be pious, as was previously the case, but from honest piety and a fear of God. For example, a young wife let another man nearly kill her rather than agree to his lecherous demands. One virgin told an amorous wooer she would rather lose her head a thousand times than let him violate her virginity and make the divine Father angry. Another woman, who could not defend herself otherwise, called her father and husband to drive away the lecherous buck who tempted her. A young man, when he was plagued by the thorn of the flesh, held his hand over a fire until the hellish spirit left him and the flame of love was extinguished in him.

#### **[News about the China Mission]**

I do not report about the sad state of the China Mission, because Your Reverence will have received news much more quickly via Dutch, English, or French, and I assume Imperial ships also, than I could send you from here via America. But there are a few things I do not wish to leave unreported, namely that Fr. Gerónimo Franchi died in 1718, that Fr. Juan Bautista Messari is residing in the empire of Tonkin, that Fr. Fridelli is in Peking, that Fr. Miller is in Canton, and that Fr. Bakowski is in Macao. The latter worked for many years in Quelin [i.e. Kuei-lin], capital of Quamsi [i.e. Kuang-si],

where Reverend Fr. Wolfgang Xavier Koffler was killed by Tartars for the sake of his faith.<sup>1</sup> An illness made Bakovski unfit to continue working as a preacher, and he was sent to Macao for a cure. In his letter, which he wrote to me in 1715 and which arrived only this month,<sup>2</sup> he told me that he is still in poor health.

From the message which Fr. Miller wrote as recently as on 23 February of this year, I was delighted to learn that on 8 January of this year, the Emperor of China has named and appointed Reverend Fr. Ignacio Kögler, from the Province of Upper Germany, as top mathematical scholar at court. However, said Fr. Kögler did not mention this in his letter to me dated 22 February, most likely out of modesty.

My church and residence will be finished soon and will be consecrated next Easter, to which I would love to invite Your Reverence, if they were not so far away. But why should I ask others to come here when I do not know whether I will be present myself, since I have been called to the Philippine Islands, without knowing whether our Father Vice-Provincial of the Marianas will dismiss me when the priests are leaving. Nevertheless, I do not worry about this in the least, leaving such worries to my Superior, and to divine Providence. In this very matter I am writing to Reverend Fr. Sigismund Pusch, whose comforting letter I was very pleased to receive. I beg Your Reverence to include me in Your holy sacrifices for the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and I remain

From the Island of Rota, 24 November 1720.

**Your Reverence's**

Least servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands.

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1 Ed. note: See map of China in HM9:582.

2 Ed. note: Via the Mariana patache from Manila.

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 Document 1720B
 

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## Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Pusch, dated Rota 26 November 1720

*Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott IX, n° 218.*

### Published text in German

***Brief P. Joseph Bonani der Gesellschaft JESu Missionarii. An R.P. Sigismundum Pusch, des Collegii und der hohen Schul Soc. JESu zu Graitz Cantzlarn.***

***Geschriben in dem Dorff Sosa auf des Marianischen Insel Rota den 26. Novemb. 1720.***

***Inhalt.* Rach GOTTes an dem Todtschläger V. Patris Boranga dessen Leichnam wird nach Wienn/ Ven. Patris Strobach aber nach Prag geschickt. Einsamkeit dern Marianischen Missionarien. Ob ehemals die Marianer keinen GOTT erkannt haben? Von denen Inseln Palaos.**

***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

***P.C.***

***Was für eine unbeschreibliche Freud in meinem Gemüth der von Euer Ehrwürden den 27. Aug. 1717. an ihren wenigsten Diener und Discipulum erlassene Brief erweckt habe/ kan nur derjenige begreifen/ welcher ihm meine Einsamkeit auf der Insel Rota lebhaft vor Augen stellet. Dem seye nun/ wie ihm wolle: wenigstens muß ich bezeugen/ daß mich deroselben Schreiben um desto mehr erfreuet habe/ weil ich fast zu gleicher Zeit durch einen andern Brief von meinen Obern bin vermahnet worden/ mich gefasset zu halten den 2. Hornung des nechstfolgenden 1721. Jahrs meine Profession abzulegen und meiner liebsten Mutter der Gesellschaft JESu durch die vier feyerliche Gelübd auf das verbindlichste einverleibt zu werden; welchen sonderbaren Trost ich nechst GOTT meinen vormaligen Professoribus, zumalen aber Euer Ehrwürden zu dancken habe; wie nicht weniger meinem auf eben diser Insel und Mission glorwürdigen Vorfahrer dem Ven. P. Carolo Boranga, wessen Martyr-Statt/ auf welcher derselbe sein Blut vergossen/ ich letztverwichenen Früheling andächtig geküset/ zugleich aber erfahren hab/ **Erstlich** daß sein Todtschläger Nahmens **Tani** eben dasselbe Jahr 1684 als er den Mann***

*Gottes ermordet/ durch Göttliche Verhängnus in dem Meer elendiglich ertruncken seye, **Zweytens/** daß so wol sein als des Ven. P. Augustini Strobach Leichnam beyläufig Anno 1692. von hier nach Sevilla und so ferner ein jeglicher in seine Provintz/ nemlich die Gebein Patris Caroli nach Wienn in Oesterreich/ des andern aber nach Prag seyen geschickt worden.*

*Was sonst den gegenwärtigen Zustand diser Marianischen Eilanden betrifft/ so befinden sich dermal auf der Haupt-Insel Guahan 250 Soldaten in der Besetzung/ wie auch sechs unserer Residenzen und eben so viel Kirchen. Ich aber auf der Insel Rota bin gantz allein/ mithin aller menschlichen Gesellschaft und Ansprach meiner Ordens-Genossen gänzlich beraubt; doch kommen gesamte Missionarii jährlich zweymal/ nemlich auf dem H.H. Drey König-Tag/ und an Sanct-Ignatii-Fest/ da beyde mal die Ordens-Gelübd erneuert werden zu Agadna auf der Haupt- Insel zusammen/ und legen mit solcher Gelegenheit einer bey dem andern unsere Beichten ab; weil ausser solchen zwey Zeiten ich keines Priesters kan ansichtig werden: ja es geschihet öftters/ daß wir auch auf die bestimmte Täg wegen Ungestümme des Meers müssen zu Hauß bleiben und dises Trosts entbähren. Ich wäre solcher Ursach wegen schon zweymal in dem Wasser ertruncken/ wann GOTT mich nicht wunderbarlich errettet hätte.*

#### [Ancient Chamorro religion]

*Euer Ehrwürden werden öftters gehört oder gelesen haben/ daß die Marianer vor Ankunfft dem Spaniern in ihrem Heydentum keine GOTTheit erkannt/ oder ohne allen Glauben gelebt/ sonder lediglich die Geister ihrer Abgestorbenen verehret haben. Einen einzigen dergleichen Geist nenneten sie Aniti, ihrer mehr zusammen aber Manganiti. Dise sollen nicht einen jeglichen/ der sie anruffte/ sonder nur gewisse hierzu erkohrte Leut erhört haben/ welche sie Macahnan und Cahnan, das ist/ ein übernatürliche Krafft zu behahmen pflegten.*

*Allein/ nachdem ich diser Sach/ ob ihnen nemlich GOTT vorher allerdings unbekant gewesen seye/ emsiger nachgeforscht und alte Leut mit Verehrung einiger Taback-Blättern/ so ihnen lieber als Geld seynd/ die Wahrheit aufrichtig zu bekennen bewogen hatte/ hab ich erfahren/ daß auch bey disem Volck wahr seye/ was wir in dem Buch der Weisheit und in der Epistel an die Römer lesen/ daß nemlich **die Erkenntnis GOTTES in ihnen seye offenbar gewesen**; indeme die tugendhafftere Inwohner diser Eilanden vor Zeiten ihren Haußhaltungen folgenden Spruch öftters sollen vorgehalten haben: **Der Himmel ist ein gutes Land: ein Hauß der Freud/ der Vergnügung und einer lustigen Frölichkeit. Nach solchem müssen wir sehnen/ zihlen und wandern/ damit wir all dort/ nachdem wir werden dahin kommen seyn/ ewig verharren.** Fragt man sie aber/ wie sie solche Wort ausgedeutet haben? geben sie zur Antwort/ sie hätten dieselbe nicht verstanden/ biß die Missionarii angelangt wären: dann die alten Indianer haben zwar von GOTT gehört/ aber aus Nachlässigkeit denselben nicht erkennen/ noch seinen Weeg erforschen wollen: oder durch ihre Lasterhafftigkeit das ihnen von oben verliene Liecht erstickt/ damit sie nicht das Böse zu meiden und das Gute zu würcken gezwungen wurden.*

*Gott/ welcher dise Inseln nunmehr erleuchtet hat/ wolle sein Liecht auch denjenigen zahlreichen Eilanden (Palaos) welche uns gegen Mittag ligen/ bald lassen aufgehen; dann daß dergleichen volckreiche Länder in unserm Meer gegen Süden/ und zwar nicht weit von hier/ seyn müssen/ solches nemmen wir unfehlbar ab aus unterschiedlichen von dannen zu uns/ und von uns dahin durch den Sturmwind getriebene Schifflin und durch die Barbarn/ welche auf disen angelangt seynd. Der Allerhöchste gebe/ daß erwehnte Felder zum Schnitt bald zeitig werden; wie gern wurd ich mit meiner Sichel in die Ernde dahin reisen und meine aus dem Grund mit Steinen neu-erbauete Kirch einem andern überlassen? Damit nun meine Sünden ein so heiliges Vorhaben nicht hintertriben/ seynd **Euer Ehrwürden** inständig ersucht durch deroselben Heil. Meß-Opffer und Gebett auszuwürcken. Ich verharre*

***Euer Ehrwürden***

*Sosa den 26. Nov. 1720.*

*Unnutzer Diener in Christo.*

*Joseph Bonani, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.*

**Translation, by P.H.**

**Letter by Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Rev. Fr. Sigismund Pusch, Chancellor of the College of the Society of Jesus in Graz, [Austria].**

**Written in the village of Sosa in the Mariana Island of Rota, on 26 November 1720.**

**Contents:** God's revenge against the killer of the Ven. Fr. Boranga, whose body is sent to Vienna, while the body of the Ven. Fr. Strobach is sent to Prague. Loneliness of the missionaries in the Mariana Islands. Is it true that formerly the Mariana Islanders did not know God? About the Palau Islands.

**Reverend Father in Christ.**

Peace of Christ!

Only those who can vividly imagine my loneliness on the Island of Rota can understand my indescribable joy when I received the letter Your Reverence sent to Your least servant and disciple on 27 August 1717. Be that as it may, at least I must point out that this letter was even more of a joy because almost at the same time, I was told in another letter by my superiors to expect, on 2 February of next year 1721, to be ready to make my profession and be incorporated most closely with my dearest mother, the Society of Jesus by means of the four solemn vows. For this special consolation I have to thank not only God, but also my former professors, and in particular Your Reverence. Not less I have to thank my glorious predecessor on this island and in this mission, the Ven. Fr. Carlos Boranga, whose place of martyrdom, where he shed his blood, I devoutly kissed last spring. At the same time I learned **first of all** that his killer, who was called

**Tani**, by divine fate miserably drowned at sea in the same year, in 1684, in which he had murdered the man of God, and **secondly**, that Fr. Boranga's body as well as the body of the Ven. Fr. Augustin Strobach were transported in 1692 from here to Seville, and from there each to his own province, namely the bones of Fr. Carlos Boranga to Vienna in Austria, and the others to Prague.

As far as the present situation of these Mariana Islands is concerned, there are now 250 soldiers in the garrison on the main Island of Guahan, as well as six of our residences and as many churches. I, however, am completely alone on the Island of Rota, completely devoid of all human company and conversation with others of my Order. However, all the missionaries come together twice a year, namely on the feast of Trinity and on the feast of St. Ignatius. On both occasions, the vows of the Order are renewed in Agaña on the main island, and at this opportunity we hear each other's confession. Apart from these two times, I never see another priest, and it happens often that even on those predetermined days we must stay home and do without this comfort because of stormy weather at sea. It happened twice that because of this I almost drowned, had God not saved me miraculously.

#### [Ancient Chamorro religion]

**Your Reverence** will have often heard or read that the Mariana Islanders were heathen and knew of no God before the Spaniards arrived, or that they had lived without any beliefs and only worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. They called one such spirit *Aniti*, and several together *Manganiti*. They are said to have responded not to anyone who invoked them, but only to certain people who were chosen for this, whom they used to call *Macahna* and *Cahna*, which means supernatural powers.

However, after I have thoroughly researched this matter, namely whether God was unknown to them before, and after some old men agreed to tell me the real truth after I had given them some tobacco leaves, which they prefer to money, I learned that it was true in this nation, too, what we read in the Book of Wisdom and in the Letter to the Romans, namely that **the existence of God had been revealed to them**, and that the more virtuous inhabitants of these islands had often recited the following saying in their homes: **"Heaven is a good country: a house of joy, pleasure and happy bliss. Toward that we must strive, aim and proceed so that we all, after we have arrived there, can remain forever."** When we ask them how they interpreted such words, they answer that they had not understood them until the missionaries arrived. The old Indians had heard of God, but out of neglect they did not wish to recognize Him or to search for His way, or their depravity choked the light that had been given to them from above to make them avoid evil and force them to do good.<sup>1</sup>

God, he said, who has now enlightened these islands, also wishes to extend His light soon to those numerous islands (Palau) which lie to the south. We know for sure that

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1 Ed. note: Rota in particular had received some Christian notions from Fr. Juan Pobre in 1602. Such notions were heard again later from the mouth of the survivors of the Concepción shipwreck.

those populous countries lie across the sea to the south, and not very far from here. We know this without doubt from various canoes which are set adrift now and then by storms, and then from our boats that have been driven there, and from the barbarians who have been in these islands. May the Almighty soon prepare those fields for the harvest. How I would love to take my sickle and travel there, and to leave my newly-erected stone church here to others. So that my sins do not foil such a holy venture, I fervently beseech **Your Reverence** to include it in Your holy sacrifices and prayers. I remain,

From Sosa, on 26 November 1620.

**Your Reverence's**

Useless servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

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## Document 1720C

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### Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Bombardi, dated Rota 27 November 1720

*Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott VIII, n° 186.*

#### Published text in German

***Brief P. Josephi Bonani Soc. JESu An P. Udalricum Bombardi,  
gedachter Gesellschafts Priester.***

***Geschriben auf der Insul Rota dem 27. Novembr. 1720.***

***Innhalt: Freygebigkeit dern Königen in Spanien wegen die Marianischen Insuln.  
Einsamkeit und Zeitertreib P. Bonani auf dem Eiland Rota. Sein Brief lautet also:***

***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

***P.C.***

***Daß der von Euer Ehrwürden/ gleichwie aus andern Schreiben vernemme/ an mich erlassene Brief unter Weegs zu Grund gangen seye/ schmerzt mich desto empfindlicher/ je höher ich Euer Ehrwürden wehrteste Hand schätze/ ja mich unendlich freuen wurde/ wann sie mich nicht allein jährlich einmal/ sondern auch öffters in dieser Wüsten mit Europæischen Zeitungen beehren und ergötzen mögten: obschon ich in solcher nichts merckwürdiges finde/ womit ich dero selben Verlangen (von hieraus hinwiederum etwas neues zu vernennen) begegnen könnte. Wir seynd ohne dem auf diesen Marianischen Insuln von der gantzen übrigen Welt dergestalten abgesöndert/ daß wir jährlich nur einmal in andere Länder Brief abzufertigen Gelegenheit haben durch dasjenige Philippinische Schiff/ welches auf Befehl Ihro Catholischen Majest. uns Wein un Waitzen für das Meß-Opfer/ wie nicht weniger einen grossen Vorrath von Gersten samt neuen Kleidern sowol für uns un für die Besatzung als für die Indianer nebst andern Sachen hieher bringt; dann wir halten heilig die Wort des Welt-Apostels Pauli/ da er 1. Timoth. VI. 8. also spricht: **Haben wir nun die Nahrung und Kleidung/ so wolten wir uns damit begnügen.** Wann nicht erst vor wenig Tagen erwehntes Schiff mit unserer Nothdurfft angelangt wäre/ hätte ich mich entschlossen wegen Abgang des Weins nur an Sonntagen Meß zu lesen. Wobey die Christ-mildeste Freygebigkeit dern Königen in Spanien aus dem Allerdurchleuchtigsten Haus von Oesterreich nicht sattsam kan gepriesen wer-***



*den/ welche/ obschon sie aus diesen 13. unfruchtbaren Insuln keinen Pfenning Gewinns oder Nutzens jemals gezogen/ dannoch jährlich biß zweymal hundert tausend Gulden in dieselben aus keiner andern Ursach gesteckt haben/ als damit die Inwohner/ so nunmehr auf 3 Eiländer näher seynd zusammen getrieben worden/ bey dem Christlichen Glauben erhalten werden.*

*Fragen mich aber Euer Ehrwürden/ wie ich die Zeit zubringe? so antworte ich kurtz um also: ich unterweise die Jugend: ich reiche denen Alten die Hochheiligen Sacramenten: ich besuche die Krancken: ich stehe denen Sterbenden bey: ich durchgehe wochentlich einmal meine Dörffer/ derer etliche zwey biß drey Meil von meinem Sitz entfernt seynd. Ich unterrichte aber die Marianische Jugend nicht allein in dem Glauben/ wie auch im Lesen und Schreiben/ sondern auch in mancherley Handwercken/ die ich selbst weder erlehret habe noch gründlich verstehe nemlich in der Schuster- Schneider- Zimmermanns- Mauerer- und Schreiner-Kunst/ nebst dem Feld-Bau/ Music und dergleichen mehr. Mit einem Wort ich beflisse mich allen alles zu werden/ damit ich alle dem Herrn gewinne. Jetzt baue ich würcklich ein neue Kirch samt dem Pfarr-Hof und zwar aus Stein/ nachdem der Strumwind die vorigen/ so aus Holtz waren/ niedergeschlagen hat. Diese seynd meine Kurtzweilen in diesem freywilligen Elend/ in welchem ich aller vertreulichen Ansprach und menschlichen Umgangs beständig beraubt bin/ doch hievon ausgenommen/ daß ich jährlich ein oder zweymal nach Agadna reise und all dort den Geist in unserer Residenz erneuere. Allein GOtt/ welcher aller Orten gegenwärtig ist/ weiß seine Knecht auch in denen verlassenesten Einöden dergestalt überschwemmlich zu trösten/ daß sie in der Wüsten viel vergnügter/ als andere in Mitten menschlicher Gesellschaften leben.*

*Allhier brech ich ab; dann ich werd zu einem alten sterbenden Weib beruffen/ an welcher wie ein Wunderwerck gerühmet wird/ daß sie als noch eine Heydin vor Zeiten die Eheliche Keuschheit in einem Land/ wo die Weiber ihren Männern nach Belieben Abschied gaben/ unverletzt bewahret hat. Kaum bin ich von dieser wieder heimkommen/ als ich die Feder abermal ausschlage/ um ein anderes bresthafftes Weib zu versehen. Nun bin ich auch mit dieser fertig und beschliesse Abends um 9 Uhr gegenwärtiges Brief-lein/ indem ich allen Priestern und Brüdern absonderlich Euer Ehrwürden mich zu Füßen werffe mit inständiger Bitt/ sie wollen doch meiner in ihrem H. Meß-Opffer und Gebett ingedenck seyn.*

*Ich verbleibe*

***Euer Ehrwürden***

*Insul Rota den 27. Novembr. 1720.*

*Ergebenester Diener in Christo*

*Josephus Bonani, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.*

## Translation, by P.H.

### Letter by Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Fr. Udalric Bombardi, priest of said Society.

Written in Rota, in the Mariana Islands, on 27 November 1720.

**Contents:** The generosity which the monarchs of Spain show toward the Mariana Islands. Fr. Bonani's loneliness and pastimes on the Island of Rota. His letter reads as follows:

#### Reverend Father in Christ.

Peace of Christ!

The fact that Your Reverence's letter to me was lost in transit, as I have learned from other letters, is particularly painful to me, since I hold Your Reverence's correspondence in high esteem. Indeed, I would be infinitely glad if in this desert I could be honored and pleased with European news not only once a year, but more often. However, I could not reciprocate and report noteworthy things from here, thus meeting the same request from you. Here in the Mariana Islands we are so much separated from the rest of the world that we only have one opportunity a year to send letters to other countries, namely by the Philippine ship which at the order of Their Catholic Majesties brings us wine and wheat [flour] for the holy sacrifices as well as a large supply of barley and new clothes for the garrison and for the Indians, apart from other things. We hold sacred the words of the apostle of the world, St. Paul, who said in I Timothy 6.8: "But if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content." If said ship with our supplies had not arrived a few days ago,<sup>1</sup> I would have decided to celebrate mass only on Sundays because of the lack of wine. However, the Christian generosity of the monarchs of Spain from the most illustrious House of Austria<sup>2</sup> cannot be praised enough. Although they have never had a penny's worth of profit or use from these 13 infertile islands, they have invested up to 200,000 guilders twice a year in them for no other reason than to keep the inhabitants, who have now been collected closer together on three islands, in the Christian faith.

But since Your Reverence asked me how I spend my time, I will answer briefly: I teach the young people; I give the adults holy communion, I visit the sick; I assist the dying; I walk through the villages once a week, some of which are two or three miles from my residence. I teach these young people of the Marianas not only religion, reading and writing, but also all kinds of trades which I have neither learned nor understand properly myself, namely the arts of the cobbler, the tailor, the carpenter, the mason and the cabinet maker, in addition to agriculture, music and others. In other words, I try to be everything to everybody, so that I win them all for the Lord. Now I am really build-

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1 Ed. note: This was the regular Mariana patache from Manila. That year it was the San Andrés, Captain Egui.

2 Ed. note: They were already Bourbons.

ing a new church complete with a parish house, namely of stone, because the storm has destroyed the former buildings which were made of wood. Those are my pastimes in this voluntary misery in which I am constantly devoid of conversation and human company except for once or twice a year when I travel to Agaña to renew my spirit in our residence there. But God is present everywhere, so that some may live in the desert far more happily than others do in the midst of human society.

I must interrupt here, for I am called to see an old woman who is dying, of whom it is said—as if it were a miracle—that even when she was still a heathen, she lived in unviolated marital chastity in a country where the women said good-bye to their men as they pleased. Hardly had I come home from visiting this woman, that I have to put the pen down again to go and see another invalid woman. Now I am finished with her as well, and I will close this letter at 9 in the evening by throwing myself at the feet of all priests and brothers, specially Your Reverence, with the fervent plea for you to think about including me in your holy sacrifices and prayers. I remain,

From the Island of Rota, 27 November 1720.

**Your Reverence's**

Most devoted servant in Christ,

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

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## Document 1720D

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# First letter of Fr. Philippe Cazier about the Carolines, dated Canton 5 November 1720

*Sources: In various editions of Fr. Le Gobien's Lettres édifiantes, e.g. tomes XVI (Paris, 1724), pp. 368-373; also in XIX (1781): 165-168; X (1819): 388-390; II (1843): 703-704; also in De Brosse, tome II, p. 468; published in German in Fr. Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, n°222, and in French and German by Thilenius, editor of the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition of 1908-1910.*

*Notes: Fr. Cazier was born near Tournai, Belgium in 1677, joined the Jesuits in 1696 and he traveled to China in 1708 and 1709. He died at Canton on 13 June 1722. See also Doc. 1721E. The letter was addressed to Fr. Du Halde, then-editor of the Lettres édifiantes.*

### Original text in French.

#### *Lettre du père Cazier, missionnaire.*

*A Canton, le 5 novembre 1720.*

*Je vois par vos Lettres l'inquiétude où vous êtes de sçavoir quel a été le sort du P. Duberon & P. Cortil, qui entrèrent il y a quelques années dans une des isles Palaos, ainsi que vous l'avez vu dans le XI. Recueil des Lettres de nos Missionnaires. Je voudrais pouvoir vous en apprendre des nouvelles certaines et bien circonstanciées. Mais quelque mouvement qu'on se soit donné jusqu'icy, c'est toujours inutilement qu'on a tenté de retourner dans ces Isles.*

*Lorsque je vins à la Chine, je pris ma route par les Philippines, et j'étois à Manille, lorsque le P. Serrano fit équiper un vaisseau pour commencer une Mission, chez les Insulaires de Palaos, ou pour la continuer, supposé que les deux Pères eussent trouvé grâce auprès de ces Barbares. Mais Dieu dont les desseins sont impénétrables, ne permit pas que cette expédition eût le succès auquel on devoit s'attendre.*

#### [Death of Fr. Serrano in 1711]

*Le P. Serrano mit à la voile et fut porté par un vent favorable dans l'Embocadero, (c'est ainsi que les Espagnols appellent l'entrée des isles Philippines). La quantité d'Isles que se trouvent dans cette passe, la rendent tres-dangereuse, et les Gallions sont quelquefois obliges d'y hiverner sans pouvoir gagner Cabite qui est le port de Manille. Le vaisseau qui portoit le P. Serrano et son compagnon n'alla pas loin: il périt près de l'isle de Marinduque, et rien ne fut plus triste que ce naufrage, dont il n'échappa que peu de personnes. Quelques-uns s'étoient jettés dans la Chaloupe, mais le trouble où ils étoient*

*les empêcha de prendre une précaution nécessaire, qui étoit de couper le cable lequel tenoit la chaloupe amarrée au Vaisseau: ils allèrent au fond de la mer entraînez par le poids du Bâtiment. Il n'y eut qu'un seul Indien, qui s'étant emparé de l'habitacle (c'est un réduit en forme d'armoire où l'on enferme la boussole) s'en servit pour se sauver, et à sa faveur gagna heureusement la terre, après avoir longtems lutté contre les flots. C'est par cet Indien, qui retourna aussi-tôt à Manille, qu'on fut informé de ce détail. Ainsi échoüa le projet qu'on avoit formé d'aller au secours des deux Missionnaires, et de planter la foi dans les isles Palaos.*

*Depuis mon arrivée à la Chine j'ai vu à Canton un marchand venu des Philippines, qui m'assura qu'on ne doutoit plus à Manille que les deux Peres n'eussent été sacrifiés à la fureur des Barbares de ces Isles nouvellement découvertes. C'est ainsi qu'il m'a raconté la chose. Un Vaisseau Espagnol étoit allé à la découverte aux environs des isles Palaos, et s'étant approché d'une de ces Isles, plusieurs Insulaires parurent dans une barque, et roderent autour du vaisseau. On les invita par gestes à venir à bord: ils n'y voulurent point consentir, à moins qu'on ne leur donnât un ôtage. On fit descendre un Espagnol dans la chaloupe, et en même tems quelques-uns des Insulaires monterent au Vaisseau. Les Espagnols se saisirent d'eux, et refuserent de les renvoyer. Ceux qui étoient restez dans la barque se dispoient à se venger de cette insulte sur l'Espagnol qui servoit d'ôtage, et ils ramoient déjà vers sa chaloupe. Mais on fit feu sur eux, et en les écarta. On dit qu'en se retirant ils souffloient vers la fumée de la poudre, ignorant apparemment l'usage du canon et des armes à feu. Ces Insulaires furent conduits à Manille. Là on leur demanda par signes ce que étoient devenus des deux Peres qui étoient restez dans une de leurs Isles. Ils répondirent de même par signes, et firent entendre que leurs Compatriotes les avoient tuez, et ensuite les avoient mangez.*

[rest not published]

## **Translation.**

**Letter from Father Cazier, missionary.**

Canton, 5 November 1720.

I see by your Letters the desire you have for learning of the fate of Fr. Duberon and Fr. Cortil, who made an entry into one of the Palaos Islands some years ago, as was related in Tome XI of the collection of Letters from some of our Missionaries. I would like to be able to let you know about it some certain and detailed news. However, in spite of the many efforts made so far, the attempts to return to those Islands have not been successful.

When I came to China, I did so by way of the Philippines [in 1709], and I was at Manila, when Fr. Serrano outfitted one ship, either to begin a Mission among the Palao islanders, or to continue it, provided that these two Fathers had been well received by those barbarians. However, God whose designs are impenetrable, did not permit this expedition to have the desired success.

**[Death of Fr. Serrano in 1711]**

Fr. Serrano sailed off and was carried by a favorable wind to the Embocadero (that is how the Spanish call the entrance to the Philippines). The quantity of islands that lie within this strait make it very dangerous, and the galleons are sometimes forced to winter there, without being able to reach Cavite which is the port of Manila. The ship carrying Fr. Serrano and his companion did not go far; it perished near Marinduque Island, and nothing can be sadder than this shipwreck, from which few persons escaped [alive]. A few of them had jumped into the launch, but the trouble they were in prevented them from taking a necessary precaution, which was to cut the cable that moored the launch to the ship; they sank to the bottom of the sea, sucked in by the weight of the ship. Only one Indian, who had grabbed the binnacle (it is a kind of cupboard where the compass is kept), used it to save himself, and thanks to it happily reached land, after a long struggle against the waves. It is through this Indian, who returned right away to Manila, that this detail was learned. So ended the project that had been started to the rescue of the two missionaries, and to plant the faith in the Palaos Islands.

Since my arrival in China, I have met a merchant who came from the Philippines. This man assured me that no-one in Manila doubted that the two Fathers had been massacred by the furious barbarians of these newly-discovered Islands. Here is how he narrated the thing to me. [In 1712,] a Spanish ship had gone to explore in the neighborhood of these Islands of the Palaos and, having approached one of those Islands, many islanders came aboard a canoe and stayed near the ship. They were invited by signs to come alongside, but they did not accept, unless someone were given out as a hostage. One Spaniard went down into the [ship's] launch, and at the same time some of the islanders climbed aboard the ship. The Spanish grabbed them, and refused to let them go. Those who had remained in the canoe were preparing to take revenge for this insult upon the Spaniard who served as hostage. They were already rowing towards his launch, but firearms were discharged against them, and they were thus repelled. It is said that when they were retreating they were blowing toward the gun-powder smoke, as they obviously did not know of the use of guns and firearms. These islanders were taken to Manila. There they were questioned by signs about what had happened to the two Fathers who had remained in one of their islands. They answered, also with signs, and let it be known that their countrymen had killed them, and then had eaten them.

[rest not published]

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## Document 1720E

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# Royal decree of 27 October 1720, eliminating the silk trade

*Sources: 1) Antonio Alvarez de Abreu's "Extracto historial" (Madrid, 1736), available at NLA; 2) B&R 44: 266-268.*

### Synopsis by Emma Helen Blair

[The decree] was addressed to the Viceroy Marquis of Valero, to the Audiencia of Mexico, the royal officials at Acapulco, the Governor, Audiencia, and Fiscal of the Philippines, and the Archbishop of Manila. Copies were given to the consulates and merchants of Cadiz and Manila, at their request, in order that they might print it. Its tenor is as follows:

After rehearsing the arguments brought forward in previous letters received from Valero, the decree ordains the following rules for the commerce of the Philippines: **two ships shall go annually from the Islands to New Spain, each of 500 tons.** "The value of the lading which the said ships are to carry from the Philippines to the port of Acapulco may be up to the amount of 300,000 pesos, which must come invested strictly and solely in the following kinds of merchandise: gold, cinnamon, *elefantes*,<sup>1</sup> wax, porcelain, cloves, pepper, *cambayas*,<sup>2</sup> and linens woven with colors, *chites*,<sup>3</sup> chintzes, gauzes, *lampotes*,<sup>4</sup> blankets from Ilocos, silk floss and raw silk spun, cordage, and other commodities which are not silks."

These ships are prohibited from carrying silken fabrics, "satins, *pitiflores*,<sup>5</sup> velvets, damasks, plain satins, grograms, taffetas; silver and gold brocades; embroidered pieces of silk stuff used for bed covers, wall hangings and women's petticoats; silken gauzes flowered with gold and silver; pattern pieces for petticoats, figured or embroidered; dressing-gowns, kimonos, or made-up garments; hose, ribbons, or handkerchiefs; or any fabric which contains silk."

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- 1 Ed. note: Elephants were a kind of cheap cotton cloth imported from China and bearing the elephant trademark.
  - 2 Ed. note: Cotton cloth imported from Cambaya, India.
  - 3 Ed. note: Indian calicoes.
  - 4 Ed. note: Pieces of cotton canvas whose standard size was 1 yard wide by 8 yards in length.
  - 5 Ed. note: Some kind of Chinese brocade.

The penalty for transgression of this order are confiscation of such goods, payment of three times their value (this amount to be shared between the royal fiscal, the judge [sic], and the informer), and perpetual exile from the Indies; and the confiscated goods are to be burned. Declarations of goods shipped are absolutely prohibited; those who are permitted to trade must be chosen by the city of Manila, without the aid of any official; the duties to be paid are fixed at 100,000 pesos for each voyage, with the express stipulation that this payment is to be called an adjustment of duties, and not indult; no religious person and no foreigner must be allowed to ship goods; every shipper must present an itemized invoice of the goods sent; the ships must not be overloaded; no right to lading-space may be transferred to another person. Provision is made for inspection, valuation, and landing of goods, and for the disposition to be made of such as shall be confiscated; and the limit of six months is fixed for the disposal of all Chinese silk goods that may be on hand in New Spain when the decree is published, after which time all that are found must be burned.

### **Editorial notes—The reactions**

This decree was received at Manila on 2 August 1722, and was immediately proclaimed. The municipal council of Manila protested against it, and presented two memorials, insisting on the suspension of this regulation, the main reason being that a profit of 50% was required just to equal the risks, and that the permissible goods would not return a profit over 10%. The Audiencia sent a letter to the King on 9 November 1722, in which they requested, among other things, that the prohibition against the silk trade should be removed and that the yearly permit be increased from 300,000 to 500,000 pesos. The provincials of the religious orders, and many other organizations, also protested.

Two ambassadors were sent to Madrid by the City of Manila. They presented their credentials and a printed memorial. The main point made in this memorial was that the silk trade between the Philippines and New Spain had not harmed the merchants of Spain, since the silk produced in Spain is not enough for the home market.<sup>1</sup>

On 14 June 1723, the Council referred the memorial to their Fiscal for advice. Matters were also discussed at public meetings at Seville and Cadiz; memorials were sent to Madrid, urging the King to enforce his decree. Their arguments were countered by another memorial from the Manila representatives. This latest memorial was referred by the Council to the Fiscal on 6 October 1723. More memorials, and other protests from the cities of Toledo, Ecija, and Murcia, were also sent to the Fiscal. The opinion of the Fiscal, presented on 16 March 1724, was that the decree should be changed, or enforced. He recommended that the silk trade should not be prohibited to the citizens of Manila, since it was necessary for their maintenance.

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1 In fact, Chinese silk was then imported into Spain from third countries: e.g. France, Holland, and England.



The Council considered the matter on 6 April, and decided that the decree of 1720 should be changed; they recommended that the Philippine trade should be continued as before the decree, but employing only one large galleon, and that an earlier decree (that of 1702) be enforced, which said that the basis for the valuation of the goods shipped should be shippers' invoices. **This new decision was approved by the King on 17 June 1724.** On 28 September 1724, the deputies from Manila presented another printed memorial, in which they proposed a plan for preventing the abuses of the Manila-Acapulco trade. For instance, the size of the Manila galleon should be as follows: keel length 60 cubits; breadth 20 cubits, depth of hold 10 cubits; the crew size should be 250 men, not counting the officers. The matter continued to be discussed in 1725, and 1726. Finally, during a trial period of 5 years, 1726-31, the annual galleon was to carry a maximum of 4,000 allotments, or "pieces"; at most 500 of these could be used for silk goods.

The fight over this trade did not stop there. Finally, **another royal decree, dated 8 April 1734,** was issued to regulate the Philippine commerce, but it did not silence protests from merchants in Spain. By 1735, memorials and counter-memorials were still being presented to the Council. The case files had by this time grown so thick that the Council ordered another review, in order to try and settle the controversy. The result was the report by Abreu, dated Madrid 11 May 1736, from which the above synopsis was made. By this time, however, the Royal Philippine Company had already been created and the situation had drastically been changed forever.

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## Document 1720F

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# Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1719 and 1720

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1, fol. 50-99v.*

## Subsidy sent aboard the galleon *Sacra Familia* in 1720

### Original text in Spanish.

*Despacho de los dos situados de las Yslas Philipinas tocantes a los años de 1719 y 1720, y resto de el de 1718, en el Galeon Capitana nombrado la Sacra Familia.*

...

*Señores Juezes Ofiziales de la Real Hazienda y Caxa de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Los seiscientos treze mill novecientos catorze pesos siete tomines y tres granos de los tres situados los quinientos mill tocantes a los del año proximo passado de mill setecientos y diez y nueve, y el presente de mill setecientos y veinte, y los ciento treze mill novecientos catorze pesos siete tomines y tres granos que se dejaron de remitir el año de mill setecientos y diez y ocho de el residuo de el, y defalque duplicado que se executo por ofiziales Reales de Acapulco el año de mill setecientos y diez y siete, tocante todo a esas Yslas, los que vino a conducir y llevar a ellas el Galeon Capitana La **Sacra Familia** se ajustan y cumplen con las partidas siguientes:*

...

### *Gastos independientes de los Situados.*

...

#### ***Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Cinquenta y nueve mill ochocientos setenta y seis pesos cinco tomines y quatro granos pagados de esta Real Caxa los quarenta y dos mill setecientos y cinquenta pesos de ellos para el Governador[,] Sargento maior y sesenta soldados Españoles de la Dotacion del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas, y los diez y siete mill ciento veinte y seis pesos cinco tomines y quatro granos restantes; para quinze Religiosos de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, onze Sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores los que se hallan empleados en las Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad y augmentando nuestra Santa Fee, en servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de S.M. Catholica; una y otra cantidad perteneciente a los Situados de los años de mill*

*setecientos y diez y nueve y mill setecientos y veinte, el uno cumplido, y el otro anticipado segun costumbre y lo dispuesto: yncluiendose en la ultima de las dos partidas, lo tocante al Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas, como tambien lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, y la de azeite para encender lamparas que alumbren al Santisimo Sacramento del altar delante de los ocho sagrarios en que se halla colocado su Divina Magd. en otras tantas yglesias, con la decencia y adorno posible, todo en conformidad de la Real voluntad, y conforme à Certificaciones y Listas remitidas y presentadas ..... 59,876p 5t 4g*

...

*Dios nuestro Señor guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico y Marzo 18 de 1720.*

*Dor. Don Joseph de Ozaeta*

*Simon de Carragal*

*Pedro de Larburu*

### **Translation.**

**Despatch of the two subsidies of the Philippine Islands for the years 1719 and 1720, and the remainder of that of 1718, aboard the flagship galleon named *Sacra Familia*.**

...

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal Audiencia and Treasury of the City of Manila.

The 613,914 pesos 7 tomins and 3 grains of the three subsidies, 500,000 of which correspond to those for last year 1719 and for the present year 1720, and 113,914 pesos 7 tomins and 3 grains are what was not remitted in the year 1718 and constitutes its remainder, that had been discounted twice by the Royal officials in Acapulco in the year 1717, all of which refer to those Islands, and are about to be carried thither by the flagship galleon ***Sacra Familia*** which came over for this purpose. They are apportioned as shown in the following entries:

...

### **Expenditures independent of the subsidies.**

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

A total of 59,876 pesos 5 tomins and 4 grains paid out of this Royal treasury, 42,750 pesos of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and the 60 Spanish soldiers on the established list of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 17,126 pesos 5 tomins and 4 grains are for 15 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 11 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, who are presently employed in the Missions of those Islands, preaching the Holy Gospel, promoting their new Christian community and increasing our holy Faith, in the service of God our Lord and of His Catholic Majesty. Both sums correspond to the subsidies for the years 1719 and 1720, the former being due and the

latter paid in advance, as is the usual and approved practice. Included in the latter of the two sums is the amount corresponding to the Seminary for Mariano Boys, where they are being taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers, and also the alm for the wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and for the oil with which to feed the lamps that alight the most holy Sacrament of the altar before the 8 sanctuaries where His divine Majesty is being kept in as many churches, with as much decorum as possible, everything in agreement with the Royal will, and in accordance with certificates and lists remitted and presented ..... 59,876p 5t 4g

...

May God our Lord save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 18 March 1720.

Doctor José de Ozaeta

Simon de Carragal

Pedro de Larburu

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 Documents 1720G
 

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## The case against Governor Pimentel (cont'd)

*Source: AGI Fil. 526.*

### G1. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila to the King, dated 16 July 1720

#### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. del recibo de la Real Zedula de seis de Julio de mil setecientos y catorce en que V.M. la participa quedarse esperando la noticia de haverse determinado la causa de Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Governador de Marianas sobre haver admitido en uno de sus puertos al enemigo que apresó el Navio Almiranta de estas Yslas, y lo obrado en esta razon de que remite Testimonio.—El testimonio de N. 15.*

*Señor:*

*En el galeon del año pasado de setecientos y diez y siete recibio esta Audiencia la Real Zedula de V.M. fecha en el Pardo à seis de Julio de mil setecientos y catorce, en que V.M. previene quedar esperando noticia de haverse sustanciado, y determinado la causa fulminada contra el Governador de las Yslas Marianas sobre haver admitido en ellas sin alguna resistencia à los enemigos, que apresaron el Navio Almiranta de estas Yslas, para cuyo efecto avia expedido V.M. la Real orden que expresa el despacho de veinte y quatro de Julio del año pasado de setecientos y doce[,] el qual se recibio por esta Audiencia por Julio del año pasado de setecientos y treze, y en su virtud se procedio à la sustanciacion de la causa: y por lo que resustó de mayor averiguacion, que se hizo, se declaró por culpado al referido Governador, y mando prender, y embargar con las demas providencias de que en carta de veinte y cinco de Julio de dho año de catorce se dio cuenta à V.M. como mejor parece de su contexto que es como se sigue:*

*Señor:*

El año pasado de setecientos y trece dio cuenta à V.M. esta Audiencia en carta de veinte y siete de Julio de lo obrado por ella, y el Gobierno, sobre el porte del Governador de Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel con los Piratas Yngleses que apresaron la Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** sobre las costas de Acapulco, y haverse mandado proceder à mayor averiguacion para la determinacion

de dha causa: en cuyo estado se recivio en esta Audiencia Vuestra Real Zedula de veinte y quatro de Julio de setecientos y doze en que se sirvio mandar se procediese à sustanciarla y determinarla conforme à derecho, y lo mismo sobre la perdida de dha Almiranta de que se dio vista à Vuestro Fiscal, quien por escrito de trece de septiembre pidio su cumplimiento sobre que se acordó dar traslado con termino de tercero dia à la parte del General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, y que pasado bolviesen los Autos para la determinazion que huviese lugar. Y por lo que mira à la averiguacion sobre la perdida de dicha Almiranta se nombró para su execucion al Oidor Decano Dor. Don Joseph de Torralba quien está entendiendo en dichas diligencias de que se da quenta aparte à V.M.

Y visto lo alegado por parte del dicho Governador de Marianas por haver venido este año el Patache **Santo Domingo**, que se avia despachado el antecedente à dhas Yslas se mando que para pasar con pleno conocimiento à lo prevenido por dicha Real Zedula se procediese por el Oidor que se avia nombrado para las diligencias de mayor averiguacion à examinar las personas que en dicho Patache huviesen venido de las Yslas Marianas con la mayor brevedad y secreto à la Audiencia para proceder à lo demas que huviese lugar, y en su consecuencia el Oidor Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa examinó quatro testigos que se hallaron en Marianas quando aportó à ellas el Yngleses [sic], que visto en el Acuerdo el dia veinte y quatro del corriente se declaró al referido Governador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel por culpado en los cargos que de dicha averiguacion y autos ante[ce]dentemente procesados resultan, y que se pasase à su prision y embargo de bienes cometiendo la execucion de ello al Juez de la rressidencia que se avia mandado despachar à dicho Governador con comision para que substanciase en dhas Yslas Marianas la causa por los terminos del derecho, y la remitiese con el reo en estado de sentencia à esta Audiencia[,] de cuya determinacion en justicia dará quenta à V.M. con testimonio en la primera ocasion repitiendola en la presente de lo obrado como V.M. manda.

N.S.G.L.C.R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad ha menester.

Sala de Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila y Julio veinte y cinco de mil setecientos y catorce.

El Conde de Lizarraga

Dor. Don Joseph de Torralba

Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

*Y con efecto en el Patache **Santo Domingo** que se despacho à dhas Yslas el dicho año de catorce se libraron los [des]pachos y ordenes prevenidas para la execucion de lo determinado, encargando aquel Gobierno interim tomava su posicion [sic] Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, al Sargento Mayor de ellas Don Joseph de Quiroga, y la Comision acordada al Juez de la Ressidencia de dho Don Juan Antonio Pimentel que fue el Capitan Don Joseph Hermoso. Pero por haver arribado sin hazer su viage dicho Patache, y muerto el Conde de Lizarraga, y haver quedado solo en la Audiencia y Gobierno de estas Yslas el oidor Don Joseph de Torralba con la prision que executó en el Oidor Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, se alteró lo dispuesto en prosecucion de las diligencias enunciadas, de suerte, que por las que se hizieron por dicho Don Joseph de Torralba y sus Conjuезes en la Audiencia aviendo oido nuevamente las partes, se proveyo Auto à los diez y siete de Febrero de mil setecientos y diez y siete en que mandaron suspender la determinazion de esta causa hasta que viniese la resolucion de V.M.*

*En cuyo estado quedó suspendido este negocio hasta que con el motivo de la citada Real Cedula recibida el año diez y siete gobernando estas Yslas el Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo y nuevo ingreso en la Audiencia del Oidor Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, se resolvió nuevamente executar lo acordado en veinte y quatro de Julio de setecientos y catorce y que para su cumplimiento se despachase el Juez de la Pesquisa y Ressidencia que se avia mandado como se refiere en la antecedente: lo qual no pudo tener efecto hasta el año de diez y nueve por no haver correspondido hasta entonces despacho de Patache à dichas Yslas, desde que suspendio estas providencias el referido Don Joseph de Torralba. Y aunque se procuró dar cumplimiento à ellas en el Patache despachado dicho año de diez y nueve por el referido Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando de Bustillo en que ivan el General Don Manuel de Arguelles[,] yerno de dho Governador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel à sucederle en este cargo, y el Capitan Don Joseph Ruiz con las comisiones de rressidencia y Perquisa, tampoco tubieron efecto por haver buuelto de arribada dicho Patache sin conseguir el viage (cuya causa esta pendiente en justicia y en primera ocasion se dará quenta à V.M. con su determinacion y autos).*

*Por cuya razon no se ha podido tomar la ultima determinacion en este expediente, y se repiten nuevamente en el Patache de este año que está proximo à salir para dichas Yslas Marianas, los mismos despachos cometidos à dicho Don Joseph Ruiz, y de Governador [de] aquellas Yslas pasa Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle provisto por V.M. quedando esta Audiencia con toda atencion à evacuar las diligencias de mejor cumplimiento de Vuestras Reales Ordenes citadas en vista de lo que resultare de dicha Pesquisa y Ressidencia y de dar quenta à V.M. como nos manda.*

*N.S.G.L.C.R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad ha menester y sus Dominios necesitan.*

*Sala de Acuerdo de Vuestra Audiencia de Manila y Julio diez y seis de mil setecientos y veinte.—*

*Fr. Francisco Arzobispo de Manila*

*Licenciado Joseph Antonio Pavon*

*Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. the receipt of the Royal decree of 6 July 1714 in which Y.M. lets them know that you are awaiting the news of the completion of the case against Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Marianas, concerning his having made welcome in one of their ports the enemies who captured the Almiranta of these Islands, and what was done about it, enclosing the record of proceedings.—Ref. record marked n° 15.

Sire:

✠

Año De 1720.

Traslado Authentico  
 De las Dilig. hechas S. la  
 providen. del Gov. no de las Islas  
 Marianas a Comuladas en los Auto  
 res formados en Virt. de R.  
 Cedula. Contra el Teniente  
 General Don Juan Antonio pi  
 mental Gov. y Capitan General  
 de estas Islas Marianas.  
 El Archivo q. hizieron a ellos  
 Los Ingleses que apresaron  
 con la Almiranta Nuestra  
 Señora de la In Carnacion

Dña.



Aboard the galleon of the past year 1717, this Audiencia received the Royal decree of Y.M. dated Pardo 6 July 1714,<sup>1</sup> in which Y.M. advised them that he remained awaiting news of the substantiation and determination of the case brought against the Governor of the Mariana Islands, concerning his having welcomed there, without any resistance, the enemies who had captured the Almiranta of these Islands, and regarding which Y.M. had issued a previous Royal order with the despatch dated 24 July 1712,<sup>2</sup> which was received by this Audiencia in July 1713, and by virtue of which proceedings took place to substantiate the case, and the above-mentioned Governor was declared guilty, and ordered arrested, with his property embargoed, as specified in a letter dated 25 July of said year 1714, by which Y.M. was informed in the manner shown in the copy that follows:

*Sire:*

*In a letter dated 17 July of last year 1713,<sup>3</sup> this Audiencia reported to Y.M. what it, and the Government, had done about the behavior of the Governor of the Marianas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, with the English pirates who captured the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** along the coasts of Acapulco, having ordered further proceedings to find out said cause. Said cause was in this stage when this Audiencia received the Royal decree of 24 July 1712 in which Y.M. was pleased to order the prosecution until said case be substantiated and determined according to law, and the same thing applied to the loss of said Almiranta. The matter was referred to Your Fiscal who, in a statement dated 13 September, requested compliance; so, we decided to have the case file loaned to the attorney of General Juan Antonio Pimentel for three days, at the end of which he was to return it, so that a determination be taken. And, regarding the investigation of the loss of said Almiranta, our member Doctor Joseph de Torralba was named to carry it out, and he is presently involved in said proceedings, which form the subject of a separate report to Y.M.*

*And regarding the allegations against said Governor of the Marianas, on the occasion of the return this year of the patache **Santo Domingo** which had been despatched the previous year to said Islands, an order was issued to the appointed Member to proceed with a full investigation, and to interrogate the persons who had come aboard the Mariana Islands aboard said patache as soon as possible and secretly inform the Audiencia, for whatever further action was necessary. Consequently, our member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa interrogated four witnesses who had been present in the Marianas when the English made port there. The result was a decision by the Audiencia, taken on 24th of this month; the above-mentioned Governor, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, was found guilty of the charges that resulted from said investigation and previous proceedings, and ordered arrested and his property embargoed. Execution of this sentence was entrusted to the Judge of his residencia who had been ordered despatched to said Governor, with a commission to substantiate the case according to law at said Mariana Islands, and then to remit the accused to this Audiencia, ready for sentence to be rendered. The determination in court of said case will be reported to Y.M. with a record of proceedings at the first opportunity, that will include the proceedings so far, as Y.M. orders.*

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1712A8.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1712A2.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1712A7.

*May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.*

*From the law-courts of the Audiencia of Manila, 25 July 1714.*

*The Count of Lizarraga.*

*Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba.*

*Licenciate Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.*

En effect, the patache **Santo Domingo** was despatched to said Islands in 1714 with some proper despatches and orders for the execution of the court decision, one entrusting that Government ad interim to Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, another for Don José de Quiroga to be Sergeant-Major, and a Commission granted to Captain Don José Hermoso to act as Judge of the Residencia of said Don Juan Antonio Pimentel. However, said patache aborted its voyage, and the Count of Lizarraga died, leaving Don José de Torralba alone in the Audiencia and Government of these Islands, given that the other member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa had been put in jail. Hence the plan for the announced proceedings was altered, so that said Don José de Torralba and his co-judges in the Audiencia heard witnesses once again, and a provision was issued on 17 February 1717 by which was ordered the suspension of the determination of this case until a decision came from Y.M.

Things remained so suspended, until said Royal decree was received in 1717 when Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo was governing these Islands, and Member Gregorio Manuel de Villa had once again taken his place in the Audiencia; it was again decided to execute what had been resolved on 24 July 1714, and to comply with it, a Judge of Inquiry and Residencia was to be despatched, as stated previously; however, this did not take effect until then because a patache had not been despatched to said Islands since the suspension of these proceedings by the above-mentioned Don José de Torralba. And although compliance was attempted with the patache that was despatched by said Field-Marshal Fernando de Bustillo in said year 1719, aboard which was General Manuel de Argüelles, son-in-law of said Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel, to succeed him in the post, and Captain José Ruiz with the commissions of residencia and inquiry, it did not take effect either, because said patache turned back in distress, without achieving the voyage (said case being pending in court and at the first opportunity Y.M. will be informed about its determination, with transcripts).

That is why the final determination of this case file could not be made, but once again the same despatches committed to said José Ruiz have been repeated aboard this year's patache which is about to leave for said Mariana Islands. Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle has now been provided by Y.M. as Governor of those Islands, and this Audiencia remains concerned with the completion of the efforts necessary to better comply with Your Royal Orders mentioned above, in view of the eventual results of said Inquiry and Residencia, in order to report to Y.M., as we have been ordered.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom and your dominions need.

From the law-courts of Your Audiencia of Manila, 16 July 1720.—

Fray Francisco, Archbishop of Manila.<sup>1</sup>  
 Licenciante José Antonio Pavon.  
 Licenciante Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

## G2. Notes from the case file.

Extracts were made in duplicate to be sent to Madrid. They contain the Royal Agreement dated Manila 24 April 1719, in which the Audiencia lifted the earlier suspension and reaffirmed the agreement of 24 July 1714, in which Pimentel had been charged, ordered arrested, and his property embargoed. They then entrusted the Judge commissioned to hold the residencia, or audit, to carry the above orders, and prepare the paperwork, including a draft sentence, for consideration by the Audiencia.

In a decree dated Manila 20 August 1719, they appointed Captain José Ruiz to carry it this commission (text included), in accordance with Royal decree dated Madrid 13 February 1704 (Doc. 1704F2) and Royal decree dated Madrid 18 February 1707 (Doc. 1707A).

The royal agreement dated Manila 12 July 1714, appointing Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez del Tagle to succeed Pimentel as Governor of the Marianas, is also reproduced.

By royal agreement dated Manila 24 April 1719, the Audiencia ordered the preparation of detailed instructions for Captain Ruiz. Such instructions were signed on 22 August 1719. Captain Ruiz was sworn in as judge the next day, and given his Royal provision (text included).

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fray Francisco de la Cuesta, of the Order of San Gerónimo, had been imprisoned by Governor Bustillo. After the latter was assassinated on 11 October 1719, he was freed from jail and became interim Governor of the Philippines, until 24 July 1721 (ref. B&R 51:309).

A  
**V O Y A G E**  
 R O U N D T H E  
**W O R L D.**

Being an Account of a  
**Remarkable Enterprize,**

B E G U N

In the Year 1719, chiefly to cruise on the  
*Spaniards* in the great *South Ocean*.

Relating the

True historical Facts of that whole Affair :

Testifyd by many imployd therein; and con-  
 firm'd by Authorities from the Owners.

---

By *WILLIAM BETAGH*,  
 Captain of Marines in that Expedition.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. COMBES at the *Bible and Dove* in *Pater-noster*  
*Row*, J. LACY at the *Ship* near *Temple Bar*, and J. CLARKE  
 at the *Bible* under the *Royal Exchange*. MDCCXXVIII.

Title page of the Voyage of Captain Clipperton.

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## Documents 1721A

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# The English pirate ship *Success*, Captain Clipperton, beaten off Guam

*Sources: The primary source is the Journal of George Taylor, edited by William Betagh, and published as: A Voyage Round the World. Being an Account of a Remarkable Enterprize, Begun In the Year 1719, chiefly to cruise on the Spaniards in the great South Ocean. Relating the True historical Facts of that whole Affair: Testifyd by many employd therein; and confirmd by Authorities from the Owners. By William Betagh, Captain of Marines in that Expedition (London, 1728). Secondary sources: 1) Harris, vol. 1, pp. 184-198; 2) Burney, vol. 4, pp. 544-546; 3) Callander, vol. 3, pp. 478-485; 4) Kerr, vol. 10, chap. XI.*

### Introductory note.

England being again at war with Spain, the English King George I offered some privateers commissions to cruise after Spanish ships. In 1719, some London merchants appointed Captain George Shelvocke, a former Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, to command an expedition of two ships: the *Success* (36 guns and commanded directly by Captain John Clipperton, a former mate of Captain Dampier) and the *Speedwell* (24 guns). However, at the last minute, the owners withdrew their favor from Captain Shelvocke, for some unknown reasons, and appointed Clipperton as overall commander.

The instructions for this voyage were to cruise on the coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico, and to try if possible to capture a Manila galleon. The two captains quarrelled and separated soon after leaving England. Shelvocke was wrecked on Juan Fernandez Island off the coast of Chile, but he built a small vessel out of the wreckage. He again met with Clipperton quite by accident along the Mexican coast but, again, they went their separate ways. The privateers had not met with much success up to that point.

Clipperton, in his good ship *Success* decided to go to Guam to wait for the returning Manila galleon there. He arrived at Guam in May 1721. Shelvocke followed him a few months later, but did not stop at Guam.

## A1. A Voyage Round the World, edited by Betagh

...

Nothing material happens in all these traverses till March 7th [1721].<sup>1</sup>

“Our officers consult, and resolve to joyn captain Shelvocke the next time we meet, in order to attempt the Acapulco ship homeward bound.”

13th. “Made a sail, which by the signals proving to be captain Shelvocke, we brought to. He comes aboard with his lieutenants. Our captain and they agree in general, that if we meet the Manilla ship, Shelvocke’s company to joyn us, and run her aboard at once.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly we cruise for her: and on the 15th captain Clipperton holds another consultation; wherein proposals being agreed on, are sign’d and sent to captain Shelvocke; *That if he and his crew would refund all the money shared among themselves contrary to their articles with the owners, and agree to put it in a joynt stock, then all faults should be forgot; both companies would unite, and procede to cruise for the Acapulco ship.*”

17. “Not hearing from captain Shelvocke, and the time for the Manilla ship setting out being several days past: Resolved in a council to make our best dispatch for East India. We have an infirm ship’s company, and but five months provision, which must serve us to China unless we get a supply at Guam.”

“At six in the evening, the westmost land in sight, which I take to be port Marquiss<sup>3</sup> bore N.N.W. eight leagues; from whence I take my departure, it lying in 16 : 50 north latitude.”

May 10th.<sup>4</sup> “This day at noon we make Serpana one of the Ladron Islands, Guam being a few leagues farther ahead. The latitude of Serpana I find to be 13 : 42 N. and the difference of longitude from port Marquiss 121 : 08 W. Nothing worth notice has happen’d in this tedious passage, only burying six of our hands. All our people are very weak, and take the scurvy apace: so that land is now a very welcome sight.”

13. “Anchor at the island of Guam. Send the pinnace ashore with a flag of truce. They tell our lieutenant, they cannot trade with us without leave from the Governer.”

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1 Ed. note: The text that follows in quotation marks is a direct quotation from George Taylor.

2 Ed. note: Callander adds: “To prevent their meeting with the same fate which befel Capt. Rogers and Capt. Courtney, when they attempted the biggest Manilla ship.

3 Ed. note: In close proximity to Acapulco.

4 Ed. note: Unfortunately, Betagh did not publish anything about the 2-month crossing to Guam, and not one word about this ship’s re-discovery of the island that henceforth bore the name of Clipperton Island.

16. "A prow came from the governer with Mr. Godfrey our agent, acquainting us, that we may be supply'd with provisions. Accordingly our launch brought aboard some cattle, bread, sugar, brandy and fruit. The next day his honour sent us a handsome present of palm wine, sugar and chocolate: for which we drink his health with a complement of seven guns."

May 18th. "The marquiss de Villa Roche our prisoner, went ashore in company with our agent, the first lieutenant and doctor, having agreed with the governer about his ransom.<sup>1</sup> We give him five guns at landing. Our launch is employ'd these six days in bringing wood, and water, and provision aboard: during which time the governer desired he might have some arms and ammunition in exchange. Accordingly captain Clipperton sends him twelve fuzees, three jars of powder, sixty round shot, four pair of pistols; beside cutlases, long swords and daggers."

25. "Receive a letter, wherein the governer demands the marquis's jewels, some consecrated plate, and two Nigros being christians and subjects to the king of Spain: as also a certificate under the captain and officers hands that peace was proclaimed; detaining Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pritty 'till all this is performd. Here-upon our captain sends a letter with a certificate that the **Solidad** [sic], the last prize we took on the coast of Chili, told us there was a peace between England and Spain; but withal assured the governer that if he did not in 24 hours send the ransom with the two gentlemen, he would demolish the houses upon the shore, burn the ship in the harbour, and do all the mischief he could at the Phillipine islands. In the mean time we receive a letter that the governer will pay for the consecrated plate, and desires more powder and shot. To which our captain sends answer that he will not spare any more ammunition or the Nigros."

28. "Our yawl went ashore for more provision: but the officer of the village told us we should have no more, unless we sent more powder and shot: upon which we immediately weighd, staying for no answer by Mr. Godfrey or Mr. Pritty. Sent the pinnace ahead to sound, and made the best of our way to the ship in the harbour. The people ashore had raised a battery during this sham treaty, from whence they began to fire at our pinnace; which being returned gave account that what channel they found, was within pistol shot of the shore. At six afternoon, in making up to the ship, we run aground, they having carry'd her into shoal water:<sup>2</sup> so that now we sustain[ed] two fires together, one from the battery over our heads, and another from the ship. At nine we got foul of the rocks where we cut away two of our anchors indeavouring to get the ship off; during which time the enemy fired so wamly with stones and shot from a new

1 Ed. note: This man had been the President of Panama. Burney says that "the Marquis had been prisoner and as hostage with Clipperton sixteen months... The Marquis de Villa Roche was taken prisoner in January 1720. The treaty of peace between England and Spain was not signed at Madrid till June that year. The agreement between the Marquis and Clipperton for the ransom of himself and family, was likewise made before the peace. The legality of such an agreement may be questioned, the Marquis not being a free agent at the time, and because the practice of extorting ransom from prisoners had long fallen into disuse among Europeans..."

2 Ed. note: Kerr commented incorrectly: "This unexplained circumstance probably meant, that the Success had at this time Spanish pilots, who betrayed her."

battery erected on a hill, that we suffer'd extremely in our hull and rigging. We have three men wounded, beside the misfortune of losing Mr. Davi[d]son our first lieutenant who was an honest fellow and a good officer. Thus the **Success** is forced to lye in a miserable condition exposed to the continual fire of the enemy, who in the night have still this advantage of us; that the surface of the water being smooth as a millpond easily shows them our position, whereas we have no other direction for our aim than the flashes of their guns."

29. "In this emergence our captain being overcome with liquor, and quite unable to command the ship; we officers came to a resolution of running out clear of the enemy as soon as we could get the ship afloat, and signed a paper to indemnify Mr. Cook if he would take upon him the command. At four afternoon we set her floating and cut away the small bower anchor; but in ten minutes we run aground again: at seven carry out the kedge anchor; but in heaving, the hawser broke. We immediately carry out another hawser with a lower deck gun to it, having now lost all our anchors and still aground. At five, carry out the maintopmast-shroud hawser on the starboard bow with another gun; still plying the enemy with our great guns below, and small arms on the poop. We do them little mischief; tho' they never miss us, especially our boats as soon as they see them stir. At eleven forenoon, carry out the rest of the small bower, with two lower deck guns right ahead into five fathom: we clear away the hold ready to start our water to make the ship lighter: got our upper and lower deck guns forward to bring her by the head, the ship hanging abaft on a rock: we keep two guns out of the stern ports, continually firing at the enemies new battery; but can't bring them to bear. These twenty four hours we have happily only one wounded: but the ship is wretchedly paid off between wind and water."

30. "At six afternoon the ship floating, we cut away the yawl being sunk with the shot: the other boats are much damaged: hove to our small bower; then cut away it, and the other two hawsers, and sent the pinnace ahead to tow the ship off. Just as we got afloat, the enemy fired so smartly from the new battery that their shot raked us through between wind and water, killing one of our people, and wounding two others. Thus have we lost both our bower anchors and cables, the stream and kedge anchors, four hawsers, four of our lower deck guns, nineteen barrels of powder, two men kill'd and six wounded: having stood these fifty hours, a fair mark for the enemy to fire at: and if we had not got clear, I do believe they would have sunk us before morning. We are all very sorry for Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Pritty, not knowing how the governer may use them ashore. At ten afternoon we brought to, and begin to splice our rigging, not a rope of which has escaped a shot: As for the masts and yards, they have all been severely pepper'd, and the carpenters have been all night stopping the holes in the ships bottom. At seven forenoon stow our guns in the hold, but in the ports, hoist in the launch and pinnace, and at noon steer away west with an easy sail, hoping to save our passage before the Monsoons come on. Wind at S.S.E."

31. "Our carpenters are employed in fishing the masts and yards, and the rest of our people in fixing the rigging. At six afternoon, the body of the island Guam bore E. seven



leagues, from whence I take my departure, north latitude 13 : 20. allowing half a point N.E. variation, designing now for China. Nothing remarkable till”

June 23. ”Find our ship to be in a very weak condition, scarce a whole timber in her upper works: discover one of our fashion pieces to be shot through, which being the chief support of the after part of the ship, we are obliged to strap her, to keep her together: it blowing pretty fresh, we dare not carry sail; having been forced for a week past to scud under bare poles through variable winds and bad weather. We impatiently look out for land, being afraid the currents have forcibly set us much to the eastward.”

24. “At day break, find our selves among several islands, one of which is Barbuon [rather Babuyan] at the north point of the island Luconia. I saw also seven rocks, mark’d in some draughts; and likewise other islands, mark’d in some manuscripts with a figure of 5, and by captain Dampier called the Bashee islands. Dampier’s account and mine agree: but by Dr. [Edmund] Halley’s chart to Luconia, my reckoning is out by above three degrees; except he means the south cape of Luconia which may reconcile the difference.”

“From June 14th to 19th [rather 24-29]. I found the current set to the southward; but whether W. or E. I know not: and from thence chiefly northward.”

30. “Make the isle and shoals of Prata[s] latitude 20 : 46 N. The longitude from Barbuon to it is 4 : 46 W.

July 1st. “Saw a sail to the eastward which we take to be a China junk. At six forenoon see other islands, and several boats a fishing. At nine forenoon bent the sheet cable: sounded in 30 fathom clay ground. At noon had the islands from N.N.E. to W. by S; these lands were never mark’d in any chart. Longitude from Prata[s] 2 west.”

2. “Anchor in 13 fathom: send away the pinnace for intelligence how Macao bore...”

## A2. Comments in Harris’ Voyages

*Note: Kerr and Callander have also paraphrased these comments.*

This was certainly one of the worst errors committed by Clipperton; for he should never have quitted the Marquis, who had behaved so dirtily to him before, without having the money in his hand; nor had the Marquis any title to favour: A nobleman, that acts the scoundrel, degrades himself. Besides, if Captain Clipperton had kept the Marquis, there had been an end of all his schemes, and either the Spanish Governour of Guam would not, or could not, have treated him as he did; for it is more than probable, that he was forced to behave in this strange manner by the Marquis. The last mistake of Clipperton’s was his pretending to attack the town in the manner he did. The commander of a privateer should never attempt revenge, unless he is certain of compassing his design; and, if he had dissembled, as well as the enemy, he might have found an opportunity of making them repent their ill usage.

### A3. Epilogue, by Captain Burney

#### **Clipperton arrives at China.**

July the 2d, he arrived at Amoei, and immediately after, the ship's company demanded distribution to be made of all prize money and prize goods. Clipperton objected or pretended to object, and the crew made appeal to Chinese authority, which without any repugnance took cognizance of the matter, and sent on board an order for the distribution, accompanied by a guard of Chinese soldiers. The owners' moiety amounted to 6,000 pounds which was shipped on their account on board a homeward-bound Portuguese ship, the **Success** being judged incapable of proceeding to England. Nothing was set apart or reserved for the heirs or relations of those who had died in the voyage, or for those who were prisoners; but all their dues went to increase the shares of the captors present. By which division, the share of a foremast man was 419 dollars [i.e. pesos], and Clipperton had 6,285 dollars, being fifteen shares. The Portuguese ship which carried the owners' moiety, caught fire and was burnt in the harbour of Rio [de] Janeiro, and not more than 1,800 pounds was saved for the owners.

#### **The ship sold.**

The **Success** was sold at Macao on account of the owners, and her crew were accommodated with passages at the rate of 5 pounds per man on board the English homeward-bound ships, which price was settled at the English factory at Canton. Clipperton just lived to revisit his home, which was in Ireland, and died two days after joining his family.

#### **Editor's notes.**

The Spanish ship that exchanged shots with Clipperton at Merizo, Guam, was the patache **San Andrés**, Captain Antonio Bernabal, a Frenchman. Some 15 witnesses gave depositions in the legal inquiry that followed, including one Father Nicolas Aguirre, S.J. who was chaplain of the patache. This information comes from a note in relation with the Sanchez case file (ref. Doc. 1725E).

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## Documents 1721B

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# Captain Shelvocke, another English pirate, did not stop at Guam in October 1721 with the Happy Return, a Spanish prize

## B1. The narrative of Captain Shelvocke

*Source: Captain George Shelvocke. A Voyage Round the World (London, 1726), pp. 432-439.*

*Note: Shelvocke had arrived at Cape San Lucas on 11 August 1721. He careened the only ship he had left, a Spanish prize, in the port of Puerto Seguro. After that he took on water and wood with the assistance of the natives, in five days time, and took his departure from Cape San Lucas on the 18th of the same month.*

### Chap. XV. Transactions in our Passage between Puerto Seguro in California and the River of Canton in China.

Though I could not but be pleas'd in having compleated our work at Puerto Seguro in a few days, which if we had not been so opportunely assisted, would have taken us a month or two; yet I had vexation enough to over-balance the satisfaction of that, when I reflected on the hazards I had run in coming so far in hopes of seeing the **Success**, and the disappointment I lay under in not meeting her, either at the Tres Marias, or California, which gave me the greatest uneasiness; having sail'd a great deal out of my way, and incurr'd the danger of rendering my ship almost incapable of proceeding to Asia; for at best our sails and rigging were hardly ever fit to cope with a brisk gale, and were now grown so very thin and rotten, that if in crossing the vast ocean we were going to launch ourselves into, any accident should happen to us in the loss of any of our sails or masts, it would have gone very hard with us, who had no change of either, and far distant from any place where we might find relief. But I had the satisfaction within myself of having added this instance of my endeavours toward the advantage of the expedition in general.

**Friday, August 18, 1721.** As beforemention'd, I sail'd from Puerto Seguro, and the same evening took my departure from cape St. Lucas, in the Latitude of 23 deg. 50 min. North, bound to Canton in China, as the most likely place to find English ships homeward bound.

A  
**V O Y A G E**  
 R O U N D T H E  
**W O R L D**  
 By the Way of the  
**Great SOUTH SEA,**

Perform'd in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the  
*SPEEDWELL* of *London*, of 24 Guns and 100 Men,  
 (under His Majesty's Commission to cruize on the  
*Spaniards* in the late War with the *Spanish* Crown)  
 till she was cast away on the Island of *Juan Fernandes*,  
 in *May* 1720; and afterwards continu'd in the *RECC-*  
*VERY*, the *JESUS MARIA* and *SACRA FAMILIA*, &c.

By Capt. *GEORGE SHELVOCKE*, Commander of  
 the *SPEEDWELL*, *RECOVERY*, &c. in this EXPEDITION.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. SENEX, at the *Globe* against *St. Dunstan's Church*,  
*Fleetstreet*; W. and J. INNYs, at the *Prince's-Arms* in *St. Paul's*  
*Church-yard*; and J. OSBORN and T. LONGMAN, at the  
*Ship* in *Pater-noster Row*. MDCCXXVI

Title page of the Voyage of Captain Shelvocke.

**[Re-discovery of Socorro Island, by Shelvocke]**

[Note in margin:] Discover an island.

**August 21.** We discover'd an Island bearing W.S.W. 110 leagues distant from cape St. Lucas; I endeavour'd to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the distance of a 2 leagues. And the night coming on, and it blowing very fresh, I did not think it proper to lose so much way as we might in the night by laying by, or plying in for it. I judg'd it to be 7 or 8 leagues in circumference; on the S.W. of it there appear'd a large bay with a high rock in the middle of it; this Isle my People call'd after my name.<sup>1</sup>

[Note in margin: ] Meet with contrary winds.

From hence we steer'd down gradually into the parallel of 13 deg. North, but had our way stopp'd for two or three days by Westerly winds, which none could ever have expected in such Latitudes, and at a distance of 5 or 600 leagues from any land; we grew impatient at such an uncommon delay, and began to dread that we might meet with many such contrary winds in this passage; we made several conjectures on what might be the cause of it, but none that were [sic] very probable; but the trade wind prevailing again, we kept in the tract of 13 deg. North, except when we judg'd ourselves to be near the Shoals of St. Bartholomew, and then haul'd a degree more Northerly [sic], and so continued for a run of about 60 or 70 leagues.<sup>2</sup>

[Note in margin:] People taken with a sickness.

A fortnight after we had left California, my People, who had hitherto enjoy'd an uninterrupted state of health, began to be afflicted with a sickness, which particularly affected their stomachs, which was undoubtedly in the greatest measure owing to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually devouring, and also to our common food, which was puddings made of very coarse flour and sweet-meats, and salt water instead of fresh to moisten them, and dry'd beef, which was partly destroy'd by ants, cockroaches, and other vermin; we could not afford fresh water to boil the kettle once in the whole passage, so that this way of living brought the Scurvey and other distempers upon us, which was a melancholy condition for us to be in who had no medicines to apply to those who were already sick, nor to prevent those who were well, from falling into the same state; this sickness encreased upon us every day, insomuch that out of our small number we buried two in one day, which were John Popplestone, the ingenious Armourer, and the Carpenter's Mate; besides whom the Carpenter, Gunner, and several others, together with some of our best Negroes dy'd, and those who survived, had no great reason to expect otherwise than that they should follow them very speedily. We now labour'd under the greatest misfortunes that could happen to us, the greatest part of my People being disabled, and my ship beginning to be very leaky; and we

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- 1 Ed. note: See further comments by Betagh below. This island was Socorro Island. It is the only one in the Revillagigedo Archipelago that fits the description. In fact, the "high rock" inside a bay corresponds to Roca Doble Pinaculo (see map in Earl Hinz' *Pacific Wanderer*, p. 47). This island was first discovered by the Villalobos expedition in 1542 (see HM1:610).
  - 2 Ed. note: In increasing their latitude to 14°, they unknowingly got closer to danger, as the south point of Taongi Atoll lies at 14°30' lat. N.

had, just at this time, the ill luck of having one of our pumps split, and render'd useless. Under these unhappy circumstances were we push'd forward by favourable gales, till we came within 80 leagues of Guam, one of the Ladron Islands, where we met with black dismal weather, with tempestuous winds, varying all around the Compass; this was the more frightful to us by as much as we were not in a condition of helping ourselves, there not being above 6 or 7 that were fit to do any work, though necessity obliged even those that were extremely out of order to lend what help they could. These boisterous gales had raised such a tumbling sea, wherein our ship labour'd so much, that the knee of her head, and the whole beak-head became loose (this may appear strange to one who is not acquainted with their manner of building), so that the bowsprit fetch'd way, and play'd with the motion of the ship, and so continued to do all the rest of the time we were out at sea. Our main-mast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old ones till our labour was in vain. In Peru, where our ship was built and rigg'd,<sup>1</sup> they seem to have but little regard to the support of their masts, to which their stays and shrouds hold no proportion, and had not our masts at this time been extraordinary substantial, nothing but a miracle could have preserved us from ending our days upon the sea.

[Note in margin:] Myself taken with a dangerous sickness.

In the midst of all this, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no expectation of living much longer, till the Gout seizing upon me, gave me some painful hopes of the continuance of my life. But I, as well as the rest, was void of every necessary requir'd by a sick person, and had not so much as the least drop of spirituous liquor, nor any kind of food that a sick stomach could digest; those of us that were thus out of order, were very subject to fainting fits, in which my people had two or three times given me over for dead, but they did not last long.

[Note in margin:] Come in sight of the Ladron Islands.

In the beginning of October, 1721, we made the Island of Guam, 100 leagues short of Capt. Rogers's account, who makes 105 degrees difference of Longitude, between this and cape St. Lucas, and we did not make quite 100 degrees. We pass'd between the foremention'd Island and Serpana, and saw several flying prows, but none came near us; that day we had heavy squally weather, which obliged me to keep the deck, where, in the rain, I caught a cold, which threw me into a worse condition than before, in which I continued all the time I was in China.

The Island of Guam appears very green, and is of a moderate height; the prospect of land was very agreeable to us, after having run so great a length, and we could, with the greatest pleasure, have stopp'd to have purchased some refreshment of fruits, such as Lemons, Seville Oranges, &c. which would have been very good for such of us as

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1 Ed. note: Earlier, Shelvocke had described this ship variously as a "large ship," and "a good ship, 15 guns." This 300-ton ship, named **Sacra Familia** was a Peruvian ship captured in the Mexican port of Sonsonate (see Wycherley, p. 348).

had the Scurvey. But though we were upon the point of perishing, we dar'd not venture in for fear the Inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness to make some attempt upon us.

[Note in margin:] Meet with stormy weather.

The night after we had seen the Island of Guam, we had our maintopsail split, which, as it happen'd, prov'd no loss of way; for, during several days afterwards, we had such weather that we could bear no more than our lower canvas, which sufficiently try'd the strength of our ship, which was now very much impair'd, our main beam working and playing at every heel the ship gave.

[Note in margin:] Direct our course for the Island of Formosa.

From Guam I directed my course for the Island Formosa, and now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, our sickness was daily encreasing upon us in a much greater proportion, so that we, and our ship too, stood in the greatest need of a harbour, but we had a very long passage from the Ladron Islands to Formosa, insomuch that it was the 3d of November before we had any sight of that Island; just before we discover'd it, we had a sight of the Isle of Bottal Tobacco Xima, lying about 9 leagues to the Northeastward of the Southermost cape of Formosa, and, as the sun sat, we saw Formosa itself, appearing to be very high land.

[Note in margin:] Make the Island of Formosa.

The next day we rounded the Southern cape of it, and pass'd within a league of the rocks of Vele Rete, and by them were sensible of a very strong tide or current. The Formosians made several fires as we pass'd, but we were not in a condition to take any notice of them.

[Note in margin:] Arrival on the Coast of China.

From hence I directed a course for Pedro Blanco, on the coast of China. But on November the 6th, at day break, fell in with the mouth of the river of Loma on that coast, in 12 fathom water. We saw great numbers of fishing boats coming out of that river, and from the adjacent parts, but it proving very hazey, could not make the land plain enough to discover whereabouts we were, therefore endeavour'd to entice some of the fishermen aboard of us to Pilot us to Macao; but for want of understanding each others meanings we could not effect it. We were obliged to keep the land close aboard, and to come to an anchor every evening, which was a mighty fatigue to my ship's company, who were so universally down with the distemper reigning amongst us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to steer the ship; thus we were four days lost in the mist, and surprized at the sight of a great many islands which are omitted in our charts, on some of which we saw large fortifications; this made us believe that the current had carried us to the Southward of our port, and suggested to us every thing that might cast us down; for though the sea was covered with fishing barks, we could not find any of them that could set us right, or give us any directions we could understand.

But on the 10th of November, towards the evening, as we were passing through a very narrow channel, between a couple of islands, a fisherman that was near us, observing by our manner of working that we were half afraid to venture through, made signs

with his cap to us to bring to till he came up with us; when he came, he seemed to understand in general, that we enquired of him about the situation of Macao, and therefore made signs to us, that he would conduct us thither if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he had counted little fish out of his basket, which amounted to forty, we accordingly counted out forty dollars in a hat, and gave them to him, upon which he came into the ship, and took us in charge, and carried us through the narrow channel, and at sun set brought us to anchor...

...

## B2. Criticism of Shelvocke, by William Betagh

*Source: William Betagh (ed.). A Voyage Round the World (London, 1728), pp. 220-221.*

...

Captain George Shelvocke having here finishd his observations, prepares to cross the western ocean from Mexico to China; and with a hypocritical sigh laments the absence of Clipperton, whom he partly came hither to meet with: but says he had the inward comfort of having added this instance of his indeavours to the advantage of the expedition in general. p. 433.

Now I leave the reader to judge whether 'tis likely he came here to seek Clipperton, or was sorry for the disappointment, after having so long shund him, blinded the world with a false relation of his acquisition, conceald all the money, and divided it among three and thirty of them? and yet this man has the calm assurance to talk of his indeavours for the advantage of the expedition?

In two or three days sail he says he discovered land, which he takes the liberty of naming Shelvocke's island. Vain creature! dost thou expect any one after reading this narrative of your actions shall mention the word Shelvocke without ridicule? much less shall an island where you never set foot ashore be calld after your unworthy name. Had you been there sacrificed for your avarice and tyranny, as Peter Baldivia was at the place which bears his name, you might ever remain, like him, unrivald in your title; and your son George might have wrote your epitaph.<sup>1</sup>

In Shelvocke's passage over to Guam nothing material happens but the death of seven or eight more of his men; some of whose shares, I have reason to believe, became his perquisit: for two of their widows have assured me, that after much painful application they could get no relief. On his arrival at Guam he makes this cunning observation, that he found it one hundred leagues short of captain Rogers his account: but I don't wonder at that; because this later kept a public regular journal, and has printed each day's run; which book Shelvocke would never let his people look into, or keep a true reckoning themselves.

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1 Ed. note: Socorro Island which he re-discovered was never known to the English as Shelvocke Island, but was confused by some as being the same as Clipperton Island.



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## Document 1721C

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### Arrival of Carolinian canoes at Guam in 1721

*Sources: Among others, Letter from Governor Sanchez to the King, dated Agaña 31 June 1721, supposedly found in AGI Ultramar 561; story published in Appendix n° 8 of Ibañez y García's History of the Mariana Islands (1886); it is but a paraphrase of Fr. Juan de la Concepción's Historia general de Philipinas, Book 10, Chap. 9.*

*Notes: Two canoes arrived from the Carolines, on 19 and 20 June, one landing at Talafofo and the other at Orote. See also Fr. Cantova's letter about them (Doc. 1722D). Governor Ibañez served as Governor of the Marianas from 1871 to 1873.*

### Treatise on the Carolines, edited by Governor Ibañez

#### Original text in Spanish.

...  
*En 19 de Junio de 1721, avistaron desde Marianas una barca extranjera muy alterosa, que por traer las velas llenas, se tuvo por fragata; habiendo fondeado al Este de la isla de Guajan, en un paraje desierto llamado Tarofof. A su bordo venían once hombres, siete mujeres y seis niños, que hacían el total de veinticuatro personas. Algunos desembarcaron, é internándose en los montes, hicieron provisión de cocos y algunas raices. Inmediatamente se dió aviso al Corregidor del pueblo de Inarajan, quien con el Padre Ministro, llamado este último Muscati, y algunos naturales, fueron á reconocer los huéspedes que acababan de llegar para ver de que país procedían. Luego que vieron la comitiva se asustaron los recién llegados, especialmente las mujeres, las que daban muchos gritos, hasta que uno de ellos, de mas atrevimiento, se llegó al Padre y le ofreció algunos regalillos de su isla, que consistían en pedazos de coral, del que hacen brazaletes, y una pasta amarilla ó encarnada, con que en solemnidades grandes se pintan los cuerpos. El Padre le abrazó y recibió su regalo con la mayor confianza. Todos saltaron á tierra, y se les dió de comer abundantemente, como asimismo vestidos para que estuviesen con mas decencia, habiendo permanecido en Inarajan hasta la resolución del Governador á quien habían participado la llegada de tales huéspedes.*

*El día 21 del mismo mes y año, se presentó otra barca en la punta de Orote, al Oeste de la isla de Guajan, cuya embarcación conducía cuatro hombres, una mujer y un niño, los cuales fueron presentados en el pueblo de Umata, donde se hallaba el Governador, que lo era entonces, D. Luís Sánchez de Tagle. Al confrontarlos con los otros isleños arribados anteriormente, unos y otros manifestaron su grande alegría al reconocerse,*

dándose tiernos abrazos. Entonces se supo que estas dos embarcaciones en compañía de otras cuatro, salieron de la isla de **Farroilep** para la de **Ulee**; y habiéndoles sorprendido un fuerte Poniente en la travesía, les obligó á arribar á diferentes partes, dejándoles llevar por las corrientes y el viento veinte días con el continuo riesgo de padecer naufragio, y que en tan penoso tiempo les había molestado mucho la hambre y la sed, pero que con los esfuerzos extraordinarios, á fin de resistir la fuerza de las corrientes, estaban faltos de fuerzas por el continuo remar, y sobre todo, muy desolladas las manos. Uno de estos desgraciados á las pocas horas murió por efecto de sus penalidades, pero en el artículo de la muerte, recibió el bautismo. Su vestido propio era una pieza de tela que rodeaba á la cintura y pasaba entre las piernas, distinguiéndose el de los Jefes, en una especie de ropa abierta por los lados, que cubriendo espaldas y pecho les llegaba hasta las rodillas. Las mujeres, además de la pieza que rodeaba la cintura, y entre piernas como los hombres, usaban una especie de saya hasta media pierna. Tenían agujereadas las orejas, de las que pendían flores, yerbas aromáticas, pepitas de coco, granos de vidrios y unas argollas de varias clases. Todos ellos eran bien formados, de buen talle, altos y de corpulencia proporcionada, cabellos crespos, nariz gruesa, ojos grandes y vivos, bien poblada la barba; en su color había diferencia, pues unos se parecían á los indios de Marianas, otros de color mas claro, mostraban ser mestizos nacidos de indias y de españoles [sic].

Ya un poco mas despejados y restituidos ó convalecidos de sus pasados trabajos, trataron á los isleños mas entendidos, de los cuales se pudo averiguar, aunque con alguna confusion, la situación de todas sus islas situadas entre los 6° y 11° de latitud Norte, y divididas en cinco provincias y de las cuales cada una tenía su lengua particular. La primera, situada al Este, es **Torres ó Hogoleu** y es la principal isla; sus moradores son negros, mulatos y blancos y la gobierna un rey que tenía en su dominio otras muchas muy pobladas, distantes entre sí, ocho, quince ó treinta leguas.

La segunda provincia dijeron tenía como veinte y seis islas, de las que catorce estan muy pobladas; sus nombres **Ulee**, **Eurupuc**, **Farroilep**, etc. etc. Esta última fué descubierta en 1696 por el piloto Juan Rodriguez, encallando en el banco de Santa Rosa, y segun su estima, distaba sobre cuarenta y cinco leguas de Guajan y estaba situado entre los 10° y 11° de latitud Norte: de estas Islas eran los arribados.

La tercera provincia es un conjunto de islas como de veinte y cinco leguas de largo y quince de ancho, de las que la primera se llama **Fais**, y fueron descubiertas en 1712 por el capitán D. Bernardo de Egui.

La cuarta se encuentra al Oeste de la tercera, y como á treinta leguas de distancia. La isla de **Yap**, que es la principal, tiene mas de cuarenta leguas de circunferencia; y no es menos fértil que poblada de habitantes, pues se hallan camotes y otras raices, llevadas de Filipinas por un carolino que por semejante ocasión arribó á ellas y han multiplicado tanto, que pueden abastecer á las demas islas de aquel archipiélago.

Finalmente, la quinta está como á cuarenta y cinco leguas de la de Yap, y contiene un buen número de islas llamadas **Palaos**, y **Panleu** [i. e. Palau] por los indios; siete son las principales que se hallan en dirección del Norte al Mediodía; el señor de ellas tiene

su corte en **Yalap**, formada de un gran pueblo, inhumano y bárbaro, que se alimentan de carne humana. A veinte y cinco leguas de distancia, hácia el Sud-Oeste, están las islas de San Andrés, llamadas por los naturales **Sonrol** y **Cadocopui**.

Se advirtió en ellos que no tenían de religión idea alguna, y que faltos de los conocimientos mas propios del hombre, ignoraban quien hubiese hecho el cielo y la tierra, y tan solo reconocían algunos buenos y malos espíritus, á quienes atribuían cuerpos materiales y les daban dos ó tres mujeres. Segun ellos, el mas antiguo llamado Sabucour, tuvo de su casamiento con Cliulep, un hijo á quien dan este nombre y significa espíritu celeste grande, y una hija llamada Ligobund; y de estos principios, con muchos errores, sacan la propagación de sus islas, en que mezclan muchas fábulas, aunque no las siguen obstinadamente, pues á tales deidades no hacen templos ni forman ídolos, ni tienen culto exterior en sacrificios ú ofrendas.

Con sus difuntos sí tienen cultos supersticiosos; existen para ellos sacerdotes y sacerdotisas, que pretenden se crea que comunican y se corresponden con sus almas, y de autoridad propia declaran quienes van al cielo y quienes son los precipitados al infierno. Los de la isla de **Yap** tienen un culto grosero y bárbaro, pues una especie de cocodrilo es su objeto, bajo cuya figura horrible, ejerce sobre ellos una cruel tiranía el demonio; siendo sus acciones las que dirigen á hacer bien ó mal, ó á beneficiar ó dar la muerte. La pluralidad de mujeres les es de mucha distinción y honra. Miran con horror el adulterio, pero se condena el delito haciendo un buen regalo al marido de la adúltera. Repudía el marido á la mujer cuando falta á la fidelidad, y ella tiene estas disposiciones por lo que hace al dote, casándose la viuda con el hermano del marido difunto, si este muriese sin sucesión.

La autoridad del Gobierno está repartida entre muchas familias nobles, cuyos jefes se llaman **Tamoles**, y en cada provincia existe un **Tamol** á quien los otros rinden obediencia, dejando crecer la barba para reconocer en él mas respeto. Mandan con imperio, hablan poco y afectan un aire serio y grave, y cuando da audiencia, se sienta sobre una mesa alta, y en el acto el pueblo se inclina hasta el suelo y al punto que le alcanza á ver, va andando de este modo teniendo la cabeza casi entre las piernas, hasta que llega cerca de su persona. Entonces se sienta en el suelo y recibe las órdenes de su jefe ó autoridad, con los ojos bajos y muy humilde; y cuando le despide, se retira del mismo modo que se colocó en su presencia, no poniéndose derecho hasta tanto que le pierde de vista. Sus órdenes son recibidas como oráculos y como tal son obedecidos ciegamente, y si concede alguna gracia, le besan la mano y los pies los beneficiados. No se castiga á los reos con cárcel ni con otras penas, pues á los delincuentes los destierran á otras islas. Sus casas son muy malas, pues se reducen á unas chozas bajas cubiertas con hojas de palmas, y las de los **Tamoles** son de madera no muy grandes, y adornadas con algunas pinturas raras.

Existen dos casas destinadas en cada pueblo á la educación de los muchachos y muchachas, á quienes se les enseña algunos vagos principios de Astrología, á que se aplican casi todos los de estas islas, por ser de utilidad para la navegación. El Maestro tiene una esfera, en que están señalados los principales astros, y enseñan los vientos que han

*de seguir segun los diferentes rumbos que deben tomar. La principal ocupación de los hombres es construir barcos para pescar, y cultivar la tierra en sus labranzas; las mujeres trabajan en la cocina y ayudan en las sementeras á sus maridos; hilan tambien una especie de plátano silvestre, y fabrican telas de él y de otro llamado balibago. Se sirven de cuñas [rather conchas] y de hachas de piedra para cortar la leña á falta de hierro. Acostumbrados á bañarse con frecuencia, lo hacen tres veces: á la mañana, al medio día y á la noche. Se acuestan al ponerse el sol y se levantan con la aurora. Apacíguanse las enemistades entre los vecinos comunmente con algun regalo, y las querellas particulares nunca pasan adelante, y cuando son públicas entre una población con otra, la guerra las determina. Sus armas son piedras, lanzas armadas con juesos de pescado; y el modo de pelear es conforme á un singular combate, peleando cada uno con el que tiene delante y le corresponda en suerte. Si se resuelven á una acción decisiva dos pueblos enemistados, se colocan en campo raso; la formación de cada ejército es en tres filas, ocupando la primera los jóvenes, la segunda los mas altos y la tercera los mas avanzados de edad. Empieza la batalla por la primera fila, y hombre con hombre combate á pedradas y á botes de lanza, y cuando resulta alguno fuera de combate por hallarse herido, al punto ocupa su lugar el de la segunda fila, y á este sucede el mas próximo de la tercera; dando después grandes alaridos los vencedores, insultando siempre á los vencidos.*

*Estos isleños viven de frutas, raices y pescados; y sí bien tienen gallinas y otras aves, no existen en estas islas animal alguno de cuatro pies. La tierra no produce arroz, ni trigo, ni maiz, pero sí muchas maderas buenas para construcción de embarcaciones. Los muchos mestizos que existen blancos, es conjetura probable que sean de los que quedaron con Lope Martín en el año 1566, que se conjuró con otros veinte y fueron abandonados en una isla de bárbaros [rather barbudos] al Este de las Marianas, y es de creer fuese de estas las Carolinas, donde, ayuntándose con las indias, hubiesen procreado estos mestizos, los cuales se han multiplicado y extendido en estas islas.*

*En los cuatro meses que llevaban en Guajan los carolinos de las dos embarcaciones, se ocuparon en recojer cuantos clavos, hachas y pedazos de hierro pudieron hallar, teniéndolo todo por un precio inestimable. Con el deseo de poder llevar á su tierra este tesoro, y por otra parte, ansiando el momento de volver á reunirse con sus mujeres, hijos y amigos, estaban violentos, y por lo tanto, solicitaron con ahinco que se les permitiese regresar á su país. El Gobernador pensó en darles gusto, pero no á todos, reteniendo á los principales en su poder y concediendo á los demas el que volviesen libres á su patria; creyendo que este medio establecería un comercio frecuente entre Marianas y las Carolinas.*

*El Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, era del mismo modo de pensar y desde luego pretendió acompañar á los que se despachasen, á fin de conocer sus islas, genios y costumbres; y el Gobernador secedió diciendo que prestaría una embarcación y concedería licencia á los españoles y filipinos que voluntariamente quisiesen hacer aquella expedición. En su vista, el Padre Juan pidió permiso á su Vicario provincial, y como quiera que la respuesta no fué favorable, pasó á Ynarajan, lugar de la residencia de su prela-*

do, á quien le hizo presente que las islas Carolinas no distaban mucho de la de Guajan, y que la travesía no era peligrosa, teniendo á los isleños por conductores, en cuyas tierras estarían con seguridad los misioneros que fuesen, por ser aquellos pueblos muy tratables y enemigos de toda crueldad; además que dejando algunos de aquellos naturales en Marianas, como rehenes, serían estos responsables de la conducta de sus compatriotas. Ninguna impresión hizo todo esto en el Vicario provincial, quien temía no fuese aprobada en Manila la empresa, y si la fomentaba sería culpado y responsable. Así las cosas, los carolinos instaban por la vuelta á su país, suplicando con lágrimas al Gobernador les dejase ir á su país, asegurándole morirían todos sin remedio si les dilataba la partida, porque en ausencia de sus parientes, se les hacía la vida amarga é insoportable. El Gobernador cambió de resolución y los consolaba con palabras muy cariñosas, á fin de entretenerlos hasta que se presentasen los temporales y malos tiempos que hacen innavegables aquellos mares; siendo su pensamiento el detenerlos hasta la primavera, previniendo lo necesario para ir á reconocer aquellas islas.

El Gobernador consiguió la detención y en ella hizo sus preparativos, y el Padre Cantova consiguió al fin licencia de su Vicario provincial para hacer aquella expedición. Salieron con algunos de los desgarrados al año siguiente de 1722, y habiendo navegado en busca de aquellas islas desde el 11 de Mayo hasta el 6 de Junio del mismo, no habiéndolas podido encontrar, arribaron á Manila. Aquí el Padre Cantova practicó las mas vivas diligencias para repetir el viaje; habiéndose detenido hasta el año 1730 en que pudo lograr embarcarse en el patache que salió de Cavite para Marianas. Llegó á la ciudad de Agaña, y el 11 de Febrero del siguiente año de 1731, salió de allí con el Padre Victor Walter en un barquito con ocho grumetes y doce soldados, llevando por práctico á otro desgarrado de aquellas islas en el año de 25, de quien por haberle bautizado hacía el Padre mucha confianza.

El día 4 de Marzo de 1731 descubrieron la isla de **Mogmog**, en donde está el reyezuelo, y pasaron á **Falalep**, en donde hicieron su estancia. Fueron recibidos con el mayor agasajo; bautizaron ciento veinte y siete niños y catequizaron á muchísimos adultos. El Padre Victor salió para Marianas para solicitar socorros, y habiéndose desgarrado, arribó á Manila en 13 de Julio con varios indios de aquellas islas que le acompañaban, algunos de ellos bastantes vivarachos, despiertos y alegres; bailaban con bastante concierto y gracia. El principal de estos individuos recibió el santo bautismo en la Catedral con toda solemnidad, y fué su padrino el Sr. Gobernador D. Fernando Valdés y Tamón, del Orden de Santiago, por cuyo respeto se llamó Fernando.

Volvió el Padre Victor en 1732 á Marianas en el patache, habiéndose perdido este en el mes de Marzo, y con él un barco que llevaba en cuarteles, que armado debía servir para esta empresa. Fabricóse otro, y salió en él de Marianas el Padre Victor con el Hermano Levino Schrevel en 1732, á últimos de Mayo, con cuarenta hombres, soldados y marinos. En 9 de Junio del mismo año, descubrieron la isla de **Falalep**, habiendo disparado algunos cañonazos para que respondiesen ó correspondiesen los que habían quedado allí anteriormente; y no correspondiendo con señal alguna, temieron los hubiesen muerto. Llegaron á la costa, como á tiro de piedra, en la que no encontra-

*ban fondo y solamente en un sitio de piedra lo encontraron á cincuenta brazas. Los indios huían y se escondían, por donde infirieron algun mal suceso, confirmándose en ello cuando vieron quemadas la casa del Padre, la cruz, el camarín y el pueblo, el cual habían mudado á otra parte. Desde el barco hicieron señas y demostraciones de amistad, y entonces se aproximaron cuatro de aquellos naturales en una canoa, los que no pudieron coger por mas que los agasajaron; y habiéndoles preguntado por el Padre y compañeros, dijeron que habían ido á la otra isla de **Yap**, los nuestros disimularon dándoles á entender que los creían y les pidieron por refrescos algunos cocos. Fueron aquellos isleños á tierra y al poco tiempo volvieron con otras canoas y catorce indios mas. Uno de estos, entró en el barco, después otro que se echo al agua, y queriendo el primero volver á su embarcación, le detuvieron amarrándole. Los compañeros se alborotaron y entonces los del barco les hicieron fuego, matando tres é hiriendo á otros, pero los restantes nadando se huyeron á su isla. Como no podían cojer fondo, ni otro indio, fueron en demanda de la isla de **Yap**, la principal de aquel archipiélago; y no habiéndola podido descubrir á los cuatro días, dieron vuelta á Manila, á donde llegaron el 14 de Julio de 1733.*

*Del indio preso supieron, que el 9 de Junio de 1731, diez días después de haberse marchado el Padre Victor, llamaron al Padre Cantova para que fuese á bautizar á un adulto en **Mogmog**, y habiendo ido el Padre acompañado con dos soldados, al llegar á aquel sitio, encontró alborotados los indios y en disposición de guerra, y bajo el pretexto de que querían introducir la ley nueva contra la antigua y sus costumbres, dieron al Padre tres lanzadas, dos en los costados y una en el corazón, de que cayó en tierra con las manos levantadas al cielo. También mataron á los soldados y los arrojaron al agua. Seguidamente desnudaron al Padre, causándoles la mayor admiración al verle tan blanco; habiéndolo enterrado bajo de un techesuelo. Después acometieron á los que quedaron en Falalep, cogiéndolos descuidados; pero sin embargo, aunque de prisa, pudieron disparar los cañoncitos y mataron cuatro indios é hiriendo á otros mas con las espadas; mas esta defensa no fué suficiente, porque los carolinos con el mayor arrojó, mataron á once de los nuestros, que eran todos los restantes que existían en la isla, y tan solamente reservaron con vida á Domingo Lizardo, muchacho tagalo y sacristán que era del Padre, por haberlo tomado el jefe de la isla por hijo suyo. Dijo también el indio preso, que el traidor principal que había promovido la sedición, fué Digal, intérprete y muy querido del Padre Cantova. Repartieron entre sí los despojos de los difuntos y regalaron algunas cosas al reyezuelo de Yap; añadiendo el carolino declarante, que después de la muerte del Padre y compañeros, les entró un contagio y fuerte epidemia en la que murió mucha gente, y que esto les tenía á todos muy consternados y arrepentidos de la infamia cometida con unos hombres de los cuales habían recibido toda clase de beneficios. Con tan terrible y funesta tragedia, los españoles desistieron del empeño que antes habían tenido, por la conquista de las Carolinas.*

## Translation.

...  
On 19 June 1721, there was sighted from the Marianas a strange boat, very lofty, which carried full sail(s) and was mistaken for a frigate. It anchored on the east coast of the Island of Guahan in a neighborhood called Tarafofo. Aboard it were 11 men, 7 women and 6 children, making a total of 24 persons. Some of them disembarked and, going into the bush, made provisions of coconuts and of some roots. Immediately, the mayor of the town of Inarajan was notified. He, along with the Father Minister, named Muscati, and a few natives, went to meet with the guests who had just arrived, to find out which country they came from. As soon as they saw the retinue, the newcomers became frightened, specially the women, who were uttering many shouts, until one of the men, more daring than the rest, approached the Father and offered him a few small gifts from his island, which consisted of pieces of coral, of the type they use to make bracelets, and some yellow or reddish paste, which they rub on their bodies during festivities. The Father embraced him and accepted his gift with as much familiarity as possible. They all stepped ashore, and they were given an abundance of food to eat, and also some clothes to put on for greater decency. They then remained in Inarahan until a decision was made by the Governor, who had been advised of the arrival of such guests.

On the 21st of the same month and year, another boat arrived at Orote Point, on the west coast of the Island of Guahan. This boat carried 4 men, 1 woman and 1 child. They were taken to the town of Umatac, where the Governor, who was then Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, could then be found. When they were brought into contact with the other group of drifters, both groups showed their great joy at recognizing one another, and they embraced warmly. Then it was learned that their two craft had been part of four canoes that had left the Island of **Farroilep** to go to the Island of **Ulee** [i.e. Woleai],<sup>1</sup> and having been surprised by a strong westerly during the crossing, they were forced to seek their way separately, and let themselves be carried by the currents and the wind for 20 days, during which they were at continuous risk of foundering. During this time they were bothered very much by hunger and thirst, but they still made extraordinary efforts to resist the force of the currents by continuously rowing, and so became exhausted, and above all, had the skin of their hands worn off. One of these unfortunate men died within a few hours on account of these hardships, but just before dying he received baptism. His own clothes were a piece of cloth that encircled his waist and passed between his legs. The clothes of the chiefs are different, as it is a sort of cloth open on the sides that covers the shoulders and chest, and reaches down to the knees. The women, besides the piece that encircled the waist and passed between the legs, the same as the men, used a sort of skirt reaching down to the calf of the legs. They had holes made in their ears, from which hanged some flowers, aromatic herbs, coconut nuggets, glass beads and some large rings of various types. All of them were well shaped, rather

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1 Ed. note: A cruise of 100 nautical miles toward the SSW.

tall and proportionally fat, with frizzy hair, flat noses, big and lively eyes, and a well furnished beard. There were differences in the color of their skin; indeed, some looked like the Indians of the Marianas, others were not as dark and showed themselves to be half-breeds born of Indian women and Spaniards [sic].<sup>1</sup>

Once they had cheered up a little, regained their former health or had gotten over their past hardships, they made contacts with the more intelligent islanders, from whom it was learned, albeit with some remaining confusion, the situations of all of their islands located between the 6° and 11° of latitude North, and divided among five provinces, each of which having its own individual language. The first province, situated to the East, is **Torres** or **Hogoleu**, the name of the main island; its inhabitants are blacks, mulattoes, and whites, and are ruled by a king whose dominion extends over many other well-populated islands, distant from 8, 15, or 30 leagues from one another.

The second province, they said, consists of about 26 islands, 14 of which are well-populated. Their names are **Ulee**, **Eurupuc**, **Farroilep**, etc. etc. The latter had been discovered in 1696 by Pilot Juan Rodriguez, when he ran aground upon Santa Rosa Bank, and according to his estimate, it was distant over 45 leagues from Guahan and was situated between 10° and 11° of latitude North; our drifters came from these Islands.<sup>2</sup>

The third province is a complex of islands, about 25 leagues in length and 15 in width, the first of which is called **Fais**, and they were discovered in 1712 by Captain Bernardo de Eguí.

The fourth province is located at a distance of about 30 leagues to the west of the third one. The Island of **Yap** is the main one; it is more than 40 leagues in circumference. It is well-populated and very fertile; indeed, one can find *camotes* [i.e. yams] there and other root crops, brought from the Philippines by a Carolinian who drifted overthere by a similar accident. They have multiplied so much that they can be supplied to the other islands of that archipelago.

Finally, the fifth province is at about 45 leagues from the Island of Yap, and consists of a large number of islands named **Palaos**, and **Panleu** [i.e. Palau] by the Indians. There are seven islands lined up North to South. Their lord holds court at **Yalap**.<sup>3</sup> The people forming this large town are so inhuman and barbarian that they eat human flesh. Some 25 leagues further toward the Southwest, are the two Islands of San Andrés, called by the natives **Sonrol** and **Cadocopui**.<sup>4</sup>

They were observed to have no idea of religion at all, and to lack the very type of knowledge that make people what they are. For instance, they did not know who made the heavens and the earth, and only recognized some good and evil spirits, to whom

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1 Ed. note: About his conjecture that the marooned men of 1566 had been at the source of this phenomenon, see below.

2 Ed. note: Wrong latitude for Faraulep. See my comments in Doc. 1696H, HM10: 17.

3 Ed. note: This corresponds to Galap, a town in NE Babelthuap (Car. 44-D2b in Brian's Place Names).

4 Ed. note: Confusion here. Cadocopui was a separate island, now better known as Tobi Island.



they attributed material bodies and they gave them two or three wives. According to them, the oldest spirit named Sabucour, out of his marriage with Cliulep, had a son to whom they give this name, which means Big Celestial Spirit, and a daughter named Li-gobund. And, out of this beginning, with many more errors, they develop the propagation of their islands, into which they mix many fables, although they do not hold them to be completely true. In fact, they build no temples to such deities, make no idols of them, render them no cult, sacrifices, or offerings.

They do have superstitious practices with their deceased; to deal with them they have male and female priests who would have them believe that they can contact them and correspond with their souls, and out of their own authority they declare who goes to heaven and who are those to be thrown into hell. The people of Yap have a coarse and barbarian cult; in fact, a sort of crocodile is the object of their veneration, under a horrible figure. The devil exercises his cruel tyranny upon them in this way, and it is his actions that direct them to do good or evil, to survive or to die. They hold to be honorable to have many wives. They look upon adultery with horror, but the crime is fined by making a good present to the husband of the adulterous woman. The husband repudiates the unfaithful wife. The wife enjoys the following arrangements because of the dowry: the widow weds the brother of her dead husband, if the latter dies without an heir.

The authority of the government is divided among many noble families, whose chiefs are called Tamols, and in each province there exists one Tamol to whom the others render obedience, and he lets his beard grow long, in order to attract more respect to himself. They give orders with assurance, speak little and adopt serious airs. When a chief holds an audience, he sits on top of a high table, and in the act the people bow down to the ground, and [also] as soon as they spot him, they go walking in this manner, holding their head almost between their legs, until they get close to his person. Then, the people sit down upon the ground and receive the orders from their chief or authority, with the eyes cast downward and very humbly. When he dismisses them, they withdraw in the same manner as when they appeared before him, and do not walk straight up again until losing sight of him. His orders are received as oracles, and as such as obeyed blindly, and if he grants some favor, the beneficiaries kiss his hand and his feet. The criminals are not punished with imprisonment, nor with any fines; indeed, the delinquents are punished with exile to other islands. Their houses are very bad; indeed, they are but low huts covered with palm leaves, and those of the Tamols are made of wood, not very large, but adorned with some rare paintings.

In each village there are two houses assigned for the education of boys and girls who are taught some vague principles of Astrology, to which are dedicated almost all of the people of these islands, because they are useful for navigation. The teacher has a sphere upon which are shown the main stars, and shown the winds that must be followed according to the various courses that they must take. The main occupation of the men is to build fishing canoes, and cultivate the earth of their farm plots; the women work in the kitchen and help their husbands in the plantations; they also spin a sort of wild

banana [fiber], and make cloths with it and with another called *balibago*.<sup>1</sup> They use wedges and adzes made of stone to cut wood, for lack of iron. They are accustomed to bathe frequently, and do so three times a day: in the morning, at noon, and at night. They go to sleep at sunset and get up at dawn. They peacefully solve altercations among the residents, usually with some gift, and individual quarrels never proceed beyond, but when they are public, between one village and another, war determines them. Their weapons are stones, and lances tipped with fish bones; and their manner of fighting is the same as between two individuals, i.e. they fight two by twos, with the man in front of them, as chosen by fate. If two enemy villages decide to have a battle, they choose a flat field. The formation of each army is in three rows; the young men make up the first row, the taller men are in the second, and the third row is made up of older men. The battle begins between the first rows, with one man throwing stones and lances at another. When one man is knocked out of the battle by a wound, he is immediately replaced by another man from the second row, who is in turn replaced by the closest man from the third row. The victors then give great shouts, and they always insult the vanquished.

These islanders live off fruits, roots and fish; and although they have chickens and other birds, there are no four-legged animals at all in these islands. The land does not produce rice, nor wheat, or corn, but it does produce trees whose wood is good for building canoes. About the many half-breeds whose skin is white, it can probably be conjectured that they are the descendents of the men who were left with Lope Martín in the year 1566, he who mutinied with 20 others, and were marooned at one island of barbarians [rather bearded men] to the East of the Marianas, and it can be believed that this island is part of the Carolines,<sup>2</sup> where, having intercourse with the Indian women, might have procreated these half-breeds, who have since multiplied and extended through these islands.

During the four months that the Carolinians of the two canoes had lived in Guahan, they had been busy picking up as many nails, axes and pieces of iron as they could find, esteeming it all as something of very high value. Then, wishing to be allowed to take this treasure to their country, or somewhere else, anxious as they were to rejoin their wives, children and friends, they were under stress, and therefore, they solicited eagerly permission to return to their country. The Governor thought that he could give it to them, but not to all, by retaining their leaders and granting permission to the rest to return to their country; he believed that in doing it this way he would establish frequent trade between the Marianas and the Carolines.

Father Juan Antonio Cantova thought similarly and therefore had the idea of accompanying those who were being despatched, in order to get to know their islands, character, and customs. The Governor relented, saying that he would loan him a boat

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1 Ed. note: Filipino word for the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

2 Ed. note: The men in question, Spaniards from Mexico, were marooned at Enewetak (or less probably at Ujelang), in the Marshall Islands (see HM2: 334).

and grant permission to Spaniards and Filipinos to join this expedition voluntarily. To this effect, Father Juan requested permission from his Vice-Provincial, but the answer being unfavorable, he went to Inarahan, the place where his superior resided, to whom he explained that the Caroline Islands were not far from the Island of Guahan, and that the crossing was not dangerous, since he would be guided by the islanders, in whose islands the eventual missionaries would be safe, because they were easy to live with and opposed to any cruelty; furthermore, by leaving a few of those natives in the Marianas, as hostages, they would be responsible for the conduct of their countrymen. All of these arguments made no impression upon the Vice-Provincial, who feared that the enterprise would not be approved in Manila, and if he were to encourage it, he would be guilty and responsible. Things were at this stage when the Carolinians begged to return to their country, beseeching the Governor with tears to let them go back, and telling him that they would surely all die without a remedy, if they delayed their departure, because in the absence of their relatives, they found life to be tough and unbearable. The Governor changed his mind and would console them with very kind words, in order to delay them until the storms and the bad weather that make those seas unnavigable would return; his idea was to detain them until spring, to give enough time to mount an expedition to those islands.

The Governor succeeded in detaining them and during this time he made his preparations, and Father Cantova finally succeeded in getting permission from his Vice-Provincial to make that expedition. They left with some of the drifters the following year 1722, and having sailed in search of those islands from 11 May until 6 June of the same year, and not having found any island, they diverted to Manila.<sup>1</sup> Here Father Cantova exercised the most vigorous efforts to repeat the voyage, but was detained until the year 1730 when he was able to board the patache leaving Cavite for the Marianas. He arrived at the city of Agaña, and on the 11th of February of the following year 1731, he left from there with Father Victor Walter aboard a small boat with 8 ship's boys and 12 soldiers, taking along another man who had drifted from those islands in 1725, whom the Father trusted very much because he had baptized him.

On 4 March 1731, they sighted the Island of **Mogmog**, where the kinglet resides, but they went on to **Falalep**, where they made their settlement. They were welcomed with much kindness, and baptized 127 children and taught catechism to a large number of adults. Father Victor left for the Marianas to solicit succors, but drifted off and arrived at Manila on 13 July with various Indians from those islands in his company; some of these were indeed rather lively, alert and happy types; they danced rather well, with good rhythm and grace. The leader of these individuals received holy baptism in the Cathedral with all solemnities, and His Lordship the Governor, Don Fernando Valdés y Tamón, [Knight] of the Order of St. James, acted as his god-father; that is why he was named Fernando.

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1 Ed. note: The Carolinian canoes separated from them soon after leaving Guam, during the night.

Father Victor returned to the Marianas in 1732 with the patache, but not until [the previous one] had been lost during the month of March, and along with it, the boat that it carried in parts, the one that was to have been used for this enterprise once put together. Another boat was built, which left the Marianas with Father Victor and Brother Levino Schrevel on board in 1732 [rather 1733], at the end of May, with 40 men, soldiers and sailors. On 9 June of the same year, they sighted the Island of **Falalep**. They fired a few guns to alert those who had stayed behind before, but received no signs of life in return, and feared that they had all been killed. They got closer to the shore, at a distance of about a stone's throw, but could not find bottom there; they found bottom only by getting closer, over some shoal, at 50 fathoms. The Indians were fleeing and hiding themselves, by which they deduced that some bad outcome had taken place. This was confirmed when they saw that the house of the Father, the cross, the shed and the town had been burned down. From the boat they made signs and a show of friendship, and then four of those natives came near aboard a canoe, but they could not get hold of them, no matter how much they invited them. When they asked them for the Father and his companions, they said that they had gone to the Island of **Yap**. Our people dissembled, giving them to understand that they believed them and they asked them for some coconuts for refreshments. Those islanders went ashore and a short time later they returned with four other canoes and 14 more Indians. One of them came on deck, then another, but he [soon] dove off. When the former tried to return to his canoe, he was stopped and tied up. His companions got excited, but those aboard the boat fired at them, killing three and wounding others; however, the remainder escaped to their island by swimming. As they were unable to find bottom, or find other Indians, they went in search of the Island of **Yap**, the main one of that archipelago. When they could not find it within four days, they returned to Manila, where they arrived on 14 July 1733.

From the Indian taken prisoner, they learned that on 9 July 1731, 10 days after Father Victor had departed, they called Father Cantova to go to **Mogmog** to baptize an adult. The Father went over, in the company of two soldiers. Upon arriving at that place, he found the Indians excited and ready for war, and under the pretext that the Father wished to introduce a new law to replace their old law and customs, they threw three spears at the Father; two hit him on the sides and one in the heart, from which he fell down with his arms raised toward heaven. They also killed the soldiers and threw their bodies in the water. They immediately undressed the Father, and were amazed at finding him so white. They buried him and placed a small roof over his grave. Afterward, they attacked those who had remained at Falalep, catching them unaware; however, in haste they were able to fire the small guns and they killed 4 Indians and wounded many more with their swords, but this defence was not enough, because the Carolinians with greater boldness killed 11 of our men, that is, all of those then in the island, except for just one Tagalog boy, Domingo Lisardo, who had been the Father's sacristan, because the chief of the island had adopted him as his own son. The Indian prisoner also said that the main traitor who had fomented this sedition was Digal, the interpreter, much

beloved by Father Cantova. They distributed the spoils of the deceased among themselves and made a few presents of their things to the kinglet of Yap. The Carolinian declarant added that, after the death of the Father and his companions, the islands were hit by a disease, that became an epidemic, that killed many people, and made the survivors very consternated and repentent for the infamy committed against some men from whom they had received all sorts of benefits. In view of such a terrible and sorrowful tragedy, the Spanish desisted from the project that they had considered before, of the conquest of the Carolines.

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## Documents 1721D

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# The arrest and trial of Governor Pimentel for wrongdoings in the Marianas

*General sources: AGI Fil. 526, 527 & 528; also in Ultramar 561, under 1721 and 1722; partly in AGI Ultramar 562.*

## D1. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila to Philip V, dated Manila 16 July 1721

*Note: They tell the King that Lieutenant-General Pimentel was arrested and imprisoned upon his arrival at the port of Cavite. Enclosed in the letter from the judge in charge of the "residencia", or management audit, of this ex-Governor of the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. de haver tomado Residencia, a Don Juan Antonio Pimentel del cargo de Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas y substanciado la causa que V.M. ha mandado sobre la acogida que permitió al Corsario Yngles el año de setecientos y diez, y no haberse podido determinar por falta de tiempo.*

*Señor.*

*El dia trece del corriente en la noche se entregó preso en la cárcel de esta Corte al Teniente General de la Artilleria D. Juan Antonio Pimentel que acaba de llegar en el Patache que el año pasado se despachó à las Islas Marianas en que le fué Sucesor, Juez de Residencia y Pesquisidor sobre el aporto del Corsario ó Pirata Yngles à aquellas Islas, y acogida que les permitió que V.M. manda por sus Reales Cédulas de veinte y cuatro de Julio de mil setecientos y doce, y seis del mismo de setecientos catorce, se averigüe, sustancie y determine por esta Audiencia dando cuenta à V.M. Y asi de la residencia, como de la pesquisa espresada parecio necesario dar vista al fiscal antes de pasar à la determinacion la cual por lo crecido de los procesos no ha sido dable en tan pocos dias poderse evacuar; y quedan Vuestros Ministros en concluir este negocio quanto antes, y de dar cuenta con autos à V.M. como nos manda en primera ocasion.*

*N.S.G.L.C.R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.*

*Sala de Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila y Julio diez y seis de mil setecientos veinte y uno.*

*Licenciado D. Antonio Pabon*  
*Licenciado D. Gregorio Manuel de Villa.*

***Año de 1721. Traslado Auténtico de los autos y diligencias fechas sobre el recibo de la Carta del Juez de la Residencia del Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel que llegó al Puerto de Cavite.—1ª via. Numero 10.***

*Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real de estas Islas Filipinas.*

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*El Capitan D. José Ruiz á quien V.A. fué servido por su Real provision de veinte y cuatro de Julio del año proximo pasado cometerle la sindicacion [sic] del Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel del tiempo que fué Gobernador y Capitan general de las Islas Marianas como tambien por otra la captura de la persona[,] embargo de sus bienes y substanciacion de la causa por la acogida[,] refresco y bastimento que dió a los ingleses corsarios que apresaron la Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** en las costas del Puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España el año pasado de setecientos diez y por que en cumplimiento de dicha Real provision de mi comision, viene dicho Teniente general en este Patache **S. Andres** de buelta de viage de dichas Islas á este de Cavite para su desembarque[,] guardia y custodia y señalamiento á donde ha de ser trasportado. V.A. se servirá mandar dar la providencia que combenga y sea de su Real complacencia[.]*

*Abordo de dicho Patache y Julio diez de mil setecientos veinte y un años.*  
*José Ruiz.*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. about having taken the Residencia of Don Juan Antonio Pimentel for his term as Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands and substantiated the case that Y.M. has ordered regarding his having welcomed the English corsair in the year 1710, but that it could not be determined for lack of time.

Sire:

On the 13th of this month, at night, there was brought as prisoner to the jail of this court Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, who had just arrived aboard the patache that had been despatched to the Mariana Islands last year with his successor, plus the judge for his residencia and for an inquiry regarding the arrival at those Islands of the English corsair or pirate, and the welcome he gave them, with reference to the orders of Y.M. in your Royal decrees dated 24 July 1712 and 6 July 1714, for an investigation, substantiation and determination by this Audiencia, and a report to Y.M. In the case of the residencia, as well as that of the above-mentioned inquiry, it appeared necessary to refer the matter to the fiscal before going on to the determination. Because of the increasing number of proceedings going on, it was

not possible to finalize these cases in so few days, but Your Ministers remain eager to conclude this business as soon as possible, and to report to Y.M. about it, with records of proceedings, as Y.M. has ordered, at the first opportunity.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

From the law-courts of the Audiencia of Manila, 16 July 1721.

Licenciate Don Antonio Pavon

Licenciate Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

**Year of 1721. Certified transcript of the proceedings regarding the Letter of the Judge of the residencia of Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, who arrived at the port of Cavite.—1st route, Nº 10.**

Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Philippine Islands.

Almighty Sir:

Captain José Ruiz, to whom Your Highness was pleased to give a Royal provision dated 24 July of last year, to carry out the investigation of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel for his term of office as Governor and Captain-General of the Mariana Islands, as well as another for the capture of his person, the confiscation of his belongings and the substantiation of the case against him, for having welcomed, and supplied with food, the English corsairs who had captured the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** off the coast of the port of Acapulco in New Spain in the year 1710. Since said Lieutenant-General comes aboard this patache **San Andrés** returning from said Islands back to this port of Cavite, it is my duty to advise you of same, and request instructions for him to be taken ashore, placed into custody, and transported to whatever place Your Lordship will be pleased to order it done, at your Royal pleasure.

Aboard said patache, 10 July 1721.

José Ruiz.

[The Audiencia ordered the transfer of the prisoner from Cavite to the jail in Intramuros, where he arrived on 13 July, according to a receipt signed by its warden, Captain Lucas de Luna. There were also two Englishmen made prisoners by Miguel de Elorriaga at the same time; their names were: Juan Gaufres [= John Godfrey] and Ricardo Pritie [= Richard Prittie] (see Doc. 1721I). The clerk of the Audiencia at that time was Major Antonio de Yepes y Arce. Three notaries public who certified signatures were: Juan de Losada, Francisco Antonio del Rio, and Gerónimo Somonte y Cortés.]

## **D2. Arrest of Governor Pimentel, on 21 November 1720**

**Original text in Spanish.**

***Prision del Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel.***



*En dicha Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Agaña en veinte y un dias del mes de Noviembre entre las siete y ocho horas de la noche de el de mil setecientos veinte años, en ejecucion y cumplimiento de lo prevenido por la Real provision de mi Comision emanada de los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de la Ciudad de Manila é Islas Filipinas en que me mando pase á la prision[,] captura y embargo de bienes del Señor Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador que acaba de ser de estas Islas Marianas, pase á su casa y morada en compañia del Capitan D. Jacinto Vargas con los Soldados que el Señor Gobernador y Capitan general de estas islas dió y fué servido señalarme para ello, y habiendole yo hecho notorio dicha Real provision á dicho Señor Teniente general que habiendolo entendido la cogió en sus manos[,] besó y puso sobre su cabeza, como carta de su Rey y Señor natural (que Dios guarde) en aumento de mayores Reynos y Señorios, y dixo que la obedecia, se daba y se dió por preso, por lo cual entregué su persona al dicho Capitan D. Jacinto Vargas quien estando presente se dio por entregado de ella y se obligó de tenerla en guardia y fiel custodia, y de manifiesto cada y cuando por mi se mande otra cosa, y le pedi al dicho Señor Teniente general me entregase las llaves de sus arcas quien me entregó cuatro llaves[,] la una de un baul y otra de una caxita, la tercera de una papelera y la ultima de otra caxita.*

*Y en este estado quedo fecha esta execucion para inventarearlo mañana lo que se hallare dentro de ellas, por ser ya el tiempo á deshoras, y lo firmó conmigo dicho Capitan D. Jacinto de Vargas con mis testigos acompañados de que doy fe.*

*José Ruiz Juez Receptor*

*Jacinto Diaz de Vargas*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

## **Translation.**

### **Order of imprisonment of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel.**

In said city of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 21st day of the month of November 1720, between 7 and 8 p.m., in compliance of the Royal provision given to me in a Commission issued by the Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of the City of Manila and Philippine Islands, in which I was ordered to arrest, imprison, and embargo the belongings of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, who has just finished his term as Governor of these Mariana Islands, I went to his house and residence, accompanied by Captain Jacinto Vargas and the soldiers that His Lordship the [new] Governor and Captain General of these Islands gave me and was pleased to earmark for me to the effect. After I made known said Royal provision to said Lieutenant-General, he said he heard it, and took it in his hands, kissed it and placed it above his head, as a letter from his King and natural Lord (whom may God save and favor with greater Kingdoms and Dominions), and he said that he obeyed it, giving himself up as prisoner, which he did. I then turned his person over to said Captain Jacinto Vargas who, being present, accepted him in order to place him into

careful custody, until I was pleased to order otherwise. I then asked said Lieutenant-General to hand me the keys of his chests, which he did, handing me four keys: one for a trunk, another for a small box, the third one for a writing desk and the last one for another small box.

And so the matter stands for now, and there remains to inventory what is inside them tomorrow, because it is too late to be done today, and in faith whereof I have signed, along with said Captain Jacinto de Vargas and my companion witnesses, as follows:

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Jacinto Diaz de Vargas

Domingo Guerrero

Felipe de Santiago.

### D3. Lists of property seized from Pimentel

#### Original text in Spanish.

##### *Primera diligencia de embargo de vienes del dicho Teniente General.*

*En dicha Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Agaña en veinte y dos dias del mes de Noviembre de mil setecientos y veinte años, yo el dicho Capitan Juez de esta causa para el embargo que en la diligencia de arriba se refiere, bolbí á la Casa morada de dicho Señor Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan General que acaba de ser de estas dichas Islas Marianas el cual dicho embargo y secuestro de bienes se hizo en la forma y manera siguiente.*

*Primeramente se abrio dicho baul y en el se hallo lo siguiente:*

*Una colcha bordada de Ylocos de terlinga.*

*Yt. siete fundas de almoadas de lienzo con trece acericos é fundas de lo mismo.*

*Yt. dos peinadores asi mismo de lienzo con sus puntas de Quiapo.*

*Yt. nueve camisas de lienzo llanas.*

*Yt. cuatro savanas de lienzo.*

*Yt. dos pabellones blancos de lienzo.*

*Yt. tres chininas de lienzo las dos con encages y la otra llana.*

*Yt. cuatro armadores de sana [=lana?].*

*Yt. cinco pañuelos con encages.*

*Yt. otra camisa labrada de lienzo.*

*Yt. tres pares de puños con encages.*

*Yt. dos birretes de lienzo con encages.*

*Yt. una alfombra chiquita, de Damasco lacar [=lascar?].*

*Yt. mas otro pañuelo de Cambray con encage de Castilla.*

*Yt. seis pares de medias de seda, las tres, y las otras de estambre ya usadas.*

*Yt. diez y seis pares de Cabretas [charreteras?] y diez pares de escaarpines.*

*Yt. mas dos virretes de lienzo con encages.*

*Yt. cuatro paños de Cara de Ylocos.*

*Todos los cuales se bolbió á meter en dicho baul y se cerró con su llave, y por que dixo dicho Señor Teniente general ser de su uso y vestuario no se embargo y se le debolvió dicha llave.*

*Yt. se abrió otra caxita de tres cuartas de largo y cuarta y media de alto y dentro de ella lo siguiente:*

*Treinta y tres laminitas ó nóminas adornadas con lentejuelas y hilo escarchado de china.*

*Yt. dos piezas de sayasayas sencillas verde y narangada.*

*Yt. siete piezas de listones ó cintas.*

*Todo lo cual dixo dicho Señor Teniente general ser del adorno de una imagen de Nuestra Señora que está en la Capilla del aloxamiento de la infanteria.*

*Yt. tres vestidos de Nuestra Señora de telas viejas.*

*Yt. un rostrillo[,] corona y cerguillo [=cetrillo?] de plata dorada[,] con rayos dicha corona[,] el dicho rostrillo de quince piezas con su piedra Barcelonesa cada pieza.*

*Yt. un rosario con noventa y ocho corales con su Paternoster de perlas que se componen en doscientas y doce perlas de tamaño de un Mongo poco mas ó menos.*

*Yt. otros tres Paternosters con treinta y ocho perlas cada uno mas pequenas con mas otros cuatro granos de dichas perlas del tamaño de un garbanzo poco menos.*

*Yt. otra perla aberroscada al remate de dicho Rosario mayor que todas, una cruzcita de oro pendiente en el mismo Rosario, con cinco perlas como las primeras.*

*Yt. diez y ocho cruzcitas de relumbrones con sus engastes de cobre.*

*Yt. un Zarcillo de plata dorada con tres Barcelonas[,] dos verdes y una colorada, y una almendra de piedra verde por remate, y otra almendra suelta con el mismo engaste.*

*Yt. dos pulseras de piedras falsas de dicha imagen.*

*Yt. un sol asimismo de plata dorada del manto de dicha imagen cosido en un pedazo de cinta de seda.*

*Yt. una joyita de pecho con ocho diamantillos y una piedra de Jacinto engastado en oro.*

*Yt. dos bejuquillos de oro que pesaron trece reales.*

*Yt. cinco naguitas y cinco chininitas de lienzo asi mismo de dicha imagen. Todas las cuales se bolbió á meter en dicha caxita menos el adorno referido de la imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Infanteria.*

*Yt. se abrió la otra caxita de tres cuartas de largo y una media de alto en la cual se halló alguna ropa de los muchachos de dicho Señor Teniente general por lo que se la debolvió su llave con lo que queda dentro de ella.*

*Yt. se abrió dicha papelera de pino de china con seis gavetas viejas y dentro de ella lo siguiente:*

*En la primera gaveta se halló treinta y dos titulos de diferentes oficiales asi Españoles como Pampangos y Chamurros que estan en ser por no haber ocurrido sus dueños por ellos.*

*En la segunda gaveta una cajuela de marfil con sus gosnes de plata; otra cajuela de plata dorada; un par de atracador de plata; una hebilla asi mismo de plata; un par de*

*charreteras de plata dorada; un reloxito con su agujoncito y caja de marfil; un anteojito de larga vista con puño así mismo de marfil; un tanto simple de unos autos de Demanda que siguió el Capitan Don Pedro de la Peña Maceda contra el Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Briones sobre cantidad de doscientos cincuenta pesos en reales y ochocientos ochenta y siete cabanes de Arroz cascara procesado en el año de mil seiscientos setenta y seis que van en diez y ocho foxas.*

*Yt. siete recibos simples, otorgados el primero por Ana Maria Diaz de Varo á favor de dicho Señor Teniente general del año de ochenta y siete sobre cantidad de treinta pesos; otro del Sargento Mayor D. Juan de Angulo á favor del dicho Señor sobre veinte pesos del año de noventa y uno y los otros cinco por el bachiller Juan de Bahamonde [sic = Bracamonte,] Cura del Partido de Quiapo sobre varias cantidades de reales procedidos de censos desde el año de noventa y dos á setecientos y cuatro cada instrumento con una foxa, y á la margen de enfrente de este parrafo se halla una nota del tenor siguiente: [“]Los cuales dichos siete recibos van por mi el dicho Juez rubricados y firmados con media firma.—Ruiz.[”]*

*Yt. fué por mi el dicho reconocimiento y registrado dos legajos de papeles viejos de tantos empaques del año de noventa y cuatro y otros años atrasados; cartas y otros papeles viejos que por no ser de provecho no se inventareo cada uno de por si, se bolbió en dicha gaveta.*

*En la tercera gaveta un compasito viejo maltratado; una tixerita, un cuchillo de tajar pluma.*

*En la cuarta gaveta un par de Zarcillos con tres colgajitos de granos de perlas chiquitas que dixo dicho Señor ser del adorno de la imagen que queda referida pertenecerle. Una sortija de relumbrones con su engaste de cobre.*

*En la quinta gaveta unas piedras de escopeta; diez papeles de agujas.*

*Yt. en la sexta gaveta dos botecitos, y un frasquito de medicinas.*

*Todos los cuales se bolbio á meter en dichas gavetas y se cerró dicha escribania con su llave y se metió dentro de ella dos sellos[,] uno de bronce y otro de plata que estaba antes fuera de ella.*

*Yt. una casaca de paño morado con guarnicion de plata y boton de lo mismo.*

*Yt. una casaca de carro de oro blanquizco con guarnicion de hilo de oro y botones de lo mismo.*

*Yt. otra casaca de mamparela muzga con guarnicion de hilo de oro y botones de lo mismo.*

*Yt. otra casaca negra de raso labrado muy usado con botones de seda negra.*

*Yt. una chupa y calzon de Pequin azul guarnecido de hilo de plata y botones de plata pura que contados se hallaron treinta y tres que pesarán á real cada uno poco mas ó menos.*

*Yt. otra chupa de raso amarillo con su calzon llano con botones de hilo de plata[,] y en la margen de estas partidas bastoneadas se halla una nota del tenor siguiente: [“]Debolbiose esta casaca y la negra para el uso de dicho Señor con dos chupas y dos calzonzones que son las que estan bastoneadas.[”]*

*Tres cuchillos con sus cabos de plata.*

*Yt. una tabla de manteles con seis servilletas de lompote, dicho mantel y servilletas de lompote de elefantes.*

*Yt. una palangana y un pichel de cobre blanco.*

*Veinte y cinco platillos de lo mismo.*

*Dos pares de tinteros y salvaderas asi mismo de cobre blanco.*

*Y visto por mi el dicho Juez no ser ni hallar otra cosa que poder embargar en esta casa de la morada de dicho Señor Teniente general que es en los reales almacenes entregue lo referido arriba al Capitan D. Jacinto Diaz de Vargas quien estando presente que doy fé conozco otorgó que recibia y recibió dichos bienes arriba inventareados y se obliga á ley depositario, de tenerlo en su poder y de manifiesto para no acudir con ellos en todo ni en parte al dicho Teniente general, ni a otra persona alguna hasta que por mi con mandato espreso se provea otra cosa so pena de pagarlo con el doble y conforme á las leyes reales que tratan sobre los depositarios que no acuden con los depositos que les hacen.*

*Y por que asi lo cumplirá obligó su persona y bienes habidos y por haber en la mas vastante forma que debe y es obligado y renunciando las leyes de su favor con la general del derecho en forma. Y en este estado quedó este embargo para continuarlo en el Palacio de la Villa de Umatta donde dice dicho Señor Teniente general tener los demas de sus bienes y lo firmo conmigo dicho Capitan con mis testigos acompañados de que doy fé.*

*José Ruiz, Juez receptor.*

*Jacinto Diaz de Vargas*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

***Segunda diligencia de el embargo de bienes del dicho Teniente general.—***

*En la Villa de Umata en veinte y tres dias del mes de Noviembre de mil setecientos veinte años, yo el dicho Capitan D. José Ruiz, Juez de esta causa en prosecucion de el embargo que me esta mandado por la Real provision de mi comision de los bienes del dicho Señor Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan general que acaba de ser de estas Islas Marianas, pase á este Palacio de la dicha Villa de Umata y entrado y reconocido hallé estar una caxa dentro del cuarto de el, de cinco cuartas de largo, y tres de alto y dentro de ella lo siguiente:*

*Primeramente cuatro varas de elefante amarillo que sirve por resguardo del asiento de ella.*

*Yt. Una casaca de Pequin negro con ojales y botones de seda negra.*

*Yt. Chupa, calzon y coton asi mismo negro de Pequin viejo.—Mas otro calzon de lo mismo.*

*Yt. Una chupa de Pequin azul bordado de [h]jilo de oro con treinta y tres botones de oro puro hechura de filigrana que pesaran poco mas ó menos tres cuartillos cada uno.*

*Yt. una chupa; dos pares de calzones de brocato verde guarnecida con ojales y fleco de ilo de oro y botones de lo mismo y un calzon con dos agujetas de plata.*

*Yt. otro calzon de dicho brocato verde.*

*Yt. once botones de oro que pesarán poco mas ó menos á tres cuartillos cada uno.*

*Yt. dos pares de calzon de Pequin azul[,] el uno con guarnicion de trencilla, de ilo de oro.*

*Yt. otros dos pares de calzones, el uno de pitiflor celeste y el otro de cordoncillo de yerbas de china.*

*Yt. un viricu de raso blanco bordado con hilo de oro.*

*Yt. un plumero negro de sombrero.*

*Yt. un sombrero blanco de castor guarnecido con galon de [h]hilo de oro con plumas negras.*

*Yt. otro sombrero de castor llano.*

*Yt. un pavellon de tafetan de Bengala colorada en dos piezas[,] el cuerpo y el cielo de lo mismo con feneja [=franja] de damasco amarillo con sus flecos de seda del mismo color y su rodapiés asi mismo de dicho damasco.*

*Yt. una colcha de Toluca matizada ya usada.*

*Yt. un pavellon de lienzo llano en dos piezas comunes de lienzo llano[,] el cielo nuevo.*

*Yt. otro pavellon de lo mismo con sus puntillas de hilo blanco del Parian viejo en dos piezas[,] el cuerpo y otra su cielo.*

*Yt. otro pavellon de lo mismo con sus puntas y encages de hilo de china ya usado en tres piezas.*

*Yt. un cuerpo de pavellon asimismo de lienzo en dos piezas cosido con seda azul.*

*Yt. otro pavellon viejo cosido con seda azul ya viejo.*

*Yt. dos sabanas de lienzo[,] la una llana y la otra con encages de hilo de china.*

*Yt. dos fundas de almoadas labradas[,] la una con seda de grana y la otra con azul.*

*Yt. otras tres fundas de almoada de bretaña[,] las dos y la otra de lienzo bordadas[,] dichas dos de seda grana y verde, y la otra labrada con dicha seda de grana.*

*Yt. cuatro fundas de azerico[,] las tres labradas con seda grana, y la una de azul.*

*Yt. otras tres fundas de azerico del mismo genero que la antecedente bordadas de seda de grana y verde.*

*Yt. otras tres fundas de lienzo labrado de almoada de bretaña[,] las dos labradas con hilo blanco de china.*

*Yt. otras dos fundas de lienzo labradas de hilo de china con sus encages de hilo de España usadas.*

*Yt. otras dos fundas de azerico de lienzo labradas con hilo blanco del Parian y encage de lo mismo.*

*Yt. dos bolsas de manta y dentro de ella cinco cartas de marear, las cuatro de pergamino y la otra de papel.*

*Yt. un baston de carey guarnecido con plata[,] puño y casquillo dorada.*

*Yt. otro dicho de bejuco con puño, asimismo de plata dorada con galon y borlas de hilo de oro.*

*Yt. un espadin con puño guarnicion gancho y contera de plata dorada y pomo de lo mismo.*

*Yt. un espadin de fierro con su puño de alambre de plata.*

*Yt. tres pares de medias[,] dos azules y uno de tinta en grana bordadas de hilo de oro las dos, y la una de plata usadas de seda.*

*Yt. otra par de medias azul de seda, asimismo usada.*

*Yt. otro par de medias negras de lo mismo soleteada y usada.*

*Yt. dos cintas de baston de tela, un azul y otra verde.*

*Yt. otras dos de sombrero del mismo genero.*

*Yt. otros dos pedazos de cinta vieja asi mismo de tela azul y verde[,] la una de dos varas y la otra de una.*

*Yt. veinte y siete varas de cinta de Pequín negra en dos pedazos.*

*Yt. una saya de la Virgen de raso blanco bordado con hilo de oro con cincuenta y cuatro piedras falsas engastadas en cobre y una cruzezita de relumbrones engastada de lo mismo.*

*Yt. un paño frutero de lienzo labrado con algodón colorado.*

*Yt. una almoada y dos azericos de tafetan colorado de Vengala.*

*Todos los cuales se bolbió á meter en dicha caja y se cerró con su llave.*

*Yt. hallé una imagen de Nuestra Señora con cara y manos de marfil con su vestido de lana verde guarnecido de puntillas de seda grana con su corona y rostrillo de feligrana de plata, con una gargantilla compuesta de treinta y dos perlas chiquitas y treinta y seis gamayes de oro, y una piedrecita colorada engastada de plata dorada y dicha imagen es de tres cuartas de alto y su peana pintada y dorada.*

*Yt. dos hechuras de marfil, uno del Señor S. Juan y otro de S. Antonio con su Niño en la mano de lo mismo de media vara de alto ambas.*

*Y habiendo inquerido y preguntado á los criados de dicho Señor que estan en este dicho Palacio por los demas bienes del susodicho[,] respondieron no haber en el otros que los arriba inventareados que los entregue en deposito el [rather al] Capitan D. José de Sandoval quien estando presente se obligó de tener en fiel guardia y custodia dicho embargo sin entregar á ninguna persona hasta que por mi se mande otra cosa y por que asi lo cumplira se obligo con su persona y vienes habidos y por haber en la mas bastante forma que puede y debe segun derecho, con lo cual quedó este embargo é inventario en este estado para continuarlo, cada y cuando que constare haber otros bienes que le pertenezcan á dicho Señor Teniente general, y lo firmó conmigo dicho Capitan con mis testigos acompañados de mi asistencia de que doy fe.*

*José Ruiz, Juez Receptor.*

*José Sandoval*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

***Tercera diligencia de embargo.—***

*En dicha Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Agaña en veinte y ocho dias del mes de Noviembre de mil setecientos veinte años, Yo el dicho Capitan D. José Ruiz, Juez de Comision para esta causa con asistencia de mis testigos acompañados en prosecucion de dicho embargo y secuestro de bienes de dicho Señor Teniente general, vine á la Casa de su morada que es los Reales almacenes para dicho efecto inquiriendo por el demas de sus bienes, declaró y manifesto dicho Señor lo siguiente:*

*Primeramente diez y ocho platillos de plata que pesaron treinta y ocho marcos.*

*Yt. dos cajuelas de plata[,] la una dorada que pesaron cuatro onzas y dos reales.*

*Yt. veinte y siete varas y media de brocato anteadado Mexicano en dos pedazos.*

*Todos los cuales se entregaron al dicho Capitan Don Jacinto de Vargas quien estando presente se obligó á tenerlos en deposito con lo demas de que se ha hecho cargo del primer embargo con la misma cualidad[,] gravamen y condiciones que sean en el se expresa; y en este estado quedó este tercer inventario de dicho embargo, y lo firmó conmigo dicho Capitan y testigos mis acompañados de que doy fe.*

*José Ruiz Juez Receptor.*

*Jacinto Diaz de Vargas.*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

...

***Declaracion del Señor Teniente general Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.***

*Yncontinenti Yo el dicho Juez Receptor con asistencia de dichos mi asociado y testigos mis acompañados, ley y notifique el auto de arriba al Señor Teniente general á quien le halle acostado en su cama y al parecer estar enfermo y en su entero juicio y habiendolo entendido: Dixo: Que es verdad que los ocho mil pesos que refiere dicho auto de la buelta los entregó al Ayudante Domingo de Olarte el Sargento Mayor Roque de los Reyes su Mayordomo por orden de dicho Señor para que se los entregase al Señor Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle del Consejo de S.M. su Gobernador y Capitan general de estas Islas Marianas de que es sabedor el Capitan Don Miguel Antonio de Yanzi.*

*Asi mismo declaro que en poder del dicho Señor D. Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle paran otros ocho mil pesos que el dicho Capitan Don Miguel Antonio Yanzi, recibió del dicho su Mayordomo de orden de dicho Señor Gobernador para traerselos á esta Ciudad con mas la plata labrada,*

*—un corte de brocato de Milan, de hilo de plata fina,*

*—como tambien tres libras de hilo de oro fino,*

*—y otras tres dichas de plata fina.*

*—Setenta y una docenas de botones de plata y oro cartolino para chupas,*

*—Nueve juegos de botones de hilo de oro grandes, y plata para casacas.*

*—Seis libras de trencilla de oro y plata.*

*—Otras dos libras de trencilla[,]*



*que importan todos el valor mil quinientos cuarenta y un pesos, cuatro tomines y medio como consta por la memoria que exhibio dicho Señor Teniente general firmada con su estampilla sobre que pidió se acumule á esta diligencia que juntos con los dichos diez y seis mil pesos arriba referidos en reales hazen diez y siete mil quinientos cuarenta y un pesos cuatro tomines y medio los cuales declaró dicho Señor Teniente general que tiene puesta una caja grande de dos llaves en Palacio en el cuarto de dormir de Su Señoría dicho Señor Gobernador y en ella seis talegas de á mil pesos en cada una y una lista de deudas de la Infanterio de lo que se les adelantó de cuentas de sus sueldos que tiene aceptado dicho Señor Gobernador, cuyo monto es de quinientos nueve pesos, y de cuenta de ellos se pagaron al Secretario de la Gobernacion y guerra Don Fernando de Arze el socorro pasado doscientos y tantos pesos, todos los seis mil quinientos y nueve pesos son por cuenta de los sueldos de la infanteria desde el mes de Diciembre del año proximo pasado de setecientos y veinte en adelante, todo lo cual declaro el dicho Señor en cumplimiento del Auto de la foxa antes de esta para el descargo de su conciencia por el paso en que se halla, y lo firmó con su estampilla conmigo y dichos mi asociado y testigos mis acompañados, y despacho en este papel por la misma razon que se expresa en dicho auto á que me remitió y de todo doy fé.*

*José Ruiz, Juez receptor.*

*Bernardo de Egui*

*Juan Antonio Pimentel*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

### **2ª Declaracion de dicho Señor Teniente General.**

*En dicha Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña y Casa de los Reales Almacenes de ella en treinta y uno de Enero de mil setecientos veinte y un años, Yo el dicho Capitan Juez receptor de esta causa habiendo venido á esta dicha Casa donde se halla preso el Señor D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan General que fué de estas islas á efecto de inquirir otros bienes que le pertenezcan á dicho Señor quien habiendole requerido debajo de juramento:*

*—Primeramente la Palancana con su pichel pesaron ocho libras y siete onzas que hacen pesos ciento treinta y cinco ..... 135 p*

*—Yt. El salero taller con sus vinageras pesaron ocho libras y tres onzas que hacen pesos ciento treinta y uno ..... 131 p*

*—Yt. dos platonos grandes pesaron ocho libras y seis onzas que hacen en pesos, ciento treinta y cuatro ..... 134 p*

*—Yt. seis cubiletos labrados que pesaron dos libras y cuatro onzas que hacen en pesos treinta y seis pesos ..... 36 p*

*—Yt. una salvilla con su bernegal y paxarito pesan tres libras y dos onzas que hacen en pesos cincuenta ps. .... 50 p*

*—Yt. otra asi mismo con su bernegal que pesaron una libra y catorce onzas y media que hacen treinta onzas y media y pesos treinta y medio ..... 30 p 4t*

- *Yt. siete platos que pesaron siete libras y doce onzas que hazen ciento veinte y cuatro pesos* ..... 124 p  
 — *Yt. siete que pesaron asimismo que hacen en pesos ciento y veinte y cuatro* 124 p  
 — *Yt. siete dichos asi mismo con siete libras y doce onzas* ..... 124 p  
 — *Yt. siete dichos con siete libras y once onzas* ..... 123 p  
 — *Yt. dos dichos con dos libras y dos onzas* ..... 34 p

### Géneros

- *Primeramente veinte y dos varas y tres cuartas de brocato verde con flores de oro á cuatro pesos y dos tomines vara que son* ..... 36 p 5t  
 — *Yt. tres libras de hilo de oro Mexicano á 26 pesos cinco tomines* ..... 79 p 7t
- *Yt. tres libras de oro Mexicano á veinte y seis pesos cinco tomines* ..... 79 p 7t  
 — *Yt. tres libras de hilo Mexicano, lo mismo* ..... 79 p 4t  
 — *setenta y una docena de botones de oro plata cartulinos para chupa á cinco pesos y seis tomines* ..... 34 p  
 — *Yt. nueve juegos de botones grandes de hilo de oro y plata para casacas á cuatro pesos y un tomin juego* ..... 37 p 1t  
 — *Yt. seis libras de trencilla de oro y plata á veinte y un pesos* ..... 126 p  
 — *Yt. otras dos libras de trencilla dicha y medio precio* ..... 42 p
- *Suman y montan una y otra* ..... 1,541 p 4t  
 =====

*cantidad, mil quinientos cuarenta y un pesos cuatro tomines y medio plata labrada.  
 Juan Antonio Pimentel.*

*Que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometió y declaró y dixo: Que estan en poder del Muy Reverendo Padre Heypell,] Rector de la Casa del partido de Merizo cuatro mil pesos los cuales tiene destinados para bien de su alma y para pagar á algunas personas que le tiene encargado al dicho Padre. Y asi mismo declaro otros bienes que dice se hallan en la Bugada [sic = bodega] de Umata que son diez y nueve cajones de jabon los doze de ellos son del gremio, y los siete del equivoco que habian de venir por dos de sombreros, dos de cavos, y dos de acero y en trueque de cacao, y que todo lo sobrante de los diez y nueve dichos pertenece á dicho Señor Teniente general para la justificacion de el equivoco en el recibo de dichos cajones se remite á un testimonio del Secretario que era el Capitan Juan Nuñez, todo lo ocual dixo y declaró dicho Señor so cargo de dicho juramento, y lo firmó con su estampilla conmigo y dichos capitan mi asociado y testigos mis acompañados. Y se despacha en este papel comun por la misma razon que se espresa en las diligencias antecedentes á que me remito y todo lo cual doy fé.*

*José Ruiz Juez Receptor.*

*Bernardo de Egui*

*Juan Antonio Pimentel*

*Domingo Guerrero  
Felipe de Santiago.*

***Embargo é inventario de bienes del Señor Teniente general fecho en la Villa de Umata.***

*En la Villa de Umata y Real Palacio de ella en cuatro dias del mes de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y un años, Yo el Capitan Don José Ruiz, Juez de esta causa y receptor de ella con asistencia del Capitan D. Bernardo de Egui, Cabo Superior del Patache San Andres, surto en el Puerto de Merizo mi asociado y testigos mis acompañados, pasé á este dicho Palacio á efecto de Imbentarear y embargar todos los bienes que constaren pertenecer al Señor Teniente general Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan general que fué de estas islas, poniendolo con ejecucion pedí las llaves al Sargento Mayor Santiago Teodoro[,] criado de dicho Señor y mandé abrir la bodega de debaxo de la escalera de dicho Real Palacio y se inventarearon los que halle dentro en la forma siguiente:*

*Primeramente se abrió una caja con su cerradura y llave de vara y cuarta de largo de alto y ancho su proporcion y dentro de ella lo que se sigue:*

- Tres varas de terciopelo verde de averia.*
  - Diez varas de guinoley de lo mismo.*
  - Cincuenta y dos camisas de elefante.*
  - Siete chininas de lienzo blanco.*
  - Seis pares de calzon de lo mismo.*
  - Cielo y espaldar de un baldoquin negro.*
  - Siete paños de colgadura negra.*
  - Una sobre cama de raso labrada encarnada con forro de siyasaca [sic = sayasaya] bien usada con sus flecos.*
  - Cuatro sobre camas de chita ordinaria de Churrate.*
  - Dos paños de manos de Ylocos.*
  - Ocho paños de Cambayas entrefinas.*
  - Un paño de seda de polvo naranjado.*
  - Una funda de almoada.*
  - Una chupa vieja y llana plateada.*
  - Once pares de esarpines de manta cruda.*
  - Un dangloncito y dentro de el unas balanzas con sus pesas.*
  - Cinco pares de abujetas.*
  - Tres cordones de seda.*
  - Una hechura de San Francisco con manos y rostro de marfil de una tercia de alto.*
  - Vara y tres cuartas de Cambay.*
- Todos los cuales se bolvieron á meter dentro de dicha caja y se cerró con su llave. Yt. en un caxon de una vara de largo y de alto y ancho su proporcion sin llave y dentro de el lo siguiente:*
- Un gatillo de sacarmuelas.*

- Sesenta y un bolos de un palmo de largo sin la espiga.*
- Dos pichelos de cobre blanco el uno con tapadera y el otro sin tapadera.*
- Una camtinplora de plomo.*
- Cuatro platillos de cobre blanco.*
- Dos palanganas de lo mismo con su fuente.*

*Todos los cuales se bolbieron á meter dentro de dicho caxon.*

- Dos tibores de losa con cerradura sin llave[,] vacias.*
  - Un metetate [sic = metate] con su mano.*
  - Dos lios de canela de Aburney.*
  - Tres pedazos de suelas en otro lio.*
- En la bodega grande: Un caxon de china asi mismo sin llave:*
- Cuatro fuciños de fierro.*
  - Un platon de lampara con su arquillo y cadenilla de cobre.*
- Que asi mismo se bolbieron á meter dentro de dicho caxon.*
- Yt. diez cajones de jabon.*
  - Yt. dos frasqueras la una con quince y la otra con diez frascos vacios.*

*De arriba dentro del cuarto:*

*Yt. se abrió una caja de mas de vara de largo y de alto y ancho su proporcion con su cerradura y llave y dentro de ella lo siguiente:*

- Sesenta y dos cordovanes.*
- Treinta y una vara de guinoley azul en dos piezas.*
- Dos antepuertas de escarlatas con sus cenefas de terciopelo de lo mismo y color con sus flecos de seda torcida matizada.*
- Una cortina de China de Surate.*
- Quatro pedazos de medriñaque.*
- Una casaqueta de bayeta encarnada con flecos de librea.*
- Cuatro sabanas de lienzo llanas con veinte y una fundas de almoadas asi mismo llanas y de dichos géneros que todo lo referido se bolvieron á meter en dicha caja.*

*Yt. una caja vacia con cerradura y llave, de vara y tercia de largo y de alto y ancho su proporcion.*

*Yt. se abrió una petaca de vara y cuarta de largo y de alto y ancho su proporcion con su cerradura y llave y dentro de ella lo siguiente:*

- Diez y ocho piezas de manta iloco de a cinco varas de largo.*
- Onze varas de elefante de hilo colorado.*
- Una cortina de elefante amarillo.*
- Dos antepuertas viejas de raso listado con su forro de guinoley.*
- Un pedazo de medriñaque de seis varas.*
- Seis cordovanes[;]*
- vara y media de paño azul oscuro,*
- y cuatro pares de calzones de lo mismo nuevos.*
- Diez pares de zapatos de municion.*
- Cinco varas de chita basta de Surrate.*

— *Una bandera colorada de tafetan de Bengala vieja y rota.*

— *Tres vandejas encharoladas de labores doradas de maque viejas y se bolbió á cerrar con los mencionados.*

— *Un zurrón de cacao.*

— *Cuatro lios de petates para vela.*

— *Cuatro escopetas de llave extranjeras[,] el cañon[,] llave y guardamonte de la una granado.*

— *Dos esmeriles asi mismo de llave extranjeros.*

— *Cinco tercios de paño con su gerga numerados de numero dos á seis, con la marca del margen.*

— *Yt. Sesenta y seis tinajas de agua tapadas y embreadas[,] las veinte y seis de ellas de Pasi [sic] y las demas de ellas de China que esta[n] en el camarín de la playa.*

— *Yt. otras seis tinajas de arroz limpio[,] la una de ellas de China y las demas de Pasi tapadas y embreadas.*

— *Yt. otras tres tinajas de Pasi llenas de Maiz con sus tapaderas de palo sin brea.*

— *Yt. otras veinte y cuatro tinajas de China vacias todas [,] las cuales dichas tinajas con dicha marca al margen.*

*Todos los cuales quedaron inventareados y embargados que se depositaron en el Capitan Don José de Sandoval, quien estando presente se obligó de tenerlos en deposito y de manifiesto en guardia y fiel custodia y de no acudir en ellos en parte ni en todo al dicho Señor Teniente general Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, ni á otra persona alguna sino fuere de mandato de Juez competente que deba conocer esta causa y por que asi lo cumplirá á ley de depositario, y en la mas vastante forma se obliga con su persona y bienes habidos y por haber, con poderio á ellos con los demas gravemenes, requisitos y circunstancias que debe y es obligado y asi lo otorgó y lo firmó conmigo y dichos mi asociado y testigos mis acompañados siendo los instrumentales los Ayudantes Manuel Coronado[,] Pablo de la Cruz, y dicho Sargento Mayor Teodoro Santiago.*

*Y se despacha en este papel comun por no haber del sellado corriente en virtud de auto por mi proveido para ello que queda en los autos de esta causa á que me remito y de todo lo cual doy fé.*

*José Ruiz, Juez Receptor.*

*Bernardo de Egui*

*José de Sandoval*

*Felipe de Santiago*

*Domingo de Guerrero.*

## **Translation.**

### **First effort to seize the property of said Lieutenant-General.**

In said City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 22nd of the month of November 1720, I, said Captain and Judge of this case for the seizure that is referred to above, returned to the residence of said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, former Governor

and Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, to carry out said seizure and sequestration of belongings, which took place in the following manner:

Firstly, said trunk was opened and there was found inside the following articles:

- one embroidered bed-spread from Ilocos, made of *terlonga*;
- 7 pillow slips of linen with 13 small cushions and slips of the same material;
- 2 dressing gowns also made of linen with their stitches from Quiapo;
- 9 plain linen shirts;
- 4 linen bed-sheets;
- 2 white linen bed tents;
- 3 Chinese-style shirts of linen, two with lace and the other plain;
- 4 jackets of “sana” [= saya, lana?];
- 5 handkerchiefs with lace;
- another embroidered cotton shirt;
- 3 pairs of arm cuffs with lace;
- 2 linen berets with lace;
- 1 small carpet, of Lascar damask;
- another handkerchief of cambric with Spanish lace;
- 6 pairs of stockings, 3 of silk and the others of worsted, already worn;
- 16 pairs of garters and 10 pairs of pumps;
- 2 more linen berets with lace;
- 4 face towels from Ilocos;

All of the above articles were then returned to said trunk and it was secured with its key, and because said Lieutenant-General said that they were for his personal use and clothing, they were not seized but he was given back the key.

Also, there was opened another small box measuring  $\frac{3}{4}$  span in length by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans in height, inside which were the following:

—33 small engravings or saintly relics adorned with sequin and braided thread from China;

- 2 pieces of simple green and yellow taffeta;
- 7 pieces of ribbons or tapes.

All of which said Lieutenant-General said that they were the adornments of a statue of Our Lady, which is located in the chapel of the infantry barracks.

- 3 robes for Our Lady, of old cloth;
- 1 head piece, a crown and a small scepter(?) made of gold-plated silver, the crown with rays, and said head-piece made up of 15 pieces, each with a Barcelona stone;
- 1 rosary with 98 coral beads with their paternosters made of pearls, for a total of 212 pearls the size of mongo beans, more or less;
- three more paternosters with 38 pearls each, but smaller in size, with 3 more such beads with pearls almost the size of chick-peas;
- another pearl hooked to the end of said Rosary, larger than all of the others, one small cross of gold hanging from said Rosary, with 5 pearls like the first mentioned;
- 18 small crosses of shiny metal enchased in copper;

—1 earring of gold-plated silver with three Barcelona stones, 2 green and 1 red, plus one green stone the size of an almond at the end, plus another spare almond-shaped stone with its setting;

—2 bracelets of false stones for said statue;

—1 sun, also of gold-plated silver, for the cloak of said statue, sewed on a piece of silk ribbon;

—1 small chest pendant with 8 small diamonds and one jade stone, in a gold setting;

—2 small gold canes that weighed 3 reals;

—5 small petticoats and 5 small blouses, made of linen, from said statue also. All of which were replaced in said small box, with the exception of the adornment that was said to belong to the statue of Our Lady in the barracks.

Then the other small box measuring 3 spans in length by 1-1/2 spans in height was opened; in it were found some clothes belonging to the servants of said Lieutenant-General, reason for which the key and contents were given back to him.

Then was opened said writing desk, made of pine wood from China, with 6 old drawers, inside which were the following articles:

In the first drawer were found 32 certificates of rank for various officers, Spanish as well as Pampango and Chamorro, for safe-keeping, because their owners did not claim them.

In the second drawer: 1 small ivory box with silver hinges; another small box of gold-plated silver; 1 pair of silver clamps; 1 buckle, also made of silver; 1 pair of garter [clips] of gold-plated silver; 1 small clock with its small hand and ivory box; 1 telescope with handle also made of ivory; 1 transcript of some records of proceedings in a trial brought by Captain Pedro de la Peña Maceda against Sergeant-Major Juan de Briones, regarding a sum of 25 pesos and 887 bushels of husked rice, dating from the year 1676 and filling 18 folio sheets.<sup>1</sup>

—7 single receipts, the first one issued by Ana María Díaz de Varo to said Lieutenant-General in 1687 regarding a sum of 30 pesos; another from Sergeant-Major Juan de Angulo to said General regarding 20 pesos and dated 1691, and the other five receipts by Bachelor Juan de Bracamonte, curate of the District of Quiapo regarding various sums collected as poll taxes, bearing dates from 1692 to 1704, each instrument using one sheet, and in the margin of this paragraph one reads the following comment: "Said seven receipts have been initialled by me, said Judge Receiver.—Ruiz."

—Also I also surveyed and recorded two bundles of old documents, tied separately, dating back to 1694 and before; letters and other old papers that were not relevant and therefore not inventoried in detail; they were returned to said drawer;

In the third drawer: 1 small compass, old and in bad condition; 1 small pair of scissors; 1 pen-knife.

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1 Ed. note: Both men were Army officers who arrived at Manila in the retinue of Governor Salcedo in 1663. There is no explanation as to why this file ended up in the possession of General Pimentel, except that he may have inadvertently picked this old file up when he had been Mayor of Tondo.

In the fourth drawer: 1 pair of earrings with 3 small dangling pearls, which said gentleman declared were part of the adornment of the above-mentioned statue belonging to him. One ring with shiny stone set in copper.

In the fifth drawer: a few flint-stones for rifles; 10 papers for [recharging compass] needles.

In the sixth drawer: 2 small bottles and 1 small flask for medicines.

All of which was put back in said drawers and said writing desk was locked with its key. Two seals, one of bronze and the other of silver, that had been on top of the desk before, were placed inside it.

—1 coat of purple cloth with silver edging and buttons of the same material;

—1 riding coat of pale gold with gold edging and buttons of the same material;

—another coat of dark-brown “mamparela” with edging of gold thread and buttons of the same material;

—another coat of black satin, embroidered and much worn, with buttons [covered with] black silk;

—another suit (jacket and pants) of blue Peking cloth, edged with silver thread and buttons of pure silver, 33 of them, each weighing about 1 real;<sup>1</sup>

—another suit of yellow satin with plain pants, and buttons of silver thread. And in the margin of the above bracketed entries is a note saying: “This cloak and the black one were given back, for the personal use of said gentleman, along with two jackets and two pants that are those that are bracketed.”

—3 knives with their silver handles;

—1 set of table linen with 6 napkins, said cloth and napkins of cotton fabric;

—1 basin and 1 tankard of white copper [i.e. pewter];

—25 small plates of same metal;

—2 pairs of inkstands and sand-box for writing, of the same metal;

And, given that I, said Judge, could not find anything else that I could seize in this residence of said Lieutenant-General, which is located inside the royal storehouses, I delivered the above to Captain Jacinto Díaz de Vargas who, being present, for whom I vouch, declared having received and did receive the belongings inventoried above and obliged himself to act as legal keeper thereof, and promised not to show or give any of them to said Lieutenant-General, or to any other person, without an express order from me, under penalty of having to pay double their value, in accordance with the Royal laws that deal with legal keepers who do not take care of the goods placed in their custody.

And to this effect he pledged his person and his property, present and future, in sufficient and necessary form and manner, and renounced recourse to the general and civil laws that might be in his favor. And in this state remained this seizure, which is to be continued in the palace at the town of Umatta, where said Lieutenant-General says that

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: I use the common word “pants” to translate what were in fact breeches, trousers reaching to the knees only. Stockings of the period reached up to the knees, of course.



he has other belongings and said Captain signed with me and my co-witnesses, whereof I give faith.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Jacinto Díaz de Vargas.

Domingo Guerrero.

Felipe de Santiago.

### **Second effort at seizure of the belongings of said Lieutenant-General.**

In the town of Umata on the 23rd of the month of November of 1720, I, said Captain José Ruiz, Judge of this case in continuation of the seizure that I have been ordered to make by the Royal provision of my commission of the property of said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, ex-Governor and Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, proceeded to this palace in said town of Umata, entered and surveyed it. I found there one box inside the bedroom, measuring 5 spans in length, and 3 spans in height, inside of which were the following:

—Firstly 4 yards of yellow Elephant [cotton] that serves to protect the top of the box when used as a seat;

—1 coat of black Peking cloth with button holes and buttons of black silk;

—1 jacket, pants, and shirt, also made of black Peking cloth, old.—Plus another pants of the same material;

—1 jacket of blue Peking cloth, edged with gold thread, with 33 buttons of pure filigreed gold that would weigh about 1/2 real each;

—1 jacket; 2 pairs of pants made of green brocade, with button holes and fringes edged with gold thread and buttons of same material, and 1 pants with two silver laces;

—another pair of pants of said green brocade;

—11 gold buttons that would weigh about 3/4 real each;

—2 pairs of pants of blue Peking cloth, one edged with a band of gold thread;

—another 2 pairs of pants, one of light blue silken fabric and the other of corduroy made with Chinese grass;

—1 sword-belt of white satin embroidered with gold thread;

—1 bunch of black feathers for a hat;

—1 white beaver hat, adorned with a band of gold thread and black feathers;

—another beaver hat, plain;

—1 bed tent made of red taffeta from Bengal, in two parts: the body and the canopy made of the same material with curtains of yellow damask, with fringes of silk of the same color, and foot panels of the same damask stuff;

—1 bedspread from Toluca,<sup>1</sup> to match, already worn;

—1 bed tent of plain linen, in two pieces of common plain linen, and a new canopy;

—another bed tent of the same material with narrow lace edgings of white thread from the Parian, old, in two pieces, the body and the canopy;

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1 Ed. note: A city northwest of Mexico City.

—another bed tent of the same material with edgings made of white Chinese lace, in three pieces, already used;

—1 bed tent body, also made of linen, in two pieces sewed with blue silk;

—another bed tent, old, sewed with blue silk, already old;

—2 linen bed-sheets, one plain and the other with fringes of Chinese thread;

—2 embroidered pillow slips, one with red silk and the other with blue silk;

—3 more pillow slips of linen from Brittany, two embroidered with red and green silks, and the other with red silk;

—4 cushion covers, three embroidered with red silk, and the other with blue silk;

—3 more cushion covers of the same material as the previous ones, embroidered with red and green silk;

—3 more pillow slips of Brittany linen, two embroidered with white Chinese thread;

—2 more linen pillow slips embroidered with Chinese thread with fringes of Spanish thread, used;

—2 more cushion covers of linen embroidered with white Parian thread and fringes of the same material;

—2 canvas bags, and inside them 5 sea charts, 4 on vellum and the other on paper;

—1 walking stick of tortoise shell, inlaid with silver, its head and tip gold-plated;

—another of cane with its head also gold-plated, with a galloon and tassel of gold thread;

—1 short sword with a hilt, its grasp and tip of gold-plated silver and the head of the same metal;

—1 short sword of iron with hilt of silver wire;

—3 pairs of silk stockings, two blue and one dyed red, two embroidered with gold thread, and one with silver thread, used;

—another pair of blue silk stockings, also used;

—another pair of black stockings of the same material, with soles, and used;

—2 ribbons for canes, of canvas, one blue, the other green;

—2 more for hats, of the same material;

—2 more such pieces of old ribbon, also made of blue and green canvas, one two yards in length, the other one;

—27 yards of ribbon, of black Peking cloth, in two pieces;

—1 petticoat for the Virgin of white satin embroidered with gold thread and 54 false stones set in copper and one small cross of shiny metal also set in copper;

—1 linen cloth to serve fruits, embroidered with red cotton;

—1 pillow and 2 cushions of scarlet taffeta from Bengal;

All of the above were put back in said box and it was locked with its key.

—I also found one statue of Our Lady, with her face and hands of ivory, and its clothes made of green wool, decorated with red silk lace, with her crown and head veil of silver filigree, with a necklace of 32 very small pearls, plus 36 gold beads(?), and one small red stone set in gold-plated silver, said statue measuring 3 spans in height and its pedestal painted gold;

—2 ivory statues, one of Saint John, and the other of Saint Anthony with the Child Jesus in his arms, of the same material, both measuring half a yard in height;<sup>1</sup>

And, after having interrogated the servants of said gentleman who live in said palace, as to the whereabouts of his belongings, they answered that there were no other, besides those already inventoried, which I handed over to Captain José de Sandoval for safe-keeping, he being present, obliging himself to keep them faithfully while under embargo, and not delivering any to anyone, unless ordered otherwise by me, and to give assurance of compliance he pledged his person and property, present and future, in the best form and manner under the law. Hence this seizure and inventory-taking was left as is, to be continued whenever and wherever anything else belonging to said Lieutenant-General were to be found, and said Captain signed with me and the witnesses my assistants, whereof I give faith.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

José Sandoval. Domingo Guerrero. Felipe de Santiago.

### Third attempt at seizure.—

In said city of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 28th of the month of November 1720, I, Captain José Ruiz, Judge commissioned for this case with the assistance of my witnesses and in continuation of said seizure and sequestration of the belongings of said Lieutenant-General, visited his residence in the Royal warehouse, and to said effect inquired about other belongings. Said gentleman declared and showed the following:

- Firstly 18 small silver plates that weighed 38 marcos [= 19 pounds];
- 2 small silver boxes, one gold-plated, that weighed 34 ounces and 2 reals;
- 27-1/2 yards of buffed Mexican brocade in 2 pieces.

All of which were turned over to said Captain Jacinto de Vargas who, being present, obliged himself to keep them with the rest that he had taken in charge at the first seizure, under the same terms, obligation and conditions expressed beforehand; and in this status remained this third inventory of said seizure. And said Captain signed with me and my accompanying witnesses, whereof I give faith.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Jacinto Díaz de Vargas.

Domingo Guerrero.

Felipe de Santiago.

...  
[On 31 January 1721, Governor Pimentel was taken seriously ill. After receiving the sacraments, he was ready to confess publicly that he had not declared some property. For this purpose, he sent Major José García Monroy, one of his servants, to tell Judge Ruiz that about one month earlier he had delivered 8,000 pesos to Captain Miguel Antonio Yanzi, pilot's mate of the patache **San Andrés**. Ruiz ordered Pimentel to make a proper declaration.]

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1 Ed. note: St. John and St. Anthony were his two patron saints.

**Declaration of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel.**

I, said Judge receiver, at once, with the assistance of my associate and accompanying witnesses, read and notified the above writ to said Lieutenant-General whom I found in bed and apparently sick, but alert in mind. Having heard same, he Declared: That it is true that Adjutant Domingo de Olarte had given the 8,000 pesos mentioned in the writ to Sergeant-Major Roque de los Reyes, his majordomo, by his order, to be turned over to Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, of H.M.'s Council, his Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands, and Captain Miguel Antonio de Yanzi is aware of it.

He also declared that there are 8,000 more pesos in the possession of said Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, which said Captain Miguel Antonio Yanzi received from the same man, his majordomo, by order of said Governor, to have them brought of this city along with the wrought silver:

- a piece of brocade from Milan, of fine silver thread;
- as well as 3 pounds of fine gold thread;
- and 3 more of fine silver;
- 71 dozen buttons of gold-plated silver for jackets;
- 9 sets of large buttons, of gold thread and silver for coats;
- 6 pounds of gold and silver braid;
- 2 more pounds of braid,

which all in all are worth 1,541 pesos 4 tomins and a half, as shown in the list that said Lieutenant-General exhibited, signed with his stamp, and which he requested be added to this exercise. Altogether with the said 16,000 pesos in cash referred to above, this makes 17,541 pesos 4 tomins and a half, which said Lieutenant-General declared having placed in a large box with two locks in the palace in the bedroom of His Lordship the Governor and inside it 6 sacks of 1,000 pesos each and a list of debts owned by the Infantry, for the amounts that they were paid in advance for their salaries which said Governor has accepted, amounting to 509 pesos, and for their benefit were paid out to the Secretary for Administration and War, Don Fernando de Arce, the last subsidy of 200 and some pesos [each], totalling 6,509 pesos, on the account of the salaries of the infantry, as of the month of December of last year 1720 in advance. All of which declared said gentleman in compliance with the writ of the previous folio, in order to discharge his conscience on account of the crisis he is now undergoing, and he signed it with his stamp, along with me and my associate and accompanying witnesses, and I despatched same on this paper, for the same reason expressed in said writ to which I refer, and in faith whereof.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Bernardo de Eguí.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Domingo Guerrero.

Felipe de Santiago.

**Second declaration of said Lieutenant-General.**

In said city of San Ignacio of Agaña and Residence in the Royal Warehouse, on the 31st of January 1721, I, said Captain Judge receiver of this case, having come to said residence where Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, ex-Governor and Captain-General of these Islands is being kept prisoner, for the purpose of inquiring whether said gentleman had other property to declare under oath, [he declared]:

—Firstly the basin and tankard set, weighing 8 lbs 7 oz., worth .....	135 p <sup>1</sup>
—the saltshaker set with its vinegar-cruets, weighing 8 lbs 3 oz., worth .....	131 p
—2 large dishes weighing 8 lbs 6 oz., worth .....	134 p
—6 tumblers, crafted, weighing 2 lbs 4 oz., worth .....	36 p
—1 salver with its bowl and small bird, weighing 3 lbs 2 oz., worth .....	50 p
—another salver with its bowl, weighing 1 lb 14-1/2 oz., that is 30-1/2 ounces, worth 30-1/2 .....	30p 4t
—7 plates that weighed 7 lb 12 oz., worth .....	124 p
—7 that weighed as much, and worth 124 as well .....	124 p
—7 more of them, also weighing 124 ounces .....	124 p
—7 others, weighing 7 pounds and 11 ounces .....	123 p
—2 more, weighing 2 pounds and 2 ounces .....	34 p

**Goods**

—Firstly, 22 yards and 3 spans of green brocade with gold flowers @ 3 pesos 2 tomins per yard, i.e.....	36 p 5t
—3 pounds of Mexican gold thread @ 26 p 5 t .....	79 p 7t <sup>2</sup>
—3 pounds of Mexican gold @ 26 p 5 t .....	79 p 7t
—3 pounds of Mexican [gold] thread, the same .....	79 p 7t
—71 dozen buttons of gold-plated silver for jackets @ 5 pesos 6 tomins .....	34 p
—9 sets of large buttons of gold and silver thread for coats @ 4 pesos 1 tomin a set .....	37 p 1t
—6 pounds of gold and silver braid @ 21 pesos .....	126 p
—2 more pounds of said braid, at same price .....	42 p
All of the above totalling .....	1,541 p 4t

that is, one thousand five hundred and forty one pesos four tomins and a half of crafted silver.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

1 Ed. note: From the assessment in this list, we can deduce that the value of silver was then worth 1 peso per ounce, or 1.33 pesos per troy ounce.

2 Ed. note: From this assessment, we can deduce that the value of Mexican gold was then 2.22 pesos per troy ounce.

This he swore to God Our Lord with the sign of the Cross according to law and under penalty of same he promised and declared and said: That 4,000 pesos are in possession of the Most Reverend Father Heipel, Rector of the residence of the district of Merizo, which he has destined for the welfare of his soul and to make payments to certain persons whom the Father in question knows about. And in addition he declared other goods that he says are found in the warehouse at Umata, which are 19 crates of soap, 12 of which belong to the garrison, and 7 are the result of a mix-up (they were unloaded in place of 2 crates of hats, 2 with ropes, and 2 with steel and 1 in exchange for cacao), and everything else besides said 17 crates belongs to said Lieutenant-General, as per the certification of this error at reception of said crates that was drafted by the Secretary who was then Captain Juan Nuñez, all of which said gentleman said and declared under oath, and he signed with his stamp, with me and said Captain my associate and my accompanying witnesses. And it is despatched on this common paper for the same reason that is expressed in the previous steps, to which I refer and in faith whereof.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Bernardo de Eguí.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Domingo Guerrero.

Felipe de Santiago.

#### **Seizure and inventory of the belongings of the Lieutenant-General made in the town of Umata.**

In the town of Umata and Royal palace there, on the 4th day of the month of February 1721, I, Captain José Ruiz, Judge of this case and its receiver, with the assistance of Captain Bernardo de Eguí, Commander of the patache **San Andrés**, anchored in the port of Merizo, my associate and of my accompanying witnesses, I went to said palace for the purpose of taking inventory and seizing all of the belongings that might be found there belonging to Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, ex-Governor and Captain-General of these Islands. To put it into effect, I asked for the keys from Sergeant-Major Teodoro Santiago, servant of said gentleman, and ordered the opening of the store-room below the staircase of said Royal palace, and there was inventoried what was found therein, as follows:

Firstly, a box with lock and key was opened, that measured 1-1/4 yards in length, with proportionate height and width, inside of which were found:

- 3 yards of green velvet, damaged;
- 10 yards of “guinoley”, damaged;
- 52 shirts of Elephant cotton;
- 7 blouses of white linen;
- 6 pairs of pants of same material;
- canopy and fringe of a black dais;

- 7 panels for a black curtain;
- 1 bed-spread of embroidered red satin with lining of taffeta, well worn, with fringes;
- 4 bed-spreads of ordinary cotton stuff from Churrate [=Surat?];
- 2 handkerchiefs from Ilocos;
- 8 medium-sized cambrics;
- 1 silk cloth, powder yellow in color;
- 1 pillow slip;
- 1 jacket, old, plain and silver in color;
- 11 pairs of pumps of rough canvas;
- 1 small mat and inside it some scales with their weights;
- 5 pairs of shoe-laces;
- 3 silk cordons [i.e. rope belts];
- 1 statue of Saint Francis with its hands and face of ivory, measuring 1/3 [yard] in height;

—1-3/4 yards of cambric;

All of which were put back inside said box and it was locked.

Inside a crate measuring 1 yard in length, with proportionate height and width, without a lock, were found the following:

- 1 tooth-pulling pliers;
- 61 knives, of 1 palm in length, without a spur;
- 2 tankards of white copper, one with a cover, the other without;
- 1 lead spigot;
- 4 small plates of white copper;
- 2 wash-basins of same metal with their trays.

All of which were replaced inside said crate.

- 2 large porcelain pots with locking covers, with keys, empty;
- 1 mortar with a pestle;
- 2 bundles of cinnamon from Borneo;
- 3 pieces of shoe-soles in another bundle.

In the large store-room: One crate from China, also without a key:

- 4 iron weeding tools;
- 1 large dish for a lamp with its small arch and small padlock of copper.

Which were also put back inside said crate.

- 10 crates of soap;
- 2 boxes to hold flasks, one with 15 and the other with 10 empty flasks.

Upstairs inside the bedroom, there was opened a box measuring over 1 yard in length, with proportionate height and width, with a lock and key, and inside it the following:

- 62 Spanish leather [skins];
- 31 yards of blue “guinoley” in two pieces;
- 2 door curtains of scarlet velvet with their borders of the same material and color, and with fringes of twisted silk to match;

—1 curtain from China of Surat [cloth];  
 —4 pieces of hemp cloth;  
 —1 small jacket of red baize with livery fringes;<sup>1</sup>  
 —4 plain linen bed-sheets with 21 pillow slips of the same material, also plain, and said goods were all placed back inside said box.

One empty box with lock and key, measuring 1-1/3 yards, with proportionate height and width.

One leather trunk fit with lock and key, measuring 1-1/4 yards in length, with proportionate height and width, was opened and inside it were the following:

—18 pieces of Ilocano cloth measuring 5 yards in length;  
 —11 yards of Elephant cloth of red thread;  
 —1 curtain of yellow Elephant cloth;  
 —2 old door curtains edged with satin and lined with “guinoley”;  
 —1 piece of hemp cloth, 6 yards long;  
 —6 Spanish leather [skins];  
 —1-1/2 yards of dark blue cotton;  
 —4 pairs of pants of the same material, new.  
 —10 pairs of ammunition shoes [sic];  
 —5 yards of coarse cotton from Surat;  
 —1 red flag of taffeta from Bengal, old and torn;  
 —3 trays varnished with gold lacquer work, old, which was placed back with the rest.

—1 pouch of cacao;  
 —4 bundles of stands to hold candles;  
 —4 shotguns of foreign make, with the barrel, cock, and stock of one of them decorated;  
 —2 flint-lock rifles, also with cock, of foreign make;  
 —5 half-loads of cloth with their coarse frieze [wrappers] bearing numbers from 2 to 6, plus the mark in margin.<sup>2</sup>

—66 water jars covered and sealed with tar, 26 of them from Pasi,<sup>3</sup> and the others from China, that are located in the shed on the beach.

—6 other jars of clean rice, one of them [containers] from China and the rest from Pasi, covered and tarred;

—3 more Pasi jars full of corn with their covers made of wood, not tarred;  
 —24 jars from China, all empty, all bearing the mark in margin;<sup>4</sup>

1 Ed. note: Probably came from the uniform worn by the negro boys given to Pimentel by the English pirates in 1710.

2 Ed. note: No mark was reproduced in the Ultramar transcript.

3 Ed. note: Of some kind of baked clay, made at Pasi, or Passi, or Pasig, in the Island of Panay, in the Philippines.

4 Ed. note: No mark is reproduced.



All of which remained listed in the inventory, seized and entrusted to Captain José de Sandoval who, being present, obliged himself to keep them in his custody and not to give any part of them to said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel or to anyone else, except with the mandate of a competent Judge who must know about this case, and he pledged compliance with the law concerning legal deposits, obliging his person and assets, present and future, as legal depositor thereof, with the other obligations and requirements deriving therefrom, and so he delivered and signed it, along with me, my associate and accompanying witnesses, and the instruments were: Adjutant Manuel Coronado, Adjutant Pablo de la Cruz, and Sergeant-Major Teodoro Santiago.

And it was despatched on common paper for lack of the usual stamped paper by virtue of a writ by me provided to this effect which remains on the record of this case, to which I refer, whereof I give faith.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Bernardo de Eguí.

José de Sandoval.

Felipe de Santiago.

Domingo de Guerrero.

[Even more hidden goods were discovered in February: some 3 items (2 crates of soap and 1 bundle of something) hidden in the College for boys; recovered from Captain Sandoval were: 13 jars of capers; 6 jars of peas; 1 skin to make shoe leather; 1 mortar and pestle; 11 small cannon of bronze with their carriages of the same metal, of 1 span in length;<sup>1</sup> and 50 pieces of "guinoley" cloth. In the hands of Captain Miguel de Yanzi were found 2 boxes containing 17 bags with a total of 16,500 pesos in cash in them.]

#### D4. Interrogation of ex-Governor Pimentel, on 7 December 1720

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Confesion del Señor Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador que acaba de ser de estas Islas Marianas.*

*En la Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Agaña en siete dias del mes de Diciembre de mil setecientos veinte años y casa de los Reales Almacenes de ella, yo el dicho Capitan Juez de residencia de esta causa y receptor de ella con asistencia de mis testigos acompañados en cumplimiento del Auto de la buelta hice parecer ante mi á un hombre que está preso en esta dicha casa al cual le recivi juramento que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor, y la señal de la Cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiere y se le fuere preguntado.*

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1 Note: Therefore, they were toy cannon.

*Preguntado como se llama, que edad [,] oficio y estado tiene: dixo llamarse D. Juan Antonio Pimentel natural de la Ciudad de los Reyes Costa del Perú y ser su oficio militar y viudo y que es de edad de setenta y seis años y medio y esto responde.*

*Preguntado si sabe la causa de su prision dixo Que por el contesto de la Real provision que se le leyó antes de su prision ha tenido noticia de dicha su prision, y esto responde.*

*Preguntado que por que el dia veinte y dos de Marzo de setecientos diez habia acogido y dado refrescos y bastimentos á los ingleses corsarios, si no sabe la privacion de la comunicacion de ellos por ser enemigos de la Real Corona: Dixo que por hallarse falto de armas y de polvora por que la que le entregaron estaba mojada y hecha agua por cuya razon le pidió al Capitan Carlos José, Cabo de la Balandra en que vino dicho Señor confesante doce arrobas de polvora de que le habia dado recibo; y habiendole dado palabra de dexarselas en tierra se fué con ella y dicho recibo de que dió parte al Sr. Conde de Lizarraga en la proxima Nao, y mando su Señoria prendiese á dicho Capitan Carlos José por haberse llevado la polvora, y dexado esta tierra indefensa, y la falta que dexa dicho de armas le obligó á comprar cincuenta escopetas al Capitan Lorenzo García, Contramaestre de la Balandra **Santo Domingo de Guzman** que vino á esta isla el año de setecientos y once con el situado de ella mayormente hallandose la tierra padeciendo una epidemia grandisima en que murió mucha gente y estan todos los mas españoles tocados de ella, á que añade que en tierras abiertas como esta donde no hay castillo, fortaleza[,] reductos, ni casas fuertes se tiene por acertado dar bastimentos á los enemigos por que no debilen la tierra, y la lleven á saco, padeciendo los naturales de ella las estorsiones y muertes que en semejantes invasiones acaezen á cada paso, como por que no profanasen lo sagrado de los templos, y si en la Europa el Rey N.S. (que Dios guarde) dió orden espresa á todas las Ciudades, Villas y Lugares fortificaciones que no resistiesen á su capital enemigo el Señor Archiduque por que no padeciesen sus vasallos muertes[,] destrozos[,] violencias é incendios[,] en esta que no tiene reparo alguno donde poderse defender, hallo por mas combeniente recibirlos de paz que de guerra sobre cuyo punto combocó á los Cabos militares en Junta de guerra que hizo de ellos, y todos unánimes y conformes votaron que se recibiesen de paz. A que añade que los naturales de la tierra andaban muy alegres y deseando que los ingleses saltasen en tierra con ánimo de invadirla para dar en las espaldas sobre los Españoles que acompañaban al Señor confesante como lo podrán certificar los Reverendos Padres Ygnacio de Ybarguen, Diego de Zarzosa y Felipe Maria Moscat [sic] que confesaron claramente que llegaron á temer mas á los indios que á los Ingleses y esto responde.*

*Preguntado á dicho Señor como dice fué la causa el haber admitido á dichos Ingleses en paz la falta de polvora[,] armas y gente siendo asi que en el dicho tiempo que supo llegaban dichos corsarios al Puerto de Umata salió de esta Ciudad con setenta [sic] hombres de plaza y alguna mas sin ella armados y municionados á la buelta del Pueblo de Agat, que está en la mediania de esta Ciudad, y dicho Puerto de Umatta y al mismo tiempo dexó en dicha Ciudad al Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga y Losada quien*

*armó y amunicionó ciento cuarenta hombres poco mas ó menos con mas de quinientos naturales de lanza que estando dicho Señor confesante en dicho Puerto de Agat en convite con los ingleses oficiales y demas que vinieron con ellos todos sin [armas,] le ofrecieron á dicho Señor confesante un Maestre de Campo y un Sargento Mayor con mas de dos mil Indios con lanza pidiendole diez ó doce Españoles para oponerse á dichos enemigos ofreciendole quemar sus Navios y recuperar dicha almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** que la havian apresado en el Cabo de S. Lucas y costas del Puerto [rather Pueblo] de Acapulco que pudo haberlos aprehendido mayormente habiendo venido sin armas: Dixo: Que todo lo contenido en la pregunta es falso, nulo y ageno de toda verdad, por que ni en toda la Ysla habia tanto número de Españoles ni Felipinos como supone en la repregunta, y constará por las listas de la infanteria de aquel año, á que no se pudo añadir ningun vecino, por que no lo habia en la Ciudad, por estar todo en plaza y que en cuanto á lo que se supone del Maestre de Campo y Sargento Mayor de los naturales carece de toda verdad[,] pues no llegaron á cien naturales los que tubo en el Pueblo de Agat, ni hubo persona alguna que dixese que podia oponerse á los Ingleses ni quemarle los Navios, y que si vinieron los Ingleses á dicho Pueblo de Agat á visitar al dicho Señor confesante no vinieron desarmados, pues la lancha la tenian coronada de escopetas y pedreros y en las bolsas traia cada uno dos pistoletes, y habiendo llegado cerca de medio dia con el seguro de paz á complimentar á dicho Señor confesante que estaba indispueto de una pierna le pareció decente darles de comer y beber, y que estos no fueron los primeros Capitanes de los Navios sino los terceros oficiales de ellos, y considerando que si los prendia ó mataba esponia la isla á una invasion general como lo hubieran ejecutado sin resistencia por que los soldados que habia en ella estaban temblando de miedo y que la polvora con que municionó los sesenta hombres que llevó se la dió el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga y Losada, por que la del Rey estaba de la calidad que dexa declarada y esto responde.*

*Repreguntado dicho Señor confesante como dice ser falso lo que se le representa, y que asi en el tiempo que estuvieron dichos ingleses que fué doce dias no hubo persona que estubiese de sentir poderse oponer á ellos siendo asi que el mismo dia que vió surtos los Navios de ellos recibió este Señor confesante una carta de un Capitan de ellos pidiendole vastimientos, preguntó á la infanteria que estaba con dicho Señor, que era el sentir de los Oficiales y Soldados de ella, sobre lo que pedian los corsarios, respondió un Ayudante por todos que sí se los podia dar con polvora y balas diga y declare la verdad: Dixo: Que se ratifica en lo que tiene dicho y se remite á la Junta de guerra que se celebrou en el mismo tiempo por ser falso y nulo que ningun Ayudante hubiese respondido tal cosa siendo todos de sentir que no pasase de Agat á la Villa de Umata por que no peligrase su persona y quedase la isla sin cabeza que la gobernase por que el intento de los ingleses era prenderle y sacar por su rescate todo lo que pudiese como se lo escribió el Capitan D. Antonio Gutierrez, Maestre de dicha Almiranta á quien llevaron prisionero hasta Ynglaterra, cuya carta presentará á tiempo y esto responde.*

*Fueronle fechas otras preguntas y repreguntas al caso tocante y concerniente á todas dixo: Que dice lo que dicho tiene por ser la verdad so cargo del juramento fecho en que*

*se afirmó y ratificó y lo firmó dicho Señor conmigo y dichos testigos mis acompañados de que doy fé.*

*José Ruiz Juez Receptor.*

*Juan Antonio Pimentel*

*Domingo Guerrero*

*Felipe de Santiago.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Confession of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, former Governor of these Mariana Islands.**

In the city of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 7th day of the month of December 1720, and in the house located at the Royal warehouses, I, said Captain Judge for the residencia of this case and its receiver, with the assistance of my accompanying witnesses, in compliance of the writ on reverse, caused to appear before me a man who is prisoner in said house, to whom I administered an oath which he made to God our Lord, using the sign of the cross, according to law, and under which he promised to tell the truth of what he knew and would be asked of him.

Asked for his name, age, profession and status, he declared that his name was Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, born in the city of Los Reyes [i.e. Lima] on the coast of Peru and that his profession was military, his status widower, and his age 76 and a half years old, and so he answered.

Asked if he knew the reason for his imprisonment, he declared: That from the contents of the Royal provision that was read to him before his imprisonment he had learned about said imprisonment, and so he answered.

Asked why, on 22 March 1710, he had welcomed and supplied refreshments and food to English corsairs, as if he did not know that contact with them was forbidden, for being enemies of the Royal crown, he Declared that he had been lacking weapons and gunpowder, because the powder that had been delivered to him was wet and full of water and that is why he had requested Captain Carlos José, the commander of the sloop aboard which said gentleman had come, for 12 arrobas of powder for which he had provided a receipt, but after he had promised to unload same, he had left with it and about said receipt, after he had advised the Count of Lizarraga about it aboard the following galleon, His Lordship ordered said Captain Carlos José arrested, for having taken away the powder, and left this country defenceless; and as for the lack of weapons is concerned, he was forced to buy 50 shotguns from Captain Lorenzo García, boatswain of the sloop **Santo Domingo de Guzman** that came to this island in 1711 with the subsidy, but specially because the country was suffering from a very great epidemic in which died many people, with most of the Spanish affected by it, to which he adds that in open countries such as this one, where there are no forts, fortresses, redoubts, nor strong houses, it is thought proper to give food supplies to enemies, to prevent them from weakening the country, and from sacking it, thus relieving the natives of extortions and deaths which would indeed be the result of such invasions at every

step, and also to prevent them from desecrating the temples. Besides, if in Europe the King our Lord (whom may God save) gave an express order to all the cities, towns, places and fortifications not to resist his capital enemy, the Archduke, to prevent the deaths, destructions, violence and damage by burning to his vassals, in this island where there are not even one place into which to gather for defence, he found it more appropriate to receive them peacefully rather than with war, and that is why he had convened his military officers to a war council that he held, and all had agreed unanimously to receive them peacefully. To which he adds that the natives of this country were then in a very happy mood, expecting the English to step ashore for the purpose of invading it, so that they could attack the Spanish who were accompanying said gentleman declarant from behind, as can be confirmed by the Reverend Fathers Ignacio de Iburguen, Diego de Zarzosa and Felipe María Muscati who clearly confessed that they became more fearful of the Indians than of the English, and so he answered.

Asked how he could say that the reason for having received peacefully said Englishmen had been the lack of powder, weapons and men, when at the time that he learned that said corsairs were making for the port of Umata, he had left this city with 70 [sic]<sup>1</sup> serving men, and a few more reservists, all armed and with ammunitions to go to the town of Agat, which is half-way between this city and said port of Umata, and at the same time he left in said city Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada, who in turn armed and provided ammunition to about 140 men, plus some 500 natives with lances; and, while said gentleman declarant was in said port [rather town] of Agat meeting with English officers and others who had come with them, all unarmed, a [native] Master-of-camp and a [native] Sergeant-Major had offered him over 2,000 Indians with lances, and asking him for 10-12 Spaniards, to make opposition to said enemies, by offering to burn their ships and recover said almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** that they had captured at Cape San Lucas and coasts of Acapulco, that he could have captured them, specially because they had come unarmed, he Declared: That the whole contents of the question is false, null and alien to the truth, because there were not as many Spaniards and Filipinos in the whole island, as the question insinuates, and as will be proven by the lists of infantrymen for that year, to whom one could not have added any resident, because all residents of this city were already in service and also what was supposedly said by the Master-of-camp and Sergeant-Major of the natives is pure fabrication; in fact, there were not 100 natives then present in the town of Agat, nor was there anyone [of them] able to make opposition to the Englishmen, not even to burn their ships, and although said Englishmen came to visit said gentleman declarant at said town of Agat, they did not come unarmed; in fact, their launch was bristling with shotguns and mortars and they carried two pistols each in their pockets, and since they had arrived at noon under a guarantee of safety to pay their respects to said gentleman declarant who then had a lame leg, it had appeared to him a decent thing to do to offer them lunch; besides, they were not the first officers of the ships but only

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1 Ed. note: Rather 60, as specified twice in the minutes of the Agat meeting below.

third officers in rank, and considering the fact that if he had seized or killed them, the island would have suffered a general invasion, something they would have carried out without resistance, because the soldiers on the island were shaking with fear and because the powder with which he provided his 60 men had been given him by Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada, because the King's powder was in the condition that he has already declared, and so he answered.

When said gentleman declarant was asked again how he can say that the reported facts were false, for instance, that during the whole time that the English were here, a total of 12 days, there was no-one who might have expressed his opinion about offering opposition to them, when, in fact, on the same day of the arrival of their ships, this gentleman declarant received a letter from one of their captains, asking him for food supplies, and he [then] asked the infantrymen who were with said gentleman, what was the opinion of the officers and soldiers, regarding the request made by the corsairs, and one Adjutant answered on behalf of everyone that if he could give them powder and balls, isn't true? He declared: That he repeats what he said before, and refers to the War Council that was held at the same time, since it is false and incorrect to say that some Adjutant had answered such a thing, because all were of the opinion that he should not go beyond Agat to the town of Umata, because of the danger to his person, and the risk of losing their governor, given that the English planned to capture him and use him to ask for whatever ransom they wished, as was stated to him in a letter from Captain Antonio Gutierrez, the master of said Almiranta whom they carried off as a prisoner as far as England, and whose letter he will exhibit in due course, and so he answered.

Other primary and secondary questions were put to him about the present case and concerning which, he Declared: That what he says and said is the truth, under oath, and he re-affirms and ratifies it, and said gentleman signed, along with me and my accompanying witnesses, of which I give faith.

José Ruiz, Judge receiver.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Domingo Guerrero.

Felipe de Santiago.

## D5. Minutes of the War Council held at Agat in March 1710

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Junta de Guerra.*—

*En el Pueblo de Agate dicho día mes y año como a horas de las cinco de la tarde Su Señoría dicho Señor Gobernador y Capitan general mandó combocar á Junta de guerra á los Oficiales vivos y reformados que se hallaron en este dicho Pueblo para con su parecer determinar lo que combenga ejecutar con los cuatro navios que las centinelas acaban de avisar que han entrado en el Puerto de Umata con banderas blancas y quedan acordonados en su bocana[,] á que concurrieron los Capitanes Sebastian Luis Ramos Castelano, Juan de Moreyra, Diego Servantes, Juan Nuñez, Lorenzo Lopez, é*

*yo el presente Secretario, y los Ayudantes Francisco de Angeda y Centellas, Juan Hernandez, Sebastian del Castillo, Vicente Botera, Cristobal de Villagomez, José Ramirez, Agustin de Salcedo, Agustin de Espinosa, José de la Cruz, Miguel Benitez, Santiago Ortiz, Diego de Leon Guerrero, Miguel Rodriguez de Sobes, y otros reformados á quienes dicho Señor propuso el presente caso de los cuatro baxeles y como estos habian tomado puerto en el de Umata para que confiriesen entre sí si convendria á ambas Magestades, pasar á dicho Puerto de Umata ó aguardar en este de Agate las muestras que daban los enemigos si eran de guerra ó de paz, sin embargo de haber hechado banderas blancas, sobre lo cual, y la conservacion y defensa de esta tierra les encargaba votasen libremente lo mas conveniente, y lo que sus conciencias en las cosas de guerra les dictase.*

*Y habiendose detenido mas de una hora en la conferencia todos unánimes y conformes votaron que no combenia pasar adelante por la poca ó ninguna resistencia y oposicion que se les podia hacer respecto á no tener esta tierra bageles de porte bien artillados y guarnecidos de gente, armas[,] peltrechos, y municiones de guerra con que poder hacer resistencia á tan aventajadas fuerzas como las de cuatro bageles de enemigos europeos bien disciplinados en armas como por que dicho Puerto de Umata no tiene fortaleza, castillo, ni casa fuerte que sirva de freno á la gente, por [i.e. para] que no la coja á cuerpo descubierto la artilleria del enemigo, cuando de nuestra parte no tenemos ninguna con que combatirle y hecharle á pique alguno de dichos cuatro bageles, pues aunque en la Ciudad de Agaña fabricó el Maestro de Campo D. Antonio de Sarabia Gobernador y Capitan general de estas islas por su Magestad una fuerza de barro y piedra la demolió la inundacion del mar que acaecio en tiempo del general D. Damian de Esplana, y no se ha buuelto á redificar por no ser el terreno competente para ello por estar espuesto á semejante daño. Y aunque S.M. hizo donacion á dicha fuerza de la artilleria que sacó de la Nao **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion** que se perdió en la isla de Seipan, el Sargento Mayor D. Antonio Villamor Vadillo gebernador en interin en estas islas la remitió toda á las Filipinas por orden que dixo tener de su amo el Maestro de Campo D. Domingo de Zabalburu, Gobernador y Capitan general de las Islas Filipinas, como por la poca gente que tenemos, pues no pasan de sesenta hombres los que acompañan con Su Señoria respecto á quedar guarnecida la Ciudad de Agaña por los acaecimientos de la guerra y el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga por guardia, y custodia de ella, tanto por los enemigos piratas quanto por los naturales de la tierra de los cuales no se debia fiar por que hallando la ocasion de quienes les hiciese espaldas no la dejarian pasar en blanco por sacudir de sí el yugo del Santo Evangelio; y por que al presente se hallan mas de quince hombres enfermos é impedidos con la epidemia que se está padeciendo, y otros seis ó siete que han pasado á las islas del Norte á conducir bastimentos como por que no hay suficientes armas de fuego para todos, y siendo mucha parte de ellos visofios que el año pasado se sacaron de la Nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, para reforzar este campo, y no estar disciplinados por falta de polvora, y que aun de los sesenta hombres que vienen con Su Señoria[,] parte de ellos estan sin armas de fuego y solos los Capitanes y algunos Ayudantes reformados con es-*

*padas que apenas se podrán contar veinte y cinco espadas, espadines y terciadas en todo el campo de estas islas, que si se llega á las manos se hallan casi todos indefensos,*

*y habiendo llegado á este tiempo Juan Martinez [rather Martin] uno de los que fueron por espías en banquillas á reconocer los bajeles dio noticia de que eran de piratas ingleses que venian de las costas del Perú donde habian saqueado la Ciudad de Quayaquil, y ultimamente habian apresado en las costas de Nueva España la Almiranta de Filipinas, **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion**, y aunque habian hecho grandes esfuerzos por rendir la Capitana **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** no lo pudieron conseguir por haberse resistido esta valerosament[.] de todo lo cual dixo haberle informado el Capitan D. Antonio Gutierrez que iba de Maestre de dicha Almiranta, y lo llevaban prisionero á Ynglaterra con otros veinte y tantos artilleros[,] marineros y grumetes de ella,*

*por lo que eran de sentir, y parecer que si venian necesitados de vastimentos[,] aguada y leña para proseguir su viage se le acudiese con los granos y raizes que produce la tierra en rescate á dicho Capitan Gutierrez y demas prisioneros por que estos no padezcan mas en tan dilatada navegacion ultra de que no teniendo fuerzas para resistir á tan poderoso enemigo será irritarlo á que ejecute con nosotros lo que refiere dicho Juan Martin haberle dicho los prisioneros que ejecutaron en la Ciudad de Guayaquil siendo de mas de quinientos vecinos, por lo que la necesidad de bastimentos les puede obligar á chocar con mayor poder que el nuestro, y será exponer la tierra á evidente peligro de perderla y á ser todos prisioneros de dichos enemigos, y á que hagan irrision y escarnio de las iglesias y cosas sagradas y prision de todos sus Ministros, y que por la misma razon de su indefension y recelo de los naturales no se atrevian á ponerles emboscadas, y por que estos no diesen aviso á los enemigos y fuesen cogidos en ellas segun las muestras de alegria que daban como por que eran compasion y lastima la perdida de estas islas siendo tan importantes á las Naos de la Carrera de Filipinas por los avisos que se les puede dar por sus barquillas ligeras en caso de andar enemigos en estos mares y que esto era el sentir y voto de todos con el cual se comformó Su Señoria[,] dicho Señor viendo la imposibilidad en que se hallaba de poderles hacer resistencia, ó salir á su oposición, y lo firmó con los subsodichos que supieron firmar de todo lo cual doy fé.*

*Juan Antonio Pimentel*

*Sebastian Luis Ramos*

*Juan Nuñez*

*Diego de Cervantes*

*Juan de Nogera*

*Lorenzo Lopez*

*Francisco de Ojedas y Centellas*

*Juan Hernandez*

*Sebastian del Castillo*

*Diego de Leon Guerrero*

*Juan de Ojeda*

*Ante mi Juan Antonio Retana Secretario nombrado.*



## Translation.

### War Council—

In the town of Agat on said day, month and year, at about 5 p.m., His Lordship said Governor and Captain General ordered the convocation of a War Council of the officers, on active service and in the reserve, who were present in said town, in order to express their opinion and decide what would be proper to do with the four ships that had just been reported by sentinels as coming into the port of Umata, displaying white flags, and where they remain milling around its entrance. There were present: Captains Sebastian Luis Ramos Castellano, Juan de Moreyra, Diego Cervantes, Juan Nuñez, Lorenzo Lopez, and I the present Secretary,<sup>1</sup> and Adjutants Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas, Juan Hernandez, Sebastian del Castillo, Vicente Botera, Cristobal de Villagoomez, José Ramirez, Agustin de Salcedo, Agustin de Espinosa, José de la Cruz, Miguel Benitez, Santiago Ortiz, Diego de Leon Guerrero, Miguel de Sobes, and other reservists, to whom said gentleman proposed the present case of the four vessels and how they had made port at Umata, in order to confer among themselves, if it would be appropriate to [the service of] both their Majesties, to move to said port of Umata, or wait in this [town] of Agat, until the enemies showed themselves to be warlike or peaceful, in spite of their display of white flags, regarding which, and for the preservation and defence of this country, he entrusted them to vote freely for the best decision, and what their knowledge of military affairs dictated to them.

And after a conference and discussion that lasted over one hour, they unanimously voted against moving forward, on account of the little or no resistance and opposition that could be put up against them, in view of this country being devoid of sea-going ships well armed and well manned, with weapons, equipment and ammunitions to make war against forces as superior as the four vessels of European enemies, well trained in the use of firearms, also because said port of Umata does not have a fortress, or strong house that could serve as protection for the men, to prevent the enemy guns from catching them in the open, when on our part we do not have anything with which to fight them and sink some of those four vessels; indeed, although Master-of-Camp Antonio de Saravia, Governor and Captain-General of these Islands for His Majesty, had built a fort of mud and bricks, the flood that came from the sea, that occurred during the era of General Damian de Esplana, demolished it and it was not rebuilt because the soil on the site is not appropriate and remains subject to a similar damage. And although H.M. made a gift to said fort of the guns that came from the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** that was lost at the Island of Seipan, Sergeant-Major Antonio Villamor Vadillo, interim Governor of these Islands, sent them all to the Philippines, following an order that he said he had from his boss, Master-of-Camp Domingo de Zabalburu, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and also on account of the few men available; indeed, the number of men accompanying His Lordship does not exceed 60, since the city of Agaña remains garrisoned for an eventual war and Sergeant-

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1 Ed. note: His name was Juan Antonio Retana (see below), the former friar.

Major José de Quiroga remains on guard there, to take care of it, in case of an attack by enemy pirates or by local natives, in whom no-one can trust, because given a chance of turning one's shoulders to them, they would certainly not let it go by without trying to shake the yoke of the Holy Gospel; and because at present there are over 15 men sick and invalid with the epidemic that is going around, and 6 or 7 others have gone to the northern islands to fetch food supplies,<sup>1</sup> and also because there are not enough firearms for everyone, and many soldiers are but new recruits who came last year aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** to reinforce this camp, and they have not been trained for lack of powder, and even the 60 men who came with His Lordship, many are without firearms and only the Captains and some Adjutants have swords, to wit there are only 25 swords, short or long, in the whole camp of these Islands, and if hand-to-hand combat takes place, almost everyone would be defenceless.

And, upon the arrival of Juan Martin, one of the spies who had gone aboard canoes to reconnoiter the vessels, he reported that they were English pirates who came from the coast of Peru where they had sacked the city of Guayaquil, and later had captured on the coasts of New Spain the Almiranta of the Philippines, **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, and although they had made great efforts to capture the flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begoña**, they were unable to do so, because the latter had fought valorously, all of which he had learned from Captain Antonio Gutierrez who had been Master of said Almiranta, and was being taken prisoner to England along with 20 or so other gunners, sailors and ship's boys.

That is why they were of the opinion that if they came in need of food supplies, water and wood, in order to pursue their voyage, they should be attended to with the cereal and root crops that this country produces, as a ransom to get Captain Gutierrez and other prisoners, to prevent their suffering any more during another very long navigation; that to offer resistance to such a powerful enemy would be to irritate him and trigger him to do to us what Juan Martin said he did with the prisoners whom they executed in the city of Guayaquil, over 500 residents thereof; as for their need for food supplies, it could make them attack us with more power than we have, and it would be to expose this country to an obvious danger of being lost, with all of us becoming prisoners of said enemies, and to have them invade and desecrate the churches and sacred things, and make all of the Church ministers prisoners. As far as the lack of defence against the natives, one cannot even dare to set up ambushes to capture the enemies, because the natives might prevent it by passing intelligence to them, as can be expected in view of the joy that they showed. Also, the loss of these Islands would be something sad indeed, because they are so important for the galleons of the Philippine run, for the intelligence that can be passed to them aboard their light canoes in case of the presence of enemies in this neighborhood, and this was the opinion and vote of everyone, with which His Lordship agreed, said gentleman seeing the impossibility of his making any

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1 Ed. note: Some men were sent regularly to Tinian to kill feral cattle there, and to jerk beef.

resistance, or going out to fight them, and he signed it with the above-mentioned who knew how to write, in faith whereof.

Juan Antonio Pimentel

Sebastian Luis Ramos

Juan Nuñez

Diego de Cervantes

Juan de Nogera

Lorenzo Lopez

Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas

Juan Hernandez

Sebastian del Castillo

Diego de León Guerrero

Juan de Ojeda

Before me Juan Antonio Retana, duly-appointed Secretary.

...

[Immediately afterwards, those who had remained at Agaña were asked to submit their opinion in writing. The opinions of Major Quiroga, and of Fathers Cundari and Ibarguen were specially sought, and were to be added later to the record. The letters received from Antonio Gutierrez, about the capture of the **Encarnación** and the need to provide food to the ships, are also mentioned in this file.]

## **D6. Letter from the Audiencia to Philip V, dated Manila 30 June 1722**

*Señor.*

*Vuestra Real Audiencia de las Islas Filipinas da cuenta á V.M. de haberse determinado la causa del Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel sobre la acogida de un corsario ingles que permitió siendo Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, con Testimonio de Autos N<sup>o</sup> 14, Y asi mismo da cuenta á V.M. de no haberse determinado la Residencia de dicho Teniente General por hallarse dando la cuenta del Real haber de su cargo.*

*El año proximo pasado de setecientos veinte y uno se dió aviso á V.M. por esta Real Audiencia quedar preso en esta Real carcel de Corte el Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel Gobernador que ha sido en las Islas Marianas, y pendiente la causa que se le fulminó sobre la acogida que permitió á un corsario Yngles en aquellas islas como se manda por vuestras Reales Cédulas de veinte y cuatro de Junio del año de setecientos y doce y seis del mismo de setecientos catorce, dandose cuenta de que aunque se previene á esta Real Audiencia, proceda á la substanciacion y determinacion de la pesquisa sobre el referido punto; no se habia podido determinar por falta de tiempo, pero hallandose ya substanciada dicha causa y dado vista de ella á Vuestro fiscal, este por escrito que presentó á los diez de Febrero de este año[,] espresó no hallar méritos en dicha causa para ponerle acusacion, por estar constante la ninguna defensa que pudo hacer por carecer de Peltrechos de guerra y gente para ella[,] que visto en Real acuerdo de veinte y siete de Junio de este año se determinó absolverle de la culpa, y cargo que*

*se le resultó. Queda pendiente su residencia por estar acordado que antes de su vista debia de presentar certificacion de cuenta con pago del Real haber que fue á su cargo siendo Gobernador de dichas Islas; y por estar al presente dando la dicha Cuenta, quedan Vuestros Ministros advertidos de la puntual vista de la Residencia luego que se concluya y de dar cuenta en primera ocasion á V.M. cuya C. y R.P. guarde Nuestro Señor los felices y dilatados años que la Cristiandad ha menester.*

*Sala de Acuerdo de la Real Audiencia de Manila y Junio 30 de 1722.*

*El Marques de Torre Campo*

*José Antonio Pabon*

*Dr. D. Francisco Martinez*

*Dr. D. Francisco Lopez Adan.*

### **Translation.**

Sire:

Your Royal Audiencia in the Philippine Islands reports to Y.M. about the determination of the case against Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, regarding the welcome he allowed to be given to an English corsair, when he was Governor of the Mariana Islands, enclosing a record of proceedings, n° 14. They also report to Y.M. that the case of the residencia of said Lieutenant-General had not been determined, because the financial audit of the Royal accounts in his care are still going on.

Last year 1721, Y.M. was advised by this Royal Audiencia that Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, former Governor of the Mariana Islands, was in prison and pending was the trial done him for having permitted that an English corsair be welcomed in those Islands, in accordance with what you ordered by your Royal decrees dated 24 July 1712 and 6 July 1714, and we reported that, in spite of orders to this Royal Audiencia to proceed with the substantiation and determination of the investigation regarding the above-mentioned point, it could not be determined for lack of time; however, this case had now been substantiated and Your fiscal having been advised thereof, in a writ issued by him on 10 February of this year, he stated that he did not find enough merits in said case to proceed with [formal] accusation, simply because it is proven that he could not have defended himself for lack of war equipment and men to do so. This was seen in the Royal accord of 27 June of this year in which it was decided to absolve him of the accusation and charge made against him. As for his residencia, it is still pending, because it has been agreed that before the matter were reviewed, he first had to present a certification of accounts for payments made out of the Royal funds in his care, when he was Governor of said Islands; and since said accounting is presently taking place, Your Ministers remain aware that they must give a timely review of the Residencia as soon as it is completed, in order to report at the first opportunity to Y.M., whose Catholic and Royal person may Our Lord save for many happy years, as Christendom needs.

From the law-courts of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, 30 June 1722.

The Marquis of Torrecampo

José Antonio Pavon  
Dr. Francisco Martinez  
Dr. Francisco Lopez Adán.

## D7. Extracts from the case files against Pimentel

*Notes: The transcript of these files in AGI Ultramar 561 is voluminous.*

### Editor's notes.

In 1720, in Agaña, the Judge was Captain José Ruiz, and he named Captain Bernardo de Eguí y Zabalaga as his assistant, and Balthasar Cayetano de Leri as prosecuting attorney, after his first choice, Captain Miguel Antonio de Yanzi, refused the assignment.

In 1710, the mayor of the Pago district was then the Filipino Captain Andrés de Arceo. He, along with Juan Martín, Pedro Perez and Manuel de Benavente were sent aboard 2 canoes to reconnoiter the foreign ships.

From the cross-examination portion of the trial of Governor Pimentel that took place during January 1721, the following facts can be garnered:

The first witness called for the defence was Major Juan Dutertur [rather Duterte], supernumerary commander of the Royal camp of Agaña (to supplant Quiroga, in case of the latter's death) and chief pilot of the patache **San Andrés**, then anchored at the port of Merizo; he was only 33 years old.

Captain Juan Nuñez had arrived at Guam in 1696. He was still in Guam in 1721, and was then 56 years old; he became Witness #8. Nuñez declared that at Umatac, "although there are a few guns below the Royal Palace, about six of them, two of which are bronze cannon, possibly 4-pounders, and the other four are 2-pounder iron cannon, they are all unserviceable, because their vents are too large."

José Antonio Aguon and Ignacio de Cepeda acted as official interpreters, Chamorro-Spanish, during the whole trial.

Witness #9 was Captain Balthasar Espinosa, 80 years old.

Witness #11 was Captain José Sandoval, then 50 years old; he was born in Valladolid in Spain. He confirmed the presence of 5 to 6 small guns located below the Royal palace at Umatac.

Witness #12 was the most senior Pampango soldier in Guam in 1721: Master-of-camp Nicolas Sarmintuan. He was from the town of Macabebe, was then 70 years old and had been 20 years in Guam by that time.

Another witness was Captain Fernando Velez de Arce, 50 years old.

Sergeant-Major Mateo de Guevara, was a Pampango from the town of Lubao. There was also still in Guam former Captain Andrés de Arceo, now Master-of-camp, a Pampango from the town of Apalit. Another witness was Adjutant Pedro Manuel de Montujar, born in Puebla, Mexico, 27 years old. Also Adjutant Jacinto de Mesa, 30 years old. Lieutenant Esteban García, born in Las Montañas of Burgos, Spain, was then 50 years old. Witness #20 was Master-of-camp Francisco Robles, 50 years old, born in

Manila. #21 was Captain José Ruiseño, 38 years old, born in the Valley of Tinansingo, in Mexico. #22 was Adjutant Manuel Rodríguez, 27 years old, born in Manila. #23 was Captain Manuel de la Concepción, a Pampango, 40 years old. #24 was Master-of-camp Agustín de Torres, 43 years old, from the town of Cadava in Pampanga. #25 was Juan de Castro, 34 years old, born in Agaña. #26 was Juan Maniente, a 46-year-old native of Guam. #27 was Adjutant Manuel Coronado, 28 years old approximately.

**[Chamorro leaders in 1721]**

Pimentel then called some Chamorro leaders to testify on his behalf, and what they knew of the sayings and doings of Master-of-camp Alonso Soón, and Sergeant-Major Antonio Ayo, in 1710; both were already invalids by then, according to Pimentel. The native witnesses were:

- Master-of-camp Antonio Nani, of Umatac, 40 years old;
- Master-of-camp Pedro Gonog, of Umatac, 43 years old;
- Master-of-camp Pablo Atiti, of Sinahaña, 30 years old (this man was Governor Pimentel's "compadre" because Pimentel was his son's godfather);
- Sergeant-Major Pablo Engui, of Merizo, 24 years old;
- Sergeant-Major Estanislao Ecano, of Agat, 50 years old;
- Sergeant-Major Marcos Ecane, of Pago, 40 years old; this man had at the time gone out in a canoe to reconnoiter the pirate ship; he says that Alonso Soón had then been convalescing at his home in Agat; he then acted as a courier between the pirates and shore;
- Captain Pedro Ito, of Agat, 39 years old;
- Don Damian Ito, of Agat, 47 years old;
- Captain Antonio Aday, of Mongmong, 40 years old;
- Captain Tomás Meno, chief of Anigua, 30 years old;
- Don Toribio Taitano, chief of Anigua, 35 years old;
- Don José de Vera, chief of Riguan, age not stated;
- Captain Ambrosio Taisagua, of Asan, over 30 years old.

Other Chamorros mentioned as having hidden stolen goods were: José Chicho, of Sinahaña; Martin Aput, of Mongmong; and Taiguincha, of Anigua.

Supplementary witnesses were called. For example, Captain Francisco Rodríguez, from the town of Guas in the Province of Camarines, was 40 years old. One Filipino Sergeant, Francisco Cabingues, 61 years old, was from the town of Guivan in Samar... (not from Pampanga). Many younger soldiers were Mexicans, from Puebla, Morelia (then called Valladolid), etc.

Pimentel was accused of having hidden some property to avoid it being seized. Those found in possession of such goods were ordered to give them up to Judge Ruiz, but the Jesuits at least refused to hand over some money they had received for safe-keeping, not without a written authorization from Pimentel himself. However, on the last day of January 1721, Pimentel became seriously sick, and one week later his condition had deteriorated to the point that he could no longer hear or see. So, Fr. Muscati resisted the Judge's orders; he also refused to let him post warnings on the doors of churches.

Finally, when it was learned that during the night of 15 November 1720, Captain José Ramirez, the man in charge of the Government Warehouse in Agaña, had ordered three Chamorros to carry 2 crates of soap and 1 bundle of unknown content to the Jesuit College, they delivered them to the Procurator of the College, a **Brother Luís García**, (a rare mention of his presence in the Marianas), Judge Ruiz was then able to summons Fr. Muscati to return these stolen goods. Fr. Muscati's only answer was that such goods were no longer in possession of Br. García, and their whereabouts unknown. Finally, at the end of February 1722, Pimentel having recovered somewhat, was asked to order Fr. Heipel in writing to return the 4,000 pesos. His answer was that the amount had since decreased to 3,000 pesos, because he had "borrowed" 1,000 to defray personal expenses for his upkeep and that of his household.

In June, Pimentel, along with Judge Ruiz, etc. went to Manila with the patache **San Andrés** (see the beginning of this chapter). It was not until February 1722 that Pimentel got an attorney to defend himself, in the person of Captain Juan de Zavala. After hearing the case, the Audiencia absolved Pimentel of any wrongdoing in connection with the English pirates; he was notified of this verdict on 22 June 1722. As for his *residencia*, it dragged on until 1724, as seen below.

## D8. 1724: Summary of the 9 charges against Pimentel and the sentence

*Source: AGI Ultramar 562 (in 2 copies).*

*Note: The sentence was pronounced in Manila on 16 October 1724.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Sentencia de vista de la residencia del Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.***—

*En los autos de residencia que dió el Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, del tiempo que fué Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Marianas, sus ministros y oficiales de que resultaron contra dicho Gobernador nueve cargos:*

*El primero por haber multado en mil seiscientos pesos al Capitan Don Agustin Olazabal, piloto mayor sin [espresion de su] aplicacion por querella de su acompañado Hilario Breton, y por haber condenado asi mismo en otros trescientos pesos á que pagase á Fernando [de] Yglesias quien tambien se querelló contra el susodicho y no constar del paradero de dichas condenaciones.*

*El segundo cargo por haber tolerado que comerciasen publicamente los Capitanes, Juan Nuñez con una viuda llamada Teresa Yola, José de Sandoval con una casada, por tiempo de dos años; Don Juan [de Retana, y Don Juan] de Arguelles, con otras dos casadas en el tiempo que estos dos ultimos fueron sus Secretarios, sin pasar á la correccion de ellos.*

*El tercero por haber cometido dicho Teniente General el mismo esceso durante su Gobierno, con seis niñas que tenia en su Palacio con titulo de huérfanas, continuado*

*el mismo exceso despues que las habia casado, con escandalo y castigo de dos maridos de las susodichas y ausencia de otro marido de ellas.*

*El cuarto por haber tenido trato y contrato en el tiempo de su gobierno con tienda publica en donde se vendia[n] varios géneros de ropa[s] y vastimentos á escevibos precios.*

*El quinto por no haber tenido en su juzgado, en todo el tiempo de su Gobierno el real arancel sobre el llevar de los derechos.*

*El sexto por no haber mandado disciplinar durante su gobierno á la Ynfanteria, en el manejo de las armas.*

*El septimo por la baja del socorro [de socorros] de la Ynfanteria Española y Pam-panga por diez años y tres meses que importan veinte y siete mil seiscientos y sesenta pesos.*

*El octavo por no haber tenido libros de cargo y data, de [en] lo que ha recibido y gastado del Real Situado de dichas Yslas.*

*Y el noveno y ultimo cargo por haber hechado el repartimiento de noventa hombres en el Pueblo de Seipan para las sementeras de arroz de cuenta de dicho Gobernador, los Capitanes José de Saldoval [Sandoval], y Francisco de Fuentes, siendo alcaldes de dicho[s] Pueblo[s], una vez en cada [un] año, trabajando cinco dias sin darles de comer ni mas paga que una oja de tabaco al dia en tiempo de dicho Sandoval, y en el de dicho Fuentes tres ojas de tabaco al dia[.]...*

*Con lo pedido por el Señor Fiscal de Su Magestad, alegado y provado por dicho Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel de sentencia de vista de esta Real Sala, y lo demas de dichos autos vistos, &c.*

*Fallámos atento á los autos y méritos del proceso y por lo que de ellos resulta debemos de confirmar y comfirmamos la sentencia de vista dada y pronunciada á primero de Junio de este presente año, por la cual en los nueve cargos que se le resultó á dicho Teniente General, fué absuelto en el primero, segundo, sexto.*

*Y por el tercero, y quinto cargo fué condenado dicho Teniente general, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, en las costas procesales de dicha residencia y en doscientos pesos aplicados por tercias partes cámara de Su Magestad, gastos de justicia y de estos Reales estrados. Y por el cuarto asimismo fué condenado dicho Teniente General en mil ducados, aplicados conforme á la ley.*

*Por el septimo y octavo se remitió su determinacion á lo que resultare de las cuentas de vista y revista. Y por el noveno y último cargo se reservó para la determinacion de la demanda sobre esta razon de parte de los naturales de que fué absuelto de dicha demanda, la cual sentencia de vista y su tenor se guarde cumpla y ejecute en todo y por todo; y por estar nuestra sentencia difinitivamente juzga[n]do asi lo determinamos[.] mandamos y firmamos en grado de revista.*

*El Marques de Torrecampo*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez*

*Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan.*



## Translation.

### **Sentence of the residencia [i.e. audit of the term of office of] Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel.—**

In the records of proceedings of the management audit given by Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel of his term of office as Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, and of his ministers and officers, nine charges have been retained against said Governor:

The **first** charge is for having fined Captain Agustín Olazabal, chief pilot, 1,600 pesos for a quarrel with his mate, Hilario Breton, without [a record of] having disposed of it, and for having also condemned him to pay another 300 pesos to Fernando de Iglesias, who had also quarrelled with the above-mentioned, without any paper trail left of such condemnations.

The **second** charge is for having tolerated the public concubinage of Captain Juan Nuñez with a widow named Teresa Yola, and of Captain José de Sandoval with a married woman, for two years; those of Don Juan [Antonio] de Retana, and Don Juan de Argüelles with two other married women, at the time that they were his Secretaries, without doing anything to correct them.

The **third** charge is for said Lieutenant-General having committed the same excess during his term, with six girls whom he kept in his palace as so-called orphans; he continued the same excess after he had married them off, with the protestations and subsequent punishments of two of the husbands in question, and the absence of another one.

The **fourth** charge is for having done trade and commerce during his term with a public store where various types of cloth and clothing were sold at excessive prices.

The **fifth** is for having applied his own judgment, rather than the royal tariff, on the collection of duties, during his whole term of office.

The **sixth** charge is for not having ordered the training of the infantry, in the use of firearms, during his term.

The **seventh** charge is for having reduced the succor to the Spanish and Pampango Infantrymen during 10 months and 3 months, a sum totalling 27,660 pesos.

The **eighth** charge is for not having kept books of account for the Royal subsidy of said Islands, showing receipts and expenditures.

The **ninth and final** charge is for having requisitioned 90 men in the town of Seipan to work in the rice fields for the account of said Governor, when Captains José de Sandoval and Francisco de Fuentes were mayors of said town, for 5 days once a year, without giving them anything to eat or any pay other than one leaf of tobacco per day under Captain Sandoval, and 3 leaves of tobacco under Captain Fuentes. As requested by the His Majesty's prosecuting attorney, alleged and admitted by said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, the sentence resulting from the hearing held in this Royal tribunal, and from the other records of proceedings that were examined:

We pass the following judgment, with respect to the records and the merits of the case, and concerning them it turns out that we must confirm and we do confirm the

trial sentence given and pronounced on the 1st of June of the present year, in which said Lieutenant-General had been found not guilty in the first, second, and sixth charges out of the nine.

As far as the third, and fifth charges are concerned, said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel was condemned to pay the court costs of said residencia, plus 200 pesos assigned to third parties, the chamber of His Majesty, legal costs of these Royal tribunals. And under the fourth charge, said Lieutenant-General was also condemned to pay 1,000 ducats, to be assigned according to law.

Under the seventh and eighth charges, their determination, along with the records of the trial, was referred to a new trial. And the ninth and final charge, the determination of which had been postponed for further examination of the prosecution's case on behalf of the natives, of which he had been absolved. The above trial sentence is to be obeyed, carried out and executed in everything and for everything; and since this our sentence is a definitive judgment, we so determine, order, and sign as a thing retried.

The Marquis of Torrecampo  
Doctor Francisco Martinez  
Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán.

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## Document 1721E

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# Second letter of Fr. Cazier about the Caroline Islands, dated 20 December 1721

*Sources: Probably published by the addressee himself, Fr. Du Halde, then editor of the *Lettres édifiantes*; reproduced by De Brosse, tome II, p. 465, and also by Thilenius, editor of the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition.*

## Letter to Fr. Du Halde

### Original text in French.

...

La nouvelle tentative qu'on a faite pour la découverte des isles Palaos n'a pas eu plus de succès que les précédentes. Les deux missionnaires partis sur le vaisseau équipé à ce dessein par les ordres du Roi d'Espagne [en 1710], avoient [a]mené avec eux un Palao nommé **Moac**, qui avoit été baptisé à Manille, & qui leur devoit servir d'interprète. Comme leur dessein, lorsqu'ils descendirent dans l'isle Sonsorol, n'étoit que d'y planter une croix, & de reconnoître de plus près le génie des habitans; & qu'ils comptoient revenir le même jour à bord afin d'aller à la découverte des autres isles, ils n'avoient porté avec eux que leur livre & leur habit d'église: ils n'étoient accompagnés que du Palao & de quelques Espagnols. C'est dans cet état que le vaisseau chassé par les courans fut forcé de les abandonner dépourvus de tout à la merci des insulaires.

L'année suivante, le P. Serrano se mit en mer pour aller à leur secours. Il partit de Manille le 15 décembre 1711, avec un autre jésuite, & un certain nombre de jeunes gens du pays. Le troisième jour de leur navigation, le vaisseau fut brisé par une violente tempête, & tous périrent à la réserve de deux Indiens & d'un Espagnol qui échappèrent de ce naufrage dont ils vinrent porter la nouvelle à Manille. C'est pour la quatrième fois qu'on a vainement tenté de pénétrer dans les isles Palaos: il n'y a presque plus d'espérance de réussir dans cette entreprise, du moins par la voie des Philippines: il ne resteroit plus qu'à faire une tentative du côté des isles Mariannes, plus à portée de ces autres isles. Cependant les missionnaires sont entre les mains des barbares, sans qu'on ait pu sçavoir encore de quelle manière ils en ont été reçus. Un de ces insulaires débarqué à Guivan dans l'isle Samal le jour de l'Ascension 1710 [sic], a rapporté que le Palao baptisé à Manille étoit un scélérat coupable de crimes qui font horreur à l'humanité; qu'il avoit trompé les espagnols en demandant le baptême; & qu'il sera dans son pays leur

ennemi le plus déclaré. Si ce récit est véritable, il est à croire que les missionnaires ont reçu à présent la récompense de leur zèle.

...

### Translation.

...

The new attempt that has been made to explore the Palaos Islands did not have more success than the previous ones. The two missionaries who had gone aboard the ship outfitted for this purpose by orders of the King of Spain [in 1710] had brought along a Palao native named **Moac** who had been baptized at Manila, and who was to serve them as an interpreter. As their intention upon landing at Sonsorol Island had been only to plant a cross and to make a closer survey of the customs of the inhabitants, and that they thought of returning on board the same day, and go on to explore other islands, they had brought along only their church book and vestments. Their only companions were the Palao native and a few Spaniards. It was in such a condition that the ship, pushed by the currents, was forced to abandon them, deprived of everything and at the mercy of the islanders.

The following year, Fr. Serrano sailed off to go to their rescue. He departed from Manila on 15 December 1711, with another Jesuit and a certain number of young Filipino men. On the third day of their navigation, the ship was ripped apart by a violent storm and everyone perished, except for two Indians and one Spaniard who escaped from this shipwreck, and they brought the news of it to Manila. This was the fourth time that a vain attempt was made to enter the Palaos Islands. There is hardly any hope of succeeding in this endeavor, at least from the Philippines; there remains the hope of an attempt to be made from the Mariana Islands, that are closer to those other islands. However, the missionaries are in the hands of barbarians, and nothing has been learned of the way they have been received by them. One of the islanders who drifted to Guivan, in Samar Island, on Ascension Day 1710 [sic],<sup>1</sup> reported that the Palao native, baptized in Manila, was a rascal who had committed crimes that horrify human beings; that he had tricked the Spanish when he asked for baptism; and that he would become their worst enemy once in his country. If this tale be true, it is to be believed that the missionaries have now received the reward of their zeal.

...

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1 Ed. note: If the year 1710 is correct, this event occurred before Padilla's expedition had begun. However, Fr. Wibault, who should have known the matter more properly, has reported (in Doc. 1721F) that the event in question occurred in 1711.

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## Document 1721F

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### Letter from Fr. Wibault to Fr. du Chambre, dated Manila 20 December 1721

*Sources: Original in AGR mss. 1431-1437; heavily edited and published by Fr. Le Gobien in many editions of his Lettres édifiantes et curieuses..., e.g. tome XV, pp. 252-262, of the 1781 edition.*

*Notes: This letter contains news received from Fr. Cruydolf in Saipan. His other correspondent, Fr. Duchambre, was then working in Pondichery, India. By the time Fr. Wibault became Jesuit Provincial in 1730, he had hispanicized his name to Egidio Viban.*

#### Original text in French.

*Note: This is the unedited version from the AGR ms., not that from the Lettres édifiantes.*

*a Manile le 20 decembre 1721*

*Mon Reverend Pere*

*La Paix de N.S.*

*J'ay receu avec bien du plaisir les nouvelles de notre aimable province en deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire datées à Tournay les années passées 1718 et 1719 et en meme temps une troisieme du P. Dominique Selosse: toutes trois sont venues par la voie de la Chine dans un meme paquet qui me fut mis en main le 25e du mois de Juillet jour de mon arrivée en cette ville et aujourdhuy je recois avis de notre R.P. Recteur le pere François Alonso, qu'il y à dans le port un vaisseau disposé a partir et faire voile à Ponticheri [sic], je ne perdray point une si bonne occasion de vous repondre comme je pourrai, selon que le temps me le permet, et succinctement aux points sur lesquelles vous souhaitté que je vous informe.*

*Pour ce qui regarde les P.P. Jacques Duberon et Joseph Cortil personne en cette province ne revoque en doute la precieuse mort des deux susdits Venerables Peres. On s'est efforcée quatre fois d'en sçavoir des nouvelles et il n'a pas été possible d'en [sça]voir d'avantage. La quatrième fois une seule fregate de quatre arriva aux isles de Palaos; mais ils ne purent ou n'osèrent mettre pied à terre disant pour excuse à Manile, qu'il ne leur à pas été possible d'approcher. Trois indiens de ces isles qui estoient entré dans le vaisseau ne purent retourner. L'un se jetta en haute mer, les deux autres arrivèrent à Manile et ils moururent Chretiens: mais ils ne donnerent aucune nouvelle des deux P.P. ni des espagnols abandonnez dans les isles de Palaos. Non plus que le Palao dom Philippe Ogusan, qui arriva à Givan l'an 1711: quoique ce fut un homme de bon jugement,*

*qui parloit assez bien le Bisaya et l'Espagnol, et qui mourut environ l'an 1718 en ce Collège avec toutes les marques d'un prédestiné.*

[page 2]

*Pour ce qui me regarde, moy, je me porte bien, graces à Dieu[.] J'ay vecu tres content entre mes pauvres Bisayas en différentes eglises et peuplades; a present que la sainte obeissance m'ordonne de travailler en cette ville j'y suis venu avec plaisir pour estre prefet de l'Eglise du College[.] confesseur des notres et des externes[.] des Espagnols, des Indiens, Bisayas et Tagalos et faire la volonté de Dieu dans les autres exercices de notre Compagnie.*

*Le P. Gabriel Gruson n'a jamais sorti de la mission de Mindanao, ou il travaille toujours avec beaucoup de fruit; il est content et il m'écrit rarement. Je ne l'ay pas vue depuis l'an 1713[.] J'espere de recevoir ici plus souvent de ses nouvelles, et de vous les écrire Dieu aydant, au mois de juin de l'année 1722 par l'occasion de Mexique, qu'il est facile de perdre entre les montagnes de Bysayas.*

**[Letter he received from Fr. Cruydolf in Saipan.]**

*Le Pere Pierre Cruydolf est toujours dans les isles Marianes dans la chere Mission de l'Eglise de Seypan[.] En la dernière il m'a écrit trois cas tout à fait rares, que vous serez aise de sçavoir: 1° Ce bon pere desiroit de bâtir une Eglise capable de resister aux ouragans furieux qui dans ces isles abbatent les Edifices toutes les années, il avoit fait ses efforts pour trouver des materiaux propres à ses desseins: car les paroissiens ou pour paresse ou pour crainte de certains negromanciens [sic], qu'ils appellent **Macanda**, avoient coutume de repondre qu'en toute l'isle de Seypan, il n'y avoit pas un arbre du bois qu'il cherchoit jusqu'a ce qu'enfin[.] la veille de l'Assomption, un petit garçon qui à peine pouvoit parler luy dit, mon pere, luy montrant avec la main l'endroit, et prononça diverses fois le nom de l'arbre necessaire a l'edifice de l'eglise, le Pere se transporta incontinent au dit lieu avec ses domestiques, et plusieurs Neophites, il trouva le bois qu'il cherchoit, et en peu de temps il batit une belle eglise ainsi qu'il le desiroit avec l'assistance de ses paroissiens.*

*2° un domestique jeune homme de 18 a 20 ans, qui servoit au P. Cruydolf avec beaucoup de fidelité encourut la haine des negromaf[n]ciens, qui n'omirent aucun artifice diabolique pour luy quitter la vie ou la santé au commencement.*

[page 3]

*Le pere Cruydolf se persuadoit que le jeune homme etoit indisposé d'une maladie naturelle, et il luy fit faire les remedes ordinaires: mais la maladie augmentoit avec des symptomes extrahordinaires, en particulier des visions horribles toutes les nuits, qui le reduisoit a l'extremité. Le Pere enfin luy appliqua une relique de nostre Saint Pere Ignace, et le jeune homme commença a sentir quelque soulagement et peu de jours après il recouvra une parfaite santé, et de grand matin on vit un homme pendu et étrange [chose] a un arbre voisin de l'Eglise. Les Indiens dirent au missionnaire: ce miserable etoit, mon pere, le plus fameux **macanda** et negromancien de cette isle. Il a fait tous ses efforts jusqu'a present pour ôter la vie au jeune homme votre domestique: mais voiant*

*depuis quelques jours qu'il travailloit en vain, il nous dit la nuit passée qu'il se voioit obligé de se la quitter a luy meme de desespoir, ainsi qu'il s'etrangla en effet.*

*Le fervent missionnaire, aiant fait un[e] exhortation salutaire a ceux que se trouvoient presens a la vue d'un spectacle si pitoiable. [II] adjouta enfin, dites a tous les negromanciens que vous connoissez que ce je ne les crains point[,] quoy qu'ils joignent toutes leurs forces pour me nuire. Mon pere[,] repondirent les assistans[,] il y a longt tems qu'ils ont eprouvé de tuer tous les missionnaires pour exterminer le christianisme, mais ils furent contraints d'avouer aux oeuvres leur foiblesse.*

*3° un dimanche le pere Cruydolf passant au rivage de la mer, il vit quelques Indiens qui travailloient à leur canot. Il leur demanda s'ils n'avoient pas d'autres jours dans la semaine pour s'occuper aux oeuvres mechaniques, et pour moy ils transgressoient ainsi le precepte du Seigneur et le commandement de notre Mere la Sainte Eglise; ils repondirent que tel etoit leur plaisir et moy dit le Pere je vous ordonne de venir demain entendre la sainte messe, si non l'affaire ira mal. Peu de temps apres, retournant de la maison du malade qu'il venoit de visiter, il vit reduit en cendre les barques et une espece de grange, ou elles se fabriquoient, et les trangissant(?) confus et au repentir.*

*La tragedie qui se passa dans l'enceinte de Manile est plus epouventable. Au mois d'octobre de l'an 1719 le gouverneur abusant de son autorité se laissa aveugler de tel sorte de la cupidité des richesses qu'il paroissoit insensé et frenetique. Les conseillers d'etat, la noblesse, les marchands, ou etoient en prison sous divers pretextes, ou refugioiez dans les eglises. Tout etoit dans un triste etat sans qu'il resta d'autre remede qu'ecrire à Madrid. Le vice Roy du Mexique avoit envoieez prendre le gouverneur prisonnier...*

[pages 4-11 omitted]

...  
*Les missionnaires voient avec douleur la destruction soudaine d'une vigne si fleurissante: **exterminavit eam apex de sylva, et fera singularis depovit eam**, mais apres tout **Deus ut qui mortificat et vivificat, qui deducit ad inferos et reducit**. Nous supplions sa divine majesté qu'elle nous envoie plusieurs ouvriers Apostoliques pour remplacer ceux qui vont recevoir au ciel le fruit de leurs travaux.*

[page 12]

*Plus de cinquante sont morts dans cette province depuis que j'y suis arrivé, entre lesquels Dieu vient d'appeller a une meilleure vie cette semaine l'unique Apoticaire et medecin de cette province notre cher frere George Maisler, Allemand de nation. Un autre dans la necessité ou nous nous trouvons nous seroit bien util. Il pourroit travailler en nous tous, en nous conservant la vie, et gagner les ames des Neophytes, en travaillant à leur corps. Il sera bien difficile de commencer des missions nouvelles, si le pere Augustin Soller nostre procureur, qui choisi de la congregation 1718 est passé en Europe, ne ramene une bonne troupe auxiliaire.*

*Je salue le R.P. provincial et tous les P.P. et F.F. de nostre sainte province: en particulier tous ceux de ma connoissance, à qui je vous prie de communiquer cette lettre, et de me recommander à leur S.S. sacrifices et ferventes prières.*

*Escris dans l'union des sacrés coeurs de Jésus et de Marie,*

*Tout à vous,*

*Gilles Wibault.*

### **Translation of the original text.**

Manila, 20 December 1721

My Reverend Father,

Peace of Christ!

I have received with much pleasure news from our beloved province in the form of two letters that you have honored me with, dated from Tournay, in the past years 1718 and 1719, and at the same time a third one from Fr. Dominique Selosse. All three of them came to me by way of China in the same bundle of letters that was handed me upon my arrival at this city last July 25th. Today I was informed by our Rev. Fr. Rector, Fr. Francisco Alonso,<sup>1</sup> that there is a vessel in port that is ready to sail to Pondichery, [India]. I will not let go by such a good occasion to answer your letters as best I can, if time permits, and briefly to the matters that you wish to be informed about.

Regarding Fathers Jacques Duberon and Joseph Cortil, no-one in this province has any doubt left about the death of the two above-mentioned Venerable Fathers. Efforts were made four times to acquire further news about them. The fourth time [in 1712], only one frigate out of four managed to reach the Islands of the Palaos, but they were unable or did not dare to step ashore, saying as an excuse in Manila that it had been impossible for them to go near. Three Indians who had boarded the ship could not return home. One threw himself overboard in the high sea; the other two reached Manila and they died as Christians, but they did not give any news of the two Fathers, or of the Spanish abandoned in the Islands of the Palaos. Neither did the Palao named Don Felipe **Ogusan**, who drifted to Guivan in 1711, though he was a man with good judgment, who could speak Visayan and Spanish rather well, and who died in about 1718 in this College with all the marks of predestination.

Regarding myself, I am well, thank God. I was living very happily among my poor Visayans in various churches and settlements, but recently holy obedience ordered me to work in this city. I came with pleasure, to become prefect of this church of our College, confessor to our people inside and to people from the outside: Spanish, and Indians (Visayan and Tagalog), and to do the will of God in the other exercises of our Society.

As for Fr. Gabriel Gruson, he never left his mission in Mindanao, where he continues to work with much fruit; he is happy but he writes me rarely. I have not seen him since 1713. I hope to receive news from him more often here, and to forward them to

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1 Ed. note: He had been Provincial from 1717 to 1719.



you, God willing, at least by next June 1722 by way of Mexico, which [occasion] is easy to lose [from] among the boondocks of the Visayas.

**[Letter he received from Fr. Cruydolf in Saipan]**

Father Pedro Cruydolf is still in the Mariana Islands in the dear mission of the Church of Seypan.<sup>1</sup> In his last letter to me, he wrote of three very rare cases, that you might like to hear about. In the first case, the good Father wished to build a church strong enough to resist the furious hurricanes that bring down buildings every year in those islands. He had made efforts to find materials that suited his purpose. However, his parishioners, either out of laziness, or for fear of certain necromancers, whom they call **Macanda**,<sup>2</sup> used to say that, in the whole Island of Seypan, there was not one tree of the type that he sought, until finally, on the eve of Assumption Day [i.e. 14 August], a small boy who could hardly speak told him: "Father," and, while he was pointing with his hand, he repeated several times the name of the tree required for the construction of the church. The Father was immediately to the spot in question with his household staff and many neophytes. He found the wood that he was looking for, and within a short time he built a beautiful church, as he had wished, with the help of his parishioners.

The second case concerns a young man between 18 and 20 years old who was acting as servant to Fr. Cruydolf, very faithfully. He had somehow acquired the enmity of the necromancers, who spared no diabolical tricks to take his life, or his health at first.

Fr. Cruydolf first believed that the young man was affected with an ordinary illness, and he had him apply the usual cures, but the illness increased, with extraordinary symptoms, specially horrible visions every night, that brought him to a dangerous state. Finally, the Father applied to him a relic of our saintly Father Ignatius, and the young man began to feel some relief, and a few days later, he had recovered his full health. The next morning, a man was seen hanging from a tree, and strange to say, this tree was near the church. The Indians told the missionary: "Father, this miserable man was the most famous **macanda** and necromancer of this island. He had made every effort to take the life of the young man, your servant, but, seeing that these last few days he had been working in vain, he told us last night that he felt obliged to take his own life out of despair." And so he did.

The zealous missionary, at the end of a salutary sermon to those who were present at such a pitiful spectacle, added: "Tell all the necromancers whom you know that I do not fear them, even if they all join their forces to harm me." "Father," answered those

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1 Ed. note: Although Fr. Cruydolf is not mentioned by either Sommervogel or Huonder, it is known that he was born near Ypres, Belgium, in 1668. Like Fr. Wibault, he was from the Flandro-Belgian Province and part of a mission band that passed by Guam in 1709 (see Doc. 1708G).

2 Ed. note: Usually written Macana. It is otherwise translatable by the words: diviners, sorcerers, or witch doctors.

present, “they have been trying to kill all the missionaries for some time, in order to exterminate christianity, but they were obliged to admit the uselessness of their deeds.”

The third case happened thus. One Sunday, Father Cruydolf was walking on the beach, when he saw some Indians working at their canoe. He asked them whether there were not other days during the week when they could perform such mechanical labors. In my opinion,<sup>1</sup> they were transgressing the Lord’s precept and the commandment of our Mother the Holy Church. They answered that such was their pleasure. “I,” said the Father, “order you to come tomorrow to hear holy mass; otherwise, this will turn out badly.” A short time later, coming back from the house of a sick person he had just visited, he saw, reduced to ashes, the canoes and a sort of shed where they were building them. They were confused and ready to repent.

The tragedy that occurred within the walls of Manila is more horrible. During the month of October 1719, the Governor, abusing his authority, let himself become so blinded by greed that he seemed crazy and erratic in behavior. The royal officials, the nobles, the merchants, had either been put in jail under various pretexts, or taken refuge in the churches. Everything was in such a sad state that it became necessary to write to Madrid. The Viceroy of Mexico had ordered the Governor arrested...

[Rest of this affair omitted.]<sup>2</sup>

...The missionaries contemplate the sudden destruction of such a flourishing vineyard [i.e. Zamboanga] with sadness. **Exterminavit eam apex de sylva, et fera singularis depovit eam**, but after all **Deus ut qui mortificat et vivificat, qui deducit ad inferos et reducit.**<sup>3</sup> **We beg His divine Majesty to send us many gospel workers to replace those who have gone to Heaven to receive the reward for their labor.**

More than 50 have died in this province since I have arrived [in 1709]; among them God has called to a better life this week the only pharmacist and physician that this province had, our dearest Brother Georg Maisler, who was German. Another to replace him would be most welcome, in the necessity in which we find ourselves. He could work through us all, by preserving us alive, to win over the souls of Neophytes, while he would work on their bodies. It would be very difficult to begin any new mission, if Father Augustin Soler—who was elected our procurator at the last council of 1718 and has left for Europe—were to bring back a large mission band.

1 Ed. note: A direct quote of Fr. Cruydolf, I think.

2 Ed. note: Governor Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamente y Rueda governed from 1717 to 1719. For the events that took place during his term, see B&R 44:15-17, 148-195. He had re-established a garrison in Zamboanga, but neglected it. He became so despotic, that the whole colony rebelled against him. He was finally assassinated at Manila on 11 October 1719.

3 Ed. note: Latin quotes from the Bible.

I send greetings to the Rev. Fr. Provincial and all the Fathers and Brothers in our holy province, specially all those who know me, and I beg you to please forward this letter to them, and to recommend me to their most holy sacrifices and zealous prayers.

Written in union with the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary.

Yours truly,  
Gilles Wibault.

### **Translation of the version published in *Lettres édifiantes*.**

#### **Letter from Fr. Gilles Wibault, Jesuit Missionary in the Philippines, to Fr. Du Chambre, of the same Society.**

**Manila, 20 December 1721**

My Reverend Father,  
Peace be with you!

I have just learned that there is a vessel in our harbor that is about to sail for Pondichéry [in India]. I use the little time that it gives me in order not to miss this opportunity to write to you. I have already told you that no matter how great the efforts that were made during [the past] 10 years to learn what happened to Fathers Dubéron and Cortil, gone ashore at one of the Palaos Islands [i.e. Sonsorrol, 1710] to announce the faith to those islanders, nothing has ever been discovered; therefore, there is no more doubt about their having been massacred by those barbarians.

This [Jesuit] province of the Philippines has two sub-provinces depending upon it; they are the Marianas, and the Pintados [i.e. Visayas]. Providence has destined me at first to the latter. My ordinary residence was in a large town called Guivan.

...

Fr. Gabriel Gruson, and Fr. Pedro Cruydolf, who have committed themselves to the salvation of these Indians at the same time as myself, work with many consolations and results in their missions. The former is in the Kingdom of Mindanao, and the latter in the island of Seypan, one of the Mariana Islands.

#### **[Letter he received from Fr. Pedro Cruydolf in Saipan.]**

A few days ago, I received a letter from the latter, in which he reports some events that you will not be unhappy to learn.<sup>1</sup> He had undertaken to build a church that could resist the furious hurricanes that arise each year in these islands and that bring down most of the buildings. He was then looking for wood of a certain kind, but the Indians to whom he talked about it, either out of laziness or out of fear of some necromancers living in the forests, called in their language *Macanda*, were always answering that this sort of trees is not to be found in the island.

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1 Ed. note: The phrase "a few days ago" is an ill-advised addition by the editor of the *Lettres édifiantes*. The letter in question must have come aboard the patache San Andrés, or the galleon Burgos in June 1721. Therefore, the events referred to occurred in, or before, 1720.

The Father had already lost all hope when, on the eve of Assumption [i.e. on 14 August 1720], a young child, who could only stutter, appeared before him: "Father", he blurted out. Unable to say anything else, with one hand he pointed out to him a place on the island, repeating the name of the tree which the Father had in mind. Immediately, the Father went over to that place with his servants and many converts. He found the tree that he was looking for, and in a short time he built a beautiful church.

This missionary had in his service a young man of 20 who served him with much zeal. One of these *Macanda* applied all the secrets of his diabolical art in order to make him perish. In fact, the young man fell suddenly into a torpor that made the others fear for his life. Fr. Cruydolf, believing that the illness was natural, first used ordinary medicines. However, notwithstanding these medicines, the illness increased from day to day, with extraordinary symptoms, accompanied by horrible visions that tormented him every night, and brought him to the last extremity. In the predicament in which the missionary found himself of losing such a faithful servant, he called upon supernatural remedies and applied a relic of Saint Ignatius to the sick person. From that moment on, the sick one felt relief, and a while later found himself in perfect health.

On the very day of his recovery, in the morning, a man was seen hanging from a tree near the church. Many Indians came to inform the missionary about it, and to tell him that the unfortunate man was the most famous *Macanda* of the whole island, that it was he who had conjured up the death of the young man, and that, in order to bring it about had used up the whole of his magical science, but when he had seen his efforts become useless, had told them on the previous day that the hopelessness in which he found himself by not succeeding, would force him to take his own life.

The Father, after having made a pathetic speech to all those that the sorry spectacle had assembled, added: "Tell all the *Macanda* whom you know, that they can join all their forces to harm me, and that I have no fear of them."

—"Father," answered the people present, they have been trying to bring death to the missionaries for a long time, in order to exterminate Christianity, but they have been forced many times to admit their lack of power and their weakness."

One Sunday that Fr. Cruydolf was passing along the seashore, on the way to visit a sick person, he found a few Indians working on some canoes. He asked them whether or not there was not any other day in the week during which they could attend to this kind of work, and which reason could bring them to so transgress the church precept that ordered them to sanctify the Lord's day, by abstaining from any utilitarian work and by spending it in holy exercises of Christian piety. They answered in a rough tone of voice that this was what they wished to do. The Father went on his way but a few hours later when, returning from the sick person's house, he passed by the same place, he found that the canoes and the shed where they were being built had been reduced to ashes. The Indians, who had been so little docile when he had reprimanded them, were now covered with confusion and giving signs of the sincerest repentance for their sin.

In October 1719... [rest no relevant].

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## Documents 1721G

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# Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1721

## G1. Approved budget for the Marianas

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1, fol. 40-50v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho de el Situado de las Yslas Philipinas tocante al año de 1721 en el Galeon Capitana Santo Cristo de Burgos San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Animas.—***

*Señores Juezes Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por la Carta quenta que el dia diez y ocho de Marzo de el año año proximo pasado de mill setecientos y veinte, arreglados a Reales disposiciones formamos y remitimos a V.Ms., dimos cumplimiento y pleno satisfacion por nuestra parte a Tres Situados, los de el año de mill setecientos diez y nueve, y mill setecientos diez y ocho, que son los que tocavan a esas Yslas, y devieron percivir los Ynteressados en ellos; y por esta egecutamos el que pertenece al presente de mill setecientos veinte y uno, el que se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

### ***Mision y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Veinte y nueve mill novecientos treinta y ocho pesos dos tomines y ocho granos pagados de esta Real Caja: Los viente y un mil trescientos treinta y cinco pesos de ellos, para el Governador[,] Sargento Maior y sesenta soldados Españoles de la Dotazion del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas; y los ocho mill quinientos sesenta y tres pesos dos tomines y ocho granos restantes para quinze Religiosos de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, onze Sazerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores; que se hallan empleados en las Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y enzalzando nuestra Santa Fee en servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de S.M. Catholica; una cantidad y otra, pernecientes al Situado de este presente año de la fha, anticipado segun costumbre y lo dispuesto: yncluyendose en la ultima de las dos partidas el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y politicas; Como tambien se yncluye lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino para zelebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Missa, y*

*la de Azeite para enzender lamparas que alumbren al Santisimo Sacramento del Altar, delante de los ocho sagrarios en que se halla colocado su Divina Magd. en otras tantas Yglesias con el adorno y desencia posible; arreglado todo a lo mandado por S.M. y conforme a certificaciones y listas remitidas y presentadas ..... 29,938p 2t 8g*

...

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico y Marzo 13 de 1721.*

*Dor. Don Joseph de Ozaeta*

*Simon de Carragal*

*Pedro de Larburu*

### **Translation.**

**Despatch of the Subsidy of the Philippine Islands for the year 1721 aboard the flagship galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Animas.—**

Gentlemen Official Judges of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

In the Letter of accounts that on 18 March of last year 1720, created as per Royal standing orders, we did remit to Your Graces at our complete satisfaction three subsidies, including those for the years 1719 and 1718, which are those that concerned those Islands, and that must have been perceived by the interested parties; and by the present we execute that which belongs to the present year of 1721, and consists of the following entries:

...

#### **Mission and Garrison of the Marianas.**

—29,938 pesos 2 tomins and 8 grains paid by this Royal treasury, 21,335 pesos of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and the 60 Spanish soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands; and the remaining 8,563 pesos 2 tomins and 8 grains for 15 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 11 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, who are employed there in the Missions of those Islands, preaching the Holy Gospel, fostering their new Christian community and propagating our Holy Faith, in the service of God our Lord and of His Catholic Majesty. Both sums belong to the subsidy for the present year, in advance as is the custom and as stipulated. Included in the last of the two sums is the stipend assigned to the Seminary for the Mariana children, where they are being taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is what corresponds to the alms for the wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and for the oil to keep lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar, in the 8 sanctuaries where His divine Majesty is placed inside as many churches, with as much decency and adornment as possible, as ordered by H.M., and in accordance with certificates and lists that were remitted and presented to that effect ..... 29,938p 2t 8g.

...

May our Lord save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 13 March 1721.  
 Dr. Don José de Ozaeta  
 Simon de Carragal  
 Pedro de Larburu

## G2. Manifest of the galleon Santo Cristo de Burgos

*Source: AGN AHH 332.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Año de 1721. Testimonio de las dos partidas del registro del Real Zituado de las Yslas Marianas y Filipinas pertenecientes a la sagrada Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus.—Por el Capitan Don Ygnacio Miquilena [sic].***

*En la Ciudad de los Reies puerto de Acapulco en veinte y nueve dias del mes de Marzo de mill setecientos y veinte y un años ante mi el escrivano y testigos el Capitan Don Francisco Carriedo y Peredo[,] Maestre del Galeon **Santo Xpto de Burgos** registro por parte de Don Ygnacio Miquilena como apoderado del Reverendo Padre Andres Sicardi de la sagrada Compania de Jesus y procurador general de su probinsia en las Yslas Philipinas, y del Real Zituado que se rremite a las Misiones de las Yslas Marianas veinte y nueve cajones[,] quatro surrones de cacao, y un fardo[,] tres guacales con metates[,] tres varriles de vino que por todos hasen quarenta piasas con las marcas del margen. Y todo lo referido espreso tener debajo de cubierta en la bodega de dho Galeon y se da por entregado a su satisfacion sobre que rrenuncia Leyes de la entrega y prueba y se obliga a que llebandole Dios con vien a dhas Yslas Marianas dara y entregara las piasas mencionadas al Rdo. padre Vise provincial o al que saliere a rresevir el Situado de dhos padres y en caso de que por algun accidente no llegue a ellas cumplira haviendo la entrega al Padre Procurador General que es o fuere del Collegio de la Ciudad de Manila y al cumplimiento de ello se obliga con su persona y vienes havidos y por aver con sumision a las Justicias de Su Magd. y renunciacion de leyes de su favor para que le compelan como por sentencia pasada en cosa jugada[,] otorgo partida de registro en forma y lo firmo de que doi fee y de conoserle siendo testigos Don Pedro Somonte y Torre[,] Diego de Ribera y el Aiudante Joseph Manuel de Lagos presentes.*

*Francisco Carriedo y Peredo.*

*Ante mi, Juan Antonio de Arroyo escrivano Real y por el publico.—*

...

*Concuerta con las dos partidas del registro a que me remito y de pedimiento de la parte se saco este testimonio en este pliego del sello quarto doi fee.—*

*Por testimonio de verdad yo signo*

*Juan Antonio de Arroyo, escrivano Real y por el publico.*

## Translation.

**Year of 1721. Certified copy of two extracts from the manifest of the Royal Subsidy of the Mariana and Philippine Islands belonging to the sacred Society of Jesus.—By Captain Ignacio Miquilena [sic].**



*FR. C.C.*

*FR. P.P.*

In the City of the Kings and port of Acapulco, on 29 March 1721, Before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Francisco Carriedo y Peredo, Master of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**,<sup>1</sup> acknowledged having received from Don Ignacio Miquilena, the agent for Reverend Father Andrés Sicardi of the sacred Society of Jesus and procurator general for his Province of the Philippine Islands, the part of the Royal subsidy being sent to the Missions of the Mariana Islands:

—29 crates, 4 pouches of cacao, 1 bundle, 3 made-up crates with mortars, 3 barrels of wine, which all in all make 40 pieces with the marks in margin.

And all of the above-mentioned, he stated that he has placed below deck inside the hold of said galleon and that he is satisfied with the handover, regarding which he renounces his rights under the laws of delivery and proof and he obliges himself, God willing to let him reach said Mariana Islands safely, to give and deliver the above-mentioned pieces to Rev. Fr. Vice-Provincial or whomever might come out to receive the subsidy of said Fathers, but in case of some accident he be unable to reach them, he will fulfil his obligations by delivering same to whomever may be Father Procurator General of the College of the City of Manila. Toward the fulfilment of which he pledges his person and his property, present and future, with submission to the justices of His Majesty and the waiving of laws in his favor, so that they might be able to compel him as in definitive sentence. He executed this extract from the manifest in due form and signed it, of which I vouch as I know him, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Pedro Somonte y Torre, Diego de Ribera and Adjutant José Manuel de Lagos.

Francisco Carriedo y Peredo.

Before me, Juan Antonio de Arroyo, royal notary and notary public.—

...

[There follows another declaration regarding the loading of 2 crates and 1 pouch of cacao shipped to the College of San Ignacio in Manila.]

...

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This man was born in the town of Santander in 1690, and died in Manila in 1743 at the age of 53. He left a legacy to the city of Manila, the funds of which allowed the municipality to build the first water supply whose source was the Mariquina River, 12 km from the city (ref. B&R 52:320).



This is a certified copy of two extracts from the manifest to which I refer and at the request of the party in question this declaration was written on this stamped paper, for which I vouch.—

In faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Juan Antonio de Arroyo, royal notary and notary public.

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## Documents 1721H

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# Native population of Guam in 1721

*Sources: Same AGI files as for the Pimentel case (see Doc. 1721D).*

## H1. Request for information by Governor Pimentel, dated February 1721

*Note: His request was addressed to the investigating judge, Captain José Ruiz.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Ilustre Señor:*

*El Teniente general Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Gobernador y Capitan general que fué de estas Islas Marianas parezco ante V. Señoria como mejor proceda en derecho y al mio combenga y digo: Que para la prueba que me combiene dar en la causa que de oficio de la Real justicia se me ha procesado por el arribo de los Ingleses corsarios al Puerto de Umata, y refresco que les dí en rescate de los prisioneros que traian de la Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** se ha de servir V. Señoria de mandar al Capitan Don Fernando Velez de Arce, que lo es de la guardia y custodia de la muy ilustre y generosa persona de V. Señoria y Secretario nombrado de la Gobernacion y guerra de estas islas que me de testimonio en publica forma, y manera que haga fé del numero de naturales, que se hallaren capaces para manejar las armas en esta isla de Guajan por lo que constare de los padrones que de orden de V. Señoria han hecho los Alcaldes de los partidos de ella[,] por tanto:*

*A V. Señoria pido y suplico se sirva de proveer y mandar segun y como lo pido por ser justicia que imploro[,]*

*juro en forma y en lo necesario &c.*

*Juan Antonio Pimentel.*

### Translation.

Most Illustrious Sir:

I, Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, former Governor and Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, appear before Your Lordship in the best legal fashion, one that is appropriate to my interest, and do declare: That, for the proof that is appropriate for me to make my case, in the trial that has officially been brought against

me by the King's justice regarding the arrival of English pirates at the port of Umata, and the refreshment that I gave them to ransom the prisoners whom they brought with them, from the almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, Your Lordship should be pleased to order Captain Fernando Velez de Arce, who is Captain of the personal guard of the most illustrious and generous person of Your Lordship, and duly-appointed Secretary for Administration and War of these Islands, for him to give me a certificate in public form and manner that states the number of natives who might be found able to bear arms in this Island of Guahan, according to the information contained in the census that the District Mayors have been ordered by Your Lordship to carry out. Consequently:

I beg and beseech Your Lordship to please issue the order herein requested by me, for the sake of justice which I implore. I swear in the form and necessary manner, etc.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

## H2. Answer of Captain Velez, dated 20 February 1721

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Testimonio.*

*Yo el Capitan Don Fernando Velez de Arze, que lo soy de la guardia y custodia de Su Señoria y Secretario nombrado de esta Superior Gobernacion y guerra de estas islas, doy fé y verdadero testimonio á los Señores que el presente vieren, como en los Padrones hechos de los naturales de esta Isla de Guajan que paran en el Archivo de esta de mi cargo constan en ellos tener este partido de Agaña doscientos y cincuenta y seis hombres inclusos cincuenta Españoles[,] Filipinos[,] Mestizos, y criollos sin plaza que pueden manejar armas[;] el de Merizo doscientos treinta y tres, el de Agat sesenta y seis, y en el de Pago cincuenta y cuatro[,] que todos hacen seiscientos diez y nueve hombres[,] los que son capaces para manejar dichas armas, y para que conste donde combenga en virtud de lo mandado por el decreto de la buelta proveido hoy de la fecha pongo el presente que es fecho en esta Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña en veinte de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y un años.*

*En testimonio de verdad lo firmé.*

*Fernando Velez de Arze.*

### Translation.

#### **Affidavit.**

I, Captain Fernando Velez de Arce, Captain of Your Lordship's personal guard and duly-appointed Secretary for Administration and War of these Islands, do certify and give true testimony to any gentleman who may chance to see the present, that, according to the records of the census that was made of the natives of this Island of Guahan, now kept in the archives of this branch of government under my care, this district of

Agaña has 256 men, including 50 Spaniards, Filipinos, mestizos and criollos<sup>1</sup> who are not in service but can bear arms; in that of Merizo, there are 233; in that of Agat, 66; and in that of Pago, 54, which all in all makes 619 men able to bear arms.<sup>2</sup>

In faith whereof, by virtue of the order contained in the decree reproduced on the previous folio, I have issued the present on this day, and signed it.

Made at the City of Agaña, on 20 February 1721.

Fernando Velez de Arce.

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1 Ed. note: Mestizos are half-breeds, and criollos are locally-born white men.

2 Ed. note: Those were the men able to bear arms, but were not receiving pay as reservists. The total has 10 men more than the individual sub-totals show; I believe that the transcript I used had omitted 10 men from the Inarajan district. Now then, if the 50 men who were not Chamorros are excluded, there were actually only 569 Chamorro men able to bear arms in Guam in 1721.

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## Documents 17211

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### The case against John Godfrey, an English pirate captured in Guam

*Source: Unless otherwise noted, documents are from the case file located in AGI Escribanía 1119B.*

#### **11. Letter from the Secretary of the Council of the Indies to the Commander of Cadiz, dated Madrid 21 September 1723.**

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

*En carta de 17 de Agosto proximo pasado dà cuenta de haver remitido à ese tribunal el Virrey de N<sup>a</sup> España, un Yngles nombrado D. Juan Godfrai que el Governador de Philipinas remitió preso desde aquellas Yslas, por haverle aprehendido el de Marianas con otro compañero suio (que murió) el qual quedava asegurado en la carzel de esa Ziudad, y que no havindose rezivido testimonio de su sentenzia y causa, y solizitarse por el Consul de su nazon, la determinacion de ella, lo partizipa a V.S. para que se le prevenga lo que de vera ejecutarse.*

*Y havindose visto en el Consejo à acordado se remitan à ese tribunal (como lo hago) los autos que se han rezivido tocantes à esta dependencia, para que en su vista se substanzia luego y sin dilazion en toda forma, oiendo al fiscal y al reo, y puesta en estado de Sentenzia, se determine oiendo las relaciones para este Consejo, en caso de interponerse por alguna parte y se dà cuenta de todo con autos; De que partizipo à V.S. por su cumplimiento.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años como deseo.*

*Madrid 21 de Septiembre de 1723.*

*Andres de Elcorobarrutia y Zupide.*

*[Al] Sr. D. Joseph Patiño.*

##### **Translation.**

In a letter dated 17 August of last year, the Viceroy of New Spain reported having remitted to that court one Englishman named John Godfrey whom the Governor of the Philippines had remitted as a prisoner from those Islands, because the Governor of the Marianas had arrested him, along with a companion of his (who has since died). Said man was then in the jail of that City, and since he had not received the case file

including his sentence, and as a result of a request from the Consul of his nation for a determination of his trial, he is referring the matter to Your Lordship in order for you to decide what should be done.

And the matter having been seen in the Council, it has been decided to remit to that court (as I do now) the court transcripts that have been received by this jurisdiction, so that they can be reviewed and without delay be substantiated and the case determined, once the Fiscal and the prisoner have been heard, then, after the sentence has been decided upon, it should be pronounced, and forwarded to this Council, in case any party should respond with an appeal, and a report should be made that includes the transcripts. I inform Your Lordship of same, for action to be taken.

May our Lord save Your Lordship for many years, as I wish.

Andrés de Elcorobarrutia y Zupide.

[To] Mr. José Patiño.

## **I2. Report of the Governor of the Marianas about the fight with Clipperton, dated Agaña 14 June 1721**

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

*Año de 1721.—Traslado autentico de las diligencias fhas de oficio por el Señor Lizenciado Don Joseph Anttonio Pavon del Consejo de su Mgd. su oydor Decano en la Audiencia y Real Chanzeleria de estas Islas en virtud de comision de ella sobre la Carta del Governador de las Islas Marianas en que remitio a dha Real Audiencia dos Ingleses que yban en el Navio del Capitan Juan Clipperton que apreso al Marquez de Villa Roche, y aporto en dhas Islas.*

*A los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Real Audiencia y Chançilleria de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*En carta aparte tengo dado quenta a Vuestra Alteza de mi arrivo a estas Yslas, y haver tomado posesion como del Miserable estado en que los halle, y lo que me he aplicado al alivio de su miserable infanteria, y regular defenza.*

*Y tengo por muy de mi obligazion dar quenta a Vuestra Alteza que el dia veinte y dos de Mayo proximo pasado tube la noticia de hallarse en la Ysla de Rota que esta veinte leguas de esta un Navio corsario el qual dio fondo a veinte y tres en el Puerto de la Villa de Umatag siete leguas desta Capital y el veinte y quatro echo una lancha con Bandera de paz escribiendome su Capitan Juan Clipperton tenía patente de curso del Rey Britanico para correr las Costas del Peru, y Nueva España, y que estando çelebradas las pazes entre las dos Coronas Hispanica, y Britanica se retirava para la Europa, y necesitava le diese vastimentos frescos y sus ofiziales en su nombre me ofrecieron en retorno de ellos todas las Armas y Municones que necesitase por hallarse sumamente abundantes de ellas y por asegurar no hiziese ninguna ostilidad en tierra y en el Patache que me condujo que estava cassi inmediato a dicho Puerto con poca prevencion como estas Islas de defenderse, y lograr las armas y municiones que me ofrecian por hallarse*

*sumamente faltas de todo y asi mesmo ser el tiempo en que llega el Galeon de Acapulco a estos Payçes para que le aprehendiese y quedasen castigadas las exorbitantes maldades que ha executado en las costas del Peru.*

*Se respondió que en {el} albricias de la feliz noticia de las pazes le daria sin costa ninguno todo lo que pudiese contribuir esta Ysla pidiendole remitiese la patente que tenia de su Rey, y la comprovaçion de estar celebradas, y en su virtud, papel firmado con todos sus ofiziales en nombre de su Rey de no hazer ninguna ostilidad en ninguno de los Dominios y marco de su Magestad (Dios le guarde) a cuyo contesto respondió de palabra con un ofizial suyo y el mercante (que traía a su cuydado la recaudacion de las presas) quienes me entregaron testimonio de la patente negandose a embiar la original por decir no podia quedarse sin ella. Y en quanto a las pazes se me daria entera satisfaçion remitiendome el papel que se le pedia de estar ajustadas asegurandome no trayan pricionero ninguno sino al Señor Marquez de Villarocho Presidente Governador, y Capitan General de Panama por haver ofresido por el Rescate de su muger hijos familia, y equi[page a que] pagase seis mill pesos, y causandome notable sentimiento el que a este pobre Cavallero le tenia consigo serca de año y medio aviendole aprehendido en las Costas del Perú a embarcarse en el Navio de Mons[ieur] Martinet que estava de orden de su Magestad para bolver a la Europa, y dar cumplimiento el dicho Señor Marquez a la orden y mandato de su Magestad de que pasase a sus Reales Pies y dejar a su muger e hijos en Casa de sus padres como el me lo escrivio y las sumas necesidades y ajamientos que havia padecido, y estava padeciendo, y padecería si yo no me dolía de el.] pedi le dejase saltar en tierra para informar de las fuerzas y demas necesario pues ninguno podría dar mejor noticia que el obligandose a pagar los dhos seis mill pesos en esa Ciudad donde podría hallar quien se lo supliese a que se nego por lo qual le bolvi a embiar a su oficial ofreciendole tres mill pesos, y el siguiente día me lo trajo tan sumamente flaco descaesido y vestido, yndignamente que me contristo bastantemente.*

*Ynsistí en la Remicion de la Cof[n]stancia de los Pases porque el referido Señor Marquez me informó no avía tal noticia pero siendo(?), y huyendo de la Armada del Sur que salí en su busca, y de las fuerzas assí de Gente como de Municiones que tenía el Navio y que avía dies y seis Negros aprehendidos, y con el Riesgo de su salvacion como tambien muchas Reliquias, Rosarios, y Calizes consagrados que tratavan como hereges, por lo qual bolvia ynstar en que me remitiese la dha Justificacion de las Pases, y confesó de palabra con sus oficiales no tenerla, sino solo haverlo oydo a diferentes pricioneros en las Costas de la Nueva España a que el referido Señor Marques me afirmo nuebamentte era contra el hecho de la verdad. Y bolviendo a ynstarle sobre que me remitiese la expresada Justificacion, y los Negros Catholicos Romanos y Cathecumenos que avía aprehendido en las costas del Perú por ser pricioneros; y todas las Reliquias Rosarios y Calizes que tubiesen[,] que pagaría el costo de ellas como tambien todas las escopetas[,] Pistolas, y municiones que pudiese[,] me Respondio con fecha de quatro del Corriente protestandome que si no le Respondia y dava los vastimentos ofresidos a lo veinte y quatro horas pasaría à aprehender al Patache, y hazer todas las ostilidades que pudiese, y Remitió trese escopetas, ocho Pistolas, Dose Espadas Espa-*

*ños que todo ello no es de ningun provecho[,] tres Botihas de Polvora que se regularon por seis Arrobas, y sesenta Balas de aquatro libras onze Relicarios y un Rosario[,] todo lo qual se le pago a dinero de contado por los mismos presios que pidio sin replica ninguna.*

*Continue pidiendo de palabra a sus oficiales sinquenta escopetas veinte pares de Pistolas, Polvora competente, y mas balas, y que entregase los Negros. Y temiendome executase alguna Hostilidad con gran secreto montè sobre el Puerto de Umata quatro Cañones de Artillería que son los unicos que halle en esta Ysla en puesto superior y en la boca de la Barra donde estava el Referido Patachef[,] dos Cañones que se sacaron de el[,] a que me respondió no quería dar los Negros porque no eran pricioneros sino esclavos, y que estos eran vienes de quien los quitto y actualmente suios, y que solo me rregfajaría con dos que eran libres, y que si no convenia en lo que me pedía a los veinte y quatro horas pasaría a executar todas las hostilidades que quisiese.*

*Por lo que le respondí no me era permitido darle ningunos bastimentos sino me remeñía la referida constancia de los pases y me embio un papel firmado con sus oficiales en idioma yngles que traducido por su mercante ofrese no hazer Hostilidad ninguna en los Dominios de su Magestad que era la justificacion de estar hechas las Paces y las mismas amenazas antesedentes con el termino peremptorio de otras veinte y quatro horas, y negandose totalmente a dar los Negros.*

*Y queriendome volver a escribirme dijo el mencionado mercante que tengo conmigo no avía en el Navio quien supiese leer ni escribir en ydioma Castellano por lo que le dije lo hisiese el, en ydioma yngles en mi nombre dandole por escrito su contenido que se redujo a que entregase la mitad de los Negros Reliquias y Calises, enteramente, y las Armas y Municiones pedidas a quien le respondió me dixese no quería dar mas que los dhos dos Negros ni las Armas que pedía por necesitarlas para su viaje, y que sino volvía a la Nao dentro de veinte y quatro horas el se haría la justicia executando todas las hostilidades que quisiese en estas Yslas, y en todas las costas de esas donde cogería bastantes pricioneros que llevaría a Londres para rescatar su persona, y escribiría Vuestro Presidente Governador y Capitan General lo executava por no darle io los vastimentos.*

*Y siendo escrita esta carta el día siete por la mañana[,] el mismo día a las quatro de la tarde puso bandera de paz y se levo por lo qual no se le hizo hostilidad ninguna con los cañones que tenía puestos en la eminencia de Umata por creer que solo se mejorava de puesto, y fue sobre el Patache con notable atrevimiento, y arrogancia, y al entrar baró en una peña que ay en la canal, y la Artillería que io tenía puesta se le disparo en que Resivio mucho daño y no obstante estuvo barado hasta el día siguiente, ocho[,] sin cesar de una parte y otra continuado fuego y habiendo salido de donde baró a la entrada y continuado nuestra Artillería sus tiros procuró salir y volvió a barar de nuevo en cuió tiempo hize pasar dos cañones lo mas gruesos de los que estavan en dho Puerto de Umata, y se proseguio el fuego de una y otra parte insesantemente por mas de cinquenta horas, y me aseguran los Cavos mataron al Capitan Clipperton y a su theniente Davidsons y mucha gente quando Dios ha zido servido que nosotros nos han muerto dos*



*hombres y dos heridos de cuidado, y teniendo la gran fortuna estos malbados de que hubiese calma muerta[,] tubieron tiempo de mudar la Artilleria assi a la parte donde nadaba su bajel, y salieron bastantemente destrosados, y con mucha gente menos dinero algunos bordos sobre el Referido Puerto de Umata, y mas a varlovento, y el día dies en la noche viraron para el Mar y no se han buuelto a dejar ver en que obraron los Cavos, y soldados con singular valor siendo dignos de la aprovacion de su Magestad, y en su Real nombre les he dado las gracias.*

*Y teniendo en mi poder el Referido mercante Juan Godfrei y a otro oficial de dicho Navio que le sería de Capitan llamado Ricardo Pritie [sic] los Remitto en esta ocasion para que Vuestra Alteza mande lo que tubiere por el maior Servicio de Su Magestad como lo tiene prevenido por sus Reales Leies.*

*Dios guarde la Muy Poderosa Persona de Vuestra Alteza como estas Yslas han menester.*

*Agadña y Junio catorce de mill setecientos veinte y un años.*

*Luis Antonio Sanches de Tagle.*

### **Translation.**

Year of 1721.—Authentic copy of the record of the proceedings of Licenciante José Antonio Pavon, King's Counsel and Dean of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these [Philippine] Islands by virtue of a commission from it, concerning the Letter from the Governor of the Mariana Islands with which he remitted two Englishmen who were from the ship of Captain John Clipperton who captured the Marquis de Villa Roche, and made port at said Islands.

To the Gentlemen President and Members of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery in this City of Manila.

Most Illustrious Sir:

In a separate letter I have reported to Your Highness about my arrival at these [Mariana] Islands, and my having taken possession of them at the same time as I learned of their miserable condition, and that I have applied myself to relieve their miserable infantry, and regular defence.

And I think it my duty to report to Your Highness that, on the 22nd of May last, I was advised that a pirate ship was then at the Island of Rota at some 20 leagues from this island; on the 23rd, said ship anchored in the port of the town of Umatag at 7 leagues from this Capital, and on the 24th it launched a boat flying a flag of peace. Its Captain, John Clipperton, wrote to me that he had a commission as a corsair from the British King to cruise along the coasts of Peru and New Spain, but, because a peace treaty had been signed between the Spanish and British Crowns, he was then withdrawing back to Europe, and needed to be given fresh food supplies. On his behalf, his officers offered me in return all of the weapons and ammunitions that I might need, because they had a very abundant supply of them and [in this way] assured me that they

would not carry out hostilities ashore or with the patache that had brought me in and was then very close to said port.<sup>1</sup> Given the little state of preparation of these Islands for defence purposes, and also to obtain the weapons and ammunitions that they were offering to me, given the extreme need of everything and also because the time was near for the galleon to arrive from Acapulco to these countries, in order to capture them and punish them for the exorbitantly bad deeds that they had done on the coasts of Peru:

They were answered that, as a reward for the good news about the peace treaty, they would be given at no cost all that this Island could produce, and asking to see the commission from his King, and proof of the celebration of the peace treaty, and in virtue thereof, requesting a paper signed by all the officers, on behalf of their King, promising not to carry out any hostility in any of the dominions and territory of His Majesty (whom may God save). In answer to this, the Captain sent word through one of his officers and the merchant (who was responsible for selling the captured prizes) who delivered to me a copy of the commission, refusing to send me the original, saying that they did not want to be left without it. As far as the peace treaty was concerned, they would give me entire satisfaction, by remitting me the paper that I had asked, to the effect that the treaty had been signed, and assuring me that they had no prisoners with them, except His Lordship the Marquis of Villarocha, President Governor and Captain General of Panama, because he had pledged to ransom his wife, children, family and baggage for the sum of 6,000 pesos. I was very sorry about this poor gentleman, whom they had kept prisoner for about a year and a half, since they had captured him along the coasts of Peru, as he was trying to reach the ship of Monsieur Martinet, as he had been ordered by the King to return to Europe. Said Marquis was complying with the order of His Majesty to go and place himself at his Royal feet and to leave his wife and children in the residence of his parents, as he himself wrote to me, mentioning the extreme needs and insults that he had suffered, and was suffering, and would suffer if I did not take pity on him. I requested that he be let ashore to report on the strength and for other necessities, as he indeed could best report on his obligation to pay said 6,000 pesos in that City, where he could find someone to loan him the money. He refused, and that is why I sent back his officer with an offer to pay 3,000 pesos. On the next day, he brought him to me, so extremely skinny, crest-fallen and poorly clothed that I was much saddened by it all.

I insisted in the remittal of the statement about the peace treaty because the above-mentioned Marquis had told me that there had been no such news; rather the ship was fleeing from the fleet of the South Sea sent after it, that it was well armed and manned, and had 16 captured negroes on board, who were at risk for their salvation, as well as about the many relics, rosaries, and consecrated chalices which they, being heretics, treated as such. That is why I once again requested to be given said proof of the peace treaty, but he sent word only through his officers that he did not have any, but that he had only heard about it from various prisoners along the coasts of New Spain. How-

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1 Ed. note: The patache **San Andrés** was then anchored in the port of Autan facing Merizo.

ever, said Marquis assured me again that it was not true. And, when I asked again for said proof, and the negros who were Roman Catholic or Catechumens, whom he had captured along the coasts of Peru, they being prisoners, as well as all of the relics, rosaries and chalices that he might have, that I would pay their costs, as well as for all of the shotguns, pistols, and ammunitions possible, he answered me a letter on the 4th extant, claiming that if I did not give him the food supplies that I had offered within 24 hours, he would proceed to seize the patache, and carry out all of the hostilities that he could, but he remitted 13 shotguns, 8 pistols, 12 Spanish swords, all of which stuff was useless, 3 jars of gunpowder that were estimated to contain 6 arrobas, and 60 balls of 4 pounds each, 11 reliquaries and 1 rosary, all of which was paid cash, at the same prices that he asked for, no questions asked.

I continued to request verbally from his officers 50 shotguns, 20 pairs of pistols, a commensurate amount of gunpowder, and more balls, and for him to deliver the negroes. And, fearing that he would carry out some hostility against me, very secretly I had four artillery cannon mounted in a site overlooking the port of Umata—they were the only ones that I found in this Island—and two guns at the mouth of the bar where was the above-mentioned patache, that were taken from said ship. His answer was that he did not wish to give the negroes, because they were not prisoners but slaves, that they had been part of the belongings of those they were taken from and presently part of his own, but that he would make me a present of two of them who were freemen, and that if I did not agree to give them what they wanted within 24 hours, they would begin to carry out all of the hostilities that they wished.

That is why I answered him that I was not permitted to give him any food supplies, if he did not remit the above-said proof of the peace treaty. He sent me a paper signed by his officers in the English language, which was translated by his merchant, by which he promised not to do any hostility while in the dominions of His Majesty, which was his proof that peace had been signed, but he repeated the same threats, giving a peremptory deadline of 24 hours, and he completely refused to give the negroes.

And as I was about to write him back, the above-mentioned merchant whom I have with me<sup>1</sup> said that there was no-one aboard who could read or write in the Spanish language. That is why I told him to do it, in English, in my name and I gave him in writing the contents of it, which can be summarized by saying that he was to deliver half of the negroes, all of the relics and chalices, and the weapons and ammunitions requested. In answer, he was told to tell me that he did not want to give the negroes, besides the two already mentioned, and the same with the weapons that I had requested because he needed them for his voyage, and that if he [i.e. Godfrey] did not return to the ship within 24 hours, he [i.e. Clipperton] would do himself justice, by carrying out all of the hostilities that he wished in these Islands, and in all of the coasts overthere [i.e. in the Philippines] where he would capture enough prisoners to take to London, to ransom

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1 Ed. note: He had kept Godfrey as a hostage.

him [i.e. Godfrey], and would write to Your President Governor and Captain-General to tell him that he was doing it, because I refused to give him food supplies.

And, after this letter had been written on the 7th in the morning, the same day at 4 p.m., he raised a flag of peace and set sail; that is why he was not bothered at all by the guns placed above Umata, since it was believed that he was only improving his anchorage, but he went for the patache with a notable daring and arrogance. However, upon entering the channel he ran aground upon a rock there, and the guns that I had made ready fired at him and did him much harm. Still he remained aground until the next day, the 8th, and in the meantime there was continuous firing from both sides. When he left the place where he had run aground at the entrance, our guns continued firing at him, but he managed to go out, but soon ran aground again. In the meantime, I had two of the bigger guns brought in from said port of Umata, and firing continued ceaselessly from both sides for more than 50 hours. My officers assure me that they killed Captain Clipperton and his Mate, Davidson, and many men, when God was pleased to let us suffer only two dead and two seriously wounded. Meanwhile, those bandits were lucky enough to take advantage of a dead calm to shift their guns to the side where they ship was afloat, but they ended up rather beaten up, and with many men less money...<sup>1</sup> a few tacks off the above-said port of Umata, and more to windward, and on the 10th in the evening, they veered seaward and have not returned or been seen any more. The officers and soldiers have performed with special valor in this encounter, and are worthy of the approval of His Majesty, and in his Royal name I have given them thanks.

And, having in my power the above-mentioned merchant, John Godfrey, and another officer from said ship who acted as its captain,<sup>2</sup> named Richard Pritie [sic].<sup>3</sup> I remit them on this occasion so that Your Highness may order what you think proper for the greater service of His Majesty, as he has arranged by his Royal laws.

May God save the most powerful person of Your Highness, as these Islands need.  
Agadña, 14 June 1721.

Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.

...

[Editorial note: On the 10th of July, the patache San Andrés arrived at Cavite with the two English prisoners in the care of a Spanish Adjutant. They were promptly placed into the short-term jail, which was located at the Parian Gate (we are told later on), there to be interrogated on the 14th, in accordance with a short questionnaire made for the purpose. Captain Antonio Barnabal, of the patache **San Andrés**, acted as interpreter.]

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1 Ed. note: A few words seem to be missing from the transcript in the case file at this point.

2 Ed. note: Captain in the Spanish sense of Third Officer, more or less.

3 Ed. note: Either Pretty, or Prittie, actually.

### 13. Declarations of John Godfrey and Richard Prittie

#### Original text in Spanish.

*A la primera pregunta,— [Godfrey] Dixo: que en Londres se armó el Navio en que llevo a las Yslas Marianas con patente del Rey de Ynglaterra la qual traíya el Capitan del Barco llamado Juan Cliperton con facultad de ir donde {de} quiçiese a corzo, y Guerra a costa de algunos Mercaderes de Londres nombrados Eduard Hughes Esq.[,] Piez due Ven Juan Gumley Esq. [sic,] M Recarh Umder, M. Henry Neal[,], Ricard Cli-liely Esq.[,] Alexandro Estrahan Esq.[,] M. Humphrey Mager, y que de los demas no se acuerda y que el dho Juan Cliperton era el Cavo principal, y el Segundo Cavo se llama Roberto Michel, y que este reo era uno de los Factores, y el otro se llama Ricardo Pritie que se halla preso en la Real Carcel de Corte, y responde.*

...  
*A la primera pregunta.— [Pretty] Dijo que de Londres salio el navio en que venia... y que se armó dho Navio a costa de Eduarte Hughes[,], M Gomley Guibiler [=Gulliver?], M. Vinder[,], Thomas Samson mercaderes de Londres y de otros que no se acuerda, y que los Cavos de dho Navio se llaman Juan Cliperton que es el principal y el segundo Alexandro Dadvinson [sic], y que los factores eran este reo y Juan Godfrey que ambos se hallan presos en esta Ciudad y Real Carcel de Corte, y responde.*

...  
*A la tercera pregunta.— Dixo que por hallarse faltos de vastimentos acudieron a las Islas Marianas y que aunque el dicho Governador Don Luiz Sanchez de Tagle ofrecio darlos, no lo hizo sino es mui corto refresco al principio... y añadió que con el Navio con que llegaron a Marianas salio otro en su compania desde Londres cuyo Capitan Se llaman Jorge Celboc [= Shelvocke], y trayia patente en la misma conformidad, y armado por los mismos Mercaderes de Londres...*

*Todo lo qual dijo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que lleva fho en que se afirmo, y ratifico, y declaro ser de edad de veinte y ocho años y lo firmo con dho Señor Interpreter[,], de todo lo qual doy fee.*

*Lizenciado Pabon.*

#### Translation.

To the first question.—[Godfrey] declared: that the ship aboard which he arrived at the Mariana Islands had been outfitted in London with a commission from the King of England, which was in the possession of the ship Captain, John Clipperton, with the power to go and cruise or make war where he pleased, at the expense of some merchants of London, named Edward Hughes, Esq., Piez due Ven [sic,] John Gumley, Esq., M. Recarh Umder [sic,] M. Henry Neal, Richard Cliiely, Esq., Alexander Estrahan, Esq., M. Humphrey Mager, and that he does not recollect the names of the others, and that said John Clipperton was the commander, while the second captain was named Robert Mitchell, and that said prisoner was one of the supercargos, and the other who is held prisoner in the Royal jail of this court is named Richard Pritie, and so he answered.

...

To the first question.— [Prittie] declared: that the ship aboard which he came had departed from London... and that said ship had been outfitted at the expense of Edward Hughes, M. Gomley[,] Guibiler [= Gulliver?], M. Vinder, Thomas Samson, London merchants, and others whose names he does not remember, and that the officers of said ship were named John Clipperton who was first captain, the second is Alexander Davidson, and that the supercargos were said prisoner and John Godfrey, both presently prisoners in this city and jail of the Royal court, and so he answered.

...

To the third question.—He declared that they stopped at the Mariana Islands for lack of food, and that, although said Governor Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle had promised to give them some, he did not do it, except for very little at the beginning... and he added that with the ship aboard which they reached the Marianas, there was another ship that departed from London in company, whose Captain was named George Shelvocke, and he too carried the same commission and had been outfitted by the same London merchants...

All of which he said was the truth, under the oath he had taken, and which he affirmed and ratified, and declared that he was 28 years old, and he signed with said gentleman interpreter, of which I give faith.

Licenciate Pavon.

## I4. Petition by the two English prisoners

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*Juan Godfray, y Ricardo Pritie de Nacion Y[n]gleses [sic] presos en esta Real Carzel de Corte ante Vuestra Alteza como mejor en derecho nos combenga nos presentamos y decimos:*

*Que proviniendo como provino dicha nuestra pricion por havernos remitido el Capitan Don Luis Anttonio Sanches de Tagle Vuestro Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Marianas a esta Ciudad en el Barco que acabó de llegar al Puerto de Cavite el mes de Jullio inmediato pasado de este presente año debaxo del presupuesto de no venir presos como tenemos aclarado en las declaraciones que tenemos hechas sobre el particular de nuestra venida a que en todo nos remitimos, y estando yo el dicho Juan Godfray padeçiendo en dicha pricion por enfermedad que en ella me ha acaesido con grave indisposicion y peligro en esta virtud uno y otro con todo rendimiento y la maior veneracion que devamos a Vuestra Alteza, pedimos y suplicamos se sirva de conçeder-nos soltura de la dicha pricion devajo de fianza que estamos prompts a dar de estar a derecho y para que estando fuera de ella nos podamos Reparar de algunos daños que senos an seguido por el poco conosimiento que de la tierra tenemos y por tanto:*

*A Vuestra Alteza pedimos y suplicamos con toda sumicion que en vista de lo producido en este pedimiento se sirva de proveer y mandar en el conforme expresamos por*

*ser todo de justicia la qual imploramos de la Benignidad de Vuestra Alteza jurando como juramos en toda forma segun nuestra costumbre no ser de malicia y en lo necesario etc.*

*Juan Godfrey*

*Ricardo Pritie*

*Francisco Gonzales de Orandáin.*

### **Translation.**

Almighty Sir:

We, John Godfrey and Richard Pritie, English subjects and prisoners in this Royal court jail, present ourselves before Your Highness in the best way possible for us, according to law, and declare:

That our imprisonment arose from our having been remitted to this city by Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Your Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, aboard the ship that has just arrived at the port of Cavite last July in the present year, we were under the impression that we did not come as prisoners, as we have already explained in the declarations that we have made regarding the reason for our coming, to which we refer for everything. And, since I, said John Godfrey, am now suffering in said jail from a sickness that has befallen me, with a serious indisposition and danger, by virtue of which both of us, with complete humility and the highest veneration that we must have toward Your Highness, beg and beseech you to please grant our release from said jail, under a bond that we are ready to give to remain available, so that we may be outside of it and thus be able to repair the harm that has been done to us, for lack of knowledge that we have of this country, and consequently:

To Your Lordship we beg and beseech with complete submission that in view of the promise made in this petition you will be pleased to order what is requested in it, since it is all in the cause of justice which we beg from the benign nature of Your Highness, and do swear in the manner of our custom that we hold no malice and as necessary, etc.

John Godfrey

Richard Pritie

Francisco Gonzalez de Orandáin.<sup>1</sup>

## **H5. Certification of the death of Richard Prittie**

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

*Fray Bernardo Basco del sagrado orden de Predicadores Notario del Santo Oficio Vicario y Ministro de la Yglesia de San Gabriel del Pueblo de Binondoc extramuros de la Ciudad de Manila, Certifico que en uno de los libros en donde se assientan los que se entierran en dha Yglesia esta una Clausula del thenor siguiente:*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Captain Bernabal became their bondsman and the prisoners were released from jail on 8 August.

*En dies de octubre de mil setecientos y veinte y uno se enterró en esta Yglesia de Binondoc Don Ricardo Pretie [sic] de Nacion Yngles, residente en el Barrio del Rossario de dicho Pueblo, y murio reconciliado con la Yglesia y con todos los sacramentos, y abajo de dicha Clausula esta una firma que dice fray Bernardo Basco; Y para que conste donde combenga dí la pressente en dho Convento en cinco de Noviembre de mill setecientos veinte y un años.*

*Fray Bernardo Basco.*

### **Translation.**

I, Fray Bernardo Basco of the sacred Order of Preachers, Notary of the Holy Office, Vicar and Minister of the Church of San Gabriel in the town of Binondoc outside the walls of the City of Manila, do certify that in one of the books where are recorded the deceased interred in said Church, there is one clause whose contents is as follows:

“On the 10th of October of 1721, was interred in this church of Binondoc, Don Richard Pretie, an Englishman, residing in the District of Rosario of said town, and he died reconciled with the Church and with all of the sacraments,” and below said clause there is a signature that says: “Fray Bernardo Basco.”

And in faith whereof, I issued the present in said Convent on the 5th of November 1721.

Fray Bernardo Basco.

[Editor's notes: Prittie had died of an unspecified illness on 9 October 1721. Since Captain Bernabal was a trader by profession, he wished to go to the Coast of Coromandel to trade and, in November 1721, asked the court to relieve him as bondsman. The court agreed and the Frenchman, Captain Jean de Boisloré, became the new bondsman for the surviving English pirate, John Godfrey.]

## **16. Petition by John Godfrey, undated, but end of November 1721**

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

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*Don Juan Godfrey de nacion yngles residente en los extramuros à donde vine de las Marianas remitido por su Governador[,] parezco ante Vuestra Alteza como mas combenga à mi derecho.—*

*Y digo que a rrepresentacion hecha por le Capitan Don Antonio Bernabal se sirvió Vuestra Alteza mandar se me requiriese à la subrrogacion de la Fianza que dicho Capitan otorgó por mi de carcel segura, y sin embargo de tener ofrecido al Capitan Don Juan de Boislore se ha de servir Vuestra Alteza relevarme de una y otra fianza, concediendome licencia para poderme embarcar en qualquiera de los Pataches que estan de proximo para la Costa de Choromandel sin que (hablando con el devido respecto, y submission que devo) obste la remicion que de mi Persona hizo à estas Yslas el Governador.*



*dor de las Marianas; Lo primero porque aunque es assí que vine embarcado à dichas Yslas en el Navio del cargo del Capitan Juan Cliperton, y que conste acaecio lo que expresa la carta de dho Governador sobre el Debate que tuvo con el Patache de estas Yslas, es tambien constante de los autos y diligencias, que yo no era Cavo de aquel Navio, y que quando el Debate que tubo havia venido de Orden de dho Capitan Cliperton à traer à dicho Governador de Marianas un tanto de la Patente, en cuya virtud andava à corso el dicho Cliperton, y siendo assimesmo constante, y que podrè probar si sea del agrado de Vuestra Alteza que el haver venido à tierra fue debajo de la buena fee, y salvo conducto que dicho Governador de la Islas Marianas dio empeñando la palabra Real, debaxo de cuya protexcion, y Soberania me hallava en tierra ya que no devio (hablo como devo) faltarme el referido Governador quien como tambien podrè justificar por motivos que no comprehendo me fue dilatando hasta que por lo acaecido entre uno y otro Patache resultó dejarme en tierra dicho Governador no dexandome bolver desde que saltó en tierra el Marques de Villa Rocha con lo demas que fue sobreviniendo, y de que yo siempre me halle inculpable no siendo de menos consideracion lo que devio tener dho Governador sobre la noticia de Pazas, ó a lo menos de la suspencion de Armas circunstancias que por lo manifesto, y constante aun de los mismos Autos me favoreçen, y me eximen del cargo que pudiera hacerme sobre lo acaecido, y en que no tube, ni aun la mas remota intervencion por lo que (hablando devidamente) es consiguiente el que la Soverana Justificacion de Vuestra Alteza se digne de declararlo asi, y en su consecuencia, y teniendo presentes los atrazos que se me siguen careciendo aun de lo muy necessario, y precisso à la manutencion de mi Perssona concederme la Licencia que pido para el efecto de poderme embarcar en los Pataches que se hallan de proximo[,] para lo que: A Vuestra Alteza pido y suplico haviendome por presentado, y en conformidad de lo que expreso, y reprodusgo en el todo proveer y mandar segun que refiero por ser justicia que pido, juro en forma que este escrito lo hizo à mi ruego Don Juan de los Santos con puntos que le comuniqué, yo el Procurador firmante lo juro por mi animo que el dicho escrito lo hizo el dho Don Juan de los Santos y que no es de malicia con lo demas necessario etc.*

*Juan Godfrey*

*Francisco Gonzales de Orrandaín.*

### **Translation.**

Almighty Sir:

I, John Godfrey, of English nationality, residing outside the walls whither I came from the Marianas, remitted by their Governor, appear before Your Highness, as suitable to my case.—<sup>1</sup>

And do declare that, at the representation made by Captain Antonio Bernabal, Your Lordship was pleased to order that I be required to subrogate the bond that said

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The language used in this petition is stilted Spanish, and I do not intend to improve it much in this translation.

Captain put up for my surety away from jail, and notwithstanding the offer made by Captain Jean de Boisloré, Your Highness ought to be pleased to relieve me from either bond, by granting me permission to embark in any of the pataches that are about to leave for the Coast of Coromandel, (speaking with all due respect and submission), without hindrance from the fact that the Governor of the Marianas did remit my person to these Islands: Firstly, because, although it is true that I came to said Islands aboard the ship commanded by Captain John Clipperton, and that the facts stated in the letter from said Governor about the battle that took place with the patache of these Islands are indeed true, it is also true what is said in the records of proceedings that I was not the commander of that ship, and that when the battle took place I had come [ashore] at the order of said Captain Clipperton to bring to said Governor of the Marianas a copy of the Commission, in whose virtue said Clipperton was cruising as a corsair, and it being also true—something that I will be able to prove if it be of the pleasure of Your Highness—that my stepping ashore was in good faith and under a safe-conduct from said Governor of the Mariana Islands, who pledged the Royal word, under whose protection and sovereignty I found myself ashore, since said Governor (speaking with respect) should not have failed me and for motives that I will also be able to explain but could not then understand, he detained me until the incident between the two pataches did take place; he kept me ashore from the time that the Marquis of Villa Rocha stepped ashore, and so with the other things that happened. I was never guilty of any of it, and furthermore said Governor should have paid attention to the news about the peace treaty, or at least the cessation of war, circumstances that I had explained to him, as shown by the record itself in statements that favor my position, and exonerate me from the charge that might be brought against me about the events in question, in which I took no part whatsoever. Consequently, (speaking with all due respect) I think that the sovereign judgment of Your Highness will be pleased to declare it so, and therefore, taking into consideration that the delays affecting me have had an adverse effect on my finances, so much so that I lack the bare necessities to maintain myself alive, you will be pleased to grant me the permission that I ask for the purpose of boarding the pataches that are soon to depart; hence:

I beg and beseech Your Highness to accept my representation, and grant this my request fully, by ordering it so, since what I ask is only fair. I swear that the above document was drafted by Don Juan de los Santos who did so at my request, using points that I submitted to him.

I, the undersigned attorney, swear for myself that said document was drafted by said Juan de los Santos and that it was done not in malice, with the rest that is necessary, etc.

John Godfrey  
Francisco Gonzalez de Orandaín.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: When Captain Boisloré asked, at the end of January 1722, to be relieved of his responsibility, John Godfrey was then forced to return to jail.

## 17. Petition of John Godfrey, dated February 1722

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*Don Juan Godfrey de Nacion Yngles Remitido por el Governador de las Islas Marianas y detenido en la Puerta del Parian de esta Ciudad ante Vuestra Alteza con toda sumicion y Reverençia Dize:*

*Que en atençion a haverse presentado Don Juan de Boislore pidiendo lo sacarse de la fianza subrogandola en otro entendiendo este que yo hiziera auçiençia en alguno de los Barcos que bolvieron este presente Año al trato y comerçio de la Costa (que nunca lo imagine) y en atençion a que dhos Barcos se an ydo y a mi pobreza para poder buscar mis alimentos y manutencion por no tener aqui quien me asista pasando [rather padesiendo] extremas neçesidades, y falta de salud[,] por tanto:*

*A Vuestra Alteza pido y suplico debajo de tener por carzeleria la Ciudad y sus extramuros se sirva de concederme soltura con la fianza comentariense [sic] que assi le espero de la a[ll]ta piedad de Vuestra Alteza con lo demas neçesario etc. Y juro no ser de malicia y que este pedimento lo dicto Don Juan de los Reyes.*

*Juan Godfrey*

*Francisco Gonzales de Orandain.*

### Translation.

Almighty Sir:

I, John Godfrey, an Englishman remitted by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, and detained in the Parian Gate of this City, appear before Your Highness and with all due submission and reverence, and Declare:

That, with regards to the request presented by Don Juan Boisloré to be relieved of his obligation for the bond, passing it to someone else, because he had felt that I would absent myself aboard some of the ships that went this year to trade on the Coast (which I never imagined doing) and in view of the fact that said ships have gone, and my poverty prevents me from feeding myself properly, since I have no-one here who can assist me, and I suffer extreme need, and lack good health. Consequently:

I beg and beseech Your Highness to consider this city and its vicinity as my jail, and to be pleased to grant my release under my own recognizance, such as I hope from the high compassion of Your Highness, with the rest that is necessary, etc. And I do swear that this petition is not done out of malice but that it was dictated to me by Don Juan de los Reyes.

John Godfrey

Francisco Gonzalez de Orandain.

**Editor's notes:** Godfrey was granted his petition, released from jail before Easter, and told not to leave the area surrounding Manila. In June 1722, the Audiencia decided to send the prisoner to Spain. Godfrey arrived at Cadiz in 1723 and was kept there for

more than two years, until he was escorted to Madrid in September 1725 by Navy Second-Lieutenant Francisco de Caracuel y Castello, by orders of the Marquis of Valero, President of the Council.

## **18. First decision of the Council of Indies, dated 3 December 1723**

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

*Consejo en 3 de Diciembre 1723.*

*Espidase Cedula à la Audiencia de Manila diciendo se ha estrañado mucho sus procedimientos en quanto à no haver castigado este reo, y que à sido muy del Real desagrado. Escrivase carta al Fiscal de la Cassa de la Contratacion, espresandole, se ha estrañado mucho que en un delito tan grave y notorio como el que ha cometido este reo aya alegado faltando a su obligacion diciendo no resulta nada contra él, quando de su declaracion y los autos consta todo lo contrario, y que lo entienda asi para en adelante. Tambien se de orden à la Cassa de la Contratacion, para que se remita con seguridad à este reo a la Carcel de Corte de esta Villa, para que se proceda à obrar en justicia.*

### **Translation.**

The Council, 3 December 1723.

Please send a decree to the Audiencia of Manila, telling them that their proceedings have caused a great surprise, one that has caused much Royal displeasure, because they did not punish this prisoner. Write a letter to the Fiscal of the House of Trade to tell him that his remarks have caused a great surprise, regarding such a serious and notorious crime as the one committed by this prisoner, when he alleged that he would fail to his duty if he did not say that there was no case against the man, when the opposite is clear, from his declaration and the records, and that he should understand it as such from now on. The House of Trade should also be ordered to remit this prisoner in a secure manner to the court jail of this city, so that proceedings may be continued.

## **19. Royal consultation dated 22 March 1724**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 95-1-21.*

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

*Marques de Valero*

*Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche*

*Don Manuel de Silba*

*Don Diego de Rojas*

*Don Manuel Vadillo Velasco*

*Don Antonio de la Pedrosa*

*Don Gonzalo Vaquedano  
Don Juan Santos de San Pedro  
Marques de Almodovar  
Don Francisco Antonio Aguado*

*Señor:*

*En carta de 17 de Agosto del año proximo passado de 1723 dio quenta el Yntendente de Marina en Cadiz Don Joseph Patiño, de quedar asegurado en las Carzeles de aquella Ciudad un Yngles Corsario nombrado Don Juan Godfrai remitido por el Virrey de Nueva España Marques de Caswsafuerte, à quien el Governador de Philipinas le embio presso, por haversele aprehendido en las Yslas Marianas con otro compañero suyo que murio, y que haziendo instancia el Consul de su nazione sobre la determinacion de la Causa que se le havia hecho, y no haverse rezicado testimonio de ella, ni de su sentenzia, lo participava para que si hubiesen llegado los autos se le ordenase lo que sobre ello se havia de executar; con cuió motibo y el de haver llegado al Consejo al mismo tiempo en los Navios de Azogues que arribaron à Cadiz, los autos que en este particular remitió la Audiencia de Manila con carta de 16 de Junio de 1722, se acordó pasasen al fiscal, à fin de que en su intelixenzia expusiese lo que sobre ello se le ofreziese, de que resultó remitirse los expresados autos al tribunal de la Cassa de la Contratacion para que en vista de ellos se substanziasse en toda forma luego y sin delazion, oyendo al fiscal, y al reo, y puesta en estado de sentenzia, se determinase admitiendose las apelaciones para este Consejo en casso de interponerse por alguna parte, y que diesse quenta de todo con autos: en cuió cumplimiento, remitió con carta de 2 de Noviembre del espresado año de 1723 los que por aquel tribunal se havian executado en este particular, refiriendo resultava cargo alguno contra dicho Don Juan Godfrai; Los quales haviendose visto por el fiscal de V.M. en este Consejo con los que vinieron remitidos de Manila, y halladose no haverse procedido en este particular con el pleno conozimiento que devia tenerse en un delito tan grave y notorio como el que havia cometido este reo y constava de su declaracion y dhos autos, se ordeno al mencionado tribunal en 7 de Diziembre del mismo año, le remitiesen presso con toda seguridad à la Carzel Real de esta Corte, para prozederse y obrar en Justizia sobre su instancia, y en su obediimiento partizipo en carta de 24 de Henero de este año haver intimado al dho Don Juan Godfrai apromptase 200 pesos para su gasto, y el de la escolta que le havia de conducir, y que haviendo respondido hallarse imposibilitado de poderlo executar, pues se estava manteniendo de la Limosna que le dava el Consul de su Nazione, y no haver caudal alguno en aquel tribunal para poderlo costear, lo hazia pressente à fin de que en ello se tomase la providenzia combeniente.*

*El Consejo en vista de esta representacion, y que en otra Consulta de la fecha de esta, han presente à V.M. que este y otros gastos se hazian de las penas de Camara de el, y que por Decreto de 30 de Abril de 1717 se sirvió el Sor. Rey Padre de V.M. mandar que estos caudales y todos los demas que estaban à su disposicion, entrasen en la thesoreria Gral. como se ha executado desde entonzes, por cuiá razon no tiene arbitrio el Con-*

*sejo, para dar la providenzia que se nezesita, y pide el tribunal de la Cassa de la Contratazion. Lo haze presente à V.M. à fin de que se sirva mandar librar en la expresada thesoreria la referida cantidad de los 200 pessos para la conduzion de dicho reo.*

*V.M. resolvera lo que fuere de su Real agrado.*

*Madrid 22 de Marzo de 1724.*

### **Translation.**

The Marquis of Valero.

Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche.

Don Manuel de Silva.

Don Diego de Roxas.

Don Manuel Vadillo Velasco.

Don Antonio de la Pedrosa.

Don Gonzalo Vaquedano.

Don Juan Santos de San Pedro.

The Marquis of Almodovar.

Don Francisco Antonio Aguado.

Sire:

In a letter dated 17 August of last year 1723, the Navy Procurement Officer at Cadiz, Don José Patiño, reported about the secure presence in the jails of that city of an English corsair named John Godfrey who had been remitted by the Governor of the Philippines as a prisoner, for having been captured in the Mariana Islands, with another companion of his who died, and that as a result of the request made by the English Consul for the determination of the case brought against him, and because the record of his sentencing has not been received, he was reporting same, in case the record of proceedings should have been received, and asking for orders as to what he should do. For this reason, and also because the records about this matter sent by the Audiencia of Manila, with a letter dated 16 June 1722, did get to the Council at the same time as the Quicksilver Fleet that arrived at Cadiz, it was agreed that the file should be seen by the Fiscal, for him to make recommendations, and the result was that the above-mentioned records should be remitted to the House of Trade, for them to finalize the substantiation of the case in due form and without delay, by hearing the Fiscal, and the prisoner, and to bring the case into a state ready for sentencing, to be determined by this Council, as well as the appeals, in case some party should intervene, and to report about it all, enclosing the records. In compliance thereof, they remitted with a letter dated 2 November of said year 1723, the proceedings carried out by that court in this matter, by saying that the result of the findings was no case against said John Godfrey. When this was reviewed by the Fiscal of Y.M. in this Council, along with those remitted from Manila, he found that they had not proceeded in this matter with full cognizance due to a crime of such serious and notorious nature, as this prisoner had committed, as shown in his declaration and said transcripts. Said court was ordered on 7 December last to

remit the prisoner with complete security to the Royal jail of this court, for continuation of the proceedings regarding his petition. Now then, in compliance, they reported in a letter dated 24 January of this year that they had intimated said John Godfrey to put up 200 pesos for his expenses, and those of the escort that had to accompany him, but that he had answered that he was unable to do so, because he was being maintained by alms he received from the English Consul, and that tribunal had no funds available for this, and so they reported for us to take appropriate action.

In view of this representation, and what the Council has also reported to Y.M. in another consultation of same date, that this and other expenses to be paid out of the fines collected by our Chamber, but that in a Decree of 30 April 1717 His Majesty the King, the Father of Y.M., had ordered that such funds and all of the others that are at its disposal, be turned over to the General Treasury, as has been done since; that is why the Council has no jurisdiction to issue the required provision, requested by the court of the House of Trade, and why it reports same to Y.M. so that your may be pleased to order the Treasury to release said sum of 200 pesos for the transport of said prisoner.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 22 March 1724.

[Many initials follow.]

## **I10. Consultation that took place upon the intervention of William Stanhope, dated 22 March 1725**

*Source: AGI Fil. 95-2-40.*

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

*Marques de Ribas*

*Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche*

*Don Diego de Zuñiga*

*Don Gonzalo Machado*

*Don Diego de Rojas*

*Don Manuel de Vadillo*

*Marques de Almodovar*

*Don Gaspar Jiron.*

*Señor*

*De orden de V. Magestad remitio Don Antonio de Sopena, con Papel de 13 de Febrero proximo pasado un Oficio de Don Guillermo Stanhope, con el memorial que incluye de Juan Henrrique Godfrey, para que viendose en el Consejo informe à V. Magd. lo que se le ofreciere sobre la instancia que comprenden.*

*Con el referido oficio acompaña Don Guillermo Stanhope el memorial del expresado Juan Henrrique Godfrey, representando ser este sugeto, Vasallo del Rey su Amo, y recomendando su instancia; Que se reduce à expresar hallarse preso en la Carcel de Cadiz, año y medio ha, por haberle embiado à ella, el Governador de las Yslas Maria-*

*nas, donde fue hecho Prisionero, y que habiendosele notificado de orden de este Consejo, que se presentase en el, y expedidose orden por la via reserbada en Julio del año proximo pasado de 1724 para que el Yntendente Don Joseph Patiño, le subministrase lo necesario para el viage, à esta Corte, se escusó à ello, pretextando no señalarsele fondos de donde sacar el caudal; en cuia consideracion, y la de los trabajos que en tan dilatadas Navegaciones à padecido sin motibo alguno, siendo Prisionero de Guerra, y debiendo ser puesto en libertad, segun lo estipulado ultimamente entre esta Corona, y la de Ynglaterra; suplica à V. Magd. se sirba mandar se le ponga en plena libertad, à fin de que se pueda restituir à aquel Reyno, sin embarazo alguno, ó, que se le señalen medios para venir à esta Corte, y presentarse en el Consejo, segun le esta notificado.*

*El Consejo en vista de lo referido, y de lo que sobre ello dijo el Fiscal de V. Magd. pone en su Real consideracion que habiendo hecho presente al Rey nuestro Señor Don Luis primero, (que sea en gloria) en Consulta de 22 de Marzo del año proximo pasado de 1724 lo representado por el tribunal de la Casa de la Contratacion sobre la falta de medios con que se allaba para conducir à la Carcel de esta Corte, al mencionado Juan Godfrey, en la forma que se le ordenó por este Consejo, respecto de hallarse en el, los Autos de la Causa de este Reo, el qual por habersele aprehendido en las Yslas Marianas, con otro compañero suyo que murió, le remitió Preso al Governador de Philipinas: se sirbió Su Mgd. decir habia mandado se pusiesen en Cadiz à disposicion del referido tribunal, doscientos Pesos para este fin; y habiendose participado esta Real resolucion avisó en 29 de Mayo del expresado año de 724 no haber recibido la referida orden para poner en egecucion la remision, de dho Reo; De que se noticio despues à la via reserbada en Papel de 10 de Junio siguiente, à que respondió Don Antonio de Sopeña, en 16 del mismo, haberle avisado el Thesorero mayor que en 21 de Abril de dho año, participó la referida Real resolucion al Yntendente de Andalucia, que le respondió en 2 de Mayo siguiente, la abia comunicado al Thesorero de aquella Provincia, para su cumplimiento y que por la Secretaria del Despacho de Hazienda se abia hecho nuevo encargo despues al mencionado Thesorero por que entregase los referidos 200 Pesos; Pero considerando el Consejo, que por la Instancia que ahora hace esta Parte se reconoce no haberse egecutado la entrega de dha cantidad; es de parecer que V. Magd. se sirba mandar se de nueva orden el referido Thesorero de Andalucia, para que luego, y sin la menor dilacion, ni replica, entregue los expresados 200 Pesos, à disposizion del Tribunal de la Casa de la Contratacion participandose à este, de ello, à fin de que con la maior brevedad, remita à la Carcel de esta Corte, al referido Juan Godfrey, para que con esta diligencia, y en vista de los Authos que estan pendientes en el Consejo, sobre el delito que cometió este Reo, se pueda tomar providencia.*

*V. Mgd. resolberà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.*

*Madrid 22 de Marzo de 1725.*

### **Translation.**

The Marquis of Ribas.

Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche.



Don Diego de Zuñiga.  
Don Gonzalo Machado.  
Don Diego de Rojas.  
Don Manuel de Vadillo.  
The Marquis of Almodovar.  
Don Gaspar Jirón.

Sire:

By order of Your Majesty, Don Antonio de Sopena remitted, along with a paper dated 13 February last, an official letter from Mr. William Stanhope, including the petition of John Henry Godfrey, so that it may be seen by the Council and recommendations made to Your Majesty about the request that they imply.

In his letter, Mr. William Stanhope enclosed the petition of said John Henry Godfrey, stating that he [i.e. himself] is a subject, vassal of the King his Lord, and recommending his [i.e. Godfrey's] request. This request can be summarized as follows: He has been held prisoner in the jail at Cadiz for one and a half years already, because he had been sent there by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, where he was made prisoner, and that after he was notified of the order of this Council to present himself before it, and a direct order sent to Supply Officer Don José Patiño in a confidential manner in July of last year 1724 for him to supply the necessary money to cover the expenses for his travel to this court, he excused himself, claiming that there were no funds from which he could get the money; under such circumstances, and that of the hardships that he has suffered during such long voyages, for no good reason, since he was a prisoner of war, and should have been placed in liberty in accordance with the recent stipulations between this Crown and the English Crown; he begs Y.M. to be pleased to give him his freedom, so that he may return to that Kingdom, without any impediment, or, that he be given the means to come to this court in person, to present himself before the Council, as he was summoned to do.

The Council, in view of the above, and what the Fiscal of Y.M. has said about it, brings to your Royal consideration the fact that the King our Lord, Louis I, (may he rest in peace)<sup>1</sup> in the Consultation of 22 March of last year 1724, was advised that the court of the House of Trade did not have the means to pay for the transport of the above-mentioned John Godfrey to this jail of this court, in the manner ordered by this Council, because the records of the case against this prisoner were then there. This man was arrested in the Mariana Islands, with a companion of his who died, and was remitted as prisoner to the Governor of the Philippines: Y.M. was pleased to order that 200 pesos be placed at the disposal of said court at Cadiz for this purpose. Having been advised of this Royal resolution, they answered on 29 May of last year 1724 that they had not received said order to effect the transfer of said prisoner. They were then

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1 Ed. note: Louis I of Spain died soon after his father had abdicated in his favor in 1724. Thus Philip V was forced to take back the throne.

notified of same by the confidential way in a letter dated 10 June following, to which Don Antonio de Sopeña answered on the 16th of same month, saying that the Senior Treasurer had told him that on 21 April of said year he had forwarded the above-mentioned Royal resolution to the Supply Officer of Andalusia, who had answered him on 2 May following, that he had in turn forwarded it to the Treasurer of that Province for action, and that the Finance Secretariat had entrusted said Treasurer once again to deliver said 200 pesos. However, the Council considers that, in view of the request that is now presented by the party in question, it seems that said sum was not delivered, and is of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to order that a new order be given to said Treasurer of Andalusia, so that, without any further delay or excuse, he make said 200 pesos available to the court of the House of Trade, and informing the latter about it, so that the above-mentioned John Godfrey will indeed be transferred to the jail of this court as soon as possible, in order for these proceedings to continue, in view of the transcripts that are now with the Council, concerning the crime committed by this prisoner, for a decision to be taken.

Your Majesty will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 22 March 1725.

[There follow many initials.]

## **II1. Request by John Godfrey's attorney to the Council**

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

*Señor*

*Don Juan Henrique Godfroy [sic] subdito del Rey de la Gran Bretaña dice fue arrestado por el Governador de las Islas Marianas como prisionero de Guerra, y conducido à la Ciudad de Cadiz, en cuias carceles ha estado detenido mas de dos años hasta que por el Real Consejo de las Indias, se le ha mandado presentar en la desta Corte, como lo ha executado, y habiendo presentado peticion por su Procurador en el dho Real Consejo para que se le mandase entregar los Autos que contra el Suplicante hubiese, y mandadolo assi, no ha tenido efecto por estar los referidos Autos en la Secretaría de Nueva España. Por lo qual:*

*Suplica a V.E. se sirva mandar que de la dha Secretaría se passen los mencionados autos à la Escrivanía de Camara del Consejo a fin de que el Procurador del suplicante pueda tomarlos, y en su consecuencia hacer las defensas que le combienieren; merced que espera recibir de V.E.*

*En virtud de poder*

*Juan Ruiz.*

*Nota: Es cierto hallarse estas Authos en la Secretaría.*

*Consejo en 10 de Octubre 1725.*

*Como lo pide.*

### Translation.

Sir:

I, John Henry Godfrey, subject of the King of Great Britain, declare that I was arrested by the Governor of the Mariana Islands as a prisoner-of-war, and taken to the City of Cadiz, in whose jails I have been detained for over two years until I was summoned by the Royal Council of the Indies to appear before this court, and so it was done, but in spite of my attorney in said Royal Council having presented a petition requesting delivery of whatever transcripts of the case against this supplicant, and its approval, said transcripts have not yet been turned over by the Secretariat of New Spain. Consequently:

I beg Y.E. to please order said Secretariat to forward said transcripts to the Clerk of the Chamber of the Council, so that the attorney of this suppliant may take delivery of same, and hence be able to mount the appropriate defence; a favor that I hope to receive from Y.E.

By my power-of-attorney, Juan Ruiz.

Note: It is true that such transcripts are in the Secretariat.

The Council, 10 October 1725.

Do as he requests.

[The case followed its normal course, with Attorney Juan Ruiz petitioning for the release of his client on 20 October, but the Crown Attorney, or Fiscal, objected. However, the British Admiralty provided the following certification that Clipperton had been an “official” pirate. This certificate was brought to Spain by the ship Hargrave.]

## I12. Copy of Captain Clipperton’s Commission, certified by the British Admiralty on 22 December 1725

### Original text in English.

*E Registro Supremæ Curiae Admiralitatis Angliæ Extract.*<sup>1</sup>

**George** by the Grace of God of Great Britain France [sic] and Ireland King Defender of the Faith etc.

**To all people** to whom these presents shall come **Greeting**

**Whereas Wee** having taken into Our Consideration the Injuries and Acts of Hostility comitted by the King of Spain and his Subjects unto and upon the Ships Goods and Persons of Our Subjects extending to their grievous damages and amounting to great sums And that notwithstanding the complaints made of such usage to the King of Spain no redress or reparation could be obtained Wee did therefore with the advice of our Privy Councill think fitt and ordered that General Reprisals be granted against

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “Extracted from the Records of the High Court of Admiralty of England.

the Ships goods and Subjects of the King of Spain, so that as well our Fleets and Ships as also all other Ships and Vessells that shall be commissioned [sic] by Letters of Marque or General Reprizal or otherwise, shall and may lawfully seize and take all Ships Vessells and Goods belonging to the King of Spain or his Subjects or Inhabitants within any the Territoryes of the King of Spain and bring the same to judgement in our High Court of Admiralty of England for proceedings and adjudication and condemnation to be thereupon had according to the course of Admiralty and Laws of Nations

**And Whereas Wee** by Our Comission under our Great Seal of Great Britain bearing date the tenth day of December 1718 have willed required and authorized our Commissioners for executing the Office of Our High Admiral of Great Britain, to issue forth and grant Clauses to be therein inserted and in such manner as by Our said Comission more at large appeareth

**And Whereas** Our said Comissioners for executing the Office of Our High Admiral aforesaid have thought **John Clipperton** fitly qualifed, who hath equipped furnished and victualled a Ship called the **Success** of London of the burthen of about three hundred and fifty Tons whereof he the said John Clipperton is Comander

**And Whereas** he the said John Clipperton hath given sufficient Bail with Sureties to Us in Our High Court of Admiralty, according to the effect and forms sett down in our Instructions made the sixteenth day of December 1715 in the fifth year of Our Reign, a Copy whereof is given to the said Captain John Clipperton **Know Yee** therefore that Wee do by these presents Issue forth and grant Letters of Marque and Reprizals to and do lycense and authorize the said John Clipperton to sett forth in Warlike manner the Ship called the **Success** of London under his own command and therewith by Force of Arms to apprehend seize and take those Ships Vessells and Goods belonging to the King of Spain his Vassals and Subjects, or any inhabiting within his Countreys, Territoryes or Dominions and to bring the same to such port as shall be most convenient in order to have them legally adjudged in our said High Court of Admiralty, which being condemned, it shall and may be lawful for the said John Clipperton [to] sell and dispose of such Ships Vessels and Goods so adjudged and condemned in such sort and manner as by the course of Admiralty hath been accustomed except in such cases where is otherwise directed by our said Instructions **Provided** always that the said John Clipperton keep an exact Journal of his proceedings, and therein particularly take notice of all prizes which shall be taken by him, the nature of such prizes, the time and places of their being taken, and the values of them, as near as he can judge, as also of the Station Motion and Strength of the Spaniards, as well as he or his Mariners can discover, by the best intelligence he can get, and also of whatsoever else shall occur unto him, or any of his Officers or Mariners, or be discovered or declared unto him or them, or found out by Examination or Conference with any Mariners or passengers of or in any the Ships or Vessels taken, or by any other person or persons, or by any other ways and means whatsoever touching or concerning the designers of the Spaniards or any of their Fleets Vessells or Parties and of their Stations Ports and Places, and of their intents therein, and of what Merchants Shippes or Vessels of the Spaniards bound out or home

or to any other place as he or his Officers or Mariners shall hear of, and of what else material in these cases may arrive to his or their knowledge Of all which he shall from time to time as he shall or may have opportunity [to] transmitt an Account to Our said Comissioners for executing the Office of Our High Admiral aforesaid, or their Secretary and to keep a correspondence with them by all oportunities that shall present

**And Further Provided** that nothing be done by the said John Clipperton or any of his Officers Mariners and Company contrary to the true meaning of our aforesaid Instructions, but that the said Instructions shall be by them and oath and every of them, as farr as they or any of them, are therein concerned, in all particulars well and duly performed and observed

**And Wee** pray and desire all Kings, Princes, Potentates, Estates and Republicks being Our Freinds [sic] and Allies and all others to whom it shall appertain to give the said John Clipperton all Aid Assistance and Succour in their Ports, with his said Ship Company and Prizes, without deoing or suffering to be done to him any wrong trouble or hindrance, Wee offering to do the like, when Wee shall be by them thereunto desired

**And Wee Will** and require all Our Officers whatsoever to give him Succour and Assistance as occasion shall require

**In Witsesse** whereof Wee have Caused the Great Seale of Our High Court of Admiralty of England to be hereunto affixed

Given at London the first day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighteen and in the fifth year of Our Reigne.

Samuel Hill Reg[istrar]

Examd.

Will: Browne Deputy Reg[istrar]

Thomas Ruck, Notary Publick abmitted [sic] & sworn dwelling in London do certifie, that the before written is a true Extract and that Samuel Hill & William Brown whose Names are here before written, are Register & Deputy Register of the High Court of Admiralty of England, and that so all Extracts so signed, full faith & Credit in & ought to given in Judgment Court & without. Witnessed my Notarial firm & seal, in London the 22d day of December 1725.

Etc.

[This British certificate allowed Attorney Ruiz to petition the court for Godfrey's release on the ground of the evidence that only the Captain of his ship could have been responsible for the authorized piracy in question. Godfrey was given his freedom on 14 May 1726.]

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## Documents 1721J

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### Case file against Captain Boisloré—Part 4

*Sources: AGI Escribanía 405B & 405C.*

#### Editor's comments.

The thick file contained in 405B (last set of 7 documents) is 5-cm thick. The **first document** has 144 folios and bears the following title (translated): “Year of 1721. Questionnaire N° 1. Authentic transcript of the Actions taken by the Superior Government of these Islands at the recommendation of the Mayor of the Province of Ilocos concerning the landing at one of the ports of said Province of the ship **Relámpago** commanded by Monsiur Boilore [sic] and other proceedings made in order to seize it and lead it to the Port of Cavite.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 17 July 1721.”

The **second document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. 2nd copybook. Authentic transcript of the Actions taken by His Lordship the Audiencia member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda, by virtue of the Commission from the Superior Government of these Islands regarding the unloading, survey and better detention of the Patache Relámpago, its men and cargo.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia dated Manila 17 July 1721.”

The **third document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. 3rd copybook. Authentic transcript of the Actions taken by Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda, member of the Royal Audiencia by virtue of a Commission from the Superior Government of these Islands respecting the survey of the cargo of the ship Relámpago and its storage.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia dated Manila 17 July 1721.”

The **fourth document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. 4th copybook. Authentic transcript of the declarations of the officers of the ship Relámpago, inspection of the crew and imprisonment of Captain Boisloré in Fort San Felipe of the Port of Cavite, and remittal of all of the Proceedings of His Lordship the member of the Audiencia, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda to His Lordship the President Governor and Captain General of these Islands.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia dated Manila 17 July 1721.”

The **fifth document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. Copybook N° 5. Authentic transcript of the documents that have been translated from the French into Spanish, confessions of the officers of the Ship *Éclair*; element of proof in the case of the arrival at these Is-

lands of said patache; and other actions also contained in this copybook.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 17 July 1721.” Here have been translated the original Instructions from the shipowners, the outfitting expenses, Captain’s commission, Factor’s commission, Clerk’s commission, Agreement between the Company and Captain Boisloré dated Paris 6 December 1710, ship accounts, two proposals dated 1708 for Frenchmen to go around the world for the first time like other nations before them, **Captain Boisloré’s logbook** (see Doc. 1713B), original freight loaded in France, bills and receipts, including one by Alonzo Brignon acknowledging receipt of 4,636 piastres for remittance to France, a copy of Nicolas Frondat’s voyage of 1708 from Peru to China and back, a list of things bought in Canton by Boisloré in 1703 [sic], a letter from Fray Francisco Franco who appears to be the new ship chaplain who later died at Canton, so-called confessions of the prisoners, petitions by the crew, etc.

Finally, in July 1714, Boisloré got himself an attorney, in the person of Second-Lieutenant Francisco Gonzalez de Orendáin.

The **sixth document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. 6th copybook. Authentic transcript of the certificates of the ratifications by the witnesses examined in the summary investigation of this case, and the examination of others by way of proofs.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 17 July 1721.”

The **seventh document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. Copybook n° 7. Authentic transcript of the proofs presented on behalf of Monsieur Boisloré in the case of his arrival with the ship *Éclair* at the Province of Ilocos of these Islands.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 17 July 1721.”

## **J1. Letter from Captain Boisloré to Fray Pedro de Cascos, curate of Sinit, Ilocos, dated aboard the *Éclair* 20 November 1713**

*Note: This letter appears to have been written in Spanish, probably with the help of a Spanish passenger named Urquizo (see below). Fray Cascos was a Franciscan priest.*

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

*Muy Reverendo Padre.*

*Me alegro mucho aver llegado en un Puerto de su Jurisdiccion por ser Vuesa Reverendisima persona que me ha de dar buen pasaje siendo forzoso coger Puerto, por averme escapado de dos Navios Olandeces, estando mi Bagel muy maltratado, haziendo mucha agua, y no teniendo ningun platico [sic] de esta Ysla de Luconia, me vide muy apresurado, por ser ellos vaquianos de Manilla, y acoji la derota de la Isla Formosa, y como las corrientes son grandes no la pude grangear, sino esta ençenada en donde estoy, la qual me pareçe muy mal Puerto, y haviendome apeado en una grande encenada, topè a quatro Indios, y me hizieron merced de llevar dos mosos de mi vagel a la Cassa del Reverendo Padre Lector, y bolviendome encontre dos criados de Vuesa Reverencia con*

*un Capitan d'Infanteria los quales me dieron muchos cumplimientos de parte de Vuesa Reverencia. Estimo sus finezas, y me dijeron tenia un Puerto bueno al sur de esta ensenada en donde estoy, en el qual espero en oy, y estando mi Bagel en seguridad pasare a ponerme a la obediencia de Vuesa Reverencia, y bezarle las manos, y juntamente suplicarle, que seme dè lo que tubiere menester, viveres, y otras cosas por remiendo de mi Bagel pagando todo lo que Vuesa Reverencia mandare[.] tambien me haga el favor si se puede que tenemos la Missa los dias de fiesta y Domingo, mi Capellan se murio[.] Vuesa Reverencia vea si tengo alguna cossa de su gusto, y lo que tubiere menester de mi Navio selo embiare con muy buena voluntad, muy mortificado soy quando me dijeron estava con falta de salud, si necesita mi Doctor manda me Vuesa Reverencia, a quien Guarde Dios los infinitos años que deseo de este su Navio el Relampago veinte de Noviembre de mill setezientos y treçe.*

*Muy Reverendo Padre.*

*Beso la mano de Vuesa Reverencia su mas afecto servidor,  
Don Juan de Boislore.*

### **Translation.**

Very Reverend Father:

I am glad that I have arrived at a port of your jurisdiction, because Your Reverence is the person who must give me safeconduct, since I was forced to seek port, because I have escaped from two Dutch ships, and my ship is in very bad condition, leaking very much, and I have no coastal pilot of this Island of Luconia with me, so that I saw myself very much under pressure, as they are experts about/from Manila,<sup>1</sup> and so I chose the route via the Island of Formosa, but the currents were strong and I was unable to get past it, except for this bay where I am at present, which seems to me to be a very bad port. And, having come down from a large bay, I met with four Indians, and they did me the favor of leading two lads from my ship to the house of the Reverend Father Reader, and upon returning I met two servants of Your Reverence with an Infantry Captain, who welcomed me very warmly on behalf of Your Reverence. Thank you for your compliments. They told me that there was a good port south of the bay where I am now, where I am waiting for now, and as soon as my ship is in safety, I will go and place myself at the order of Your Reverence, and to kiss your hands, and at the same time to beg you to let me have some necessities, such as food supplies, and other things to refit my ship, paying whatever Your Reverence will order. Please do me this other favor, if possible, for us to have mass said on holidays and Sundays, as my chaplain has died. Your Reverence will see if I have something that may be of your pleasure, that can be found in my ship, and I will send it willingly. I am very sorry to hear that your health is not good. If you need my Doctor, Your Reverence need only order.

May God save you for infinite years, as I wish.

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1 Ed. note: Meaning unclear, but I think he refers to the Spaniard aboard his ship, Urquiso, who knew only about Manila Bay.



From this your ship *Relámpago*, 20 November 1713.

Very Reverend Father.

Your most affectionate servant who kisses the hand of Your Reverence,

Don Juan de Boisloré.

## J2. Letter from Captain Pedro Piñero, Mayor of the Province of Ilocos, dated Vigan 22 November 1713

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Illustre Señor Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Presidente Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas.*

*Señor.*

*Doy quenta a Vsseñoria como hallandome en los ultimos Pueblos de esta Provincia recaudando el Real aver de mi cargo tube notiçia de como un Patache de alto bordo surgio en una encenada de las costas de esta dha Provincia con lo qual luego al instante vino en compania de mi Antecesor (que tambien se hallava recaudando los restos de su tiempo en dhos Pueblos)] hasta el Pueblo de Baduc donde supe, que en frente de el como cosa de una legua se hallava dho Patache.*

*Y habiendo ido a èl y llegando a la playa hize disparar una Arma de fuego a cuya seña vino el vote a tierra, y en el Juntamente el Theniente del dho Patache y preguntandole que patache era aquel, me respondió ser de Françeses, y que su Capitan se llamava Don Juan de Boislore, y me aseguró ser gente de paz con lo qual haziendo el que se quedase en tierra en rehenes me embarque con el dho mi Antecesor en el dho Bote y fuymos a Bordo del dho Patache en donde luego que nos vio dho Capitan nos rezivio y agasajo haziendonos relazion como aviendo ydo a Comerçiar a la Ciudad de Canton y saliendo para su tornaviaje les sobrevino un temporal furioso que les obligo à venir a dar a estas costas, y dar fondo en el lugar donde estavan que lo dieron el dia diez y nueve del corriente que fue el mismo que yo lleguè al dho Patache siendo esto tan ageno de su animo si determinava yr a la Isla Hermosa, y a causa de los dhos vientos no pudieron conseguir, como tambien porque el dho Patache traiyan maltratado, segun me dijo que neçesita de galafatearlo y echarle asi mismo un palo que asi me lo pidio le abiare si hubiera oportunidad respecto de no hallarse con animos para yr [a] esa Ciudad por no encontrarse con Monciur Bonot [sic] porque de encontrarse se avian de apresar uno a otro por la mala obra que por el dho se le avia seguido en la Ciudad de Canton a donde me dijo corría que avía apresado algunos Champanes de China el susodho Bonoot sobre que les costó grandìçima difucultad, por cuya repugnancia, y siendo al presente tan favorables los tiempos que en dos dias pueden estar en esa Baya como por otras circunstancias que fuy notando sin embargo de averme asegurado ser Françeses porque aviendome sacado vino como lo acostumbra, y brindado yo a la salud de nuestro Rey, y Señor Phelipe quinto (que Dios guarde) en un vaso de vidrio, lo tirè a la Mar, a que me dijo el dho Capitan que no tenia mas que aquellos dos vasos, y aunque correspondió al brindis fue con tibieza, y entre otras relaciones que me hizo fue dezirme*

*de como veniendo del Peru pasó por las Islas Marianas en donde se vido con el Governador de ella, por cuya salud me preguntó, Assi mesmo advertí que ni al salir ni entrar me hizieron salud, ni dieron el buen viage que entre personales tales se acostumbra, así por buena política como por estilo de los Cavos militares: Motivos todos que me hizieron dudar si con [=son] Franceses como lo dizen porque si lo fuera no reparara en una cossa de tan poca monta[,] antes si hiziera demostraciones de regosijos. Ademas de esto en toda la Camara repare no tenian ymagen de Santo alguno sino un retrato al parecer de una Damisela. El dho Patache tiene la advocacion de Relampago y vienen en el ciento y quarenta hombres con la Gente de Mar que es la Guarnición que trae, todos mosos, y de buena dispoçision, y muy bien pertrechado con quarenta cañones de Artillería al parecer y otras armas de fuego, y cargado de diferentes generos, que trae de la dha Ciudad.*

*Y aunque quiciera determinar hazer alguna demostracion de pedirle la pattente y demas despachos que acostumbran traen los que pasan a reynos estraños, en cumplimiento de mi obligazion, halleme Señor sin modo de poder lo emprehender; porque en esta Provinzia solo se halla mi Antecesor, y seis, ó siete Españoles de quienes se puede confiar que de los naturales ay muy pocos por ser muy puçilanimos, y no tener armas suficientes, No obstante les tengo prevenidos por si intentaren alguna ostilidad, y así no determino hazer cosa alguna interin que VSeñoria me ordene en este despacho lo que fuere servido que sera lo mejor, y mas conveniente, si procurare agazajar a dho Capitan ofrezriendole todo lo que pudiere, y de entretenerle con buenos estilos, y con la pausa que fuere posible, para esperar la determinazion de VSeñoria, y obrar por el lo que debo executar.*

*Remito adjunta con esta una carta que el dho Capitan remitió al Muy Reverendo Padre Prior y Ministro del Pueblo y Partido de Sinait de esta dha Provincia fray Pedro de Cascos para que VSeñoria vea el contesto de ella: A cuyos piez quedo esperando ordenes de su servijio y rogando a su Divina Magestad le guarde muchos años como deseo.*

*Vigan y Noviembre veinte y dos de mill setecientos y treçe años.  
Beso la Mano de Vsseñoria su menor subdito, y servidor  
Pedro Piñero.*

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir, Count of Lizarraga, Don Martín de Ursua y Arismendi, President Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands.

Sir:

I report to Your Lordship that when I happened to be in the last towns of this Province collecting the Royal taxes in my care, I received the news that a patache from the high sea had anchored in a bay along the coast of this Province. I therefore immediately went, in the company of my predecessor (who was also collecting the remaining taxes due under his term of office in said towns) as far as the town of Badoc where I learned that said patache was found at about 1 league from there.

And having gone there, on my arrival at the beach I had one firearm fired, at which signal the boat came ashore, and aboard it was the Mate of said patache. I asked him which patache it was, and he answered me that it was from France, and that its Captain was named Don Juan de Boisloré, and he assured me that they came in peace. Hence, I had him stay ashore as a hostage, while I boarded the boat to go aboard said patache with my predecessor. As soon as the Captain saw us, he made us welcome and related to us how he had been trading at the City of Canton and, upon leaving on his return voyage, he was hit by a furious storm that forced them to come to these coasts, and anchor in the place where they were, which took place on the 19th of this month, which was the same day that I arrived at said patache. This arrival has been unintentional, as he had decided to go to the Island of Formosa but due to the winds he could not achieve it, also because said patache was in bad condition, according to what he told me, and needed to be caulked, and to have one mast replaced, and he asked me for one, in case I had the opportunity to supply him one, with respect to his not having the intention to go to that City, so as not to meet with Monsieur Bouynot, because if they were to meet face to face, one had to capture the other, on account of the bad procedures that said gentleman had experienced in the City of Canton, where he told me that there was a rumor to the effect that the above-mentioned Bouynot had captured some Chinese champans, about which they caused him very great difficulties. Because of this repugnance, and also because the weather is now so favorable that they could reach that bay [i.e. Manila] in two days, and because of other circumstances that I noticed to the effect that, notwithstanding what they assured me, that they were Frenchmen, because, when he pulled out some wine, as is usually done, and I having proposed a toast to the health of our King, Philip V (whom may God save) with a crystal glass, I threw mine overboard, upon which said Captain told me that he had no other glasses besides the two in question, and although he did respond to said toast, it was with a lukewarm manner. Among other narratives he told me that he had come from Peru and passed by the Mariana Islands, where he met their Governor, for whose health he asked me about. In addition, I noticed that they did not salute me, either at my arrival or departure, nor did they wish me Bon Voyage as is customary among such persons, not only for the sake of politeness but also because it is the custom of military officers. All such reasons made me doubt that they were Frenchmen, as they say they are, because if they were, they would not resent something of such small value, but instead they would have received me warmly. Besides, I looked around the whole of the cabin and did not see a single image of any Saint, but only one portrait that appeared to be that of a Damsel. Said patache bears the name of Relámpago [i.e. Éclair] and it is manned with 140 men, including the sailors, who are its official crew, all of them lads, and healthy-looking, and it is very well equipped with 40 cannon, artillery guns it seems, and other firearms, and loaded with various merchandises that it carries from said City.

And although I wished to find out a way to get him to show me the commission and other despatches that those who visit foreign places usually carry with them, to comply with my duty, I found myself, Sir, without the power to capture it, because in this

Province can be found only my predecessor, and 6 or 7 Spaniards whom I can trust, as there are few such natives, for most of them are pusillanimous, and there are not enough weapons. Nevertheless, I have placed them on the alert, in case they attempt some hostility, and so I decided not to do anything until Your Lordship orders me in this despatch what you think best, and most appropriate, whether I should welcome said Captain and offer him everything that I can, and to entertain him in good style, to detain him for as long as possible, until I receive the decision of Your Lordship, and put it into effect.

Enclosed please find a letter that said Captain sent to the Very Reverend Father Prior and Minister of the town and district of Sinaï of this Province, Fray Pedro de Cascos, so that Your Lordship may see its contents. I remain,

At the feet of Your Lordship, awaiting your orders and ready to serve you, and begging His Divine Majesty to save you for many years, as I wish.

Vigan, 22 November 1713.

Pedro Piñero.

[On 1 December, the Audiencia of Manila met but did nothing until they received another letter from Piñero, dated Vigan 3 December in which he excitedly relates how another sail had been seen and how he raised a company of local natives from Badoc and Sinaï to face the potential enemy, which he suspected was to join Captain Boisloré.]

### J3. Letter from Gabriel Francisco de Urquiza, a passenger aboard the *Éclair*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Illustre Señor Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas.*

*Muy Illustre Señor.*

*Aunque tube siempre por de mi obligazion el dar notiçia a VSeñoria de el arrivo a este Puerto y sitio de Solosolo con el Navio de el cargo de Don Juan Bulure [sic] de nazione frances, el no ser practico en estas Islas ni hallar ocasion de despacho para esa Ciudad ha sido causa de la dilazion. aora que con la llegada de el Reverendisimo Padre Provinzial de San Augustin a esta Cavezera de Vigan y façilitarme la direccion de esta a Vseñoria le doy notiçia de que el dho Navio surto en el Puerto dho; llego a la Ciudad de Canton a ultimos de Julio de este año y hallandome yo en dha Ciudad supe el que salio del Reyno del Peru con deçinio de emplear, y surtirse de generos en dha Ciudad para con ellos bolver al Peru.] executolo todo; y a prinçipios de Noviembre se dio a la vela con animo de coger Puerto en las Islas Marianas para con monson favorable executar su destino. Yo Señor por lograr alguna conveniencia viendome atrazado en dha Ciudad de Canton me embarque en el sin plaza, solo de pasajero. Desde dho tiempo por diligencias que hizieron los tiempos no dieron lugar a pasar adelante, por lo qual*

*prezisado dho Capitan tomó este Puerto. La Gente que dho Navio trae son çien personas todos de nazion françes menos quatro Marineros, y tres mosos que son Perule-ros gente que en el se trasporto de el navio Reyna que de estas Islas pasó a dha Ciudad[.] dho Navio tiene treinta y quatro cañones de fierro de diez y ocho a veinte y quatro de calibre[.] tiene buenas y bastantes Armas de escopeteria[.] estan en animo de esperar la monson para salir, y porque discurren que no lo podrán executar hasta Abril determinan echar en tierra el carguio del navio. No tienen Capellan porque en Canton se ahogó[.] esto es quanto puedo informar a VSeñoria; y por lo que a mi toca espero me mande VSeñoria como fuere servido.*

*No supe en Canton novedad de Europa çierta pues aunque en dho Puerto se hallavan quatro Navios Ingleçes comprando generos, no davan notiçia alguna solo si dezian efectuaron las pazes, pero no mostraron instrumento de ello[.] El Navio Reyna tubo con los Mandarines de Canton contradiccion bastante para salir[.] deziase que por haver apresado Monsiur Bonot hacienda de los Chinas, por ultimo vençio las dificultades y con testimonio que dio a los Mandarines para resguardo salio para la Françia. La Ciudad de Canton y sus contornos quedan con neçesidad en los mantenimientos, de tal suerte que son muchos los que de hambre mueren. Sin embargo de estar de aquella suerte hize provizion vastante este navio en que vengo de mantenimiento para catorce mezes.*

*La Divina Magestad Guarde VSeñoria muchos años para amparo de pobres.  
Bantay, y Diziembre tres de mill setezientos y treze años.  
Muy Illustre Señor.  
Besa los piez de VSeñoria su criado  
Gabriel Franzisco de Urquizu*

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir, Don Martín de Ursua y Arismendi, Governor and Captain General of these Islands.

Most Illustrious Sir:

Although I always realized that it was my duty to report to Your Lordship about my arrival at this port and place of Solosolo<sup>1</sup> with the ship commanded by Don Juan Bulure [sic], of French nationality. The delay was caused by my not being a coastal pilot of these Islands and because there was no opportunity to made a despatch for that city, until now, with the arrival at this capital of Vigan of the Father Provincial of the Augustinians, who was able to provide me with the address of Your Lordship. I report to you that said ship, now anchored in said port, arrived at the City of Canton at the end of July of this year. As I was myself in said City, I learned that he has left from the Kingdom of Peru with the plan to purchase and supply himself with goods in said City in order to return to Peru with them. He did so, and at the beginning of November he set sail with the intention of making port in the Mariana Islands, to await the favorable

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1 Ed. note: Solotsolot is said to be located 5 leagues from Vigan (see HM11: 572).

monsoon winds to carry out his plan. As for me, Sir, in order to gain some advantage, since I had wasted too much time at said City of Canton, I boarded it without a position, but only as a passenger.<sup>1</sup> From that time on, no matter how many efforts were made to make progress, the weather did not allow it. That is why said Captain was forced to seek this port. The men of said ship are 100 persons, all of French nationality, except for 4 sailors and 3 ship's boys who are Peruvians who had been aboard the ship **Reyna**<sup>2</sup> which went on from these Islands to said City. Said ship has 34 iron guns whose calibers are from 18 to 20 pounds. It has a good and sufficient supply of firearms of the shotgun type. They intend to wait for the monsoon before leaving, and because they discuss that they will not be able to do so before April, they intend to unload the cargo of the ship. They do not have a chaplain, because the one they had was drowned at Canton. This is all I have to report to Your Lordship, and as far as I am concerned, I remain at the disposal of Your Lordship to do with me as you please.

At Canton I did not learn any certain news from Europe; indeed, although there were found 4 English ships buying goods, they did not give any news, except to say that peace had been re-established, but they did not show any document to prove it. The ship **Reyna** was involved with some dispute with the Mandarins of Canton, that prevented its departure. It was said that it was because Monsieur Bouynot had seized some Chinese property. Finally it overcame the difficulties and, after it provided a certificate of good behavior to the Mandarins, it left for France. The City of Canton and its vicinity remain with food shortages, such that there are many who die of hunger. However, in spite of it all, this ship made enough provisions to last for 14 months.

May the Divine Majesty save Your Lordship for many years, for the protection of the poor.

Bantay, 3 December 1713.

Most Illustrious Sir.

Your servant who kisses the feet of Your Lordship,  
Gabriel Francisco de Urquizu.

#### **J4. First order given by Governor Ursua to Captain Piñero, dated Manila 18 December 1713**

*Note: Piñero is to trick the Frenchmen and their goods ashore, the better to seize them... legally, it is said.*

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

*Señor Capitan Don Pedro Piñero.*

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- 1 Ed. note: His saying that Boisloré intended to go back to Guam was probably a white lie on the part of Urquiso, because he could later pretend that his plan was to catch the galleon there to return to Manila, rather than escape from some obligation by fleeing to Peru.
  - 2 Ed. note: This was the French ship Grande-Reine-d'Espagne, Captain Brunet.

*Tengo rezividas dos de Vmerced en que me da quenta haver llegado a uno de los Pueblos de esa Provinçia un Navio franzes cuyo Capitan se nombra Don Juan Buylore que dize viene de Canton con mercadurias con que no pudo proseguir su viage, y arri-  
vó necesitado de aderezo a estas costas y en atenzion a que hasta aora no ha dado razon a este Gobierno de su persona y ser prohibidos semejantes Navios mercantiles por repe-  
tidas Zedulas Reales y que fue fingido el motivo de aver aportado en esa costa segun la  
segunda carta de Vuesa merçed le notificará luego que reziva esta, que se haga a la vela,  
y prosiga su viage, ó venga por lo que hubiere menester al Puerto de Cavite adonde sin  
faltar al cumplimiento de la Real Voluntad será asistido de lo que neçesitare para su  
abio. Y en caso de no executar lo procurará con sagacidad coger en tierra al Capitan ó  
al Factor y con buena Guardia me lo remiterá y si pudiere sea vengan entrambos y del  
rezivo de esta Carta orden testimonio, con incercion a la letra de su contenido, y sea  
con la mayor brevedad dandome quenta de lo que nuevamente acayziere, y si se hu-  
biere buuelto a ver, o ay alguna notiçia del Navio que se vio el dia veinte y seis de No-  
viembre proximo pasado por convenir al servicio de su Magestad.*

*La Divina Guarde a Vmerced muchos años.*

*Manila y Diziembre diez y ocho de mill setezientos y treze.*

*La notificazion se ha de hazer luego, y reconoçiendose que no se vienen sino que tra-  
tan de poner en tierra su carga de que se me ha dado notizia por otra persona no solo  
se le permitirá, sino que sele ayudará con Gente pagandola para que quanto antes con-  
cluya, sin mostrar disgusto por la inobediencia procurando con el agasajo fazilitar se  
vengan à la Cavezera y haziendo los referidos Capitan y Factor ó el Piloto mayor dara  
Vmerced abizo, y pudiendo execute la prision y remision como llevo dicho guardando  
tal secreto que ni su escriviente de Vmerced seà notiçioso, ni Religioso ni otra ninguna  
persona en que consiste el logro de la diligencia[.] espero que cumpliendo Vmerced con  
sus obligaciones haga este particular servicio a su Magestad, que de mi parte tendré  
muy presente para sus adelantamientos.*

*Y prevengo que si una vez echada la carga en tierra, ó parte de ella por algun ac-  
cidente la quiçieren bolver a embarcar no se le permita de ningun modo y pues es  
Vmerced dueño de la tierra[.] tendra la devida prevenzion para este caso ut supra.*

*El Conde de Lizarraga.*

### **Translation.**

To Captain Pedro Piñero.

I have received two letters from Your Grace, by which you report to me that a French ship whose Captain is named Don Juan Boylore has arrived at one of the towns of that Province, and that he says that he comes from Canton with merchandise with which he could not pursue his voyage, and was pressed by weather to arrive at these coasts. Given that he has not yet reported his presence to this Government, and that such trading ships are forbidden by repeated Royal decrees, and that the reason of his arrival on that coast was faked, according to the second letter of Your Grace, you are to notify him as

soon as the present is received, to set sail and pursue his voyage, or to come and get what he might need at the port of Cavite where, without contravening the Royal will, he will be assisted with necessities for his outfitting. And, in case he refuses, you are to try by astute means to catch him, or his supercargo, ashore, and send him to me with a good escort; and if possible, try and catch both of them and send them to me. You are to acknowledge receipt of this letter, and record your proceedings, placing a literal transcript of the present at the beginning of it, and as soon as possible send me a report of all of the occurrences, also if the ship that was sighted on the 26 of November last was spotted again, or if there are news about it, for such would be in the interest of the service of His Majesty.

May the Divine Majesty save Your Grace for many years.

Manila, 18 December 1713.

[P.S.] The notification must be done later, and upon finding out that they do not come but instead they try and put their cargo ashore, about which I have received notice from another person, not only are you to allow it, but you are to help them with men, paying them so that this be concluded as soon as possible, without showing any displeasure if they do not obey, by trying with kindness to facilitate their visit to the capital. Should the above-mentioned Captain and Supercargo, or the Chief Pilot do so, Your Grace is to advise me, or if you can, you are to carry out their arrest and transfer as said previously. Your Grace is to keep this matter secret, even from your own clerk, and from any Religious or any other person; the success of this venture lies in it. I hope that Your Grace will comply with your duties and make this special favor to serve His Majesty, and on my part I will keep it very much in mind toward any future advancements of your career.

And I warn you that once the cargo is ashore, even part of it, if for any reason they wish to reload it, you are not to allow it in any way, because indeed Your Grace is master ashore, and are to keep in mind what was said above.

The Count of Lizarraga.

## J5. Royal decree dated Madrid 20 May 1712

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey.*

*Por quanto teniendo presente los sumos perjuicios[,] atracos, y menoscabos que se han seguido a mi Real hacienda y al universal comersio de mis vasallos de la continua y fraudalosa contratacion en los Puertos de las Indias. He tenido por bien de ordenar en distintos tiempos, y por repetidas Reales Zedulas a mis Virreyes de el Peru y la Nueva España Presidentes Governadores, y demas Ministros que agajasen(?) vigilasen tan pernicioso abuso castigando a los trangresores de las Leyes, y ultimas Zedulas expedidas con el rigor que se previne por ellas. Y porque se tiene entendido no obstante las providencias dadas a este fin se continuan las introduciones de todo genero de mercade-*



*rias, y en algunos Puertos con diferentes palidos pretextos de que se valen asi los introductores como los que deven vigilar y poner en practica y puntual observanzia las leyes y mis Reales posteriores resoluciones con cuyo cauteloso motivo se abientan los Mercaderes de Europa extrangeros a continuar esta iliçita navegazion segun lo acredita el que enterado el Rey christianisimo mi abuelo de que algunos negoçiantes franzeçses hazian fletar muchas embarcaziones para embiarlas al Mar del Sur y no quiriendo su Magestad Cristiana permitir este Comercio me ha partiçipado a embiado sus ordenes a todos los Puertos de Françia para embargar los Navios en que pareçiese se cargavan Mercaderias y se pudiese sospechar de ellos esta navegazion resolviendo no levantar el embargo hasta que los referidos negociantes diesen seguridad suficièntes de que no pasarian al mar del Sur y aviendose savido ultimamente que sin embargo de las ordenes, y providençias dadas por el Señor Rey Cristiano para embarazar este ilicito Comercio no solo no han suspendido el apresto sino es que antes bien en el Puerto de Marzella continuan en cargar y apromptar siete Navios para conducirlos a las Indias solicitando el Comercio y negoçiendo de dho Puerto, que Jinoveses se intereçen en esta contratazion en porçion considerable de generos para su carga y que con efecto ban dando ya prinçipio à ella remitiendo a este fin de Genova al referido Puerto de Marsilla, mill y quinientos Balones de Papel y siendo preçiso ocurrir por todas fas formas y rigores al reparo de tan grave daño embarazando el iliçito Comercio; he resuelto à consulta de mi Consejo de las Indias de primero de Marzo de este año y por Decreto de dos de Abril de el ordenar y mandar (como por la presente ordeno, y mando) a mis Virreyes de el Peru y Nueva España Presidentes y Oydores de mi Audiencia Reales Ofiziales de mi hazienda, y Governadores de los Reynos, observen guarden y executen todo lo prevenido en las Leyes anteriores Zedulas que se les han dirigido, y dirigen en la presente ocazion y que por ningun motibo rezivan ni permitan entrar en los Puertos de su Jurisdiccion los referidos Navios (ni otro alguno) de ninguna nazione a comerciar ni cometer el mas infimo fraude estando advertido que lo contrario serà de mi Real desagrado y que passare a tomar la mas severa resoluzion que corresponda a su inobediencia, ó maliciosa simulacion pues ya no les queda la mas leva disculpa para admitir los con ningun fingido pretesto, ni patente, ni por otra causa, motivo, ni razon que no resulto expresamente de mis Reales ordenes, y despachos.*

*Fecha en Madrid a veinte de Mayo de mill setecientos y doze.*

*Yo el Rey.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

Whereas there have been many prejudices, damages, and detriments done to my Royal finances and to the global trade of my vassals by the continuous and fraudulent trade taking place in the ports of the Indies: I have thought it fit at various times and by repeated Royal decrees to order my Viceroys in Peru and New Spain, the Presidents Governors, and other Ministers to please(?) take care to punish such pernicious abuses by those who transgress the Laws, and recent Decrees issued with the rigor that is

foreseen in them. And because it is understood that in spite of the provisions given for this purpose, the introductions of all sorts of merchandises continue, and in some of the ports with various pallid excuses that are being used, not only by the introducers but also by those who must watch out and put into practice and timely observance the laws and my latest Royal decisions. With guarded motives such as these, some foreign merchants from Europe have managed to continue these illicit voyages, as proven by news received from the Most Christian King, my grandfather, to the effect that some French traders were outfitting many vessels in order to send them to the South Sea, and since His Christian Majesty did not permit this commerce, he has let me know that he has issued orders that were sent to all the ports of France, to embargo the ships that seem to be loading merchandise and might be suspected of planning these voyages, by deciding not to lift said embargo until said traders give enough assurance that they will not pass to the South Sea. Lately, it has been learned that in spite of the orders, and provisions issued by the Christian King to prevent this illicit trade, not only has this kind of voyage not stopped but rather in the port of Marseille they continue to load and make ready seven ships in order to send them to the Indies, to solicit commerce and trade from said port, that some Genoese are interested in this commerce by providing a considerable portion of the goods for their cargo and that, in fact, they have already begun to remit from Genoa to said port of Marseille for this purpose 1,500 bales of paper.

Since it is necessary to repair such great damage by all means and apply rigor to hinder illicit trade: I have decided, after consulting my Council of the Indies on the 1st of March of this year and by Decree of the 2nd of April, to order (as I do by the present) to my Viceroys in Peru and New Spain, Presidents and Members and Treasury Officials of my Royal Audiencia, and Governors of the Kingdoms, to observe, obey and carry out everything that was provided in the Laws and previous decrees that have been sent to them in the past, and are sent to them on this occasion, and that for no reason whatever, are they to admit or permit the entrance of the ports under their jurisdiction to the above-mentioned ships (or to any other) of any nation to trade, nor commit the smallest fraud, and let them be warned that they will incur my Royal displeasure if they do otherwise, and that I will go on to punish severely any disobedience, or malicious simulation; indeed, they now have not the least excuse whatever to admit them under contrived pretexts, or commissions, or for other reasons or excuses, unless they be the result of my express Royal orders, and despatches.

Made at Madrid on the 20th of May 1712.

## **J6. Order given to Captain Boisloré**

### **Original text in French.**

*En el Puerto de Solotsolot terminos del Pueblo de Cabugao en veinte y seis dias del dho mes y año Yo el presente escrivano en conformidad de lo mandado por el Auto de la buelta preveydo por el Señor Capitan Don Pedro de Piñero Alcalde mayor, y Capi-*

*tan de guerra por su Magestad de esta Provincia de Ilocos en virtud de Carta orden de su Señoria el Señor Conde de Lizarraga Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas, ley notifiquè, y di a entender lo en el contenido al Capitan Don Juan Boislóre que lo es del navio de los Françeses que se halla surto en este dho Puerto[,] en preçençia del dho Señor Alcalde mayor, y el Ayudante Juan Baptista de Olayta que lo es actual del Real Terçio, y campo que milita en la Ciudad de Manila de estas dhas Islas, y aviendolo oydo y entendido Dixo, y respondió que daria su respuesta por escrito, y para que asi conste, lo puse por diligència de lo qual doy fee.*

*Francisco Hidalgo escrivano publico.*

### **Translation.**

In the port of Solotsolot within the boundaries of the town of Cabugao, on the 26th of said month and year, I, the present notary, in compliance with the order appearing overleaf in this record, provided by Captain Pedro de Piñero, Mayor and Captain for War for His Majesty in this Province of Ilocos, as a result of a written order from His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, President Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, I read, notified and gave to understand the contents of it to Captain Juan Boislóre, who is captain of the French ship presently anchored in this port, in the presence of said Mayor. and Adjutant Juan Bautista de Olayta who belongs to the Royal regiment and camp based in the City of Manila in these Islands. After he had heard and understood, he Declared and answered that he would give his answer in writing, and in faith whereof, I here affix my signature.

Francisco Hidalgo, Notary public.

## **J7. Letters from Captain Boislóre, December 1713**

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

*Al Capitan Don Pedro de Piñera.*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Alegrareme ayga Vmerced llegado con bien a esa su casa, remito a Vmerced la respuesta para su Señoria, y estimarè que me haga gusto mandar que se trasduçe uno tanto de lo que me ha notificado Vmerced, de parte de su Señoria con el Ayudante y me lo embie Vmerced, quedo esperando las ordenes de Vmerced cuya vida guarde Dios los muchos años que deseo.*

*Solosolo y su Cassa a veinte y siete de Diziembre de mill setezientos y treçe.*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Besa la Mano de Vmerced su mas afecto servidor*

*Don Juan de Boislóre*

*Doy Respuesta a la que VSeñoria me embio a notificar que fue el veinte y seis del corriente de este año en el Puerto de Solosolo en la Isla de Luzon por las cinco, y media de la tarde por el Alcalde mayor Don Pedro de Piñera acompañado del Ayudante mayor*

*de VSeñoria y Escrivano de Vigan Provincia de Ilocos los quales me notificaron de parte de VSeñoria, que yo prosigue mi viage; ó de no pasarme al Puerto de Cavitef.] me alegrará mucho ser en estado de ponerme a la vela, y fuera de muy buena gana por tener la fortuna de ponerme a su obediencia, y gozar del amable compania de VSeñoria, un dia alla no me durará tanto como aqui una minutof,] he menester un mes y medio para componer mi Bagel que esta muy maltratado lo primero esta desarmado sin harcial ni masteleros, ni velas, como un navio que esta en un Puerto para un año, y lo principal es las cadenas de harcias del trinquete que estan quebradas casi todas de un lados, y por eso mande echar mi fragoa [read cargo] en tierra para alinearlas y tambien mi dos masteleros se hallan muy maltratados, no los puedo pasar hasta que se compone todos, y demas tengo que registrar mi Bodega de bajo del laestre por donde entra la Aguaf.] VSeñoria tiene vastante conocimiento de Nabio por obligarme a una cosa imposible y viendo en el estado en que estoyf.]*

*En el Puerto de Soso a veinte y ocho de Diziembre de mil setezientos y treçe años.  
Don Juan de Boislore.*

### **Translation.**

To Captain Don Pedro de Piñera.

My dear Sir:

I would be happy to hear that Your Grace got home safely. I am sending to Your Grace the answer for His Lordship, and I would be grateful if you were pleased to send me a translation of the paper that Your Grace read to me on behalf of His Lordship with the Adjutant and if Your Grace would send it to me. I remain in hope of receiving the orders of Your Grace, whose life may God save for as many years, as I wish.

Solosolo and your home, on the 27th of December 1713.

My dear Sir.

Your most affectionate servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Don Juan de Boisloré

I give an answer to what Your Lordship sent me as a notification, which took place on the 26th of this month and year in the port of Solosolo in the Island of Luzon, at about 5:30 p.m., by the Mayor, Don Pedro de Piñera, accompanied by the senior Adjutant of Your Lordship and the Notary of Vigan, Province of Ilocos, who notified me on behalf of Your Lordship for me to pursue my voyage, or else to go to the port of Cavite. I would be very happy to oblige, if only I were able to set sail, and I wish I were lucky enough to be able to pay my respects to, and enjoy the friendly company of Your Lordship. One day there would pass as quickly for me as one minute here. I need one and a half months to repair my ship which is in very bad condition; firstly, it is unrigged, without masts or sails, like a ship that will be in port for one year, but the main problem is with the shrouds(?) of the rigging of the foresail that are almost all broken on one side, and that is why I had my cargo put ashore in order to line them up and also my two masts are in very bad condition, but I cannot re-install them until they are all

repaired, and the rest as well. I have to inspect my hold below the ballast to find out where the water is coming in. Your Lordship is knowledgeable enough about ships not to oblige me to do something impossible, given the condition that I am in.

In the port of Soso, 28 December 1713.

Don Juan de Boisloré.

[Following a direct order from the Governor, on 6 January 1714, the Mayor of Ilocos went to the port of Solotsolot with a small armed band to prevent the re-loading of goods aboard the *Éclair*, under the pretext that they had been unloaded without permission. They found no-one ashore and withdrew to the village of Lapog, located half a league from the port in question, and a dependency of the town of Bantay. Piñero left part of his troop there, with an order for the capture of any Frenchman, and he returned to Vigan. As for the four Peruvian sailors from Lima being kept on board the *Éclair*, it was alleged that, being Spanish subjects, they were illegally kept prisoners against their will, although their belongings were similarly embargoed ashore.]

## J8. Five letters from Captain Boisloré, January 1714

### Original translations into Spanish.

[A.] *Al Capitan Don Pedro de Piñera*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Oy se me huyo un tercero Piloto con unos de mis criados, que es tocador de (la) flauta, me han asegurado que el nombrado Don Nicolas Medrano de la Cavezera, y Morales de Lapa, estos eran que les han aviado de Cavallos y que han llevado su ropa[,] este Piloto lleva gran porçion de plata a muchos particulares y demas estoy cargado por papel del Presidente del Reyno de Chile, que me lo remitió, por haverse huydo de otro Bagel, con orden de llevarlo, y conducirlo en Françia segun la Zedula del Rey de España, que todos Alcaldes Governadores, que no daran la mano para prender, a los que se quedan seran castigados, que sino hubiera esta orden los Navios se quedaran sin Gente, y no pudieran porseguir sus viajes. La experiençia que tengo de Vmerced, y que le conosco por hombre de punto, espero que Vmerced me los mandará prender, por ellos no puedo escapar de esta para sin que Vmerced lo halle, que si no Vmerced le cargo de los inconvenientes que me pudieran suceder, ayer por las once de la noche se huyeron, prometo a Vmerced que yo no saldré de aqui sin ellos y dos otros que son mulatos Españoles y los otros dos Francois. Vuelbo a repetir a Vmerced que si me sucede alguna cosa en su Provinçia me ha de responder de todo, es contra la ley de Dios, de rezivir gente que por su Bellaqueria se huyan; quedo rogando a Dios que Guarde a Vmerced los infinitos años que deseof.]*

*Solosolo, y Henero diez y siete de mill setecientos, y catorce.*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Besa la mano de Vmerced su mayor servidor*

*Don Juan de Boislore*

[B.] *Al Capitan Don Pedro de Piñera.*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Rezivi de Vmerced y el modo con que me escribe lo he estrañado mucho viendo a Vmerced tan empeñado por unos esclavos que havian dejado su navio en Canton y por muchas instançias que me hizo el Padre Comisario de los Françiscanos los embarque para hazer la funçion de Marineros[.] aora dize Vmerced que no son en mi Dominio, y que son Pasajeros de esta manera que me pagan como pasajeros, no ignora Vmerced las ordenes del Rey de Franzia, y de España que ni Marineros, ni qualquier otro no se puede desembarcar sin liçenzia del Capitan[.] Si Vmerced me hubiera pedido el permiso para que se quedasen no se lo havia de negar: Es posible Señor mío que un hombre de punto como a Vmerced obra conmigo de esta manera; ya sabe Vmerced que no lo he agraviado, ni faltado la atenzion que le devo, mucho he sentido que Vmerced ayga andado de esta forma, no era en motivo para [j]untar en todos los Pueblos los Indios por venir hazerme cosa mala y haviendose Vmerced puesto en marcha con ellos para pasarse aquí de repente, no quedo sospechar cosa buena, ya tengo dicho a Vmerced que yo no vengo para hazer guerra que soy Amigo, y tambien Vasallos del Rey Phelipe Quinto mi Señor ni vengo tampoco para Comerçiar, solamente aderezar mi vagel que no le falta mucho y con el favor de Dios espero en pocos dias hablar al Señor Presidente.*

*No me dize Vmerced en su Carta que embiara buscar los dos françeses que se me han huydo[.] no mas dize que no quedaran en su Provinçia. Tocante a estos dos mulatos lí menos que Vmerced dize me embiarà un Rezivo para que conste en la Cassa de Contrat[ac]ion ó a sus amos como se han quedado aqui. Buelvo a repetir a Vmerced que el estilo como me ha escrito no se usa entre gente honrrado. Sepa Vmerced que yo soy Capitan General por su Magestad y [a] una persona como yo no se escriba asi. Discurre no tendria Vmerced papel por ser fuera de su Cassa, si Vmerced me honrra de una respuesta, no estraña Vmerced este pliego blanco, que le remito, y si necesitare (de) alguna cosa por el serviçio de Vmerced mandemef[.] estare siempre dispuesto para rezivir sus ordenes, suplico a Vmerced me haga gusto, de embiarme dos vacas para el Sabado, y veinte çestos de Arros pilado blanco.*

*Guarde nuestro Señor los infinitos años que deseo.*

*Solosolo, y Henero diez y ocho de mill setecientos y catorce.*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Besa la Mano de Vmerced su mas afecto servidor*

*Don Juan de Boislore*

[C.] *Don Pedro Piñera*

*Muy Señor mío*

*Siendo de proximo para salir de este Puerto, y seguir mi derotta para Manila que serà dentro de ocho dias soliiçito por medio de estos renglones el que Vmerced me haga gusto de embiarme la quenta de lo que me ha entregado, y el monto de ellas, aqui va la memoria de los generos que remiteis a Vmerced[.] primeramente:*

*—Cinco baras de terciopelo carmey [rather carmes!]*

- *Un canon*
- *Un escritorio*
- *Tres pares de medias de seda de muger*
- *Una pieza de Lampaso*
- *Una pieza de Damasco*
- *Una pieza de Lines*
- *Una pieza de Sayas dobles*
- *Dos caxetas de caray*
- *Quatro pares de medias de seda para hombre*
- *Dos piezas de Damasco*
- *Dos piezas de brocato ancho, al uso de Europa*
- *Dos piezas de Brocatillos*

*Es quanto se ofreçe dezir a Vmerced, y que me falta el criado que se me huyo, que esta en su poder[,] el otro esta a bordo[.]*

*Guarde Dios à Vmerced los muchos años que deseo.*

*Henero veinte y dos de mill setezientos y catorçe.*

*Besa la Mano de Vmerced su servidor*

*Don Juan de Boislore*

*[D.] Al Capitan Don Pedro de Piñera*

*Muy Señor mio*

*Rezivi la de Vmerced su fha de veinte y dos del corriente, visto lo contenido, veo como Vmerced se repiente por haver escuchado, y enterado en las menthiras de persona que le metian a Vmerced en mal estado y le aseguro, no hubiera safado sin mucho trabajo, ponía Vmerced en contingenzia la muerte de los Españoles con el Françeses, y demas que estamos las dos coronna tan unidos, digo la España y Françia que todo es uno[,] a esta oy no se havia visto ni oydo desde el prinçipio del Mundo.*

*No me dize Vmerced que embiara prender mi criado para remitirmelo, me han dicho que havia ido en su Cassa, y en lo del Señor Vicario General a dezirle mentiras este dho Criado[.] me haze falta demas un criado que se huye, y que tiene a cargo lo que el tenia[,] esta averiguado picaro embustero[.] el tiene escrito a gente de mi vagel que Vmerced le avia embiado cavallos con Don Nicolas Medrano, para llevarle, estimarè que embie el Escrivano de la Provinçia con las dos llave de las caxas de estos dos Mulatos peruleros, y verà Vmerced que son drogueros, no digo mas; ayer le remiti la Memoria de los generos que le he entregado pidiendo à Vmerced la quenta y el monto de los refresco[s] que me ha embiado porque estoy de proximo para salir.*

*Es quanto se ofreçe dezir a Vmerced, cuya vida Guarde Dios muchos años.*

*Solocsoloc, y Henero veinte y tres de mill setezientos y catorçe años.*

*Muy Señor mio*

*Besa la mano de Vmerced su mas afecto servidor*

*Don Juan de Boislore*

[E.] *Amigo y Señor mío*

*Me alegrare que tenga Vmerced salud que deseo, la mia se la ofresco para todo quanto me quiciere mandar. Remito con el portador ese corto regalo[,] me [h]olgar[í]a tener otra cossa.*

*Cinco baras de terciopelo carmesí*

*Una pieza Damasco*

*Una pieza Lines*

*Una pieza sayal [sic]*

*Un Escritorio*

*Un Cañon*

*Tres pares de medias de hombre*

*Tres pares de muger*

*Dos Caxetas [de carey (see below)]*

*Tambien remito a Vmerced una carta para su Señoria[.] estimo la encamine por la primera ocazion, que se ofreciere[.] Suplico a Vmerced me haga favor mandar al Viejo que remite las tres bacas que deje alla, y mande que me entrega dos bacas, cada semana, y doce fanigas de Arros para mi gente esperando que se junte la cantidad que he menester, es quanto se ofrece, guarde Dios a Vmerced los infinitos años que deseo[.] de este su Navio el Relampago y Henero veinte y seis de mill setecientos y trece [sic].*

*Muy Señor mio*

*Besa la mano de Vmerced su mas afecto servidor.*

*Don Juan de Boislore*

*Al Capitan Don Pedro de Piñera.*

[P.S.]

*Al Señor Provisor que le beso las manos me holgare tenga una caval salud.*

***Razon y precios de los generos que el Capitan embio de regalo en retorno:***

<i>—Cinco baras de Terciopelo @ tres pesos y medio la bara que hacen dies y siete pesos y quatro reales .....</i>	<i>17p 4r</i>
<i>—Un Cañon de Escopeta por dies pesos .....</i>	<i>10p</i>
<i>—Un Caxoncillo por dos pesos .....</i>	<i>2p</i>
<i>—Una pieza de Lampaso por veinte y tres pesos .....</i>	<i>23p</i>
<i>—Una pieza de Damasco por dies y ocho pesos .....</i>	<i>8p</i>
<i>—Un pieza de Lines por quatro pesos .....</i>	<i>4p</i>
<i>—Una pieza de sayasaya por quatro pesos .....</i>	<i>4p</i>
<i>—Quatro pares de Medias de Zeda de hombres a tres pesos par, que hacen doce pesos .....</i>	<i>12p</i>
<i>—Tres pares de medias de Zeda para muger a peso y quatro tomnes el par hazen quatro pesos y quatro reales .....</i>	<i>4p 4r</i>
<i>—Dos Caxetas de Carey a dos pesos hazen .....</i>	<i>4p</i>
<i>—Un par de Calcetas por quatro Reales .....</i>	<i>0p 4r</i>
<i>—Un par de chinelas por un pesos .....</i>	<i>1p</i>



—Un frasco de Azeite de Castilla por quatro pesos .....	4p
—Perdegones y Piedras de Escopeta dos pesos .....	2p
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	106p 4r
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*De estas se rebaxaron dos piezas de Damasco dos de brocados, y dos de brocatillos que se me entrego por manos del Escrivano publico de esta Provincia.*

*Y se quedo en este estado[.] esta quenta respecto de los precios que en el menciona y de ello doy fee.*

*Hidalgo.*

***Razon de los Bastimentos que ha recibido el Señor Capitan Juan de Boislore:  
Primeramente.***

—Quatro Cextos de Arros para las gallinas a quatro reales .....	2p
—Dos Cextos de Arros Pilado a ocho reales .....	2p
—Una Baca .....	2p 4r
—Una Ternera .....	1p 4r
—Veinte Cestos de Arros Pilado a ocho rreales .....	20p
—Dies y seis Cestos y medio de Arros Pilado a ocho reales .....	16p 4r
—Dies Cestos dho Arros .....	10p
—Dos terneras a doce reales .....	3p
—Dos Vacas a veinte reales .....	5p
—Dies Cestos de Arros pilado a ocho rreales .....	10p
—Cinquenta pollos a medio real .....	3p 1r
—Tres Vacas a veinte reales .....	7p 4r
—Una Ternera .....	1p4r
—Dos Cestos de Arros Pilado .....	2p
—Cinquenta pollos a medio real .....	3p 1r
—Una Ternera .....	1p 4r
—Por legumbres y verduras .....	4r
—Por Dos Cestos de Arros a quatro reales .....	1p
—Por Cien Bejucos .....	1r
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	92p 7r
	-----

**Translations.**

[A.] To Captain Don Pedro de Piñera.

My dear Sir:

Today my third pilot has fled with one of my servants, the one who is a fifer. I have been told that someone named Don Nicolas Medrano de la Cavezera, and also Morales de Lapa, were the ones who have supplied them with horses, and that they have left with their belongings. This pilot took with him a large portion of money from many

individuals. Furthermore, I have with me a written note from the President of the Kingdom of Chile, who had entrusted him to me, because he had fled from another ship, and had asked me to take him away with me as far as France, in accordance with the decree of the King of Spain, for all Mayors, and Governors, to apprehend those, and to punish those who stay behind; without this order the ships would soon find themselves without a crew, and could not pursue their voyages. The experience that I have of Your Grace is that I know you to be a man of honor. I hope that Your Grace will order their arrest, as without them I cannot escape from here, unless Your Grace finds them; otherwise, Your Grace will be responsible for the problems that might occur. They fled last night at 11 p.m. I promise to Your Grace that I will not depart from here without them, and two others who are Spanish mulattos, the other two being Frenchmen. Once again I repeat to Your Grace that if something happens to me in your Province, you will be responsible for everything. It is against the law of God to welcome people who flee out of wickedness. I remain, praying God to save Your Grace for infinite years as I wish.

Solosolo, 17 January 1714.

My dear Sir:

Your greatest servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Don Juan de Boisloré

[B.] To Captain Don Pedro de Piñera.

My dear Sir:

I received the note of Your Grace but have been much surprised by your manner of writing and how upset you are about some slaves who had left their ship at Canton; it was as a result of many instances made to me by the Father Commissioner of the Franciscans that I took them on board to serve as sailors. Now, Your Grace says that they are not under my control, but that they are passengers; if that is so, let them pay me for their fare. Your Grace cannot ignore the orders of the King of France, or of Spain, that no sailors, nor anyone else may disembark without permission from the Captain. If Your Grace had asked me for permission for them to stay, I would not have denied it. Is it possible, Sir, for a man of honor such as Your Grace to act with me in this manner? Your Grace knows by now that I have not insulted you, nor failed in the attention that I must give you. I resent that Your Grace treats me in this way. There was no reason for you to gather up the Indians from all of the towns to come and do me some harm. The fact that Your Grace placed yourself at the head of them and marched over here suddenly, I cannot but suspect that something bad is going on. I have already told Your Grace that I do not come to make war, that I am a friend, and also vassal of the King, Philip V, my Lord, nor did I come to trade, but only to repair my ship. There remains little more to do now, and God willing, I hope to be able to speak with His Lordship the President within a few days.

Your Grace does not tell me in your letter that you have ordered the arrest of the two Frenchmen who have fled. You do not mention either they will not remain in your

Province. Regarding these two mulattoes, I do not read either that Your Grace will send me a receipt, as a useable proof with the House of Trade or with their owners, stating that they have remained here. Once again I repeat to Your Grace that the style used in your letter is not used among honorable gentlemen. Your Grace should know that I am Captain General for His Majesty, and to a person such as I, one does not write thus. I am wondering whether Your Grace will have paper with you, since you are away from home. If Your Grace will honor me with a reply, please do not refuse this sheet of white paper, which I remit, and if Your Grace needs anything else for yourself, please let me know. I will always remain ready to receive your orders. I beg Your Grace to do me the favor of sending me two cows for Saturday, and 20 baskets of white rice.

May Our Lord save [Your Grace] for infinite years, as I wish.

Solosolo, 18 January 1714.

My dear Sir.

Your most affectionate servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,

Don Juan de Boisloré

[C.] Don Pedro Piñera.

My dear Sir:

Since I am about to leave this port soon, and pursue my route to Manila, which will be in about 8 days, I take this opportunity to send these few lines to Your Grace to ask you to be pleased to send me the invoice for what you have delivered to me, with individual prices. Enclosed please find the list of the goods that I have remitted to Your Grace in the first place:

- 5 yards of crimson velvet;
- 1 [shotgun] barrel (see below);
- 1 writing desk;
- 3 pairs of women's silk stockings;
- 1 piece of "lampaso";<sup>1</sup>
- 1 piece of damask;
- 1 piece of linen;
- 1 piece of lined taffeta;
- 2 small boxes of tortoise shell;
- 4 pairs of men's silk stockings;
- 2 pieces of damask;
- 2 pieces of wide brocade, European-style;
- 2 pieces of inferior brocade.

That is all I have to say to Your Grace, and also that I am still missing the servant who fled from me, who is in your power. The other has since returned.

May God save Your Grace for many years, as I wish.

22 January 1714.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Either "lampote", i.e. cotton cloth, or else tapestry material (one of many old meanings).

Your servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Don Juan de Boisloré

[D.] To Captain Don Pedro de Piñera.

My dear Sir:

I received your letter of Your Grace dated 22nd extant, and having read it, I see how Your Grace repents for having listened to and heeded the lies of someone who put Your Grace in bad humor. I assure you that I would not have sailed away without [inflicting] much damage; Your Grace had caused a situation that placed the lives of Spaniards and Frenchmen at risk. Besides, our two Crowns are now united, those of Spain and France; it is all one now, something that has not been seen since the beginnings of time.

Your Grace does not tell me if you send men to arrest my servant in order to return him. I have been told that he had gone to your house, and to that of the Vicar General, to tell you lies, as this servant can. Besides, I miss a servant who flees and who abandons his duty. This one is known to be mischievous and a cheat. He has written to some men aboard that Your Grace had sent him some horses with Don Nicolas Medrano, to take him away. I would appreciate you sending the Notary of the Province with the two keys to open the chests of these two Peruvian mulattos. Your Grace would find out that they are drugsters; I say no more. Yesterday I sent to you the list of the goods that I have delivered to Your Grace, the invoice and the total cost of the refreshments that you have sent to me, because I am about to leave.

That is all I have to tell Your Grace, whose life may God save for many years.

My dear Sir.

Your most affectionate servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Don Juan de Boisloré

[The next day, 24 January, Piñero ordered Boisloré not to leave port without a specific permission from the Governor. He was then immediately accused of being stubborn and unwilling to obey the orders of the Spanish King, whom he professed to obey, etc. Naturally, there was a protest on the part of Boisloré, followed by more orders to obey, etc.]

[E.] My dear Sir:

I would be glad to hear that Your Grace is in good health. Mine I offer to you to do anything you please. With the bearer I am sending this small gift. I would be happy to have something else.

- 5 yards of crimson velvet;
- 1 piece of damask;
- 1 piece of linen;
- 1 piece of taffeta;
- 1 writing desk;
- 1 [shotgun] barrel;

- 3 pairs of men's silk stockings;
- 3 pairs of women's [silk stockings];
- 2 small boxes [of tortoise shell (see above and below)];

Also I am sending to Your Grace a letter for His Lordship. I would appreciate you forwarding it at the first opportunity that may present itself. I beg Your Grace to do me the favor to order the old man to send me the three cows that I left overthere, and order him to deliver two cows every week, plus 12 bushels of rice for my men, hoping that the quantity that I need can be assembled. That is all I have to say.

May God save Your Grace for infinite years, as I wish.

My dear Sir.

Your most affectionate servant who kisses the hand of Your Grace,

Don Juan de Boisloré

To Captain Pedro de Piñera.

[P.S.]

Please tell the Old man, the supplier, that I kiss his hands and would be glad if he is in good health.

**List and prices of the goods that the Captain sent as gifts in exchange:**

—5 yards of velvet @ 3-1/2 pesos per yard, which makes 7 pesos 4 reals .....	17p 4r
—1 shotgun barrel worth 10 pesos .....	10p
—1 small crate worth 2 pesos .....	2p
—1 piece of tapestry(?) material worth 23 pesos .....	23p
—1 piece of damask worth 18 pesos .....	18p
—1 piece of linen worth 4 pesos .....	4p
—1 piece of taffeta worth 4 pesos .....	4p
—4 pairs of men's silk stockings @ 3 pesos per pair, which makes 12 pesos:	12p
—3 pairs of women's silk stockings @ 1p 4r per pair, which makes 4 p 4 r ....	4p 4r
—2 small boxes of tortoise shell at 2 pesos each makes .....	4p
—1 pair of socks worth 4 reals .....	0p 4r
—1 pair of slippers worth 1 peso .....	1p
—1 flask of oil from Spain worth 4 pesos .....	4p
—Pellets and slugs for shotguns [worth] 2 pesos .....	2p

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106p 4r  
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From the above there was subtracted 2 pieces of damask, 2 of brocade, and 2 of inferior brocade, which were returned to me personally by the Notary public of this Province.

And that is correct, as far as the total is concerned, given the prices that are mentioned therein, and in faith whereof.

Hidalgo.

**List of the supplies that said Captain Don Juan de Boisloré has received:**

**In the first place.**

—4 baskets of rice for the chickens @ 4 reals .....	2p
—2 baskets of white rice @ 8 reals .....	2p
—1 cow .....	2p 4r
—1 calf .....	1p 4r
—20 baskets of white rice @ 8 reals .....	20p
—16-1/2 baskets of white rice @ 8 reals .....	16p 4r
—10 baskets of said rice .....	10p
—2 calves @ 12 reals .....	3p
—2 cows @ 20 reals .....	5p
—10 baskets of white rice @ 8 reals .....	10p
—50 chickens @ 1/2 real .....	3p 1r
—3 cows @ 20 reals .....	7p 4r
—1 calf .....	1p 4r
—2 baskets of white rice .....	2p
—50 chickens @ 1/2 real .....	3p 1r
—1 calf .....	1p 4r
—For vegetables .....	4r
—For 2 baskets of rice @ 4 reals .....	1p
—For 100 canes .....	1r
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	92p 7r
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[On 29 January, the traders and the Municipal Council of Manila petitioned the Governor for the arrest of Captain Boisloré and his ship, saying that their commerce would otherwise be harmed, etc. and offering to pay the costs. The next day, the Governor issued a decree ordering the arrest by military force of Captain Boisloré and the seizure of his ship, at the expense of the City of Manila and its traders.]

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 Documents 1721K
 

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## Case file against Captain Boisloré—Part 5

*Source: Same as for Doc. 1721J.*

**K1. Preliminary report on the capture of the ship *Éclair* that took place on 22 February 1714, by General Aysoain, commanding the flagship *San Juan Bautista***

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Conde de Lizarraga.*

*Señor Concidero à V.Señoria con el despacho, que le hize el Savado pasado, y Domingo, desde Sual sumamente mortificado y aun con poca esperanza en mi proceder, Omito los indizpenzables motivos pues algunos aun Juridicos embie para comprobar parte de mi credito agora Creo que dare en el todo con la noticia de que oy Miercoles habiendo entrado como a las quatro de la tarde en esta Baya (que no es como VSeñoria se la pintavan) se me tiro el Navio frances con toda fuerza de vela para fuera[.] atraquemelo con mi vagel hasiendole empeño con toda fortaleza a que el, y yo quedasemos perdidos en una restinga de una Isla; el lleugo con gran valentia y sin querer seder como quien tenia muy bien sentado hasta la extrema, Yo aunque no savia por donde nabegavamos, ni el tiempo era de preguntar desde que el seme hizo a la vela le gane el Barlovento y sobre este seguro lo empeñe a que se perdiera antes que yo, y assi viendose en el esfuerzo ultimo hubo de condesender en dar fondo, y yo le largue el Ancla en sima asi que el dio la suya al agua que se valio de quenta precautela ardid, y astucia Cave para engañar que el Capitan es embronaso en la mar, y en la Guerra acompaňandole gran resolucion inteligencia, y valor, si, el genio es altivo y algo local, por cuiu cauza no le han comprehendido los materiales como yo y sin saver ni pensar el modo, el que se halla hasta aora que son las tres de la mañana en mi poder con veinte de los suos, y yo quarenta y cinco de los mios en su Navio Dominado, haviendole largado todo el Anclaxe para que me lo traiga sin saver si esta preso o libre que en amaciendo por la mañana hare Junta[.] determinare los modos, y se compondra como quien es señor de la prenda tan impensada que por haver cogido al Capitan Manzano el Domingo en Sual a sucedido, pues con su conosimiento logre la fortuna de cogerle la boca*

*sin ser visto, esto es en breve lo acaecido para que VSeñoria se le antecipe el ansuelo de estar con alguna luz de forma su mandato.*

*A quien me Guarde Dios los muchos años de mi deseo[.]*

*Baya de Zalamague y veinte y tres de febrero a las tres de la mañana de mill setecientos y catorce.*

*Señor*

*Beso la mano de VSeñoria su mas rendido criado.*

*Bernardo de Aysoaín y Urzua.*

### **Translation.**

To His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga.

Sir:

I refer to the despatch that I made to Your Lordship last Saturday, and Sunday, from Sual,<sup>1</sup> and am extremely sorry for the little hope that I expressed therein for the success of my enterprise. I skip over some of the indispensable reasons to explain part of my conduct, because some are even legal in nature, to gain credit. Now I believe that there will be no doubt about it, with the news that I am sending. Today Wednesday, at about 4 p.m., after I came into this bay (which is not at all as Your Lordship had imagined), the French ship tried to sail off with full sails. I caught up with it with my vessel, and tried to drive him with full force toward a reef barrier of one island, even if he, and I, were to become shipwrecked. He acted with great valor and without wanting to yield, as someone who was determined to stand until the end. I, although I did not know where we were sailing to, nor had the leisure to find out since he had sailed off, finally gained his windward side and maneuvered in such a way that he was sure to run aground before myself. When he saw that he made his last effort, but had to concede and drop anchor. I threw my anchor on top of him, as the same time as he dropped his overboard. This Captain made use of much foresight, skill, and astuteness to trick his way out. He is wily at sea, and at war, and in addition he had great resolve, intelligence, and valor, although his mind is haughty and somewhat crazy; that is why those who have been dealing with him before did not understand him as I do, instinctively, until now, which is 3 in the morning, and he is in my power, with 20 of his men. I am in control of his ship with 45 of my men. They let loose all of the anchors of this ship, to bring it to me, not knowing whether it is a prize or free, until convening a Council at daybreak. The procedures will then be determined and it will be taken possession of as a prize, such an unexpected one, had it not been by Captain Manzano whom I picked up last Sunday at Sual;<sup>2</sup> indeed, with his help I was able to catch him unaware and cut him off.

1 Ed. note: The port of Sual is located in the Gulf of Lingayen, on the west coast of Luzon.

2 Ed. note: It is quite probable that Manzano was an Ilocano native, and possibly a descendant of Don Juan Manzano, one of the leaders of the 1661 rebellion in that area, who had committed suicide when on the point of being captured (see B&R 41: 79-85).



In brief, that is what happened, enough for Your Lordship to sink your teeth into and learn that your order is being carried out.

To someone whom may God save for as many years as I wish.

Bay of Salamague, 23 February 1714, at 3 a.m.

Sir:

Your humblest servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,  
Bernardo de Aysoaín y Ursua.

## K2. Full report on the capture of the *Éclair*, by the Governor's son, and Captain of the *Almiranta San Joaquin*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Conde de Lizarraga mi Padre y Señor.*

*Señor*

*Participo à Vmerced como ayer primero de este hallandonos mas aca de Capones avistamos una embarcacion de velas de gabia que venia de buelta encontrada...*

*Dijo ser el Barco nombrado **Sancta Ana**. El qual dijo havia salido el dia Martes a la cinco de la tarde en prosecucion de su viage para uno de los Puertos de China...*

*Y con la solicitud que importa adqueri noticia de como prevenia Vmerced la fregata **Sancto Domingo** para que saliera a yncorporarse con nosotros, y por si a la ora de esta no han llegado los despachos que se han hecho por tierra participando à Vmerced de nuestros buenos sucesos lo hago en esta poniendo en su noticia de Vmerced como **Miercoles veinte y uno amanecimos a vista del Puerto de Solot Solot** y haviendonos acompañado la virason aunque poca llegamos a la boca o ensenada de dho Puerto como a las cinco de la tarde yendo la Capitana a distancia de media legua [rather legua] de nosotros, que avistada por ella el Navio frances, el qual se hallava yá fuera del Puerto donde antes estava[.] me hizo seña dicha Capitana de haverle avistado, y haviendose atravesado y mediante las diligencias que hize llegue a ponerme por su popa en distancia competente y por haver calmado el viento con animo de dar fondo y estando para executar el salto el terral y con el se pusso a la vela el dicho Navio frances mas con animo de provar fortuna que no de enmendar el fondo que tenia como lo dice pues para esto no tenia nessecidad de largar todo trapo y mas quando haviendo emparejado con la Capitana que visto por ella su yntento le ganó el Barlovento cortandole siempre el paso, y haviendole mandado por muy repetidas vezes diese fondo lo hizo mas por haverse visto empeñado sobre la punta de una ysleta que tenia a sotabento, y de querer proceguir de aquel rumbo bararía sin remedio porque del otro rumbo no podía por tener el embaraso de Capitana y Almiranta que le teniamos el barlovento teniendolo yo siempre adelantado por si acaso a fuerza de vela salia de la Capitana para atajarle pues presisamente havia de salir sobre mi Navio que a fuerza de todos estos yncombenientes hubo de dar fondo mas de fuerza que de grado por haverse dispuesto de suerte que aunque quisiese no podria hacer otra cosa[.] quedo la Capitana por su popa y yo vine a quedar costado con costado con el en distancia de tiro de pistola estando con las Armas en la*

*mano medio bastante para que el Capitan frances pasara a la Capitana donde se detubo su persona con dies y ocho ombres que llebava y siendo yo noticiado por mi General de hallarse ya dho Capitan en su Bordo dethenido y con orden que me embio para que pasase luego a la Capitana lo execute donde se dispuso el poner Cavo en dho Navio frances y meterle de guarnission quarenta hombres que sacadoles otros tantos se repartieron en nuestros Navios[.]*

*El dia siguiente por la mañana se celebroy Junta de Guerra donde se determino embiar la demas gente por tierra que se executo entregando al Alcalde mayor de aquella Provincia sesenta y dos hombres de los nuestros de la satisfacion del General que consto se aseguro qualquiera determinassion peligrosa que del Genio y trasa del dho Capitan y buena gente se podia sospechar qualquier aroxo, y concluido que fue todo pedilizencia al General para adelantarme y con ella me puse a la vela dia viernes veinte y tres a las ocho de la mañana...*

*Yo quedo aguardando sus ordenes de Vmerced a quien Dios guarde muchos años como deseo y e menester[.]*

*A Bordo de la Almiranta **San Joachin** y Marzo dos de mill setecientos y catorce años.*

*Haviaseme cuidado el decir à Vmerced como luego que la Capitana avisto al frances hecho la lancha al agua, y embio en ella al Escrivano para que le hiciese el requirimiento al qual respondio con bastante deshago [=desahogo] y despues de haver precedido esto se hizo a la vela que de aqui se puede inferir su animo.*

*Beso la mano de Vmerced su soldado,  
Don Joachin de Urzua.*

### Translation.

Count of Lizarraga, my Father and Lord.

Sir:

I report to Your Grace that yesterday, the 1st of this month [i.e. March], as we were beyond Capones, we sighted a ship-rigged vessel that was coming on an opposite tack...

It turned out to be the ship named **Santa Ana**. The Captain said that he had departed [from Manila] on Tuesday at 5 p.m. to pursue his voyage to one of the ports of China...<sup>1</sup>

And with due solicitude I acquired the news that Your Grace was making ready the frigate **Santo Domingo** to go out and join us. Now, in case the despatches that have been made overland to inform Your Grace of our successes have not yet arrived, I repeat the news here, and report to Your Grace that at daybreak of Wednesday 21st, we were in sight of the port of Solotsolot and, the sea breeze, though light, having accompanied us, we arrived at the mough or bay of said port at about 5 in the afternoon, with the flagship ahead of us by about half a league. She first spotted the French ship, which

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There is a conflict of dates here. This Armenian ship is reported elsewhere as having left Manila on 15 February, a Thursday, and was headed for the coast of India (see Doc. 1713C).

had already left the port where he was before. Said flagship signalled me that they had seen him and, he having placed himself crosswise, I made efforts and managed to place myself behind his poop at a suitable distance. Since the wind had calmed down, we intended to come to an anchor but, as we were getting ready to do so, the land breeze arose and said French ship set sail, more for the purpose of taking his chances than to seek a better anchorage, as he pretended he had done later; indeed, to do that it is not necessary to set all sails. Besides, having been joined by the flagship, said ship saw what he was doing and cut him off on his windward side. When she ordered him many times to anchor, he finally did, only because he saw that he was compelled to do so by the point of an islet that he had to leeward, and if he had continued along his tack, he would necessarily have run aground upon it, simply because he could not veer, as both the flagship and the almiranta were to windward of him, and I was always keeping myself slightly ahead of him, to intercept him, in case he should get ahead of the flagship by force of sails; indeed, he would then have had to make straight for my ship. It was on account of all of these disadvantages, more forcibly than willingly, that he had to anchor, because he had placed himself in such a tight spot that, no matter how he tried, he could not have done anything else. The flagship remained behind his poop and I came alongside of him, side to side at a distance of a pistol shot, we being with weapons at the ready, a sufficient means to force the French Captain to go to the flagship, where he was arrested, along with 18 other men in his company. My General then advised me that said Captain was being held prisoner aboard his ship, and ordered me to join him immediately, an order which I carried out. Arrangements were then made to place a commander aboard said French ship, with a crew of 40 men whom we took out of our ships, replacing them with as many Frenchmen.

The next day in the morning a War Council was held, at which it was decided to send the rest of the men overland, which was done, and 62 of our men chosen by the General were turned over to the Mayor of that Province, enough to prevent any risky decisions that might be taken by said Captain and good people, and any bold acts that might be suspected from their witty dispositions. Once everything was over, I asked the General for permission to go ahead, and he agreed. I set sail on Friday the 23rd at 8 in the morning...

I remain awaiting the orders of Your Grace, to whom may God save for as many years as I wish and need.

Aboard the almiranta **San Joaquín**, 2 March 1714.

[P.S.]

It occurs to me that I should tell Your Grace that, as soon as the flagship sighted the Frenchman, she put out the launch, and sent the notary aboard him to issue the

summons to him, but he answered with brazenness instead, and after such a proceeding, he set sail, from which his intentions can be inferred.

Your soldier who kisses the hand of Your Grace,  
Don Joachin de Ursua.<sup>1</sup>

### **K3. Royal decree on friendship with France, dated Madrid 31 December 1700**

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

*El Rey*

*Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora Cavallero del orden de Sanctiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila o la persona o personas a cuijo cargo fuere su Gobierno[.]*

*Por despachos que seos han dirigido, y los que recibereis en esta ocasion estareis informado de que por haver fallecido el Rey nuestro Señor, Don Carlos Segundo (que esta en gloria[)] sucedio en esta Monarchia el Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe Quinto (que Dios prospere) Nieto del Señor Rey Cristiano, y havindose estrechado con este motivo el vinculo de parentesco, y amistad entre esta Corona, y la de Francia se hallan tan unidas que las combeniencias y favorables sucesos de la una se concideran comun de interes de las dos[.] en cuija inteligencia a parecido poneros para que enterado de estas noticias y prevenido del estado en que nos hallamos podais en los casos que se ofrecieren dirigir con asierto seguridad las operaciones de Vuestro Gobierno de forma que acreditando en todo la atencion y buena correspondia complais con las obligaciones de Vuestro empleo[.]*

*De Madrid a treinta y uno de Diciembre de mill setecientos.*

*Yo la Reyna.*

*El Cardenal Portocarrero*

*fray Don Manuel Ariás*

*Don Fernando de Aragon*

*El Obispo Inquisidor general.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperreguí*

#### **Translation.**

The King.

[To] Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia of Manila, or to the person or persons in whose charge their Government may be.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This son of the Count was known as the young Count, and was brazen enough himself, because he escaped from later court actions against him, and went to Canton to make his escape from prosecution, aboard another French ship (see Doc. 1719E).

By despatches that have been addressed to you, and those sent to you on this occasion, you are being informed that, on account of the death of the King our Lord, Charles II (may he rest in peace), there succeeded to this monarchy the King our Lord, Philip V (whom may God make prosper), the grandson of the Christian King. For this reason, the link of relationship, and the friendship between this Crown and that of France, have become so united that the conveniences and favorable successes of one of them are considered of common interest to both of them. With this in mind, I have thought it proper to give you such news. Now that you know of the condition in which we find ourselves, you may be in a position to make better decisions in administering the affairs of your government, when necessary, by knowing these facts and thus taking greater care in complying with the responsibilities of your post.

From Madrid, 31 December 1700.

I the Queen.

Cardinal Portocarrero.

Fray Manuel Ariás.

Don Fernando de Aragón.

The Bishop Inquisitor General.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperreguí.

#### **K4. Royal decree allowing French ships in Spanish ports, dated Madrid 11 January 1701**

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

*El Rey.*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia de Manila[.]*

*Por despacho de treinta y uno de Diciembre del año proximo pasado que recibereis en esta ocassion entenderéis la amistad y union de esta Corona con la de Francia, y porque en consiquencia de esta alianza y estrechos vinculos he rresuelto se dejen entrar en los Puertos de las Indias a los vageles franceses que llegaren a ellos, y que por su dinero se le den los vastimentos nesessarios y los materiales para carenar quando sea menester y que se les guarde siendo nessesario de Armada mayor o enemiga;*

*Por la presente os mando que presisa y puntualmente cumplais y haga cumplir esta deliberacion que asi es mi voluntad[.]*

*De Madrid once de Henero de mill setecientos y uno.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*El Cardenal Portocarrero.*

*Fray Don Manuel Ariás*

*Don Fernando de Aragon*

*El Obispo Inquisidor general*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Manuel de Aperreguí.*

### Translation.

The King.

[To] my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia of Manila.

By the despatch of 31 December of last year that you will receive at the same time as the present, you will learn of the friendship and union between this Crown with that of France, and because as a consequence of this alliance and tight relations, I have decided to let French ships that may arrive at the ports of the Indies enter them, and be able to buy the necessary food supplies and the materials to careen their ships, if necessary, and they are to be protected, from larger or enemy fleets.

By the present I order you to comply with this deliberation exactly and promptly, and to make others comply, as such is my will.

From Madrid, 11 January 1701.

I the King.

Cardinal Portocarrero.

Fray Manuel Arias.

Don Fernando de Aragón.

The Bishop Inquisitor General.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Manuel de Aperreguí.

[Other, similar, decrees regarding relations with France were recorded and obedience claimed with respect to them by the Audiencia, but in view of the other decree prohibiting commerce, the Audiencia favored the latter, more specific decree that allowed them to impede this illicit trading by any means they saw fit. By the way, there is a comment to the effect that Captain Boisloré was rather fluent in Spanish and that his permission to trade with China has been signed by Don Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, who was Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Province of Brittany, and Admiral of the French Navy. However, to justify their capture of his ship, the Spanish in Manila used the pretext that he did not have a specific permission from the Spanish authorities. There follows an inventory of all the papers found aboard the ship *Éclair*. They were perused and described by two men who could read and speak French: Captain Antonio Bernabal, and Juan de Ruiz, who is said to be of French nationality. Among these papers were: an inventory of the cargo taken on board at Port-Louis; the inventory of goods purchased at Canton; the financial account books; copies of all correspondence during the voyage. Some papers written in French were given to the Jesuits to be translated by a Brother Miguel Rosuel [sic = Rousset?], who was from the Gallo-Belgian Province. One paper so translated was the so-called commission from the Count of Toulouse, dated 20 September 1710. The Audiencia decided that the case should be pursued, but they ordered that a copy of the case file be in the meantime sent to Spain.]

## K5. Inventory of the cargo of the ship *Éclair*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Razon de la descarga y Piesas que van saliendo de la bodega del Navio Relampago y primer imbentario de ellas.*

*Yncontinenti de Bordo de dho Patache en dho dia mes y año arriva dicho, los dichos Señores Oidor Juez de esta Comission, y Factor Juez ofiçial Real en conformidad de lo prevenido por el auto ultimamente proveido en este expediente sobre la descarga de los generos y frutos que en sí contiene en este Navio con asistencia de los dichos Capitan Alberto de Arrieta, y Don Juan Boiloret [sic], y dichos sus ofiçiales, mandaron dhos Señores reconoçer la boca de la escotilla de dicha Bodega y se hallo clavada, galafateada, y condenada con una Ancla de que yo el dicho Escrivano doi fee; y de como el dicho Capitan Alberto de Arrieta y dichos sus ofiçiales nombrados Monsiur Gargan, Segundo Capitan, Monsiur Roquet Escrivano, y Juan de Laga Contra Maestre digeron estar todo en la misma conformidad que quando dio fondo dicho Navio en este dicho Puerto aseguro, y entregó la llave de dicha Bodega al dicho Castellán y Justicia maior del en cuiá atencion sus mercedes assimesmo mandaron abrir dicha Escotilla y proceder al reconoçimiento de dicha Bodega que se executo en la manera siguiente:*

*—Primeramente se sacaron de dicha Bodega veinte Caxas de Maderas de China pintadas de colorado con su cerradura llave y contorneras de cobre amarillo de tres quartas de largo y media vara de ancho y alto.*

*—Yten diez y seis atados de Paños.<sup>1</sup>*

*—Yten quatro amarrados de Petates.*

*—Ytten dos chiquivites cerrados, y embejucados.*

*—Yten quince emboltorios de Petate.*

*—Yten quatro valzas de dos tercias de alto y otro tanto de boca.*

*—Yten quatro valcillas.*

*—Yten quatro valzas de una vara de alto.*

*—Yten tres chiquivites cerrados.*

*—Yten una Balsilla.*

*—Yten ochenta caxas como las antecedenes.*

*—Yten quince costales de Petate serrados.*

*—Yten ocho cientos y ochenta y ocho carabayes entre grandes medianos y pequeños.*

*—Yten dos petacas de caña de China de mas de media vara de largo y menos de ancho y alto con sus candados de fierro.*

*—Yten dies y siete cajas como las antecedenes.*

*—Yten un caxon de vara en quadro, sin marca.*

*—Yten otro caxon poco mayor asi mesmo sin marca.*

---

1 Ed. note: "Payo" was the Chinese word for "umbrella", or sunshade.

—*Yten un caxoncillo de tres quartas de largo media vara de alto y una quartta de ancho.*

*Yentre estado por ser tarde mandaron dichos Señores se dexase esta diligencia abierta para su prosecucion a la tarde de este dicho dia...*

***Segundo Inbenrario y descarga del dho Navio.***

...

***MBL***

—*Primeramente un caxon de numero diez con la marca de el margen.*

--*Yten otro de numero dos con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero quatro con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero siete con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero once con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero veynte con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero treze con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero cinco con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero quatro con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero doze con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero treze con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero cinco con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero seys con dha marca.*

—*Yten cien costales cerrados de Petate.*

—*Yten ciento y seis marquetas de cera.*

—*Yten otro cajon como los antecedentes de numero seys con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero treze con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero doze con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero dos mil, con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro de numero diez con dha marca.*

—*Yten cinquenta marquetas de zera.*

—*Yten tres costales de petate con fierros para hazer ostias.*

—*Yten ciento y ocho hachas de fierro.*

—*Yten dos caxas pintadas de colorado de braza de largo, y mas de media bara de ancho.*

—*Yten otro caxon como los antecedentes de numero tres con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro vestido de manta blanca numero VL con dha marca.*

—*Y en este estado por ser tarde mandaron dhos Señores se dejase esta diligencia abierta para su prosecucion la mañana del dia siguiente...*

...

***Tercer Inventario, y descarga.***

...

***MBL***

—*Primeramente un caxon numero dos con la marca del margen.*

—*Yten otro numero nueve con dha marca.*



- Yten otro numero cinco con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero catorze con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero veynte con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero nueve con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero diez y seys con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero ocho con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero dos con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero diez con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero seys con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quince con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quatro con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero siete con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero nueve con dicha marca.*
- Yten otros dos de numero uno con dicha marca.*
- Yten otro numero doze con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero diez y siete con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero tres con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero dos con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero siete con dha marca.*
- Yten ochenta y dos masos de fierro.*
- Yten diez y nueve fardillos con su tara [=cara? tapa?] de petate y vejuco con dha marca.*

*Y en este estado por ser tarde mandaron dhos Señores se dejase esta diligencia abierta para su prosecucion à la tarde de este dho dia...*

***Quarto Inventario y descarga.***

...

- Primeramente un caxon numero ocho, con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quarenta y tres, con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quatro con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero diez y nueve con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quinze con dicha marca.*
- Yten otro numero veynte y uno con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero onze con dicha marca.*
- Yten otro numero tres con dicha marca.*
- Yten otro numero quatro con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero ocho con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero onze con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero tres con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero dos con dha marca.*
- Yten otro numero catorze con dicha marca.*

- *Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero seys con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero diez y ocho con dicha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero dos con dicha marca.*
- *Yten veynte y tres costales, o fardillos cerrados y empetatados.*
- *Yten un lio de treynta y cinco piasa[s] de mantas blancas de cordonsillo de China.*
- *Yten dos emboltorios cerrados y empetatados.*

*Y en este estado por ser tarde mandaron dhos Señores se dejase esta diligencia abierta para su prosecucion...*

**Quinto Inventario y descarga de dho Navio.**

...

- *Primeramente veynte y seis fardillos cerrados, y empetatados.*

**NLC.**

- *Yten un caxon numero cinco, con la marca del margen.*
- *Yten otro numero dos, con dicha marca.*
- *Yten tres caxones de numero uno, con dha marca.*
- *Yten dos caxones de numero tres, con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro caxon numero cinco, con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero ocho con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero tres con dicha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero seis con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero uno, con dicha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero quatro con dicha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero tres con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero onze con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero quatro con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero cinco con dicha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero seys con dha marca.*

**NG**

- *Yten numero dos con la marca del margen.*
- *Yten otro de numero uno con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero cinco con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero tres con dha marca.*

**RR**

- *Yten otro numero cinco con la marca del margen.*
- *Yten otro numero nueve con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero siete con dha marca.*
- *Yten otro numero seys con dicha marca.*

**MBL**

- *Yten ocho balsas del margen, de mas de tres quartas de alto; y otro tanto de voca.*

—*Yten dos caxas de menos de braza de largo, y media bara de ancho pintadas de colorado con sus cerraduras, y llaves.*

—*Yten un caxon numero cinco con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro numero sesenta y quatro con dicha marca.*

—*Yten otro numero sesenta y dos con dicha marca.*

*Y en este estado por ser tarde mandaron dhos Señores se dejase esta diligencia abierta para su prosecucion à la tarde de este dia...*

***Sexto inventario y descarga del dho Navio.***

...

***NLC.***

—*Primeramente un caxon numero quatro con la marca del margen.*

—*Yten otro numero cinco con dicha marca.*

—*Yten otro numero dos con dha marca.*

—*Yten otro numero uno con dha marca.*

—*Etc. etc.*

### **Translation.**

**Record of the unloading of the ship Relámpago and of the pieces as they come out of the hold. First inventory thereof.**

Immediately afterward, aboard said patache on said day, month and year, said gentlemen, the Audiencia Member and Judge of this Commission, and the Factor and Royal official, to comply with the terms of the writ recently provided in this file regarding the unloading of the goods and products contained in this ship, with the assistance of said Captain Alberto de Arrieta and Don Juan Boiloret [sic], and his officers, said gentlemen checked the opening of the hatch of said hold, and it was found to be nailed down, caulked, and locked with an anchor, which I, said Notary, vouch for, and also how said Captain Alberto de Arrieta and his officers named Monsieur Gargan, Second captain, Monsieur Roquet, Clerk, and Juan de Laga [i.e. Delage?], Boatswain, declared that everything was in the same condition as when said ship anchored at this port was secured and the key to said hold delivered to said Warden and senior Magistrate of said port. In view of which their Graces ordered that said hatch be opened and to proceed with the survey of said hold, which was carried out in the following manner:

—In the first place, there were taken out of said hold 20 wooden boxes from China, painted red, each with their lock set and contours of yellow copper strips, measuring 3 spans in length<sup>1</sup> and 1/2 yard in width and in height.<sup>2</sup>

—16 bundles of sun-shades;

—4 bundles of mats;

1 Ed. note: A "cuarta" in Spanish was a quarter yard, i.e. a span in English, defined as the width of an outstretched hand, about 9 inches.

2 Ed. note: Their dimensions in modern units were 70 x 46 x 46 cm.

- 2 closed jars(?), protected with wicker [or canes];<sup>1</sup>
  - 15 rolls of mats;
  - 4 rafts, 2/3 yard in height and as much at the mouth;
  - 4 small rafts;
  - 4 rafts, 1 yard in height;
  - 3 closed jars(?);
  - 1 small raft;
  - 80 boxes like the previous ones;
  - 15 sacks made of mats, closed;
  - 888 tortoise shells(?), of various sizes;
  - 2 cane trunks from China of over 1/4 yard in length and less in width and height, with their iron padlocks;
  - 17 boxes as the previous ones;
  - 1 crate, 1 yard square, without a mark;
  - another crate, a little larger, also without a mark;
  - 1 small crate, 3/4 yard long, 1/2 yard high and 1/4 yard wide.
- And at this point, it was late and said gentlemen ordered said procedure suspended until the afternoon of this same day...

**Second Inventory and unloading of said ship.**

...

**MBL<sup>2</sup>**

- In the first place, 1 crate bearing n° 10 with the mark in margin;
- another bearing n° 2 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 7 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 11 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 20 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 13 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 12 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 13 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;
- 100 sacks made of mats, closed;
- 106 cakes of wax;
- another crate like the previous ones, bearing n° 6 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 13 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 12 with said mark;

---

1 Ed. note: Cane in this context could possibly be bamboo.

2 Ed. note: Obviously, this was the mark owned by Monsieur Boisloré.

- another bearing n° 2,000 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 10 with said mark;
- 50 cakes of wax;
- 3 sacks made of mats, with irons to make hosts;
- 108 iron axes;
- 2 boxes painted red, one fathom long by over 1/2 yard in width;
- another crate like the previous ones, bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another covered with white canvas, bearing n° VL with said mark.

And at this stage, because it was late, said gentlemen ordered said procedure suspended until the morning of the next day...

...

### **Third Inventory, and unloading.**

...

### **MBL**

- In the first place, 1 crate bearing n° 2 with the mark in margin;
- another bearing n° 9 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 14 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 20 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 9 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 16 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 8 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 10 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 15 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 7 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 9 with said mark;
- another 2 bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 12 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 17 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 2 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 7 with said mark;
- 82 iron mallets;
- 19 small bales wrapped with mats and canes, with said mark.

And at this stage, it being late, said gentlemen ordered said procedure suspended until the afternoon of this same day...

**Fourth Inventory and unloading.**

- In the first place, 1 crate bearing n° 8, with said mark;
- another bearing n° 43, with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 19 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 15 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 21 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 11 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 8 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 11 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 2 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 14 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 18 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 2 with said mark;
- 23 sacks, or small bundles, wrapped in mats, closed;
- a bundle of 35 pieces of white braid from China;
- 2 packages, wrapped in mats, closed;

And at this stage, it being late, said gentlemen ordered said procedure suspended...

**Fifth Inventory and unloading of said ship.**

...

- In the first place, 26 small bundles, closed, and wrapped in mats;

**NLC**

- 1 crate bearing n° 5, with the mark in margin;
- another bearing n° 2, with said mark;
- another 3 crates bearing n° 1, with said mark;
- another 2 crates bearing n° 3, with said mark;
- another crate bearing n° 5, with said mark;
- another bearing n° 8 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 11 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 4 with said mark;

- another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;

**NG<sup>1</sup>**

- another bearing n° 2 with the mark in margin;
- another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 3 with said mark;

**RR<sup>2</sup>**

- another bearing n° 5 with the mark in margin;
- another bearing n° 9 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 7 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 6 with said mark;

**MBL**

- 8 rafts with the mark in margin, over 3/4 yard high, and as much at the mouth;
- 2 boxes measuring less than 1 fathom in length and 1/2 yard in width, painted red, with their locks and keys;
- 1 crate bearing n° 5 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 64 with said mark;
- another bearing n° 62 with said mark;

And at this stage, it being late, said gentlemen ordered said procedure suspended until the afternoon of this day...

**Sixth Inventory and unloading of said ship.**

...

**NLC**

- In the first place, 1 crate bearing n° 4 with the mark in margin;
  - another bearing n° 5 with said mark;
  - another bearing n° 2 with said mark;
  - another bearing n° 1 with said mark;
- Etc. etc.

[Thus continued the taking of the inventory for a few more days, and the tallying of 188 more crates, and 44 barrels and many other containers of food supplies, personal effects, and ship weaponry, that are listed on folio 33v-57 of the transcript. A few articles bore the mark GG, that of a man said to be deceased. The last actions of the commission was to take an inventory of the Captain's cabin and the bunks of everyone else, with an inventory of all books and papers found therein. Such papers were turned over to Brother Miguel Rosuel to be translated. The personal bunks of the crew were then inspected in the presence of their owners, most of whom had just arrived overland from

1 Ed. note: Mark probably belonging to Nicolas Gargan.

2 Ed. note: This mark could possibly be ER, for Étienne Roquet, or CR, for Charles Rivière, or most probably both, because both protested against the confiscation of their property (below).

Ilocos. Their names are given, but many family names are given a Spanish twist in their spelling. The *Éclair* was then stripped bare of its guns and munitions, as follows:]

## K6. List of the guns carried by the ship *Éclair*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Razon de la Artillería y Peltrechos que he recibido del patache frances nombrado el Relampago y es a saber:*

- Primeramente treinta Cañones de fierro en cinco calibres: ocho de a ocho; dos de a cinco; catorce de a quatro; quatro de a tres; dos de a dos.*
- Veinte cureñas algunas de ellas maltratadas con quatro ruedas cada uno.*
- Dos pedreros de fierro dos camaras de lo mismo y dos cuñas de fierro.*
- Yten mas çiento treinta y cinco palanquetas de fierro.*
- Yten mas quatro çientos y dos balas de fierro.*
- Yten mas quarenta y quatro atadillos de fierro viejo.*
- Ytten mas veinte pies de cabra uno maltratado.*

### Translation.

List of the artillery and ordnance that I have received from the French patache named *Relámpago*, to wit:

- In the first place, 30 iron guns of 5 calibers: 8 eight-pounders; 2 five-pounders; 14 four-pounders; 4 three-pounders; and 2 two-pounders.
- 2 iron mortars, 2 chambers for it and 2 iron mounts.
- 135 iron bars.
- 402 iron balls.
- 44 bundles of old iron.
- 20 crowbars, one damaged.

[Etc. etc. with a very detailed list of the most minute piece of equipment, rigging, etc. found on board (folios 103v-107v). In March 1714, the contents of all the boxes, crates, barrels, etc. were examined and listed in detail. Historians can find interesting information on what sustained sailors at sea in the early 18th century, and the products of Britany. The food supplies were priced and then transferred to the Royal warehouse.]

[In the fourth document quoted above, there are declarations made by some Frenchmen: 1) Pierre Dumas, 34 years old, the first lieutenant and chief pilot, born in Marseille; 2) Nicolas Gargan, second captain (who had replaced the original second captain, a Mr. David who remained in Peru and was also Factor, or supercargos (similarly the original merchants, Messieurs Lejeune and Delisle had also left the ship in Peru), was



born in Châlons, Champagne, and was 34 years old;<sup>1</sup> 3) Charles Rivière, 26-year-old Lieutenant of the *Éclair*, born in Saint-Malo and who could speak some Spanish; 4) Mr. Lasalle, another 22-year-old Lieutenant, born in Redon, Brittany, was also somewhat fluent in Spanish; 5) Mr. Larose, first pilot, 30 years old, of Port-Louis;<sup>2</sup> 6) Étienne Roquet, clerk, 34 years old, born in Montpellier.]

## K7. Order for Captain Boisloré's imprisonment

### Original text in Spanish.

*Auto en que se manda pasar al Castillo San Phelipe à Monseur Boilore, y que se haga saber al Sr. Castellano para que dè las providencias necesarias.*

*En atencion à lo que resulta de las diligencias antecedentes, y declaraciones recibidas, para la que se hà de tomar al Capitan del Navio Relampago Monseur de Boilore, y mayor aseguracion de su persona se reducirà al Castillo San Phelipe en donde este preso hasta que otra cosa se mande poniendose por el Theniente de dho Castillo a continuacion de este Decreto la diligencia de su execuzion por ante el presente Escrivano, y para ello se darà aviso al Señor Castellano y Justicia mayor de este Puerto.*

*Así lo proveyó mandó y firmó el Señor Oidor Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda del Consejo de su Magestad, y Juez de Comision para la mejor aseguracion de dho Navio, Capitan y demas en este Puerto de Cavite en veynte y uno de Abril de mil setezientos y catorze.*

*Lizenciado Villa.*

*Antemi Juan de Losada Escrivano publico.*

### Translation.

Writ ordering the imprisonment of Monsieur Boisloré in Fort San Felipe, and let the Warden know for him to take the necessary measures.

In view of the result of the previous proceedings, and declarations received, in order to seize the Captain of the ship *Relámpago*, Monsieur de Boisloré, and the better to secure his person, he is to be taken to Fort San Felipe where he is to remain prisoner until otherwise ordered. The Lieutenant of said Warden is to place below this decree the proceeding of its execution before the present Notary, and to this effect the Warden and Senior Magistrate of this port is to be advised.

Thus has provided, ordered and signed, the Audiencia Member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda, King's Counsel and Judge of the Commission, for the better security of said ship, Captain and others in this port of Cavite, 21 April 1714.

Licenciate Villa.

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- 1 Note: Gargan said, among other things, that the Jesuit missionary Fr. Joseph Labbe, who acted as Chaplain and was on the way to China, left the ship at Valparaiso, because of a disagreement with Captain Boisloré.
  - 2 Note: The 3 logbooks written by the 2 pilots were turned over to the Belgian Jesuit for translation.

Before me, Juan de Losada, Notary public.

## K8. Declaration of Captain Boisloré, dated Cavite 21 April 1714

### Original text in Spanish.

***Declarazion de Monseur Boilore Capitan del Navio Relampago de edad de 35 años poco mas o menos.***

*En el Puerto de Cavite y Castillo San Phelipe del en dho mes y año arriva dho aviendo venido el Señor Oidor Juez de esta Comision y hallado en el à Monseur de Boilore, Capitan del Patache Relampago surto en la Bahia de dho Puerto para el efecto expresado en el Auto que dà principio à estas diligencias, y declaraziones, y dicho Señor Oidor por ante mi el Escrivano sin necesidad de Interprete por ser bastante ladino en nuestro Idioma le recibio uramento que lo hizo por Dios nuestro Señor, y una señal de cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo del prometio dezir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado, y siendolo sobre que diga y responda, como se llama, de donde es natural[,] que estado y oficio tiene[,] de donde y por donde ha pasado à estas Islas[,] en que Navio[,] à cuyo cargo, y de cuyo Armamento:*

*Dijo y declaró que se llama Don Juan de Boilore[,] que es natural de Paris en el Reyno de Francia[,] de estado soltero y su oficio es el de Capitan General guarda costa de la Provincia de Creàans [sic] y Comendante del Navio Relampago, surto en la Bahia de este dho Puerto[,] Armado en Porluis [= Port-Louis], por Monseur Jordan Consejero de su Magestad Christianisima en todos sus Consejos, y su Secretario; Monseur Duplecimenan [sic = Menan Duplessis], de los mismos Consejos, y Comisario General de la Artilleria de España; Monseur Coquelim, y Monseur de Saonet, Monseur Ducicarcabe, que son los principales interesados en dho Armamento[,] que salio de dho Puerto de Porluis cargado de diferentes Mercaderias como fierro, clavason, acero, ruan, bretaña, sombreros, y otras menudencias para Buenos Ayres para descargar y recibir el producto de dos navios pertenecientes à dhos Armadores nombrados el uno la **Esperanza** y el otro la **Ysabel** que pasaron à dhas Provincias el año pasado de setezientos y siete mandados el uno por Monseur Briñon, y el otro por Monseur Bonebal[,] que descargó, y no quiso entregar ropa ni plata Don Manuel de Velasco Governador que era de dhas Provincias de Buenos Ayres, y por no haver dadole Licencia al declarante para descargar su Navio, y vender, y asegurar una presa Portuguesa que llevaba, y avia hecho en la Costa de Brasil à donde avia pasado por el mes de Febrero de setezientos y onze conforme se prevenia en la Comision de sus Armadores, aviendole permitido solo bastimentarse, y no otra cosa y no pudiendo el declarante pasar à Canton con la presa, y ropa le fue preciso pasar à Chile, y al Perú à la venta de uno y otro, como pasaron otros muchos Navios franceses à lo mismo en la misma ocasion, y aviendose bastimentado nuevamente en el Puerto de la Concepcion de dho Reyno de Chile, y pasado à Balparaiso, y vendido en el la Presa Portuguesa que deja declarado con Licencia del Señor Virrey que entonzes era el Señor Obispo de Quito, y de el Señor Presidente Go-*

*vernador y Capitan General de dho Reyno de Chile Don Juan Andres Ostariz quien asimismo se la concedio para la venta de la ropa que tubiese pagando un seis por ciento à Don Bernardo de Soto que vino de su orden à esta cobranza à dho Puerto de Balparaiso, y restandole àun la mayor porcion por expender fue costeando los Puertos de Coquimbo, Copiapo, Cobija, y Arica en donde concluyó la venta de su carga pagando los mismos seis por ciento à Don Jorge Negrero, Corregidor que à la sason era de dho Puerto y Ciudad de Arica que le otorgó la misma Licencia sin haverle dado recibo de la paga de dhos derechos ni en uno, ni en otro Puerto, y aviendo pasado de allí à Pisco à bastimentarse de vino, y aguardiente para proseguir su viaje de la China[,] recivio orden de dho Señor Virrey que se la intimo en la Bodega de Juan de Nieve Don Fulano Lartiga, hijo del Prior que era entonzes del Consulado de Lima, para abajar al Callao, y estar à las ordenes de su Excelencia como con efecto lo executó, y resultara de una carta que ha de estar entre los papeles, que tiene exividos.*

*Y aviendo tomado alli nuevo refrezco sin otro negocio continuó su viaje à Canton aviendo pasado por Marianas y Babuyanes, y aviendo entrado en Canton por principios de Julio del año proximo pasado é invernado alli quatro meses poco mas o menos, y ajustadose con los Mercaderes Lenqua, y Yongqua para el empleo de la carga del Navio[,] en todo el mes de Diziembre le fue preciso tomar la ropa que estos le dieron antes del tiempo pactado, y salir de dho rio de Canton à primero de Noviembre de dho año de treze, temiendose de que le prendiese, y embargase su Navio por una presa China fabrica olandesa que saliendo de Batavia, hizo Monserr Bouynot de nacion frances, comendante del Navio **San Luis**, que estubo en estas Islas de lo qual le dieron aviso al declarante los dhos dos Mercaderes, y los Padres Misioneros de dha Ciudad de Canton, por cuyos recelos se avio quanto antes pudo, y salio de dho rio de Canton como dexa dicho para Malaca, y aviendo llegado à una Isla de dho Reino de Canton à distancia de seis leguas de Macan poco mas ó menos considerando que la gente del Navio hasta veynte y cinco hombres estavan muy enfermos, y que el Estrecho de Malaca, y la Sonda estavan ocupados de Olandeses en espera de dho Monseur Bouynot mudó el rumbo buscando Puertos de Amigos en donde poder alibiar la gente enferma, y dar tiempo à que los Enemigos se retirasen de dichos estrechos, y aviendoles entrado un temporal que les duró onze dias y avistado tierra de esta Isla de Luson se fue acercando à ella, y hecho Bote, y Lancha para buscar Puerto en que asegurarse, y aviendo descubierta una ensenada en frente de Sinay [=Sinaít], Costa de la Provincia de Ylocos dio fondo en ella, y estubo tres dias en los quales fue à dha Provincia de Ylocos, y le aviso al declarante que para asegurar mejor su Navio, aliviar los enfermos, bastimentarse, y componer su Navio, como tambien para la Misa los dias festivos por haverse muerto el Capellan del Navio a la salida de Canton seria mejor se pasase al Puerto de Salamague que estava a distancia de media hora de camino, y el declarante aviendo reconocido dho Puerto y el de Solotsolot inmediato a el tomo este por parecerle mas proposito para lo referido, y con efecto estubo en el componiendo su Navio porque hazia bastante agua y bastimentandose hasta el dia diez, y ocho de febrero que salio del para el de Salamague en que entro el dia siguiente a hazerse de Agua y Rerua [sic = leña], y*

*proseguir despues su viaje en cuyo estado llego el General Don Bernardo de Aysoain con dos Navios, y aviendo embiado al presente Escrivano le Requirio con un Auto en virtud de Orden del Señor Presidente Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas Exiviese los Patentes en cuya virtud hubiese pasado à estas Partes como con efecto exivio las que tenia de su Magestad christianissima y del Señor Conde de Tolosa grande Almirante de Françia, y aviendo selas embiado a dho General por Don Gabriel Urquiso pasagero del declarante, y hachose [sic] a la vela inmediatamente para dar fondo junto a la Capitana por no ser capaz aquel Puerto para la seguridad de tres Navios le requirieron al instante desde dha Capitana soltase las anclas, y diese fondo en virtud de Orden de su Magestad Catholica, como lo hizo y en su consecuencia le mando llamar dicho General y le detuvo preso a Bordo de su capitana en que le condujo, a este Puerto con dicho Navio, y Gente aviendo embiado parte de ella por tierra que todos se hallan en este dho Puerto menos tres personas que las dos se quedaron en dha Provincia de Ylocos uno Pintor del Navio[,] otro criado del declarante, y el tercero en Manila segun la ha oido, y responde.*

*—Pregu{n}tado el ymporto de los intereses todos que saco dho Navio de Françia, y asimesmo el que produjo su venta en el Peru con la dha Presa.—Dijo y declaro que no se acuerda con certidumbre para poder declarar sobre ello[,] se remite a lo que constara de los Libros, y papeles que tiene exividos, y responde.*

*—Ytten pregu{n}tado el Importo de la carga de dho Navio ha traído de Canton, y todos sus intereses, y a quien pertenecen.—Dijo, y declaro que no puede afirmar su Importo pero que sobre ello se remite tambien a dhos Libros y papeles, y por lo que haze a la pertinencia ademas de la carga principal que pertenece a dhos Armadores tiene [el] declarante todo lo que consta del Inventario, y reconoçimiento fho por su merced en la descarga del Navio segun sus numeros, y marcas; y asi mismo, ha visto en dho reconoçimiento e inventario que salieron algunas piasas con las marcas de Monceur Gargan Director Monseur Roquet Escrivano, y Monseur Treson zirujano de dicho Navio, y responde.*

*—Yten pregu{n}tado si vienen algunos Intereses del Peru en los de dho Navio exprese quales, y de que personas.—Dijo, y declaro que no tiene noticia, de Ynteres alguno sino es de ducientos pesos que le entrego Don Joseph de los Fueros en Pisco para que cuidase a un Muchacho que le entrego llamado Matichas, y lo que sobran lo emplease en algunas menudencias que no se acuerda quales sean en dha çiudad de Canton que supone el declarante los ha empleado con su quenta, y razon, y responde.*

*—Yten si sabe a que personas se vendio la carga de dho Navio en dhos Reynos de Chile, y el Peru.—Dijo, y declaro no acordarse y responde.*

*—Yten pregu{n}tado si los Generos y frutos de las Mercaderias que trae dho Navio de la China son de los prohibidos o admitidos en el Reyno de la Françia.—Dixo que no es de los prohibidos en dho Reyno, y responde.*

*—Yten pregu{n}tado si las Lizençias que deja declarado haver tenido en los Puerros de Balparaiso, y Arica para la venta de la ropa, y carga que deja expresado han sido escritas o verbales.—Dijo, y declaro haver sido verbales, y no escritas, y responde.*

—Yten Pregu{n}tado para donde era el viaje de su tornabuelta de Canton por el estrecho de Malaca o Sonda.—Dijo, y declaro, que para la Isla de Mascaren cerca del Cavo de Buena Esperanza, y pasar de alli a la Europa, y responde.

—Ytten Repregu{n}tado como dize haver salido de Canton para pasar por dhos estrechos a la Isla de Mascaren, y de ella a la Europa quando de las diligencias fhas, y papeles que se le han recogido resulta haver salido de dho Reyno de Canton con animo de hazer su torna viaxe animo de hazer al Peru, y vender en èl lo que el Navio ha traído para la conveniència de aumentar el caudal y pagar la Gente, y por ser asi mismo prohibidas en el Reyno de Françia.—Dijo, y declaro que aunque es verdad que hanticipadamente antes de salir de dho Reyno de Canton acordaron a representacion que hizo Monseur Gargan Director de dho Navio lo que contiene la repregunta despues de haver salido y estando en la Isla de la Tortuga junto el declarante a todos los oficiales, y ademas al primer Piloto y Mre. Juan de Laga, y hizo mudar la deliberazion antecedente, y determinaron nuevamente el pasar por Malaca segun deja declarado, y responde.

—Yten pregu{n}tado diga, y declare por que causa o motivo desde dho Puerto de Solotsolot no se hizo a la vela para este de Cavite ó vinó por tierra como sele prevenia por las ordenes del Señor Capitan General que le Intimaria el Alcalde mayor de dicha provincia, de Ylocos.—Dijo y declaro que sobre ello respondió que por no haver podido como constara de sus respuestas à que se remite, y responde.

—Ytten Pregu{n}tado diga, y declare quantos viaxes ha hecho al Peru al trato y comercio[,] en que Navios, y en que Puertos ha hecho la venta[,] con que Patentes[,] Pasaportes, y Licençias desde el año de setezientos, y seis hasta el presente.—Dijo y declaro; que el dho año de setezientos y seis hizo otro viaje al dho Reyno del Peru en el Navio nombrado el Tuson de Oro [i.e. Toison d'Or] de la compañia Real de la Yndia en que iba de Capitan el declarante con las Patentes de su Rey, y del Señor Conde de Toloza y de la dha compania, y permiso de su Magestad christianisima para hazer viaje en corso, y Mercançia a dha Yndia en las factorias de Pulicheri [sic = Pondichery] y Vengala, y el que arriva dexa declarado, y no otro; y que por lo que mira a la venta de la ropa, y carga no fue del cargo del declarante sino de Don Luis de Ardancur secretario de dha Real Compania que venia entonzes de su comisario General por cuya razon no puede decir el Importo de las mercaderias que se vendieron[,] solo si se acuerda que vendió ó entregó a Don Joseph de Rosa en el Puerto de Pisco una buena porçion, y otras porçiones en los Puertos de la Concepçion y Balparaiso con Licençias verbales de los superiores que entonces eran de dhos Puertos de cuyos nombres no se acuerda, y responde.

—Ytten pregu{n}tado si executada la venta de dhas Mercaderias continuaron su viaje a la Yndia o bolvieron a Françia.—Dijo, y declaro haverse buuelto a Françia en donde dio razon de su viaxe, y responde.

—Ytten pregu{n}tado, si ha tenido o tiene otros Patentes o pasaportes que las que tiene exiv[d]las de su Magestad Christianissima, y grande Almirante de Françia para el Reyno de la China[;] Dijo no tener otras que las exividas, y responde.

*Fueronle fhas otras preguntas, y repreguntas al caso tocantes, y a todas dijo lo mismo que tiene declarado, y en este estado mando dho Señor Oidor leer esta declaracion al declarante, y aviendose asi executada Respondio, lo mismo, y que se afirmava; y rati-ficava en ello por ser la verdad so cargo del Juramento que tiene fho, y declaró ser de edad de treinta y cinco años poco mas o menos, y lo firmo con dho Señor Oidor Juez de esta comision, y Yo en fee de ello.—*

*Licenciado, Villa.*

*De Boilore.*

*Ante mi Juan de Losada Escrivano publico.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Declaration of Monsieur Boisoré, Captain of the ship Relámpago, about 35 years old.**

In the port of Cavite and its Fort San Felipe, in said month and year, His Lordship the Audiencia Member in charge of this Commission having come up and found there-in Monsieur de Boisoré, the Captain of the patache **Relámpago**, anchored in said port, for the purpose mentioned in the Writ at the beginning of these proceedings, and declarations, said Audiencia Member, before me the Notary, without the need for an Interpreter because he is rather fluent in our language, received his oath which he took in the name of God our Lord, with the sign of the cross according to law, and under this oath he promised to tell the truth of what he might know or be asked about. He was asked to state his name, where he was from, what were his status and occupation, how he made his way and arrived at these Islands, in which ship, in whose command, and from what hometown:

He Declared that his name was Don Juan de Boisoré, that he was from Paris in the Kingdom of France, was a bachelor and his occupation was that of Captain-General of the coast guard of the Province of Creàans [sic = Bretagne?] and Commander of the ship **Relámpago**, anchored in the bay of this part, outfitted in Port-Louis by Monsieur Jordan, Counsel of His Most Christian Majesty in all of his Councils, and his Secretary; Monsieur Duplesis Menan, of the same Councils, and Commissioner General of the Artillery of Spain; Monsieur Coquelin, and Monsieur de Saonet, Monsieur Ducicarcabe [sic], who are the main persons interested in said outfitting, that he departed from said port of Port-Louis loaded with various merchandise such as iron, spikes, steel, Rouen and Brittany cloth, hats, and other small stuff for Buenos Aires, to unload there and take on the product of two ships owned by said Owners, one named **Espérance** and the other **Isabelle** that went to said Provinces in 1707, the former sent by Monsieur Brignon and the latter by Monsieur Bonebal,<sup>1</sup> that he unloaded, but that Don Manuel de Velasco, who was then Governor of said Provinces of Buenos Aires, refused to deliver textiles or silver, and because he had not given permission to the declarant to unload his ship, or to sell and ensure a Portuguese prize that he had with him, and had

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1 Ed. note: Brignon was a ship-owner based in Saint-Malo.

made on the coast of Brazil where he had passed during the month of February 1711, in accordance with the commission from the Owners, and as he had only allowed him to buy food supplies, and nothing else, and given that the declarant could not go on to Canton with the prize, and the textiles, he was obliged to go on to Chile, and to Peru to sell both prize and textiles, as many other French ships had done, for the same reason at the same time. And, having resupplied himself at the port of Concepción in said Kingdom of Chile, and gone to Valparaiso, where he sold the already-mentioned Portuguese prize with the permission of His Lordship the Viceroy who was then the Lord Bishop of Quito, and that of the Lord President Governor and Captain-General of said Kingdom of Chile, Don Juan Andrés Ustariz who also granted him permission to sell the textiles, provided he paid 6% to Don Bernardo de Soto who came on his order to collect it at said port of Valparaiso. However, since he still had the greater part of the textiles left over, he coasted along the ports of Coquimbo, Copiapo, Cobija, and Arica where he concluded the sale of his cargo, also paying the 6% to Don Jorge Negrero, who was then town magistrate of said port and city of Arica, and had granted him the same permission, without having given him a receipt for the payment of said duties, not here nor in the other port. And having passed from there to Pisco to buy supplies of wine and brandy to pursue his voyage to China, he received an order from said Viceroy that was delivered to him while he was in the store of Juan de Nieve, by some Mister Lartiga, the son of the Prior who was then with the Consulate of Lima, for him to report to Callao, and place himself at the orders of His Excellency, which he in fact carried out, and that can be proven by a letter that must be found among the documents that form part of the exhibits.<sup>1</sup>

And having taken new provisions there, without any other business, he continued his voyage to Canton, having passed by the Marianas and the Babuyanes, and having entered in Canton at the beginning of July of last year and wintered there for four months more or less. He had made arrangements with the merchants Lenqua and Yongqua for the purchase of the cargo of the ship. During the whole month of December [rather October] he was forced to load the textiles that these two merchants gave him before the time agreed for it, and to leave said river of Canton on the 1st of November of said year of 1713, for fear of being arrested and have his ship seized, because of a Chinese ship that came from the Dutch factory at Batavia and was made a prize by Monsieur Bouynot, a Frenchman, captain of the ship **Saint-Louis**, that was in these Islands, and about which the declarant was warned by the two merchants in question, and the Father missionaries in said city of Canton. Because of such suspicions, he took on supplies as fast as he could, and left said river of Canton as he has said, bound to Malacca, but having arrived at an island of said Kingdom of Canton, at a distance of about 6 leagues from Macao, considering that as many as 25 men on board were very sick and that the Straits of Malacca and of Sunda were occupied by Dutchmen waiting

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1 Ed. note: The reason was a favor that the Bishop Viceroy was doing to Fr. Bourges, the missionary who wanted to make sure of getting to Guam that way (see Doc. 1713C2).

for said Monsieur Bouynot, he changed his heading and went looking for friendly ports where he could give relief to the sick men, and give enough time to the enemies to withdraw from said straits, but having been hit by a storm that lasted 11 days, and sighted the land of this Island of Luzon, he approached it and put out the boat and the launch to look for a port where to seek safety. When he discovered a bay before Sinaít, on the coast of the Province of Ilocos, he anchored, and remained there for three days, during which time he went to said Province of Ilocos, and the declarant was advised that he could make his ship safer, relieve the sick, get supplies and repair his ship better, as well as get someone to say mass on holidays, on account of the ship chaplain having died at the departure from Canton, it would be better for him to go to the port of Salamague which was at a distance of half an hour [by sea]. The declarant having surveyed said port, and that of Solotsolot which is right next to it, because it seemed more appropriate for the purpose, he in effect [moved there and] began repairing his ship because it was leaking badly, and took on food supplies until the 18th of February when he departed for the port of Salamague, which he entered on the next day to take on water and wood, and then to pursue his voyage. At this time General Bernardo de Aysoaín arrived with two ships and, having sent the present Notary to summon him with a writ issued on the order of His Lordship the President Governor and Captain General of these Islands, for him to show the commissions from His Most Christian Majesty and from the Count of Toulouse, Great Admiral of France. And having sent them to said General through Don Gabriel Urquiso, passenger of the declarant, and set sail immediately in order to anchor close to the flagship, as there was not enough room in that port for the safety of three ships, they immediately ordered him from said flagship to drop his anchors and stop, in the name of His Catholic Majesty, which he did. Consequently, said General had him called over and he detained him prisoner on board his flagship, aboard which he was taken to this port by said ship, with some of his men, the rest having been sent overland; all of them are now in this port, except for three persons, two of whom have remained behind in said Province of Ilocos, that is, one ship painter and the other a servant of the declarant, and the third one is in Manila, according to rumors, and so he answered.

—Asked about the value of all of the investments that said ship took from France, and also the income from the sale of said prize in Peru.—He Declared that he does not remember exactly enough to be able to declare about it; he refers to the facts contained in the books, and papers that are part of the exhibits, and so he answered.

—Asked about the value of the cargo that said ship took from Canton, and the total investments, and who are the investors.—He Declared that he cannot affirm the amount, but that for this information he also refers to said books and papers, but it may also be pertinent to mention that most of the cargo belongs to said ship-owners and bears the declarant's mark, as shown in the Inventory, and inspection, carried out by His Grace during the unloading of the ship, according to their numbers, and marks; and in addition, he has seen in said inspection and inventory that some pieces came out



with the marks of Monsieur Gargan, Supercargo, Monsieur Roquet, Clerk, and Monsieur Treson [or Creson?], surgeon of said ship, and so he answered.

—Asked if there were also some investors from Peru involved with said ship, and if so, who.—He Declared that he had no knowledge of any such investor, except for the 200 pesos that Don José de los Fueros gave him in Pisco so that he would take care [of the needs] of a boy, named Maticas, whom he turned over to him, and whose excess he was to employ in buying a few trifles at said city of Canton—he does not remember what they were—but this declarant supposes that the boy would have used them on his own account, and judgment, and so he answered.

—Asked if he knew the names of the persons to whom the cargo of said ship was sold in said Kingdoms of Chile and Peru.—He Declared that he did not remember, and so he answered.

—Asked if the goods and products of the merchandise which said ship carried from China were those prohibited from imports into the Kingdom of France.—He Declared that they are not those prohibited in said Kingdom, and so he answered.

—Asked if the permissions that he has declared that he had in the ports of Valparaiso and Arica for the sale of the textiles and cargo had been written or verbal.—He Declared that they had been verbal, and not written, and so he answered.

—Asked where he was headed on his return voyage from Canton, by the strait of Malacca or Sunda.—He Declared that he was bound to the Island[s] of Mascareigne near the Cape of Good Hope,<sup>1</sup> and go on from there to Europe, and so he answered.

—When asked again how he can declare to have departed from Canton to go by said straits to the Island[s] of Mascareigne, and from it to Europe, when from the previous proceedings, and the papers that have been collected from him, there results that he had departed from the Kingdom of Canton with the intention of making his return voyage to Peru, and to sell there what the ship carried, in order to increase the revenue and pay off the crew, and also because the merchandise was prohibited in the Kingdom of France.—He Declared that, although it is true that in anticipation of their departure from said Kingdom of Canton they agreed, at the representation made by Monsieur Gargan, Supercargo of said ship, to do as mentioned in this detailed question, after they had left and were at the Island of Tortuga, the declarant as well as all of the officers, including the first Pilot and Boatswain de Laga, met to discuss the previous decision, and they decided instead to pass by Malacca, as he has already declared, and so he answered.

—Asked to say and declare for what reason or motive he did not sail from said port of Solotsolot to this port of Cavite, or did not come overland, as he had been ordered to do by His Lordship the Captain General and announced to him by the Mayor of said Province of Ilocos.—He Declared that he had already answered this question, that it

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1 Ed. note: In fact, there are two islands in this group, Réunion and Maurice, formerly known as Bourbon and Ile de France.

was because he could not, as shown by his previous answers, to which he referred, and so he answered.

—Asked to say and declare how many voyages he has made to Peru to trade, aboard which ships, and in what ports he had made sales, with what commissions, passports, and licenses since the year 1706 until the present.—He Declared that in said year 1706, he made another voyage to said Kingdom of Peru aboard the ship named **Toison d'Or** belonging to the Royal Company of the Indies, in which the declarant was Captain, with commissions from his King, from His Lordship the Count of Toulouse, and from said Company, and letters-patent from His Most Christian Majesty to cruise, and to trade in said India in the factories of Pondichery and Bengal, and that mentioned above, and no other; and as far as the sale of the textiles and cargo were concerned, it was not the responsibility of the declarant but of Don Luis de Ardancour, secretary of said Royal Company who had come along as its Commissioner General; that is why he cannot say anything about the income from the merchandise that were sold; he only remembers that a good portion of it was sold and delivered to Don José de Rosa in the port of Pisco, and other portions in the ports of Concepción and Valparaiso with verbal permissions from the authorities who were then in said ports, whose names he does not remember, and so he answered.

—Asked if, once the sale of said merchandise was over, they had continued their voyage to India or returned to France.—He Declared that they returned to France, where he gave a report about his voyage, and so he answered.

—Asked if he has held or holds commissions or passports, besides those on exhibit, from His Most Christian King, and Great Admiral of France, for the Kingdom of China.—He Declared that he had no other than those on exhibit, and so he answered.

Other general and detailed questions were made to him regarding the case, and to all of them he declared the same as already declared, and at this stage, said Audiencia Member ordered me to read this declaration to the declarant. After this was done, he answered, the same, and that he did affirm it, and ratified it, because it was the truth declared under the oath that he had taken, and he declared his age to be about 35 years old, and he signed it, along with said Audiencia Member and Judge of this commission, whereof I give faith.—

Licenciate Villa.

De Boislóré.

Before me, Juan de Losada, Notary public.

[The interrogation of Roquet, Gargan and other ship officers brought to light the financial involvement of many Peruvians in the voyage from Peru to China, and back.]

## **K9. Captain Boislóré declared guilty on 22 October 1714**

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

*Real Acuerdo en que se declara por culpado al Capitan Don Juan de Boislóre.*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en veinte y dos de octubre de mil setecientos y Catorce años los Señores Presidente y oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas Islas Philipinas estando en el Real Acuerdo Ordinario y aviendose visto en el los Autos fulminados por su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas sobre de la arribada del Navio Relampago cargado de ropa y otras Mercançias de China del cargo de Don Juan Boilore franses à estas Islas remitidos por voto consultivo por Decreto de diez y siete del corriente a esta Real Acuerdo por dicho Señor Presidente y lo demas de dichos Autos dhos Señores: Dixeron dase por boto consultivo à su Señoria el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan General deverse declarar por malisioso y afectada la arribada de dicho Navio à estas Islas afin de conducirse al Reyno del Peru Chile y Buenos Ayres e y introcuçir en estas partes la ropa y demas Mercancias del dicho Reyno de China en manifiesto fraude de las leyes y ordenes de su Magestad (Dios le Guarde) y en perjuicio notorio del Comercio de sus vasallos; y por culpado en ella el dicho Don Juan Boilore y en su consecuencia haver caido encomiso y deverse confiscar dicho Navio, y toda su carga en todo lo que trae, quedando preso dicho Don Juan Boilore, y pasandose a la venta y remate en publica Almoneda de dichas Mercanças precediendo la Tasacion de su balor en la forma ordinaria y intrudiendo su producto en la Real Caja de hacienda reservando la Ympeccion de la pena correspondiente al dicho Don Juan Boilore al Real y supremo Concejo de las Yndias en conformidad de la Real Orden de veinte y seis de Henero del año de setecientos y ocho.—Y por lo que hace a Munciur Gargan y Monçior Roquet se les deve declarar por libres de los cargos que seles resultaron sin perjuicio de la confiscacion de qualesquiera bienes que les puedan pertenecer o pertenescan en las Mercancias y demas que yncluye la carga de dicho Navio[,]entendiendose lo mismo con toda la demas Gente à quienes su Señoria dicho Señor Presidente pedia conceder la Licencia necesaria para transportarse a su reyno sesando desde oy de la fecha en la continuacion de su socorro y atendiendo los en conformidad de la buena correspondencia en todo lo que hubiere lugar condenandose a la satisfacion y Reyintegro de los gastos y costas causados conforme al Real Arañcell[,] assi lo acordaron y firmaron dichos Señores.—*

*El Conde de Lisarraga*

*Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba*

*Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa*

*Antemi Antonio de Yepes y Arze.*

## **Translation.**

### **Royal Tribunal in which Captain Don Juan de Boisloré is declared guilty.**

In the city of Manila on the 22nd of October 1714, the gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Philippine Islands, being in the Ordinary Royal Tribunal and having seen therein the proceedings undertaken by His Lordship the President Governor and Captain General of these Islands concerning the arrival at these Islands of the ship **Relámpago** loaded with textiles and other merchandise from China, under the command of Don Juan Boisloré, a Frenchman, and referred

to this Royal Tribunal for consultation by decree of the 17th of this month by said Lord President, and the rest of said proceedings, said gentlemen: Declared that they were recommending to His Lordship the President Governor and Captain-General that he should declare as malicious and contrived the arrival of said ship at these Islands, in order to take it to the Kingdom of Peru, Chile and Buenos Aires and to introduce into these parts textiles and other merchandise from said Kingdom of China, in obvious infraction of the laws and orders of His Majesty (whom may God save) and in notorious prejudice to the commerce of his subjects; and being guilty of same, **consequently said ship and its whole cargo that it brought must be seized and confiscated and said Don Juan Boisloré kept prisoner, and said merchandise must be sold at public auction** following an assessment of their value in the ordinary way, and the income derived thereof is to accrue the Royal treasury, but **reserving the imposition of the penalty** corresponding to said Don Juan Boisloré to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, in accordance with the Royal order dated 26 January 1708.—And as far as Monsieur Gargan and Monsieur Roquet are concerned, they must be declared free of the charges made against them, without prejudice of the confiscation of any properties whatsoever that belong or might belong to them in the way of merchandises and other things included in the cargo of said ship. The same [opinion] applies to all the other men, who have asked His Lordship, said Lord President, for the necessary permission for their passage to their kingdom, with the cessation as of today of the continuance of their succor, taking into consideration the need to deal with them satisfactorily, provided the expenses and costs caused by them be repaid in full to the Royal treasury. So it was agreed by said gentlemen, who signed below.—

The Count of Lizarraga.

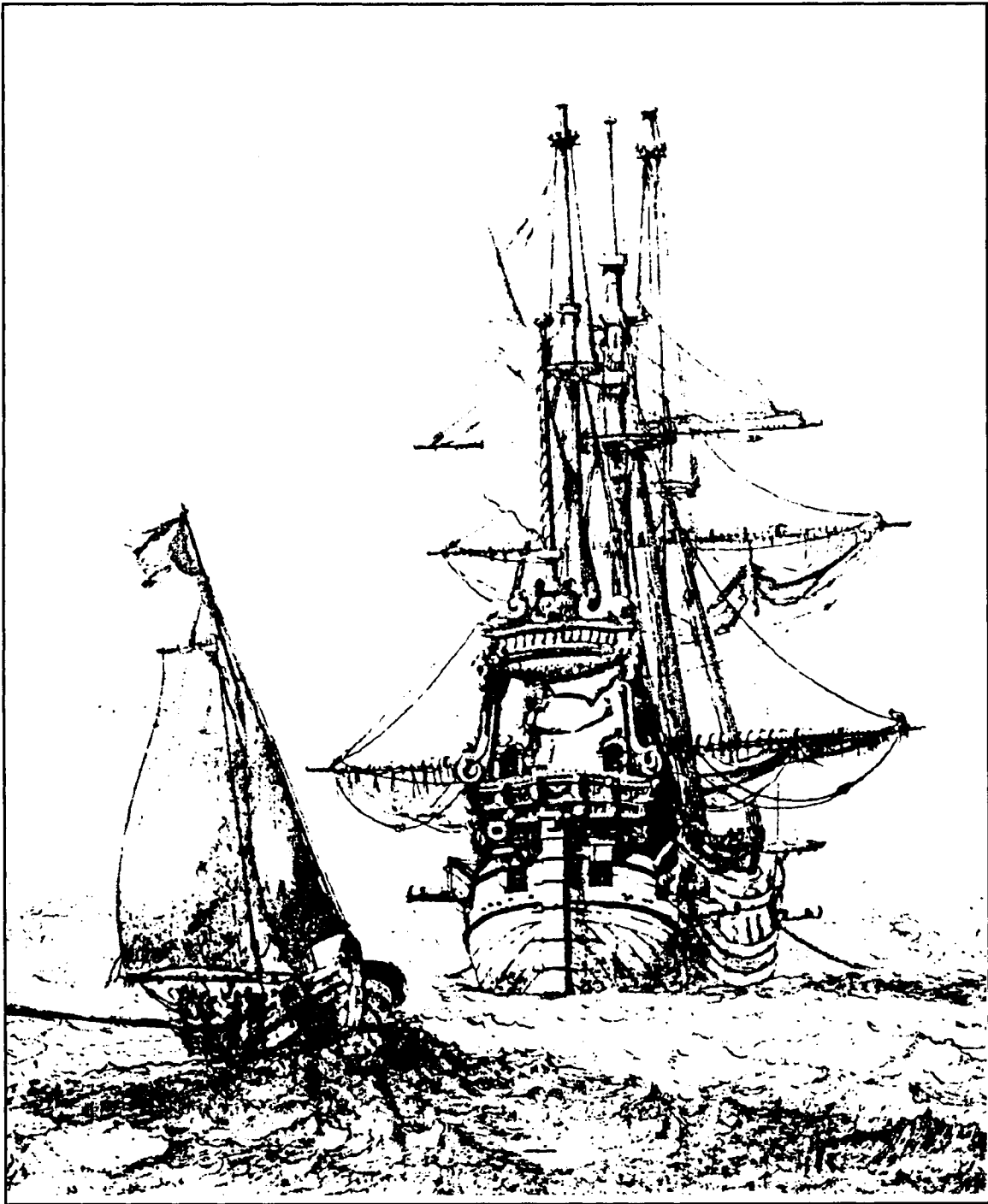
Doctor Don José de Torralba.

Licenciate Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

Before me, Antonio de Yepes y Arce.

[Upon being notified of this decision, Boisloré protested that he had not been represented by a lawyer. The official response of the Audiencia was that the interrogator, in his capacity as a lawyer, had been available as a counsel. Nicholas Gargan, Étienne Roquet and Charles Rivière also protested against the confiscation of their property. The official response of the Audiencia was that such merchandise could be stored for six years without any loss of value. When he heard, in Fort Santiago in Manila on 9 November 1714, that his appeal had been rejected, Boisloré again protested that he was not represented, and remained defenceless. The other officers of the Éclair simply desisted. On 15 November, General Fernando de Angulo declared that the China goods would effectively lose their value over time, as they would lose their color, etc. General Atanasio Fernandez de Guebara also declared that the loss in value of such goods would be considerable over a 5-6 year period. General Ignacio Vertiz declared that the goods could keep their value, provided that the storage place were dry, and protected from the elements, etc. General Juan Pablo de Orduña also stated that the goods would not

lose much value, nor rot. Captain Juan de Rivas stated that the loss would be considerable. General Antonio Fernandez de Roxas said the goods, specially the silk ones, would definitely lose value. Major Ignacio Navamuel y Villegas stated that he did not have enough experience in the Philippines to issue a proper opinion, except for the duration of one year, e.g. the goods not loaded aboard the *Begoña* in 1713 but loaded aboard the *Santo Cristo* in 1714, period over which the goods had not suffered any damage. Major José de Aguirre stated that it was possible to preserve such goods for up to 6 years, given ideal storage conditions. Captain Juan Antonio Cortés de Arredondo stated that such goods could indeed be preserved, but that he lacked experience to know the possible effects on all of them. Major Domingo Antonio de Otero Bermudez stated that such goods would be exposed to serious damage. Major Antonio Sanchez Zerdán stated that Chinese goods that have been starched would rot, although they have been well wrapped to protect them from the elements, etc.]



**French ship making ready to leave port, by Pierre Puget. (From Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*).**

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## Documents 1721L

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### Captain Boisloré—Part 6

*Sources: AGI Escribanía de Cámara 405C; copies in 406A.*

#### Editor's comments.

Part C of the case file contains the following documents, or transcripts:

The **eighth document** is entitled (in translation): “Year of 1721. Copybook n° 8. Authentic transcript of the evaluation made of the goods seized from Don Juan de Boisloré and carried by the ship *Éclair* to this city, their delivery to the Royal officials and the publicity given to their sale by the Audiencia Member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.” A note reads: “Received with a letter from the Audiencia of Manila dated 17 July 1721.” This contains a very detailed listing of all the goods bought in China, and their individual market value in Manila in 1714.

The **ninth document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. Copybook n° 9. Authentic transcript of the papers written regarding the sale of the goods seized from Don Juan de Boisloré, Captain of the ship *Éclair*.” Again, we have here the values realized from the sale at auction of said goods.

The **tenth document** is entitled: “Year of 1721. Copybook n° 10. Authentic record of the suits brought against the French officers of the ship *Éclair* commanded by Captain Juan de Boisloré regarding the request made by its soldiers [sic] for four years of salary for service aboard said ship since they left the Kingdom of France.”

The **eleventh document** is entitled: “Certification of the Royal decree regarding, if there should arrive at any of the ports of the Philippine Islands the French ship named **Saint-Joseph** commanded by Captain Miguel Dugun-Talit Collet,<sup>1</sup> it should be captured, its freight impounded and remitted to Spain with the eventual case files.”

The **twelfth document** is entitled: “Certification of the Royal decree of 9 January 1718 ordering the Governor of the Philippines to arrange for the case file to be remitted at the first opportunity.” A note reads: “Corresponds to Letter N° 10 (see L1 below).”

The **thirteenth document** is a file accompanying the Governor's letter dated 4 July 1728 (see Doc. 1728E). This file is important for researchers interested in the names and full cargos of Chinese and other ships trading with Manila in the 1710s.

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1 Note: His correct name was Portail-Collet. He had been arrested at Cadiz (see n° 135, of Dahlgren's *Voyages français*).

The **fourteenth document** is entitled: "Manila Year of 1714. The Fiscal of H.M. with Captain Juan Boyslero [sic] of French nationality, Captain of the ship named *Éclair*, and others his consorts. Regarding the seizure of said ship and its cargo..." It contains various papers including a printed memorial and a letter from Manila dated 27 July 1716 (see Doc. 1717F).

The **fifteenth and last document** about Boisloré accompanied a letter from the Governor dated 21 July 1714 (see Doc. 1714G). It is entitled: "No. 26. Certification of the affidavits regarding the arrival at a bay of the coasts of the Province of Ilocos of a ship named *Éclair* commanded by Captain Juan Boislore, of French nationality, loaded with merchandise."

**Note:** Escribania 406A contains a full transcript of all the case files involving Captain Boislore (20-cm, thick, and consisting of 1,113 folios).

## L1. Letter from Governor Bustillo to the King, dated Manila 30 July 1718

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamente y Rueda Presidente Governador y Capitan General de las islas Philipinas. N° 34.*

*Da quenta à V.M. del Reçivo de la Real çedula de quatro de Marzo del año de setecientos y quince en que V.M. manda que si llegare a los Puertos de estas Islas un Navio nombrado **San Joseph** del cargo de Miguel Dugut Talit Collet [sic], se aprehenda, y de por decomiso con toda su carga remitiendo su producto à España con los Autos que se hizieren, y da quenta de las diligencias executadas y quedar en la Inteligencia del devido cumplimiento en caso de llegar à estas Islas Philipinas. Y por lo que en caso igual se hà executado, àssimismo, remito testimonio de lo que importo el comiso de un Navio frances nombrado el **Relampago** del cargo del Monsiur Boisloret; en conformidad de las preêdentes ordenes de V.M. de que ya estan remitido testimonios de Autos en dos ocaziones a V.M. de que se aguarda la Real determinacion de V.M.*

*Señor.*

*En el Reçivo del despacho que V.M. se digno de dirigir à este Gobierno que llego à estas Islas Philipinas el año proximo pasado de setecientos diez y siete à buelta del Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** se contiene la Real çedula de quatro de Marzo de setecientos y quince, en la qual V.M. ordena y manda que en todos estos Reynos[,] si aportare un Navio Frances nombrado **San Joseph** a cargo de su Capitan Miguel Dugut Talit Collet, que se apresto en el Puerto de Cadiz cargando los frutos y generos que introducir en estos Dominios y de la America, no teniendo Patente mas que para el viaje Sant Malo a la Martinica sin permission de otra escala por lo que consto de justificadas noticias y que por esta Razon en caso de llegar à estas partes se aprese con toda su carga dando uno, y otro por Decomisso y Remitiendose en Navios Españoles la Presa y Gente de su Equipaje con los Autos que se formaren: En cuiá inteligencia quedo con el cuida-*



*do y desvelo que pide el cumplimiento de la Real orden de V.M. con la prevencion de la prohibicion total de que no se admita en estos Puertos ningun Bajel extranjero de qualquiera nacion que sea con pretexto ni motivo alguno, y para su mejor observancia no solamente tengo dada providencia de que se publiquen Bando en esta Ciudad, y en todas las Provincias, y con especial recuerdo donde ay Puertos y surgideros sino que al mismo fin tengo mandado que ese tengan correos apercividos, y que en qualquier caso de la de esta igualdad que surgieren, ó aportaren qualesquiera Navios sin dilacion alguna se me den los avisos y noticias por los Alcaldes mayores y corregidores, ó por qualesquiera Ministros de Justicia Españoles, ó Naturales, para que con toda promptitud despachen los Correos, por mar, ó por tierra, como mas comodamente ofrèciere la oportunidad.*

*Y Respecto de haver apresado por este Gobierno un Barco françes nombrado el **Relampago** del cargo de Monsiur Boislorete que arrivo à estas islas por Noviembre del año de setecientos y treçe, Haviendo pasado por las Costas del Peru[,] Yslas Marianas y China y con generos de este Reyno[,] parece intentava bolver à las referidas Costas del Peru, de cuios autos y diligencias segun las notas del Escrivano de este Gobierno consta haverse remitido testimonio dandose quenta à V.M. por lo que al presente remito solo el de las ultimas diligencias como es el pedimiento fiscal, y çertifiçacion de oficiales Reales de importar este comercio ochenta mill ochocientos ochenta y ocho pesos quatro tomines y quatro granos que se remato en el Capitan Don Pedro Babase, y queda entrada en la Real Caja la cantidad de quarenta y siete mill setecientos cinquenta pesos quatro tomines y seis granos por haverse pagado por via de suplemento al segundo Capitan y demas ofiziales y Gente del servicio del referido Barco con los alimentos del Capitan Apresado; y por las diligencias del Alcalde ordinario catorze mill dosçientos quarenta y nueve pesos tres tomines y dies granos. Y los diez y ocho mill ochocientos ochenta y ocho pesos quatro tomines y quatro granos restantes por la espera que se dio a dho Capitan Babase hasta la llegada de la plata que este presente año condujere el Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Vegofia**, cuyo efectivo entero y satisfacion quedo con el cuidado de dar la ordenes convenientes y aguardando la deliberacion de V.M. sobre este Comiso.*

*Guarde Dios L.C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Xptiandad ha menester.*

*Manila y Jullio 31 de 1718.*

*Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.*

### **Translation.**

Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands. N° 34.

Reports to Y.M. that he has received the Royal decree dated 4 March 1715 in which Y.M. orders that if a ship named **Saint-Joseph**, commanded by Miguel Dugut Talit [sic] Collet, should show up at any port of these Islands, it is to be arrested and confiscated with its full cargo, and the liquidated assets remitted to Spain with any record of proceedings, and reports about the steps taken and that he remains ready to duly

comply, in case it arrive at these Philippine Islands. He also reports what has been done in a similar case, enclosing the certificate of the revenue from the confiscation of a French ship named **Relámpago** commanded by Monsieur Boisloret, in accordance with previous orders from Y.M., whose records of proceedings have already been remitted on two occasions to Y.M., about which is awaited the Royal determination of Y.M.

Sire:

I acknowledge the receipt of the despatch that Y.M. was pleased to address to this Government that arrived at these Philippine Islands last year 1717 with the return voyage of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos**. Therein was the Royal decree dated 4 March 1715 in which Y.M. orders that in all these Kingdoms, if there were to show up a French ship named **Saint-Joseph**, commanded by a Captain Miguel Dugut Talit [rather Michel Portail-] Collet, that was made ready in the port of Cadiz, carrying the products and goods to sell in these territories and those of America, not having any commissions except one to make a voyage from Saint-Malo to Martinique without permission to make any other stopover, according to information legally obtained: this ship and its whole cargo are to be declared confiscated and the prize and the crewmen are to be remitted with Spanish ships, along with the records of proceedings in the case. I remain informed about this and will take care to comply with this Royal order from Y.M. with regards to the total prohibition of any foreign vessel from any nation whatever that may arrive under any pretext or motive. The better to insure compliance thereof, I have not only given orders to have an Edict published in this City, and in all of the Provinces, and specially where there are ports and anchorages, but I have also alerted them to have messengers ready for the purpose, and in the eventuality of some ship showing up, or anchoring, without any delay they are to give me advices and news through the Province Mayors and Town Magistrates, or through any Ministers of Justice, Spanish or native, so that they in turn may despatch their couriers rapidly, by sea or overland, whichever is the best way under the circumstances.

And concerning the capture by this Government of a French ship named **Relámpago** commanded by Monsieur Boisloret [sic] who arrived at these Islands in November of 1713, after having passed by the coasts of Peru, the Mariana Islands, and China and with merchandise to this Kingdom, it appears that he planned to return to the above-mentioned coasts of Peru, according to the notes of the Notary of this Government, the record shows that the transcripts of the proceedings in this case were remitted with a report to Y.M. Therefore, at present, it is only necessary for me to remit the last proceedings, such as the request by the Fiscal, and the certification by the Royal officials of the proceeds from this business, i.e. 80,888 pesos 4 tomins and 4 grains, as sold to Captain Pedro Babase, and the [net] amount received by the Royal treasury was 47,750 pesos 4 tomins and 6 grains, because of the payments made to the second Captain and other officers and men serving the above-mentioned ship, plus the food of the Captain prisoner; and for the expenditures made by the ordinary Mayor 14,249 pesos 3 tomins and 10 grains. And the balance of 18,888 pesos 4 tomins and 4 grains remains to be col-

lected from said Captain Babase when the silver of the present year gets here aboard the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, and I remain ready to issue orders for the effective collection of said cash, and await the deliberation of Y.M. regarding this confiscation.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 31 July 1718.

Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.<sup>1</sup>

## L2. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines to the King, dated Manila 30 June 1721

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Arzobispo Gobernador de las Islas Philipinas.*

*N. 10.*

*Da cuenta a V.M. del recivo de la Real Zedula en que se ordena se remitan los Autos de Don Juan de Boisllorè y de como en virtud de otra despachada a la Real audiencia sobre lo mismo se remiten por ella.*

*Señor.*

*Por zedula su fecha en Madrid a 7 de Henero de 1718 que se recibio en este Govierno el año pasado de 720 en el Galeon **Sacra Familia** que vino del Reino de la Nueva España con el Situado de estas Islas se sirve V.M. de ordenar se remitan en primera ocaçion los Auttos integros que se formaron sobre el Comisso del Navio del Capitan Don Juan Boisllore, y habiendo venido otra Real Zedula del mismo tenor para la Audiencia en donde dhos Auttos se fineçieron en su virtud van en esta ocaçion remitidos por dha Real Audiencia de que como devo doy cuenta à V.M. C.C.R.P. Guarde la Divina los muchos años que la Christiandad necessita.*

*Manila y Junio 30 de 1721.*

*Fr. Francisco Arzpo. de Manila.*

### Translation.

The Archbishop Governor of the Philippine Islands.

Nº 10.

Reports to Y.M. about the receipt of the Royal decree in which it is ordered that the records of proceedings concerning Don Juan de Boislorè be remitted, and the fact that, by virtue of another decree addressed to the Royal Audiencia concerning the same matter, they are being remitted by it.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Council of the Indies saw this letter on 9 July 1721. It was not answered, but simply filed away, and is now found with other papers received two years later.

Sire:

In a decree dated Madrid 7 January 1718, that was received by this Government last year 1720 aboard the galleon **Sacra Familia** that came from the Kingdom of New Spain with the subsidy of these Islands, Y.M. was pleased to order the remittal at the first opportunity of a full set of the records of proceedings made concerning the confiscation of the ship of Captain Don Juan Boisloré, it happens that another Royal decree with the same contents was received by the Audiencia, where said proceedings were finalized. By virtue of the latter, they are being remitted on this occasion by said Royal Audiencia, and as I must I simply report this to Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for the many years that Christendom needs.

Manila, 30 June 1721.

Fray Francisco [de la Cuesta], Archbishop of Manila.<sup>1</sup>

### L3. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila to the King, dated Manila 17 July 1721

#### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila remite a V.M. los autos obrados en razon del aporito de un Navio Frances del cargo de Don Juan Boisloré con mercaderias de China para el Peru. Con Testimonio N. 18.*

*Señor:*

*Aviendose rezivido en esta Audiencia en el Galeon del año pasado de setecientos y veinte la Real Cedula de Madrid à nueve de Henero de mil setecientos y diez, y ocho en que V.M. nos manda remitamos conclusos los Autos de la causa, que se fulminó por el Conde de Lizarraga siendo Governador de estas Yslas el año de mil setecientos y catorce contra Don Juan de Boysloré frances Capitan de un Navio mercante, que aportó dho Año al Puerto de Solotsolot de la Provincia de Ylocos sobre el illicito comercio en que trataba de Francia al Peru, del Peru à China, y de China a Peru; se han mandado sacar las compulsas por duplicado, y las remitimos adjuntas de todos los autos obrados en esta razon.*

*Y por lo que de ellos, parece resulta averse sustanciado, y determinado en tiempo de dho Conde Governador con votos consultivos del Acuerdo de esta Audiencia y justificado plenícimamente el fraude del comercio en los dominios de V.M. y que dho varco iba cargado de sus mercaderias de China derechamente al Peru, y el aver aportado à dha Provincia de Ylocos fué para aguardar tiempos favorables para seguir su derrota, por haver los experimentado contrarios.*

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1 Ed. note: This letter, along with the following one, arrived at Cadiz in 1722. Both of them, with their attachments, were seen by the Council on 7 January 1723, which passed them to the Fiscal. The latter simply joined said papers to the existing case file.

*En cuya vista se declaró haver caído en commiso, cuyo importo han sido segun el remate zelebrado en almoneda Real en tiempo que governaba el Oidor Don Joseph de Torralva de ochenta mil ochocientos noventa, y dos pesos; pero su abaluazion avia importado noventa mil ochocientos cinquenta y seys ps, y la vaja parece averse hecho por haverse estimado la referida avaluazion à precios excesibos, en vista de Informazion que se rezivio sobre ello. A cuya quenta y considerando que era preciso mantener la gente de la dotacion del Navio si se detubieran en estas Yslas mientras venia la determinacion de V.M. en vista de autos, y que solo resultó culpado el Capitan Boysloré seles admitio la pretencion de sus devengados que interpusieron los demas ofiziales y gente de la tripulazion para poder conducirse à Europa, y se les mando pagar la mitad de lo que se les debia que importó onze mil, ochocientos y diez y siete pesos seys tomines, y onze granos.*

*No se hizo aplicazion de la sexta parte que señala la Ley de Commisos por haverse procedido en virtud de las nuevas ordenes de V.M. en el asunto y no expresarse en su Real desicion, y asi solo se condenó en dichos bienes en las costas y costos de la Comision segun aranzel que parecio ceder en mayor beneficio de la Real Hazienda como todo lo expresado mas largamente consta de las compulsas que nuevamente remitimos en onze quadernos à V.M. C.C.R.P.G.N.S. como la Christiandad ha menester.*

*Sala de Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila y Julio diez y siete de mil setecientos y veynte y uno.*

*Fr. Francisco Arzobispo de Manila*

*Licenciado Joseph Antonio Pavon*

*Licenciado Don Joseph Manuel de Villa.*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila remits to Y.M. the records of proceedings concerning the arrival of a French ship commanded by Don Juan Boisloré with merchandise from China for Peru. With Transcript N° 18.

Sire:

This Audiencia having received aboard the galleon of 1720 the Royal decree dated Madrid 9 January 1718 in which Y.M. orders us to remit the final proceedings in the case that was brought by the Count of Lizarraga, then-Governor of these Islands, in 1714 against Don Juan de Boisloré, the French Captain of a merchant ship that made port that year in Solotsolot in the Province of Ilocos, concerning the illicit trade that he was doing from France to Peru, from Peru to China, and from China to Peru: a duplicate set of transcripts has been ordered made, and enclosed herewith we are remitting all of the records of the proceedings in this case.

And what they seem to show is, that the case was substantiated and determined during the term of said Count Governor, following the recommendations of this Audiencia, such as the fraud consisting in trading in the dominions of Y.M. has been fully proven, and that said ship was loaded with merchandise from China meaning to go

directly to Peru, and it had only made port in said Province of Ilocos to await favorable weather to pursue its voyage, after it had experienced contrary weather.

For the above reason it was declared confiscated, a procedure that netted a total of 80,892 pesos as a result of a sale by public auction during the term of our Member Don José de Torralba. However, its valuation had been for 90,856 pesos; the reduction seems to have come from the fact that said valuation had been made using excessively-high prices, as shown by the inquiry held into the matter. This account was affected that the necessity of maintaining the crew manning the ship while it was being detained in these Islands, while awaiting the determination of Y.M. from the review of the file, but considering that only Captain Boisloré was found guilty, the claim made by the other officers and the crew to collect their wages and return to Europe was found to have merit, and they were ordered paid half of what they were due, which amounted to 11,817 pesos 6 tomins and 11 grains.

Part 6 of the Law on Confiscations was not applied, because the proceedings were held by virtue of new orders from Y.M. in the matter, and because the exact procedure to follow was not stated in your Royal decision, and therefore only the expenses and costs of the commission were charged and fined as duties, something that appears to have yielded a greater sum for the Royal treasury, as can be seen in greater detail in the compilation of the transcripts that we are now remitting in 11 copybooks to Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may Our Lord save, as Christendom needs.

Law-courts of the Audiencia of Manila, 17 July 1721.

Fray Francisco, Archbishop of Manila.

Licenciate José Antonio Pavón.

Licenciate Don José Manuel de Villa.

#### **LA. Opinion of the Council of the Indies, dated 28 June 1723**

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

*Marques de Ribas*

*Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche*

*Don Diego de Zuñiga*

*Don Gonzalo Machado*

*Don Antonio de la Pedrosa*

*Don Juan Santos de San Pedro*

*Señor*

*Con Decretos de 13 de Marzo y 11 de Noviembre de 1721 remitió V.M. al Consejo una carta y memorial de Don Juan Boislore de nazon franzes, para que en inteligencia de sus contenidos informase y consultase a V.M. lo que sobre ello se ofreciese y pareciese. La carta se reduce a representar difusamente todo lo ocurrido en el comiso que se le hizo en Phelipinas el año de 1714 de su Navio nombrado **la Clair** [sic], ó Relampago, lo executado con su persona y solizitud que ha echo para su restituzion y mercancías que en el conduzia, expresando al mismo tiempo los excesos cometidos en*

*aquellas Yslas el año de 1715 en gravísimo perjuicio del servicio de Dios y de V.M. y proponiendo diferentes medidas para su buen Gobierno.*

*El Consejo en vista de esta instancia y de lo que en ella à ocurrido con lo que en inteligencia de todo que à expuesto el Fiscal:*

*Devé hazer presente à V.M. que el motivo de haver acudido el referido Don Juan Boislóre el año de 1716 quejandose del embargo que se le hizo de su Navio en Philipinas remitido al Consejo con su Real decreto de 25 de Noviembre del mismo año un ofizio del embajador de Franzia con un memorial dado por los Dueños de dho Navio para que con las noticias que se tubiesen de esta dependencia consultase à V.M. en cuio cumplimiento y habiendo dado quenta el Conde de Lizarraga Governador que fue de aquellas Yslas en carta de 14 de Jullio de 1714 del ylizito comercio con que este Navio traficava desde Francia al Peru y de alli à China habiendo retorno, à aquellos parajes en fraude del comercio en los dominios de V.M. por cuios motivos y haverle hallado cargado de mercaderias de China le havia comisado y embargado toda su carga sobre lo qual se quedava siguiendo la causa hasta su determinazion oyendo en justizia al referido Don Juan Boislóre y su gente y recibidose a prueba[,] cuios autos por no estar conclusos no se podia tomar determinazion sobre ello consulto el Consejo a V.M. en - de Septiembre el año de 1717 se devia expedir Zedula al Governador y Audiencia de Manila para que remetiesen integros los autos que se quedavan formando sobre esta matheria y que en llegando se podria oyr en justizia a la parte de los interesados de dho Navio con cuio dictamen se sirvio V.M. conformarse, y se remitió el expresado despacho en cuio cumplimiento a remitido la Audiencia los referidos autos que se hallan en el Consejo:*

*Y es de parecer se sirva V. Magd. tener à bien pasen à justizia con los demas papeles, cartas y memoriales que se han juntado à este expediente para que por esta via sele de el curso que corresponda separandose de el la expresada carta de dho Juan Boislere de 28 de Diciembre de 1715 para que corra por Gobierno respecto de ser sobre distinto hasumpto; y aunque se deviera desestimar su contenido por reducirse solo a suponer barios excesos que dize se cometian en aquellas Yslas en gravísimo perjuicio del servicio de Dios y de Vuestra Magestad proponiendo varios medios para remediar aquellos daños sin mas justificazion para estas quejas que la simple narrativa de su carta[,] reconociendose por ella que ni el zelo de vasallo ni el amor a V.M. le inclinaron a prevenir estas noticias por hallarse beneficiado en los autos[,] lo contrario deviendose persuadir que solo le movio à esta declaracion su mala inclinacion y sentimiento de hallarse procesado à correspondienzia de su delito; no obstante jusga el Consejo se podra remitir copia de la zitada carta al Governador de aquellas Yslas para que sobre su contenido informe justificadamente previniendole al mismo tiempo que en caso de necesitarse de algun remedio sobre los puntos que contiene, aplique para ello las providenzias que considerare por mas correspondidas y de quenta con toda justificacion para que en su vista se tome la resoluzion que se considerare por mas combenientes.*

*V.M. resolvera lo que fuere de su Real agrado.*

*Madrid 28 de Junio de 1723.*

### Translation.

The Marquis of Rivas.  
Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche.  
Don Diego de Zuñiga.  
Don Gonzalo Machado.  
Don Antonio de la Pedrosa.  
Don Juan Santos de San Pedro.

Sire:

Along with decrees dated 13 March and 11 November 1721, Y.M. remitted to the Council a letter and memorial from Don Juan Boisloré,<sup>1</sup> a Frenchman, for us to take note of its contents and consult Y.M. about what might offer and be appropriate. The letter can be summarized by saying that he represents in detail everything that occurred during the confiscation made in the Philippines in 1714 of his ship named **Éclair, or Relámpago**, what was done to his person and the request for the restitution of it and of all the merchandise that it carried, expressing at the same time the excesses committed in those Islands in 1715 in very grave prejudice to the service of God and of Y.M., and proposing various measures for its good government.

The Council, in view of this request, and of what has occurred in it, along with the opinion of the Fiscal about the matter:<sup>2</sup>

Must let Y.M. know that the reason for the above-mentioned Don Juan Boisloré to have brought this matter up in 1716, was his complaint about the seizure of his ship in the Philippines, the one remitted to the Council with your Royal decree of 25 November of that year by the Ambassador of France with a memorial by the Owners of said ship, for us to consider with the news that might have come about said matter and thus make recommendations to Y.M. In compliance thereof and after consideration of the report submitted by the Count of Lizarraga, then-Governor of those Islands, in a letter dated 14 July 1714 regarding the illicit trade carried out by this ship which was trafficking between France and Peru and from there went to China, to return to those parts of Y.M.'s dominions, for which motives and its having been found loaded with merchandise from China, the ship and its full cargo were confiscated, and at the time, the case was still pending and there remains to hear the above-mentioned Don Juan Boisloré and his men in court, and to receive the proofs in order to finalize it. Said proceedings not being finalized, it was not possible to take a determination about it, so that the Council then recommended to Y.M. on -- September 1717 that a decree should be issued to the Governor and Audiencia of Manila for them to remit the proceedings that remained to take place in this matter, and that upon receipt thereof the parties inter-

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1 Ed. note: This is the letter dated 28 December 1715 in which he reported to the King on the abuses and scandals in Manila.

2 Ed. note: He suggested that the opinions of this hostile Captain, a foreigner, should be considered enemical to the Crown, and not be taken seriously.



ested in said ship should be heard; Y.M. was pleased to agree with this decision, the decree in question was issued, the Audiencia complied with it and remitted the above-mentioned records that are now found in the Council.

And we are of the opinion that Y.M. should be pleased to agree that the other papers, letters and memorials that have been gathered in this case file be considered by this Court and follow the normal course, with the exception of said letter from said Juan Boisoré dated 28 December 1715 that should follow the normal Government procedures, given that it is about a different matter; and although its contents should be disregarded, as they concern only various excesses that supposedly took place in those Islands in very grave prejudice to the service of God and of Your Majesty, and proposing various measures to remedy those damages [but] without more justification than the complaints themselves simply narrated in his letter. In it one can recognize that neither the zeal of a vassal nor the love of Y.M. was what motivated him to report such news, for he found himself implicated in the proceedings; to the contrary, the reader can persuade himself that his only motive for this declaration was his bad inclination and resentment for having been punished according to his crime; nevertheless, the Council thinks that a copy of said letter could be sent to the Governor of those Islands, so that the contents thereof could be legally inquired into, and he should be warned at the same time that, in case some remedy be needed on the points in question, he is to apply for this purpose the provisions that might be considered appropriate, and then to report on action taken, along with all of the records of proceedings, so that in view thereof we may in turn consider the most appropriate resolution.

Y.M. will resolve what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 28 June 1723.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: In December 1725, the King asked Manila for comments on the 1715 report by Captain Boisoré (see Doc. 1725C); they answered in 1728 (see Doc. 1728E). As far as the main case was concerned, Captain Boisoré was cited to appear in court at Madrid in 1725, but in his absence (and that of the owners' attorney, it seems), he was officially charged once again, and the King was asked to consider the case closed.

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## Documents 1722A

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# Claim against the Governor of the Marianas

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1.*

*Note: Governor Luís Sanchez de Tagle served as such from 1720 to 1725.*

## A1. Claim made against Governor Luís Sanchez de Tagle by the Philippine Treasury

### Original text in Spanish.

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Haviendose determinado en junta de quantas celebrada, sobre la quenta general anual de esta Real Caxa ase debuelvan à ella un mill y quinientos pesos, de los tres mill que se le libraron à Don Luis Sanches de Tagle Governador de las Islas Marianas por el valor del oficio de Depositario General de esta Ciudad a que fue mandado restituir por Real Cedula de su Mgd. que no tuvo efecto, por estar rematado en publica Almone-da haviendolo declarado vaco este superior Gobierno; Y no hallando medio alguno, para que dho Don Luis, debuelva, dichos un mill y quinientos pesos: Suplicamos à Vues-tra Ex<sup>a</sup> se sirva concurrir a que los Oficiales Reales de esa Ciudad a quienes tambien hazemos el encargo escalfen esta cantidad del Real Situado de Marianas àcresiendolo à esta de Manila por la Razon expressada; En lo que esperamos especial favor en los acostumbrados de Vuestra Ex<sup>a</sup> cuya muy Illustrada Persona guarde Dios muchos años. Manila 18 de [Julio? de] 1721.*

*B. la M. de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> sus rendidos servidores,*

*Juan Joseph de Zarasibar*

*Juan de Abaurrea*

*Antonio Joseph de Monrroy*

*[Al] Excelentissimo Señor Marques de Balero Virrey Governador Presidente y Capitan General del Reyno de la Nueva España.*

### Translation.

Your Excellency:

In the annual meeting that was held regarding the general accounts of this Royal treasury, it was determined that 1,500 of the 3,000 pesos paid out to Don Luis Sanchez

de Tagle, Governor of the Mariana Islands, be paid back, for the value of the post of public treasurer of this City which he was ordered to vacate by Royal decree and which did not take place, since it was sold out to the highest bidder in a public auction, after this superior Government had declared it vacant. So, not finding any means by which to force said Don Luis to return said 1,500 pesos, we beg Your Excellency to please concur with the Royal officials of that City, to whom we also make the request, and debit this sum from the Royal subsidy of the Marianas and credit it to that of this City for the above-mentioned reason. We hope to get this special favor from the usual liberality of Your Excellency, whose very illustrious person may God save for many years.

Manila, 18 of [July?] 1722.

Your humble servants who kiss the hand of Your Excellency,

Juan José de Zarasibar

Juan de Abaurrea

Antonio José de Monroy.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Valero, Viceroy Governor, President and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain.

## A2. Petition on behalf of Governor Sanchez

### Original in Spanish.

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Capitan Don Francisco Sanches de Tagle vezino de esta Ciudad apoderado de Don Luis Antonio Sanches de Tagle Governador y Capitan general de las Yslas Marianas, à los pies de V.E. dize: que en virtud de Decreto de siete del corriente mes proveido en vista de carta escrita por Oficiales Reales de Manila mandà V.E. que de los un mil seiscientos y cinquenta pesos que gosa de sueldo anual dho Governador se le bajen mill y quinientos, y se aumenten al Situado de Manila, por tantos, que dizen haverle entregado, por los motibos que refieren; y aunque el que suplica a lo verisimil de la deuda, sin embargo, por lo efectibo del despojo, sin permitirle tiempo à que sea oido, y manifieste sus descargos (sin que sea visto oponerse à los soberanos mandatos de V.E. y hablando con la veneracion que debe, suplica del referido Decreto) por carecer la deuda que denuncia de los nezesarios fundamentos que den margen à enagenar à su parte de lo que lexitimamente le toca; No siendo bastante instrumento una carta sencilla, à justificar lo que se le demanda, pues deviera venir abrigada con instrumento authorisado de Escrivano que abrasara, assi su realidad, como las diligencias executadas en orden à su cobranza; el qual como conviniente atajara qualquiera recursos à que se pudiera efugiar para desbanecer lo executibo del excalfe, y echandose menos, este instrumento parece tiene cabimiento lo commiseratibo de V.E. el que suspenda en la presente ocacion la referida rebaja, quando de contrario, es patente quedar expuesto mi parte à padecer conocidos atrasos, en deslustre del empleo que exercita, consecuencia que le obligarà à experimentar escaseses: Sobre cuià determinacion siendo del alto agrado de V.E. resolbera el que conprobada que sea la deuda; su reemplaso y debolu-*

*cion sea por partes, en tres imbios de Situado excluso el presente, por carecer de solemne justificacion. Por lo qual:*

*A V.E. suplica sea servido determinar segun lleba pedido como fundado en justicia y por merced la espera conseguir de la elebada grandeza de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> &.—*

*Francisco Antonio Sanchez de Tagle*

*Mexico 11 de Febrero 1722.*

*Al Señor Fiscal con la carta.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency:

I, Captain Don Francisco Sanchez de Tagle, a resident of this City and legal representative of Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, at the feet of Y.E. declare: that, in view of the Decree dated 7th of this month issued as a result of the letter written by the Royal officials in Manila in which Y.E. orders that 1,500 be debited from the annual salary of 1,650 pesos allotted to said Governor and be credited to the subsidy of Manila, notwithstanding their declaration that such a sum had been paid him, under the circumstances that they mention, and although said debt may be likely, nevertheless, since the dispossession has been made effective, without giving him time to be heard, and to present his case (without necessarily appearing to be against the sovereign decision of Y.E. and speaking with all due respect, in appealing against the above-mentioned decree) because he denounces the so-called debt as lacking the necessary basis that would give a reason to despoil his party of what legally belongs to him. A simple letter is not a sufficient instrument to justify what they demand; indeed, it should have come under the guise of an instrument authorized by a notary, one that would not only give it legal reality but also state the steps, if any, that were taken to recover said amount. Such an absence of documentation should normally result in a proper subterfuge to prevent the execution of the dispossession. The absence of such an instrument is a sufficient reason at present to beg Y.E. to please suspend the above-mentioned diminution; otherwise, my party would obviously suffer known delays in the payment of his salary, to the discredit of the post that he fills, since he would necessarily experience shortages. In order to resolve this issue, may it be the pleasure of Y.E. to decide, if the debt be proven, that it be reimbursed in parts, such as in three despatches of the subsidy, excluding the present one, given the lack of proper legal justification. Consequently:

May Y.E. be pleased to respond favorably to my request, as I have a legal basis for doing so, and I hope to receive it from the largeness of Y.E., etc.

Francisco Antonio Sanchez de Tagle

Mexico, 11 February 1722.

[To] the Fiscal, along with the letter.

### A3. Answer from the Fiscal, dated Mexico 12 February 1722

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Fiscal de S.M. ha visto este Memorial y Carta que le acompaña; y dize que parece viene Ambigua la pretension de ofiziales Reales de Manila; como quiera que no dizen à V.Ex<sup>a</sup> si los un mill y quinientos pesos que asientan dever Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, Governador y Capitan general de las Yslas Marianas los deva a dhos ofiziales Reales ó a su Magd. en aquellas Reales Caxas, porque en este caso debieran comprobar la Narrativa de su carta con zertificacion de el devito para que fuese executiba la demanda; y de qualquier modo que sea, extraña el Fiscal esta pretension, y el recurso a V.Ex<sup>a</sup>; quando dhos ofiziales Reales tienen tan inmediato a dho Governador como que no dista su Gobierno de aquella capital mas de tresçientas leguas, y con comunicazion de unas a otras Yslas, para haber podido fazilmente recombenidole [sic] y cobrado, la expresada cantidad, en el caso que justamente la deviese, haziendo tambien el Fiscal el reparo de que soleziten perçibirla del Real Situado, quando este esta destinado por S. Mgd. para paga de los soldados, y asignados en dhas Yslas Marianas, que no es fazil lo consiguiesen, ni que V.Ex<sup>a</sup> con el notorio zelo que àsiste en el servicio de el Rey (Dios le guarde) pe[r]mitiera se combertiera dho Real Situado en otro fin que el de su destinaçion, ni tampoco tubiera a vien su grande justificacion en que se le privase a dho Governador de la perzepcion de el sueldo de todo un año, como quiera que no siendo otro que el de un mill seiscientos y cinquenta pesos, no le quedaria para su manutenzion en todo el dho año, mas que ziento y cinquenta, si se le hazian pagar los un mil y quinientos que le piden y contrario a la Razon y Justicia por contribuirsele con el referido sueldo para sus alimentos: en cuio supuesto aun dado caso que viniese Justificada la Deuda, no pudiera tener lugar su secuestro; sino es en la tercia parte.*

*Mexico y Febrero Doze de mill setezientos y veinte y dos años.*

*Dor. Malo.*

*Mexico 12 de Febrero de 1722.*

*Como dice el Sor. Fiscal embiese el Situado entero al Governador y respondad assí a ofiziales Reales.*

#### Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Fiscal of H.M. has seen this attached petition, and declares that the claim made by the Royal officials of Manila appears ambiguous, given that they do not tell Y.E. if the 1,500 pesos which they state are owed by Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, are due to said Royal officials or to His Majesty in that Royal treasury, because in the latter case they should have supported their narrative submission by annexing a certificate proving the debit, in order to make their request official. In any case, such a claim seems strange to the Fiscal, and their

having recourse to Y.E., when said Royal officials have said Governor close at hand, given that his government is not more than 300 leagues from that capital, with established communications between both archipelagos; they could easily have remonstrated with him and recovered the above-mentioned sum, assuming that he justly owes it. The Fiscal also makes the observation that they have solicited that the sum in question be perceived from the Royal subsidy, when in fact such a subsidy is sent by H.M. for the pay of the soldiers, and allotted to said Mariana Islands; it is not easy to think that they should get their way, nor that Y.E., with the well-known zeal with which you take care to serve the King (whom may God save), would allow the subsidy to be used for any other purpose than its true purpose. Nor does he think justifiable to deprive said Governor of his salary for one whole year, since he would be left with only 150 pesos to sustain himself from his yearly salary of 1,650 pesos, if they make him pay back the 1,500 pesos that they claim; it seems contrary to reason and justice to suppose that he could do so with the money meant for his food allowance. Even in the case that their claim came with the proper documentation of his debt, there would be no basis for a dispossession, except for one-third of it.

Mexico, 12 February 1722.

Dr. Malo.

Mexico, 12 February 1722.

Do as the Fiscal says. Send the whole subsidy to the Governor and answer the Royal officials in the same manner.

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## Documents 1722B

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# Memorial on behalf of the natives of the Marianas

## B1. Royal decree sent to the Viceroy, dated Buen Retiro 30 March 1722

*Sources: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 43, expediente 7; copy in AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 243v-248, pp. 542-551; copy in AGI Fil. 528, part C, doc. n° 6; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 3, pp. 32-33; and also partly in Fil. 14.*

*Note: The King also sent the same decree to the Governor of the Philippines, to the Audiencia of Manila, and to the Archbishop of Manila (copies of which are also found in AGI 333, in particular).*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Virrey de N<sup>a</sup> España remitiendole copia de un memorial de los Indios de las Islas Marianas, y de Mindanao, y ordenándole informe sobre el contenido para el fin que se expresa.*

*El Rey*

*Mi Virrey Governador y Capitan general de las Provincias de N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Mexico.*

*Por parte de los Indios avitadores de las Islas Marianas, y de Mindanao en las Philipinas se me ha representado el miserable estado en que se hallan por la suma codicia de la persona que los gobierna que como absoluto e independiente del Governador y Audiencia de Philipinas no se puede lograr el fin de contenerle en sus excesos con la promptitud que se requiere suplicandome que para su remedio y el de otras utilidades del vien comun de aquellos naturales, tubiese à bien el dar las providencias que proponen en un Memorial que sobre ello han presentado.*

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con la que sobre ello dijo mi fiscal como quiera que la expresada representazion no viene con la Justificazion que se requiere y que siendo ciertas las continuadas vejaciones, y ostilidades que se requieren padezen aquellos Indios puede abenturarse su conserbazion à que principalmente se deve atender solizitando por todos los medios posibles su maior alivio (como para leyes y repetidas Cedula esta mandado)[.] Ha parezido remitiros la copia adjunta del expresado Memorial, firmada de mi ynfrascripto Secretario y ordenaros (como lo hago) que en inteligencia de su contenido y de lo que en razon de ello justificareis y hallareis por*

*combeniente en las proposiciones que hazen, me deis quenta con toda individualidad, en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca remitiendo al expresado mi Consejo de las Indias los informes que en este particular ejecutareis; pues por despacho de este dia ordeno lo mismo al Arzobispo de Manila, Gobernador y Audiencia de Philipinas para que allandose enterado de todo pueda tomar la resolución que tubiere por más combeniente al servicio de Dios y mío, en el alivio y consuelo de aquellos Indios, que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fecha en Buen Retiro a 30 de Marzo de 1722.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

To the Viceroy of New Spain, remitting to him a copy of a memorial from the Indians of the Mariana Islands, and of Mindanao, and ordering him to inform about the content, for purposes mentioned therein.

The King

My Viceroy Governor and Captain-General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Mexico.

On behalf of the Indians inhabiting the Mariana Islands, and of Mindanao in the Philippines, a representation was made to me about the miserable condition in which they are found, on account of the extreme greed of the person governing them, who acts as a dictator and so independently of the Governor and Audiencia of the Philippines that it becomes impossible to get him to moderate his excesses as promptly as required, and begging me to apply a remedy to this and other remedies to benefit the commonwealth of those natives, and to be pleased to issue the provisions proposed in a Memorial that they have presented for the purpose.

And this matter having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my Fiscal, given that the above-mentioned representation is not accompanied with the necessary justification, but that it is certain that vexations and hostilities shown toward those Indians are continuing, their preservation might become doubtful, so that the main concern should be to try and get their greater relief by all possible means (as was ordered by laws and repeated decrees): I have decided to remit to you the enclosed copy of the above-mentioned Memorial, signed by the undersigned my Secretary and to order you (as I do now) to take note of its contents and to let me know in detail what you think and find appropriate in the proposals that they make, at the first opportunity that may offer, remitting to the above-said my Council of the Indies the reports that in this matter you would have carried out; in fact, by despatch of this date, I order the same thing to the Archbishop of Manila, and the Governor and Audiencia of the Philippines, so that they may inform themselves about it all and take the most appropriate resolution for the service of God and mine, for the relief and consolation of those Indians, as such is my will.



Made at Buen Retiro, on 30 March 1722.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.<sup>1</sup>

## B2. Petition to the King presented by the natives of the Marianas and of Mindanao

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 562, exp. 1; other copies in: AHH Mexico, Temporalidades, leg. 326-2, pp. 1788-1794; AGI Fil. 99; Fil. 528, part C, doc. 6.*

*Notes: It is clear that this memorial was drafted by the Jesuits in Manila, after Fr. Valdivieso visited the Marianas and recorded the local conditions (see Doc. 1718D).*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Memorial que se remitió con el despacho antezedente.***

*Señor,*

***Los Indios*** *havitadores de las Islas Marianas, y de Mindanao, y todas aquellas Christianidades de estas dilatadas Provincias, puestas á los pies de V.M., dizen que oi mas que nunca necesitan del patrocinio de V.M. pues quando havian de vivir con mas paz y quietud todos los Isleños, por estar ya reducidos al gremio de nuestra Santa fee, padezen mayores trabajos y desdichas por la suma codicia del sujeto que oi los gobierna; y que como es absoluto e independiente del Governador de Philipinas y de su Audiencia, no ai freno con que moderar sus agravios, e injusticias con los pobres recien combertidos, asi todo se va atrasando notablemente i los Indios aburridos (por berse en una tan pesada esclavitud) hacen cosas indignas de la fee que professan.*

***Los pobres Padres***, *si quieren poner remedio, e irla á la mano, ó son despreciados, ó no oidos, ó son amenazados con destierros; y asi se ven oi obligados á padecer mas de lo que padezcan al principio de la Conquista de aquellas Islas, que entonzes con una lanzada acavaban sus trabajos, y oi el martirio con tantas pesadumbres, y penas les dura muchos años.*

*Lo que conviene hacer, Señor, para remediar todos estos daños, es que el Governador no le elija V.M. de los pretendientes que ai en esa Corte, sino es que se sirva de dejar la disposizion de su eleccion al Governador de Manila con la aprovazion del Arzobispo de esta Ciudad, que con eso se obviara el que vengan hombres desvaratados, que ciegos de la codizia, esclavizan á los Indios, y soldados; y aún a los Ministros Evangélicos quieren tener sujetos á su voluntad, con los gravísimos inconbenientes que de esto se siguen.*

*También combiene, Señor, que á los Indios y demas vezinos de dhas islas les dejen libres el cuidado de sus casas, y haciendas, y no los tenga ocupados el Governador todos los dias en sus intereses; y para esto, que se les señalen sus terminos en las tierras á cada*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: For follow-up actions by the Viceroy, the Audiencia of Manila and the ecclesiastical council, see Doc. 1725B.

*pueblo, y dentro de aquellos terminos su parte à cada vezino, mas ó menos segun sus principalias, y no que el Governador se haga dueño (como se ha echo) de todas aquellas tierras.*

*Al Colegio de los Padres de la Compañía también se les a de destinar un pedazo, para que hagan sus siembras, y crien algun ganado para su sustento, que hasta esto les quita el Governador siendo asi que de Mexico llevaron los Padres algunos animales de los que oi ai, en dichas islas.*

*Combiene tambien se ponga en execuzion la Cedula que saco de V.M. la Duquesa de Aveiro, para que pasen 80 ó 90 familias de Indios de Manila con el patache que lleva el situado, y aunque sean 200, para que a su exemplo aquellos barbaros se gobiernen en política; y que à estas familias se señalen tierras en lugar donde hubieren de poblar, en cantidad proporcionada al numero que fuere de familias, y que el Governador no les impida trabajar en ellas; concediendoles tambien los privilegios que hay conzedidos en Indias a pobladores, y conquistadores. Esto también combiene se haga en las nuevas misiones de la Isla de Mindanao; por que si el Governador no fuese de la eleccion y aprovazion del Arzobispo de Manila no se podra adelantar nada, por que oi la Codizia en los Cavos, sirve de grandisimo estorvo para la Conservazion de todas estas Gentilidades; y no seria malo que en lo de Mindanao se señalase obispo por que es Isla mui grande y tiene ia bastantes Christianos y este servira de gran fomento para el aumento de la fee y de freno considerable*

*loa Cavos en sus desordenes. Por todo lo qual:*

*A V.M. piden y suplican sea servido de atender con su Real piedad à esta representazion, en que reziviran espezialisima merced, y alivio en sus travajos, como lo esperan de la clemenzia de V. Magestad.*

[Endorsement:] *Es copia del original que queda en esta Secretaria del Concejo y Cámara de Indias de la Negociación de N<sup>a</sup> España, de donde se sacó para remitir al Sr. Virrey de ella con despacho de fecha de 30 Marzo de 1722.*

*Andrés de Elcorobarrutia y Zupide.*

### **Decreto.**

*Pidase informe al Padre Agustín Soler para que diga lo que se le ofrece y save sobre lo que contiene el memorial de los Indios habitantes de las Islas Marianas y de Mindanao, pues como procurador General de Filipinas podra tener noticia de los daños que se refieren; y se sacará testimonio desta Real Cédula, memorial e informe que hiciere el Reverendo Padre Agustín Soler para dar quenta a S.M.*

*Mexico a 8 de octubre de 1722.*

### **Translation.**

**Memorial remitted with the previous despatch.**

Sire:

**The Indians** inhabiting the Mariana Islands, and Mindanao, and all those Christian communities of these widespread Provinces, being at the feet of Y.M., declare that

today more than ever they need the patronage of Y.M.; indeed, when all the islanders expected to live with more peace and quiet, because they have already been reduced to the fold of our Holy faith, they suffer greater hardships and indigence, on account of the extreme greed on the part of the individual who governs them today; and given that he acts as a dictator and independently of the Governor of the Philippines and of their Audiencia, there is no curb to moderate the harm and injustices that he perpetrates with these poor and recently-converted people. So, everything is suffering from a notable lack of progress and the Indians have become bored (because they see themselves in such a sorry state of slavery) and do things unworthy of the faith that they profess.

**The poor Fathers**, if they wish to put a remedy, and give him a hand, are either depreciated, or not listened to, or are threatened with exiles; and so, they see themselves obliged to suffer more so than they used to suffer at the beginning of the Conquest of these Islands, because then with the throw of a lance their hardships were over, but today the martyrdom of so many troubles and sorrows lasts for many years.

The appropriate action to take, Sire, to remedy all of these detriments, is for Y.M. not to select the Governor out of the pretenders who live in that Court, but that you may be pleased to let the arrangement for his selection to the Governor of Manila, subject to the approval of the Archbishop of this City; this way will be prevented the coming of corrupt men who, blinded by greed, enslave the Indians, and soldiers; and even bend the Gospel Ministers to their will, with the most serious disadvantages that ensue from this.

It would also be proper, Sire, for the Indians and other residents of said Islands to be left free to take care of their houses, and estates, and not to have them kept busy by the Governor every day for his benefit; and for this purpose, the land boundaries of each town should be fixed, and inside those boundaries each resident should have his part, more or less according to his rank and status, and not let the Governor appropriate for himself (as he has done) all those plots of land.

To the College of the Fathers of the Society there should also be reserved a plot, to use as a plantation, and to raise cattle for its maintenance, because even that [cattle] was taken away by the Governor, in spite of the fact that it was the Fathers who originally brought in some animals from Mexico of the type found today in said Islands.

It would also be proper to carry out the decree that the Duchess of Aveiro got from Y.M., to have 80 or 90 Indian families from Manila come aboard the patache that brings the subsidy, and the better if there were 200, to serve as an example for those barbarians in civilized behavior. Said families should be assigned plots of land in the place where they might settle, of a size commensurate with the number of families. The Governor should not hinder their working of these plots. They should also be granted the privileges that in the Indies are granted to settlers, and conquerors. It would also be proper to do this in the new missions of the Island of Mindanao, because if the Governor were not selected and approved by the Archbishop of Manila, nothing useful will result, because nowadays the greed of the commanders serves as a very great hindrance to the preservation of all of these heathen communities, and it would not be bad if, in

the case of Mindanao, a Bishop eere elected, because the island in question is very big and has already got enough Christians and he would provide a great boost for the increase of the faith and be a considerable curb. For all of the above reasons:

They beg and beseech Y.M. to be pleased to attend with your Royal mercy to this request, by which they will receive a very special favor, and the relief of their hardships, as they hope to get from the clemency of Your Majesty.

[Endorsement:] This is a copy made from the original that remains in this Secretariat of the Council and Court of the Indies, Section for New Spain, from which it was taken to remit to the Lord Viceroy of New Spain, with the despatch dated 30 March 1722.

Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.

### Decree<sup>1</sup>

Please ask Father Augustin Soler to submit a report on what he thinks is pertinent and knows about this memorial from the Indians inhabiting the Mariana Islands and Mindanao; indeed, as Procurator General for the Philippines, he might have had access to more information about the damages. Also let a case file be opened to record this Royal decree, the memorial and the report to be submitted by Reverend Father Augustin Soler, in order to report to H.M.

Mexico, 8 October 1722.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Found on the AGN copy only.

2 Ed. note: This decree was carried out on 28 June 1723, so that we may search the archives for Fr. Soler's report after that date (see Doc. 1725B5).

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 Documents 1722C
 

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## The Inquisition to Fr. Ibarguen, dated Mexico 9 March 1722

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, fol. 309v-310v.*

### C1. Letter regarding Adjutant Centellas' abandonment of his family

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Al Rdo. Padre Ygnacio de Ybarguen Comisario en la ciudad de Agaña, en Marianas.***

*[Nota al margen:] En el año de 1724, se duplico esta Comision.*

*En este Tribunal se recibio la de nuestro Comisario de 22 de Junio del año proximo pasado, con el testimonio de las ynformaciones de libertad y solteria, y partida del matrimonio, que contrato, el ayudante Francisco de Ojeda y Zentellas, con Ana de Zepe-da, vecino de Agate; y en su vista emos mandado avisar de su recibo, y dezir a nuestro Comisario, combiene á berigar [sic] en toda forma, y segun estilo del Santo Oficio, el referido matrimonio; y asi prozedera á examinar por ante notario á la susodha, al Par-rocho, y padrinos que de dha partida constan haberlo sido, haciendo que cada uno diga y exprese el tiempo, que a que se contrato este matrimonio, el que hizieron vida mari-dable, quantos hijos tubieron, por que causa y motibo se ausento, el dho Francisco de Ojeda Centellas de la compañía de dha su muger, haciendo que asi esta como los demas que se exsaminaren expresen la naturaleza, oficio, y señas personales del susodho y su paradero; y pasados tres dias de los exsámenes que asi recibiere nuestro Comisario se ratificaran en ellos por ante [h]onestas y religiosas personas, como se prebiene á los numeros 19 y 20 de la Instruccion de Comisarios, y en la primera ocasion que se ofre-sca nos remitira lo que en virtud de esta actuare con ynforme de lo que en razon de la residencia y paradero del dho Centellas hubiera llegado á saber y entender nuestro Comisario que guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 9 de 1722 años.*

*Señor Inquisitor Garzaron, solo ante el Secretario Carranza.*

### Translation.

**To Rev. Father Ignacio de Iburguen, Commissioner in the city of Agaña [sic], in the Marianas.**

[Note in margin:] In the year 1724, a duplicate copy of this Commission was sent.

The letter of our Commissioner dated 22 June of last year was received at this Tribunal, along with the record of the inquiries into the freedom and bachelorhood, and extract from the marriage that Adjutant Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas contracted with Ana de Cepeda, resident of Agat; and in view of same we have ordered its receipt to be acknowledged, and to tell our Commissioner that it is appropriate to investigate said marriage in due form, and in accordance with the procedure used by the Holy Office. So, you are to proceed to examine before a notary of the above-said, the Curate, and the godparents of said party as shown in the record, by having every one declare and express the time when this marriage was contracted, that it lasted as a viable couple, how many children they had, for what reason and motive said Francisco de Ojeda Centellas left the company of his wife, and also questioning the latter and have her declare as the others about her nationality, occupation, and the personal marks of the above-said and his whereabouts; then after three days have elapsed after such interrogations have been received by our Commissioner, the witnesses are to ratify same before some honest and religious persons, as provided for under number 19 and 20 of the Instructions to Commissioners, and at the first opportunity that might present itself, our Commissioner is to remit what in virtue of the present he has done, with a report of what has been learned and understood concerning the residence and whereabouts of said Centellas.

May God, etc.

Gentleman Inquisitor Garzaron, acting alone, before Secretary Carranza.

## C2. Letter concerning other commissioners and St. Brigid

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al mismo Comisario en orden á lo que en esta se expresa.*

*En este Tribunal del Santo Oficio se an recibido las de nuestro Comisario, sus fechas 11 de febrero y 28 de Junio del año proximo pasado, en orden a los nombramientos que se despacharon de Comisarios para esas Yslas Marianas á los Padres Cantova, y Furnari; como tambien la de 17 de febrero, de dho año con el tralado, del preambulo que contienen las oraciones de Santa Brigida en los libritos que expresa, sobre cuiu punto, le dezimos esta bien lo que dize de que procurara recoger dichos libritos, como asi se le ordena lo execute de los quales quitara dhos preambulos, ó preludios y todo lo demas que le pareciere combeniente y fuere como lo referido, ocasion de vivir [de]votamente, llebados de la buena confianza que contiene dho preambulo, y lo que asi fuere lo que man[de] y lo demas de dhos libritos en que no haya tropiezo lo bolvera á sus dueños si le pareziere combeniente.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 9 de 1722 años.  
Señor Inquisidor Garzaron que asiste solo; ante el Secretario Peñas.*

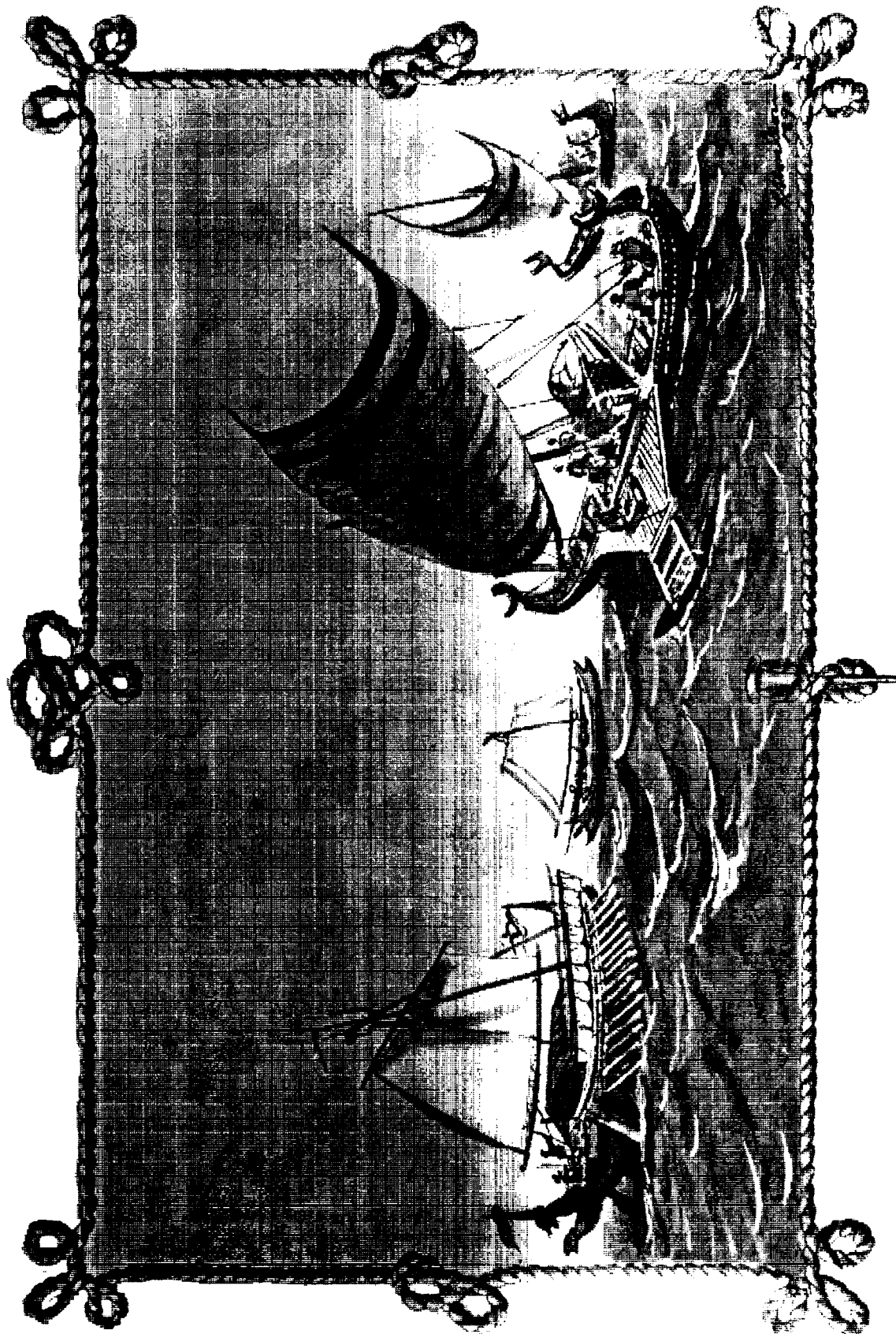
**Translation.**

**To the same Commissioner, regarding the case stated herein.**

The letters of our Commissioners dated 11 February and 28 June of last year have been received at this Tribunal of the Holy Office, regarding the appointments that were despatched to Fathers Cantova and Furnari as Commissioners for those Mariana Islands; as well as regarding that of 17 February of said year, with a copy of the preamble contained in the prayers to Saint Brigid in the booklets that he refers, about which point, we tell him that it is well what he says about his trying to recover said booklets, and we order him to remove said preambles or prefaces from them, and whatever else he may find suitable to do, to foster a devout way of life, as for the point that he mentioned, and as far as what to do with the booklets in question, those that are found without such errors are to be given back to their owners, if he thinks it proper.

May God save, etc.

Gentleman Inquisitor Garzaron, acting alone, before Secretary Peñas.





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## Document 1722D

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### Report of Fr. Cantova regarding the arrival of two Carolinian canoes at Guam in 1721

*Sources: The original version was in Spanish; the master copy of it is now in AGN Historia, Jesuitas, vol. 308, fol. 413-422 [new 163-172] and is reproduced as D1 below; published in Boletín AGN, 22 (1951): 180-205; published in Fr. Davin's "Cartas edificantes", vol. 11 (1756), pp. 192-217; an extract is given by Astraín, vol. 7, pp. 770-772; cited by Alegre, etc.*

*A Latin translation, or concurrent original, is in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 351-364v, and is reproduced as D2 below.*

*Published, in French, with an introduction addressed to Fr. Daubenton, in the series begun by Fr. Le Gobien's: "Lettres édifiantes", vol. 18 (1728), pp. 188-246 (incl. map); vol. 15 (1781), pp. 282-321; vol. 8 (1819), pp. 406-429; in vol. 4 (1838), pp. 691 et seq. Fr. Daubenton, a French Jesuit, was then living at the Spanish court and was the confessor of the Bourbon King. This French version was somewhat shortened by the editor, thus lacking some details in some parts. This French version was translated into German and published in Stöcklein's "Welt-bott", vol. 15, n° 343 (1729), pp. 83-97, and again in vol. 33 (1758), pp. 132-141.*

### Report of Fr. Cantova about the Caroline Islands

*Notes: In 1769, when Judge Commissioner Galvan seized the Jesuit papers at Manila, there was found one copybook of 11 folios with a copy of this report. It is described as beginning with the words: "The Venerable Martyr and glorious Apostle of the Marianas," and ending with the words: "Agaña 24 March 1722," and is unsigned (ref. AHN Clero Jesuitas, Leg. 891, Doc. n° 1, fol. 233v-234). This copy is the one now found in AGN. Gian Antonio Cantova was born at Stresa, near Lago Maggiore, in northern Italy, in 1685. He arrived at Guam in 1718. He was killed at Ulithi in June 1731 during an attempt to establish a mission station.*

#### D1. Original text in Spanish, dated Agaña 24 March 1722

[fol. 163]

1722—N°9 [Leg° n° 7, Letras Y.B.]

*El Venerable Mártir y Glorioso Apóstol de las Islas Marianas Padre Diego Luis de Sanvítores, solía decir que estas islas serían algún día la escala para la conversión de otras innumerables de la Austral incógnita, y como quiera que de esta isla de Guahan*

(Facing page:) **Carolinian voyaging canoe at sea.** *Its relative size and appearance can be judged and compared to a Philippine or Moluccan caracoa on the left. (Source: Possibly MN).*

*se han hecho por sus gobernadores en varios tiempos diferentes despachos para el descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas inmediatas a estas Marianas y principio de las Australes y siempre se ha frustrado el intento, dijo aquel varón apostólico, insigne obrero de esta misión, el Padre Gerardo Bouvens (el cual se había mucho empeñado en este descubrimiento) que en estando madura la mies vendrían a Marianas los mismos Carolinos a buscar segadores y guiarlos a donde no habían sabido llegar nuestras diligencias. Ya parece que la Divina Misericordia apiadada de tantas almas que viven entre las sombras de la gentilidad se hizo cargo de cumplir estos felices pronósticos para introducir la hoz evangélica en el campo tan dilatado de esa austral incógnita, como de la relación presente se colegirá.*

*El día 19 de junio de 1721 entró en un seno despoblado de esta isla de Guahan a la banda del Leste llamado Tarafoto una embarcación extranjera de hechura semejante a las de Marianas pero de tamaño tan abultado que viéndola de lejos un soldado español venir a la vela la equivocó con una fragata. Venían 24 personas, once hombres, siete mujeres y seis niños. Saltaron en tierra, aunque con algún recelo los hombres, y trepando arriba de las palmas proveyeron a toda la comitiva de bastantes cocos para refrescar con su dulce bebida los ardores de una larga sed. Un indio Mariano que en esa costa iba pescando, así que los vio fué a dar la nueva al Padre Felipe María Muscati, vice provincial de la misión y residente a la sazón en el pueblo cercano de Inarahan, quien despachó luego al gobernadorcillo del pueblo con algunas bancas para guiar a aquellos pobres desgaritados que ignoraban en qué mundo, y con qué gente se hallasen y traerlos al pueblo. Traía el gobernadorcillo un machete a la cintura; cuando los huéspedes vieron aquella arma se dieron todos por muertos, y comenzaron las mujeres un lastimoso llanto. Por esta razón no querían saltar en tierra cuando llegaron al pueblo, imaginándose que ahí [164v] los aguardaría su última desdicha. Los Indios Marianos los iban animando a no temer, y finalmente uno de los huéspedes más intrépido así que vio al Padre Vice Provincial que en la orilla los esperaba, dijo a los suyos no sé qué palabras y saltó luego en tierra corriendo a ofrecer al padre algunas de las pobres alhajas de su país, y eran una ruedecilla de carey a modo de tumbaga que ellos traen por gala en los brazos, y un terrón como pastilla de color amarillo algo encarnado con que se pintan el cuerpo. Su Reverencia le abrazó y con señas de afable cariño convidó a todos a saltar en tierra y fiarse de nuestro buen trato. Entretanto les mandó disponer abundante comida y ellos por estas muestras de humanidad se entregaron con alguna esperanza de hallar hospedaje menos inhumano que el que poco antes imaginaba su temor. Detúvolos el Padre Vice Provincial en Inarahan por algunos días con todo el agasajo posible y les mandó hacer vestido a todos para que pudiesen parecer con mas decencias y despachó aviso de esta novedad al señor gobernador de estas islas.*

*La embarcación de estos desgaritados traía por vela un tejido fino de hoja de palma, la popa y la proa de igual forma y talle, esto es altas y agudas, y por remate de ambas un remedo de la cola de un delfín. A cada embarcación le dan su nombre propio, éste se llama **Ruelep**, tenía cuatro camarotes para conveniencia de los pasajeros, el uno a proa, el otro a popa, sobre las obras muertas; los otros dos a los lados del palo de la*

*vela, y fuera de los costados formando como dos alas a la embarcación. Estos camarotes tienen su techo levadizo de hoja de palma, muy parecido en su hechura al dosel o cielo de la carroza que defiende del sol y del agua. Dentro del casco hay varios buques así para bastimento como para carga, y en toda esta fábrica no hay un clavo, supliéndose la falta de la clavazón con unos cordeles con los cuales cosen las tablas del casco y amarran las obras muertas.*

*El día siguiente (20 de junio) arribó otra embarcación extranjera a la punta de Orote (que está al Oeste de Guahan) del tamaño y hechura de las bancas ordinarias de Marianas, pero tenía dos camarotes fuera de los costados como la otra, aunque más pequeños a proporción del casco. Venían en ella cuatro hombres, una mujer y un niño, a los cuales mandó dar vestido el señor gobernador don Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle, quien dió orden fuesen traídos a su presencia en la Villa de Umatag, los de una y otra embarcación para confrontarlos y saber si eran de una misma nación. Cuando llegaron a verse unos a otros prorrumpieron en señas de grande alegría y se dieron mutuamente ósculos y abrazos, porque como después se supo, habían salido de compañía estas dos embarcaciones con otras cuatro de **Farroilep** para **Ulié** (dos de sus islas) y en la travesía cogidos de un recio vendaval se fueron desgarrando por diferentes rumbos sin saber a dónde la Divina Providencia con tan inopinado accidente los llevaba, y así (según ellos dicen) anduvieron arando el mar veinte días, ya por un rumbo, ya por otro hasta que llegaron a Guahan las dos bancas con diferencia de un día sin saber lo que sucedería a las otras cuatro de su convoy. En todo ese tiempo se sustentaron lo más con coco que traían en abundancia y con algunos peces que cogían de camino con unas figas pequeñas armadas al propósito en las puntas con unas espinas de pescado. Llegaron tan debilitados así por el trabajo de la navegación como por la falta de bastimento especialmente de agua que, además de traer algunos las manos desolladas del remo con que debieron hacer fuerza contra las corrientes, enfermaron casi todos y un mozo muy robusto murió, instruído como mejor se pudo en los principales misterios de nuestra santa fe y bautizado en el artículo de la muerte.*

*El traje con que saltaron en tierra y que usan también en sus islas es éste: Los varones traen una manta que da vuelta en la cintura y entre los muslos y cubre lo anterior y posterior del cuerpo, los principales entre ellos a los cuales llaman Tamoles, además de eso como faja traen una capa a modo de casulla, que por delante y por detrás les cae hasta la rodilla. Las mujeres fuera de paño con el cual se ciñen como los varones, se envuelven por mayor modestía en otra manta suelta, la cual alcanza en forma de saya desde la cintura hasta media pierna[.] se ha reparado en esta gente un singular cuidado de no descubrir enteramente su cuerpo, pues ni aun cuando van a bañarse se quitan el paño interior de la modestia. Los nobles tienen hermosamente pintado todo el cuerpo, menos el rostro, con buena proporción de labores[.] en la ternilla inferior de ambas orejas tienen comunmente un agujero grande, en el cual cuelgan alguna flor ó hierba aromática, y algunos muestran también taladradas las orejas en las ternillas de arriba donde ataban ensartadas cuentas de coco o de vidrio que aquí habían recogido de los padres y de otras personas. Son de buen talle, altos, y bien fornidos, los más de*

*pelo crespo, nariz gruesa, ojos grandes y muy perspicaces y bastante poblada su barba, el color es vario, en unos [164v} como de Indios puros, en otros como de mestizos de india y español y uno en particular el más atesado parece hijo de negro y de india. Sobre el cómo y de dónde les vendría tanta mezcla de sangre y variedad de colores, daré en el párrafo cuarto alguna conjetura.*

*De la Villa de Umatag los mandó traer el señor gobernador el día 28 de junio a la ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña (que es nuestra cabecera y el asiento fijo de los señores gobernadores y de la Real Milicia Española) donde después de aver convalécido de sus enfermedades corporales, beneficio que debieron después de Dios a la caritativa asistencia de nuestro Hermano Jaime Chavarri, médico y boticario de singular pericia[,] experiencia y acierto y de caridad incansable; aplicaron luego al punto los Padres de la Compañía el cuidado a la cura de sus almas, comenzando a tratarles de los principales misterios de Nuestra Santa Fe. La total falta de intérprete dificultaba sobre manera el buen intento de los Padres, siendo el idioma de estos huéspedes totalmente incógnito, pero hallándome yo Vice Rector del Colegio de San Ignacio, y hospedando a cuatro de ellos en dicho colegio para poderlos comunicar más a menudo; con esa comunicación doméstica conseguí en menos de dos meses noticia bastante de términos para traducir, como lo hice, en el idioma de esos gentiles la señal de la santa Cruz, las oraciones del Padre Nuestro, Ave María, símbolo y mandamientos y para formar un catecismo breve, el cual se lo iba explicando en la iglesia a donde venían algunas veces para aprender la doctrina cristiana, en parte cantándola y en parte rezándola guiándoles yo mismo así en el rezo como en el canto, y al fin de la doctrina les solía regalar con almuerzo o comida para atraerlos con este cebo más fácilmente a la iglesia y al conocimiento del verdadero bien que se les descubría en los misterios de la Fe Cristiana.*

*En la solemnidad de los gloriosos apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo[,] principales columnas de la Iglesia, dispuso Dios Nuestro Señor por feliz horóscopo de la espiritual fábrica de esta cristiandad el que se echase su primera piedra en un niño Carolino de cuatro años, poco más o menos, al cual trajeron muy enfermo entre los brazos a la iglesia unos devotos españoles para que no muriera sin la gracia del santo Bautismo, mientras yo estaba actualmente administrando el mismo sacramento a otro niño natural de este partido de Agaña. Holguéme muy mucho de ofrecer al Señor esas primicias y le bauticé con los nombres de Pedro Pablo, el niño a pocos días convalació, y obrando en él con especial genio la Divina Gracia aprendió antes que todos los demás la doctrina cristiana [165] y la cortesía española con admirable prontitud y donaire. A 29 de septiembre, fiesta del príncipe de las jerarquías celestes[,] San Miguel[,] se alistaron en el coro de los ángeles terrestres otros cuatro niños Carolinos, todos de la misma edad de cuatro en cinco años, los cuales con assenso y con gusto de sus padres gentiles se bautizaron solemnemente en la iglesia de esta ciudad con lucido concurso y común recocijo. Se escogió para esta función la fiesta del Príncipe de los Arcángeles por el derecho especial que ya tenía al patrocino de estos huéspedes cuyo archipiélago desde el año de 1712, fué con solemnidad dedicado a los santos arcángeles por el Padre Felipe Bernardo Messía [rather Mexía], capellán del Patache **Santo Domingo**, cuando su capitán y*

*cabo Don Bernardo de Egui en el tornaviage de Marianas navegó al Sur en demanda de las Islas Australes, de las cuales descubrió muchas, como en su relación y derrotero se ve, pero no llegó a la cordillera de las de estos desgarrados, la cual está al Sursueste de Guahan. Los padres de estos niños que bautizamos en caso que volviesen sin la compañía de algún ministro evangélico a sus tierras estaban prontos a dejarlos en Marianas al cuidado de los padres misioneros, con esto quedó preocupado el peligro de que allá los criasen en su infidelidad.*

*Oyendo estos gentiles adultos la necesidad del bautismo para entrar en el cielo y evitar las eternas y gravísimas penas del infierno, vinieron a pedirmelo varias veces, diciendo que querían ser cristianos; sin embargo habiendo ellos de volverse a sus tierras donde era moralmente cierta su perversión viviendo sin ministro entre infieles como ovejas sin pastor entre lobos, se juzgó por ahora no se debían admitir a este sagrado baño. Corría el cuarto mes de su arribada, en cuyo ínterin habían ido juntando clavos[,] azuelas, bolos y otros pedazos de hierro[,] precioso blanco de su mayor codicia que por algún tiempo les hizo parecer feliz su desgracia, pero ya el deseo de llevar a sus tierras aquel tesoro y el amor a sus hijos y a sus mujeres que allá habían dejado los solicitaba con grandes impacencias a la vuelta. Había dicho el señor gobernador que por el mes de octubre despacharía a algunos de ellos para que fuesen a dar la nueva a sus islas, y convidasen a sus moradores con la esperanza del hierro a entablar comercio con estas Marianas[,] deteniendo en el ínterin en rehenes hasta su vuelta algunos principales de sus compañeros; con esta suposición yo también solicitaba del Padre Vice Provincial la licencia de irme con ellos a registrar sus islas, su número, sus distancias, sus grados de altura y observar las costumbres de sus naturales, tentar sus ánimos y ver su disposición a recibir la doctrina evangélica, bautizando solamente en estos principios a los que hallase en peligro de muerte.*

*Para el viaje me cía el señor gobernador una champana nueva y daba licencia a los españoles y filipinos que quisiesen espontáneamente acompañarme en esta empresa. Varias personas de toda satisfacción me habían rogado ya para que los llevase en mi compañía[,] escribí pues algunas cartas al Padre Vice Provincial suplicándole me diese su bendición, lo único que me faltaba, y no condescendiendo su Reverencia a mis instancias[,] fuí el día 13 de octubre del mismo año, 1721 a Inarahan en compañía del Padre Felipe María Furnari, que llevaba el mismo deseo para que me ayudara en abogar la causa de estas almas desamparadas ante la piedad y celo de su Reverencia, representéle en un mapa la corta distancia que pasa entre Guahan y esas Islas Australes, la facilidad de la ida y vuelta, mucho más ahora con la guía de sus propios moradores, la seguridad de los ministros evangélicos, así por ser aquellos isleños muy enemigos de derramar sangre humana como por estar en Guahan rehenes muy principales de su nación; le ponderaba los motivos de no dilatar la empresa, pero nada valió para expugnar el ánimo del Padre Superior; el cual recelaba no fuese aprobada esta expedición en Manila. Volvíme resignado en la santa obediencia a Agadña, donde los huéspedes instaban por su partida, ya los varones con su tamol, ya las mujeres con su principal señora, se presentaron ante el señor gobernador y más con las lágrimas que con las*

*voces le suplicaron se sirviese otorgarles la licencia de irse a sus tierras diciendo que ni comían, ni dormían por el deseo de volver a su patria, y que en breve se morirían si los detenía más largamente. En ambas ocasiones yo me hallé presente y les servi de intérprete. El señor gobernador que había mudado de designio les iba dando largas hasta entrado el invierno cuando se cierra la navegación, siendo su idea (según decía) aguardar a la primavera para hacer entonces un despacho en forma con mayores prevenções y con todo empeño.*

*A los cinco meses de su arribada una de las siete mujeres casadas tuvo la dicha de dar a luz un hijo en esta ciudad de San Ignacio, y habiéndolo su padre ofrecido al santo bautismo, logró el niño su mayor fortuna de renacer a la mejor vida de la gracia, el día 30 de noviembre dedicado al apóstol San Andrés, sacándole de la pila el señor gobernador con el nombre de Luis Felipe. En este ínterin con el trato y comunicación de los huéspedes conseguí las noticias [166] que iré apuntando en los párrafos siguientes.*

## § 2º

### *Número y situación de sus islas.*

*Advierto primero, que en la graduación de las islas habré sin duda cometido algún yerro porque la hice por los informes verbales de los mismos Indios; sin embargo, creo que el yerro no será notable porque no contento de haberles hecho formar a los más peritos entre ellos la planta de sus tierras con granos de maíz, los he ido preguntando con mucha individuación repetidas veces, por cual rumbo de su aguja náutica que tiene doce vientos se navega de una isla a otra, y cuánto tiempo de ordinario se gasta en su travesía, atendiendo también a que sus embarcaciones no son tan ligeras como las de Marianas. Supuesta esta advertencia casi todas las islas de las cuales supieron dar noticia estos Indios, están entre 6 y 11 grados de latitud boreal y corren por treinta grados de longitud al Leste del cabo de Espíritu Santo. Se dividen todas en cinco cordilleras, como en otras tantas provincias, y en cada cordillera se habla diferente idioma, aunque todos estos idiomas deben ser hijos de una sola lengua matriz, arábiga o hebrea porque los califica de hermanos la mucha semejanza; advierto lo segundo, que hablan de leguas, entiendo siempre leguas españoles de a tres millas italianas.*

#### [Description of the Chuuk District]

*La primera provincia al Leste se llama **Cutac**, cuya isla principal y cabecera es **Hogoleú**, o por otro nombre **Torres** [i.e. Chuuk], tierra mucho más alta y dilatada que está de Guahan, sus moradores son negros, mulatos y blancos. Está en nueve grados y veinte minutos poco más, o menos de latitud boreal, y unos trece grados al Leste de Guahan. Su régulo presente se llama **Fahulucapit**, debajo de cuyo mando están otras muchísimas islas que corren desde el Nordeste hasta el Oeste, y desde el Sueste hasta el Sudoeste, unas grandes[,] otras pequeñas, las más pobladísimas y con cortas distancias de una a otra como de 8, 15 o 30 leguas[,] las que se extienden desde el Nordeste hasta el Oeste se llaman **Ettel**, **Ruó**, **Pis**, **Lamoel**, **Falálu**, **Pischilers**, **Ulalú**, **Uloúl**, **Pullep**, **Lugueischel** o **Puluot**, **Temetém**, **Schove**. Las que corren del Sueste al Sudoeste,*

son **Cuop, Fairue, Scheug, Capeugeup, Foup, Peule, Pata** y otras innumerables más pequeñas. Esta provincia o cordillera se extiende desde su cabecera para el Oeste más de cien leguas, y casi otro tanto de Norte a Sur.

[Central Carolines]

La **segunda provincia** o cordillera comienza unos cuatro grados [166v] y medio al Leste del meridiano de Guahan, y tiene de longitud al Oeste más de cinco grados. Sus islas de algún nombre son 26 y entre ellas 14 pobladas, y casi todas entre 8 y 9 grados de latitud boreal. Sus nombres son los siguientes: **Uleé, Lamurréc, Seteoel[,] Ifelué, Peliao, Raur, Eorupué, Falalis, Oottagáu, Falulmeloc, Fermet, Faralies, Al-grail, Fajahulep, Mariaon, Uleúr, Foas, Puc, Felait, Elato, Olutel[,] Olimarau, Fahué, Farroilep**. Esta postrera isla es la tan decantada [sic] Carolina, marcada y dibujada con sus dos isletas colaterales **Ett** y **Pic**, por el piloto acompañado del **Patache Concepción, Juan Rodriguez Ballique** el año de 1696 estando barazados [sic] sobre el bajo **Santa Rosa**, de donde vieron [sic] al mismo tiempo esta isla de Guahan y a la dicha de **Farroilep**, la cual está al Sursueste de ésta en distancia de 45 leguas poco más o menos y en once grados de latitud boreal con poca diferencia[.] todos estos desgarrados son naturales de esta cordillera, y los más son de **Uleé** y de **Farroilep**. Esta provincia está como dividida entre dos rregulos[,] el de **Uleé**, que se llama **Gofalu** y el de **Lamurrec**, que se llama **Meutusóm**.

La **tercera provincia** comienza dos grados al Oeste del meridiano de Guahan con la **Isla Feis**, en diez grados y algunos minutos de latitud y tendrá de bojeo unas seis leguas, poblada y fértil. Su señor se llama **Meirang**. Casi un grado al Oeste de ésta están las islas que mareó el capitán don **Bernardo Egui**, el año de 1712, en diez grados de la misma latitud boreal y tres de longitud al Oeste de Guahan. Este [i.e. **Ulithi**] es un agregado de más de 40 isletas que forman una **O**, ú romboide, que corre de Nordeste, Sudueste y tiene de largo unas 25 leguas y 15 de ancho. Las principales son 24 cuyos nombres son estos: **Falalep, Ohieseúr, Sagaleu, Mogmog, Morurrul, Petangaras, Elil, Lam, Froilem, Soon, Piguileilei, Eavoe, Fatarai, Laddó, Faitabun, Falaimel, Puguelup, Pig, Evoe, Pulobul, Lusiep, Eaúr, Guielop, Meaengang**. De todas estas islas sólo 9 son pobladas[,] la más grande es **Falalep**, de 5 ó 6 leguas de bojeo, pero el señor de todas reside en **Mogmog** y se llama **Caschaitel**. Cuando las embarcaciones que navegan por este golfo llegan en vista de **Mogmog**, arrian la vela en obsequio del rregulo que allí reside. A esta provincia pertenece también otra isleta poblada y apartada de la cordillera unas 15 leguas así al Sueste y se llama **Zaráol**, todo este conjunto de islas tiene dos nombres[.] los isleños que están al Leste de esta cordillera la llaman **Lumululutu**, los que están al Oeste la llaman **Egoy**. Abunda en ella el bastimento [167] con que se sustentan sus naturales que es coco, pescado y seis o siete especies de raíces como las de Marianas.

[**Western Carolines**]

*La cuarta provincia está al Oeste de la tercera en distancia de unas 30 leguas. Su isla principal es Yap, alta y tendida, que tendrá de bojeo más de 40 leguas, tierra muy poblada y abundante de bastimento. Entre las demás raíces que les sirven de pan, hay también camotes, cuya semilla consiguieron en el modo que diré según lo cuenta un indio natural de esta isla llamado Caial que es uno de estos desgarrados. Dice que siendo él niño (tendrá ahora poco más de 25 años) tres hermanos suyos con su padre que se llamaba Coorr, muy noble y principal en su tierra, se desgarraron a Bisayas, provincia de Filipinas, donde los acogió un padre de la Compañía de Jesús, y los agasajó mucho con varios géneros de ropa y pedazos de hierro, que sobre todo estimaron y después de haber ellos aderezado su embarcación se volvieron a su tierra llevando algunas semillas y entre ellas algunos camotes, los cuales comenzaron a propagarse en Yap, y de allí pasaron a otras islas de este archipiélago. Los de Yap benefician un género de pastilla olorosa de dos colores amarillo y encarnado muy estimada de todos estos isleños, los cuales en días de gala se pintan todo el cuerpo con ella. El dicho indo Cayal, también dice aunque las circunstancias hacen poco creíble su dicho que en su isla hay minas de plata, pero es poco lo que sacan de ellas, así por la falta de los instrumentos de hierro, como por no saber su beneficio, y que si hallan alguna piedra de plata virgen la labran en redondo como una rueda y la presentan al señor de la isla, en cuya casa sirven por grandeza esas piedras de asientos. El dicho señor que hoy día reina en Yap se llama Feguir [or Teguir]. Al Suroeste de esta isla en distancia de 6 ó 8 leguas están tres isletas que forman triángulo, cuyos nombres son Ngoli, Laddó, Petangará[s].] nótese que estas dos postreras isletas son distintas de las otras dos del mismo nombre apuntadas arriba entre las de Egoi.*

*La quinta provincia o cordillera está al Sursudueste de Yap, y comienza en distancia de unas 45 leaguas, se compone ésta de las islas que propiamente se llaman de las Palaos, y estos desgarrados llaman a toda esta cordillera Panleu. Corren dichas islas casi Norte Sur, desde 8 grados hasta 6 de latitud boreal y 8 grados al Oeste del meridiano de Guahan. El indio Caial, natural de Yap, dijo que eran muchísimas esas islas y entre ellas nombró siete más principales situadas de Norte a Sur con el orden siguiente: Pelilieu, Coeangal, [167v] Fagiletue, Cogeal, Jalap, Mogulibel [or Mogulibej], Ngarrol, y que el rey de todas se llama Jaray, y tiene su corte en Jalap.*

*De estas islas y de sus moradores no pude adquirir otras noticias sino en general que son muy pobladas de gente bárbara, que anda totalmente desnuda y que comen carne humana, y por eso dicen estos Indios Carolinos que los aborrecen muchísimo, como a enemigos del género humano y no aportan a esas islas de Panleu, sino forzados de algún temporal por temor de que los maten. Todo lo cual concuerda con lo que escribió el Padre Felipe Bernardo Mexia arriba citado, a cuya relación me remito.*

*Al Sudoeste de la última de estas islas en distancia de unas 25 leguas las dos isletas de San Andrés, llamadas de sus naturales la una Son[son]rrol, la otra Cadocopuei en 5 grados y pocos minutos de latitud. Son[son]rrol es la isla donde quedaron los dos padres de la Compañía Jacobo Duberon y José Cortil, con otras catorce personas y entre*



*ellas el indio Moac, que iba de intérprete con su mujer y dos hijos al principio de diciembre de 1710 años, según refiere en su carta escrita a Manila el Hermano Esteban Baudin, el cual aunque iba de compañero de dichos padres no pudo saltar en tierra y arribó con el patache **Santísima Trinidad** a la costa de Caraga, en 3 de enero de 1711. He preguntado y fiscalizado con todo el disimulo posible a estos Indios por ver si tenía alguna noticia de esos padres o de sus compañeros o del indio Moac, pero no supieron dar ninguna razón de ellos, sólo si oyéndonos nombrar a Moac, algunos de estos Indios sus comarcanos de Uleé se alegraron y me preguntaron si vivía y dónde, porque decían que se había desaparecido mucho años ha en la mar y que le habían ido buscando por varias islas, y no hallándole juzgaron hubiese perecido, pues nunca tuvieron noticia de que dicho Moac hubiese llegado a Son[son]rrol, con la cual isla no tienen comunicación alguna por su mucha distancia que reputo como de unas 200 leguas.*

[Notice of Pohnpei]

*Al Leste de todas las islas arriba nombradas dicen que hay otras muchas, y entre ellas una muy grande llamada **Falupei**, [i.e. Pohnpei] cuyos moradores adoran por su numen al tiburón, la cual noticia la tuvieron por medio de una embarcación desgarrada, ni saben dar razón más individual del número y calidad de aquellas tierras y de sus habitantes sino que hay muchos negros, y que son de costumbres muy bárbaras.*

§ 3°

*Religión y vanas creencias de estos isleños.*

*No hay por ventura en el mundo nación más digna de lástima que ésta, por tan dispuesta a entrar en el camino de la salud, y por tan falta de quien se le muestra. Viven estos isleños en una total ignorancia de Dios y de sus atributos, sin letras, sin religión, sin doctrina, más dispuestos a recibir la verdad de la doctrina católica, por ese mismo que no tienen el ánimo preocupado de las mentiras de otra secta. Preguntados pues quien hizo el cielo y la tierra y todas las demás cosas, responden que no lo saben. Sólo reconocen algunos espíritus buenos y otros malos, pero a modo de las fábulas de la griega gentilidad, y a los espíritus buenos les conceden atributos que desdicen en puros hombres, por no saber prescindir de las miserias de la carne. Unos les dan cuerpo como a los hombres y les señalen dos o tres mujeres, aunque los llaman a éstos gente celeste, y de otra especie que la terrena. Otros los imaginan puros espíritus, aunque no los eximen de las pasiones corpóreas y flaquezas carnales; según la tradición de sus padres dicen que los personajes celestes más antiguos fueron **Sabuccur** e **Halmelul**, varón el primero y la segunda hembra, tuvieron éstos un hijo y una hija **Eluilep** y **Ligobuúb**. *Eluilep* significa espíritu grande; casóse, éste, vel:<sup>1</sup> éste se casó con **Leteuhicul**, doncella de Uleé, la cual habiendo muerto moza dicen que su alma pasó a las celestes bodas de aquella Dignidad. Tuvo *Eluilep* un hijo cuyo nombre es **Lugueileng**, que quiere decir en medio del cielo; pues le veneran a éste por el señor grande y natural heredero*

1 Ed. note: A Latin word meaning rather, instead.

del cielo. Hallándose Eluilep con un solo fruto de su thalamo, adoptó por hijo a **Reschahuileng**, mozo de bellas prendas y natural de Lamurrec, cuya alma dicen fué al cielo a gozar de las delicias de su padre adoptivo. Fagof [or Tagoj], madre de Reschahuileng, calificada embustera que aun vive hoy día muy decrepita en Lamurrec, debió de inventar esta fábula para hacerse estimar de sus comarcanos muy crédulos y añadió cuerpo a la fábula, diciendo que su hijo había bajado del cielo a la esfera del aire para hablarla y comunicarla varios misterios celestes.

Ligobuúb, hermana de Eluilep, quedó preñada del aire y vino a parir en tierra sobre la playa tres hijos, dos varones **Copourelieleel** y **Erigirigers** y una hembra **Oúbuúb**. Copourelieleel [168v] viendo la tierra que era un puro arenal sin hermosura como al principio de su creación la describe el sagrado cronista[:] **Terra autem erat inanis et vacua**. Gen. 1. Con su voz toda poderosa la vistió con la verde y matizada alfombra de hierbas y flores[,] la enriqueció de plantas fructíferas y la pobló de vivientes racionales, casándose con su hermana Ouboub. En esos principios los hombres no conocían la muerte sino como un breve sueño. Morían al postrer día de la luna menguante, cuando aquel planeta en su ocaso elítico se pierde de vista y al tercer día segundo de la creciente cuando en su oriente elítico vuelve a mostrarse la luna con un delgado simicirculo volvían los muertos a la vida como quien despierta de un tranquilo sueño. Erigirigers, hombre de malas intenciones y que hacía mal propio el bien ajeno urdió a los hombres un tal género de muerte, que una vez difuntos no pudiesen volver a cobrar el vital aliento. A este Erigirigers le llaman **Elus melabut**, que quiere decir espíritu malo o maléfico, porque introdujo en el mundo la muerte a distinción de los otros a los cuales llaman **Elus melafirs**, que quiere decir espíritu bueno y benéfico. Entre otros espíritus malos cuentan de un cierto **Moregrog**, el cual por ladrón y descomedido fué arrojado del cielo y trajo en esa ocasión el beneficio del fuego a la tierra, que carecía de él, fábula que corresponde a la de Prometeo.

Lugueileng, hijo de Eluilep tuvo dos mujeres[,] la una celeste de la cual le nacieron dos hijos, **Carrer**, **Meliliau**, la otra terrena y natural de la isla de Falalu de la provincia de Huogoleú. De esta mujer tuvo un hijo llamado **Oulefat**, [or Julefat] el cual llegando a saber que su padre era un tal personaje celeste, encendido en deseo de verle emprendió cual atrevido Icaro el vuelo hacia el cielo pero en las alturas halló el precipicio; cayó[,] lloró su desdicha, mas no desistió de su intento, hizo un gran fuego y sobre las alas del humo logró llegar al aspirado abrazo de su celeste padre. En dicha isla Falalu hay una pequeña laguna de agua dulce a modo de estanque a donde (dicen) bajan a bañarse los dioses, motivo de que ninguno de aquellos isleños pueda acercarse a tal paraje so pena de incurrir la indignación de las mismas divinidades como incurrió la indignación de Diana el antiguo Acteon por haberla visto en el baño. Finalmente al sol, a la luna y a las estrellas les dan alma racional, creyendo ser aquél un pueblo lúcido de personajes celestes, fabulosas reliquias de la poesía de Homero y del error [169] de Orígenes.

En estas fábulas no deben de tener mucha fe porque para el reconocimiento de todas esas divinidades no tienen culto alguno intrínseco, ni templo, ni ídolo, ni sacrificio, ni

*ofrenda, ni oración, solamente a algunos de sus difuntos tributan alguna especie de culto supersticioso. La sepultura ordinaria de sus muertos es el mar en cuyos vórtices los arrojan muy lejos de tierra para banquete de los tiburones y de las ballenas, pero si muere alguna persona a la cual tengan sus deudos especial cariño le celebran las exequias con singular pompa y con extrañas demostraciones de sentimiento. Primariamente así que el moribundo expira, le pintan todo el cuerpo de color amarillo y oloroso, se juntan sus deudos y amigos alrededor del cadáver a llorar la común pérdida: ya todos con discorde concordia de lastimeras voces se esfuerzan a expresar su íntimo dolor y atestiguarlo con algunas lágrimas, ya una mujer sola (estando todos en silencio) suelta la lengua a los dos oficios de hablar y gemir y celebra (como una vez fui testigó de vista) con elocuente arenga los timbres y blasones de la persona difunta, su hermosura, su nobleza, su agilidad en la danza, su felicidad en la pesca y semejantes prerrogativas, y los que más quieren aventajarse en las demostraciones de dolor traen para colgar al difunto sus mejores alhajas, y cortándose los cabellos y aun las barbas que estiman sobremanera, como insignia de principalía, las arrojan sobre el cadáver, y todo aquel día guardan un riguroso ayuno compensándolo al anochecer con una cauta cena. Algunas veces los entierran dentro de sus casas en cajas de madera, otras veces los llevan a enterrar lejos de lo habitado y alrededor de la sepultura edifican en forma casi cuadrada una capilla o casita de piedra suelta sin mezcla de cal o barro y ahí le ponen al difunto abundante comida con la vana creencia de que el alma del muerto se chupa la substancia de los manjares para su alimento.*

*Creer que hay cielo e infierno, premio para los buenos y castigo para los malos. Las almas que van al cielo dicen que al cuarto día vuelven a la tierra donde se están paseando invisibles entre sus deudos. Entre ellos hay unos como sacerdotes o sacerdotizas, que en opinión del vulgo tienen comunicación con los muertos y con autoridad pontificia, a unos declaran por santos[,] a otros por condenados, [169v] a los que declaran por santos llaman los **Elus melafirs**, que significa como se dijo arriba espíritu benéfico, y con otro nombre **Tahutup**, que viene a ser casi lo mismo que santo patrón, y casi cada familia tiene el suyo. Con este nombre de Tahutup los suelen invocar en sus aprietos y necesidades los enfermos, los navegantes, los que salen a la pesca o a la labranza de la tierra pidiéndole a su santo abogado la salud, el buen viaje, abundante cosecha de pescado y de raíces, que son su alimento cotidiano y le presentan algunas dádivas que cuelgan de un palo en las casas de los tamoles ya para empeñar a Tahutup, a concederles la gracia que les piden, ya para agradecerle la que suponen haber recibido de su liberal mano.*

*Los moradores de la Isla Yap se señalen de más bárbaros en la veneración que tributan a los caimanes, en cuya monstruosa figura ejerce el demonio sus tiranías, y les cobra de miedo sacrílegos cultos, porque hay hechiceros que tienen inteligencia con aquella fiera y por medio de ella hacen enfermar o morir a quien se les antoja por sus particulares intereses, o por soborno de otras personas enemistadas.*

*Entre todos estos isleños pasa por lícita la poligamia y el tener mayor número de mujeres es señal de grandeza. Nueve dicen que tiene el Tamol grande de la Isla Huogo-*

*leú. El adulterio lo tienen por gran pecado, sin embargo queda absuelto el adúltero de su culpa si presenta al marido de su manceba alguna rica dádiva. Si algún marido lleva mayor puntillo repudia a la mujer que le violó la fe del thalamo, y no solamente el marido repudia a la mujer cuando no está gustoso con ella, sino también la mujer con la misma autoridad repudia al marido que no le cuadra. En este repudio guardan ciertas leyes en orden a la disposición de la dote. Cuando de dos hermanos el uno muere sin sucesión, la viuda de difunto se casa con el otro hermano como lo ordenaba Dios a los hebreos en el capítulo 25 del Deuteronomio, y cuando las mujeres tienen su menstuo guardan la separación de los varones por seis o siete días, según la ley del Levítico en el capítulo 15[.] saliendo a la pesca no llevan consigo en la embarcación ni comida ni bebida, pues creen que si hicieran lo contrario se les hincharían las piernas y sus vendas. Los tamoles por el mes de febrero se juntan en una casa por cuatro días y echan suertes para saber si la navegación que se abrirá en la próxima primavera será feliz para los navegantes o peligrosa, y la misma suerte echan cuando han de salir a la pesca para pronosticar si será abundante [170] o escasa. La suerte consiste en cierto número de nudos que hacen los más peritos en 4 hojas de la palma del coco, y de salirles la obra manual con perfección o con defectos predicen fortunas o desdichas.*

#### § 4º

### *Costumbres Políticas.*

*En medio de su barbaridad y rudeza no les falta a estos isleños alguna política, que muestra ser gente en la categoría de Indios algo más racional y capaz de formar una buena república. Su gobierno es un mixto de aristocrático y de monárquico, porque aunque está repartido entre muchas familias nobles cuyas cabezas se llaman Tamoles, sin embargo en cada cordillera de islas hay un tamol de mayor veneración al cual están subordinados los demás de las otras familias. Estos tamoles crían barbas largas para conciliarse mayor respeto, mandan con grande imperio, gastan pocas palabras y mucha seriedad. Entre ellos no hay uso de sillas para sentarse, pero el tamol se sienta sobre una mesa elevada y los demás en el suelo. Llegando la gente ordinaria, así hombres como mujeres en vista del tamol, luego en señal de respeto inclinan hacia tierra todo el cuerpo y así andan corvos y encogidos con la cabeza sobre las rodillas hasta llegar a la presencia del tamol, donde se sientan en tierra, sin aguardar que él lo diga, y al despedirse de la misma manera andan corbos hasta salir de su presencia y de su vista. Crían a los niños con una veneración casi supersticiosa a estos tamoles en los cuales de ordinario se juntan ambas potestades del principado y del sacerdocio[.] en su presencia y en sus casas están todos con la reverencia que entre los cristianos se guarda en las iglesias y ante los sacerdotes[.] creen a sus dichos como artículos de fe, les sirven con una ciega obediencia, y les besan las manos y los pies cuando les piden alguna gracia, y cuando van o vienen de camino. Las **casas** ordinarias no son más que una choza baja, cubierta de hojas de palma. Las de los tamoles son magníficas en su línea y compuestas de tablas con algún aseo de pinturas aunque bastas.*

*A los delinquentes no les dan pena de cárcel ni de azotes, sino los destierran a otra isla o los multan en alguna hacienda; en cada pueblo suele haber dos casas a modo de colegios, en el uno viven todos los mozos solteros y en el otro las solteras; [170v] buena instrucción si no la corrompiera la malicia en todas sus islas; no conocen letras ni caracteres ni otras artes liberales, que la astronomía, a la cual se aplican muchos por lo que sirve a la navegación; tienen para ello su maestro el cual con una esfera aratea [sic = astrea] en cuyo convexo están pintados los principales astros, da lecciones a sus discípulos, enseñándoles como por los rumbos de aquellas estrellas se puede navegar a tales y tales tierras.*

*Las **ocupaciones** ordinarias de los varones son fabricar embarcaciones, pescar y cultivar sus raíces, de las mujeres cocinar la comida, tejer mantas de plátano silvestre, y de un árbol llamado Balibavo [sic = Balibago], labrar petates y ayudar en las sementeras[.] en cortar y labrar maderas[.] suplen la falta de los instrumentos de hierro con unas chapas [sic] y azuelas de piedra[.] en algunas ocasiones de navíos extranjeros, que aportaron a sus islas, dejaron algunos hierros viejos, pero éstos se los apropiaron los tamoles, los cuales haciendo, como mejor pudieron de cualquier pedazo una azuela, y de cualquier clavo una barrena, tienen en estos hierros un fondo de renta considerable porque los alquilan a su gente con grandes usuras.*

*Tres veces al día suelen comunmente bañarse, al amanecer, a media día y al ponerse el sol. Se acuestan a dormir con las primeras tinieblas de la noche, y se levantan con las primeras luces de la mañana. Para conciliar el sueño al tamol se ajuntan delante de su casa algunos mozos a cantar ciertas poesías en tono bajo, hasta dejarlo dormido o harto de la música, las noches de luna celebran sus danzas con gran concurso delante de la casa del tamol, donde se sientan los hombres separados de las mujeres; danzan y cantan los varones con buen garbo al compás de su mismo canto (pues no tienen instrumento alguno de música), la gracia del baile consiste en la exacta uniformidad de las acciones y movimientos de todos los danzantes puestos en hileras, los cuales al mismo tiempo juegan con buen metro la cabeza, los brazos, las manos y los pies. Les añaden garbo las galas con que se adornan para la danza. Llevan en la cabeza plumajes o coronas de flores, se cuelgan de las narices hierbas aromáticas y de las orejas unos grandes sarcillos de hoja de palma, curiosamente tejida y otras varias labores atadas a los brazos, a las manos y a los tobillos. [171] Las mujeres no danzan, pero tienen otra especie de festín propia de su sexo, siéntanse en dos hileras y mirándose las caras una hilera con otra comienzan un canto patético y menean los brazos y la cabeza con ademanes de cariñoso llanto, lo cual se llama en su lengua **Tanger i faifil**, que quiere decir el llanto de las mujeres. Al fin de las danzas el tamol, si es liberal saca por premio alguna concha o pedazo de manta, y suspendiéndola en alto con la mano la muestra a los danzantes, los cuales se arrojan a ella y el que la coge primero se la lleva. Fuera de la danza tienen otras muchas diversiones de juegos en los cuales hacen prueba de destreza de robustez, como son blandir la lanza, tirar piedras y arrojar lejos la barra. Cada estación del año tiene su propio divertimento.*

*Es también muy divertida la pesca que hacen de las ballenas, aunque por ventura parecerá a algunos improbable el modo como lo refieren estos naturales de Uleé, que es el paraje más apropiado para tal pesca, pues nueve isletas condenadas en círculo forman un hermoso puerto, donde goza el mar de eterna calma. Cuando alguna ballena dentro de este seno se descubre en las cercanías de la tierra, salen aquellos isleños con muchas bancas y poniéndole cerco de la parte del mar la van espantando y echando hacia los bajos que coronan el mismo puerto hasta que hacen varar aquel bajel animado; entonces se arrojan al agua los más diestros, le daban alguna lanza y le enlazan con fuertes maromas cuyos cabos están afianzados en la playa, donde el gentío atraído de la curiosidad asiendo de ellos trae la presa a tierra, coronándose la fiesta con un festivo banquete.*

*Las enemistades particulares se componen de ordinario con alguna dádiva, y las públicas con la guerra. Sus armas son piedras y lanzas armadas en la punta con un hueso de pescado, y la guerra se hace en forma de duelo. Desafíanse por ejemplo a pedradas dos pueblos, concurren sus moradores en algún campo y se escuadronan en frentes unos a otros colocando en las primeras filas de una y otra parte los muchachos pequeños, en las segundas los más crecidos en edad y estatura, en las últimas los hombres que son más altos de cuerpo. Rompen la guerra dos muchachos, uno de cada banda y se apedrean hasta quedar el uno herido o señalado, suceden luego otros dos y así todos entran en el duelo sucediendo a los muchachos los más adultos según el orden de las filas, acabase al fin la pelea con una incondita algazara de los victoriosos que hacen [171v] mofa de los vencidos.*

*Entre estos desgaritados que son de varias islas, los de Uleé y de su comarca se muestran más político y racionales[;] hablan con desahogo sin faltar al respeto, son de genio alegre y de juicio discreto y sobremanera compasivos de los enfermos, de suerte que se puede esperar con fundamento que en sus islas se logrará fácilmente abundante cosecha de almas cuando el Padre de familias fuere servido de enviar, como le suplicamos, los obreros a esta viña suya que está tan cercana y tan dispuesta a fructificar la semilla evangélica. Hay entre ellos muchos amestizados que se precian de blancos y algunos negros o mulatos que les sirven como de criados. Estos negros vendrían probablemente de la nueva Guinea con la cual estas islas deben de tener trabazón por la banda del Sur. En cuanto a los blancos dejando otras innumerables trazas con las cuales pudo la Divina Providencia traerlos a poblar estas islas, apuntaré sólo una conjetura fundada en la Historia de las Islas Filipinas, escrita por le Padre Francisco Colín de nuestra Compañía donde se refiere en el libro 1, capítulo 20, número 185 un raro suceso del primer navío que pasó con socorro de la Nueva España a dichas Islas Filipinas el año de 1566, y dejó en una isla de los Barbados [=Barbudos] al Leste de las Marianas, aunque no dice cuál, ni en qué grado fuese, unos 28 hombres levantados, los cuales se habían conjurado con el piloto mayor, Martín Lope [rather Lope Martín], de alzarse con aquel navío del Rey y andar pirateando por la costa de la China, y por justo juicio de Dios quedaron desamparados en aquella isla donde ellos mismos habían trazado de dejar a los fieles vasallos de su Majestad. Estos rebeldes que serían todos o los más gente blan-*

*ca es muy probable que comunicasen con las mujeres de aquellas islas y procreasen mestizos.*

*El bastimento común de esos isleños son fruto de árboles, raíces y pescado, como en las Islas Marianas[.] tienen gallinas y otras aves, pero ningún animal cuadrúpedo como tampoco arroz, trigo, maíz, ni cebada. Hay buenas maderas apropósito para embarcaciones, grandes y pequeñas.*

*Mientras escribo esta relación, llégame hoy de la fecha la nueva para mí de gran consuelo de ser yo destinado de la Santa Obediencia para pasar a reconocer esas tierras con una falúa y cuatro bancas que para ese fin está resuelto de despachar el señor gobernador después [172] de la fiesta de la eminente Pascua. Quiera su Divina Majestad no mirar a mis grandes culpas para que éstas no me impidan el lograr la venturosa suerte de enarbolar en esas tierras gentiles el estandarte de Nuestra Santa Fe y de alumbarlas con la luz del Santo Evangelio. Lo que hubiere en adelante de novedad lo participaré a Vuestra Reverencia en otra carta aparte, si me diere vida la Divina Majestad la cual guarde a Vuestra Reverencia muchos años en cuyos santos sacrificios mucho me encomiendo.*

*Agadña y Marzo 24 de 1722.*

[Endorsement:] *Relacion de las Islas Carolinas.*

[Note:] *Nuestra D. A.*

*Es muy curiosa, y su contenido ya esta en las cartas edificantes.*

## D2. Concurrent text in Latin, undated and anonymous.

*Notes: This version, now found at ARSI, was translated in part by Fr. Cantova, or entirely by another Guam missionary. This is proven by three paragraphs about what happened after March 1722, until the arrival of the Mariana patache from Manila that year.*

### **Relatio de duabus naviculis ex incognitis ad Austrum Insulis, mense Junio 1721 ad Insulas Marianas appulsis.**

*Venerabilis vir & Martyr gloriosus P. Didacus Aloisius de Sanvitores, primus Marianarum Insularum Apostolus dicere consueverat, has Insulas futuras aliquando gradum ad conversionem innumerabilium Australis adhuc incognitæ terræ animarum. De quoniam Marianarum quidem Prætores aliquoties sed frustraneo semper conatu Australes insulas detegere conati sunt; ideirco vir Apostolicus P. Gerardus Bowens, insignis in hac missione per 40 fere annos Operarius, dum sæpe fraudatas spes nostras, & elusos tot Prætorum conatus perpendebat, afferere non dubitavit: Quando regiones illa alba erunt ad messem, venient Carolini populi (hoc illis nomen positum, uti infra dicitur) ad Marianas, & inquirent Messores, hosque ipsi deducunt eo, quo nostri conatus pertingere non possunt. Et vero videntur divinæ Bonitatis viscera, ad interitum tot animarum tandem commota, Virorum illorum aut prophecias, aut pia vota jam nunc voluisse implere, januaque aperire ad introducendam falcem Evangelicam in vastissimos Australis incognitæ campos, uti ex præsentī relatione patebit.*

*Die 19 Junij 1721 ex parte orientali hujus Insulæ Guahan, in deserto sinu Tarafofan dicto, apparuit exterum quoddam navigium, cujus structura [fol. 351v] non multum quidem absimilis à Marianarum navicularum fabrica, ejus tamen magnitudinis erat, ut miles Hispanus, à longè illus intuitus, censuerit esse ex earum navium specie, quas vulgo Fregattas vocant. Vehebantur illo 24 personæ, nempe viri 11, mulieres 7 cum 6 parvulis. Excensionem fecerant viri aliquot, etsi ob terræ novæ conspectum omnia suspecta ac timoris plena sibi viderentur; & conscensis palmis, earum fructus (cocos Hispani appellant) liberali manu decutientes, suæ ac suorum in navi diurnæ fami ac siti ex palmarum liquore ac pulpa dulce remedium allaturi, ad suos redierant. Vidit hæ Marianus quidam, qui in eo littore piscabatur: nec mora abijt visa nuntiaturus R.P. Philippo Mariæ Muscati Vice-Provinciali hujus missionis, qui tum in vicina D. Josephi Residentia morabatur.*

*Hic ex templo evocatum ad se Indum pagi Præfectum jussis cum aliquot naviculis obviam ire advenis, eosque incolumes in portum deducere: ignorabant enim ubinam terrarum essent, ac quo gentium advenissens. Fortè succinctus framea advenis obviam processerat Præfectus; cum illico peregrini, viso novo armorum genere, se enectum iri autumantes, præcipue mulieres in ejulatus erumpebant: eaque de causa jam vicini pago excendere renuebant, quia se aut illico interimentandos, aut ad tempus saginandos, Marianis in epulas fore certo certius credebant. Animabant quidem advenas Mariani, securosque esse jubebant; sed surdis cantabant fabulam: cum ecce [fol. 352] in littore vident P. Vice-Provincialem qui parvulis aliquot comitatus processerat, hospites excepturus. Tunc enim cæteris animosior unus, aliqua ad socios verba locutus, excensionem tentavit, atque ad Patrem accurrens, humili gestu levidensia quædam, magni tamen inter ipsos pretij, munuscula obtulit; rotulam scilicet testudineam, quam manibus inse-*



*runt ornamenti causa, & confectam ex terra placentulam coloris flavi ac rubei, quo corpora sua pingunt.*

*Ruit P. Vice-Provincialis in amplexus adveæ, fame ac siti penè enecti, & qua potuit affabilitate ac comitate, tum nutibus ac signis invitabat iæteros ad terram, utque nostræ fidei sese committerent, animabat. Tanta viri amabilis comitas & veneranda canities extrosit fidem à barbaris, ut se totos eidem crederent. Dum ergo paulatim excendunt, & ipse singulos excipit, jubet apparari abundantes cibos ad refocillanda eorum corpora; dumque eos in præparatum hospitium introducit, semetipsos non capiebant præ lætitia, Patremque tanquam vitæ suæ asylum circumdantes, non nisi ægerrimè post diuturnum tandem tempus eum ab se avelli sunt passi. Detinuit eos in sua Residentia per aliquot dies, & cum omni caritate exhausta eorum corpora refecis; sed & vestes singulis procuravit, ut modestius in publicum procedere possent: interea responsorias à Prætore expectans, ad quem ipso adventus die tabellarium rei nuntium submiserat.*

*Carbasa navigij, quo venerant, contexta erant è folijs palmarum, sed miro artificio. Puppis & prora æqualis erant structuræ, cuspidata utraque & alta, atque in [fol. 352v] caudæ delphini figuram desinens. Eorum naves à varia forma & magnitudine varia sortiuntur nomina: quæ appulit, **Ruelep** vocabatur. In 4 divisa erat mansiunculas pro comodo navigantium, unam in prora, in puppi alteram, tertiam & quartam ex utraque mali parte, extra corpus navis, cujus veluti 2 alas formabant Singulæ mobile habent tectum ex folijs palmarum tam affabre contextum, ut & à pluvijs navigantes defendat. Pars navis interior atque carina varia habet loculamenta pro sarcinis & annona. Totum hoc ædificium clavis omnino caret sive ferreis, sive ligneis, defectum eorum suppletibus funiculis, quibus asseres, cæteramque navis materiem inter se aptè consuunt, atque invicem connectunt.*

*Postridie (20 Junij) alia appulit navicula ex parte occidentali hujus Insula Guahan, ad promontorium **Orate** [sic] nuncupatum, penes quod d. 6 April 1676 in odium fidei lanceis confossus obijt P. Sebastianus de Monroy. Naviculæ structura quoad formam & magnitudinem omnino similis erat Marianis, nisi quod ex utroque latere manusculam gereret (quem admodum de priore navigio dictum est) etsi longè minorem, secundum proportionem scilicet ipsius naviculæ. Vehebantur in ista viri 4, mulier una, eaque prægnas, cum alio parvulo: quibus omnibus vestes curavit Marianarum Prætor D. Ludov. Antonius Sanchez de Tagle. Hic cupiens scire, num ejusdem essent nationis utriusque advenæ jussit eos comportari in pagum **Umatac**. Ubi in mutuuum venere aspectum, illico invicem in amplexus ruere & oscula, voceque ac gestu ingentia edere lætitiæ signa.*

[fol. 353] *Nam ut postea cognovimus, simul solverant ex portu quodam Insula **Farroilep**, moturi in aliam Insulam **Ulie** [i.e. Woleai] dictam, cum alijs 4 naviculis: sed superveniente, dum navigabant, valido Africo in varia disjecti, & ab invicem avulsi, postquam 20 totos dies (ut ipsi affirmant) Oceanum sulcarunt, in insulam istam Guahan appulere, inscij quid cæteris 4 naviculis factum sit. Toto navigationis tempore non nisi fructibus palmarum vescebantur, quorum sufficientem copiam navi intulerant; ac pisciculis quibusdam, quos lanceolarum cuspidibus ex spinis piscium confodiebant.*

*Hinc ob annonæ ac præcipuè aquæ dulcis defectum, tam exhausti advenerunt, ut plerique graviter decubuerint; etsi excepto uno, eoque robusto alias juvenis, nullus obierit: qui ipse tamen, prout angustiae temporis, vitæque periculum patiebantur, præcipuis sanctorum fidei mysterijs prius instructus, sacroque fonte ablutus, è vita discessit.*

*Vestiens, quo suis in terris veuntur, & in quo excensionem fecere Carolini (su eos populos vocamus ab aliquot ad Austrum Insulis Carolinis nuncupatis, quia tempore Caroli II Hisp. Regis detectis) est talis. Viri lumbos succincti oblongo paño, naturali consulunt modestiæ: primores defluam præterea instar casulæ vestem usque dependentem amictum gestant. Animadversum est, hosce barbaros singulari quadam verecundiæ cura teneri, ne ex toto denudent corpus: hinc etiam dum in mari aut flu- [fol. 353v] -mine se abluunt, nunquam linteum illud, quo medium corporis cingunt, ab se deponunt.*

*Nobiliores non sint gratiosa proportione pictum, excepta facies corpus ferunt. Perforant item auriculas, non tantum ex inferiore parte, indeque flores herbasve aromaticas; sed & ex superiore, unde vitreos globulos, dono isthic acceptos, pendulos affixere. Conformatione corporis sat bonam nacti sunt. Statura plerorumque supra mediocritatem procera, capillus densus, subrufus ac cincinnatus; frons alta, nasus amplus, oculi magni, sed acuti & perspicaces, barba copiosa, color omnino varius, ita ut aliqui Indi puri, alij Indo-Hispani, aut Hispano-Indi, alij Indo-Æthiopes videantur.*

*Die 29 Junij sic jubente Prætoze ducti sunt ad urbem S. Ignatij de Agadnia, sedem præcipuam missionis, uti & Prætoris, ac præsidij Hispani. Hic recuperata corporum salute, quam post Deum uni ac ferè soli debent caritati infatigabili fratris nostri Jacobi Bavarri [sic]<sup>1</sup> Medici ac Pharmacoceutæ perquam egregij, & de missione, præsidio, Marianisque indigenis per 30 jam años optime meriti. In procuranda autem æterna eorum salute insudavere Missionarij: verum retardabat zelum nostrum omnimoda gentilitij eorum idiomatis à Mariano diversi ignorantia, atque interpretis defectus.*

*Præerat Collegio S. Ignatij Pro-Rector P. Joannes Ant. Cantova: hic en Advenis quatuor ut hospites excepit, quo frequentiore cum eis communicatione notitiam aliquam peregrini idiomatis acquireret. Et verò secundante pios conatus Deo, bimestri spatio tantum add- [fol. 354] -dicit, ut in vernaculam Carolinorum linguam verterit signum S. Crucis, Orationem Dominicam, Salutationem Angelicam: Symbolum Aptomum cum Decalogi & Ecclesiæ præceptis; efformaritque brevem Catechismum ac præcipuorum S. Fidei dogmatum synopsis: quæ omnia in Ecclesiam convocatis ipse explicabat, alternisque diebus lectionem per partes, jam canendo, jam præorando, memoriæ imprimebat; neque avidius accurrerent, absoluta instructione bono jentaculo Auditores recreabat.*

*Die Principibus Ecclesiæ Apostolis Petro & Paulo solenni, quadriennem parvulum Carolinum, jamjam ultimos trahentem anhelitus pij quidam Hispani in Ecclesiam attulerunt, ut Deo per baptismum tenascentur. Actutum P. Cantova, sacro fonte ablu-*

1 Ed. note: Since the name of this brother was Chavarri, this document must be a copy, as Fr. Cantova would never have written it Bavarri.

*ebat parvulum Marianum: quo officio persoluto, quanto lætitiæ æstu primitias Carolinas Deo obtulerit, nemo facillè explicabit. Parvulo indito, nomina SS. Principum Apostolorum: & ecce operante baptismi gratia parvulus post paucos dies convaluit, primumque omnium mira velocitate S. Fidei rudimenta, simul ac Hispanæ urbanitatis gravitatem non sinè lepore perdidicit.*

*Die 29 Sept. cælestis Hierarchiæ Principi D. Michaëli sacra, in terrestrium gentilium & assentientium, & collætantium, in Ecclesia Agadniensi salutaribus undis abluti sunt. Selecta fuit festa hæc dies ob jus patrocini in Advenas nostros pridem delatum Angelorum Principi per nostrum [fol. 354] P. Philippum Bernardum Mexia, cum año 1712 totum illud australe Archipelagus SS. Angelis solemniter dedicavit, ex Marianis tum ad Philippinas renavigans, duce navis Domino Bernardo de Egui, qui de proposito in Austrum deflexerat, & quamvis ipsas Advenarum nostrarum insulas non detexerit (jacent enim hinc ad australem Austro-ortum, Sudsudest, Italis Austro Siroco) detexit tamen non paucas alias, Advenis nostris satis cognitatas. Cæterum ne periculum perversionis parvulis ingrieret, si cum parentibus adhuc gentilibus ad natale solum remigrarent, cum his conventum erat, quid illos velint hic educandos nostris relinquere, casu quo nulli ex Operarijs Evangelijs daretur cum eis ad suas insulas comitem discedere.*

*Adulti quidem audientes necessarium esse baptismum ad æterna cæli gaudia obtinenda, & inferni pœnas evitandas, sæpius illum expetierant, optantes Christiani fieri: quia tamen ad suas terras redeundum eis erat, & forsitan sinè pastore animarum, satius judicatum fuit, interim supersedendum baptismo, dum Deus aliter disponat Iam quartus ab hospitum appulsu currebat mensis; nec ipsi tempus, in rem suam seduli, malè insumpsetunt: clavos enim, secures, cultros, variaque ferri frusta non eriquo numero collegerunt, tanquam dignam supellectilem & usque adeo inter suos æstimabilem, ut felicem quodammodo reputarent suam in amissa patria infelicitatem. Desiderium ergo collectos thesauros eo referendi, amorque suorum ad celerem reditum potenter ipsos extimulabat.*

*Edinerat Prætor, sub finem Octobris se missurum ali- [fol. 355] -quos eorum ad suas terras, alijs velut obsidibus detentis: venerat enim in spem, commercij illas inter ac Marianas insulas instituendi, occasione ferreæ supellectilis tam ibi metiosæ. Ejus rei gnarus P. Cantova, jamque Advenarum linguæ mediocriter peritus, institis apud R.P. Vice-Provincialem facultatem sibi daret, neophytos suos comitandi, ut & insulas illas simul lustrare, earum numerum inire, situm & distantiam recognoscere, mores & animos indigenarum explorare ac sollicitare posset ad Evangelij sementem recipiendam. Offerebat Prætor pro hac expeditione naviculam novam more Europæo fabricatam, data etiam facultate Hispanis ac Philippinis, qui vellent, comitandi Patrem; iamque ex utriusque viri boni ac timentes Deum certabant pro officio. Varias igitur epistolas P. Cantova pro impetranda eundi facultate ad P. Vice-Provincialem at cum eas videret inefficaces esse, statuit cum P. Philippo Maria Fornari, qui eodem conversionis Australium zelo agebatur, ipsemet Superiorem adire. Itaque 13 Oct. Inarahan profecti, multis rationibus cum P. Vice-Provinciali egerunt; sed nec singulæ, nec omnes in unum collectæ expugnare poterant ejus animum, ut vel alteri optatam licentiam concederet.*

*Detentis sic 2 Patribus ad sacrificandum sacrificium voluntatis & intellectus captivi in obsequium Obedientiæ, Carolini nostri eoram Prætore multis lacrymis ac suspicijs, hinc viri cum suo Tamol, inde mulieres instabant pro reditu, macie confecti plerique; quia præ patriæ desiderio vix jam bibebant, ac comedebant. Interpretis & Advocati munere pro eis fungebatur P. Can- [fol. 355v] -tova à Vice- Provinciali redux: sed & hic frustra nea fuit efficax cœteroquin ejus eloquentia. Mutaverat enim & ipse Prætor mentem, spesque Carolinorum in dies protrahebat, dum per temporis rationem, etsi vellent, in patriam renavigare non possent. Venum, ajebat, se tempus expectare opportunius illi expeditioni; interea ad eam necessaria paraturum, ut tanto efficacius fiat.*

*Quinto ab appulsu mense gravida mulier, de qua supra, feliciter enixa est parvulum, quem ipsi parentes gentiles Prætori sponte obtulerant excipiendum in sacro baptismo, quo tinctus fuit die 30 Nov. inditis ei nominibus Ludovici Philippi.<sup>1</sup>*

*Cum ergo cupitum reditum Carolini differri vident, totos se capessendis fidei mysterijs tradiderunt. Et verò quatuor duntaxat exceptis, tam capaces erant, ut nisi certum inter suos perversionis periculum esset, omnes ad sacrum baptisma promoverentur. At licet Christiani non essent, intererant tamen non cum exigua ædificatione rei divinæ, nec nisi flexo poplite, & incurvato corpore erectas Cruces pertransibant.*

*Dum interim adest Martius anni 1722 tum verò revirescere in Carolinis patriæ desiderium, & in P. Cantova neophytos suos comitandi zelus. Ergo iter urget, obsecrat, obtestatur, ac tandem facultatem obtinet comitandi. Destinatur ad eam expeditionem phaselus parva, atque in ea qua Hispani, qua Philippini viri 14 cum suo Duce; nec enim plures cum annona cœterisque sarcinis capiebat. Hanc jussæ comitari tertiæ scaphæ Marianæ, & in harum singulis viri quatuor. In super reparatæ fuerant 2 navicula Carolinorum. Die 15 Aprilis movit parva [fol. 356] hæc classis ex orientali parte insulæ Guahan in Austrum propitio vento, atque utinam & propitio ventorum Domino! Post decimum navigationis diem malè multatæ rediere geminæ scaphæ Marianæ minores, ajentes, cœteram classem suum iter prosequi. Jamque credebamus, post mensis unius iter aliquem saltem portum ex innumeris prope Australibus insulis optimum Padrem Cantova attigisse, cum ecce 26 Maji adest & tertia scapha Mariana, quæ insumptis 10 diebus in reditu, ut ajunt miraculoso (& verò nihil abest à miraculo sinè acu magnetica, solo stellarum ductu redijsse) se non redituram asseverabat, si aqua suffecisset. Rediere autem vectores tam malè tractati, ut per multos dies vix loco movere se possent.*

*Quis nobis interea animi sensus, facile est cogitare: metum inter & spem fluctuabamus, an appulissent cœteri ad Australium insularum aliquam, an viverent, an mari hausti essent; nec cessabamus communibus suffragijs eos Deo comendare, dum tandem misertus nostri est per adventum navis (ut vocamus) biennalis, ex qua rescitum fuit, appulisse Patrem phaselo pessimè tractata ad promontorium S. Bernardini, quod est in insula Luzoniæ distans ab urbe Manilana 80 circiter leucas; appulisse autem die 13 Junij,*

1 Ed. note: The next 3 paragraphs were added to the original text later on, by an anonymous missionary in Guam (see Epilogue below).

*adeoque altero navigationis mense ferme expleto. Ità nuntiabant tres itineris comites, qui ut se subducerent in urbano phaseli Duci, ubi ad temam applicuerunt, fugam arripere ad alium portum, quem præternavigare solet navis Manila in Marianas tendens. Hanc ergo ibi expectatam opportunè conscendentes, ad nos remearunt.*

*Quas porrò alias de insulis Australibus notitias ex [fol. 356v] continuata cum Advenis illis conversatione P. Cantova hauserit, sequentes §§ explicabunt.*

### *§ 1. De numero & situ Insularum.*

*Prænotandum imprimis, dubium vix esse, quin aliquot interveniant errores indesig-nato situ, seu latitudine & longitudine insularum, utpote ex sola Carolinorum instruc-tione qualicumque haustis; tamen errores illos non fore usque adeò magnos: nam P. Cantova efformata quadam velut charta Geographica jussit à nauticæ inter ipsos peri-tioribus insulas denotari positis super eam lapillis ac granis tritici; præterea sæpius in-terrogavit de singularum insularum ab alijs distantia; de vento, quo ex uno in aliam navigatur, juxta tabula ventorum, quam ipsi in 12 ventos distinguunt; item de tempore, quod in hujusmodi navigatione insumitur, attenta etiam velocitate navicularum Aus-tralium longè minore, ac sit Marianarum, alijsque varijs indicijs in rem facientibus.*

*Notandum insuper, insulas ferè omnes, de quibus Hospites illi rationem reddere poterant, sitas esse inter 6 & 11 um. gradum latitudinis boreæ, excurrereque per 30 cir-citer gradus longitudinis ad orientem promontorij S. Spiritus, quod est in insula Samar Philippinarum una: ipsas porrò insulas sic per Archipelagus distinctas protendi, ut quasi 5 lineas seu catenas insularum, totidemque provincias efficiant, quarum singulæ peculiari suo idiomate utuntur, etsi ob exiguam dialectorum differentiam cuncta hæc idiomatica ab una & eadem matrice lingua, Arabica scilicet vel Hebraica, enata videan-tur.*

*[fol. 357] Denique notandum, leucarum nomine hic intelligi Hispanis communiter usitatas, quarum singulæ tribus ferme Italicis respondent. His prænotatis*

*Prima insularum congeries seu provincia ad orientem sita vocatur **Cutai** [sic]: ejus caput est insula **Huogoleu** [sic], alio nomine **Torres**, altior & amplior quam sit nostra hæc insula Guahan. Incolunt eam homines albi ac nigri, & utroque colore commisti. Sita est inter 9 & 10 gr. lat. bor. & in longit. 12 grad. ad ortum insulæ hujus Guahan. Ejus insulæ Regi, **Fobulucapit** [sic] dicto, subsunt quin plurimæ aliæ, quæ tum à Bo-rapeliote [rather Borealorientem?] ad occidentem, tum ab Euro-austro ad Libonotum protenduntur, majores aliæ, aliæ minores, pleræque autem populosissimæ. Priorum nomina sunt **Ettel**, **Ruo**, **Pis**, **Lamoil**, **Falalu**, **Pischiler**, **Ulalu**, **Uloul**, **Pullep**, **Lugeischel**, **Temetem**, **Schoue**: posteriorum **Cuop**, **Fairuc**, **Scheug**, **Capeugeup**, **Foup**, **Peule**, **Pata**, omissis alijs minoribus penè innumeris. Hæc insularum catena à principe sua insula in occidentem facilè ad 100 leucas protrahitur, totidemque à borea in austrum.*

*Altera provincia seu insularum catena incipit inter 4 & 5 gradum longit. ad ortum meridiani Guahanensis, & per 5 gradus ad occidentem se extendit. Insulæ alicujus nominis sunt 26, quarum tamen non nisi 14 habitantur, sitæ inter 8 & 9 gr. latit. bor.*

*Nomina sunt Uleè, Lamurec, Seteol, Ifeluc, Peliao, Raur, Eoropuc, Falalis, Oatagau, Falulmeloc, Termet, Faralies, Algrail, Fajahulep, Marion, Uleur, Toas, Puc, Felais, Elato, Olutel, Olimarau, Fauheu, Farroilep.*<sup>1</sup> *Hæc ultima est decantata illa Carolina, jam año 1696 per Joannem Rodriguez Vallique subnauculerum in navigio Conceptionis delineata, quando hæserat in syrtibus S. Rosæ: inde enim & insulam [fol. 357v] Guahan, & hanc Farroilep, ad Euronotum à Guahan 45 leucas distantem, & in 11 gr. lat. bor. sitam, prospicere dabatur. Hæc provincia dividitur inter 2 Regulos, quorum alter dictus Gofalu [sic] residet in Uleè, alter vocatus Meotusom [sic] in Lamurec.*

*Tertia insularum provincia ab altero gradu ad occasum meridiani Guahanensis incipit in insula Feis, 10 gr. lat. bor. obtinente, & 6 leucas in circuitu, populosa ac fertili. Ejus Regulus vocatur Meirang. Uno hinc gradu ad occasum sunt insulæ, à Bernardo de Egui año 1712 detectæ, itidem [sic] in 10 gr. lat. bor. Hæc insulæ sunt aggregatum ex 40 & amplius insulis, situ suo velut rhomboidem efformantibus, & latitudine 15 leucas, longitudine verò 25 complexis. Aliquanto majores sunt 24 sub diversis nominibus, sed 9 tantum habitantur. Maxima dicitur Falalep, 6 leucas habens in circuitu; Regulus tamen, nomine Caschaitel, residet in insula Mogmog, quam præternavigantes in venerationem Reguli sua carbasa convolvunt. Ad hanc provinciam pertinet adhuc alia insula, 15 inde leucas ad Euro-austrum distans, & Zoraol nuncupata, quæ populo admodum est frequens. Insulæ ista abundant palmis, piscibus, & Septemplici radicum specie, Marianis redicibus non absimilium.*

*Quarta provincia ad occasum tertix jacet in distantia 30 circiter leucarum. Insula ejus princeps Jap montosa & ampla, ultra 40 leucas in ambitu numerat, populosa item, & annonâ abundans. Inter alias radices propane utuntur etiam ea, quam Hispani Camote vocant. Vir quidam ex huc appulsis, nomine Caial, ex hac insula oriundus erat, rationemque clans seminis Camote [fol. 358] lô translati, ajebat: se puero (modo 27um. proximè ætatis annum agit) patrem suum inter suos præcipuum cum 3 fratribus tempestate disjectum in Bisaias, Philippinarum provinciam appulisse, ibique à nostro quodam Missionario beniquè exceptum, lautè habitum, vestituque ac multo ferro donatum, reparata navicula, feliciter inde remeasse ad suos in Jap. Inter alia autem etiam semen illius radice attulisse, quod brevi tempore sic multiplicatum fuit, ut jam in plerisque Archipelagi insulis sit usui. Idem Japenses conficiunt illas (de quibus supra) placentalas odoriferas flavi ac rubei coloris ad depingenda sua corporas quas Australes illi ea propter magno in pretio habent. Idem Caial dicebat, in hac insula etiam dari argenti fodinas; parum tamen inde effodi, tum defectu instrumentorum, tum quòd eliquare nesciant. Quòd si casu argenti virginis frustum inveniant, istud [sic] in rotæ formam effingi, offerrique Regulo terræ, cui rotæ ejusmodi in scabelli vicem inserviant, Præsenti Regulo nomen est Feguir. Aliæ 3 insulæ huc pertinentes ad Euronotum jacent, 8 leucis dissitæ, & Ngoli, Laddo, ac Petangaras nuncupatæ.*

1 Ed. note: Recognizeable as Wolei, Satawal, Ifaluk, [Peliao, Raur], Eauripik, ...etc.

*Quinta provincia seu insularum catena à Jap ad Austro-Africum per 40 circiter leucas abest, componiturque ex insulis, vulgo de los Palaos dictis. Carolini autem eas **Pan-leu** appellant. Ab Aquilone in austrum jacent inter 8 & 6 grad. latid. bor. & in longit. 8 grad. ad meridiani Guahanensis occasum. Præ nominatus **Caial** asserebat, innumeras esse has insulas, 7 tamen primarias à borea in austrum hoc ordine nominari: **Pelilieu**, **Coiangol**, **Tagiliteu**, **Cogeal**, **Lalap** [**Jalap?**], **Mogulibei**, **Ngarrol**; earum Regulum **Sarai** dictum in **Lalap** [**Jalap?**] residere. Cæterum [fol. 358v] gentes illarum esse barbaras, ex toto nudas, & humani carnis avidissimas. Unde Carolini has insulas omni studio cavent, scientes, in earum portibus certum vitæ naufragium adiri. Quæ omnia conformia sunt diario P. Philippi Bernardi Mexia, de quo supra.*

*Ultimæ istarum insularum ad Libonotum 25 leucas circiter remotæ sunt duæ, quas Hispani insulas S. Andreæ, indigenæ verò unam **Sonral** [= **Sonsorol**], alteram **Cadocopei** [sic] appellant. Sitæ sunt in 5 gr. lat. bor. **Sonral** illa est insula, in quam sub initium Dec. 1710 excenderant duo nostræ Societatis PP. **Jacobus Duberon**, & **Josephus Cortil** cum alijs 14, inter quos Indus quidam, **Moac** dictus, cum uxore & prolibus, quem PPes. pro interprete secum acceperant. Aderat eis in socium assignatus **F. Stephanus Baudin**: verum hic excendere non poterat, reque infecta in navi **SS. Trinitatis** reventus ad litora Coragorum appulit 3 Jan. 1711 uti inde Manilam scripsit. Interea ignoratur, quid Patribus illis, eorumque comitibus actum sit. P. Cantova ergo in sua cum Carolinis conversatione dissimulanter conatus est indagare, num aliqua illorum Patrum notitiam haberent, aut fortè quid inaudijsent de eorum socijs Hispanis, atque Indo **Moac**. Sed nihil de ijs rescire potuit, nisi quod Uleenses Carolini, audito nomine **Moac**: illico interrogarint, num viveret, & ubinam? ajebant enim, multis abhinc annis eum in mari disparuisse, & quamvis per multas insulas quæsitum, inventum tamen non esse, adeoque judicari in mari perijsse; nec se quid audijsse de ejus in **Sonral** appulsu, cum nullum prorsus cum indigenis ejus insulæ sibi commercium intercedat. Quod verisimile est ob distantiam facilè 200 leucarum insulæ **Ulee** à **Sonral**.*

[fol. 359] *Denique ad ortum omnium insularum hactenus recensitarum ajunt esse quam plurimas alias, & unam præcipuè grandiozem: **Falupei** dictam, cujus indigenæ colore plerique nigro & moribus barbaris, pro Numine adorent piscem, Hispanis **Tuberon** nuncupatum. Hanc notitiam habent ex illorum navigio quodam, tempestate ad suas insulas rejecto: nec præterea aliud.*

## § 2. De religione & fabulis Insulanorum.

*Miserrima hæc gens ferme in omnimoda Dei ejusque attributorum ignorantia vivit, sinè literis, sinè religione, sinè doctrina: ac vel ideo magis disposita est ad recipiendam Christiani Evangelij veritatem, quia minus præoccupata alterius sectæ mendacijs. Interrogati, quis cælum, terram, cæteraque omnia creavit, reponunt se nescire. Aliquos tamen agnoscunt spiritus, bonos æquè ac malos: & alios quidem ajunt esse puros spiritus, quin tamen eos eximere norint a pensione corporea, carnisque miserijs ac fragilitate: alijs vero attribuunt corpora, qualia hominibus, imo etiam duas ac plures uxores; etsi eos nominent gentem cælestem & alterius esse specieidicant ab hominibus terrestribus.*

*Ex Majorum traditione asserant, antiquiores cœli personas fuisse **Sabuceur & Hal-melul**, virem ac fœminam quæ genuerunt filium **Elvilep**, & filia **Ligobub**. **Elvilep**, quod idem est ac **Spiritus magnus duxit Leteuhieul** puellam Uleensem in flore ætatis defunctam, cujus animam ad cœlestes illius nuptias transijsse ajunt atque ex eo thalamo prognatum filium **Lugeiling**, quod idem est ac **In medio cœli**: hunc porrò venebantur tan- [fol. 360] -quam magnum Dominum & legitimum cœli hæredem. Secuta dein uxoris sterilitate, **Elvilep** non contentus unica prole, adoptavit sibi in filium egregiæ indolis juvenem **Reschahuilang** ex insula Lamurec, cujus animam pariter cœlum subijsse credunt ad patre suum adoptantem. Matrem hujus Reschahuilang, utique fabulæ inventricem, adhuc ajunt decrepitam vivere in Lamurec, & ad conciliandam sibi autoritatem, fabulæque fidem dicere, filium suum sæpius è cœlo ad se visibilem descendisse, pluraque arcana cœlestia revelasse.*

***Ligoboub** soror **Elvilepi** concepit ex aëre, sed ad pariendum descendit in terram, unoque partu tres proles enixa fuit, duos vires **Capurelielel & Erigirigeis** atque unam fœminam **Ouboub**. Filiorum prior cum vidisset terram aridam, omnique carentem ornatu, omnipotente sua voce vestivit eam virore, floribus, herbis, plantisque frugiferis, & replevit viventibus rationalibus, ex sorore sua **Ouboub** procreatis. Sub hæc initia ignorabant homines mortem, & solam brevis somni notitiam hababant. Cum Luna deficiente deficiebant & homines, ac velut moriebantur, quando in fine lunationis corniculata disparet: at post 3 dies, quando denuo corniculata incipit apparere, resurgunt & homines à mortuis, velut è somno excitati.*

***Erigirigeis** pessimæ intentionis, & qui aliena bona sua reputabat mala, primus mortem in genus humanum introduxit, ut vita semel functi nequeant ad vitales auras reverti. Ideo illum vocant **Elus melabut**, quod idem sonat ac **Spiritus maleficus**: beneficos autem vocant **Elus melafirs**. Inter malos [fol. 360] spiritus ajunt unum, nomine **Morogrog**, tanquam latronem è cœlo ejectum fuisse, eaque occasione beneficium ignis terræ obtigisse, quo prius carebat.*

***Lugeiling** filius **Elvilepi** habuit 2 uxores, cœlestem unam, ex qua genuit 2 filios, **Car-rer & Melileau**; alteram terrestrem ex insula Falalu, de qua natus est filius **Oulefol**(?), qui cum rescisset se patrem habere cœlestem, incensu, ejus videndi desiderio, tentavis volare in cœlum, sed ex alto prolapsus aliquandiu infelicitatem suam deploravit in terra; non tamen à proposito destitit; excitato enim grandi incendio, vorticibus fumi sese injecit, cujus alis sublevatus in æthera ad patris sui amplexus pervenit. In dicta insula Falalu exiguus est lacus aquæ dulcis instar piscinæ, in quem ajunt cœlestes spiritus velut ad balneum descendere; ob quam causam nemo indigenarum loco approximare audeat, nisi velit illorum indignationem incurrere.*

*Denique Solem, Lunam, & Astra cætera animata esse dicunt, & lucidum esse populum credunt cœlestium personarum. Non tamen multum fidei videntur hisce figmentis tribuere, eo ipso quod ad cultum istorum Deorum sive spirituum nullas habeant cæremonias externas, nec templum, nec hostias, nec sacrificia aut orationes.*

*Erga defunctos tantum aliquam speciem cultus superstitiosi habent. Ordinarium defunctorum sepulcrum sunt oceani vortices à terra satis remoti. Si quis tamen vita fun-*



*gitur, cui peculiari affectu consanguinei & amici sunt addicti, etiam singulari ritu [fol. 360v] & multa cum doloris significatione exequias ei adornant. Quamprimum moribundus expirat, depingunt corpus flavo & aromatico colore, tum omnes amici & consanguinei circa cadaver adjuncti, commune damnum effusis lacrymis deplorant. Cæteris dein tristi silentio obmutescentibus, unica mulier solvit linguam, & inter gemitus ac suspiria, defuncti præclaram indolem, corporis elegantiam, generis nobilitatem, agilitatem in sultu, in piscatu felicitatem, aliasque prærogativas nativa eloquentia extollit. Quod si quis in doloni contestatione præcellere cupit, potioem sui thesauri partem adfert, ad ornandum defuncti cadaver, detonsosque sibi capillos ac barbam (quæ apud eas gentes præcipuum nobilitatis ac præeminentiæ insigne habetur) cadaveri superinjicit. Dies tota rigoroso traducitur jejunio, quod tamen noctu lauta solvitur cænatione. Postea in interiore domus parte lignea inclusum capsula sepeliunt. Alias etiam procul ab habitatione quadrilateram instar sacelli defuncto domunculam erigunt ex solutis lapidibus, sine calcis, argillæ, vel bituminis admixtione; eoque copiosam annonam inferunt, quæ in alimentum cedat animæ defuncti.*

*Credunt dari cælum & inferos, bonosque ibi manere præmium, & malos isthic pœnam. Animas, quæ in cælum evolant, ajunt quarto die rursus descendere in terram, atque invisibiles inter cognatos & amicos obambulare. Sunt inter eos quidam vulgi opinione veluti Sacerdotes utriusque sexus, quibuscum defuncti communicans. Atque isti superiori quasi autoritate alios declarant [fol. 361] sanctos, alios damnatos, seu spiritus beneficos vel maleficos. Spiritus beneficos alio nomine etiam vocant **Fahutup** [Tahutup?], sive Patronos aut Advocatos, qualem singulæ fere familiæ specialem habent, & sub eo nomine colunt & invocant, petuntque infirmi sanitatem, navigantes prosperum iter, piscatores abundantem capturam, agricolæ radicum copiam &c. Conantur illos sibi devincire quibusdam munusculis, ex arboris trunco ante ædes suorum **Tamol** appensis; quod idem faciunt, ut gratias testentur pro acceptis.*

*Japenses uti barbarie cæteros superant, sic & sacrilego cultu, quem pendunt crocodilo, sub cujus specie dæmon in miseros tyrannidem exercet. Sunt enim inter eos arioli, quibus cum crocodilo magna intercedit amicitia, cujus ope, quos volunt, aut interimunt, aut infirmitate premunt, aut alijs modis affligunt tum in propriam utilitatem, tum in alienæ vindictæ cupiditatem &c.*

*In omnibus hisce insulis viget polygamia, majorque uxorum ac pellicum numerus majoris est indicium eminentiæ. Adulterium inter grandia reputatur scelera. Quod si tamen adulter marito adulteræ dives quodpiam munus offerat, culpa sua absolvitur: sed si maritus læsus fœdum munus recusat, repudium dat mulieri, quæ fidem violavit. Quæ autem viris libertas est repudiandi mulieres, eadem est mulieribus repudiandi viros: in dando tamen repudij libello certa sunt statutæ leges circa dotis dispositionem. Si ex 2 fratribus unus moritur sine liberis, superstes frater accipit ejus uxorem, ut suscitet semen fratri suo. Item [fol. 361] tempore fluxus menstrui mulieres septiduo separationem à viris observant.*

*Dum piscaturi in altum tendunt, nihil potus aut tibi naviculæ inserunt: credunt enim, fore ut si aliter agerent, verenda sibi ac pedes intumescant. Mense Februario omnes*

*Tamol* seu capita insularum ac familiarum in quadam domo velut comitia celebraturi per 4 dies conveniunt, sortesque jaciunt divinatorias, ut sciant, an navigatio vere inchoanda prospera sit futura, necne. Eisdem sortibus utuntur ad divinandum de futura piscatione. Consistunt autem hæ sortes in certo numero nodorum, quos faciunt in 4 folijs palmarum: ex cujus operis perfectione aut defectu augurantur de prospera aut adversa fortuna.

### § 3. De eorum consuetudinibus politicis.

Non ita sunt barbari ac rudes hi Insulani, ut non aliquam etiam velut speciem Reipublicæ efforment cum regimine quasi mixto: quia licet dividantur in multas nobiles familias, quorum capita dicuntur *Tamol*; nihilominus in singulis insularum tractibus seu provincijs quidam est *Tamol*, quem præ cæteris venerantur, & cui alia familiarum capita subordinantur. Isti *Tamol* ut majorem sui venerationem concilient, longas enutriunt barbas, despoticè imperant, paucis utuntur verbis, sed perquam serijs. Solus *Tamol* loco elatiore, cæteri nuda in humo sedent: nec enim ibi scamnorum est usus. Quando è plebe sive viri, sive mulieres in conspectum sui *Tamol* veniunt, in signum reverentiæ inclinant se, quam profundè possunt, & sic [fol. 362] incurvato corpore, capitique ad genua usque demisso procedunt, donec in illius præsentia constituti, humi se collocent: finito autem alloquio, parti corporis curvati forma recedunt, nec se erigunt, dum se extra aspectum sui *Tamol* positos agnoscunt. Educant suas proles incredibili erga *Tamol* reverentia, quam coram ac domi tantam habent, ut nec majorem à Christianis desideres in Ecclesia ac coram Sacerdotibus. Eorum dicta, uti fidei articulos excipiunt, ac cæcè quodammodo obtemperant. Dum iter faciunt sive terra, sive mari, in habitu & reditu eorum pedes manusque exosculantur.

Plebs in humilibus tugurijs habitat, contentis è palmæ folijs, domus autem *Tamol* ex asseribus componuntur, varijsque picturis adornantur.

Delinquentes non puniunt carcere aut verberibus, sed exules abigunt ad alias insulas, aut parte melioris supellectilis multant. Singuli pagi habent 2 separatas domos, in quarum una vivunt cœlibes viri & adolescentes, in altera cœlibes fæminæ ac puellæ. Nullam habent literarum, characterum, aut artium notitiam, nisi solius astronomiæ, in quantum hæc navigationi inservit. In quem finem habent Magistrum, qui depictis præcipuis astris discipulos erudit, quomodo ad has vel illas terras, hujus vel alterius astri ductu navigare queant.

Ordinariæ virorum occupationes sunt fabricare naves, piscari, colere agros, & plantare radices: mulierum coquere cibos, tenere vestes ex platano silvestri, & corticibus arboris *Balibaga* dictæ, item conficere storeas, & adjuvare viros in cultura radicum. Ad curtanda, secanda, & læviganda ligna defectum ferreorum [fol. 362v] instrumentorum suppleant lapidibus affabre in eum effectum adaptatis. Aliquoties quidem ab exteris navigijs, eas insulas præternavigantibus, aliquot ferri frusta clavosque obtinuerunt; verum ipsi *Tamoles* ea sibi appropriarunt, inque ascias, secures ac terebras; quantumcumque malè ac ruditer commutata, subditis suis ad usum commodare solent cum ingenti sua usum.

*Quotidie ter balneare consueverunt, ante ortum ac post occasum solis, ac in meridie. Ad conciliandum somnum suo Tamol ante ejus domum conveniunt aliquot adolescentes, ibique demisso tono decantant fabulas quasdam, usque dum ille obdormiat, aut musicæ satur illos dimittat. Ad splendorem Lunæ suos celebrant saltus ingenti concursu, idque antè ædes Tamol, ubi sejuncti à fæminis consistent viri. Cantantes autem saltant viri non sinè lepore ad mensuram & cadentiam propriæ vocis; neque enim alterius instrumenti musici notitiam habent, totiusque saltus gratia consistit in exacta uniformitate actionum ac gestuum, dum saltantes in 2 series dispositi, eodem temporis puncto non illepidè caput, brachia, ac pedes movent. Accedit ornatus corporum; plumis enim aut floribus coronant caput, è navibus gestant pendulas herbas aromaticas, & ex auribus prægrandes inares è palmarum folijs contextas: quin & brachia, manus, suræ, pedes, cæteraque membra suum singula ornatum habent.*

*Mulieres non saltant, sed aliud proprium sexui lætitiæ exercitium frequentant. In duas divisæ lineas humi consistent, mutuoque obtutu sese contemplantes, patheticum cantum inchoant, brachiaque & caput di- [fol. 368] - versimode movent, ita ut omnis & vocis & corporis varietas amorosum quandam planctum spiret, quem idcirco patria lingua **Tangeri faifil**, seu muliebrem planctum indigitant. Sub finem saltus, si Tamol est liberalis, testudineam concham aut frustum texturæ expromit, ac in præmium saltantibus ex alto monstrat: quo viso accurrunt universi, & qui primus rapit, tenet bravium.*

*Exercent & alios ludos per quasvis anni partes distributos, quibus agilitatem & robur sui corporis ostentant, uti sunt vibrare lanceas, lapides funda facere, &c. Delectantur quoque captura ceti, præsertim Uleenses, in quorum vicinia habetur. Novem ibi insulæ in circulo veluti portum efformant, intra quem oceanus perpetua gaudet malacia. Quando ergo cetus quispiam in eo sinu apparet, indigenæ in suis naviculis advolant, eumque ex parte maris circumsidentes territant, ac syrtibus in portus circuitu positis approximare conantur, donec ijs hæreat bellua. Tum animosiores quidam in mare insiliunt, ejusque corpori aliquot lanceas infigunt, quibus prælongos innectunt funes, quorum capita in littore habentur. Per hos funes ab accurrente numero populo inter inconditos clamores pedetentim ad terram attrahitur præda, lautoque convivio festivas terminatur.*

*Privata dissidia mutuis componuntur muneribus, publica verò bello. Arma eorum sunt lapides ac lanceæ, piscium ossibus in cuspides armatæ. Prælium per modum duelli adornatur. E. G. provocant se duo [fol. 363v] pagi, utriusque incolæ in campum prodeunt, & adversum se invicem ad factum lapidis consistunt in triplici serie. In prima sunt pueri velut Antesignani, in altera juvenes adultioris ætatis ac staturæ, in tertia viri corpore eminentiores. Auspiciantur pugnam gemini ex adversum pueri, tandiu lapidum jactu se impetentes, dum unus concidat, aut graviter læsus se victum fateatur, aut timore percussus fugam capessat, His succedunt bini alij, & his iterum alij: post pueros deinde bini arenam ingrediuntur juvenes, ac denique viri fecundum ordinem serierum. Receptui canitur incondito vincentium clamore, quo victus insultant.*

*Inter huc appulsos, qui ex varijs erant insulis, Uleenses videntur paulo cultiores, magisque tractabiles: intrepidè enim loquuntur, quin tamen reverentiæ desint, genio sunt hilari ac judicio maturo, & insignis erga ægrotos commiserationis; ut spes affulgeat optatioris inter eos fructus atque promptioris, siquando Patrifamilias placuerit mittere Operarios in hand messem.*

*Sunt inter ipsos, ut supra dictum est, aliqui misti coloris, seu velut nati ex Inda & Europæo, atque hi se Albos jactant: alij subnigri, seu velut nati ex Inda & Mauro, quos Hispani Mulatos vocant; atque hi Albis sicut famuli dominis serviunt. Videntur hi originem trahere ex nova Guinea, cum qua has insulas ad Austrum communicare vix dubium est.*

...

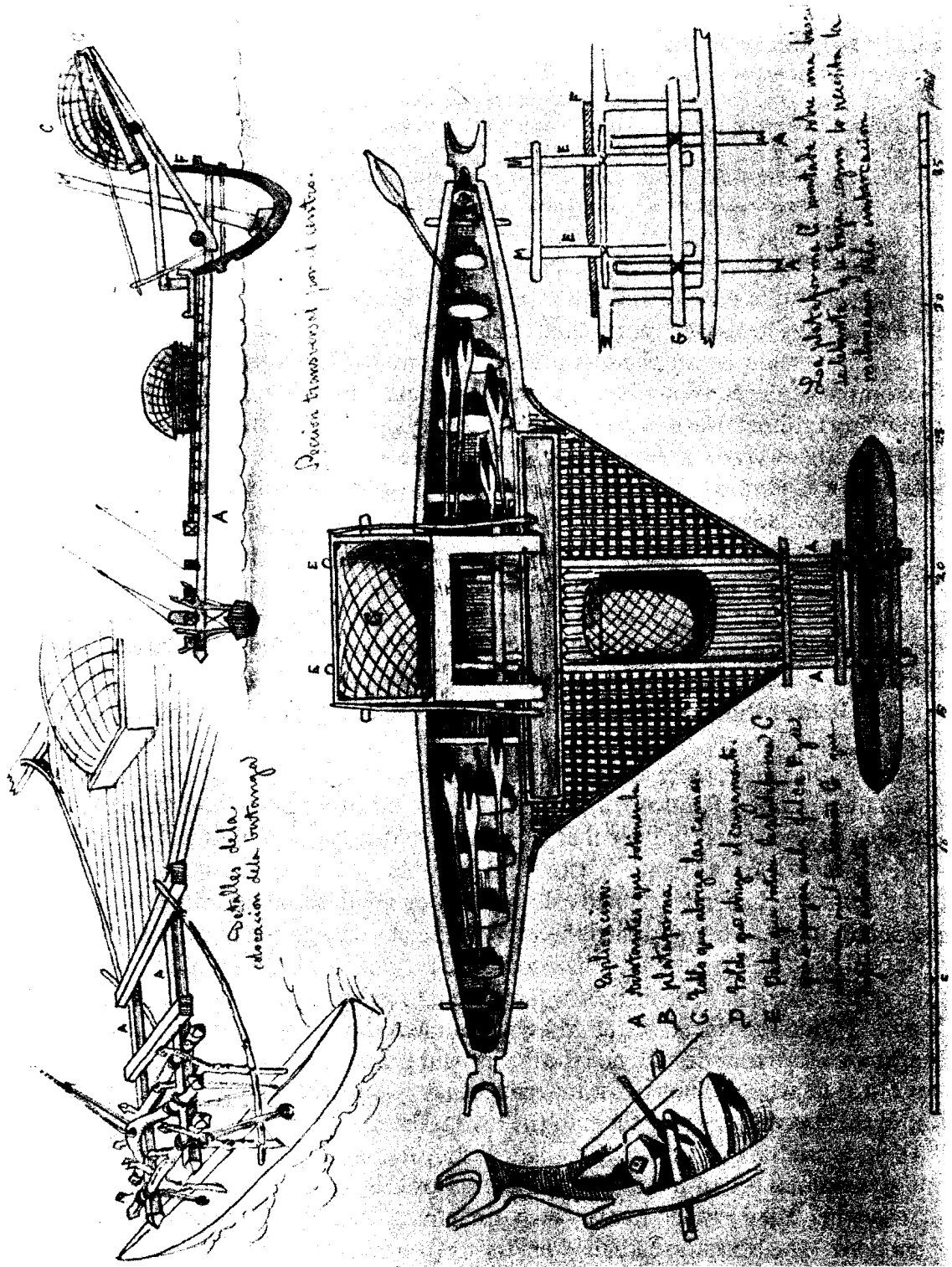
### D3. Translation, by R.L.

*Note: There exists another manuscript English translation, probably done by/for the Micronesian Seminar, and to be found at the University of Hawaii, under #Pac DU 563.C35 1722a, but it was translated from the French version, and therefore is more removed from the original Spanish and/or Latin. Besides, the editor of the French "Lettres édifiantes" has introduced some inaccuracies, such as Fr. Bouwens having talked with Fr. Sanvitores (when we know that the latter had died 2 months before the arrival of the former at Guam); also the date of the letter being 20th, rather than 24th, of June.*

1722—N° 9 [Bundle n° 7, Letters Y. B.]

The venerable martyr and glorious apostle of the Mariana Islands, Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, used to say that these islands would be one day the ladder leading to the conversion of numberless others, the unknown Austral Islands. Although the Governors of the Mariana Islands have at various times sent from this Island of Guahan many different despatches for the discovery of the Caroline Islands, which are the closest to these Marianas and the first ones of the Austral Islands, the enterprise has always been frustrated. Father Gerardo Bouwens, that apostolic man and renowned member of this Mission (who had insisted very much on this exploration) said that, once the harvest were ripe, the Carolinians themselves would come to the Marianas to look for harvesters and would guide them to their homes, which our own efforts had not revealed to us. Now it seems as if Divine Mercy, pitying so many souls that live in the midst of the darkness of heathenism, has taken upon Himself the task of making this happy prediction come true, in order to introduce the evangelical sickle in such a faraway field as those unknown Austral Islands, as will be inferred from the present report.

On 19 June 1721, there came into an uninhabited bay of the east coast of this Island of Guahan, named Tarafofo, a strange craft similar in shape to those of the Marianas, but of a size so much bulkier that a Spanish soldier, upon sighting it sailing in from afar, mistook it for a frigate. There were 24 passengers on board it, 11 men, 7 women and 6 children. The men stepped ashore, although with some caution, and climbing up the coconut trees, they supplied the whole retinue with enough coconuts to refresh the ardors of their deep thirst with the sweet juice thereof. A Mariano Indian who was fishing on that coast, as soon as he saw them went to give the news to Father Felipe María Muscati, Vice-Provincial of the Mission who was then residing in the nearby town of Inarahan. He in turn despatched the mayor of the town with a few canoes to guide those poor drifters who did not know in what country they were, and with what people they found themselves, to bring them to the town. The mayor had a machete hanging from his belt; when the guests saw that weapon, they thought they were no better than dead, and the women began to shed pitiful tears. For this reason, they did not want to step ashore when they arrived at the town, imagining that their final misfortune awaited them there. The Mariano Indians were trying to encourage them not to fear, and finally one of the more daring of the guests, as soon as he saw the Father Vice-Provincial



(Facing face:) **Details of the construction of a Carolinian voyaging canoe.**

waiting for them on the shore, told the others I don't know what words and then jumped ashore, running to offer to the Father some of the poor jewels from his country, which were a small ring of tortoise shell, like some pinchbeck, which they wear on special occasions on their arms, and a lump made up of a reddish yellow paste which they rub on their bodies.<sup>1</sup> His Reverence embraced him and with signs of affability invited the rest of them to step ashore and trust in our good treatment. Meanwhile he ordered that they be given an abundant supply of food; they, as a result of these demonstrations of humanity, delivered themselves with some hope of finding a more humane hospitality than the one that their fear had made them imagine a short time before. The Father Vice-Provincial detained them at Inarahan for a few days with all the welcome possible and he had clothes made for them so they might appear with more decency, and he sent a message about this novelty to His Lordship the Governor of these Islands.

The **canoe** of these drifters had for a sail a fine piece of woven palm leaves, the poop and the bow of equal shape and appearance, that is, high and pointed, and at the end of both was a sculpture imitating a dolphin's tail. To each of their canoes they give its own name; this one was named **Ruelep**.<sup>2</sup> It had four compartments for the convenience of the passengers, one at the bow, another at the poop, upon the upper works, and the other two on each side of the mast and over the sides, making the craft look as if it had two wings. These compartments are fitted with a thatch cover that can be removed, very similar in nature to the canopy of a coach, that protects one from the sun and rain. Inside the hull, there are various vessels containing food as well as freight, and in the whole of this craft there is not one nail; the lack of iron fasteners is made up by some cords with which they secure the boards of the hull and the upper works together.

The next day (20 June) another strange craft arrived at Orote Point (which is on the west coast of Guahan). It had the same size and appearance as the ordinary canoes of the Marianas, but had two compartments over the sides like the other, although smaller, in relative proportion to its hull. In it came 4 men, 1 woman and 1 child. The Governor, Don Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle, ordered that clothes be given to them and that both groups from the two canoes be brought together before him in the town of Umatag, to find out if they were from the same nation. When they met, they burst into demonstrations of great joy and gave one another kisses and embraces, because, as it was learned later, these two canoes had departed from **Farroilep** to go to **Ulié** (two of their islands) together with four other canoes,<sup>3</sup> but during the crossing were hit by a stiff monsoon wind that made them drift in different directions. Such an unexpected

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1 Ed. note: Turmeric (Lat. *curcuma*) which is called "rang" by Carolinians.

2 Ed. note: From "Ruwe," two, and "lap," big; therefore, Big [Canoe] N° 2. It was huge indeed, if it carried 23 persons.

3 Ed. note: The people on board were from these two islands, and from other islands in the central and western Carolines, including at least one man from Yap (see below).

incident, sent by Divine Providence, made them lose their bearings, to such an extent (they say) that they ploughed the sea for 20 days, searching in one heading, then on another, until these two canoes made it to Guahan one day apart, not knowing anything about what had happened to the other four in their convoy. During all of this time they sustained themselves for the most part with coconuts which they carried in abundance and with a few fishes that they caught along the way with some small fish spears, tipped with some fishbones. They were so weak when they arrived, not only by the hardship of the voyage but also for lack of food, specially water, that, in addition to having their hands skinned by the oar which they must have used to fight the currents, most of them became sick. A very robust young man even died, though not until after he had been taught the main mysteries of our holy faith as best as could be, and baptized at the hour of death.

The **clothes** that they were wearing when they stepped ashore, and those they wear when they are in their islands, are as follows. The men wear a [loin-] cloth that goes around the waist and between the thighs and covers the front and back of the body, but the chiefs among them, whom they call **Tamols**, in addition to this sort of girdle, wear a cape [i.e. poncho] similar to a chasuble that falls in front and behind as far as the knees. The women, in addition to the same piece of cloth or girdle as used by the men, wrap themselves for greater modesty with another, loose-fitting, piece of cloth that covers them from the waist down to the middle of the legs like a skirt. We have noticed in these people the special care they take of not uncovering their body entirely; indeed, not even when they go and bathe do they remove the interior cloth, for the sake of modesty. The nobles have the whole of their body, except the face, covered with beautiful tattoos, whose designs are well proportioned. They usually have a big hole made in the lower cartilage of both of their ears, into which they stick some flower, or aromatic grasses; some also have the upper cartilage of their ears pierced, where they were hanging the beads, made of coconut or glass, which they had received here from the Fathers or other persons. They have a good appearance, are tall and plump. Most of them have woolly hair, a wide nose, big and intelligent eyes, and their beard is rather full. Their [skin] color varies; some look like pure Indians, others like a mixture of Indian and Spanish, but one in particular was so tawny that he looked like the son of a negro man and Indian woman. With regards to the possible origin and a possible explanation for so much blood mixture and variation in colors, I will speculate about this in section 4 below.

On 28 June, the Governor ordered them to be taken from the town of Umatag to the city of San Ignacio of Agaña (which is our capital and the fixed residence of the governors and of the Royal Spanish troops) where at first their bodies were cured of their illnesses—a benefit that after God they owed to the charitable aid received from our Brother Jaime Chavarri, physician and pharmacist of singular expertise, experience, knowledge and untiring charity—then their souls were also cured by the Fathers of the Society who began to teach to them the main mysteries of our Holy Faith. The total lack of interpreters turned the good intentions of the Fathers into an extraordi-



nary task, because the language of these guests was totally unknown; however, since I found myself Vice-Rector of the College of St. Ignatius at the time, and four of them were being lodged in said college for us to have closer contact with them, I had the opportunity to maintain that domestic contact; within two months I managed to learn enough to be able to translate, as I did, into the language of these heathen the sign of the Cross, the prayers of Our Father, Hail Mary, the Creed and the Commandments, and to write a brief catechism, which I started to explain to them in the church where they would sometimes go and learn the Christian doctrine, partly by singing it and partly by reciting it. I would myself lead them not only in this praying but in singing as well, and at the end of each session they would be entertained with lunch or dinner, the better to attract them by means of this bait to the Church, and to the knowledge of their true welfare, that was being revealed to them in the mysteries of the Christian Faith.

On the feast-day of the glorious apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the main columns of the Church, God Our Lord arranged for a lucky prognosis of the spiritual building of this Christian community by offering us its first foundation stone in the person of a Carolinian child, about four years old, who was brought to me in the church when he was already very sick, in the arms of some devout Spaniards, so that he would not die without the grace of holy baptism. I was then busy administering the same sacrament to another child, born in this district of Agaña. I was very glad to offer these first fruits to the Lord and I baptized him with the names of Pedro Pablo. The child recovered within a few days, and divine grace worked a miracle in him because he soon learned the whole of the Christian doctrine ahead of all of the others, as well as Spanish politeness with a wonderful rapidity and charm. On 29 September, the feast-day of the prince of the heavenly hosts, Saint Michael, four more Carolinian children were recruited into the choir of the earthly angels, all of them of the same age, between four and five, and with the assent and pleasure of their heathen parents they were solemnly baptized in the church of this city with a large crowd attending and everyone rejoicing. The feast of the Prince of the Archangels was chosen for this event because of the special right that he already had as the patron saint of these guests, whose archipelago had been solemnly dedicated to the holy angels since 1712 by Father Felipe Bernardo Mexía, the chaplain of the patache **Santo Domingo**, when its captain and commander, Don Bernardo de Eguí, on his return voyage from the Marianas, sailed southward in search of the Austral Islands, of which he discovered many, as can be seen by his narrative and logbooks, but he did not visit the chain of islands that is home to these drifters, because it is located SSE of Guahan. As for these children that we baptized, they ran the risk of being raised as heathen, if they returned home without the company of some Gospel minister; that is why their parents had agreed to leave them in the Marianas in the care of the missionary Fathers.

When these heathen adults heard of the need for baptism to enter Heaven and avoid the eternal and very serious pains of Hell, they came many times to ask me for it, saying that they wanted to become Christians; nevertheless, since they at least would have to go back to their islands, where their perversion is morally certain, living as they would

be without a minister among heathen people, like sheep without a shepherd among wolves, it was judged for now that they were not to be admitted to this sacred font. Four months had elapsed since their arrival, and during this time period they had been collecting nails, hatchets, knives and other pieces of iron, the precious target of their greatest greed, which for a time were making them accept their misfortune as a piece of good luck, but already the wish to take that treasure back home, and the love of their children and wives whom they had left behind, was beckoning them and they showed themselves impatient to return. The Governor had said that he would despatch some of them by the month of October, to carry the news back to their islands, and to invite their residents to undertake a trade with these Marianas with the attraction of iron, and until they returned, to detain as hostages some chiefs from their company. Based on this plan, I too solicited from Father Vice-Provincial permission to go with them and record their islands, their number, distances, degrees of latitude, and to observe the customs of their natives, test their intentions and see their disposition for receiving the Gospel doctrine, but at the beginning baptizing only those who might be in danger of dying.

For this voyage the Governor was offering me one new champan and was giving permission to the Spanish and Filipinos who might volunteer to accompany me in this enterprise. Various persons of complete satisfaction had already begged me to take them along. I therefore wrote some letters to Father Vice-Provincial, begging him to give me his blessing, the only thing that I lacked, but His Reverence did not grant my wish. On 13 October of the same year 1721, I went to Inarahan with Father Felipe María Furnari who had the same wish, for him to help me plead the case of these abandoned souls before the piety and zeal of His Reverence. I showed him a **chart** and the short distance existing between Guahan and those Austral Islands, the ease of a return trip, more so now that its own inhabitants would guide us, the safety of the Gospel ministers, as well as the facts that those islanders were very much against the shedding of any human blood, and that the chiefs of their nation would remain as hostages in Guahan.<sup>1</sup> I explained to him the reasons why the enterprise should no longer be delayed, but nothing was found to conquer the mind of Father Superior; he feared that this expedition might not be approved in Manila. Resigned to holy obedience, I returned to Agadña, where our guests were requesting to leave, first the men with their **tamol**, then the women with their leading lady; they presented themselves before the Governor and, more with tears than with words, begged him to be pleased to grant them permission to return to their islands, as they could not eat, nor sleep, for the desire they had to see their country, and that soon they would die if he detained them much longer. I was present on both occasions and acted as their interpreter. The Governor had changed his mind and he was employing delaying tactics until winter came, when navigation becomes impossible, because his idea (as he said) was to wait until spring, when he

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1 Ed. note: The fact that the Tamols were also their best navigators was not considered a risk by Fr. Cantova.

would then made a despatch in due form, with better preparations and a full commitment.

Five months after their arrival, one of the seven married women had the luck of giving birth to a son in this city of San Ignacio, and his father offered him for holy baptism; the baby achieved the greater luck of being reborn to the better life of grace, on 30 November, the date dedicated to the apostle Saint Andrew, and he was taken out of the font by the Governor himself who gave him the names of Luis Felipe.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, thanks to my contacts and communications with our guests, I obtained the notices that I will present in the following sections.

## § 2

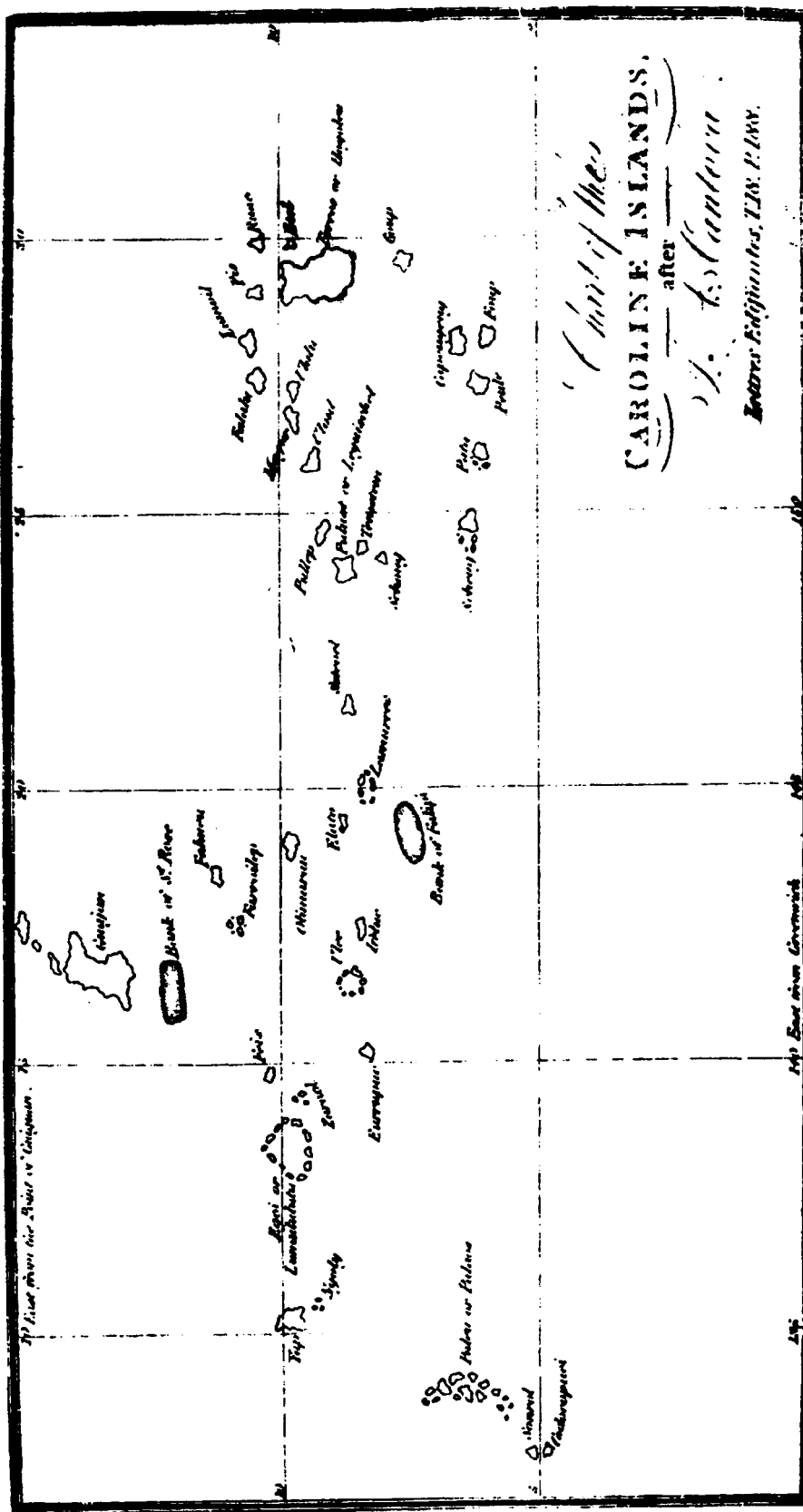
### Number and position of their islands.

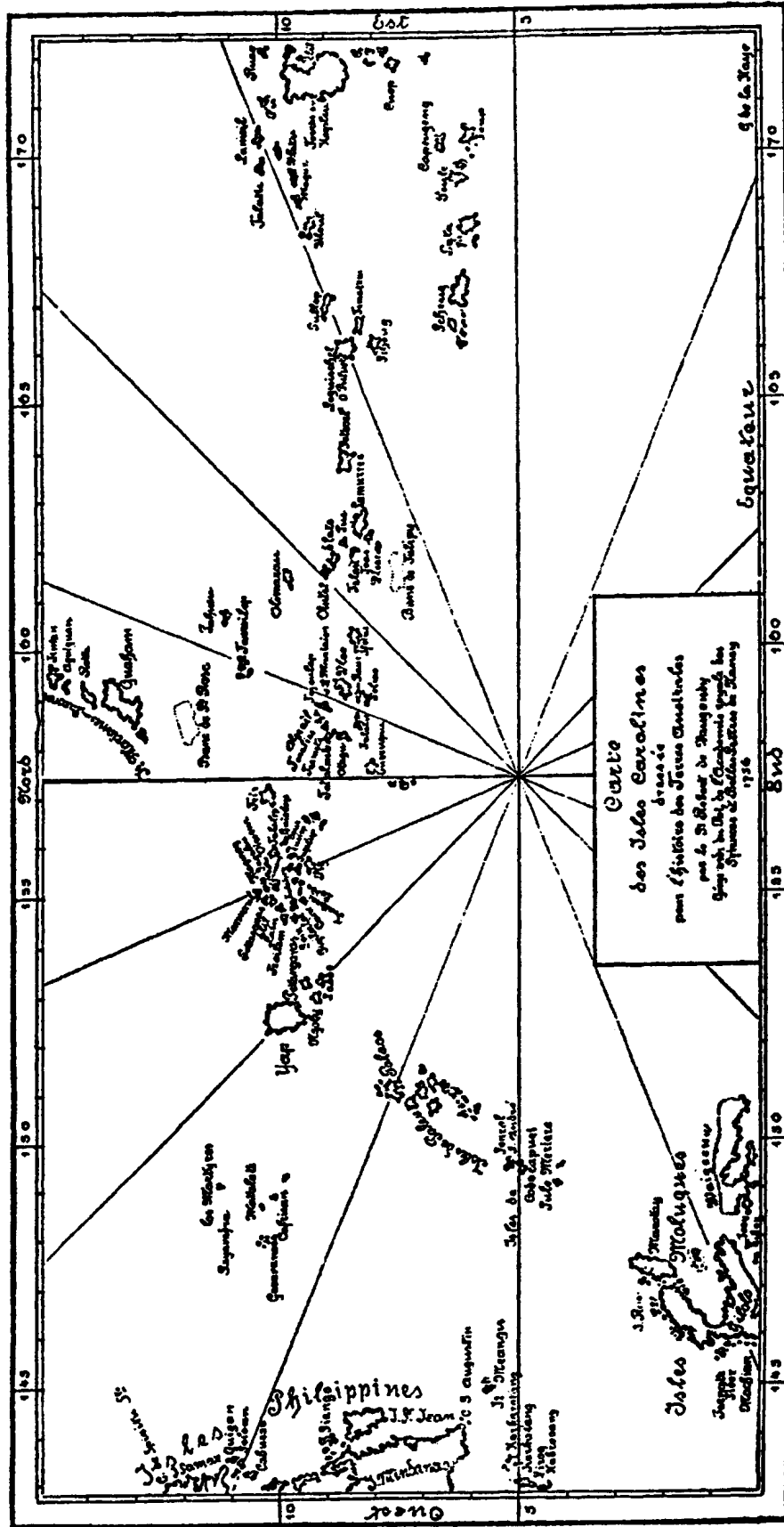
Firstly, I must warn readers that in assigning degrees to the islands, I have no doubt made some errors, because I did so using the verbal reports of the Indians themselves; nevertheless, I believe that the error will not be noteworthy, because I was not satisfied with only making the most experienced among them draw me the layout of their islands with grains of corn, but I also questioned them many times in great details about the rhumbs of their mariner's compass that has 12 winds, how they navigate from island to island, and how much time they usually take in such crossings, taking into consideration also the fact that their canoes are not as light as those of the Marianas.<sup>2</sup> Keeping this warning in mind, almost all of the islands that these Indians were able to describe are located between 6 and 11 degrees of north latitude and they are laid out over 30 degrees of longitude East of Cape Espiritu Santo. The whole thing is divided into five archipelagoes, and in as many provinces, and a different language is used in each archipelago, although all of these languages are but dialects of the same mother language, Arabic or Hebrew, because their similarity makes them brother languages. My second warning has to do with my distances; when I talk about leagues, I always refer to Spanish leagues that are equivalent to 3 Italian miles.

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1 Ed. note: The names of the then-Crown prince and king of Spain respectively.

2 Ed. note: The speed of a convoy could not be greater than that of the slowest of the larger voyaging canoes, a size of canoe that was no longer used in the Marianas. In other words, the small Carolinian canoe would have been as swift as the small Chamorro canoe then in common use.





[Description of the Chuuk District]

The **first province** to the east is called **Cutac**,<sup>1</sup> whose main island and capital is **Huogoleu**, otherwise known as **Torres** [i.e. Truk, or Chuuk], an island much higher and larger than this Island of Guahan.<sup>2</sup> Its inhabitants are negroes, mulattoes, and white men. It lies in 9°20' N. lat., more or less, and about 13 degrees to the east of Guahan. Its present ruler<sup>3</sup> is called Fahulucahit, under whose control are very many other islands that run from Northeast to West, and from Southeast to Southwest, some large, some small, most of them very populated and with short distances between them, anywhere from 8, 15, or 30 leagues. The names of those that run from Northeast to West are: **Ettel, Ruo, Pis, Lamoel, Falalu, Pischilers, Ulalu, Uloul, Pullep, Lugueischel or Puluot, Temetem, Schoue**.<sup>4</sup> Those running from Southeast to Southwest are: **Cuop, Fairue, Scheug, Capeugeup, Foup, Peule, Pata** and a very large number of smaller ones.<sup>5</sup> This province or archipelago extends from its capital toward the west for over 100 leagues, and almost as many from north to south.

[Central Carolines]

The **second province** or archipelago begins at some 4-1/2 degrees east of the meridian of Guahan, and covers about 5 degrees of longitude west of that. Its islands having a name are 26 in number but only 14 of those are inhabited, and most of them are located between 8 and 9 degrees of N. latitude. Their names are the following: **Uléé, Lamurrec, Seteol, Ifelue, Peliao, Raur, Eorupue, Falalis, Oottagau, Falulmeloc, Fermet, Faralies, Algrail, Fajahulep, Mariaon, Uleur, Foas, Puc, Felait, Elato, Olutel, Olimarau, Fahueu, Farroilep**.<sup>6</sup> The last-mentioned is none other than the much sought-after Carolina, marked and sketched with its accompanying islets,

1 Ed. note: See my explanation in HM4: 254.

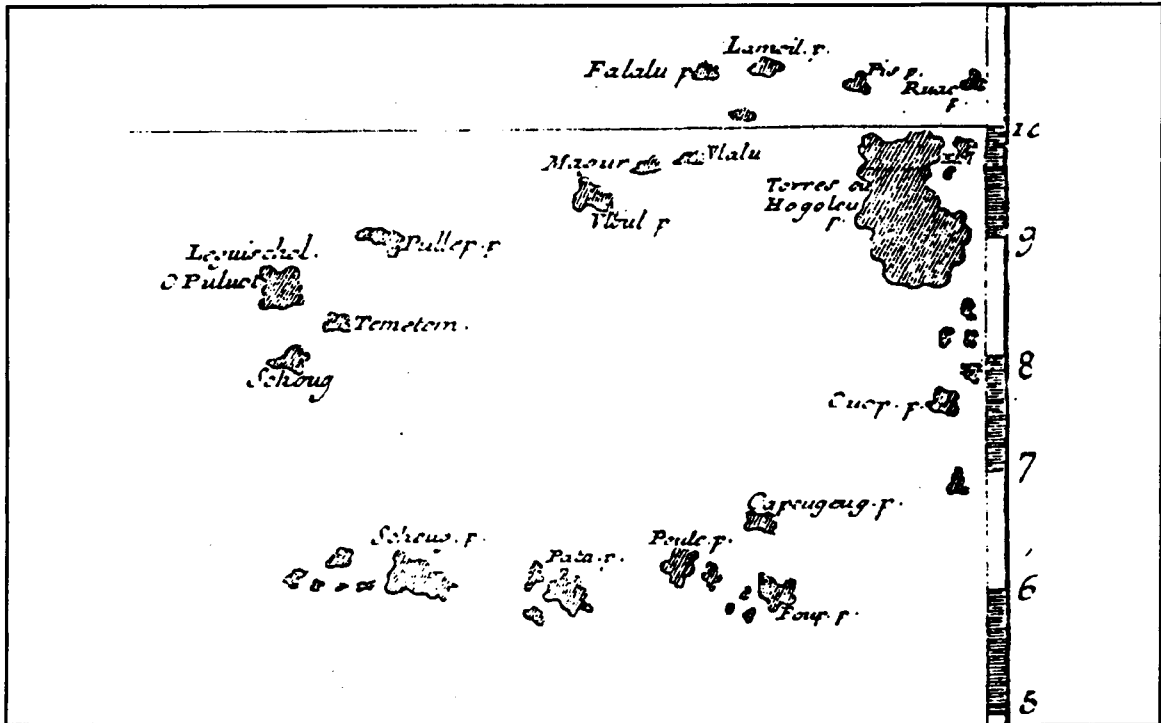
2 Ed. note: The Chuuk lagoon is, in fact, the largest in the world.

3 Ed. note: The Spanish word "régulo" is not much used nowadays; it refers to the chief of a petty state. Kinglet, Grand Chief, even Paramount Chief would be synonyms, but not the word king.

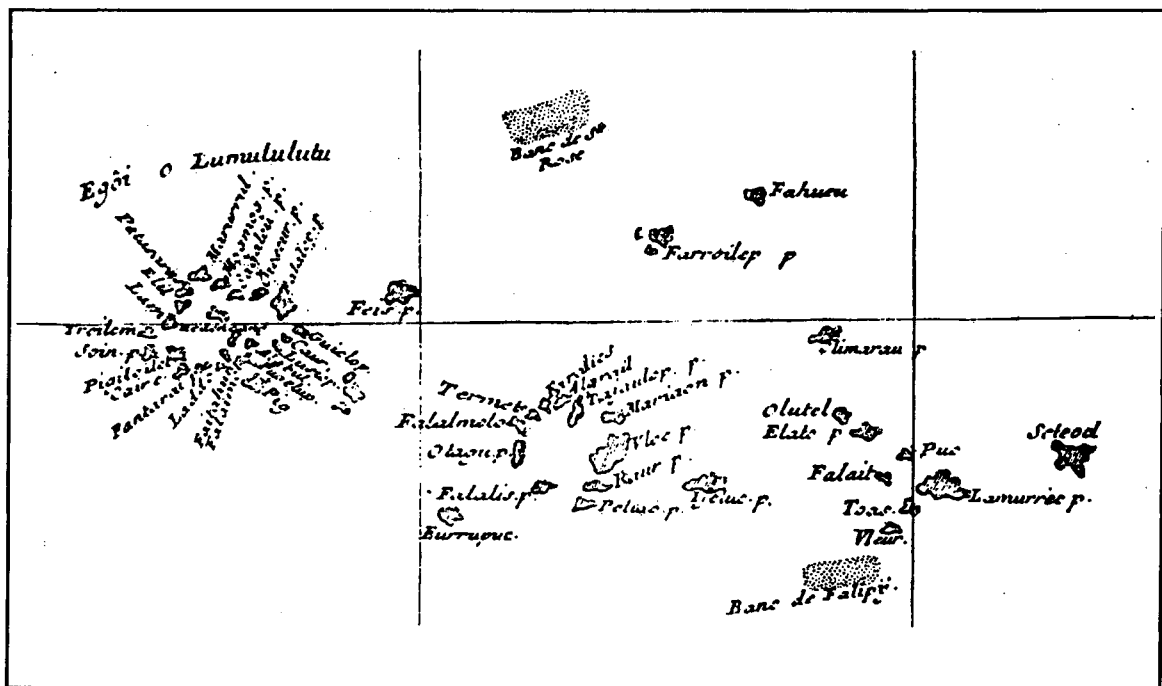
4 Ed. note: Recognizeable as Etten (C16A13 in Bryan's Place Names), Ruac (A5), Pis (A69), Lemoil (A67), Falalu (A66), ..., Ulalu (or Romanum, A65), which are all situated inside the lagoon (a notion that Fr. Cantova had not understood); and located outside of it are: Uloul (in the Namonuito Group, C17.11), Pulap (C18), Puluwat (C19), Tamatam (in Pulap, C18.2), Schoug (or Pulusuk, C20).

5 Ed. note: Recognizeable as: Kuop (C16N), some islets of the southern reef, plus the Tol Islands: Polle (M2), and Pata (M1). The two Scheug on the map should be one and the same group, Pulusuk.

6 Easily recognizeable are: Woleai, Lamotrek, Satawal, Ifaluk, Raur, Eauripik, Elato, Ulul in Namonuito (a repeat), [W.] Fayao, and Farraulep.



**Chuuk District, in the Eastern Carolines, 1722.**



**Central Carolines in 1722, by Fr. Cantova.**

**Ett & Pic**, by the pilot's mate of the patache **Concepción**, Juan Rodriguez Ballique, in the year 1696, while he was aground on top of the Santa Rosa Bank, from where they saw [sic] at the same time this Island of Guahan and said Island of Farroilep,<sup>1</sup> which lies to the South-southeast of the former, at a distance of about 45 leagues and in 11 [sic] degrees of north latitude. All of these drifters are natives of this archipelago, and most of them are from Uleé and from Farroilep.<sup>2</sup> This province is divided between two rulers; that of Uleé is named Gofalu, and that of Lamurrec is named Meutusom.

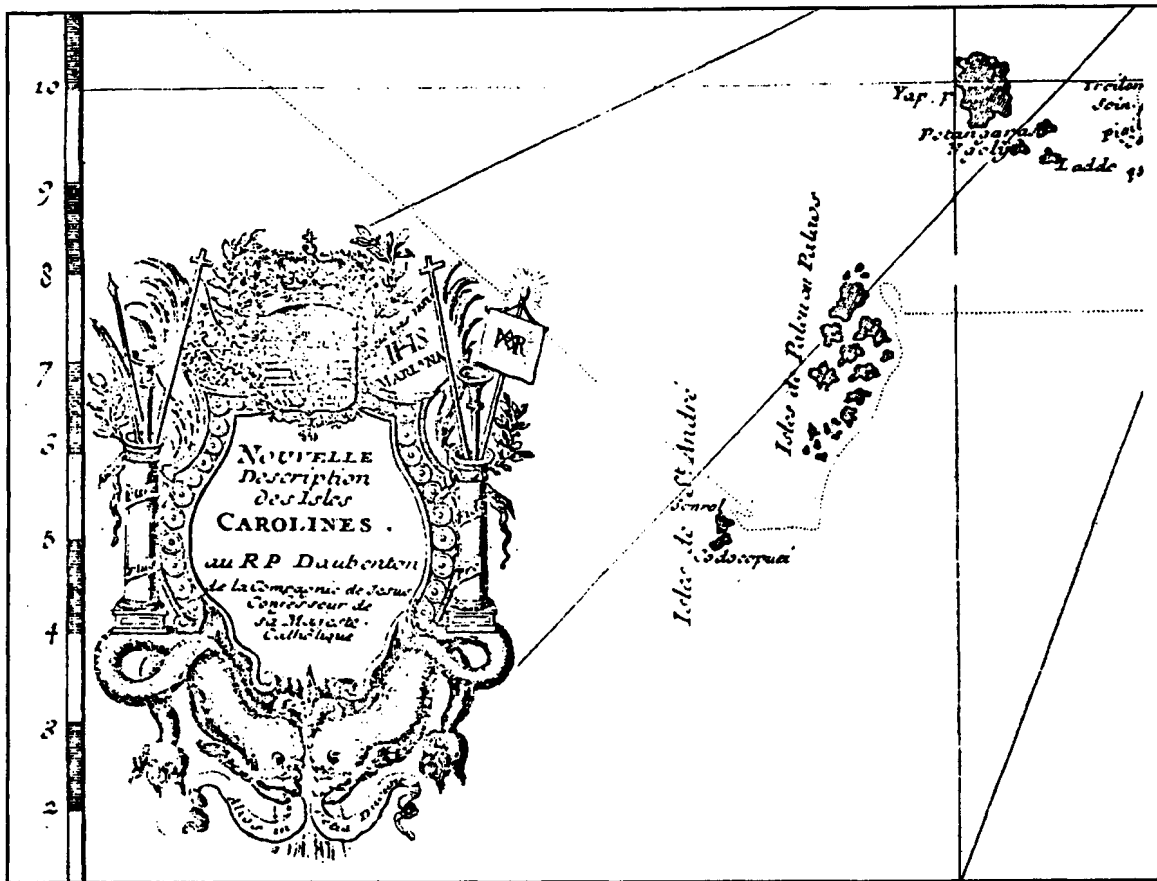
The **third province** begins at 2 degrees west of the meridian of Guahan, with the Island of **Feis**, in 10 degrees and some minutes of latitude; it would be about 6 leagues in circumference, inhabited and fertile. Its lord is named Meirang. Almost one degree further west of Feis are the islands that Captain Bernardo de Eguí sailed through in 1712, in 10 degrees of north latitude and 3 degrees of longitude west of Guahan.<sup>3</sup> This [i.e. Ulithi] is a group of over 40 islets that form the letter O, a parallelogram that runs from NE to SW and is about 25 leagues in length and 15 in width. There are 24 main islets whose names are: **Falalep, Ohieseur, Sagaleu, Mogmog, Morurrul, Petangaras, Elil, Lam, Froilem, Soon, Piguileilei, Eavoe, Fatarai, Laddo, Faitabun, Falaimel, Puguelup, Pig, Evoe, Pulobul, Lusiep, Eaur, Guielop, Meaengang**. Out of those, only 9 are inhabited. The largest is Falalep, with a circumference of from 5 to 6 leagues, but the lord of them all resides in Mogmog and his name is Caschaitel. When the canoes that sail through this sea arrive in sight of Mogmog, they lower their sail as a sign of respect for the ruler who lives there. To this province also belongs another inhabited islet, lying at a distance of about 15 leagues from this group, toward the SE, and its name is **Zaraol**. All of this group of islands has two names; the islanders who live to the east of the group call it **Lumululutu**,<sup>4</sup> and those who live west of it call it **Egoy**.<sup>5</sup> There is an abundance of food used by the natives there, such as coconut, fish and from 6 to 7 types of root crops, as in the Marianas.

#### [Western Carolines]

The **fourth province** is west of the third, at a distance of some 30 leagues. Its main island is **Yap**, a high and long island, which would have over 40 leagues in circumference, a country very populated and abounding with food. Among the root crops which replace bread, there can be found some "camotes" [= sweet potatoes], whose seed was obtained by them in the manner that I will say, as told me by an Indian named

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- 1 Ed. note: Rodriguez saw a bank of clouds instead, if his discovery of Farraulep happened in that way. I should think not. In any case, Carolina was a high island, and corresponded to Yap; see the documents regarding its re-discovery, under 1686.
  - 2 Ed. note: Except for one man who was from another province, Yap (see below).
  - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Cantova, therefore, was able to use Ulithi as a bench mark to derive the positions of the other island groups, by using the layout with the relative bearings given to him by his Carolinian informants.
  - 4 Ed. note: Lumul-ulutu, or simply Ulutu, i.e. Ulithi.
  - 5 Ed. note: Egoy was probably only the Yapese word for Ulithi. I speculate that it may have been the name of a former ruler of Ulithi, or that of its overlord on Yap.





Western Carolines, drawn by Fr. Cantova in 1722. It shows the track of the patache *Santísima Trinidad* in 1712.

Caial, a native of this island, who is one of these drifters. He says that when he was a child (his present age would be a little over 25) three of his brothers with his father, whose name was Coorr, very noble and a chief in his country, drifted accidentally to the Visayas, a province of the Philippines, where a Father of the Society of Jesus made them welcome, and made them presents of various kinds of clothes, and some pieces of iron, which they esteemed above all else. After they had made their canoe ready, they returned to their country, bringing back a few seeds and among them some sweet potatoes, which then began to propagate themselves in Yap, and from there to other islands of this archipelago. The people of Yap manufacture a sort of pungent paste, yellow and reddish in color, and very esteemed by all of these islanders who on feast-days rub it over their whole body. Said Indian, Cayal, also says, although circumstances give little credence to his tale, that in his island there are silver [sic] mines, but they get very little

of it from them, not only because of the lack of iron tools, but also because they do not know how to take advantage of it; when they find some virgin piece of silver stone, they sculp it round, like a wheel, and present it to the lord of the island, in whose house such stones serve as seats, depending on their sizes.<sup>1</sup> Said lord presently ruling over Yap is named Feguir [or Teguir]. Toward the SW of this island at a distance of from 6 to 8 leagues, there are three islets that form a triangle, whose names are **Ngoli**, **Laddo**, and **Petangaras**; please note that the last two islets are different ones from the other two of the same name mentioned above as being part of Egoi.

The **fifth province** or archipelago lies SSW of Yap, and begins at a distance of some 45 leagues. This province consists of the islands referred to as the Palaos Islands, but these drifters call the whole of this archipelago **Panleu** [i.e. Palau, of course]. Said islands run north to south, from 8° down to 6° lat. N, and 8° west of the meridian of Guahan. Caial, the Indian native of Yap, said that those islands are very many in number and among them he named seven of the most important ones, lined up from north to south, in the following order:<sup>2</sup> **Pelilieu**, **Coengal**, **Fagiletue**, **Cogeal**, **Jalap**, **Mogulibel**, **Ngarrol**, and that the king of them all is named Jaray, and has his court at Jalap.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding these islands and their inhabitants, I could not get other notices, except in the form of general comments, such as they are inhabited by barbarian people who walk around totally naked and eat human flesh, and that is why these Caroline Indians say that they hate them very much, and look upon them as enemies of the human race, and why they do not stop over at those Islands of Panleu, except when they are forced to by some storm, for fear of being killed. Everything agrees with what Father Felipe Bernardo Mexía wrote about them, to whose narrative I refer.<sup>4</sup>

Toward the SW of the last of these islands at a distance of some 25 leagues are the two islets of St. Andrew, but given the following names by their natives: the first one **Son[son]rrol**, and the other Cadocopuei, in about 5° of latitude.<sup>5</sup> Son[son]rrol is the island where the two Fathers of the Society, Jacques Dubéron and Joseph Cortyl, were left stranded, along with 14 other persons, and among them the Indian named Moac, who was to be the interpreter, with his wife and two sons, at the beginning of December 1710, according to the letter written about it to Manila by Brother Étienne Baudin. This man, although he went along as the companion of the said Fathers, was not per-

1 Ed. note: We know today that Cayal was not lying about the “stone money” of his home island, Yap. The confusion came from the double meaning of the Spanish word “plata”, which means silver as well as money. The mines were rock quarries.

2 Ed. note: It becomes clear, however, that Cayal named them in random order instead.

3 Ed. note: Since this corresponds to Galap (see note with Doc. 1721C), the name of the so-called king may have been Garay. However, in the Latin version, it looks more like Saray. The places named correspond to the following modern names: Peliliu, Kayangle, Ngarkldeu, Gogeal, Galap better known as Ngarard, Ngaragumelbai, and Ngarenggol.

4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1712D3.

5 Ed. note: Cadocopuei is actually the native name for Tobi, much further south. The smaller of the Sonsorrol Islands is named Fana.

mitted to step ashore and arrived back with the patache **Santísima Trinidad** on the coast of Caraga, on 3 January 1711. I have questioned and interrogated these Indians, with as much circumspection as possible, to see if there was some news about those Fathers, or their companions, or the Indian Moac, but they did not know anything about them. However, when they heard the name of Moac, some of these Indians, his countrymen from Uleé [i.e. Woleai], brightened up and asked me if he was alive, and where he was, because they said that he had disappeared many years ago at sea and that they had been looking for him at various islands, but without success; so, they thought that he had perished. In fact, they never received any news about this Moac having arrived at Son[son]rrol, an island with which they have no contact at all, because it is far away, a distance which I estimate to be about 200 leagues.

#### [Notice of Pohnpei]

To the east of all of the above-mentioned islands, they say that there are many more, and among them one very large island called **Falupei** [i.e. Pohnpei], whose inhabitants worship the shark as their deity. They got this information from a canoe that drifted from there. They do not know of any other information, such as the number and description of those countries and their inhabitants, except to say that there are many negroes, and that their customs are very barbarous.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3

#### Religion and various beliefs of these islanders.

Perchance there is no other nation in the world more worthy of pity than this one, because it is so ready to follow the road to salvation, but it lacks anyone to show it the way. These islanders live in total ignorance of God and His attributes, without basic education, without religion, without doctrine, but ready to receive the truth of the Catholic doctrine, if only because they do not have their mind preoccupied by the lies of any sect. In fact, when they were asked who created heaven and earth and all of the other things, they answer that they do not know. They only recognize a few good spirits and some bad ones, but as in the fables of the heathen Greek, they ascribe to the good spirits attributes that are not found in mere men, because they do not know the miseries of the flesh. Some give them bodies like men and are ascribed two or three wives, although they call those heavenly people, of a different species than earthly beings. Others imagine them as pure spirits, although they do not exempt them from bodily passions and carnal weaknesses; according to the tradition of their ancestors, they say that the oldest

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A possible reference to New Guinea, which their ancestors were visiting regularly 3-4 generations previously (see Doc. 1664D).

heavenly beings were **Sabuccur** and **Halmelul**, the former a man, and the latter a woman. They had a son and a daughter named **Eluilep** and **Ligobuub**. Eluilep means "great spirit."<sup>1</sup> He took as a wife a damsel from Woleai named **Leteuhicul**, who unfortunately died while still a young woman and, they say, her soul went to join with that Dignity in a heavenly wedding. Eluilep got a son whose name is **Lugeileng**, which means "in the middle of heaven;"<sup>2</sup> indeed, they venerate this person as the great Lord and natural heir of heaven. Since Eluilep found himself with only one fruit from his bridal bed, he chose an adopted son in the person of **Reschahuileng**,<sup>3</sup> *a lad of beautiful qualities and a native of Lamurrec, whose soul, they say, went to heaven to enjoy the delights there in the company of his adoptive father.* **Tagoj** [or Fagof], the mother of Reschahuileng is a well-known and decrepit sorceress who still lives in Lamurrec; she must have been the one who invented this fable to make herself esteemed by her very credulous countrymen; she added body to the legend, by saying that her son had come down from heaven to the atmospheric sphere to talk with her and communicate to her various heavenly mysteries.

Ligobuub, the sister of Eluilep, became pregnant out of the air and came down to earth to give birth to three children on the beach: two males, **Copourelieleel** and **Erigirigers**, and one female, **Ouboub**. When Copourelieleel saw that the earth was but a sandy desert without beauty, as the sacred writer has said it was at the beginning of its creation: *Terra autem erat inanis et vacua* (Gen. 1),<sup>4</sup> with his almighty voice he clothed it with a variegated green carpet of grasses and flowers. He then enriched it with fruit-bearing plants and populated it with rational beings, taking his sister Ouboub as a wife. In those early times, men did not know death, except as a brief dream. They died on the last day of the waning moon, when that planet is lost to sight during its elliptic setting, and on the third day, the second day of the waxing of the moon, when during its eastern ellipsis the moon re-appears as a slim crescent, the dead came alive once again, as someone who awakes from a quiet dream. Erigirigers was a badly-intentioned man who turned the good of others into evil for himself; he plotted such a kind of death for men that once dead they could no longer recover the vital breath. To this Erigirigers they apply the term **Elus melabut**, which means "bad or malicious spirit,"<sup>5</sup> because he introduced death into the world, to differentiate such spirits from those they call **Elus**

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- 1 Ed. note: Eluilep is more correct than the Eliulep of the French version, because the first part, "Elu," indeed means spirit (see below). This is confirmed by reference to "alú" in a modern Carolinian-English dictionary (see Jackson & Marck, p. 407). Since "lap" does mean big, Elu-i-lap does mean Great Spirit.
  - 2 Ed. note: From "luugh", meaning middle, and "láang", for sky/heaven.
  - 3 Ed. note: One guess as to the origin of this name might be: Re-sághi-láang, people-remove-[to]-sky, a reference to a man who ascended to heaven.
  - 4 Ed. note: Latin phrase from the Bible meaning: "Earth was still an empty waste."
  - 5 Ed. note: From "alú," spirit, and the second word is made up of two parts "mila" and "- bwut", which means to do bad.

*melafirs*, which means “good or benevolent spirits.”<sup>1</sup> Among other bad spirits they place a certain **Moregrog**, who was cast out of heaven for being a thief and rude; on this occasion he brought along the benefit of fire to earth, which did not have it before—a fable that corresponds to that of Prometheus.

Lugueileng, the son of Eluilep took two wives, one heavenly, who gave birth to two sons, **Carrer** and **Meliliau**, and the other earthly and a native of the Island of Falalu in the province of Huogoleu. From this woman he had a son named **Oulefat** [or **Julefat**], who, when he learned that his father was such a heavenly being, became excited with a desire to see him and, like a daring Icarus, undertook to fly to heaven, but out there in space he met a chasm. He cried on account of his misfortune, but did not desist from his plan. He built a big fire and upon the wings of smoke managed to reach the much-desired embrace of his heavenly father. In said Island of Falalu, there is a pond of fresh water, like a pool, where (they say) the gods come down to bathe; that is why none of those islanders may approach such a place, under the penalty of incurring the indignation of the deities themselves, as old Acteon incurred the indignation of Diana, when he looked at her in the act of bathing. Finally, they ascribe a rational soul to the sun, the moon, and the stars, believing them all to belong to a brilliant city of heavenly beings—as so many fabulous relics of the poems of Homer and the error of the Origenists.

They cannot possibly have much faith in these fables because they maintain no intrinsic cult toward any of those deities, no temples, no idols, no sacrifices, no offerings, no prayers; only to some of their deceased do they show in tribute some sort of superstitious cult. The ordinary burial of their dead is at sea, into whose vortices they throw them, very far from the land, to serve as a banquet for the sharks and the whales. However, if someone was specially liked by his relatives, he received from them a burial ceremony filled with special pomp and with strange demonstrations of sorrow. Firstly, as soon as the dying man has expired, they apply pungent yellow paste all over his body. Then his relatives and friends gather around the corpse to mourn their common loss; either all of them make efforts to express their intimate sorrow with pitiful words, and some tears, or a lone woman (all others remaining silent) uses her tongue for the dual purpose of talking and wailing. Once I witnessed such an event when, with an eloquent voice, she would praise the deeds and honors of the deceased, his beauty, his nobility, his agility while dancing, his luck at fishing and similar qualities. Those who wish to stand out in such demonstrations of sorrow bring their best jewels to adorn the deceased, or cut their own hair, and even their beard which they esteem above all else as a symbol of rank, and then throw it over the corpse. During the whole of that day, they maintain a strict fast, compensated only by a cautious feast at nightfall. Sometimes they bury the dead inside their houses in wooden boxes, but sometimes they take them to be buried far from inhabited places; around the burial spot they built a chapel or small

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The word “*miláfféér*” now means bad, as well as good, magic (see Jackson & March, p. 115).

house, almost square in shape, with loose stones, without mixing in any lime or mud; there they place abundant food for the deceased, in the vain belief that the soul of the dead will suck this food to sustain itself.

They believe in the existence of heaven and hell, as the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad. About the souls that go to heaven, they say that on the fourth day they return to earth where they stroll among their relatives while remaining invisible. Among them there exist some who act as priests or priestesses and, in the opinion of the common people, are in contact with the dead. With a pontifical authority, they declare some to be saints, and others as damned. Those they declare saints are called *Elus melafirs*, which means benevolent spirits, as was said previously, or by another name *Tahutup*, which means something like "holy patron," and almost every family has one. They invoke him, using this name of Tahutup, when they have problems and needs, for instance, when they are sick, or sailing, or when they go out fishing, or work the earth, begging this holy advocate for health, a good voyage, an abundant harvest of fish or roots, which are their daily food. They present some gifts to Tahutup, by hanging them from a pole in the houses of their *tamols*, either to obtain from him the favor which they seek, or to thank him for having received one favor, supposedly from his liberal hand.

The inhabitants of the Island of Yap stand out as more barbarians by the veneration they show toward crocodiles; the devil exercises his tyranny by means of monstrous figures in that shape, and he extirpates sacrilegious cults from them by fear, because there are sorcerers who are in contact with that wild beast and through it render people sick or kill them, if they become annoyed out of their own special interests, or to intimidate other enmical persons.

Among all of these islanders polygamy is considered legal; having many wives is a symbol of greatness. They say that the big *tamol* of the Island of Huogoleu [i.e. Chuuk] has nine wives. They think that adultery is a great sin; nevertheless, the adulterous man can get absolution from the husband of his partner by giving him some rich gift. Should the husband be punctilious, he can repudiate the wife who violated the faith of their bridal arrangement; however, not just a husband can repudiate a wife whom he no longer likes, but also the wife can with the same authority repudiate a husband with whom she is no longer pleased. In this divorce they obey certain laws regarding the disposition of the dowry. When one of two brothers dies without heirs, the widow of the deceased becomes a wife of the surviving brother, as God had ordered the Hebrews to do, in Chapter 25 of the [Book of] Deuteronomy.<sup>1</sup> When the women have their menstruation, they stay away from the men for 6 to 7 days, according to the law of the Leviticus, Chapter 15. When they go out to fish, they bring nothing to eat or drink aboard their canoe, because they believe that otherwise their legs and their sexual parts would become swollen. During the month of February, the *tamols* gather together in a house for four days and they cast lots to find out if the next navigation season that opens in

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1 Ed. note: This old custom applied only when the two brothers shared a common household.

the spring will be a lucky one for the sailors, or a dangerous one. They cast similar lots when they go out fishing, in order to predict whether it will be abundant or not. Their luck depends on a certain number of knots that the most skilled among them make with 4 leaflets of a coconut frond; if the handiwork comes out perfect, they predict good luck, but if it is defective, there will be some mishaps.

## § 4

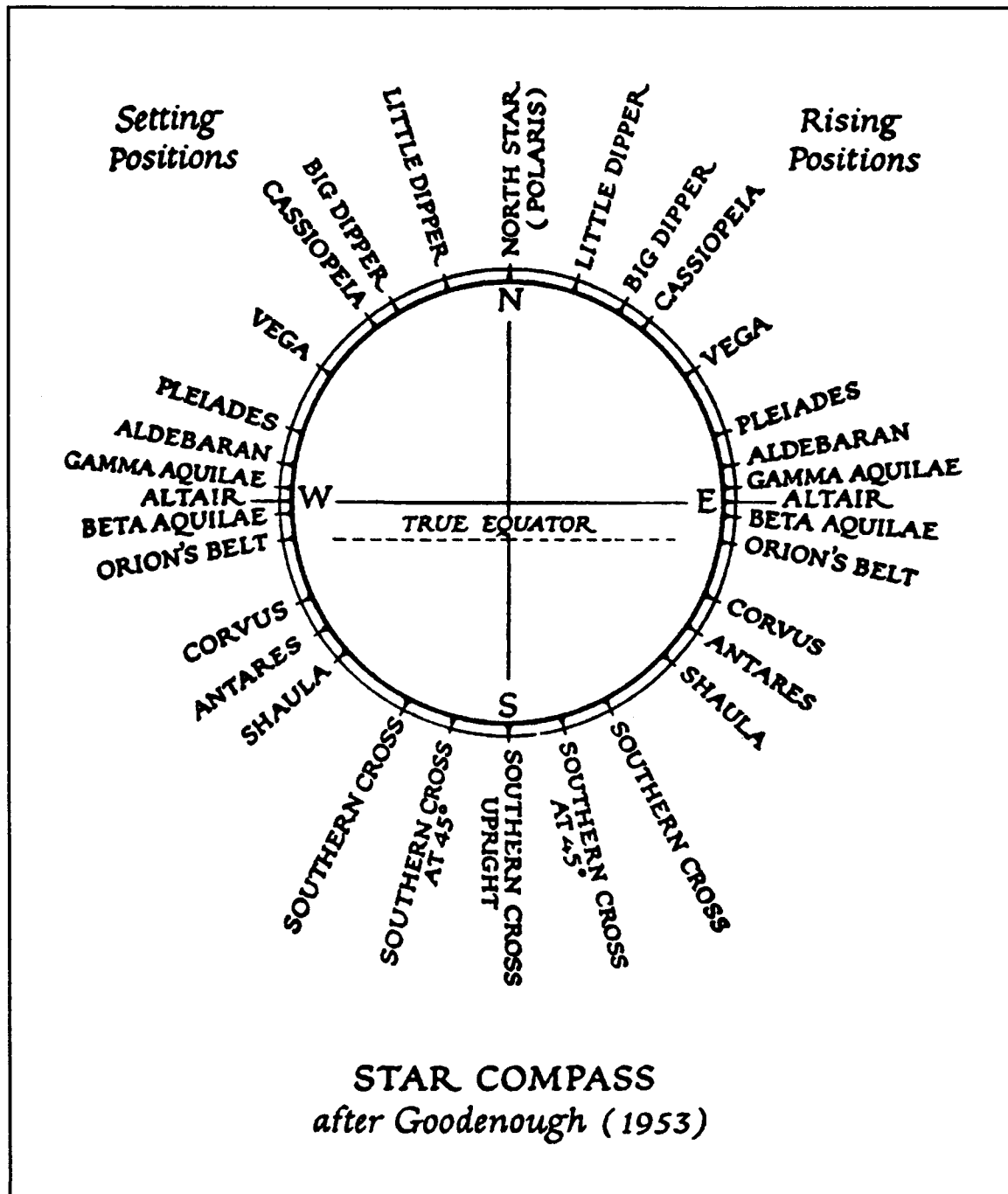
### Social customs.

In the midst of their barbarity and coarseness, these islanders do not lack some civilized manners that show them to be people in the category of the most rational among Indian nations, and able to form a good republic. Their government is a mixture of aristocracy and monarchy, because, although it is shared among many noble families whose heads are called *tamols*, nevertheless, in each chain of islands, there is one *tamol* who holds more respect; the heads of the other families are their subordinates. Such *tamols* let grow their beard in order to gain greater respect, they issue orders in a grand fashion, but in all seriousness, wasting few words. The use of chairs to sit on is not a custom of theirs, but the *tamol* sits upon a raised platform and the rest upon the ground. When the common people, men or women, come into sight of the *tamol*, they then as a sign of respect bend their whole body toward the ground and maintain that position while walking, with their heads upon their knees, until they come into the presence of the *tamol*, where they sit upon the ground, without awaiting any signal from him. Upon being dismissed, they walk the same way, bent over, until they have left his presence and sight. They raise their children to have an almost superstitious veneration for these *tamols* who enjoy the combined dignity of a prince and that of a priest. In their presence and in their houses, everyone shows the same respect as we Christians show in churches and in the presence of priests. They believe everything they say, as if they were articles of faith, they serve them with blind obedience, and they kiss their hands and their feet, when they ask for some favor, and when they come and go along the road. The ordinary **houses** are nothing more than low huts, covered with palm leaves. Those of the *tamols* are magnificent in design and built with boards that have some clean-cut, though coarse, drawings on them.<sup>1</sup>

They do not punish the delinquents with either jail or whipping, but only by exiling them to another island, or else they fine them by taking some property. In each town there usually exist two houses, more like boarding schools, one for bachelors and the other for unmarried girls, a good idea for their education, if only evil did not corrupt them in all of their islands. They do not know anything about reading, or writing, or any of the liberal arts other than astronomy, to which many dedicate themselves

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1 Ed. note: The drawings are qualified as coarse, or uncouth (“basto” in Spanish), and that probably meant of a nature unacceptable to a priest like Fr. Cantova. He could have been more specific.



**Carolinian star compass.** According to Ward H. Goodenough, in "Native astronomy in the Central Carolines," in *Museum Monographs, University of Pennsylvania, 1953*. See also the more detailed star chart, called *Paafu* in Carolinian, published in Stephen D. Thomas' book: *The Last Navigator* (NY, Henry Holt, 1987).



because of its use in navigation. For this purpose they have a teacher who uses a star globe upon whose convex surface are drawn the main stars;<sup>1</sup> he gives lessons to his pupils, teaching them how it is possible to navigate to such and such island, using the bearings of those stars.

The ordinary **occupations** of the men are: building canoes, fishing, and cultivating their root crops; those of the women are: cooking meals, weaving cloth using fibers from the wild banana tree and from a tree called *Balibago* [i.e. hibiscus], making mats and helping in the plantations. In cutting and shaping wood, the lack of iron tools is made up by some shells<sup>2</sup> and stone hatchets [or adzes]. On some occasions that foreign ships passed through their islands, they left some old iron behind, but these were appropriated by the *tamols* who had each piece made into an adze as best as they could, and a drill was made out of every nail. The *tamols* derive a considerable income from these iron tools, because they rent them out to their people at usurious rates.

They usually bathe as a group three times a day, at daybreak, at noon, and at night-fall. They go to sleep with the first darkness of night, and they get up with the first light of day. To entice the *tamol* to sleep, some youths gather in front of his house to sing certain ballads in a low tone, until he falls asleep, or tires of their music. On moonlit nights, large crowd gather in front of the house of the *tamol* to celebrate by dancing. The men sit down apart from the women. The men dance and sing with a good grace to the beat of the song itself (as they have no musical instrument of any kind). The grace of the dance consists in all of the dancers maintaining an exact uniformity in their actions and movements when they are lined up, and at the same time waving their head, arms, hands and feet in rhythm. Some jauntiness is added to the dance when the dancers wear personal adornments. For instance, they may wear feathers or wreaths of flowers on their head, aromatic grasses in their noses,<sup>3</sup> and, in their ears, some large bunches of palm leaves, curiously woven, and various other handiworks fastened to their arms, hands, and ankles. The women do not dance, but they have another kind of feast proper to their sex: they sit down in two rows facing one another, then they begin a pathetic chant while they wave their arms and head and pretend to shed loving tears; in their language this chant is called **Tanger i faifil**, which means the "lament of the women."<sup>4</sup> At the end of the dances, the *tamol*, if he is liberal, takes out some shell or piece of cloth to use as a prize, and holding it in the air with one hand shows it to the dancers, who instantly throw themselves after it, but the first one to grab it takes it away. Besides

1 Ed. note: That is what the original text says. I wonder if Fr. Cantova saw one such globe, or just imagined it.

2 Ed. note: In Doc. 1721C, Governor Ibañez has transcribed this word as "cuñas," but I think it is "conchas," i.e. shells.

3 Ed. note: The gristle of their noses was pierced.

4 Ed. note: Probable transcription error, because the word for woman, or women, does not appear. Probable root words are: "Heng-," to cry, and "faiyé," out of pity, or "filifil," breezy; therefore, to cry (along) with the wind.

dancing, they have many other diversions in the form of games, in which they play to show either skill or strength, such as brandishing lances, throwing stones, and throwing javelins as far as possible. Each season of the year has its particular form of entertainment.

**Whale-fishing** is also very entertaining, although some readers might not think that the manner used by these natives of Woleai is believable. In any case, it is indeed the most appropriate area for such fishing, because 9 islets are laid out like a chain in a circle and form a beautiful port, where the sea is always calm.<sup>1</sup> When some whale is discovered inside this bay near the shore, those islanders go out with many canoes and placing themselves in such a way as to form a fence on the ocean-side, they advance while scaring it and pushing it toward the shallows that fringe the port itself, until they make that living boat run aground. Then the most skilful throw themselves into the water, they hit it with some lance and tie it up with strong ropes whose ends are secured on the beach, where the crowd, attracted by curiosity, grab hold of them and pull the prey ashore. The feast ends with a festive banquet.

Enmities between individuals are ordinarily solved with some gift, but public ones lead to war. Their weapons are stones and lances whose tips are armed with some fish bone; battles take the form of duels. For instance, two towns may challenge each other to a stone fight; their residents then meet in some field and they form two squadrons facing each other. On both sides, the first row is made up of small boys, the second row of older and taller boys, and the last row of yet taller men. Two boys begin the battle, one from each band, and they throw stones at each other until one is wounded or exhausted, then two others take their place, and so on until all of them are involved in duels, boys with boys, etc. according to the order of the files. When the fight finally ends, the victorious party breaks into an uproar and throws insults at the vanquished.

Among these drifters, who are from various islands, those from Woleai and vicinity show themselves to be more civilized and rational. They speak openly, without lacking respect, are happy people, with discrete judgment and extremely compassionate toward the sick, so that one may have reasons to hope that the harvest of souls will easily be achieved in their islands, whenever the Head of the family might decide, as we beg Him, to send some workers to His vineyard, which is so near and so ready to awaken the Gospel seed. There are some among them who have much mixture in their blood but might boast of being white, and a few negroes or mulattoes who serve them, like servants. These negroes would probably come from New Guinea, with which these islands must be joined on their southern side.<sup>2</sup>

As far as the whites are concerned, among the numberless ways by which Divine Providence has populated these islands, I will mention only one conjecture of mine, based on the History of the Philippine Islands written by Father Francisco Colín of our

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1 Ed. note: Woleai is shaped like the number 8 lying horizontally; I visualize the sport taking place in the eastern loop of this atoll.

2 Ed. note: The Latin version ends here. I presume that its last page is in fact missing.

Society, where, in Book 1, Chapter 20, paragraph 185, he refers to an unusual incident that occurred to the first relief ship from New Spain that passed to said Philippine Islands in the year 1566, which marooned on one island of the Barbudos to the east of the Marianas, although he does not say which one,<sup>1</sup> nor in what degree it was, some 28 men who had mutinied, by joining the major conspirator, the chiel pilot Martín Lope [rather Lope Martín], in hijacking that royal ship to go and cruise as pirates along the coast of China, but by just judgment of God they were marooned at that island, where they themselves had plotted to abandon the faithful vassals of His Majesty. It is possible that these rebels, who would have all, or mostly all, been white men, might have had contact with the women of those islands and might have procreated half-breeds.

The common **food** of these islanders are the fruits of trees, roots, and fish, as in the Mariana Islands. They have chickens and other birds, but not one four-legged animal, and no rice, wheat, corn, or barley either. There are species of wood appropriate for [the construction of] canoes, big or small.

While I was writing this report, today in fact, I received the news, that was of great consolation to me, that I am assigned by Holy Obedience to go and survey those islands with a *falúa*<sup>2</sup> and 4 canoes that His Lordship the Governor plans to despatch for that purpose after the eminent [sic]<sup>3</sup> feast of Easter. May His Divine Majesty not look upon my great failings, so that they will not prevent my becoming lucky enough to be able to raise the standard of Our Holy Faith in those islands and to illuminate them with the light of the Holy Gospel. I will let Your Reverence know about the outcome separately, in my next letter, if the Divine Majesty be willing. May He save Your Reverence for many years, and please commend me to Him in your sacrifices.

Agadña, 24 March 1722.

[Endorsement:] Report on the Caroline Islands.

[Note:] Our D. A.<sup>4</sup>

It is very curious, but its contents have already been published in the *Cartas edificantes*.

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- 1 Ed. note: I think it was Eniwetok (see HM2: 319-343).
  - 2 Ed. note: A European-type sail-boat with two masts, originally spelled *feluca*, and later called a barge in England; this one was built in Guam and is called a patache elsewhere.
  - 3 Ed. note: He probably meant to say "imminent."
  - 4 Ed. note: Probably a reference to the provincial archives in Manila, where this document was found in 1769 (see above).

### **Epilogue, by an anonymous author.**

*Note: In the fall of 1722, another missionary in Guam added this epilogue to the Latin version of the above report. It was probably Fr. Furnari, or the Superior, Fr. Muscati.*

Meanwhile the month of March 1722 arrived and it brought back a sincere desire in the Carolinians to return to their country, and in Fr. Cantova a renewed zeal toward his neophytes. Therefore, he renewed his urgings, begging and beseeching until he finally obtained a despatch. A small patache was assigned to the expedition, and in it went 14 men, Spanish and Filipino, with their officer, but no more, because there was not enough room for more, with their weapons and other supplies. Three Chamorro canoes, with 4 men in each, were added to the fleet, in addition to the 2 Carolinian canoes. On 15 April, this small fleet sailed from the eastern side of the Island of Guahan, heading south with a favorable wind. How I wished for our enterprise to be favorable to the Lord of the winds also! After 10 days of navigation, the smaller Chamorro canoes were badly battered and two of them were forced to turn back, but the rest of the fleet pursued their voyage. When one month had passed and we believed that Fr. Cantova would already have made it into some port of the numberless Austral Islands proper, here comes the third Chamorro canoe, on 26 May. It had taken 10 days to make it back, by some miracle they say, and indeed it was miraculous (because they were without a magnetic compass and guided themselves only by the stars); if they had not made it within this time, they would have run out of water. However, the travellers were so badly buffeted that they could not move from their places during many days.

In the meantime, it is easy to imagine how our spirits were; they fluctuated between fear and hope. Perhaps the others had reached some other island in the Austral Islands, and were alive, or perhaps they were lost at sea. We did not cease offering prayers to God for them. Finally our misery was interrupted by the arrival of the biennial ship (as we call it) and we learned from it that the Father's patache had reached the Cape of San Bernardino, which is on the Island of Luzon [sic], and a distance of about 80 leagues from Manila, which it finally reached on 13 June, after spending another full month in the crossing. So said three of his travel companions, who had left their patache and their officer at Manila and fled to another port [i.e. Cavite] which is the usual departure point for the ship that plies between Manila and the Marianas. Hence, that is how the others will also return to us.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The patache that brought this bad news to Guam was the Santo Toribio in 1722. For the real aftermath, see Doc. 1721C (pp. 249+). Fr. Cantova did not return to Guam until 1730.

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## Documents 1722E

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### Fr. Cantova's future companion, Fr. Victor Walter, left Europe in 1722

*Sources: AGI old number Contratación 45-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, fol. 125 et seq.*

#### E1. Petition of Fr. Agustin Soler

##### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] 1722.—*Una Mision de 24 Religiosos Jesuitas, para la Provincia de Philipinas, en quenta de 45 de la Concesion.—Contaduria Principal de la Casa de la Contratacion. N<sup>o</sup> 2.—Real Cedula, y demas papeles tocantes à la abilitacion de dicha Mision, que se embarco en los Navios de Azogues que se despacharon à Nueva España, en el referido año de 1722.*

*Cadiz, Junio 19 de 1722 años. Cupo al Oficio de Nicolas Miro.*

*El P. Agustin Soler, Procurador General de las Islas Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus, hago presentacion ante V.S. de estas dos Reales Cédulas y Carta acordada, por lo qual S. Magestad que Dios guarde a sido servido de conceder pueda llevar quarenta Religiosos y cinco Coadjutores para las Misiones de aquellas Provincias, de los quales lleva los que contiene la memoria que assimismo presenta, y para la fianza que se previene por la carta orden que llevo presentada, ofresco a Don Bernardo Ricaño, vecino de esta Ciudad, persona abonada.*

*A V.S. pido y suplico haia por presentado las dichas Reales Cédulas, Carta orden y memoria y mande se reciva dicho fiador para dicha fianza, y fecha y otorgada se execute la reseña de los Religiosos contenidos en dicha memoria, como tambien todos los demas despachos necesarios que conduce a dicha Mision como tambien el de embarcacion en qualquiera de los navios que se estan despachando para la Nueva España, que es justicia que pido &a.*

*Agustin Soler*

##### Translation.

[Endorsement:] 1722.—A Mission band of 24 Religious, Jesuits, for the Province of the Philippines, part of the 45 that were granted.—Main Accounting Department of

the House of Trade, N° 2.—Royal Decree, and other papers regarding the despatch of said Mission that embarked aboard the ships of the Quicksilver Fleet that was despatched to New Spain, in said year of 1722.

Cadiz, 19 June 1722. Pertained to the File of Nicolas Miro.

I, Fr. Augustin Soler, Procurator General of the Philippine Islands for th Society of Jesus, do present to Your Lordship these two Royal decrees and the Letter-patent, by which His Majesty, whom may God save, has been pleased to grant, enabling me to take 40 Religious and 5 Coadjutor Brothers to the Missions of those Provinces, out of whom I take those shown in the attached list which I also present, and for the bond that is foreseen in the present official letter, I offer Don Bernardo Ricaño, resident of this City, a registered bondsman.

I beg and beseech Y.L. to please accept said Royal decrees, letter-patent and list as officially presented, and to order that said bondsman be accepted for said bond, and that the physical inspection of the Religious appearing on said list be carried out, as well as all of the other necessary despatches for the transport of said Mission band, as well as the assignment of places aboard the ships that are being despatched to New Spain, as all I ask is in the name of justice, etc.

Augustin Soler.<sup>1</sup>

## E2. Physical inspection of the Jesuits before boarding

In Cadiz on 20 June 1722, in the presence of Don Joseph de Valdivieso, King's Counsel...

—The said Fr. Superior, Augustin Soler.

...

—Fr. Francis Xavier [i.e. Urfahrer}, born in Regensburg, in the [Jesuit] Province of Bavaria, priest, 33 years old, tall, slim, white complexion, and blond.

—Fr. Victor Balterio [i.e. Walter], born in Tirol, Diocese of Brixen, in the Province of Bavaria, priest, 33 years old, B.C.<sup>2</sup>, white complexion, blond hair, blue eyes.

...

—Fr. Antonio Masvesi [sic], born in Elna in Catalonia, still studying, 25 years old, B.C., light brown hair, blue eyes.<sup>3</sup>

...

1 Ed. note: The above request was accepted on 20 June 1722 and the physical inspection took place at Cadiz on the same day.

2 Ed. note: Uncertain abbreviation, perhaps "buen cuerpo", which means well-built.

3 Ed. note: This Jesuit will later be acting as ship chaplain on the regular patache from Manila to Guam.

—Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, born in Laujar, Archdiocese of Granada, still studying, 25 years old, B.C. slim, black hair, well-furnished beard.<sup>1</sup>

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**1** Ed. note: He was to become the famous author of a map and History of the Philippines (see Bibliography). Laujar de Andarax is still a tiny town SE of Granada in the Sierra Nevada.

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**Document 1722F**

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**Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo 20 November 1722**

*Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 260-261v, pp. 575-578.*

**Letter to the Marquis of Torrecampo, regarding the recovery of cannon from the Concepción, still...****Original text in Spanish.**

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole se continue en el Buzeo de la Artilleria que por año de 1638 se perdio en las Islas Marianas, y que informe del paradero de la que de ella se ha sacado.*

*Marques de Torrecampo Pariente mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ziudad de Manila.*

*Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo Bustamante vuestro antezesor en el Gobierno en carta de quatro Junio de 1718 dio quenta del recivo de la Zedula de 23 de Abril de 1714 que se dirigio al Conde de Lizarraga siendo Governador de essas Islas para la continuazion del Buzeo de la Artilleria de bronze que el año de 1638 se havia perdido en las Islas Marianas, y que en intelixenzia del contenido de la expresada zedula y no haverse sacado otras tres piezas que havian quedado dispondria con toda solizitud el subministrar los medios y ordenes para su mas exacto cumplimiento y que por lo que mirava al aprovechamiento de la Artilleria Buzeada se havia hecho fundizion de las piezas que se reconezieron estar inabiles de poder servir por el daño que rezivieron de las aguas del mar, de que solo quedaron dos, las quales se destinaron para la guarnizion de essas Islas, y que havindose perdido quatro del mismo calibre en el Galeon San Francisco Xavier, havia solizitado suplir por su parte esta falta, y la demas de Artilleria, como todo constava del testimonio que en esta razon remitia.*

*Y havindose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que sobre ello dijo mi fiscal, ha parezido ordenaros y mandaros (como por la presente lo hago) deis las ordenes mas eficazes para que con la maior brevedad se execute el referido buzeo de las piezas que faltan de sacar (en casso de no haverse ya hecho) y por lo que mira à las demas ya bu-*



*zeadas, me informeis con toda individualidad y justificazion de su paradero para que enterado de ello pueda dar las providenzias que asi es mi voluntad.*

*Fha en San Lorenzo à 20 de Noviembre de 1722.*

*Yo el Rey*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Andres de Elcorobarrutia y Zupide.*

*Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

[To] the Marquis of Torrecampo, Relative, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo Bustamante, your predecessor in the Government, in a letter dated 4 June 1718, reported the receipt of the Decree of 23 April 1714 that was addressed to the Count of Lizarraga, then-Governor of those Islands, for the continuation of the salvage of the bronze cannon that in the year 1638 had been lost in the Mariana Islands, and that, in accordance with the contents of said decree, and since the other three pieces that had been left had not yet been salvaged, he was to arrange with due solicitude for the means and orders necessary to fully comply with same. With regards to the advantage being taken of the cannon already salvaged, **the guns that were recognized as useless, on account of the damage received from sea-water, were melted down, and that left only two [good ones] that were assigned to the garrison of those Islands, and since four guns of the same caliber were lost with the galleon San Francisco Xavier, he had tried to make up for this shortage on his own, and the rest for the artillery, as was shown in the record of proceedings which he remitted at the same time.**

And the matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, with what my Fiscal said about it, I have decided to order you (as I do by the present) to give most efficient orders for the prompt salvage of the pieces that remain to be taken out (in case this has not yet been done) and, with regards to those already salvaged, you are to report their whereabouts to me with complete details and justification, so that, once informed, I may give the [appropriate] provisions, as such is my will.

Made in San Lorenzo, 20 November 1722.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutia y Zupide.

Countersigned by the Gentlemen of the Council.

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## Document 1722G

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# Extracts from the Gazette of Mexico for 1721 and 1722

*Source: Orozco's Documentos para la historia de Mexico—Segunda série, Tomo IV (México, Escalante, 1855). Available as 337LAF at the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.*

### Original extracts in Spanish

**Manila, 19 de Julio de 1721.**—*La nao para Nueva España salió del puerto de Cavite á 19 de Julio; tardó en navegacion como seis meses, y llegó al puerto de Acapulco á 15 de Enero, cuyo general es D. José de Aguirre; y habiendo antes saltado en tierra en el puerto de la Navidad el capitan de mar y guerra, D. Francisco de Abarca y Valdes, gentilhombre del pliego, dice haber llegado felizmente á esta ciudad D. Juan Gorzi, á quien con real cédula y despachos de S.M. habia enviado el Exmo. Sr. marques de Valero á dar las providencias convenientes y á mantener en el gobierno de las islas al Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Francisco de la Cuesta, su arzobispo, mientras llegaba su nuevo gobernador; y habiendo llegado en la nao de este año con dicho empleo el Sr. marques de Torreblanca [rather Torrecampo], tomó posesion de él la víspera de Santiago en la noche. Por noticias que como testigo ocular da dicho gentilhombre, se sabe cómo habiendo llegado esta nao á reconocer las costas de California, vieron varias noches luminarias en las cumbres de los cerros con que hacian los indios señas á los navegantes; y aunque lo mismo se habia advertido en los viajes antecedentes, recelándose del peligro que podia haber si saltaban en tierra, no lo hicieron, hasta que ahora dicho general, por orden que traia de dicho Illmo. Sr. gobernador, ordenó, con consulta de los cabos, que en la punta de California saltasen en una lancha algunos soldados con prevencion de armas; y ejecutado, llegaron á tierra, donde les ocurrieron muchos indios, indias y muchachos, todos desnudos, sin cubrir parte alguna de sus cuerpos, y con agrado ofrecieron á los españoles mucho pescado de su ordinario sustento, que es tiburón; y habiendo llegado en la lancha dos de estos indios, no fué posible que entrasen en la nao, aunque se les instó: diéronles los del navío bizcocho; y aunque lo tomaban y gustaron, no lo quisieron comer, hasta que vueltos á tierra comieron todo el que les dieron, y dulce mostraron á los españoles una cruz que tenían y adoraban con ceremonias de cristianos, y tan fieles, que habiéndose dejado un soldado la capa, ellos se la llevaron hasta la agua; y tan reconocidos, que habiendo sido esta misma parte de la punta de California*

*donde el inglés años pasados apresó la Almiranta, arrojó á ser algunos los que saltaron en la lancha, y conocidos por los indios, les agasajaron mucho tomándoles las manos, y hacian señas de alegría; y lo único que pedian por señas eran piezas de hierro, como cuchillos para cortar madera y desollar tiburones. Ha servido esta determinacion de reconocer la docilidad de estas gentes para que se reduzcan á nuestra santa fe y al servicio de S.M., fundándose allí nuevas misiones con que se facilitará hallar y abrir puerto á que llegue la nao de China á hacer aguada, tomar alimentos frescos, repararse y convalecer los que en tan dilatado viaje enferman, con las demas conveniencias que se dejan conocer en servicio de ambas majestades y utilidad de los reinos de Nueva-España y Filipinas.*

*Por cartas de las Islas Marianas se sabe cómo habiendo surcado los mares del Sur y costas del Perú Juan Clipperton, inglés pirata, y apresado al Sr. marques de Villarocho, presidente que fué de Panamá, á su familia y equipaje, y hecho otras hostilidades, llegó fingiendo paz á pedir bastimentos frescos al puerto de Umata, donde conocida su traicion por el gobernador, se le tiraron muchos cañonazos, de que murió dicho pirata; y muy mal parada su embarcacion se ha retirado de aquellos mares.*

...

**México.**

*Dicho V. cabildo tiene remitidos á Manila en la nao pasada en que fué de general D. Juan Ignacio Vértiz 10,000 pesos para que se haga una reja en el coro de esta catedral del esquisito metal de Tumbago, y la botonería y flores del rico metal de Calain, y se espera acabada con el mayor primor.*

...

**Islas Marianas, 23 de Junio de 1721.**—*Por noticias que el R.P. Juan Antonio Cantoba, de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus, rector en estas misiones, escribe al R.P. Andres Zicarde, de la misma Compañía, procurador de estas misiones y de las Filipinas en la Curia mexicana, se sabe cómo el dia 19 de Junio llegó á aquella isla un barco que se supone ser de las Carolinas, con 24 personas entre hombres, mujeres y niños, y que el dia 20 arribó á aquella isla otro mas pequeño con cuatro hombres y una mujer y un niño, gente amulatada, cuyo idioma tiene algunas palabras marianas, otras visayas y otras incógnitas. Uno de ellos, que debe de ser el principal, estaba todo pintado. Agasajáronles los padres, y se espera que por medio de éstos ha de traer el Señor á la red de San Pedro á todos los isleños paisanos.*

...

**Acapulco, 29 de Marzo de 1722.**—*Este dia se hizo á la vela el Galeon ya nombrado, Nuestra Señora de Vegofía, con su general D. José de Aguirre, para su tornaviaje á Filipinas: lleva todos los situados para sus presidios, mandados remitir por el Exmo. Sr. virey, y con seiscientos mil pesos permitidos al comercio; y en cumplimiento de las reales órdenes, no permitió S.E. llevar otra cantidad alguna (aun haciéndole muchas instancias los comerciantes). Se embarcó para Filipinas en esta nao, Don Gregorio Bustillo Bustamante, sobrino del gobernador pasado de Manila, en cuyo tiempo fué nom-*

*brado por embajador al rey de Sian, y habia venido por general en la segunda nao de las dos que vinieron el año de 1720.*

...  
**California y su nuevo puerto descubierto en 28°.**—*En cartas que escribe al Rmo. P. provincial de la Compañía de Jesus, el R.P. Juan de Ugarte, visitador de estas misiones, incluye una del R.P. rector Sebastian de Sistiaga, en que da noticias de haber conseguido el deseado descubrimiento de puerto, en que pueda hacer escala la nao de China al venir: de cuya diligencia se habian encargado los padres de la Compañía, por direccion del Exmo. Sr. marques de Valero y resolucion de la junta, que se hizo á este propósito: y en su relacion dice: cómo habiéndose proveido de bastimentos en la **misión de Santa Rosalía**, el dia 19 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1721, acompañado del P. Everardo, del capitán Guillermo y de otros soldados de su conmitiva, llegó dicho padre rector á una ranchería (así llaman estas gentes á sus habitaciones), para que el principal llamado Santiago, informase á los demas del fin de salir el padre y los españoles á reconocer aquellas costas y á pedir á éste les acompañase, y como práctico en el país les dirigiese por las sendas mas acomodadas y llevase por los agujajes: hízolo este indio con tal amistad, que habiéndose ofrecido á esta empresa para asegurar á los nuestros, tomó en la mano el estilo y demarcó toda la tierra; y aunque no ponía los rumbos segun la aguja, por falta de su conocimiento, delineó las entradas del mar y vueltas de la tierra que forman las bahías, con tal puntualidad, que no discrepó la verdad cuando llegó la experiencia. En el camino hasta el desemboque del arroyo de la Presentacion, se encontraron varias gentes de diversas habitaciones, que regalaron al padre y españoles con muchas conchas, de que hay diversa variedad, largas, redondas y de otras figuras que ellos conocen con propio nombre en su idioma, y es su alimento usual: en este intermedio se hallaron espaciosísimos llanos en que se mantiene abundancia de berrendos (que como se ha dicho, son como carneros sin lana), aunque se aprovechan de ellos los naturales muy poco por la dificultad de su caza. Donde el arroyo de S. Vicente corre por varias llanuras que los patrios llaman Marismas, fué preciso detenerse por estar distante el agujaje, y mientras disponian seguir el viaje, enviaron un indio amigo á ver si encontraba otro práctico en las costas, y habiendo hallado á un principal de los suyos muy al intento, se ofreció á conducirlos, como lo hizo, y prosiguiendo este viaje encontraron dos estancias de gente que estaba en la cosecha de Pitahayas de invierno, que es mas copiosa que las de verano, trayendo de ellas al padre en mucho número, que es gran consuelo ver que la Providencia divina ha puesto en estas costas tal abundancia de esta fruta, por ser eficacísimo remedio contra **el mal de loanda**. Los indios se mostraron tan dóciles, pacíficos y amigables, que dieron muestras de que con tener padre misionero, con ellos se convirtieran y redujeran fácilmente al Evangelio, y de este beneficio carecen por no alcanzar la renta á la cóngrua sustentacion de otros misioneros, para estos miserables gentiles descubiertos en nuevos países y climas, como lo comenzó en los antecedentes la piedad del Lic. D. Juan Caballero y Osío, y prosiguen otras personas celosas y con particular esmero el marques de Villapiente, quien está enviando ropa, dineros y las demas cosas que son útiles y apreciables á estas gen-*

*tes. Prosiguió el padre su derrota, y habiendo trasegado valles y montes jamas andados, y llegado hasta la altura de 28°, descubrieron por fin en la playa una ensenada muy capaz y amena, que aunque no tiene agua sino distante, puede servir de abrigo á la nao de Filipinas. De esta ensenada prosiguieron demarcando la costa, de cuya parte hácia el Sur, se halló una bahía de notable capacidad, cuya punta por la banda del Norte hace puerto con agua, cercana á la playa, y mas abajo en el desemboque del arroyo de los mil Angeles, hay puerto muy hermoso con un arroyo de agua en cercanía, y bajando mas, cuasi dentro de los términos de la mision de San Miguel, se descubrió otro puerto, en que concurre todo lo que lo puede hacer apetecible y conveniente para el intento, capacísimo con muy buena agua, y muy inmediata, pronto el socorro para los que vinieron enfermos de la nao, por la cercanía de dicha mision, con que ha sido Dios servido de hacer patente en este tiempo lo que ha negado á tantas diligencias en el pasado. Háse mandado en este puerto hacer de dia humaredas, y encender de noche luminarias en los meses que pueda reconocer á aquellas costas la dicha nao de Filipinas, para hacer señas á sus navegantes, y que lleguen á hacer escala, y reparar á sus enfermos, tomando aguas y alimentos frescos.*

## Translation

**Manila, 19 July 1721.**—The galleon for New Spain departed from the port of Cavite on 19 July; she spent about six months in the crossing and arrived at the port of Acapulco on 15 January [1722]. Her general is Don José de Aguirre. Marine Captain Don Francisco de Abarca y Valdés having previously stepped ashore in the port of Navidad, reports the successful arrival at that city of Don Juan Gorzi, the man sent with a royal decree and despatches from H.M. that His Excellency the Marquis of Valero had sent along, giving the convenient provisions for the continuance as Governor of the Islands to the Most Excellent and Reverend Francisco de la Cuesta, their Archbishop, until the arrival of their new Governor. Now that His Lordship the Marquis of Torrecampo, the man assigned to that post, has arrived aboard this year's galleon, he took possession of it on the eve of [the feast of] St. James in the evening. From the news brought by this gentleman, as an eyewitness, it was learned that when this galleon approached the coast of California, they saw on various nights some fires burning on the tops of hills, by which the Indians were making signals to the sailors, and although the same things had been seen on previous voyages, they had not dared step ashore on account of the possible danger, but now said general, by order that he had received from said Illustrious Governor, but after consulting the officers, ordered a launch with a few armed soldiers to be sent to the point of California. This was done, and when they stepped ashore, they found many Indian men and women, all naked, with no part of their bodies covered in any way, and they graciously offered to the Spaniards much of the fish that is their ordinary food, that is, shark. When two of these Indians arrived alongside with the launch, it was not possible to make them climb aboard the galleon, no matter how they were invited. The people on board gave them some biscuit; although they took them and tasted them, they refused to eat them, until they had returned

ashore, where they ate all the biscuit that had been given them, and some sweets. They showed to the Spaniards a cross that they had and they worshipped with Christian ceremonies, and so faithfully that, when a soldier forgot his cape behind, they brought it back to him at the beach. And so grateful too; since this part of the point of California was where the English years ago captured the *Almiranta*, it turned out that some of those who stepped ashore with the launch had been there before and were recognized by the Indians, who then rejoiced at seeing them again, taking them by the hands, and making signs of joy. The only things they were asking for by sign language were pieces of iron, such as knives to cut wood and to skin sharks. This exercise has led to the recognition of the docility of these peoples for them to be reduced to our holy faith and to the service of H.M., by founding there new missions with which it will be easier to find and to open a port where the China galleon might stop and take on water, some fresh food, and to refresh and rest those who become sick during such a long voyage, with the other advantages that would become known in the service of both majesties and the benefit of the Kingdoms of New Spain and the Philippines.

Through letters from the Mariana Islands, it was learned how John Clipperton, the English pirate who had cruised through the South Sea and along the coasts of Peru, and captured the Marquis of Villarocho, the former President of Panama, his family and baggage, and had carried out other hostilities, arrived at the port of Umata, feigning peace, to ask for fresh food supplies, but his treachery was recognized by the Governor; he was shot at many times with guns, from which the pirate died.<sup>1</sup> As for his ship, it was damaged quite badly, and it has withdrawn from those seas.

...

### **Mexico.**

Said venerable municipal church council has remitted to Manila aboard the previous galleon, the one whose general was Don Juan Ignacio Vértiz, 10,000 pesos for a grating to be manufactured for the choir of this cathedral out of the exquisite metal which is *tumbago*,<sup>2</sup> with the button and flower work to be made out of the rich metal which is *Calain*,<sup>3</sup> and it is hoped that it will be finished with the best of elegance.

...

**Mariana Islands, 23 June 1721.**—Through news that Rev. Fr. Juan Antonio Cantoba, of the sacred Society of Jesus, rector in these Missions, wrote to Rev. Fr. Andrés Zicarde [i.e. Sicardi] of the same Society, Procurator of these Missions and of the Philippines in the Mexican court, it was learned that on 19 June there arrived at that island a boat that is supposed to come from the Carolines, with 24 persons aboard, including men, women and children, and that on the 20th another, smaller, boat also arrived at

1 Ed. note: This supposition was not true, however.

2 Ed. note: Tombac, or pinchbeck, is an alloy of copper and zinc, same as brass but with more zinc.

3 Ed. note: This could be an alloy of copper and gold, but I cannot find a reference anywhere to explain it under that name. Perhaps it was the same as the "white copper" that the Chinese brought to Manila; it was made of copper and nickel, but its Chinese name was "packfong" (ref. B&R 48: 275).

that island with 4 men, 1 woman and 1 child. They resembled mulattoes. Their language contains a few Mariano words, a few others in Visayan and the rest unknown. One man, who must be their chief, was completely tattooed. The Fathers made them welcome, and it is hoped that through them the Lord will attract into the net of St. Peter all of their countrymen.

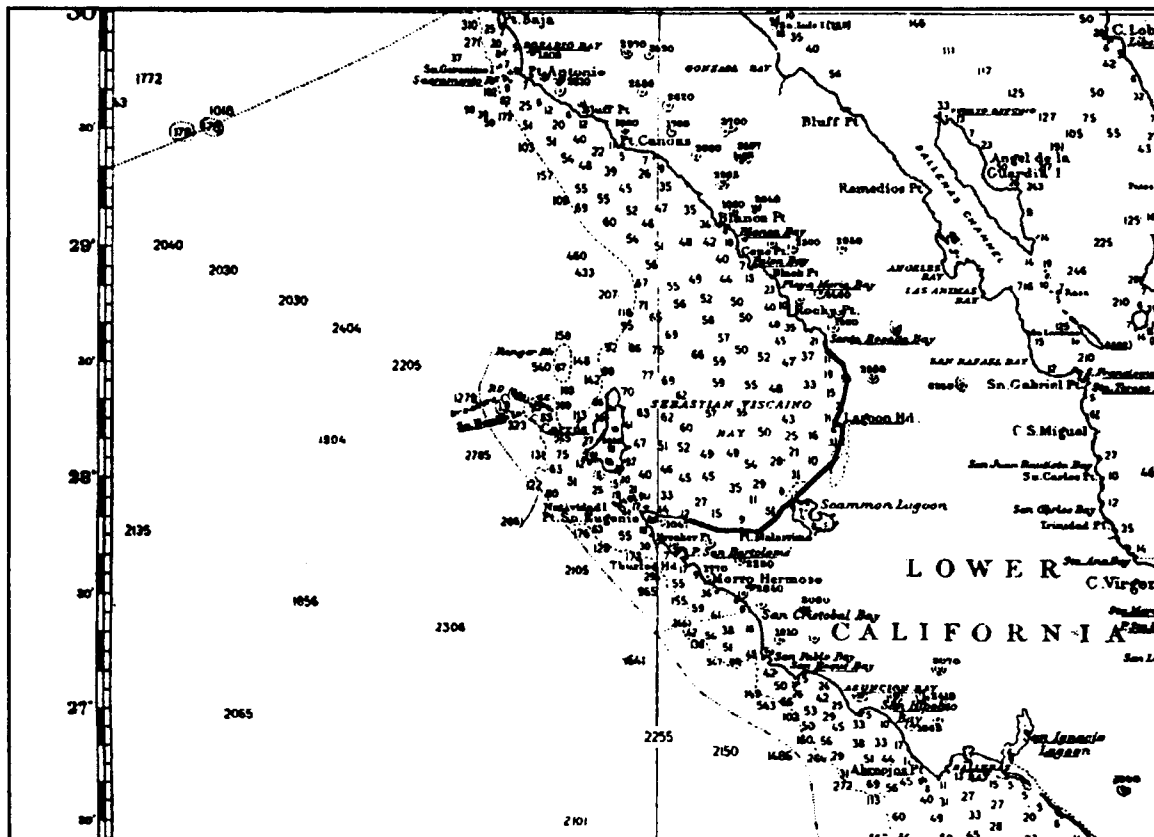
...  
**Acapulco, 29 March 1722.**—On this day the already-mentioned galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, commanded by General José de Aguirre, left on her return voyage to the Philippines. She carries all of the subsidies for their garrisons, as ordered sent by His Excellency the Viceroy, and with 600,000 pesos permitted to the trade. And, in compliance of the royal orders, H.E. did not permit any other sum to be taken along (in spite of the many requests made by the traders). Aboard this galleon was Don Gregorio Bustillo Bustamante, the nephew of the former Governor of Manila, during whose term he has gone to Siam as ambassador, and who had come as General of the second galleon, of the two that came in the year 1720.<sup>1</sup>

...  
**California and its new port discovered in 28°.**—In letters written by Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Society of Jesus, Rev. Fr. Juan de Ugarte, visitor of these missions, there was one letter from Rev. Fr. Rector Sebastian de Sistiaga<sup>2</sup> inserted in it, which gave the news of the discovery of a sought-after port suitable for the China galleon to make stopovers when coming over. Such an effort had been entrusted to the Fathers of the Society, by directive from His Excellency the Marquis of Valero and a resolution of the Council in a meeting held for this purpose. In his narrative, he relates how he had gotten food supplies at the **Mission of Santa Rosalia**, on 19 November of last year 1721, and in the company of Fr. Everard, of Captain Guillermo and of other soldiers in his retinue. Said Father Rector arrived at one ranch (that is the name these peoples give to their hamlets), in order to speak with the chief, named Santiago, for him to explain to the rest about the purpose of the expedition of the Father and the Spanish, which was to go and survey those coasts and to ask him to accompany them, as he was a local guide who could lead them along the most appropriate trails, by way of watering spots. This Indian did so with such friendliness that he not only offered himself to join this enterprise, the better to ensure the safety of our people, but he also grabbed the stylus and drew [a map of] the whole country. Although he did not place the headings according to the compass, for lack of knowledge of it, he sketched the entrances of the sea and the contours of the shoreline that formed the bays, with such exactness that they turned out to be true, as shown by experience later on. Along the way to the

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1 Ed. note: This is the only mention of the eastward crossing of 2 galleons in 1720. I think that the *Sacra Familia* came to Acapulco a year or two earlier.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Sistiaga was born in Oaxaca and a missionary at Santa Rosalia from 1718 to 1730. He died in 1756.



**Sebastian Vizcaíno Bay in 28° N. lat., Lower California.** *The darker outline of this bay is the part explored on foot by Fr. Sistiaga & Co. in 1721.*

mouth of the stream of the Presentation, they met various peoples from different hamlets who made presents to the Father and the Spanish with many shells, of which there are many varieties, big ones, round ones, and of other shapes that they know by their own names in their language, as they constitute their usual food source. Along this stretch, they found very expansive prairies in which are maintained an abundance of *berrendos* (as was said, they are like sheep without wool),<sup>1</sup> although the natives take little advantage of them because they are difficult to hunt. Where the stream of San Vicente runs through various plains that our compatriots call *Marismas* [i.e. marshes], it became necessary to linger, because the [next] watering spot was distant. While they

1 Ed. note: This Spanish word means “stained with two different colors.” They must have been elk, the same animals that Vizcaíno had seen in that area 120 years previously.



were making ready to pursue their voyage, they sent a friendly Indian ahead to see if he could find another local guide knowledgeable about the coasts; he found a chief of his people, suitable for the purpose, and he offered himself to guide them, as he did.

Pursuing their voyage, they came up to two ranches whose people were harvesting a winter crop of *Pitahayas*, which is more copious than the summer crop, and brought some to the Father in large numbers; it is a great consolation that divine Providence has placed on these coasts such an abundance of this fruit, because it is a very efficient remedy against the Luanda disease.<sup>1</sup> The Indians showed themselves to be so docile, peaceful and friendly that they gave signs that if they had a missionary Father with them, they would become converts and would be easily reduced to the Gospel. They lack this benefit because there is not enough money to pay the maintenance stipends of other missionaries, for such miserable heathen discovered in new countries and climates, as was done previously, thanks to the generosity of Licenciado Juan Caballero y Osio, a practice continued by other zealous persons; specially remarkable in this wise is the Marquis of Villapuente, who is sending clothes, moneys and the other things that these peoples find useful and appreciate.

The Father pursued his route, and having crossed valleys and mountains never before explored on foot, and having arrived at the latitude of 28°, they finally discovered on the beach a very large and beautiful bay which, though it does not have a watering place except at a distance, can serve as shelter for the Philippine galleon. From this bay they proceeded by surveying the coast, whose part toward the south, there was found a bay of notable capacity, whose point on its north side makes a port, with water near the beach, and further below, at the mouth of the stream called **Mil Angeles**, there is a very beautiful port with a stream of water nearby, and coming down some more, almost within the boundaries of the **San Miguel Mission**, another port was discovered, where everything that may be wanted is conveniently at hand; it is very large, with very good water very close by, that is, everything to provide immediate succor to those who might come sick aboard the galleon, on account of the vicinity of said Mission, which God has placed there, the better to make it available in our times, what He had negated to the efforts made in the past.<sup>2</sup> Orders have been given for smoking fires to be built in this port during the day, and bright fires to burn at night, during the months that said Philippine galleon may reconnoiter those coasts, to give signals to its sailors, and to help them make a stopover, to cure their sick, take on water and some fresh food.

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- 1 Ed. note: "Pitahaya", according to Henry R. Wagner (Spanish Voyages to the NW Coast, p. 193, 309, 395) is the plant whose scientific name is *Lamprocapnos dumortierii*. It is a type of cactus that bears a fruit. I think that if they were called *ciruelas*, or plums, then, they are now called "tunas" in Mexico (from their similarity in appearance with an olive, "acei-tuna," I think). Ulloa, a previous explorer, had been on that part of this coast as early as 1540 and eaten of this fruit. The Luanda disease is beriberi.
  - 2 Ed. note: Wagner has shown that Vizcaino and others had already charted that part of California more than one century before. No advantage was taken of its bays then, and future Manila galleons failed to use any port there as a stopover point. The two likely ports referred to above were probably the inlets now called Guerrero Negro, and the Scammon or Ojo de Liebre Lagoon.

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## Documents 1722H

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### Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1722

#### H1. Approved budget, dated Mexico 22 February [or 11 March?] 1722

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/1, fol. 10, and 22-24.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señores Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por la Carta quenta que el dia treze de Marzo del año proximo pasado de mil setecientos veinte y uno arreglados a Reales disposiciones, formamos y remitimos a V.Mds., dimos cumplimiento y plena satisfaccion por nuestra parte al Situado de esas Yslas, tocante al supracitado año, que devieron percivir los Ynteresados con el: Y aora por esta egecutamos el que perteneze al presente de mil setecientos, veinte y dos, el que se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

#### ***Mision y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Veinte y nueve mil doscientos quarenta y tres pesos seis tomins y ocho granos, pagados de esta Real Caja: Los veinte y un mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos de ellos para el Sargento maior[,] Governor y sesenta soldados Españoles de la Dotacion del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas y los siete mil ochocientos sesenta y ocho pesos seis tomines y ocho granos restantes para treze Religiosos de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus, diez sacerdotes y tres coadjutores, que se hallan empleados en las Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y exaltando nuestra santa Fee en servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de S.M. Catholica, una y otra cantidad perteneciente al situado de el citado año de la fha anticipado segun costumbre, yncluyendos en la ultima de las dos partidas el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los niños Marianos donde al cuidado de dho Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christians y politicas: Como tambien lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa y azeite para encender lamparas que alumbren al Santisimo Sacramento de el altar delante de los ocho sagrarios en que se halla colocado su Divina Magestad en otras tantas yglesias con el adorno y desensia posible, arreglado todo a lo mandado por S.M. y conforme a declaraciones y listas remitidas y presentadas ..... 29,243p 6t 8g*

...

*Guarde Dios a V.Ms. muchos años.**Mexico y Febrero(?) 22 de 1722.**Simon de Carragal**Pedro de Larburu***Translation.**

Gentlemen Royal officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

In the Letter of accounts dated 13 March of last year 1721, which we had prepared in accordance with royal orders and sent to Your Graces, we gave compliance, at our entire satisfaction, to the Subsidy of those Islands, corresponding to the above-said year, and the interested parties should by now have benefitted from it. By the present we now execute the subsidy for this year 1722, which consists of the following entries:

...

**Mission and Garrison of the Marianas.**

—29,243 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains paid out by this Royal treasury, 21,375 pesos of which are for the Sergeant-Major, the Governor and the 60 Spanish soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Mariana Islands, and the remaining 7,868 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains are for the 13 Religious of the sacred Society of Jesus, 10 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers who are busy in the Mission of those Islands, preaching the Holy Gospel, fostering the new Christian community there, and propagating our holy Faith in the service of God our Lord and His Catholic Majesty. Both sums belong to the subsidy of the present year, paid in advance as is the custom. Included in the second of the two entries is the stipend allocated to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs by the Fathers, as well as the amount corresponding to the alms for wine to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass and for oil to keep some lamps burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar, in 8 sanctuaries where His divine Majesty has been placed, inside as many churches, with as much adornment and decency as possible, everything as ordered by H.M. and in accordance with declarations and lists that have been remitted and presented

..... 29,243p 6t 8g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 22 February(?) 1722.

Simon de Carragal

Pedro de Larburu<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: In the same file, there is a note stating that 50 Jesuits had passed to the Philippines in 1718, but one of them, Br. Tomás Girones, had come back to Acapulco and was returning to Manila in 1722.

## H2. Acknowledgment by the master of the galleon *Begoña*

*Source: AGN AHH 332.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Digo yo el Capitan Don Francisco Sanchez de Tagle residente en este Puerto de Acapulco y Ciudad de los Reyes, vezino de la de Manila de proximo a embarcarme este presente año con plaza de Maestre en el Galeon Capitana Nuestra Señora de Vegoña que esta surta en este dho Puerto p<sup>a</sup> hacer viaje este presente año con el divino favor al de Cavite de las Yslas Philipinas con el Real çituado de ellas del cargo del General Don Joseph de Aguirre que confieso haver rezevido, del Capitan Don Antonio de Buena, y Alcalde, residente en este dho puerto, y vezino de la de Mexico, veinte y ocho cajones[,] los dies y ocho con la primera marca del margen, y de n<sup>o</sup> 1 a 18, y los dies restantes cumplimiento a los veinte, y ocho con la segunda marca, y numerado desde 19 a 28, ynclucibe todos enjutos y bien acondicionados, y en la misma conformidad llegado que sea a las Yslas de Marianas me obligo a entregarlos al M.R.P. Provincial de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, o al primero Padre que a bordo biniere de dho Galeon liza, y llanamente, y sin pleito alguno con declarazion que no estoi satisfho de los costos que me pertenecen de dhos cajones los que remite el M.R.P. Andres Zicardi de dha Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, y Procurador General de dhas Yslas, Marianas, y Philipinas a cuio cumplimiento obligo mi persona y bienes avidos y por haver sometiendome a todas las Justicias, y Juez de su Magd de qualesquier parte que sean en expecial a las de aquellas Yslas para que al cumplimiento de ella me apremien, y executen sin que me balga fuero ni privilegio alguno por ningun Titulo ni Ley que a mi favor pueda ser, y por mi falta hara la entrega al que en mi lugar fuere con dha plaza de maestre y por ser verdad todo lo dho firme tres de un tenor el uno cumplido los dos no balgan siendo testigos el Capitan Don Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano; Don Francisco Gonzalez de Castañeda, y Julio de Lebrande y es fho en este dho Puerto de Acapulco en diez de Marzo de 1722 años.*

*Francisco Sanchez de Tagle.*

[Notes in margin:]

*2 variles de vino [,] 2 tercios de cacao[,] 2 guacales de metates en los 18 de abajo.— MAR. PPes. Marianas. 18 [rather 19] caxones de n<sup>o</sup> 1 a 19; MAR CC Colegio de niños, 1 tercio cacao, 09 [instead of 10] caxones de n<sup>o</sup> 19 a 28 = 28 en todos.—*

### Translation.

I, Captain Francisco Sanchez de Tagle, residing at this Port of Acapulco and City of the Kings, but domiciled in that of Manila, and about to sail this year in the post of Master of the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** that is anchored in this port and about to make her voyage this year, God willing, to that of Cavite in the Philippine Islands with their Royal subsidy, under the command of General José de Aguirre, do acknowledge having received from Captain Antonio de Buena y Alcalde, residing at this port but domiciled in Mexico City, 28 crates, 18 of which bear the first mark in

*2 Vaniles de vino de tea  
 uos de cacao 2 gineas  
 de morteros en los  
 18 a 19 p -*  
 5 CS.  
**MARPP**  
*Marianas*  
 18 = *Car. de n.º 1 a 19*  
**MARCC**  
*1/2 Cacaos Colegio de niños*  
 09 = *Car. de n.º 19 a 28*  
 28. *Entodos =*

margin, and numbers 1 to 18, and the remaining 10 making up the 28, which bear the second mark, and numbers 19 to 28, all of them inclusively in dry and good condition, and in the same manner, should I reach the Mariana Islands, I oblige myself to deliver them to the very Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Society of Jesus, or to the first Father who might come alongside said galleon, completely free of any claim, and I do declare that I am not satisfied with the costs that have been charged to me with respect to said crates, those remitted by the very Rev. Fr. Sicardi of said Society of Jesus, and Procurator General for said Mariana and Philippine Islands. Toward said fulfilment, I pledge my person and property, present and future, submitting myself to any royal justice or judge anywhere, but specially in those Islands, enabling them to fine me, and to sentence me, notwithstanding my right and privilege under any title of any law, and in my absence, whoever may replace me in the post of Master is to make said delivery. And in faith whereof, I have signed three copies of the present, the first orig-

inal and the others duplicates, in the presence of the following witnesses: Captain Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano, Don Francisco Gonzalez de Castañeda, and Julio de Lebrande.

Made at this Port of Acapulco on 10 March 1722.

Francisco Sanchez de Tagle.<sup>1</sup>

[Notes in margin (see illustration):]

2 barrels of wine, 2 half-loads of cacao, 2 custom-made crates of mortars among the 18 below.—MAR. PPes. Marianas. 18 [rather 19] crates numbered 1 to 19; MAR CC College of the children, 1 half-load of cacao, 9 [instead of 10] crates numbered 19 to 28 = 28 in all.—

### H3. Manifest of the galleon Begofia

*Source: AGNAHH 332. Note: This document is almost illegible as it was damaged by water, probably in the mail between Acapulco and Mexico City.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Testimonio de la Plata y de las Piezas que se remitieron a Marianas y Filipinas el año de 1722.*

*En la ciudad de los Reyes, Puerto de Acapulco, en veinte y tres de Marzo de mill setecientos y veinte y dos años Antemi escrivano y testigos el Capitan Don Francisco San-*

1 Ed. note: Gonzalez de Quijano was to become General of the galleons of 1727, 1732, and 1747, whereas this Sanchez de Tagle was General in 1733.

*chez de Tagle de quien doy fee que conosco Maestre del Galeon de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** y proximo â hazer su torna viage, rexistro por parte del Padre Andres Zicardi de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus y procurator general de su Provincia de Philipinas catorze caxones marcados con la primera marca de margen, dos varriles de vino y dos zurrone de cacao Caracas consignados al colegio(?) de la Compañia de Jhs de las Yslas Marianas â quien asi mismo de su lugar para el Colegio de niños.*

*Que tambien rexistro dho Maestre siete caxones marcados con la segunda de margen, un zurron de cacao Goatemala, dos guacales de metates menoslorio(?) engergado en que ban sus manos, lo qual no contribuie los Reales derechos y tres --- - lo por ciento respecto de ser no----la--sia-- y haver obthenido licencia, para que embarque - - del Exmo. Señor Virrey Marques de Balero carta(?) de despacho que rrecivio que esta por pie--- [+ 4 lines too faint] esta a su satisfacion para entregarle en dhas Yslas Marianas al Padre Vice Provincial o al que primero llegare abordo y si por accidente no tomase purto en dhas Yslas Marianas hara su entrega al Padre Procurador General que fuere de dha Compañia de dhas Yslas; llegado que sea al Puerto de Cavite, ô otro a donde hisiere su derecha descarga sô expresa obligacion ----- su persona y vienes, presentes y futuros --- los que se someto a fuero y juridicion -- - --- Justicias para que dello le apriemien, como por sentencia pasada en cossa juzgada [otorgo] partida de rejistro en forma que --- siendo testigos Don Miguel Michelina y Captain Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano presentes.*

*Francisco Sanchez de Tagle*

*Antemi Antonio Alejo de Mendoza(?) escrivano Real y p<sup>a</sup> el publico.*

*Concuerta, etc.*

## **Translation.**

### **Certificate for the silver and pieces remitted to the Marianas and Philippines in 1722.**

In the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on 23 March 1722: Before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Francisco Sanchez de Tagle, whom I know and vouch for, Master of the Philippine galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, about to make her return voyage, registered on behalf of Father Andrés Sicardi of the sacred Society of Jesus and Procurator general of his Province of the Philippines, 14 crates marked with the first mark in margin, 2 barrels of wine and 2 pouches of cacao from Caracas, consigned to the College(?) of the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands, [or] to his replacement for the College for the children.

Said Master also registered 7 crates marked with the second mark in margin, 1 pouch of cacao from Guatemala, 2 custom-made crates of --- mortars, covered with cloth, complete with their pestles, to which the Royal taxes do not apply, but 3 percent applying to ----- for which no permit was obtained from His Excellency the Viceroy, Marquis de Valero, for their despatch ..... [4 lines too faint] is to his satisfaction to be delivered in said Mariana Islands to Father Vice-Provincial or to the first Father to come alongside, and if some accident were to prevent him to make port in said Maria-

na Islands, he is to deliver same to whomever might be Father Procurator General of said Society in said Islands, once arriving at the Port of Cavite, or any other port where a proper unloading may take place, under the express obligation, and pledge of his person and property, present and future, and he is ready to submit to any court, jurisdiction, or justice so that they might fine him, as in a definitive sentence of a case before the law. He executed this extract of the manifest in due form, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Miguel Michelena and Captain Antonio Gonzalez de Quijano.

Francisco Sanchez de Tagle

Before me, Antonio Alejo de Mendoza(?), Royal notary and notary public.

This is a certified copy, etc.

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## Document 1723A

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# Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1723

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/2, fol. 30-33v.*

## Subsidy sent aboard the galleon *Sacra Familia* in 1723

### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho del Situado de Philipinas en el Galeon Capitana la Sacra Familia el año de 1723.***

...

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*El situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos y generos tocantes a esas Yslas por este año de mil settecientos y veinte y tres, que a de conducir a ellas el Galeon Capitana nombrado la **Sacra Familia** se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

### ***Mission y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Veinte y nueve mil doscientos quarenta y tres pesos seis tomines y ocho granos entregados de esta Real caja: los veinte y un mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos de ellos para el Governador[,] Sargento mayor y sesenta soldados de la Dotacion del Presidio de Marianas, y los siete mil ochocientos sesenta y ocho pesos seis tomines y ocho granos restantes para treze Religiosos de la comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus, diez Sacerdotes y tres Coadjutores empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y augmentando nuestra Santa Fé en servicio de la Divina Magd. y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno y otro por el situado correspondiente a este año, yncluiendose en la ultima de las dos Partidas el estipendio assignado al Seminario de los niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y politicas, como tambien lo correspondientes à la limosna del vino y azeite[,] todo segun el Libramiento del año anterior y debajo de fianzas de entregar Certificaciones que comprieven, mediante su falta en esta ocasion ..... 29,243p 6t 8g*

...

*Guarde Dios a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico a 22 de Febrero de 1723.*

*Ignacio Joseph de Miranda*

*Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos*



**Translation.****Despatch of the subsidy of the Philippines aboard the flagship galleon *Sacra Familia* in 1723.**

...

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

The subsidy of 250,000 pesos and goods concerning those Islands for this year 1723, which the flagship galleon named **Sacra Familia** is to convey to them, consists of the following entries:

...

**Mission and Garrison of the Marianas.**

—29, 243 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains released from this Royal treasury, 21375 pesos of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 7,868 pesos 6 tomins and 8 grains for the 13 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 10 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, employed in the missions of those Islands, in preaching the Holy Gospel, seeing to the progress of their new Christian community, and the propagation of our Holy Faith in the service of the divine Majesty and of the King our Lord. Both sums correspond to this year's subsidy. Included in the latter of the two sums is the stipend allotted to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers; also included is the amount corresponding to the alms for wine and oil. Everything is the same as the Release of last year,<sup>1</sup> under the performance bond to the effect that Certificates will be presented as proof, since they are lacking at this time ..... 29,243p 6t 8g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 22 February 1723.

Ignacio José de Miranda

Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See Doc. 1722H1.

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## Documents 1724A

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# The Inquisition to their Commissioner in the Marianas, dated Mexico February 1724

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 328-329v.*

## A1. Letter concerning St. Brigid

### Original text in Spanish.

***Al Comisario de las Islas Marianas.***

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario su fecha de 17 de febrero de 1721, mandamos, remitir á el traslado de las oraciones que se dicen ser [de] Santa Brixida, y ácompañaban a dha carta al Rdo. Padre Domingo de Quiroga de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus y calificador de este Santo Oficio para que diese su censura y parecer; y en caso cumplimiento dió la que contiene el traslado adjuntto que mandamos remitir, y remitimos a nuestro Comisario para que execute el parecer de dicho R. Padre Domingo de Quiroga, y de su execucion y cumplimiento, nos dara aviso en primera ocasion.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 22 de 1724 años.*

*Senores Inquisidores Garzaron, y Palazio.*

### Translation.

**To the Commissioner in the Mariana Islands.**

With reference to the letter from our Commissioner dated 17 February 1721, we ordered the copy of the prayers said to be to St. Brigid, which accompanied said letter, to be remitted to the Rev. Fr. Domingo de Quiroga of the sacred Society of Jesus and consultant of this Holy Office, for his censure and opinion. And, in compliance, he gave it, as per the attached transcript, which he remits, and which we remit to our Commissioner for him to carry out the opinion of said Rev. Fr. Domingo de Quiroga, which he is to carry out and report about it at the first opportunity.

May God, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 22 February 1724.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron, and Palacio.<sup>1</sup>

## A2. Letter concerning Fathers Cantova and Furnari

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Al mismo Comisario.*

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 9 de Junio del año pasado de 1722 y testimonios que la acompañaban de haber hecho sus juramentos los Padres Juan Antonio Cantova, y Phelipe María Furnari; emos mandado, abisar de su rezibo y dezir a nuestro Comisario que respecto de haver escripto a este Tribunal desde Manila dho Padre Cantova diciendo [que] pasaba al descubrimiento de las Carolinas y hallarse nombrado nuestro Comisario en segundo lugar en esas Islas Marianas, si no ser restituyese a ellas con brevedad y tubiese nuestro Comisario por combeniente, proponer para terzero lugar, lo hara de religioso mas a proposito que en vista de su ynforme se le despachara titulo de tal.*

*Guarde Dios ett<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico febrero 22 de febrero de 1724 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Garzaron y Palazio.*

### Translation.

#### **To the same Commissioner.**

With reference to the letter from our Commissioner dated 9 June of the past year 1722, and the enclosed affidavit recording the swearing-in ceremonies of Fathers Juan Antonio Cantova and Felipe María Furnari, we have ordered that an acknowledgment of receipt be sent to our Commissioner, and to tell him that, given that said Father Cantova wrote to this Tribunal from Manila to say that he was on his way to explore the Carolines, and given the fact that we have a substitute Commissioner already named in those Mariana Islands, if he were to be absent for them for more than a brief period, and if our Commissioner should see fit, he should propose the most appropriate religious as a second substitute, so that, after seeing his report, we might despatch a letter of appointment to him.

May God etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 22 February 1724.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron, and Palacio.

## A3. Letter concerning some edicts

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Al mismo Comisario de Islas Marianas.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The said opinion is not reproduced in the letterbook in the archives.

*En este Tribunal se recibió la de nuestro Comisario de 9 de Junio del año pasado de 722 con el testimonio que la acompañaba de haberse publicado y fixado el edicto prohibiendo varios papeles, y libritos, y asimismo el compendio y sumario del edicto general de la fee, y en la lista emos mandado avisar de su rezibo y dimos a nuestro Comisario esta bien lo que a executado, y que puede romper los sumarios que dice le remitieron de la ciudad de Manila, si tubieren la clausula de los que aora remitio; y los demas puede conserbar borrados por los edictos que refiere tener al revés, prebiniendo a nuestro Comisario que en executandose la ympresion que se a deazer quitando una y otra clausula se le remitiran algunos sumarios y compendios para que nunca falten en las yglesias de esa comisaria.*

*Guarde Dios ett<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 26 de 1724.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Garzaron y Palazio.*

### **Translation.**

#### **To the same Commissioner in the Mariana Islands.**

A letter from our Commissioner dated 9 June of the past year 1722 was received by this Tribunal, along with an affidavit to prove the publication and posting of the edict prohibiting various papers and booklets, and also the compendium and summary of the general edict of the faith. We have recorded same and have ordered that an acknowledgment be issued to our Commissioner, telling him that all is well, and that he may go ahead and tear the summaries that he says were remitted from the city of Manila, if they do contain the phrasing of those that I now remit; as for the rest, he may preserve them, after correcting them, on account of the edicts that he says are printed on reverse, but we warn our Commissioner that, after the next printing to correct the wording of some phrases, he is to be given some summaries and compendiums, so that the churches under his commission will not be without them.

May God etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 26 February 1724.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron, and Palacio.

## **A4. Letter concerning Mateo Delgado**

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

*Al mismo Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, en los autos de Matheo Delgado.*

*En vista de la que se enbió á este Tribunal con fecha de 8 de abril del año pasado de 722, el Comisario de segundo lugar Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, y testimonio que remitió adjunto de lo acaecido con el Gobernador de esas Yslas Marianas sobre el mayordomo de la estancia de Tachugña, llamado Matheo Delgado, emos mandado abisar de su rezibo, y dezir a nuestros Comisarios de dhas Yslas sepan y tengan entendido que sus criados y los demas que estubieren ocupados en las aziendas ó estancias*

*de su religion no gozan del fuero del Santo Oficio y que deben contener a dhos sirbientes en toda obediencia a las Justicias y sus lexitimos superiores procurando dhos Comisarios toda buena corespondienzia con los Gobernadores y Reales Justicias como en esta ocasion se conoze haberlo executado, y es tan preciso y nezesario mayormente en tanta distancia.*

*Guarde Dios ett\**

*Inquisicion de Mexico febrero 26 de 1724 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Garzaron y Palazio.*

### **Translation.**

**To the same Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, in the case involving Mateo Delgado.**

With reference to a letter dated 8 April of the past year of 1722 sent to this Tribunal by the substitute Commissioner Father Juan Antonio Cantova, along with a record of what happened with the Governor of those Mariana Islands concerning the majordomo of the ranch of Tachugña, named Mateo Delgado, we have ordered that their receipt be acknowledged, and that our Commissioners in said Islands be told that his servants and the others who might be occupied in the plantations or ranches of their Order do not come under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office and that such servants must be subjected to any magistrate and to their legitimate superiors. Said Commissioners are to endeavor to maintain good relationships with the Governors and Royal officials, as they did do on this occasion as we already know; this is so required and necessary, specially when such a great distance is involved.

May God etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 26 February 1724.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron, and Palacio.

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## Documents 1724B

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# The case of Captain Sanchez, the wayward Governor of the Marianas

*Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 340-341v, pp. 735-738; case file in AGI Ultramar 561; also found in AGI Fil. 530 (ex 106-2-23).*

### Introductory note.

Captain Manuel Díaz, who was named travelling judge and sent to Guam with a commission from the Audiencia, was then 35 years old, and given the acting rank of Major for the purpose of impressing Governor Sanchez, which he failed to do. He arrived at Guam in September 1724 aboard the patache **N. S. de los Dolores** and left Merizo aboard the same patache, while under fire from shore, at the end of December 1724. He left this ship at Batangas and went directly to Manila where he reported to the Audiencia on 19 January 1725 that he had been unable to carry out his commission.

### B1. Report from the Audiencia of Manila to the King, dated Manila 1 July 1726

#### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. lo acaecido en las islas Marianas con Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle Gobernador de ellas, y el Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dosal, Comisario de dicha Audiencia en las Comisiones que de ella llevó à su cargo para dichas islas, lo sucedido en ellas con el vagel que le conduxo, y desamparo que de dichas islas hizo dicho Gobernador, viniendose à estas islas refugiandose en el Combeno de San Sebastian en los extramuros de esta Ciudad, y de quedar entendiendo en la substanciacion de las causas de dicha Gobernador con testimonio de autos de lo obrado sobre ello constante todo del Cuaderno N° 23.*

*Señor*

*Con la ocasion de haber dado cuenta à esta real Audiencia Vuestro Reverendo en Cristo Don fr. Sebastian de Foronda, obispo de Calidonia, y Administrador del Obispado de Cebú, que el Gobernador de las islas Marianas Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle no habia cumplido en cuatro años con los preceptos anuales de la confesion y co-*

*munion con grave escandalo y perjuicio de los naturales y moradores de dichas islas, y pedido que por parte de dicha Real Audiencia, se diesen las providencias que juzgase combenientes y con lo que dixo el fiscal en su vista que se le dió se proveyó que el Presidente proveyese de Gobierno de dichas islas en caso de ser necesario que el Juez eclesiastico usase de las penas que contra dicho Gobernador correspondian por no dar cumplimiento à dichos preceptos; y se rogó y encargó à dicho Obispo, usase de los medios mas suaves y benignos à fin de evitar qualquier escandalo, ó alboroto y despues de providenciado lo referido el dia veinte y cuatro de Julio del año pasado de setecientos veinte y cuatro, se presentó en esta real Audiencia el Fiscal de ella exhibiendo un pliego que el Padre Felipe Maria Muscati religioso de la Compañia de Jesus y Vice-Provincial de las islas Marianas le escribió representando los agravios que los naturales de ellas padecían de su Gobernador Don Luis de Tagle, y pidió se despachase comision para la averiguacion y habiendose despachado y nombrado para su ejecucion al Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dosal, pasó à dichas islas en el Patache que dicho año se despacho para conducir el situado y cumpliendo con el tenor de dicha Comision formó interrogatorio al tenor de los puntos que incluye la carta de dicho Vice-Provincial, por el cual examinados diez y seis testigos de cuyas declaraciones resulta que dichos naturales trabajaban en las sementeras que son de cuenta de V.M. en unos pueblos tres y cuatro dias en una semana, en otros dos y en otros uno, y la paga se reduce en unos à dos, ó tres ojas de tabaco, y un poco de Atole por comida, y en otros el tabaco solamente. Que demas de este trabajo los ocupaban en la matanza de bacas del Monte, en techar las casas de la Ciudad, en cortar maderas y sacate, en pescar y hacer travesias en sus embarcaciones de unas islas à otras, sin pagarles por la ocupacion de dos ó tres (dias) semanas que suelen ocupar en algunos de dichos ejercicios mas que una mano de tabaco y los mas dicen no les dan de comer cosa alguna. Que trabajan en las sementeras de maiz y arroz, que en los demas pueblos de dichas islas tienen el Gobernador en guardar las bacas, cerdudos, y melonares de dicho Gobernador, y en sacos [=sacar?] tuba, dandoles à los de algunos pueblos tabaco y comida, y à los de otros tabaco solamente por la ocupacion, y que para dichas sementeras les quitan las tierras buenas que tienen dichos naturales sin pagarles el daño que se les sigue y si replican suelen darles de palos, y que por ser tan continuos dichos trabajos no pueden asistir à sus mugeres y familias, aun cuando estan emfermos, por que en llamandolos los hacen acudir à palos, ni componer sus habitaciones para defenderse de las aguas, por lo que no pueden ni tienen tiempo para labrar sus sementeras enteramente, y lo que trabajan se les suele perder, por no tener tiempo para recoger los frutos, viendose precisado el Padre Ministro à darles licencia para trabajar los dias de fiesta, y solo en la dicha isla de Rota dicen dos testigos les dan lugar à reparar sus casas ayudandoles los oficiales algunas veces, que à las mugeres asi mismo las ocupa dicho Gobernador en hacer sal, azeite, y traer cocos para los cerdudos, texer velas para las embarcaciones, texer petates finos, y vastos, sin darles por dicha ocupacion mas que un poco de tabaco, no pudiendo asistir sus hijos y familia, y que cuando llega à aquellas islas el Galeon de la Nueva España, hace contribuir à dichos naturales con gallinas, pollos, huebos, y cerdos, pagando los cer-*

*dos à cuatro reales, ó una mano de tabaco, las gallinas à diez ojas de tabaco; los pollos cuatro ojas, y por los huebos nada, llegandose à lo dicho lo que resulta de las operaciones de los Alcaldes de algunos pueblos contra dichos naturales, haciendoles trabajar por sus intereses particulares sin reservar à las mugeres, violentando algunas. De todo lo cual resulta enfermar y morirse muchos y algunos ahorcarse.*

*Y habiendose dicho Juez pesquisidor presentado en esta real sala dicha informacion presento asi mismo las diligencias que executó para hacer saber à dicho Gobernador dos reales provisiones que despacharon por esta Real Sala la una para que dicho Gobernador respondiese à una demanda que el fiscal sigue contra dicho Gobernador sobre que reintegre en vuestras Reales Caxas la demasia de los salarios que devengó la gente de tripulacion de el barco **San Andrés** que fué despachado con el situado de dichas islas y dicho Gobernador impidió su salida al tiempo regular, peltrechos y fletes de dicho barco que por dicha demora se recrecieron à dicha Real Hacienda; y la otra para que dicho Gobernador substanciase un cargo que resultó en la residencia que dió el General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, contra el Maestre de Campo Andres Arceo, Administrador del Pueblo de Pago en dichas islas, de las cuales diligencias resulta que dicho Gobernador no dió lugar à que se le hiciesen saber dichas provisiones, antes bien luego que tubo noticia prendió à dicho Comisario y le desterró de la Ciudad de Agaña.*

*En vista de lo cual mando esta Real Audiencia que uno de los Oidores de ella que nombrase el Presidente averiguase lo sucedido con dicho Comisario y nombrado el Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan, examinó algunos testigos de cuyas deposiciones y de algunas cartas y villetes exhibieron resulta no solo que dicho Gobernador no quiso dar Audiencia à dicho Comisario para hacerle saber las dichas Reales provisiones, sino que le trato mal de palabra y obra, prendiendole y haciendo le llevasen al Patache que estaba dado fondo en Merizo; sino tambien el que habiendo cumplido el Cabo de dicho Patache en lo que era su obligacion entregando el situado de dichas islas, llegando el tiempo regular que es oportuno para si torna buelta à estas islas, intento dicho Gobernador despojar à dicho Patache de los peltrechos que à dicho Cabo le habian entregado en esta Ciudad, para armar dicho Gobernador tres embarcaciones que tenia en el Puerto de Merizo y recelandose dicho Cabo no pasase dicho Gobernador à ejecutarlo violentamente y hecho sucederle alguna perdida en la tornabuelta por defecto de dicho peltrechos y habiendose esparcido que dicho Gobernador queria privarle del oficio de Cabo de dicho Patache y à todos los demas oficiales de el, y poner otros en su lugar; todo lo cual habia executado el año de veinte y tres con Patache **Santo Toribio** y sus oficiales, pues se decia que dicho Gobernador habia tomado algunas armas y municiones de el por fuerza y violentamente, y que à su Cabo lo habia hecho poner preso cuatro veces, y que una vez le tubo en la Capilla para arcabucearle ó darle garrote sin saber el motibo ni causa[.] receloso de esto dicho Cabo determinó levarse y dar la buelta à estas islas, y luego que lo intentaron les acañonaron desde tierra por órden de dicho Gobernador y viendo dicho Cabo era preciso pasar con el Patache debaxo de la artilleria disparó algunos cañones, solo con animo de hacer retirarse la gente de tierra sin haber sucedido desgracia de muerte ni heridos de una ni otra parte, sin daño al dicho*



*Patache, pues aunque en el se reconoció haber dado dos valas una en el tajamar y otra en el Leon de proa, no hicieron daño apreciable, y antes que en vista de dichas diligencias se providenciase por esta real sala lo combeniente se presentó en ella el fiscal, pidiendo se pasase à la prision de dicho Gobernador y embargo de sus bienes por haber cometido el nuevo delito de haber desamparado dichas islas habiendose venido à estas.*

*Y habiendose providenciado dicha prision, y cometido el Presidente su ejecucion al Licenciado Don Francisco Fernandez Toribio oidor honorario de esta Audiencia, no tubo efecto por haver hallado que dicho Gobernador estaba en el sagrado de el Combenito de el Pueblo de los Baños de la Laguna de Bay, como tampoco se descubrieron bienes algunos de dicho Gobernador, no obstante de haberse hechos por los Ministros de esta Audiencia las mas exactas diligencias para el efecto. Y habiendose providenciado lo que se tubo por combeniente para embiar Gobernador à dichas islas, se queda prosiguiendo el proceso contra dicho Gobernador y de lo que resultare y se actuare dará cuenta en el despacho proximo venidero esta Real Audiencia à V.M. quien despues con la noticia de que dicho reo habia desamparado el Combenito de los Baños y venidose al de San Sebastian estramuros de esta Ciudad, se consultó al Gobernador de estas islas para que providenciase poner cerco de soldados à dicho Combenito para la seguridad del reo, y con efecto se ejecuto, y se libró ruego y encargo al Juez eclesiastico[.] negado à hacer dicho allanamiento[.] se dió vista al fiscal de esta Audiencia para que siguiese esta causa sobre dicha estraccion y se procedió à la substanciacion de la caussa principal en ausencia y rebeldia, y fué declarado contumaz y rebelde; por no haber comparecido en los términos que se le señalaron en los tres edictos que para el efecto se libraron y publicaron, y seguidos con los estrados se puso acusacion por el fiscal de la que corrieron los traslados con dichos estrados y concluso se recibió à prueba[.] se ratificaron los testigos que pudieron ser habidos y pudieron dar razon de dicha causa[.] comparecieron siete testigos, y entre ellos el Maestro de Cirujia Joaquin de Castro de cuyos dichos resulta hallarse dicho Gobernador gravemente emfermo de emfermedad incurable que le imposibilita todas las acciones y que habiendo casi desde los principios de su gobierno padecidola aunque no con el rigor que à lo ultimo le fué preciso para procurar algun alivio en su emfermedad venirse à estas islas por haber en las de su gobierno total falta de Medicos y medicinas y por hallarse imposibilitado y impedido para exercer dicho Gobierno y Capitania general, y que antes de resolverse hizo junta de los Cabos y reformados de dichas islas, y todos combinieron en que podia resolverse à venirse à estas islas por que sino en brebe moriria.*

*Y por lo que toca à no haber dado cumplimiento à las dos reales provisiones que esta Audiencia le dirigió los mas no saben por que causa ó razon no dio cumplimiento y en quanto al baleo que hizo al Patache que se hallaba en el Puerto de Merizo dicen fué por que habiendo ordenado dicho Gobernador al Cabo aparejase dicho Patache, por ser ya el tiempo en que habia de salir para estas islas, y que no se levase hasta que se diese nueva órden, tubo noticia se queria levar, y sin aguardar se le entregasen los despachos que habia de remitir dicho Gobernador à esta Ciudad, por lo que dió orden al Sargento mayor fuese con algunos soldados al Puerto de Merizo y no permitiese que*

*dicho Patache se levase, y viendo dicho Sargento mayor la resolucion de dicho Cabo, le disparó algunos Cañones para impedirle la salida, sin embargo de lo cual dicho Cabo se hizo à la vela para estas islas, receloso de alguna grave detencion y por ella esponerse à no hacer viage à tiempo oportuno.*

*Y concluida dicha causa se mandó suspender su difinitiva (ejecucion) determinacion hasta que se viese la residencia que al tiempo y cuando se despachó Gobernador para dichas islas se providenció y por no haber esta llegado à esta Audiencia hasta el presente, no se puede ver ni determinar en el corto tiempo que resta para la salida de el Galeon. Y queda esta real Audiencia con el cuidado de la brevedad en su determinacion, y de ella dar cuenta en el siguiente despacho à V.M. cuya católica y real persona la divina guarde los muchos años que la Cristiandad ha menester.*

*Sala de Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila, y Julio primero de mil setecientos veinte y seis.*

*El Marques de Torrecampo*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez*

*Dr. Don Francisco Lopez de Adan.*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. what happened in the Mariana Islands with Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, their Governor, and Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dosal, Commissioner of said Audiencia, in carrying out the commissions that he had received from it for said Islands, what happened there with the ship that was carrying him, and about the abandonment of said Islands by said Governor, who came to these Islands and took refuge in the Convent of San Sebastian outside the walls of this City, and about the continuing processes being heard in the cases against said Governor, enclosing a record of its proceedings, that fills the whole of Copybook n° 23.

Sire:

On the occasion of Your Reverend in Christ, Fray Sebastian de Foronda, Bishop of Calidonia and Administrator of the Diocese of Cebu, having reported to this Royal Audiencia that the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Luis Sanchez de Tagle, had not complied with the yearly precepts of confession and communion for four years, at the serious scandalization and prejudice of the natives and residents of said Islands, and his having asked said Royal Audiencia to intervene with corrective measures, Your Crown attorney has recommended to the President to provide a [new] Governor for said Islands, if necessary, but that the Ecclesiastical court should use the corresponding punishments against said Governor, for not having complied with said precepts. Said Bishop was begged and beseeched to use softer and more benign means to avoid any scandal, or disturbance.

After the above measure was provided, on 24 July of the past year 1724, the Crown attorney presented himself in this Royal Audiencia, bearing a letter which he had received from Father Felipe María Muscati, religious of the Society of Jesus and Vice-

Provincial of the Mariana Islands, pointing out the damages suffered by their natives under their Governor, Luís [Sanchez] de Tagle, and requesting the despatch of a commission of investigation. Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dosal was appointed for this purpose and despatched to said Islands in said year aboard the patache that carries the subsidy. He complied with the letter of said Commission, by writing a questionnaire along the lines included in the letter from said Vice-Provincial, and examining 16 witnesses whose declarations led to the following findings. Said natives worked in the plantations that are maintained to benefit the Crown in some towns, for three or four days a week in some, two in some others, and one day in others, while their pay is only two or three leaves of tobacco, and a little gruel for food, and in others only the tobacco. Also, in addition to this work, they were kept busy with the slaughter of cows from the bush, in roofing the houses in the City, in cutting firewood and fodder, in fishing and in making crossings with their canoes from one island to another, without paying them for the two or three weeks that they usually spend in some of said exercises anything other than a handful of tobacco, while most of them say that they were not given anything to eat. Also, they work in the plantations of corn and rice, which they maintain in the other towns of said Islands for the Governor, tending cows, pigs, and melon patches of said Governor, and in drawing *tuba*, in exchange for payment in the form of tobacco and food in some towns, but only tobacco in others. Some say that the good lands are taken from said natives to make said plantations and they are not compensated for same; if they should complain about it, they are beaten with sticks. Furthermore, such labors are so continuous that they cannot take care of their wives and families, even when they are sick, because in calling them, they make them accept with beatings, and they cannot repair their houses to make them rain-proof. That is why they cannot and have no time to fully exploit their own plantations; what they do exploit, they usually lose, because they have no time to harvest the products, to such an extent that the Father Minister has been forced to give them permission to work on holidays. Only in Rota, say two witnesses, were they given time off to repair their own houses, with the officials helping them out sometimes. Said Governor has been keeping the women busy also, in making salt, oil, and in bringing in coconuts to the pigpens, weaving sails for the canoes, weaving fine and coarse mats, without giving them for said occupation anything other than a little tobacco, while they cannot take care of their children and family. In addition, when the galleon arrives from New Spain, he makes said natives contribute mature and young chickens, eggs, and pigs, paying 4 reals or a handful of tobacco for each pig, and 10 leaves of tobacco for each mature chicken but only 4 leaves for each young one, and nothing for the eggs. The excess does not stop here; the mayors of some towns insist on making said natives work for their benefit, not excluding the women, and forcing themselves on a few of them. The result of all this is that they sicken and many die, while some others hang themselves.

Said Judge Inquisitor having presented in this Royal court said report, he also made known the procedures that he carried out in order to let said Governor know the two Royal provisions that were despatched by this Royal court, the first one to make said

Governor respond to a lawsuit undertaken against him by the Crown attorney to make him reimburse Your Royal coffers the extraordinary expenditures for the salaries paid to the crew of the ship **San Andrés** that had been despatched with the subsidy of said Islands and whose departure at the regular time was impeded by said Governor, and for the equipment and lease of said ship that cost more to said Royal treasury on account of said delay; and the other to have said Governor investigate an accusation brought up during the *residencia* led by General Juan Antonio Pimentel, against Master-of-camp Andrés Arceo, the Administrator of the Town of Pago in said Islands. The result of such efforts was that said Governor did not give him any opportunity to enable him to pass on the information contained in said provisions; rather, as soon as he heard about it, he seized said Commissioner and exiled him from the City of Agaña.

Consequently, this Royal Audiencia ordered that one of its Members, to be selected by the President, should investigate what happened to said Commissioner. Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán was appointed. He examined a few witnesses whose depositions, as well as some letters and notes which they exhibited, and the result was that, not only said Governor refused to hear what said Commissioner had to say or accept said Royal provisions which he carried with him, but also treated him badly in words and deed, by having him arrested and taken to the Patache that was anchored at Merizo. In addition, after the Commander of said Patache had complied with his obligation of delivering the subsidy of said Islands, when the regular time arrived for him to make a timely return voyage to these Islands, said Governor tried to despoil said Patache of equipment that said Commander had received in this City; said Governor wanted this equipment to outfit three boats which he had in the port of Merizo. Said Commander feared that said Governor might apply violence, and cause him some accident during the return voyage for lack of said equipment. There was even a rumor to the effect that said Governor wished to deprive him of the post of Commander of said Patache, and deprive all of the other officers of theirs as well, to replace them with others. In fact, he had done this in 1723 with the Patache **Santo Toribio** and its officers; indeed, they say that said Governor had taken some weapons and ammunitions from it by force and violently, and that he had made a prisoner out of its Commander four times, and that once he had him placed in the Chapel, intending to have him shot by firing squad or be given the choking collar, for no known motive or cause. Fearing a similar treatment, said Commander decided to set sail and return to these Islands, but as soon as he tried to do so, they aimed some cannon at him from shore, by order of said Governor. When said Commander saw that it was necessary to pass with the Patache below the guns, he fired a few guns of his own, but only for the purpose of making the people ashore retreat. Luckily there was no dead or wounded on either side, nor damage to said Patache, although they later found out that two balls had hit their mark, one in the cutwater and the other in the lion figurehead, but the damage was not appreciable.

Before said proceedings were reviewed by this Royal court, the Crown attorney appeared before it and requested that said Governor be arrested, and his property embar-

goed, for having committed a new crime, that of having abandoned said Islands to come to these Islands.

And, after having issued provisions for his arrest, and the President having entrusted its execution to Licentiate Francisco Fernandez Toribio, an honorary member of this Audiencia, it had no effect, because he found out that said Governor had sought refuge in the Convent of the Town of Los Baños in Laguna de Bay. No property of said Governor was found either, in spite of the many efforts made by the Ministers of this Audiencia to discover any. After some appropriate provisions were issued to send a [new] Governor to said Islands, the process against said Governor is still open and this Royal Audiencia will inform Y.M. of the eventual result in the next despatch. Afterwards, when the news was received that said criminal had left the refuge of the Convent of Los Baños and come to that of San Sebastian outside the walls of this City, the Governor of these Islands was advised to issue an order for soldiers to surround said Convent, for the security of the criminal; this was done, and the Ecclesiastical Judge was begged to release him, but he refused to make said arrangement. That is why the Crown attorney of this Audiencia asked for this case to be pursued to have him extracted. Meanwhile, the main cause was substantiated in the absence and rebellion of the criminal, and he was declared to be guilty of contempt of court and rebellious, for having refused to appear within the time allotted by three edicts that were issued and published to this effect. The case was heard in the lawcourts, the Crown attorney making the official accusation in accordance with the transcripts, after which the proofs were received. The witnesses who were available ratified their depositions and were cross-examined. Seven witnesses appeared, and among them the Master Surgeon Joaquin de Castro, whose declarations revealed that said Governor was seriously sick with an incurable illness that rendered the patient immobile; he had suffered from it since the beginning of his government, although not so rigorously as of late. It seems that it had been necessary for him to come to these Islands to seek some relief from his illness, because of the total lack of physicians and medicine in the Islands under his government and because in his condition it was impossible for him to exercise said government and Captaincy general. Finally, before he made his decision, he had consulted the serving and reserve Officers of said Islands, and all agreed that he could decide to come to these Islands, because otherwise he would soon die.

With regards to his not having complied with the two Royal provisions that this Audiencia had addressed to him, most [of the witnesses] did not know why he did not comply. With regards to the shooting at the Patache that was in the port of Merizo, they say that it was because said Governor had ordered the Commander to make said Patache ready, because the time had come to return to these Islands, but that he was not supposed to do so until a new order was received. Said Governor received notice that he wished to leave, without waiting for the despatches that he had to remit to this City; that is why he ordered the Sergeant-Major to go with some soldiers to the port of Merizo and not to allow said Patache to set sail. So, when said Sergeant-Major saw the decision of said Commander, he fired some guns to prevent his departure. Neverthe-

less, said Commander sailed for these Islands, for fear of some serious delay that would jeopardize his making the return voyage at an opportune time.

Once said case was concluded, its definitive determination was ordered postponed until the report of his *residencia* is received. This report had not yet been received when the provisions for a [new] Governor for said Islands were despatched. Since this report has not reached this Audiencia until now, it is not possible, in the short period of time before the departure of the galleon, to review or determine it. Therefore, this Royal Audiencia remains with the obligation to determine it as soon as possible, and to give a report to Y.M. in the next despatch.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for as many years as Christendom needs.

From the law-courts of the Audiencia of Manila, 1 July 1726.

The Marquis of Torrecampo

Doctor Francisco Martinez

Dr. Francisco Lopez de Adán.<sup>1</sup>

## B2. The letter from the Bishop of Cebu, dated Manila 2 July 1724

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y real Chancilleria de estas islas, &c. Consulta.*

*Muy Poderoso Señor*

*Señor*

*Habiendo llegado à mi noticia con harto dolor mio, que Vuestro Gobernador Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, desde que tomo el Gobierno de las islas Marianas y corren ya los cuatro años no ha cumplido con los preceptos de Nuestra Madre la Santa Iglesia de la anual confesion y comunion y siendo los moradores de aquellas islas parte del rebaño que la divina clemencia se ha dignado de entregar à mis cuidados no puedo dexar como Pastor de solicitar con toda eficacia el remedio de mis ovejas y representar à V.A. un tan notable escandalo para que con ocasion de la ida del Patache à las dichas islas Marianas se sirva proveer lo que mas combenga al servicio de ambas Magestades, pues me veré obligado à valermé de las armas eclesiasticas que me suministran los sagrados cánones sino aprovecharen otros medios mas blandos para atajar no sa lo [sic] el daño espiritual de dicho vuestro Gobernador sino tambien las malas consecuencias que produce un tan mal exemplo en los demas fieles los cuales, como ciertamente me consta se animan à seguirlo con perdida irreparable de sus almas.*

*Fecha en la Ciudad de Manila en veinte y dos del mes de Julio de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro años.*

*Fray Sebastian Obispo de Calidonia, Administrador apostólico del de Cebú.*

1 Ed. note: The above letter was received by the Council of the Indies on 24 October 1727.

### Translation of Bishop Foronda's letter.

Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Islands, etc. Consultation.

Almighty Sir.

Sire:

There has come to my attention the awful news<sup>1</sup> that Your Governor, Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, since he took over the government of the Mariana Islands—and that makes four years so far—has not complied with the precepts of Our Mother the Holy Church for yearly confessions and communions. As the residents of those islands are part of the flock that the Divine Clemency has deigned to place in my care, I cannot as their Pastor let things stand as they are and not solicit with complete earnestness a remedy for my flock. Thus, I must bring such a notable scandal to the attention of Your Highness, for you to use the opportunity of the departure of the Patache of said Mariana Islands and be pleased to issue the most appropriate provisions for the service of both their Majesties. Indeed, I will see myself obliged to make use of the ecclesiastical weapons that the sacred canon allows me, if other softer measures are not taken to stop the spiritual damage done by the said Your Governor, and also to stop the bad consequences produced by such a bad example in the other faithful, some of whom have certainly been influenced by him, with irreparable harm being done to their souls.

Made in the City of Manila, 22 July 1724.

Fray Sebastian, Bishop of Calidonia, Apostolic Administrator for the Diocese of Cebu.

### B3. Letter from Fr. Muscati, dated Agaña 8 June 1724

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Fiscal Don Pedro Bedoya y Osorio.*

*Muy Señor mio*

*No he informado inmediatamente à V. Señoria de lo que estan padeciendo estos naturales encomendados à su Proteccion y por su mandato à mis cuidados; por que el Padre Quiñones Capellan del Patache **Santo Toribio** y el Padre Francisco Halguero, unos y otros bien enterados iban para informar à V. Señoria en mejor forma de lo que se puede por escrito; pero ahora juzgo ser de mi obligacion singularmente por no faltar à lo que V. Señoria me tiene con su primera carta encargado el hacerlo finalmente por mi mismo.*

*De los agravios a que estos naturales padecen el primero que se ven obligados à trabajar no solamente mas de lo que es justo sino aun mas de lo que pueden. La justicia y las leyes justisimas de S.M. (que Dios guarde) quieren que trabajen y se hagan trabajar para su propio provecho, y aqui de tal manera se atarean para el provecho ageno que*

1 Ed. note: Through the letter he had received from Fr. Muscati (see below).

*no tienen lugar para el propio: de hecho à varios sucede el haber de dejar perder sus sementeras para acudir à las de la infanteria y del Gobernador[,] à otros el dejar sus casas destechadas[,] sus barquillas inútiles, y su familia misma desproveida de lo necesario por no poder acudir à sus menesteres atareados en los agenos[,] se hacen tambien bajar mas de lo que pueden segun sus fuerzas de suerte que algunos por eso se emferman y otros se mueren, otros se desesperan y todos han de concebir naturalmente aversion à los que asi les tratan[,] quiera Dios sea sin perjuicio de la fé que les enseñamos[,] sobre todo es muy singular de esta tierra que se atareen sus mugeres sobre sus fuerzas aun en los partidos en donde las hay muy contadas por que estas han de ser para el Campo sal, aceite, petates, velas, cordelillo, techo para las casas, estas han de traer cocos para los chiqueros, buscar la comida para los varones en los dias que los dichos trabajan para el Campo, hallarse en las siembras y cosechas de arroz, y en las cosechas del maiz y de otras raizes de la tierra sin otras cosillas mas menudas ademas de lo que precisamente han de hacer para el Ministro y la Iglesia de donde se puede ver que cuidado pueden tener de sus casas y de sus criaturas por que solamente las que tienen de pecho es tan exentas de los dichos trabajos.*

*El segundo agravio es que se obligan à trabajar de la misma forma casi sin paga, por que la paga ordinaria han sido unas ojas de tabaco, valuando en diez reales la mano, aun en tiempo que por estar aqui el patache ó por haber dexado mucho tabaco valia el tal género muy varato; y asi con pocas ojas aunque de mala calidad se pretende ó se quiere dar à entender que se pagan los jornaleros en medio real, y las demas cosas al precio del arancel; si à veces se han pagado algunos de los trabajos ó en plata ó en otro género mejor esto ha sido por poco tiempo, y como para deslumbrar, y poder decir que no todo se paga en tabaco. Lo mas estraño es, que todo lo que el Gobernador manda de trabajos ó merca [=purchase] de los indios por su cuenta particular todo sin escepcion alguna lo paga en tabaco al modo dicho de suerte que (por exemplo) por una de sus sementeras de arroz de la cual el saca el valor de ciento y cincuenta pesos no viene à gastar fuera de la semilla mas de dos fardillos de tabaco que le han costado cuando mucho seis pesos, y este genero de sementeras es por otra parte el trabajo, que entre todos los demas tiene mayor injusticia y menos color de razon para que à el se atareen los naturales por que pudiendose (en caso que fuera necesario para abastecer de arroz la tierra) obligar à los indios à que hicieran estas mismas sementeras à cuenta de ellos mismos se les manda hacer à cuenta y provecho del Gobernador, en lo cual ademas de la violencia que se les hace con obligarles à trabajar contra su voluntad para el provecho ageno y las injusticias de escoger para dichas sementeras la mejor tierra, el mejor tiempo, y la mayor asistencia de los naturales, de los cuales varios vienen por esto à malograr sus sementeras propias.*

*El tercero agravio es en ponerse en cada partido con nombre de Alcaldes unos mayordomos del Gobernador que mas bien se podian llamar obrajeros; estos que son siempre ó Españoles ó Filipinos, y que por ordinario son de poca capacidad y de mucha malacia atarean no solamente à los indios con los trabajos arriba dichos sino que añaden ellos por su parte otros varios para su particular combeniencia y provecho quitan-*



*doles tambien algo de la corta paga que les está señalada sin decir nada del modo bar-  
baro y tirano con que les tratan de palabras y obras. Lo mas lastimoso es que teniendo  
estos tales por el nombre de Alcaldes el poder de remediar y castigar los desordenes y  
escandalos que se cometieren en el partido; se abusan de tal suerte de esta autoridad  
que haciendose como sueños de todas las mugeres se valen de leves pretestos para cas-  
tigar cruelmente à sus maridos que selan [=celan] à sus mugeres, y de estas mismas à  
las que se les resisten y asi en lugar de ser como debieran el brazo derecho del Ministro  
para evitar los escandalos y promover el servicio divino con ellos, los que mas escan-  
dalizan y los que mas estorban y destruyen el bien espiritual de las almas.*

*Las razones que se dan ó se puedan dar para el primer agravio son singularmente el  
bien comun y la necesidad de la tierra. Pero en cuanto al bien comun, como puede ale-  
garse, supuesto que en el esceso dicho de los trabajos, hay el daño tan notable de los  
naturales que son aqui los mas. Quanto à la necesidad no se niega que algunos traba-  
jos son necesarios ni pueden mandarse sino à los indios, como es lo que toca à Bancas  
que aqui se usan, y en gran parte lo que toca à los techos de las Casas: y otras cosas no  
son absolutamente necesarias y otras aunque lo son no faltan arbitrios para que se  
hagan sin agravar à los naturales, quales arbitrios aunque facilmente se pueden ofrecer  
à cualesquiera desocupado de interes y de pasion, no se han dexado de proponer por  
los Padres, y aun por otros sugetos en varias ocasiones, pero no cuadran al interes sien-  
do asi que à otros que trabajaran, se habian de pagar seriamente sus trabajos y no de  
burlas como se hace con los naturales.*

*Para el segundo de los agravios arriba dichos alegan la costumbre antigua de pagar  
en tabaco pero segun esta pudieran tambien pagar ahora como antiguamente en aba-  
lorios y cascabeles; la verdad es que de antes estos indios nada menos estimaban y que-  
rian que la plata, y nada mas que el tabaco, ahora por lo contrario como el mismo  
Gobernador lo tiene experimentado nada mas quieren que la plata, nada menos que el  
tabaco, no por que hallan dexado de usarle sino por que ya saben varios modos de pro-  
curarle sin que todo el fruto de sus trabajos se les valla [=vaya] en humo, y por otra  
parte ya conocen que la plata les vale para todo lo que hubieren menester ó se les anto-  
jare. Alegan tambien que asi pagan en Marianas los Ministros, eso es en tabaco, pero  
eso es falsisimo, como puede constar con evidencia por los muchos géneros que ade-  
mas del tabaco nos vienen de Manila, y no son para nuestro uso ni de otros, uno solo  
por el de los indios es verdad, que à veces les pagamos algo en tabaco, pero no en solo  
tabaco, sino juntamente con otros géneros y unos y otros por ser de última calidad, y  
por que se les valuan muy varato, quieren de nosotros los indios de muy buena gana,  
aun mas que la plata. Lo cierto es que aqui nosotros gastamos con nuestros feligreses  
todo quanto tenemos sea en plata sea en lo que fuere y los Gobernadores tan lejos estan  
de gastar lo que tienen que antes se van de aqui con muchisimo mas de lo que han teni-  
do por su sueldo.*

*Al tercero agravio pensaran tener mucho que responder pues nada solidamente  
dirán, **primero** que tales mayordomos son necesarios como tales para los intereses de  
la infanteria, y como Alcaldes para el Gobierno de los indios pero vastara con uno ú*

*otro que sin estar de asiento en los partidos fueran à visitarlos de cuando en cuando y cuando sean necesarios se habia en escogerlos de mirar primero al interes del divino servicio, y en segundo lugar al de los hombres, esto es escoger antes unas personas mas piadosas y medianamente habiles que otras mas habiles y menos cristianas. 2º Diran quiza que en la gente de Marianas no hay que escoger por ser uno peor que otro, mas la verdad no es esta sino que los mas piadosos y temerosos de Dios son tenidos al presente por los mas ineptos à tales cargos por que se teme que se habian de entender bien con el Ministro y seguir sus consejos: lo cual este Gobernador ha declarado con palabras y hechos ser contra su gusto y su servicio. Diran finalmente que dichos escandalos y desórdenes que se cometen por los Alcaldes ningun superior se los mando, antes bien se castigarán severamente si supieran. Pero el poner en estos cargos à unos hombres conocidamente perversos, casi lo mismo que querer que se cometan las maldades; ademas de esto por lo que toca à aumentar los trabajos de los indios tienen ellos en el Gobierno presente (lo que en otros Gobiernos no ha sido delito) espresa licencia de hacerlo debajo de la facultad de ingenearse para si y buscar la vida sin otra limitacion que la de no faltar à las necesidades del Campo. Por ultimo ¿que diligencias son las que se hacen para saber dichos desordenes y castigarlos ó remediarlos? ó ningunas ó algunas muy presumtorias, por que si los indios se quejan ellos son los castigados no los Alcaldes. Si el Ministro quiere sobre todos (por no decir unicamente) por muchas razones habia en este punto de ser no solamente oido, sino preguntado creido y atendido, si el Ministro digo, representa algo de los dichos escandalos, el caso que se hace de sus informes es comunicarles al mismo Alcalde sin callar el que los dió y mantenerle en el puesto con mas empeño que antes, sin mas castigo ni mas remedio que el mayor aliento que toma de esto el Alcalde para hacerlo peor, que se le antojare, y el desanimarse el Ministro para nunca mas informar al Gobernador de lo que hacen sus oficiales por temor de aumentar el mal en lugar de minorarlo.*

*Estos son los puntos principales y à los males se reduzen los demas que pertenecen à la opresion de estos pobres naturales, à la piedad cococida y à la justicia singular de V. Señoria, basta el saberlos para tomar todo el empeño posible para remediarlos: si sobre todo esto algo pueden valer mis suplicas, las añado tan ardientes como rendidas por lo que debo à Dios, al Rey, y à mi cargo, y à la compasion con los miserables.*

*Guarde Dios à V. Señoria los dilatados años que yo le deseo.*

*Islas Marianas y Junio ocho de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro.*

*Besa la mano de V. Señoria su mas afecto servidor y capellan.*

*Felipe Maria Muscati.*

### **Translation of Fr. Muscati's letter.**

[To] the Fiscal, or Crown Attorney, Don Pedro Bedoya y Osorio.

My dear Sir:

I have not informed Your Lordship immediately of the sufferings of these natives entrusted to your protection and through your orders to my care, because Father Quiñones, the chaplain of the Patache **Santo Toribio** and Father Francisco Halguero<sup>1</sup> were both well informed, and better placed to inform Your Lordship than one can do so in writing. However, I now think that it is my special obligation to personally report to Your Lordship about what you requested of me in your first letter.

Among the wrongs done to these natives, the most important one is that they are forced to work, not only beyond what is just, but even beyond their capacity. Justice and the very just laws of H.M. (whom may God save) demand that they work and be made to work in their own interests, but here they are given tasks to benefit others and not themselves. In fact, it happens that some have to let their own plantations suffer while they must tend those of the infantry and of the Governor; others must leave the roofs of their houses and their canoes in disrepair, and even their families without supplies because they cannot take care of their regular needs, while they are busy with other people's work. They are also losing their strength to such an extent that some become sick and others die; others become desparate and every one of them must naturally take a dislike for those who treat them this way. I hope to God that this will not affect the faith that we teach them. Above all, it is very special of this country that its women are tasked beyond their forces, even in the districts where they are very few in number, because they are made to work for the [Royal] Camp, in making salt, oil, mats, sails, sinnet, roofing for the houses; they must bring coconuts for the pigpens, get food for the men on days when the latter work of the Camp, participate in the planting and harvesting of the rice, and in harvesting the corn and other local root crops, not to mention many other small things, in addition to what they have to do for the Minister and the church. From it all, one can imagine the care they give to their homes and their children, because only the women who are breast-feeding babies are exempted from such labor.

The second wrong is that they are forced to work the same way with almost no pay, because the usual payment is in the form of a few leaves of tobacco, priced at 10 reals a handful, even when the patache is here and, having left much tobacco, such a merchandise would be worth much less. So, with a few leaves, although of bad quality, the laborers are effectively paid the equivalent of half of one real for one day's work, and the other things at the price set by the tariff. If at times some of the work has been paid with silver or with another kind of merchandise, such has been done for little time, and only to confuse the issue, and to enable them to say that not all work is paid with tobacco. The strangest thing is that everything that the Governor orders from the Indians for himself, in the form of work or goods, everything without exception is paid for with tobacco in the above-said manner. For example, for one rice plantation, from which he derives the value of 150 pesos, he does not spend, besides the seedlings, more than two small bundles of tobacco, that have cost him at most 6 pesos. On the other hand,

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1 Ed. note: Therefore, he left the Marianas in 1723.

this type of plantation involves work that leads to the greatest of injustices and the least reason to implicate the natives, because it is possible (to supply the country with the necessary rice) to force the Indians to labor in such plantations on their own account, as well as to benefit the Governor; in fact, besides the violence made to them by forcing them to work against their will for the benefit of others, and the injustices done when choosing the best land for such plantations, the best weather, and the best attendance of the natives, one outcome is that many natives are led to neglect their own plantations.

The third wrong done is in having placed in each district some majordomos of the Governor with the title of Mayors, men who should have been called overseers instead; indeed, they are always either Spaniards or Filipinos, who are usually of little mental capacity and very malicious in tasking the Indians, not only with the above-mentioned tasks, but also with many other ones by themselves for their own individual convenience and benefit, by also taking a cut from their short pay assigned to them, besides the barbarous and tyrannical manner with which they treat them in words and deeds. The most lamentable aspect is that such men are given the authority as Mayors to remedy and punish the disorders and scandals committed in their district. They abuse such authority to such an extent that they covet all women, and use the slightest pretext to cruelly punish the husbands who jealously watch over their wives, and the same with those of the women who resist them. So it is that, instead of being as they should be the right hand of the Minister in the prevention of scandals and in promoting the divine service with them, they are those who create most of the scandals and those who most disturb and destroy the spiritual welfare of the souls.

The excuses that are given, or could be given, for the first wrong are specially the common welfare and the need of the country. However, with regards to the common welfare, as may be alleged, as far as the excessive labor demands are concerned, they affect mostly the natives, because they are the majority here. With regards to need, it cannot be denied that some tasks are unavoidable, and some cannot but be requested of the Indians, such as those affecting the canoes that are used here, and the greater part of the work involved in roofing the houses, but in other things they are not absolutely necessary. There are other tasks that, though necessary, could be done without doing any wrong to the natives. Such decisions, though they could easily be made by anyone without special interest or passion, have not ceased to be suggested by the Fathers, and even by other individuals on various occasions, but they do not suit the interested decision-makers. For instance, those who work should be paid seriously for their labor, and not by trickeries as is done with the natives.

As far as the second one of the wrongs mentioned above, they allege the ancient custom of paying with tobacco; however, if that be the case, why not pay these Indians now in accordance with the older custom of giving them trinkets and jingle bells? The truth is that these Indians used to look upon silver with disdain and preferred nothing more than tobacco, but now on the contrary, they least esteem tobacco and want nothing more than silver, because for one thing they have found various ways of getting to-

bacco and do not need to see the whole fruit of their labors go up in smoke; on the other hand, they now know that silver is useful to acquire all they might need or fancy. It is also alleged that the Ministers in the Marianas also pay with tobacco, but this is most false, as can be shown by the evidence of the great variety of the merchandises that came to us from Manila, besides tobacco, and they are not for our use but for the use of others. There is only one thing that is true, about the Indians being paid by us with tobacco, it is that we sometimes do so in part, but we always add some other goods, all being of the highest quality, and never costed very cheaply either; the proof of this is that the Indians do receive such goods from us very willingly, even in preference to silver. It is true that we here spend everything we have with our faithful, either in the form of silver or whatever, while the Governors not only do not spend what they have but rather they leave here with a much larger sums than what they have received as their salary.

To the third wrong they might think that they have many excuses to make. For instance, they might solidly affirm, **firstly**, that it is necessary to have such majordomos to look after the interests of the infantry, and as Mayors for the administration of the Indians, but suffice to say that, for either purpose, they would not need to be stationed in the district but to visit them from time to time. Even so, should they be really necessary, they could at least be selected to look after the divine service first, and only secondly after the human service; in other words, some persons from among the most pious and of average ability should be selected in preference of others who might be abler but less Christian. **Secondly**, perhaps they might say that it is not possible to select people in the Marianas, as one person is as bad as the next; however, the truth is that none other than the fact that the most pious and zealous persons are at present considered as most unsuitable for such posts, because it is feared that they would get along too well with the Minister and would follow his advice; this kind of behavior has been declared by this Governor with words and deeds to be against his wish and his service. Finally, they might say that such scandals and disorders committed by the Mayors have not been ordered by any superior, but rather that they would have punished them severely if they had known. However, to place men known to be perverse in such posts is the same as to want them to commit the evil deeds in question; furthermore, regarding the increase of the work assigned to the Indians, the Mayors under the present administration have the express permission to do (what under previous governors was not [sic] a crime) what they want for themselves and earn their own living as they wish, with the single restriction that they must not fail to provide for the needs of the Camp. Finally, what efforts are made to find out about said disorders and to punish them, or remedy the situation? Nothing, or very few presumptive actions, because if the Indians complain, they are the ones who are punished, not the Mayors. If the Minister should [complain] above all (not to say as the only person to do so), for many reasons they should not only listen to his point of view, but solicit it and believe it and act upon it. However, when the Minister does report some of the above-mentioned scandals, what is done with his report is that the Mayor is told about the contents of the report, even the

name of its author, and he is simply maintained in his post with even more firmness than before, without any punishment or remedy brought to the situation, except an even greater smugness on the part of the Mayor who can now behave with even greater fancy than before, while the Minister becomes discouraged of the idea of ever more reporting to the Governor what his officials are doing, for fear of increasing the evil instead of reducing it.

Such are the main points, and the evils which can be mentioned with regards to the oppression of these poor natives. It is sufficient to mention them to Your Lordship for your special justice and known mercy to take every possible action to remedy this situation. If in addition my requests may be worth anything, I add them ever so ardently, as well as humbly, the better to serve God, the King, and my post, and for the sake of compassion toward the miserable ones.

May God save Your Lordship for as many long years as I wish.

From the Mariana Islands, 8 June 1724.

Your most affectionate servant and chaplain who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,  
Felipe María Muscati.

#### **B4. Commission given to Major Diaz, dated Manila 25 July 1724**

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

*Real Provision.*—*Don Felipe por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, &c.*

*A vos Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal saved que en mi Audiencia corte y real Chancilleria que reside en la Ciudad de Manila en mis islas Filipinas en vista de un escrito presentado por mi fiscal de ella con una carta del Reverendo Padre Felipe Maria Muscati de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus, Vice-Provincial de las Islas Marianas, y Vice-Protector de los naturales de ellas, presentado à los veinte y uno del corriente y mandado por auto de dicho dia llevar à mi real acuerdo lo cual se ejecuto y por el celebrado à los veinte y dos de dicho mes, se acordó por dicho mi Presidente y Oidores despachar la presente, é yo lo he tenido por bien, por lo cual os mando paseis à las islas Marianas y luego que llegueis à ellas veais dicho auto acordado que se os entregara original con dicha carta y pedimento de dicho fiscal y observareis su contenido precisa y puntualmente en todo y por todo lo que en el espresa sobre la averiguacion y pesquisa pedida por el dicho mi fiscal que para todo ellos os doy comision y facultad cuanta por derecho se requiere y es necesaria para su debida ejecucion y cumplimiento por combenir asi à la recta administracion de mi real justicia, y luego que os sea entregada esta mi carta y real provision pasareis à hacer el juramento que debeis y sois obligados.*

*Dada en la Ciudad de Manila en veinte y cinco de Julio de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro años.*

*El Marques de Torre Campo.*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez*

*Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan, é yo*

*Francisco Cisneros escribano receptor de los del numero de la real Audiencia de estas islas que despacho interinamente la Secretaria de ella la fice escribir por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor con acuerdo de su Presidente y Oidores de dicha real Audiencia.  
Registrado por el gran Canciller Juan Antonio Cortés de Arredondo y Castillo.*

### **Translation.**

**Royal provision.**—Philip by the grace of God King of Castile and Leon, etc.

Know ye, Don Manuel Díaz de Dozal, that my Audiencia, court and Royal Chancellery residing in the City of Manila in my Philippine Islands, in view of a writ presented by my Royal Attorney there, enclosing a letter from the Reverend Father Felipe María Muscati of the sacred Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands, and Vice-Protector of their natives, presented on the twenty-first of the current month, and ordered referred to my royal judgment on same date, this was in fact carried out on the twenty-second of said month, the decision being taken by my President and Members being to issue the present, with which I agree. You are ordered to go to the Mariana Islands and as soon as you get there you are to take cognizance of said decree, an original copy of which is to be given you along with said letter and demand of said attorney, and you are to obey its contents exactly and in a timely manner in everything and for everything of what it expresses regarding the investigation and inquiry demanded by my attorney, as for all of these I give you commission and as much authority as the law allows and as might be needed for its dutiful execution and compliance, since such is proper for the rightful administration of my royal justice. And as soon as this my letter and royal provision is delivered to you, you are to present yourself and take the oath as you must and are obligated.

Given at the City of Manila, on the 25th of July 1724.

The Marquis of Torre Campo.

Doctor Francisco Martinez.

Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán,

and I, Francisco Cisneros, one of the notaries and receivers of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands who is presently in charge of its Secretariat on an interim basis, have ordered it to be drafted by order of the King our Lord, with the agreement of the President and Members of said Royal Audiencia.

Registered by the grand Chancellor, Juan Antonio Cortés de Arredondo y Castillo.

## **B5. What happened in Guam at the arrival of the patache, according to Acting Major Díaz**

*Note: His full report is contained in B17 below.*

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

**Testimonio.**—

*Yo el Capitan Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal con asistencia de mis testigos acompañados como Juez de Comision por el real despacho que esta el auto de esta otra parte y para el efecto que en el se espresa en la mejor forma que por derecho puedo y debo, doy fé y verdadero testimonio à los Señores que el presente vieren de como habiendo pasado con dichos mis acompañados à la Casa del Señor Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Gobernador actual de estas islas Marianas y llegado à ella desde el Cuerpo de guardia que está à la entrada de la puerta de la calle, pedi à su Ayudante Manuel Coronado le abisase para que me diese entrada, y habiendole este asi ejecutado, bolbió diciendome que su Señoria decia que no tenia para que verle, à que replique bolbiendo à decir à dicho Ayudante disese à su Señoria que mi ida era à hacerle saver un real despacho de los Señores Presidente y Oidores de dicha real Audiencia, y que en esta atencion me permitiese la licencia de poderle ver, para asentar la diligencia de su respuesta y demas que en dicho real despacho se me previene y habiendo subido à la escalera dicho Ayudante, à poco rato baxo diciendo à la guardia que me prendiesen y me pusiesen un par de grillos como asi lo ejecutaron y me tubieron desde las diez hasta las cuatro del dia que à esta hora me quitaron los grillos y me llevaron preso al patache **Nuestra Señora de la Soledad** en donde me entregaron al Guardian de el, donde me mantube cuatro dias que me concedió licencia dicho Gobernador por emfermo para pasar à curarme à dicha Ciudad de Agaña; y por que todo conste doy el presente en ella en veinte y cuatro de Octubre de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro, siendo testigos Don Esteban Garcia, y José de la Cueba.*

*En testimonio de verdad, Manuel Diaz de Dozal, Juez receptor.*

*Valerio Bravo*

*Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza*

## Translation.

### Affidavit.—

I, Captain Manuel Díaz de Dozal, with the assistance of my accompanying witnesses,<sup>1</sup> as Judge commissioned by the royal despatch reproduced in another part of this record of proceedings, and for the purpose expressed therein, do make use of the best form prescribed by law and as I must, and by the present attest to all Gentlemen who may see this, that, after I had gone with my companions from the Guardhouse to the residence of Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, present Governor of the Mariana Islands, and reached it, it being located at the entrance gate of the street, I asked his Adjutant, Manuel Coronado, to let him know so that he would let me in, but after he had done so, he returned to tell me that His Lordship said that I had no reason to see him, to which I replied by telling said Adjutant that he should go back and tell His Lordship that the reason for my visit was to let him know of a Royal despatch from the Gentlemen President and Members of said Royal Audiencia, and that under the cir-

1 Ed. note: They were Agaña residents, named José de la Cueva, Valerio Bravo and Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza.



cumstance he should let me see him, in order to establish the procedure for his answer and other procedures entrusted to me by said royal despatch. Said Adjutant having gone upstairs, he came back down after a short while, and told the guard to arrest me and place me in shackles, which was done. They kept me prisoners from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m., when they removed the shackles and led me as a prisoner to the patache **Nuestra Señora de la Soledad** [sic]<sup>1</sup> where they delivered me to the boatswain's mate, and where I was kept for four days, when said Governor granted my request, for reasons of sickness, to go to said City of Agaña to seek a cure. And in faith whereof, I have given the present on the 24th of October 1714, in the presence of the following witnesses: Esteban García and José de la Cueva.

In faith whereof,  
 Manuel Díaz de Dozal, Judge receiver.  
 Valerio Bravo.  
 Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza.

## B6. Report of Fr. Ibarguen, dated Agaña 16 December 1724

### Original text in Spanish.

*Certificacion.*—*Ignacio de Ibarguen, Presvitero de la Compañia de Jesus.*

*Certifico como habiendo llegado à estas islas Marianas Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal, y venido à esta Cabezera de Agaña el dia primero de Octubre como à las ocho de la noche para notificar al Gobernador de dichas islas Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle ciertos despachos que traia à su cargo de la real Audiencia de Manila, y entrando para este fin en el Palacio del Gobernador sin darle audiencia fué mandado por un Ayudante se bolbiese al Puerto de Merizo por el mismo camino que habia venido como se ejecutó luego à la misma hora de la noche segun supe el dia siguiente lunes. Pocos dias despues bolbió à Agaña dicho Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal, y desde la Casa de los Padres en donde estaba hospedado escribió subcesivamente cartas al Gobernador pidiendo audiencia à fin de notificarle unas reales provisiones, y estando una tarde conmigo y otros religiosos en este Seminario de San Juan de Letran, llegó el Ayudante Don Esteban Garcia, y llamandole à parte le entregó de parte del Gobernador las dos cartas arriba mencionadas sin haberlas leído segun decia[.] el dia veinte y siete de dicho mes fué personalmente el mismo Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal al Palacio para intimar las reales Provisiones y despues algunas demandas, por medio de un Ayudante[.] la resulta fué hecharle un par de grillos, y à la tarde del mismo dia fué conducido (aunque sin grillos) al patache en donde se le leyó un decreto del Gobernador que rezaba no se que destierro ó prision en dicho patache. Todo lo cual fué publico en estas islas, y yo à pedimento de dicho Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal, y licencia de mi Superior para que conste à donde y como combenga de las diligencias hechas por dicho Don Manuel, di esta fir-*

1 Ed. note: Error (see below). This patache's full name was the Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier.

*mada de mi nombre en este Seminario de San Juan de Letran de las islas Marianas y Agaña diez y seis de Diciembre de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro.*

*Ignacio de Ibarguen.*

### **Translation.**

**Certification.**—Ignacio de Ibarguen, Priest of the Society of Jesus.

I do certify that, after Don Manuel Díaz de Dozal arrived at these Mariana Islands, and came to this Capital of Agaña on the 1st of October, at about 8 in the evening, to notify the Governor of said Islands Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, of certain despatches that he brought in his care from the Royal Audiencia of Manila, he went into the Governor's palace for this purpose but he was not given an interview but instead was ordered by an Adjutant to return to the port of Merizo by the same route that he had come, which was done immediately at the same time of night, as I learned the next day. A few days later, said Manuel Díaz de Dozal returned to Agaña and from the Residence of the Fathers where he was lodged, he wrote one letter after another to the Governor, asking for an interview in order to notify him of some royal provisions. One afternoon, he being with me and some other religious in this Seminary of San Juan de Letran, the Adjutant, Don Esteban García, came in and, calling him asides, handed him on behalf of the Governor the two above-mentioned letters that had not been read, he said. On the 27th of said month, Don Manuel Díaz de Dozal went in person to the palace to announce the royal provisions and afterwards make some demands, through an Adjutant. The outcome was that he was placed in shackles, and in the afternoon of the same day he was led (though without shackles) to the patache where he was read a decree from the Governor that announced I don't know what exile or imprisonment aboard said patache. All of which was notorious in these Islands, and I, at the request of said Don Manuel Díaz de Dozal and with permission from my Superior, in faith whereof such efforts made by said Don Manuel may be of concern, have given this, signed with my name, at this Seminary of San Juan de Letran in the Mariana Islands in Agaña, on the 16th of December of 1724.

Ignacio de Ibarguen.

## **B7. Certification by the boatswain's mate of the prison patache**

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

**Certificacion.**—

*Certifico yo Juan del Hoyo, Guardian de este Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier**, ser verdad que el día veinte y ocho de Octubre proximo pasado de setecientos veinte y cuatro años; como à las ocho de la noche me entregaron la persona del Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal preso en virtud de un decreto del Gobernador de las islas Marianas, que su tenor es como se sigue:*

*“Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Gobernador y Capitan General de estas islas Marianas os ordena que os entregueis de la persona de Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal, y le pondreis la guardia que viereis ser necesaria para la guardia de su persona por inobediencia à mis ordenes y decirme no conocerme por superior, y que no tiene otro superior que obedecer que à la real Audiencia que no el siendo un embiado de la real Audiencia sino que fueran todos los oidores y togados de ella, y le mantendreis hasta un segundo orden.”*

*Y a pedimento de dicho Sargento mayor y decirme ser para su resguardo dí esta Certificacion y firmada de mi mano que es fecha à bordo de este Patache en veinte y cuatro de Diciembre de dicho año de setecientos veinte y cuatro.*

*Juan del Hoyo*

### Translation.

#### Certification.—

I, Juan del Hoyo, boatswain’s mate of this patache named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier**, do certify to the truth that, on the 28th day of October last of the year 1724, at about 8 at night, they delivered to me the person of Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz de Dozal to be held prisoner, by virtue of a decree of the Governor of the Mariana Islands, whose contents read as follows:

*“Don Luís Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands, order you to take charge of the person of Don Manuel Díaz de Dozal, and to place whatever guard as may be necessary over him for the security of his person, for reason of disobedience to my orders and for having told me that he did not recognize me as his superior, and that he has no other superior than the Royal Audiencia but not me, as an envoy of the Royal Audiencia unless it be all the members and lawyers from it, and you are to keep him until further order.”*

And at the request of said Sergeant-Major and his assertion that it is for his own use, I gave this Certification and signed it with my own hand aboard this patache on this day the 24th of December of said year 1724.

Juan del Hoyo<sup>1</sup>

## B8. Letter from Major Díaz to Governor Sanchez

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Ilustre Señor*

*En cumplimiento de mi obligacion, pasé el dia primero de la fecha [1 Oct.] à ponerme à los pies de V. Señoria para entregar un pliego de la real sala por traer orden de dichos Señores de no entregarle sino en mano propia y juntamente à presentarle à V. Señoria el titulo de Sargento Mayor y una carta del Señor Gobernador de Manila.*

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1 Ed. note: This seaman was 28 years old, as mentioned in a later confirmation.

*Habiendo llegado à Palacio salió un Ayudante y me dixo de orden de V. Señoria y me dixo que con que licencia habia pasado à esa Ciudad y diciendo que al cumplimiento de mi obligacion y à entregar un pliego de la real Sala me bolbió à decir de órden de V. Señoria que por donde habia ido me bolbiera y espidiera licencia, por lo cual espero de la grandeza de V. Señoria me la conceda para ponerme à sus plantas, por todo lo cual viviré muy agradecido à los muchos favores que espero recibir de V. Señoria, cuya honorífica persona guarde nuestro Señor por muy dilatados años.*

[Draft copy, unsigned]

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir:

To comply with my duty, on the first of this month [1 October], I went to place myself at the feet of Your Lordship in order to deliver a despatch from the Royal court, because of the order that I received from said Gentlemen not to deliver it except into your own hand, and at the same time to present to Your Lordship the letter appointing me Sergeant-Major along with a letter from the Governor of Manila.

Upon my arrival at the palace, an Adjutant came out and told me, by order of Your Lordship, asking me who had given me permission to come to that City. When I replied that it was to comply with my duty, and to deliver a despatch from the Royal court, he repeated to me, by order of Your Lordship, that I was to return by the same route as I had come and that permission would be sent. That is what I hope to receive from the greatness of Your Lordship in order to place myself at your feet, and for all the many favors which I may receive from Your Lordship I will remain very thankful. May Our Lord save the honorable person of Your Lordship for many long years.

[Draft copy, unsigned]

## **B9. Answer from Governor Sanchez**

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

*A D. Manuel Diaz Dozal*

*Doy respuesta à dos de V.M., que he recibido la primera con el Sargento mayor Don José de Sandoval, que lo es de este real Campo el dia veinte y seis de Setiembre proximo pasado con otras varias que aunque no he acabado de leer por que incesantemente se me han agravado los accidentes que hace años padezco, y la segunda à nueve del corriente, por una y otra he visto, como esta provisto à la plaza mencionada, la cual ocupa el referido Sandoval por ser de mi satisfaccion, y confianza y de la mayor de los mas oficiales, y reformados de este presidio lo que se verifico habiendoles mandado votasen todos para la eleccion de Sargento Mayor en la que tubo otros tantos mas quien se ha señalado entre todos los militares que moran y residen en estas islas desde que pasó à ellas por que ha desempeñado enteramente su obligacion en cuantas conductas se han puesto à su cuidado por mis predecesores y por mi, en cuya virtud discurro que ha sido ocioso el viage que Vuesa Merced ha emprendido si fué despachado en suposicion de*

*que aqui no hay hombres beneméritos para semejante plaza pues los hay, no solo para obtenerla sino para ejercer los cargos que obtengo sin defectos de ser cojos, mancos, ni tuertos, ni ignorantes en lo que se practica y es necesario en estos territorios, por lo que no podrá admitirle sin agravio de todos los que han trabajado, rebentado, y gastado su mocedad en pacificar y sosegar los naturales que tanto han dado que hacerles que con ser tan pocos en numero motiban à vivir como dicen con la barba sobre el hombro, por que para penetrarle sus maximas y repararse de sus cautelas combiene mas saber su idioma para sugetar su orgullo que saben todo quanto se practica en la Europa, por que allà como allà, y acà como acà como se suele decir en mi tierra, esto advierto por que el apresuramiento de Vuesa merced en venir à metoma [sic = mesonar?] acà que llueve, que no alude à otra cosa mediante que debiendo saber que aqui no hay mesones, hosteria, ni casas de posada, debió prevenir cosa competente à lo que dice ser, y si el motibo es el empuñar quanto antes por si me moriere Gobernar, está muy engañado, ó se creyo ligeramente si asi se lo aconsejaron sin embargo que me hallo de suerte que no puedo entender en negocios que necesita maduro acuerdo para poder resolver sobre ellos; por lo que puede estar cierto que no ha traido nada por que el mismo espediente ha de tener esta Semana que la que viene, si no me da Dios mas alivio en mis dolencias, por lo que puede si le parece en este interin por no perder tiempo entretenerse en registrar y reconocer los Puertos, y Caletas que hay desde el Partido de Inarajan, hasta el de Agat, para advertir los reparos que combengan al resguardo y mejor defensa de esta isla, como tan périto en la matemática y milicia segun (parece) propone la fama, y egecutada esta diligencia me dará cuenta para que providencie lo que por bien tubiere al Servicio de S.M. (Dios le guarde) y mejor cumplimiento de mi obligacion con abiso de que tiene Camaranchon en esta Aldea à donde llego un pliego grande del Gobernador de Filipinas cuando las cartas enunciadas que aun no he acabado de leer y esta como vino, y estará hasta que esté para poder ver su contenido si es realidad lo que le espreso de mis males. Nuestro Señor le guarde cual se merece,*

*Agaña y Octubre trece de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro años.*

*Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.*

### **Translation.**

To Don Manuel Díaz Dozal.

Here is the answer to two letters that I have received from Your Grace. The first one was brought to me by Sergeant-Major José de Sandoval, who is the Sergeant-Major of this royal Camp, on the 26th of September last, with many others which, although I have not finished reading them on account of my suffering from the recent worsening of my long illnesses. The second one I received on the 9th of the present month. From both letters, I have seen that the above-mentioned post was provided for, the one occupied by the above-said Sandoval, who is completely satisfactory to me and has my complete trust, and that of the majority of the other serving and retired officers of this garrison, something that was verified when I ordered them all to vote in the election of a Sergeant-Major, in which there were other candidates, but he stood out among all of

the military men who live and reside in these Islands ever since he came here, because he has completely carried out his duty in whatever job he has been assigned to by my predecessors and by me. In this wise, the voyage that Your Grace has undertaken has been futile, if it has been made under the supposition that there are no men deserving of filling such post here, because indeed there are, not only to get such a post as mine but also to exercise its responsibilities, with no need to be lame, one-armed, or one-eyed, or even ignorant of what is the local practice or necessary in these territories. That is why I cannot admit you, because to do so would be to do wrong to all of those who have worked, ruined and wasted their youth in pacifying and calming down the natives who have given them so much to do, although they are few in number, because they give you a reason to stay alive, as they say, with your beard over your shoulder,<sup>1</sup> because, in order to penetrate their maxims and to take heed of their warnings, it is better to know their language in order to put them in their places, since they have heard about what is practiced in Europe, but there is there and here is here, as they used to say where I come from.<sup>2</sup> I warn Your Grace about this, in case you might hastily decide to come overhere to see if it is raining. Do not bring up anything else but there is one thing you should know: there are no inns here, no hotels or boarding houses, and you should warn of your coming to give time to prepare a place suitable for a person of the caliber that you say you are. But if the reason of your coming is to take over the government as soon as I die, well then, you are much mistaken, or you were vere naïve in believing everything that you have been told about me, although I find myself unable to carry out business affairs that require deep and mature thinking in order to resolve them, such that you can be sure that you have brought nothing [as yet], because the file in question will take me the better part of this week, or until next week, unless God gives me relief from my ailments. Now then, if you wish, in the meantime, so as not to waste time, you could make a survey of the ports and coves that exist between the district of Inarajan and that of Agat, and make recommendations for the security and defence of this island, since you are so expert in mathematics and the militia, according to your fame, and once you have done that, you are to report to me to enable me to make the best decision for the service of H.M. (may God save him) and to comply better with my duty. By the way, there is a large Barrack in this Village, where a big file has arrived from the Governor of the Philippines, even when I have not finished reading the above-mentioned letters. I will take as much time as I need to digest its contents, and check whether or not it is true that it says bad things about me. May Our Lord save you for as long as you deserve.

Agaña, 13 October 1724.

Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.

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1 Ed. note: That is, continuously looking over one's shoulder.

2 Ed. note: It could be that he was from Peru, as former Governor Esplana.

## **B10. Díaz interrogated 16 witnesses in Agaña during November 1724 [Summary]**

The standard questions asked of all of them were as follows:

1. How many days [a week] do the Indians work in the plantation of their village, and what pay do they get?
2. In addition to the ordinary work, are they asked to do any other individual work, and for what pay?
3. Are there individual plantations in your village for the Governor, and how does he pay?
4. If the best land is appropriated for said plantations to the detriment of the natives?
5. If, as a result of overloading them with the said labors, they are not given time to mend their houses, and look after their families?
6. What types of tasks does the Governor order the women to do, and how does he pay them?
7. If said women are so employed in said tasks that they cannot look after their houses and their children?
8. If the Governor has permanent ranches and what pay does he give to those who take care of them?
9. If the Governor requisitions his village for some chickens, eggs, and how does he pay for them?
10. If the Governor has ordered *tuba* to be collected in his village to make wine, and what does he pay with?
11. If, on account of being overloaded with said tasks, they neglect to sow their [own] plantations?
12. If, for said tasks on behalf of the Governor and infantry, his [own] plantations have been lost, some year?
13. If, the years that plantations have been lost in such a way, have said natives been relieved of [paying] the tribute?
14. If, on account of the heavy workload from the Governor and Infantry, many fall sick or become desperate and die?
15. If the Mayor of his village makes the natives work for his own benefit, and for what pay?
16. If said Mayor of his village mistreat said natives, in words or in deeds, without giving a sufficient reason?
17. If said Mayor of his village has given cause for a scandal, by usurping the married women, or keeping others as concubines?
18. If, when the natives have complained to the Padre, said Mayor has punished them for it?

The witnesses heard were the following:

1. Julian Micagui, of Pago;
2. Lucas Etotop, of Pago;

3. Estanislao Canno, of Agaña;
4. Francisco Suio, of Apurguan;
5. Tomas Menno, of Aniguag;
6. Felix Isso, Sergeant-Major, Indian born at Umatac;<sup>1</sup>
7. Timoteo Aegon, of Umatac;
8. Antonio Arreci, of Mumu [Mongmong?];
9. Nicolas Hermano, of Agat;
10. Dionisio Gadao, of Merizo;
11. Basilio Megui, of Pueblo Nuevo;
12. Angel Idi, of Merizo;
13. Juan Ayuyu, of Rota;
14. Sebastian Ami, of Rota;
15. Nicolas Bello, of Umatac;
16. Dionisio Cadan, of Inarajan.

As a result of these charges against Governor Sanchez, Bedoya, the Crown attorney, or Fiscal, recommended that Sanchez be arrested and have his property seized. The rest of the Audiencia members agreed, on 30 January 1725.

## B11. What happened at Merizo? [Summary]

When the patache **N.S. de los Dolores** was making ready to leave Guam, carrying Major Diaz and the ship chaplain, who was the Jesuit Father Antonio Masbesi (or Masvesi), Governor Sanchez sent down the head of his garrison, the crazy Major Sandoval, to the small fort then existing at Merizo, to make sure that the ship would return to its former anchorage point. What Sanchez sought were the spare sails and some rigging from the patache, in order to complete three small vessels that he had in Guam; one was a sloop, another a small boat, and the third was still on the stocks ready for launching. Captain Miranda had taken his patache to Merizo to have some maintenance work done, but he wanted to go back to Umatac before the scheduled date of departure, 20 December. So, the shooting from shore took place from the fort at Merizo (as it is clear from Captain Miranda's declaration in the case file); the patache probably picked up Major Diaz and Fr. Masbesi at Umatac, as planned, however.

## B12. Major Sandoval's first warning to Captain Miranda

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Capitan Don Juan de Miranda*

*Sobre lo que Vuesa merced dice, que trujo orden del Señor Governador, mando encontrar por que Don Esteban no hace fé, por que fué de palabra y por escrito, y la orden*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: It is interesting to note that even this deposition by a so-called Army Major was in the native tongue, through interpreters. He admitted that those who shared their wives had benefitted from accelerated promotions.



*que yo traigo es lo mismo que trujera por escrito, por que soy Sargento mayor de estas islas, ordena su Señoria que Vuesa merced se espere à que venga su gente y la licencia y estimaré que Vuesa merced me remita à esa infanteria que hay de este Presidio, y el Arraez,<sup>1</sup> y bien se compadece la lealtad de Vuesa merced, pues habiendo yo hecho à Vuesa merced quanto gusto he podido, con segunda intencion pido à Gabiola que se lo dexé hasta que vase à Agaña, parece que no cabe entre hombres de bien, usar con fraude, y estimaré que Vuesa merced me lo embie que aunque Vuesa merced está en su navio podra ser que nos enteremos, y nos ajustaremos cuentas y estimare que Vuesa merced le diga à su Condestable que no haga burla de tanto Español, que hay aqui, si por que dexó los Cañones tapados ya los he destapado y estan con bala rasa y palanqueta para que aprenda à tapar cañones y en tanto Dios le guarde à Vuesa merced mucho años y le saque con bien de Merizo.*

*Amigo y servidor,  
José de Sandoval*

### Translation.

Captain Juan de Miranda, Sir:

Regarding what Your Grace says, that you have received an order from the Governor, I beg to differ because Don Esteban<sup>2</sup> does not confirm it, because it was verbally and not in writing, but the order that I received is as valid as if it were a written order, because I am Sergeant-Major of these Islands. His Lordship orders Your Grace to wait for your men and your permission. I would appreciate it if Your Grace were to let me have that infantry that belongs to this garrison, and the port captain.<sup>3</sup> I trust that Your Grace will remain loyal, since I have done so many favors to Your Grace. By the way, I am asking you to let Gabiola return to Agaña. It appears that it is not right for gentlemen to play tricks on one another, and I would appreciate it if Your Grace were to send him to me. Although Your Grace is on board your ship, perhaps we can still understand each other, and settle our differences. I would appreciate it if Your Grace were to tell your master gunner not to fool with other Spaniards, as live ashore; as far as the guns that he has plugged, he should know that I have had them unplugged and they are now loaded with ball and bar, in order to teach him how to plug guns, and this said, may God save Your Grace for many years and get you out of Merizo alive and well.

Your friend and servant,  
José de Sandoval.

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- 1 Ed. note: Old Spanish word based on Arabic and meaning ship boss, the master or captain in the Spanish sense; in this case, it is a reference to the locally-based port captain in charge of the Governor's boats (see B13 below).
  - 2 Ed. note: Adjutant Esteban García.
  - 3 Ed. note: The port captain was referred to with the Spanish title of Arraez (see above).

## B13. First protest by Captain Miranda

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Sargento Mayor Don José de Sandoval*

*Veo lo que Vuesa merced dice[.] respondo que sino hace fé la orden del Señor Gobernador à Don Esteban, tampoco hace fé lo que Vuesa merced me manda, por que si Vuesa merced, es Sargento mayor de la plaza es para gobernar sus soldados con la orden de su superior, pero no para darme orden à mi, que esa habia de venir firmada del Señor Gobernador, y si esa no hace fé hará fé un memorial que tengo en mi poder copiado en que me ordena que por escrito diga el dia que me quiero salir, con su secretario delante de Don Esteban, y le dixé que el dia veinte me queria salir, y cuando no tubiera este en mi favor tubiera la esperiencia del Patache **Santo Toribio**, armado para el Rey Nuestro Señor, y el dicho Señor y Vuestas mercedes lo desarmaron quitandole la artilleria y los pedreros, y las demas municiones que esto no lo hacen los que son vasallos del Rey, y por no verme yo en ese estado de pedirme todos los dias el Señor Gobernador lo que se le antoja hago muy bien en cumplimiento de mi obligacion.*

*Y à lo que Vuesa merced dice que no es de hombres de bien andar con fraudes[.] respondo que à Vuesa merced, y à todos los de ese Presidio era constante que por huir de las vejaciones dichas en poniendo yo los pies en el Patache, no era Capaz el Señor Gobernador, ni todos Vuestas mercedes à detenerme, soy mas hombre de bien, que lo que Vuesa merced piensa, Vuesa merced atiende à que el Gobernador de Filipinas ha armado este navio, y lo amuniciona y lo peltrecha de un todo para su defensa à costa de su situado que S.M. (Dios le guarde) se dignó de concederles como à Vuestas mercedes el suyo, y quitar Vuestas mercedes y desarmar el Patache que el Rey manda conducir el situado, no es de Vasallos Reales sino da viros [=miras?] à otra cosa[.]*

*en lo que Vuesa merced me pide de que le embié la gente que esta abordo digo que no hay lugar por que toda mi gente que a costa de aquel situado se socorrió en Manila me la ha detenido el Señor Gobernador no debiendo hacerlo pues el Rey mi Señor no la socorrió para venir à vender trastes y desamparar el navio, sino solo estar siempre guarnecido con ella para defenderlo de cualquiera invasion de enemigos que se puede ofrecer como la experiencia lo ha mostrado en este Puerto donde estoy, y así Vuesa merced se escusa de hacer cualquiera cosa contra el navio del Rey por que lo pasarán mal, ahora y en todo tiempo.*

*En lo que Vuesa merced dice del Condestable que fué à tapar los cañones y que no supo taparles, es falso, que no ha ido de aqui à taparlos que si lo fueran à hacer bien supieran lo que habian de hacer à demas que no me persuado de que Vuesa merced ni los suyos quieran, ni quedan tener el menor pensamiento contra las armas del Rey mi Señor, que de hacerlo Vuesa merced, yo tendré cuidado conmigo.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à Vuesa merced muchos años.*

[Draft copy, unsigned]

### Translation.

Sergeant-Major José de Sandoval, Sir:

I note what Your Grace says. My answer is that, if the order that His Lordship the Governor gave to Don Esteban is not confirmed, the order which Your Grace gave me is not confirmed either, because, even though Your Grace is Sergeant-Major of the garrison, it is to give orders to its soldiers, upon the order of your superior, not to give direct orders to me. Such an order would have to be signed by the Governor himself. If your order is not valid, then a written order which I have in my possession is, the one asking me to state the date when I want to leave, as was signed by his secretary in the presence of Don Esteban. I told him that I wished to leave on the 20th. Now then, if that is not enough to state my case, then I refer to the experience of the patache **Santo Toribio** that had been outfitted by the King our Lord; His Lordship, and Your Graces, stripped it of its cannon and mortars, and of the other ammunitions; this kind of thing is not done by those claiming to be vassals of the King. In trying to avoid the situation in which His Lordship the Governor asks me every day for whatever he fancies, I am simply doing my duty.

As far as what Your Grace says, about gentlemen not playing tricks on one another, my answer is that Your Grace and all those in that garrison know full well that I went on board the patache simply to get away from said annoyances, at a place where His Lordship the Governor, and all of Your Graces, cannot detain me. I am more of a gentleman than Your Grace may think. Your Grace should think for a moment that it was the Governor of the Philippines who outfitted this ship, and equipped it with weapons and rigging for its own defence at the expense of their subsidy which H.M. (may God save him) has deigned to grant to them, the same as he has granted to Your Graces your own subsidy. By stripping and disarming the patache that the King sent to bring you your subsidy, you are not acting as Royal vassals but make one think about something else(?).

As far as Your Grace's request for me to send some of my crewmen ashore, I say that it is out of the question, because all the crewmen who were provided me in Manila at the expense of their subsidy have been detained by His Lordship the Governor, and he should not have done that; indeed, the King my Lord did not send the ship over here to be sold for scrap and be abandoned, but only to remain well armed at all times, the better to resist any attack by potential enemies, such as those who might visit this port where I am now, as experience has shown. So, Your Grace should not do anything against the King's ship, because you will have a hard time, now and forever.

As far as what Your Grace says about the master gunner having gone to plug the guns and that he did not know how to plug them, it is not true. He did not go from here to plug them, because if they were to do so, they would know very well how to do it. Besides, I am convinced that Your Grace, and your men, cannot possibly wish to do, much worse plan to do, anything against the arms of the King my Lord. Should Your Grace do so, I will take care of myself.

May our Lord save Your Grace for many years.

[Draft copy, unsigned]

## B14. Second warning from Major Sandoval

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Capitan Don Juan de Miranda,  
El Señor Gobernador que luego al instante que vea esta orden que cale los mastele-  
ros y desembergue las velas y buelba à poner las anclas como estaba antes y espere sus  
ordenes para salirle bastimentos y despacho y de no ejecutarlo asi, tengo orden espresa  
de hecharlo à pique y hacerle el daño como enemigo de la Corona y desobediente.  
Dios guarde à Vuesa merced muchos años.  
Vale por recaudo amigo de  
José de Sandoval*

### Translation.

Captain Juan de Miranda, Sir:  
In the name of His Lordship the Governor, I order you, as soon as you read this order, to remove the masts and the sails and to return to your previous anchorage, there to wait for orders until your food supplies and despatches are on board. If you should not do so, I have a specific order to sink you and do you as much harm as if you were an enemy of the Crown and a disobedient man.  
May God save Your Grace for many years.  
This is a friendly warning from  
José de Sandoval

## B15. Second protest by Captain Miranda

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor Don José de Sandoval  
Veo lo que Vuesa merced dice por su papel, y le respondo, que con órden del Señor  
Gobernador vine à poner el Navio à la vela para ir à la buelta à Filipinas, que el Señor  
Gobernador me embió à decir con Don Esteban, que no podía escribir por que estaba  
emfermo, y que solo mandarian un recibo de los pliegos que traje del superior Gobier-  
no de Manila, este aguardará fuera en Umata como asi lo escribia yo al Señor Gober-  
nador[.] esa orden que Vuesa merced dice tienen de dicho Señor para hecharme à pique  
bien sabe Vuesa merced, y todos los capitanes y soldados de infanteria de Agaña que  
es injusta como todo lo demas, que yo por ser obediente à mi Rey y Señor, salgo de esta  
tierra tirana, y este es, navio del Rey y no Navio mercante, sus armas estan en las ban-  
deras, Vuesa merced y los suyos la[s] bean y disparenle enhorabuena y cuenta conmi-  
go[.] solo quiero que Vuesa merced le avise al Señor Gobernador que me embie la gente*

*para abordo, pues por su causa y órden hasta ahora está en la Ciudad, que ese cargo le haré yo à dicho Señor.*

*Dios guarde à Vuesa Merced muchos años,*

*De Vuesa merced seguro servidor.*

[Draft copy, unsigned]

### **Translation.**

Don José de Sandoval, Sir:

I have read your note and my answer is that when I came to the ship it was with an order from His Lordship the Governor to make it ready to leave for the return voyage to the Philippines, that His Lordship the Governor sent me a verbal order through Don Esteban, saying that he could not write on account of sickness, and that he would only send back a receipt to acknowledge the mail that I brought from the superior Government of Manila. I will await this despatch in Umatac, as I have already written in answer to His Lordship the Governor. About that order, which Your Grace says he received from His Lordship, to sink me, Your Grace, as well as all the captains and soldiers of the infantry in Agaña, know very well that it is unjust, like all the rest. As for me, as an obedient subject of my King and Lord, I am leaving this tyrannical country. This ship belongs to the King and is not a merchant ship. His arms appear on its flags. Your Grace and your men can see them. Now, if you should shoot it down, very well, but you can count on me. I only wish for Your Grace to ask His Lordship the Governor to send my men on board; indeed, they are now in the City because of him and his order. Otherwise, I will be the one to make a charge against the man.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

From the reliable servant of Your Grace.

[Draft copy, unsigned]

## **B16. Third protest by Captain Miranda, this time to Governor Sanchez**

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

*Muy Ilustre Señor*

*El dia diez y ocho del presente escribí à V. Señoria con el Ayudante Marchena como me salia de Merizo al Puerto de Umata à dar fondo para alli aguardar las ordenes de V. Señoria, y mi despacho y estando ya sobre la última àncora para hacerme à la vela me embió el Sargento mayor Sandoval un papel diciendome tenia orden de V. Señoria para que desaparejase el Patache y lo bolbiera à amarrar, y sino que me hecharia à pique, cosa inaudita para ser todos vasallos de un Rey pues si no habia cometido delito para semejante razon por que yo me vine à Merizo à componer el Patache con orden de V. Señoria, y este compuesto del todo le diera parte; y queriendo ejecutarlo que arriba llevo dicho de ir à Umata largando las velas, me comenzó à disparar de la fuerza el Sargento mayor Sandoval, y los suyos viendo las armas de Nuestro Rey y Señor en*

*sus banderas, que à estas se le debian de guardar el debido decoro, respeto y vasallage como leales vasallos aunque yo hubiera sido el mayor tirano ademas ni que ni à V. Señoria ni un pelo pero S.M. (Dios le guarde) castigará semejante delito, suplico à V. Señoria se sirva de mandarme mi Mayordomo para bordo que luego al instante mandaré la barca de Oliva y su gente, que viese la gran falta que hace la barca en las islas, que aunque los malinantes digan lo que quisieren de mi yo se lo que me debo hacer para el bien de las islas y en el interin que aguardo el que V. Señoria me favorezca en concederme lo que llevo pedido, y juntamente mi despacho ó recibo de los pliegos que à V. Señoria traje del Gobernador de Manila; y en tanto ruego à la divina Magestad, me guarde y aumente la salud de V. Señoria en su grandeza por muchos años.*

*Abordo y Diciembre veinte de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro.*

*Beso la mano de V. Señoria su menor servidor,*

*Juan de Miranda*

### **Translation.**

Very Illustrious Sir:

On the 18th of this month, I wrote to Your Lordship through Adjutant Marchena, to say that I was leaving Merizo to go to the port of Umatac, to anchor there and await orders from Your Lordship, and my despatch. While I was about to weigh the last anchor, to set sail, Sergeant-Major Sandoval sent me a note that said that he had an order from Your Lordship to make me unrig the patache and to anchor it once more, as otherwise he would sink it, something unheard of, since we are all vassals of one and the same King. Indeed, it is not that I have committed a crime by coming to Merizo to make the patache ready, on orders from Your Lordship, and I was to let you know when it was ready. It was when I was carrying this out, as I have said above, and wished to go to Umatac, by unfolding the sails, that Sergeant-Major Sandoval began to shoot at me from the fort. He and his men could see the arms of our King and Lord on its flags, and they should have shown due honor, respect and submission to them, as loyal vassals, even if I were the worst of tyrants. Besides, I did not even touch one single hair of Your Lordship. H.M. (whom may God save) will punish such a crime. I beg Your Lordship to be pleased to send me my Majordomo on board; as soon as he gets here, I will immediately send the small boat with Oliva and his men. I know that the boat is very much needed in the islands. It does not matter what some malicious people may say against me, I know what I have to do for the good of the islands. While I wait for Your Lordship to favor me with the approval of my request, and also for my despatch or receipt for the mail that I have brought to Your Lordship from the Governor of Manila, I beg the divine Majesty to show His largesse by saving Your Lordship for me and to keep you in good health for many years.

Aboard, on 20 December 1724.

Your least servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,

Juan de Miranda

## B17. Declaration of Judge Díaz Dozal, dated Manila 9 February 1725

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Declaracion del Capitan [sic] D. Manuel Diaz Dozal, Juez Comisario de la Real Audiencia de 35 años.*

*In la ciudad de Manila en nueve dias del mes de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años, ante el Señor Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan del Consejo de S.M. su oidor y Alcalde del Crimen de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas islas, Juez nombrado por el auto de la Real Sala para la averiguacion de lo acaecido en las islas Marianas[ compareció] el Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dozal de quien dicho Señor usando de la comision con que se halla y por ante mi el presente Escribano le recibió juramento que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y una senal de cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado y siendolo el tenor del auto providenciado por dicho Señor Oidor de hoy de la fecha dixo lo siguiente.*

*Que habiendo recalado el barco en que el declarante fué conducido à las islas Marianas con las comisiones de la Real Sala y titulo que llevaba de Sargento Mayor de aquellas islas, despachado por el Señor Gobernador de estas, en virtud de Real Cédula en que se le conferia por S.M. la facultad de poner sugeto en dicho empleo, y habiendo llegado una banquilla que salió de la Ciudad de Agaña en que iba el que estaba sirviendo de Sargento mayor al reconocimiento de la gente que llevaba dicho barco, visto por el declarante le pareció indispensable el escribir al Gobernador de aquellas islas participandole del nombramiento que llevaba del referido empleo de Sargento mayor, como con efecto lo hizo dando la carta à un ahijado de dicho Gobernador que pasaba à tierra, y de hay à cuatro dias, habiendose amarrado el referido barco, pasó à tierra el declarante y al punto se tiró para el Palacio de dicho Gobernador y avisandole por medio de su Ayudante le fué respondido que con que licencia habia pasado à la Ciudad; y habiendo le respondido el declarante, que habia pasado en cumplimiento de su obligacion, y à poner un pliego de la Real Audiencia de estas islas en mano de dicho Gobernador, como tambien à hacerle saber varios despachos que llevaba el declarante asi de la Real Audiencia como del superior Gobierno de estas islas pareció para cuyo efecto desde luego le pedia y le pidió licencia, en cuya vista le fué respondido por dicho Gobernador mediante el referido Ayudante, que el declarante se bolbiese por donde habia venido hasta que se le concediese licencia por dicho Gobernador sin la cual no podia haberse desembarcado, lo cual visto por el declarante asi lo ejecuto bolbiendose al barco, desde adonde bolbió à escribir à dicho Gobernador, pidiendole licencia para desembarcar por una carta, cuyo tanto tiene guardado, y necesario siendo hará presentacion de el, y de alli à dos ó tres dias recibió respuesta de dicho Gobernador menos correspondiente à lo que el declarante le habia escrito como se podrá ver de la misma Carta de que necesario siendo hará tambien presentacion en que le niega el cumplimiento del despacho de Sargento mayor aun sin haberle presentado como otras espresiones*

*que son manifiestas en dicha Carta en que concluye asignandole al declarante en lugar de la plaza que llevaba la de recorrer las costas de dichas islas, caletas y ensenadas de ellas lo cual visto por el declarante para cumplir con su obligacion y reconocer si en tierra halla medios para suabisarle à dicho Gobernador deliberó irse à tierra por la Contra costa, y habiendose desembarcado se tiró à la Cabezera y se valio de ir al Colegio de dicha Ciudad de Agaña desde donde le escribió, otras dos Cartas à dicho Gobernador en que le pedia licencia de pasar à verle, y en la ultima, y aun en ambas le hace expresion el declarante que tiene que hacerle saber unas Reales Provisiones de los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas islas; y no solo no tubo el declarante respuesta de ellas[.] antes bien se las debolvió cerradas **aunque por lo que se percibia parece habian sido abiertas por venir la oblea por los cantos despegada** lo cual visto por el declarante se animó à pasar à ver à dicho Gobernador, y habiendo llegado à su Palacio dió recaudo al Ayudante para que le dixese habia pasado el declarante à hacerle saber una Real provision à dicho Gobernador a quien desde luego pedia licencia para ello, y le fué respondido por medio de dicho Ayudante que pasase à ejecutar las ordenes que se le habian dado por dicho Gobernador, à que el declarante repitió recaudo por el mismo medio diciendole que à la sazón no tenia el declarante otro Superior que los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas islas en cuyo obediencia habia pasado para lo que lleva espresado de intimarle à dicho Gobernador la Real provision, y à este tiempo mandó dicho Gobernador la Real provision que fuere preso el declarante como así lo ejecutaron poniendole en el cuerpo de Guardia con un par de grillos de mayor magnitud y fortaleza que los que traen los forzados de Mexico donde lo tubieron al declarante, como desde las diez del dia hasta las cuatro de la tarde en que dió orden dicho Gobernador de remitirle preso al dicho Patache, y que se encargase el Guardian de el, de su persona poniendole las guardias eombenientes para su seguro segun que se refiere en la certificacion que con los dos despachos ha presentado el declarante quien fué entregado à dicho Guardian por el Capitan Miguel de Tovez quien en el Alcazar de dicho Patache leyó un decreto de dicho Gobernador en que manda que por inobediente y haberle embiado à decir à dicho Gobernador que no le conocia por su Superior sino solo à la Real Audiencia de estas islas le tubiesen preso al declarante hasta segunda orden por tal inobediente, y que entonces oyó una clausula que contenia dicho decreto que decia que no solo el siendo un embiado de la Audiencia, sino tambien aun **que fuesen los Oidores togados de ella**, y que habiendose mantenido preso unos dias se valió del pretesto de pedirle licencia à dicho Gobernador para pasar à curarse à la Ciudad para que con este medio pasar à dar cumplimiento à la Real Provision que se le habia encargado, y habiendosela concedido dicho Gobernador ejecutó las diligencias que tiene presentadas[.]*

*Y estando en dicha Ciudad recibió un recaudo de dicho Gobernador por medio del Padre Capellan de dicho Patache nombrado el Padre Mastari, teniendo presente dicho Gobernador el que el declarante se habia de venir para esta Ciudad à lo que juzga, y que le decia que lo pasado pasado, y que eran amigos que así lo queria hacer del decla-*



rante quien podia quedarse en dichas islas hasta la venida del Galeon de [Nueva] España en cuyo tiempo experimentaria la estimacion que hacia de su persona, y no creyendo el declarante tal cosa por haber experimentado al dicho Gobernador muy al contrario, mayormente cuando habiendole concedido licencia por recado que le embio con el Ayudante Don Esteban Garcia Fernandez de que le viese sin intervencion de los negocios que llevaba à su cargo el declarante[,] este no lo quiso hacer asi sino verle al dicho Gobernador con ellos y de otra suerte no, y sabida por dicho Gobernador la determinacion del declarante no se quiso dexar ver, y teniendo noticia de los de dicho Patache que salia de aquellas islas para su arribo à estas, salió el declarante de dicha Ciudad, para embarcarse en el, como con efecto asi lo hizo, llegando à tiempo de que dicho Patache venia ya de buelta de dicha Ciudad en busca del declarante y dicho Padre Capellan, embarcandose sin dar cumplimiento à los despachos que llevaba de su cargo, y sin presentarlos à dicho Gobernador por el recelo, que de el tenia por lo que habia experimentado de sus ordenes intenpestivas, en que como parece de la carta arriba referida se negaba dicho Gobernador à darle cumplimiento desterrandole al declarante à la visita de presidios, vajos, y caletas, y en que asi mismo se da à entender que el cumplimiento de los despachos que llevaba el declarante tenia mucho que ver, que junto esto con el esceso tan irregular de su prision, y considerar el declarante que no tenia persona alguna en aquellas islas de quien valerse para sosegar la violencia de dicho Gobernador se vió obligado à irse à embarcar con el Padre Capellan, sin embargo de haber hecho el declarante que se esparciese la voz de que se quedaba en aquellas islas y embarcado en dicho Patache, oyó en el de toda la gente que venia haber abaleado de orden de dicho Gobernador desde tierra, y vió el declarante una carta que al presente para en poder del Cabo de dicho Patache, que se nombra el Capitan Juan de Miranda, escrita por el Sargento Mayor de aquel Campo en que dice, que de no desaparecer dicho Patache, bolbiendo à amarrarse como estaba, tenia orden de su Gobernador de balearlo y echarlo à pique, lo cual segun colige el declarante por las noticias que oyó en dicho Patache, y por las cartas que vió escritas al referido Cabo, fué originado de haberle embiado dicho Gobernador à pedir à dicho Cabo la vela mayor, y en su defecto dos gabias, y jarcias para aparejar tres barcos que dicho Gobernador tiene en aquel Puerto, que el uno segun vió el declarante es Balandra y otro barquito pequeño, y otro nuevo que se hallaba en Astillero ya para echarle al agua, y como dicho Cabo solo llevaba una bela mayor no pudo condescender con lo que pedia dicho Gobernador, quien en vista de ello con algunas Maximas que no sabe el declarante à que tirarian, hubo de hacer el valeo, que segun està informado el declarante fué que habiendose por el Cabo de dicho Patache mandado picar la resera [sic],<sup>1</sup> que es un Cabo con que se hallaba amarrado dicho Patache por la popa à el punto lo empezaron à cañonear desde la Fuerza dandole un balazo por el tajamar que pasó dicho tajamar de una parte à otra, y habiendose temido el Cabo no le hechasen à pique por los muchos riesgos de baxos y lajas que hay en aquellos parages, se vió obligado à defenderse haciendo fuego y disparando como

1 Ed. note: Either reserva, reversa, revesa, or even resega instead.

*mas largamente podrán referir los Cabos y gente de mar, y soldados de dichas islas, y aun oyo el declarante de un Ayudante de dichas islas que iba de Cabo de un barco el mas pequeño de los de dicho Gobernador, que este tenia à animo de prender à dicho Cabo y al declarante, y poner en dicho Patache de Capitan de mar y guerra al Contra Maestre de el nombrado Simon de Verestain que al presente esta en Cavite, y al piloto segundo de piloto mayor sin saber los designios con que pudiese hacer semejantes novedades mas que la despotiguez de dicho Gobernador en todas las ocasiones que se le hacen despachos como lo ejecuto con el barco **Santo Toribio** que fue à dichas islas de estas el año de veinte y dos, en que segun ha oido el declarante, y era publico en aquellas islas, le despojo dicho Gobernador de los trabucos, parte de las escopetas, ocho pedreros de à cuatro, y dos cañones de bronce, de calibre de ocho libras de bala, despojandole asi mismo de parte de la polvora y balas que llevaba, y de algunas piezas de jarcias, prendiendo al Cabo de dicho Patache **Santo Toribio**, cuatro veces la primera, cuando fué à hacer la entrega de los Pliegos de la Real Audiencia, y en una de las otras prisiones le tubo puesto en la Capilla para arcabucearle sin decirse por que motivo y aun en el viage presente y de que se ba hablando pidió los titulo y instrucciones al Cabo del Barco Don Juan de Miranda con el motivo de graduarle de Sargento Mayor, quien con la esperiencia de los procedimientos de dicho Gobernador, y las continuadas violencias, y discurriendo que no le podia servir el titulo y instrucciones para lo que referió dicho Gobernador no se los quiso embiar, y conclue este declarante, diciendo ser publico y notorio en dichas islas Marianas y à todos los que han ido y venido à ellas en el Gobierno presente, que dicho Gobernador no ha querido dar cumplimiento à ninguna de las ordenes que sele han embiado por la Real Audiencia y Superior Gobierno de estas islas y que por lo demas de los sucesos declararán los sugetos que lleva citados con mas individualidad.*

*Y que lo que lleva dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que ha fecho en que se afirmó y ratificó ser de edad de treinta y cinco años y que no le tocan generales por que aunque el referido Gobernador de Marianas no le quiso dar cumplimiento à los despachos que llevaba, y le hizo las vejaciones que lleva referidas no por eso es su enemigo[,] pues lo que lleva declarado es el cumplimiento de su obligacion, y juro asi mismo guardar secreto en lo que tiene declarado o y lo firmó con dicho Señor Oidor Juez de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Adan*

*Manuel Diaz de Dozal*

*Ante mi Francisco Cisneros Escribano receptor.*

### **Translation.**

**Declaration of Captain [sic] Manuel Díaz Dozal, Judge Commissioned by the Royal Audiencia, 35 years old.**

In the city of Manila on the 9th day of the month of February of the year 1725, before Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán, King's Counsel, member and criminal lawyer in the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Islands, Judge appointed by an act of

the Royal court to investigate what happened in the Mariana Islands, making use of his commission, said gentleman had Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dozal appeared before the present Notary. He was made to take the oath which he made to God our Lord, with the sign of the cross, according to law, and he promised to tell the truth of what he might know or be asked. After he was read the contents of the act in question by said Member of the Audiencia on this date he declared what follows:

That, at the arrival of the ship that took this declarant to the Mariana Islands with the commissions from the Royal court and the letter appointing him Sergeant-Major of those Islands, issued by the Governor of these Islands by virtue of the Royal decree in which H.M. conferred upon him the authority to appoint an individual to said post, there came a canoe that had come from the city of Agaña, aboard which was the man then serving as Sergeant-Major, to find out who were the people aboard said ship. Upon seeing this, the declarant found it necessary to write to the Governor of those Islands to let him know about the letter of appointment that he carried for the above-mentioned post of Sergeant-Major. In effect, he did write such a letter and give it to a godson of said Governor who was going overland. Four days later, after said ship had anchored, the declarant stepped ashore and immediately made his way to the palace of said Governor. When he advised him of his presence through his Adjutant, he was asked with whose permission he had come to the city. When the declarant answered him that he had come to do his duty and to place a file from the Royal Audiencia of these Islands in the hand of said Governor, as well as to let him know about various despatches that the declarant was carrying, from the Royal Audiencia as well as from the superior Government of these Islands, and he had come in order to do so, and of course, he begged him for permission. After this, said Governor answered him through the above-mentioned Adjutant, that the declarant had to go back where he had come from and wait for permission to be granted him by said Governor, without which he could not disembark. In view of this, the declarant did just that and returned to the ship, from where he again wrote to said Governor, asking him permission to disembark, with a letter, a copy of which he has kept and, if necessary, he can exhibit it.<sup>1</sup> Two or three days later, he received an answer from said Governor, not at all corresponding to the declarant's expectations, as can be seen from the letter itself, which, if necessary, he will also present as an exhibit,<sup>2</sup> in which he refused to accept his despatch as Sergeant-Major, even before he presented it, as well as other expressions that are obvious in said letter, and he concluded by assigning to the declarant, not to his official post, but to survey the coasts of said islands, its coves and bays. This having been seen by the declarant, in order to comply with his duty and find out ashore some means to soften up said Governor, he decided to go ashore by way of the opposite coast. Upon landing, he made his way to the Capital and this time went to the College of said City of Agaña, from where he wrote two other letters to said Governor, in which he asked permission for an

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1 Ed. note: See B8 above.

2 Ed. note: See B9 above.

interview with him, and in the second letter, rather in both letters, the declarant mentioned the need to let him know of some Royal provisions from the Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Islands. Not only did the declarant not receive an answer from either letter, instead they were returned to him unopened **although one could sense that it appeared as if they had been opened, because the corners of the wafer [of the seal] had been unglued.** In view of this, the declarant took courage and went to see said Governor. Having arrived at the palace, he gave this message to the Adjutant, that he should tell said Governor that the declarant had come to let him know of a royal provision, and of course asked him for permission to come in. He was answered through said Adjutant that he was to go on and carry out the orders given to him by said Governor. To which the declarant repeated the same procedure and had the following message taken back, that at the time he had no other Superior than the Gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Islands, and it was to obey them that he had come to deliver the Royal provision to said Governor. It was at this time that said Governor sent back the Royal provision to have the declarant made prisoner, and such was done; they took the declarant to the Guardhouse and placed a pair of shackles on him that were larger in size and stronger than those used on the convicts from Mexico. He remained there from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m., when said Governor gave an order to transport him as a prisoner to said patache, and to have the boatswain's mate placed in charge of him, of his person, and to use the appropriate means to ensure his security, as mentioned in the certification, that the declarant has presented along with the two despatches. The declarant was handed over to said boatwain's mate by Captain Miguel de Tovez who, on the quarterdeck of said patache, read a decree from said Governor in which he orders him to keep the declarant prisoner until further order, because he had been disobedient and had told said Governor that he did not recognize him as his Superior, but only the Royal Audiencia of these Islands. That it was then that he heard a phrase contained in said decree such that even if he were an envoy of the Audiencia, and even **if all its members wearing gowns were involved...** After he had been kept a prisoner for a few days, he made use of the pretext of being sick to ask said Governor for permission to go to the city to be treated, in order to comply with the Royal provision that he had received by this means. He was granted permission by said Governor and carried out the procedures that he has presented.

While he was in said city, he received a message from said Governor through the Father Chaplain of said patache, named Father Mastari.<sup>1</sup> Realizing that the declarant had to return to this city in his judgment, his message was to let bygones be bygones, and that he wished to make friends with the declarant, who could remain in said Islands until the arrival of the galleon from [New] Spain, during which period of time, he would learn to esteem his person. The declarant did not believe any such things, be-

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1 Ed. note: I believe this to be an error of transcription (made in the AGI Ultramar copy), for Masvesi.

cause he already had experience with said Governor and knew him to be quite the opposite of that, specially when he had granted him permission in a message transmitted by Adjutant Esteban García Fernandez, to come and see him, provided that they did not discuss the business that the declarant had in his care. This he refused to do, but would accept only if he were allowed to discuss same, otherwise no. Upon learning of the decision of the declarant, said Governor refused to admit him within his sight. When he learned from the men of the patache that it was leaving those islands to return to these islands, the declarant left said city to go and board it, which he in fact did, arriving there at the time that said patache was returning from said city, where it had gone to look for the declarant and said Father Chaplain. He embarked without having complied with the despatches that he carried, and without having presented them to said Governor, because of the fear that he had of him, given his experience with his impetuous orders, as shown in the above-mentioned letter where it is said that said Governor refused to give him satisfaction, and restricted the declarant to an inspection of the garrisons, shoals, and coves, and where it can also be seen that compliance with the despatches carried by the declarant had much to do with it, not to mention the excessive as well as irregular imprisonment of the declarant who considers that he had not one person in those islands upon whom to rely in order to calm down the violent temper of said Governor. He was forced to go and embark with the Father Chaplain, despite the fact that the declarant had spread the rumor that he was remaining in those islands. Once aboard the patache, he heard from all the men there that said patache had been shot at from shore by order of said Governor. The declarant saw a letter that is now in the possession of the Commander of said patache, whose name is Captain Juan de Miranda, written by the Sergeant-Major of that Camp, in which he said that, if he did not unrig said patache, and return to its previous anchorage, he had an order from his Governor to shoot at it and sink it. This, according to reports heard on board said patache by the declarant, and from the letters that he saw addressed to the above-said Commander, had been caused by said Governor having sent a request to said Commander for the main-sail, failing which, he wanted two topsails, and rigging to rig three boats that said Governor had in that port, one of which, according to what the declarant saw, was a sloop, another was a small bark, and another new one was still on the stocks and ready to be launched. However, since said Commander had no spare main-sail, he could not agree with the request of said Governor. In view of this, with some haggling on both parts, that the declarant could not fathom, the matter came to a gun battle, which was triggered when the Commander of said patache ordered the reverse cable to be cut off, the one with which said patache was moored at the poop; at once they began to shoot with the guns from the fort, and one ball went right through the cutwater. Fearing that they were about to sink him, on account of the many dangers presented by shoals and rock ledges in that neighborhood, the Commander was forced to defend himself and shoot back, as the officers, seamen and soldiers of said Islands will be able to explain further. The declarant even heard an Adjutant of said Islands, who was aboard the smallest of the boats of said Governor, that the latter intended to arrest said

Commander and the declarant, and to place on board said patache, as Captain of seamen and soldiers, the boatswain whose name is Simon de Berestain who is in Cavite at present, and make the pilot's mate chief pilot, but he ignores what could explain such novelties, except perhaps for the despotism of said Governor in all the occasions that he receives despatches, for instance, his actions with the ship **Santo Toribio** that went to said Islands in the year 1722, when, according to what the declarant has heard and was public knowledge in those Islands, said Governor despoiled it of its blunderbusses, part of its shotguns, 8 mortars that were 4-pounders, and 2 bronze cannon that were 8-pounders. He also despoiled it of part of the gunpowder and balls that it carried, and of some pieces of rigging. He had the Commander of said patache **Santo Toribio** arrested four times, the first time when he went to deliver the royal mail from the Royal Audiencia. In one of the arrests he had him placed in the chapel in order to face a firing squad, for no known reason. Even in the present voyage that has just been mentioned, he asked the Commander of the ship, Don Juan de Miranda, to let him have his letters of appointment and instructions, for the purpose of promoting him to the rank of Sergeant-Major, but since he had experience with the proceedings of said Governor, and his continuous violent acts, he argued that the letter and instructions in question could not help him and he refused to let said Governor have them. This declarant concluded by saying that it was public knowledge and notorious in said Mariana Islands and to all those who had gone there and come back during the present term of said Governor, that he does not wish to comply with any of the orders that have been sent to him by the Royal Audiencia and Superior Government of these Islands, and for more details about such events, the individuals that he has named will make their own more specific declarations.

And he declared that what he said is the truth, declared under the oath that he has made, which he affirms and ratifies, that he is 35 years of age, that he is not involved in any lawsuit, and that he is not the enemy of said Governor of the Marianas, in spite of the fact that he refused to comply with the despatches that he carried, and the annoying things that he did to him; indeed, his declaration only shows that he was doing his duty. And he also swore to keep his declaration secret, and he has signed it on this day, along with said Judge from the Audiencia, for which I vouch.

Doctor Adán

Manuel Díaz de Dozal

Before me, Francisco Cisneros, Notary receiver.

## **B18. Interrogations of the officers of the patache—Second declaration of Juan del Hoyo**

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

*Declaracion de Juan del Hoyo de edad de 28 años.*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en diez y seis dias del mes de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años, ante el Señor Oidor y Alcalde del Crimen Doctor Don Francisco*

*Lopez Adan, como Juez en esta Causa, comparecio Juan del Hoyo, Guardian que fué del Patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** que hizo viage de estas Islas Marianas el año proximo pasado de veinte y cuatro, y bolbió à estas de su tornaviage...*

*Que como Guardian que fué de dicho Barco se mantubo en el toda la invernada sin ir à la Ciudad por cuya causa no sabe ni puede dar razon de lo que le hubiese pasado à dicho Sargento Mayor, solo sí que hallandose en dicho Patache le vino la orden del Gobernador de dichas islas para que tubiese à su cuidado à dicho Sargento Mayor, à quien embiaba preso, segun y con las circunstancias que espresa en dicha certificacion, y declaracion de dicho Sargento Mayor, à quien le permitió bajar à tierra por orden que tubo de dicho Gobernador, de quien alli à pocos dias tubo carta mandandole que aparejase dos barcos de dicho Gobernador à que le respondió el declarante que no podia ejecutar el orden sin que le viniese de su Capitan, y Cabo, y no obstante le dió unos Cabos viejos y un calabrotillo à vista de que el recado era de que si no lo habia le habia de hechar un par de grillos por que el declarante ya se le habia negado à otro recado que le havia embiado antes, pidiendole velas y jarcias: y que por los puntos del valeo lo que puede decir el declarante es que una mañana no se acuerda el declarante que dia su Cabo le ordenó que aparejase dicho Patache, embergando las velas, subiendo los masteleros arriba, y habiendo trabajado todo aquel dia hasta la media noche se concluyó la faena y al dia siguiente antes de romper el nombre le dió orden para que cambiase el barco, y habiendolo asi ejecutado à distancia de tiro, y aun no de cañon empezaron desde tierra a balar dicho Patache con tal prisa que los tiros yvan uno tras de otro, y las balas repartidas unas al tajamar de proa; otras à las aletas de popa, y los demas à los palos por donde habiendo colegido su Capitan y Cabo asi por lo que menudeaban los tiros como por que parece se enderezaban à quitarle al barco el timon, ó palos para impedir la salida[.] hubo de dar orden de que pegasen fuego por atemorizarlos como con efecto se hizo disparando como hasta seis cañones y cinco pedreros habiendose disparado desde tierra como nueve ó diez tiros no tirando mas por no haberles dado lugar el Patache que se fué saliendo de la canal à la mar y que no sabe el declarante haya habido desgracia alguna de una ni otra parte[.] antes bien segun le dixo el Padre Capellan sabe de cierto que en tierra no hubo desgracia alguna, como ni en el Galeon [sic,] aunque pasaron tan inmediatas las valas que una de ellas penetró de parte à parte el tajamar de dicho barco; y que por lo que toca à los motivos que hubiese habido para que dicho Gobernador (bolbiese) mandase disparar desde tierra no lo sabe el declarante; aunque sí supo hallandose ya listo el barco la mañana que salió del Puerto del orden que habia dado dicho Gobernador de que calesen masteleros, y amarrasen el Navio, y hechasen las velas à tierra, por que de no lo habia de hechar à pique, cuya carta leyó el Cabo de dicho Patache en presencia del declarante, Condestable, y otros, y que por lo que toca à los motibos que pudo tener su Cabo para ordenar que se hiciese fuego son bien claros por que la defensa es natural y su Cabo ya le habia embiado recado à dicho Gobernador de haber cumplido con las órdenes que llevaba y entregadole el Real situado...*

## Translation.

### **Declaration of Juan del Hoyo, 28 years old.**

In the city of Manila on the 16th day of the month of February 1725, before Dr. Francisco Lopez Adán, Member of the Audiencia and Criminal Judge therein, in his capacity as Judge of this case, there appeared Juan del Hoyo, the former boatswain's mate of the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** that made the voyage to those Marianas last year 1724, and returned to these Islands...

...  
[After certifying that his previous declaration made aboard the patache on 24 December 1724 was correct, he went on to say the following.]

He declared that, as boatswain's mate of said ship, he remained aboard it during the whole visit, and did not go to the city, and that is why he does not know nor can give an account of what happened to said Sergeant-Major [Díaz]. However, what he can say is that, when he was in said patache, there came to him an order from the Governor of said Islands, requesting him to take care of said Sergeant-Major, whom he was sending as prisoner, in accordance with the circumstances expressed in said certification, and in the declaration of said Sergeant-Major, whom he allowed to step ashore when he received [another] order from said Governor. That a few days later, he received a letter by which said Governor ordered him to rig two boats of his, to which he replied that he could not do so without a direct order from his Captain, and Commander; nevertheless, he gave a few old cables and a small stream-cable, because of the warning that if there were not any, he was to have been placed in irons, because the declarant had already received a similar request before for some sails and rigging that he had refused.

As far as the shooting is concerned, what the declarant can say is that one morning, the declarant does not remember the date, his Commander ordered him to rig said patache, by placing the sails on the yards, raising the masts; he worked the whole of that day until he finished the job at midnight. The next morning, at réveillé, he received an order to move the ship. Having done so over the distance of one shot, but not yet as long as the range of a cannon, they began to shoot at said patache from shore, with such a speed that the shots came one after the other, and the balls hit all over, some directed at the cutwater in the bow, others at the fashion-pieces at the poop, and the rest at the masts, making his Captain and Commander think that the shots were aimed at disabling the rudder of the ship, or the masts, in order to prevent his departure. He had to give an order to fire back in order to scare them off, which was done, by firing up to 6 cannon and 5 mortars, in response to the 9 or 10 shots fired from shore. Not more shots were fired because the patache was not properly positioned while it was making its way out to sea through the channel. The declarant does not know if there were any casualties on either part. Rather, according to what he heard from the Father Chaplain, he knows for sure that there were not any casualties ashore, nor aboard the galleon [sic], although the balls passed so close that one of them went right through the cutwater of said ship. As far as the reasons why said Governor ordered the shooting from shore, the declarant does not know, although he did learn that, on the morning that the ship



was ready and left the port, an order was given by said Governor to have the masts taken down, moor the ship, and take the sails ashore, and if not, to sink it. This letter was read by the Commander of said patache in the presence of the declarant, the Master gunner, and others. As far as the reasons why his Commander ordered the firing, they are very clear ones, because defence is natural, and his Commander had already sent a message to said Governor about having complied with his orders and delivered the Royal subsidy...

...

## **B19. Declaration of Captain Berestain, 17 February 1725**

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

*Declaracion del Capitan Simon de Verestain, Contra Maestre que vino de las Islas Marianas de edad de 38 años.*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en diez y siete dias del mes de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años...*

*Aunque el declarante era Contramaestre de dicho Patache no tiene ciencia de lo que pasó del baleo por que a causa de hallarse emfermo se estuvo curando en la Ciudad de Agaña; y asi no supo de lo referido, ni de los motibos que pudo haber para tal abaleo...*

### **Translation.**

**Declaration of Captain Simon de Berestain, Boatswain who came from the Mariana Islands, and is 38 years old.**

In the city of Manila on the 17th of the month of February of the year 1725...

[He confirmed that Major Díaz had been unable to deliver the despatches of the Royal Audiencia. As for the gun battle, he says the following.]

Although the declarant was Boatswain of said patache, he has no knowledge of the shooting, because he was then sick and convalescing in the city of Agaña; that is why he did not learn about it, or about the reasons that could have led to this shooting...

[However, upon hearing about the battle, Berestain quickly rejoined his ship aboard a native canoe. After he was on board, he noticed that a cannon ball had traversed the "lion." So, the patache's figurehead was that of a lion, as confirmed by O'Scanlan, op. cit. What he knew about the Santo Toribio was just hearsay.]

## **B20. Declaration of Captain Miranda, 20 February 1725**

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

*Declaracion del Capitan Don Juan de Miranda Cabo y piloto mayor que fué del Patache que vino de Marianas de edad de 45 años.*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en veinte de Febrero de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años ante el dicho Señor Oidor, y Alcalde del Crimen Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan,*

*compareció el Capitan Don Juan de Miranda Cabo y piloto mayor que fué del Patache que de estas islas se despachó à las Marianas con el Real situado de ellas, el año pasado de veinte y cuatro y bolbió el presente de quien dicho Señor usando de la Comision con que se halla recibio juramento que lo hizo por ante mi el presente Escribano receptor, por Dios nuestro Señor, y una Señal de Cruz en forma de derecho, y so cargo de el prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado, y siendolo sobre lo acaecido en dichas islas Marianas con el Sargento Mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dozal[;] dixo lo siguiente:*

*Que sabe que al punto que llegaron à Marianas en el Patache que iba à cargo del declarante habiendo llegado a bordo de dicho Patache el Sargento Mayor de dichas islas Marianas à el reconocimiento de la gente que iba en dicho Patache, pidiendolos pliegos y cartas, y nomina de los Cabos y gente que iba en dicho Patache, y el Sargento Mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dozal, y el declarante cada uno por su parte escribió al Gobernador de dichas islas, participandole los empleos en que iban el declarante de Cabo Superior, y dicho Don Manuel por Sargento Mayor de dichas islas por nombramiento del Señor Gobernador de estas y sabe el declarante que dicho Dozal hizo todas las diligencias posibles para la presentacion de sus titulos de Sargento Mayor y comisiones que llevaba de la Real Audiencia de estas islas, y que habiendo dicho Dozal en virtud de la Carta que escribió dicho Gobernador desembarcadose para la egecucion de lo que llevaba à su cargo el referido Gobernador, lo hizo bolber luego al punto sin darle audiencia, y habiendo despues dicho Dozal idose con el Padre Vice Provincial al Colegio de S. Ygnacio de la Ciudad de Agaña, aunque perdidas las esperanzas del buen exito que podia tener con dicho Gobernador se alentó à pasar à su Palacio y de alli mandó dar recado para que dicho Gobernador le permitiese la entrada como ya dicho Dozal tenia en su poder la carta vastante desatenta que vió el declarante en que le ordenaba que por no ser necesario en aquellas islas hombres de guerra pasase à el reconocimiento de los Presidios con lo demas que contiene dicha carta[.] dicho Gobernador exasperandose del recado lo mandó prender à dicho Dozal y segun oyó que era notorio aunque el declarante por entonces se hallaba enfermo en cama en dicha Ciudad y curandose lo remitió preso al Patache con orden de que alli lo tubieran en buena guardia y custodia, y despues le permitió por estar enfermo que baxase à curarse à San Ygnacio de dicha Ciudad, y aunque segun oyó desde dicho Colegio, hizo dicho Dozal vastantes diligencias para ver à dicho Gobernador, nunca se lo permitió; antes bien en una ocasion, que llegó recado de dicho Dozal estando el declarante con dicho Gobernador oyó le fué respondido que se halla indispuerto y que no podia darle audiencia por entonces que ya le avisaria aunque este caso nunca llegó ni el declarante à oido cosa en contrario[.] que es lo que sabe sobre este punto.*

*Y sobre el baleo que de tierra hicieron con dicho Patache lo que pasó fué, que desde luego de como el declarante llegó à dichas islas, le empezaron à venir varias ordenes por medio de algunos sugetos para que el declarante diese aparejos, para dos barcos de los tres que tiene dicho Gobernador como con efecto el Alcalde del Puerto de Merizo que es donde dan fondo los Pataches que van de estas islas fue à decirle de órden de*

*dicho Gobernador le diese una vela mayor y dos piezas de jarcia para aparejar los dos barcos, y con efecto el declarante mandó darle dos jarcias, y aun despues tubo carta del Secretario de dicho Gobernador en que le decia al declarante diese lo necesario segun dixera el Arraez para el aparejo de dichos barcos, aunque esta orden fué de varias re-  
yertas, que habian pasado entre el Declarante y dicho Gobernador, pues habiendole pedido licencia para pasar à aparejar el barco en ocasion que dicho Gobernador se hallaba con los Carpinteros y Pandayes que allá se los tubó para la composicion de sus barcos; y aunque cuando el declarante le pidió la licencia por escrito parece que dicho Gobernador no disentia en darla, pero por lo que se vió **era con toda reflexa; pues no quiso ni permitió poner decreto à dicho memorial;** antes sí desde ese punto segun oyó el declarante y le aseguraron varias personas dicho Gobernador aunque verbalmente le dió el orden de que pasase à aparejar dicho Barco pero que le diese cuenta cuando ya lo tubiese aparejado lo que oyó el declarante fué que era con el designio de aprisionar al declarante, y poner nuevos Cabos en el Patache como con efecto al Contra maestre le hizo Capitan de mar y guerra con cuyo baston vino en el Patache, y saltó en tierra en estas islas para que sucediese dicho Contra maestre al declarante y en su lugar[,] oyó y era publico y notorio en dicho patache que ponía à un fulano Corrales marinero de dicho Patache, y que todo lo llevaba el designio de embarcarse dicho Gobernador en el referido Patache y aun corrio en dichas islas que no le siendo posible lo haria en cualquiera de sus barcos, y con estos, y otros motibos que no sabe el declarante, à que se dirigen sin embargo de que dicho Gobernador le habia dado el orden de que le avisase, ó bolbiese recelándose el declarante con las noticias que lleva referidas y lo violento del natural de dicho Gobernador escribió à los Padres participandoles que su salida habia de ser indefectiblemente para el dia veinte, por que ya habia dado cumplimiento à las órdenes que llevaba de este Superior Gobierno, y asi mismo hizo despacho à dicho Gobernador para que dispusiese lo que fuese servido pues para el referido dia salia y pasaria al Puerto de Umata, por no poder esperar en el de Merizo por falta de Cables, y habiendo sabido aun antes de esto dicho Gobernador el intento del declarante en levarse mandó tocar al arma dicho Gobernador juntando todo el tercio de infanteria Española y que fuese à cargo de dicho Sargento mayor Sandoval y llegado que fué dicho Sargento mayor con la infanteria al Puerto de Umata, el dia diez y nueve de Diciembre, desde alli hizo conducir otros dos Cañones mas al Puerto de Merizo para incorporar con los que alli tenia, cuya diligencia la hicieron la noche de dicho dia diez y nueve, y se percibió en dicho Patache por la grito de la gente que los arrastraba; y al dia siguiente veinte de dicho mes, como à las siete de la mañana vino marchando con toda la gente punta al arma que se divisó desde el Navio por la cercania que estaba de tierra; lo que visto por el declarante no obstante los recelos que le daban las noticias que habia tenido de dicho Gobernador, dispuso como à las ocho de dicha mañana el levarse, no obstante que en este intermedio tubo dos cartas del Sargento mayor Sandoval, en que le avisa al declarante tiene orden de su Gobernador para que si se levase con el barco lo eche à pique, cuyas cartas paran en poder del declarante como tambien las respuestas que le embió en borrador de que necesario siendo hara presentacion en las*

*cuales se da largamente los motibos que tenia para levarse, asi por haber dado ya cumplimiento à sus ordenes como por los motibos que constan en los referidos borradores, y el justo temor que debia tener el declarante de que lo atropellase, como hizo con el Cabo del Patache **Santo Toribio**, que el año pasado de setecientos veinte y dos, fué à llevar el Real situado à dichas islas que segun es notorio en ellas le desarmo el Patache quitandole cuatro Cañones de bronce y ocho Pedreros, y demas municiones y armas que es publico como tambien que le prendió à dicho Cabo, embiandole preso à dicho Patache y poniendo nuevo Cabo en su lugar, cuyos recelos como tan acreditados de la esperiencia de lo que dicho Gobernador ha ejecutado con todos los Pataches que han ido en el tiempo de su Gobierno, y considerando que de permitir à dicho Gobernador alguna mano podria poner à riesgo el Patache de su cargo, determinó picar el Cable con que se hallaba amarrado dicho patache dando orden en el de que nadie se menease hasta ver las operaciones que hacian de tierra que fueron conformes à las que siempre ha ejecutado dicho Gobernador, pues al punto que vieron largar la vela, le empezaron à disparar de tierra abaleando dicho Patache, y participo de algunas reliquias, pues una de ellas le pasó el tajamar de dicho Patache de parte à parte, y viendose el declarante en el conflicto de ver de pasar por delante de los fuertes donde tenian la Artilleria dió orden de que se tirase à aterrorizarlos, disparando algunos cañones como con efecto se ejecutó, y tubo tan buen paradero que habiendoseles pegado un taco segun se vió en el lugar donde estaba la polvora parece hecharon à huir con que pudo pasar el declarante con su barco y sin embargo que el disparar fué en el declarante defensa natural, no faltandole el cuidado de si podrian haber sucedido desgracia alguna, como ni tampoco en el Patache en que se vino el declarante como le informó el Padre Ministro de Merizo que despues vino à bordo, y le aseguró que no habia sucedido desgracia alguna y se vino el declarante aun sin haber podido recoger la gente que se hallaba en la Ciudad por orden de dicho Gobernador, a quien no pudo cumplir lo que le ofrecia en la Carta que le escribia de que pasaria à Umata donde esperaba sus ordenes, por que desde dicho Puerto aun antes de llegarle disparaban cañonazos con que tubo por mejor irse à la vela sobre la Ciudad por si acaso desde alli quisiesen salir algunos de los que se hallaban en tierra como tambien embiar ordenes al Gobernador de quien no habiendo tenido respuesta en cuatro dias, desde que se hizo à la vela el declarante, hubo de venirse que es lo que sabe y aunque de los escesos de dicho Gobernador pudieran decir muchos de los que eran publicos en aquellas islas, se remite à los tantos de las cartas en que respondió à dicho Sandoval, que es cuanto puede decir, y la verdad so cargo del juramento que lleva fecho en que se afirmó y ratificó, y declaro ser de edad de cuarenta y cinco años, y no tocarle las generales de la Ley, por que aunque con dicho Gobernador tubo algunas reyertas, ocasionadas de su natural, pero no por eso es su enemigo, pues todo lo que lleva dicho y declarado es tan publico que podran decirlos que fueron y vinieron en dicho Barco, y por ser asi lo firmó con dicho Señor Oidor de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Adan*

*Juan de Miranda*

*Ante mi Francisco Cisneros Escribano receptor.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Declaration of Captain Juan de Miranda, former Commander and chief pilot of the patache that came from the Marianas, 45 years old.**

In the city of Manila on the 20th of February of the year 1725, before said Member of the Audiencia and Criminal Judge therein, Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán, appeared Captain Juan de Miranda, former Commander and chief pilot of the patache that was despatched from these Islands to the Marianas with their Royal subsidy in the past year of 1724 and that returned this year. Said gentleman, making use of the commission that he has, took the oath from him before me the present Notary receiver, in the name of God our Lord, and with the sign of the Cross, according to law, and under said oath he promised to tell the truth of what he knew and would be asked. When asked about what happened to Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz in said Mariana Islands, he said the following:

That he knows that as soon as they arrived at the Marianas with the patache that was commanded by the declarant, there arrived aboard said patache the Sergeant-Major of said Mariana Islands to check the people on board said patache, and to ask them if there were any mail and letters, and the list of the officers and men who were in said patache. Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dozal and the declarant each wrote a letter to the Governor of said Islands, to let him know of their own functions, that is, the declarant being Senior Commander, and said Don Manuel being the [new] Sergeant-Major of said Islands by appointment of His Lordship the Governor of these Islands. The declarant knows that said Dozal made all the possible efforts to present his letters of appointment as Sergeant-Major and of commissions that he had received from the Royal Audiencia of these Islands. After said Dozal had received a letter written by said Governor, he stepped ashore to carry out the orders of the above-mentioned Governor, but he made him return immediately without giving him an interview. Afterwards, said Dozal was led by the Father Vice-Provincial to the College of San Ignacio in the city of Agaña. Although he had lost any hope of succeeding with said Governor, he took courage and went to his palace and from there he sent a message to said Governor asking permission to go in, as said Dozal already had in hand the rather wild letter that the declarant saw in which he had ordered him, since military men were not needed in those Islands, to go and survey the garrisons with the other things mentioned in said letter. Said Governor became exasperated at his message and ordered said Dozal arrested. According to what he heard, which was notorious, although the declarant was then sick in bed at said city and receiving treatment, he sent him to the patache to be kept there as prisoner under close custody, but he afterwards permitted him, on account of sickness, to go down to [the college of] San Ignacio of said city to receive treatment. Although, according to what he heard in said college, said Dozal made rather many efforts to see said Governor, he never permitted it; rather, on one occasion, when he received one message from said Dozal and the declarant happened to be with said Governor, he heard him give the answer that he was indisposed but that he would give him an appointment later on, that he would let him know when, although this inter-

view never took place, and the declarant never heard otherwise. That is what he knows about this point.

And about the shooting of said patache from shore, what happened was that, as soon as the declarant arrived at said Islands, he began to receive many orders through some individuals, requesting the declarant to give equipment to outfit two boats out of the three that said Governor has. In fact the Mayor of the port of Merizo, which is where the pataches that go from these Islands anchor, went to tell him by order of said Governor to give one main-sail and two pieces of rigging to rig the two boats in question, and the declarant did order that he be given two riggings, but even afterwards he received a letter from the Secretary of said Governor in which he told the declarant to give what the port captain would say was necessary for the rigging of said boats, although this order became the subject of various wrangles between the declarant and said Governor, witness what happened when he asked him for permission to go and make his ship ready, at the time that said Governor was with the carpenters and smiths who were busy there with his boats. Although the declarant asked him permission in writing, it appears that said Governor did not wish to give it, but from what can be seen **it was after mature reflexion; in fact, he did not want to and refused to affix a decree to said memorial.** Rather, from that point on, according to what the declarant learned, and as various persons have told him, said Governor, although he gave him the verbal order to go and make said ship ready, and to let him know when it would be ready, what the declarant learned was that he intended to have the declarant arrested, and to place new officers aboard the patache, as he did do, by appointing the boatswain Captain of marines, and the man came aboard carrying the staff of said post, which he still had when he stepped ashore at these Islands, in order to have said boatswain replace the declarant and take over his post. He heard people say, which was public knowledge and notorious on board said patache, that he was assigning a certain seaman named Corrales on board said patache, and that the whole plan of said Governor consisted in boarding said patache himself. Rumor had it over said Islands that, should this not be possible, he would do so aboard any one of his boats. For this and other reasons that the declarant does not know about, to which he refers, in spite of said Governor having ordered him to send an advice, or to return, knowing of the above-mentioned news, the declarant feared the violent nature of said Governor; he wrote to the Fathers to let them know that his departure had to be without fail on the 20th, because he had already complied with the orders he had from this Superior Government, and also he had made a despatch to said Governor asking for his pleasure, given that on said date he would leave and go to the port of Umatac, as he could not wait in the port of Merizo for lack of cables. And said Governor having learned even before this about the intent of the declarant to set sail, said Governor issued a call to arms, gathering the whole regiment of the Spanish infantry and sending it under said Sergeant-Major Sandoval. When said Sergeant-Major arrived with the infantry at the port of Umatac, on the 19th of December, from there he had two other guns moved to the port of Merizo to add to those already there; this movement was noticed from said patache on account

of the shouts of the men who were dragging them. The next day, the 20th of said month, at about 7 a.m., all those men came marching up with fixed bayonets and they could be seen from the ship on account of its nearness to the shore. This being noticed by the declarant, in spite of the suspicions that he had, given the news that he had about said Governor, he arranged to set sail at about 8 a.m., in spite of two letters that in the meantime he had received from Sergeant-Major Sandoval, in which he had advised the declarant that he had an order from his Governor to sink the ship, if he set sail with it. The letters in question, as well as the draft copies of the answers, remain in the possession of the declarant, and he will hand them over, if necessary. Said draft letters give the detailed reasons why he had to set sail, not only because he had already complied with his orders, but also that the declarant had just cause to fear being knocked down, as the Governor had done to the Commander of the patache **Santo Toribio** which in 1722 went to said Island to conduct the Royal subsidy; according to well-known reports, he disarmed this patache, taking 4 bronze cannon and 8 mortars from it, as well as other ammunitions and weapons, which is public knowledge, like the arrest of said Commander, whom he sent to said patache as a prisoner, and replaced him with a new Commander. Such fears were well founded, and based on experience with said Governor who has done this kind of thing to all of the pataches that have gone there during his term of office. Considering that if he were to allow said Governor to get his way, he would place the patache in his care at risk, he decided to cut the mooring cable holding said patache, giving an order that nobody move until they had seen what operations they would do ashore. But they were as said Governor has always done; indeed, as soon as they saw the sail being unfolded, they began to shoot at said patache from shore. They did inflict some damage; indeed, one ball passed through the cutwater of said patache. When the declarant saw that there would be a conflict upon passing in front of the forts where they had the guns, he gave the order to shoot back to scare them, by shooting a few balls, which effectively was done; the aim was good, because after a wad was fired at them, it landed where it appeared they kept their gunpowder, because the men were seen running away, so that the declarant was able to pass with his ship. In spite of the fact that the shooting back of the declarant was in self-defence, he took care not to cause any casualties, and in effect there were none, not even aboard the patache that brought the declarant back, according to the report given by the Father Minister of Merizo who later came aboard, to assure him that there had been no casualties. If the declarant came back without the men who were then in the city by order of the Governor, as he had promised to do in the letter that he had sent, that is, intending to go to Umatac, there to wait for his orders, it was because upon approaching said port, they began shooting guns at him. That is why he thought it better to sail to the city, in case some of the men ashore should want to come out from there, as well as to send orders to the Governor [for this purpose]. After four days had passed since the declarant had set sail, he was still without an answer; he had to come here. That is what he knows and although he could say much more about the excesses of said Governor that were well known in those islands, he refers to the copies of the letters that he sent as answers to

said Sandoval, which is all he has to say, and is the truth under oath, which he re-affirms and ratifies, declaring that he is 45 years old and not involved in any lawsuit, because, although he had some wrangles with said Governor, caused by the man's nature, he is not his enemy for all that; in fact, everything he has declared is so well-known that those who went and came aboard said ship can say as much, and this being so, he signed it, along with said Member, for which I vouch.

Doctor Adán

Juan de Miranda

Before me, Francisco Cisneros, Notary receiver.

## B21. The Fiscal's legal opinion against Governor Sanchez

### Original text in Spanish

*Escrito del Señor fiscal*

*Muy Poderoso Señor*

*Vuestro fiscal en virtud del real Auto de V.A. de catorce del corriente ha visto las diligencias que vuestro Oidor (fiscal) Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan, tiene ejecutadas en virtud de la Comision que por V.A. se le dió, para la mas plena averiguacion de los excesos que cometió Vuestro Gobernador de las islas Marianas, cuyo tenor por escrito dice:*

*Que hallandose como se haya plenamente y averiguado, no solo la innobediencia de no haberse querido recibir los reales despachos, despreciando al mismo tiempo a vuestros ministros y al Comisario que los llevaba haberle aprisionado pero de otro grave delito de traidor a Vuestra real persona en el abaleo que consta hizo a el Patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier** y despues de aparejos con el de **Santo Toribio** que el año de setecientos veinte y dos fué a dichas islas a llevar el real situado desarmarlo y a este quitandole cuatro cañones de bronce y ocho pedreros y demas municiones y armas con las prisiones que hizo del Cabo de dicho Patache.] en estos términos deberá V.A. providencias de Comisario en este proximo Galeon que ha de hacer viage a la Nueva España para que de torna viage ejecute la prision y embargo de bienes de dicho vuestro Gobernador y le tome la residencia ordinaria, poniendo por intruccion lo que consta de este expediente.*

*Y respeto de que dicho vuestro Gobernador daria fiadores de juzgado y sentenciado de su residencia a el tiempo que se despachó en esta Ciudad, mandará Vuestra Alteza se hagan constantes en este espediente para que luego incontinentemente entren en las Cajas Reales los dos mil, seiscientos setenta y tres pesos, seis tomines y nueve granos, de la demanda puesta por vuestro fiscal a dicho Gobernador, por la que V.A. despachó en real provision con dicho Comisario para su (contenido) contestacion por lo que hallandose como se halla nuevamente provado no solo el despojo que contiene dicha demanda sino tambien los nuevamente ejecutados, no debe admitir mas dilaciones dicha introduccion por todo lo cual a V.A. suplica se sirva de providenciar segun que lleva pedido por ser justicia que pide.*



*Manila y Abril ... veinte y cinco años.*  
*Licenciado Bedoya.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Writ of the Crown attorney.**

Almighty Sir:

Your attorney, by virtue of the Royal decision of Your Highness dated 14th of this month, has seen the proceedings that Your Counselor, Doctor Francisco Lopez Adán, has carried out by virtue of the Commission that Your Highness gave him, for a deeper inquiry into the excesses committed by Your Governor of the Mariana Islands, whose conclusion states, quote:

“It has been fully discovered and proven, not only his disobedience, for having refused to accept the royal despatches, at the same time depreciating your ministers and for having arrested the Commissioner who was delivering them, but also another serious crime of treason against Your Royal person in the shooting that he did do against the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** and also for having despoiled the patache **Santo Toribio** that went to said Islands in the year 1722 to conduct the Royal subsidy, taking its equipment, such as 4 bronze cannon and 8 mortars and other ammunitions and weapons, plus the imprisonments of the Commander of said patache. Such terms should be used by Your Highness in issuing provisions for the Commissioner who is to go with the next galleon that must make a voyage to New Spain, so that on the return voyage he may proceed to the arrest and the seizure of the property of the said Your Governor and to take his regular *residencia*, by attaching this file to his instructions.” [Unquote].

And regarding the fact that the said Your Governor would have posted performance bonds to settle any claims under his *residencia* at the time that he was despatched from this city, Your Highness should order them to be transcribed into this record of proceedings, so that the 2,673 pesos 6 tomins and 9 grains be immediately turned over to the Royal treasury; they are the same as those claimed by your Crown attorney from said Governor, considering that said Commissioner should already have brought back an answer, and given that it has been proven once again, not only the dispoilment mentioned in said claim, but in addition more dispoilments that have been recently carried out, one must not accept any more delays in said payment, for all of which he begs Your Highness to be pleased to issue a provision, as requested, since only justice is being asked.

Manila, ... April 1725.  
Licentiate Bedoya.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The case is continued in Doc. 1725E.

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## Document 1724C

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# Letter from Fr. Bonani to Fr. Miller in China, dated Rota 14 November 1724

*Source: Stöcklein's Welt-Bott XII, n° 300.*

### Published text in German

***Brief P. Josephi Bonani der Gesellschaft JESU Missionarii aus der Oesterreicher-Propinz. An P. Balthasarem Miller gedachter Societät aus jetztgemeldeter Propinz ehedessen Missionarium in China.***

***Geschriben auf der Marianischen Insel Rota den 14. Novembris 1724.***

*Inhalt. Elender Schiffbruch. Unersätlicher Geitz und Wut dern Europäischen Beamten in Indien. Ankunfft zwey neuer Priestern aus der Oberteutschen Propinz Soc. Jesu auf denen Marianischen Inseln nemlich P. Victoris Walter und P. Franc. Xaverii Urfarer. Es werden 32 Personen durch die Ungestümme des Meers von denen bißhere schier unbekanten gegen Suden gelegenen Eilanden auf das Marianische Seeland getriben/ von P. Joa. Antonio Cantova bekehrt/ und wider nach Hauß zuruck geschickt. Der Brief lautet also.*

***Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo!***

*P.C.*

*Der letzte Brief/ welchen ich von Euerer Ehrwürden wehrtester Hand mit ungemeiner Freude erhalten hab/ ware von der Insel Sanciano Anno 1722 abgefertiget worden. Ich hab so wol diesen als den vorigen/ mit welchem Euer Ehrwürden mich beehret/ zwar (wie sonst allzeit) fleißig beantwortet/ mitler Weile aber vernemmen müssen/ wie daß eben dasjenige Schiff/ welchem ich beyde meine Sendschreiben mit einander anvertrauet hatte/ samt seiner gantzen Ladung erbärmlich untergangen/ und kein einziger Mensch/ der uns desselben Schicksal mit allen Umständen erzehlen könnte/ davon kommen seye. Diß will ich nur deßhalben gemeldet haben/ damit Euer Ehrwürden das Ausbleiben meiner Antworten keiner Saumseligkeit/ sonder jetztbedeutetem Unglück zumessen.*

*Darum sage ich mit gegenwertigen Zeilen deroselben noch ein mal grösten Danck für die mir vorhin gantz unbekante Nachrichten; massen ich weder von dem heiligen Hintrit Ihro Majestät/ der Kayserin Eleonoræ seligsten Andenckens/ noch von dem*

*Tod ihres Beicht-Vatters R.P. Balthassari Miller è S.J. als Euerer Ehrwürden nechsten Vatters nicht das geringste verstanden hatte. Woraus unschwär zu schliessen/ in wie reichem Überfluß einer gänzlichen Unwissenheit aller Zeitungen wir auf deren Marianischen Einöden leben. Derowegen können Euer Ehrwürden mir und dieser gesamten Mission kein liebere Gnad erweisen/ als wann sie uns alle Nachrichten/ so ihnen aus Europa zukommen/ jedes mal geruhen mitzutheilen/ absonderlich aber jene/ so unsere Oesterreicher-Provintz Soc. JESU betreffen/ aus welcher ich schon sechs Jahr hindurch nicht einen einzigen Buchstaben empfangen/ einfolglich den Schluß gefasset allen Brief-Wechsel mit meinen Bekanten in Europa aufzuheben/ welchen ich bißher alle Jahr aus Hofnung einiger Gegen-Zeilen öffters geschriben hab.*

*Was soll ich aber Euerer Ehrwürden auf ihre mir vergönnete Kundschaften erwidrigen? Ich bezeuge vor allem unser schmerzhaftestes Mitleiden wegen dem verderblichen Zustand der sonst glücklichsten Christenheit in China/ dero Zersthörung ich aus R.P. Ignatii Kögler Briefen/ so er einem aus meinen Mitpriestern überschickt mit höchster Bestürtzung erlehret hab. Ja/ die Betrachtung eueres gegenwertigen Elends hätte uns bald zu Tod gekränckt/ wann wir uns selbst nicht trösteten/ der gütigste GOTT werde unser und aller wolgesinnten Christen Gebett nicht allein erhören/ sonder auch seine mildeste Barmhertzigkeit euere Hofnung weit übertreffen/ wann er/ gleichwie zu wünschen/ alle Sachen herstellen/ diesen verwüsteten Tempel wider aufbauen/ und der Sinischen Mission ihren vorigen/ oder villeicht einen schöneren Glantz erstatten wird.*

*Niemand kan euere Drangsal (meine Ehrwürdige Patres) ihm lebhafter einbilden/ als wir armselige Marianer/ welchen es an Widerwertigkeiten und Jammer niemals gebriecht. Dann es ergeheth uns/ wie allen andern Missionariis in beyden Indien/ welche ihren hart-gedruckten Schäflein weder zu helffen noch zu rathen wissen/ wann diese/ wie es aller Orten geschihet/ von denen Gelthungerigen Obrigkeiten und geitzigen Beamten/ so mit toller Ungedult auf ein mal wollen reich werden/ sich (leider) nicht allein schären/ sonder auch so barbarisch müssen schinden lassen/ daß sie vor Bedrängnus kaum Athem zu schöpfen Zeit haben/ mithin aus Verdruß verzagen/ und den Tod einem so häßlichen Leben vorziehen. Von wannen komts/ daß der Hauffen unserer Marianern täglich abnimmt/ als welcher nur fünff tausend Köpff übrig hat/ da doch ehedessen biß fünffzig tausend Inwohner seynd gezehlt worden. Wie empfindlich nun einen Apostolischen Man schmerz/ solche Unterdruckung dern Armen anzuschauen: die Zähler seiner Schäflein beständig vor Augen zu haben: ihr billiches Weheklagen ohne End anzuhören: sie einerseits mehr als sich selbst zu lieben/ und dannoch anderseits ihnen nicht helffen zu können: wie hefftig/ sag ich/ dergleichen Unwesen einen Seelen-Hirt quäle/ weiß keiner zu begreifen/ als der es erfahren hat/ ja auch dieser kan es zwar mit Gedancken ergründen/ aber mit keinen Worten aussprechen. Man pflegt zu sagen/ die **König haben lange Händ**/ doch seynd entweder diese zu kurtz/ oder unsere Eilanden so weit entlegen/ daß jene nicht hieher reichen: sonst wurden sie zu Folg angeborner Milde und gerechtigkeit solchem Ubel bald abhelffen.*

*Unterdessen hat GOTT nicht ermangelt uns diesen bitteren Kelch einiger massen zu versüssen/ durch die Ankunfft zwey frischer Missionarien, welche nach vollendeter*

*Theologiâ aus der Oberteutschen Provintz S.J. allhier glücklich angelangt seynd: der eine heißt P. Victor Walter aus Tyrol/ der andere Franc. Xaverius Urfarer von Regensburg gebürtig. Beyde waren schon vorhin der Welt dergestalt abgestorben/ und von allem Fürwitz also befreyet/ daß sie uns von neuen Europäischen Begebenheiten schier nichts zu sagen wüßten/ als von der hohen Ehe-Verlobnus der Durchleuchtigsten Josephinischen Ertz-Herzogin an den Durchleuchtigsten Cur-Printz in Bayrn.*

*Durch diese Zwey neu-angelangte Priester hat die Göttliche Verhängnus den Schaden ersetzen wollen/ welchen wir durch Verlust zweyer Missionarien gelitten haben/ derer einer mit eben dem Schiff/ welches obgemeldete meine Brief mitführte/ in dem Meer ertruncken ist. Den anderen aber haben wir durch einen seltsamen Zufall/ den ich jetzt beschreiben will/ verlohren.*

**[Fr. Cantova and the Carolines]**

*Den 19. Junii im Jahr 1721. seynd von der Terra Australi[s] incognita, das ist von dem Gegen unserm **Mittag' ligenden vesten Land** zwey von dem Ungewitter lang hin und her geschlagene Schifflein endlich an das Ufer unserer Inseln geworffen worden. Es befanden sich auf denenselben nicht mehr als zwey und dreyßig Seelen beyderley Geschlechts von unterschiedlichem Alter/ welche nicht ohne Forcht an das Land gestigen/ und mit zarter Liebe beherberget/ auch/ so viel möglich/ mit aller Nothdurfft freygebig seynd versehen worden. Kein Mensch hat sich ihrer nutzlicher angenommen und heilsamer erbarmet/ als P. Joannes Antonius Cantova S.J. Da er aus Begierde ihrer ewigen Seligkeit sich gantz und gar auf die Erlehnung ihrer Sprach mit solchem Fleiß verlegte/ daß es mit Göttlichem Beystand nach drey Monaten fähig gewesen das Vatter Unser/ den Englischen Gruß/ den Glaauben/ die zehen Gebott/ und nebst andern einen kurtzen Begriff dern vornehmsten Stücken Christlicher Lehr in deroselben Mutter-Sprach zu übersetzen.*

*Gleichwie er nun mit recht-väterlicher Sorg ihren Leibern die Nahrung verschaffte/ also hat er auch ihre Seelen ohne Unterlaß mit dem Wort Gottes gespeißt/ und sie in dem Christentum so reiflich unterwisen/ daß die meisten aus ihnen die H. Tauff begehrt haben/ welche ihnen derwegen nicht ertheilt/ sondern auf einige Zeit verschoben wurde/ weil sie nach etlicher Monaten Verfluß von dem heimehe starck seynd ergriffen worden. Sie baten uns aussetzlich/ man wolte ihnen erlauben in dem Vatterland zuruck zu fahren/ theils damit sie das auf unsern Eilanden erworbene Eisen-Werck nach Hauß bringen/ theils damit sie wider zu ihren Weibern und Kindern gelangen mögten. Um solche Vergünstigung gewisser zu erhalten/ versicherten sie/ daß der Ruckweg zu ihrer Geburts-Statt weder gar zu weit noch sonderbar gefährlich seye. Solche Aussicht schine uns sehr glaubwürdig und desto besser gegründet zu seyn/ weil sie etwelche Coccus-Nuß so schier gantz frisch waren/ mit sich hieher gebracht/ nebst dem aber einem damals in das sechte Monat schwangern Weib/ wie auch drey kleinen kaum drey-Jährigen Kindern auf der Her-Reise kein Leid widerfahren ist/ welches bey so schlechtem Vorrath/ bey so grossem Abgang schier aller Nothdurfft/ und Mangel der gewöhnlichen Herberg in die Länge und Weite wurde unmöglich gewesen seyn/ wann ihr Vatterland nicht*

*in unserer Nachbarschaft ligen solte. Sie seynd allein Vermuten nach aus denen Carolinischen Eilanden von dem Wind zu uns herüber getriben worden.*

*Dem seye nun/ wie ihm wolle/ unsern Seelen-Eiffrigen Patrem Cantova kame ein Lust an seinen neubekehrten/ obschon ungetaufften Kindern in Christo biß in ihr Vaterland das Geleit zu geben/ mit solcher Gelegenheit aber so wol das Land als die Gemüter dern Inwohnern auszunehmen/ auf daß zwischen ihnen und denen Marianern einiges Gewerb aufgerichtet/ mithin alldort der Creutz- Fahn Christi mögte ausgesteckt werden.*

*Diesen Zweck zu erreichen meldete er sich bey dem Kriegs- und Lands-Obersten unserer Eilanden an/ und bate denselben um einen Nachen welcher etwann dreyßig Personen fassen kunt. Als ihm der Oberst solches gern verwilligete kehrte Pater Cantova alle Anstalten zu seiner Abreise vor/ und gieng demnach den 15. April 1722. unter Segel. Er richtete den Schiff-Schnabel Schnur grad gegen Süden/ und ward von vierzehnen theils aus Spanien/ theils aus denen Philippinischen Inseln gebürtigen Kriegsknechten unter ihrem Wachtmeister begleitet: zu welchen noch drey andere Marianische Kahnen stosseten/ dergestalt/ daß mit denen zwey fremden in allem sechs Schiffelein mit ein ander so lang fortgefahren/ biß alle ins gesamt zum zweyten mal von denen tobenden Sturm-winden in den Hafen/ von welchem sie ausgeloffen/ wider einzukehren seynd gezwungen worden. Doch wagten sie es zum dritten mal und zwar die drey erstere Täg mit besserem Glück/ nach welcher Verlauff ein ungestümtes Wetter sie abscheulich aus einander zerstreute. Denen drey Marianischen Nachen hat es nicht ohne wunderbaren Beystand Gottes gelungen daß sie samt ihren Leuten/ welche vor Durst schier verschmachtet wären/ abscheulich zerschlagen endlich bey uns wider von Ancker kommen seynd/ obwoln wegen Abgang der Magnet- Nadel die Strassen zu treffen ihnen ohne übernatürliche Hülff wurde unmöglich gefallen seyn.*

*Da sich das Ungewitter gelegt/ nahm Pater Cantova wahr/ daß er die drey Marianische Fahrzeug zwar verlohren/ die zwey fremde oder Sudländische aber noch in seinem Folg und Gewalt habe. Er wolte bey damals eingefallenem günstigen Wind keine Zeit verlohren/ sonder segelte mit ihnen zehen Täg lang gegen Mittag hurtig fort. Da erhube sich abermal ein entsetzliche Sturm-Gewitter/ welches sein Schiff von denen zwey Sudländischen so weit abgesöndert und auf die Seiten hinaus geworffen hat/ daß er von der Zeit an dieselbigen nicht mehr erblicken/ viel weniger einholen könnte; wiewol er solche aufzutreiben sich zwey Täg äusserst bemühet und fast alle Strassen der Wind-Rosen durchcreuzet hatte.*

*Weil er bey also beschaffenen Sachen sahe/ daß er weder die Sudländische Kahnen/ noch die Marianische Eilanden zu erreichen im Stand wäre/ von welchen letztern ihn der Ost-Wind immer weiters entfernete/ hat ihn so wol dieser als die Vernunft selbst genöthiget seinen Lauff nach denen Philippinischen Inseln zu nehmen/ an derer einer der gute Mann/ nachdem er bey nahe zwey Monat mit Wind und Wasser/ auch Hunger und Durst/ dapfer gestritten/ endlich angeländet und seine Schiffart beschlossen hat. Wie sehr diesen heldenmüthigen Seelen-Eifferer die Verfehlung seines vorgesetzten Zwecks werde bestürzt haben/ ist leicht zu erachten.*

*Offterwehnte Sudländer haben uns berichtet/ daß ihr Seeland aus unzählich vielen Inseln bestehe/ welche alle sehr bewohnt und mit Volck dick besetzt wären. Dann/ als wir sie fragten/ wie viel Leut sich beylässig auf jeglichem Eiland aufhalten/ haben sie uns mit dem Finger auf einen lebendigen gar grossen Ameiß-Hausen gedeutet/ und hierdurch zu verstehen gegeben/ daß auf ihren Inseln/ wie in Ameiß-Stätten/ vor Mengern Inwohnern alles wimmele.*

*So viel wir bißhero haben ausnehmen können/ seynd sie weder einiger Abgötterey/ noch dem Mahometanischen Wahn ergeben. Doch begehen sie groben Aberglauben in Verehrung ihrer Abgestorbenen. Sie stecken in grosste Unwissenheit/ weil bey ihnen keine Schrift/ noch Buchstaben anzutreffen/ folgsamlich das Lesen und Schreiben keinen Platz findet. Ein Mann darff mehr als ein Weib haben: hingegen bleibt ihm unerwehrt sich von denenselben wider zu scheiden/ wann er nur dißfalls gewisse Lands-Gebräuch und feyerliche Ceremonien beobachtet. Wie unaussprechlich viel Inseln in ihrer Nachbarschaft seyn müssen/ ist leicht aus dem zu ermessen/ daß sie uns dererselben über vierhundert mit Namen genant haben. Aber genug von dem.*

*Jetzt bleibt nichts mehr übrig/ als daß wir den barmhertzigsten und gütigsten Gott sehnlich bitten/ uns den Weeg zu diesem grossen Seeland zu eröffnen/ damit wir so viel tausend und tausend blinden Heiden durch Verkündigung seines liechtreichen Evangelii die Augen eröffnen/ und auf einer dergestalt mit Disteln und Dörnern überwachsener Wüste einen fruchtbaren Wein-Garten für den himmlischen Hauß-Vatter anpflanzen. Ubrigens befiehe ich mich demütigst in dero Heil. Meß-Opfer/ und verharre.*

*Euerer Ehrwürden*

*Auf der Insel Rota den 14. Nov. 1724.*

*geringster Diener in Christo*

*Josephus Bonani der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.*

## Translation, by P. H.

**Letter from Fr. José Bonani, missionary of the Society of Jesus from the Austrian Province, to Fr. Balthasar Miller, formerly<sup>1</sup> missionary of the same Society in China, from the same Province.**

**Written on the Island of Rota, Mariana Islands, on 14 November 1724.**

**Contents:** A miserable shipwreck. Insatiable greed and madness of the European officials in the Indies. Arrival at the Mariana Islands of two new priests from the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus, namely Fr. Victor Walter and Fr. Francis Xavier Urfarer. Some 32 people from the hitherto-unknown islands to the south are driven by the tempestuous ocean to the Mariana Islands. They are converted by Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova and sent back home. The letter reads as follows:

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1 Ed. note: He was no longer in China when his letter was first published in Welt-Bott.

**Reverend Father in Christ:**  
Peace of Christ!

The last letter by Your Reverence's esteemed hand, which I was overjoyed to receive, was dated in 1722 on the Island of Sancian.<sup>1</sup> I diligently answered that as well as Your Reverence's previous letter (as I always do), but in the meantime I was sad to hear that the very ship to which I had entrusted both my letters together was unfortunately lost at sea together with its entire cargo, and not a single soul survived to tell us all the circumstances of the ship's fate. I only report this so that Your Reverence will not attribute the absence of my replies to my tardiness, but to the above-mentioned mishap.

For that reason I use the present letter to say many thanks for the news of which I had not heard previously, neither about the death of Her Majesty the Empress Eleonore of blessed memory, nor about the death of your Father Confessor, the Reverend Fr. Balthasar Miller, of the Society of Jesus, Your Reverence's first cousin. This is an indication of how completely devoid of all news we are living here on these remote Mariana Islands. Therefore, Your Reverence could do me and this entire mission no greater favor than being so kind as to send us all news which you receive from Europe, but specially those pertaining to our Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus, from where I have not received a single word now for six years. As a result I have decided to discontinue all correspondence with my acquaintances in Europe to whom I have so far written several times every year in the hope of receiving a few lines in return.

But what shall I say about the news Your Reverence has told me? First of all, I convey our sincere sorrow about the disastrous state of the formerly so happy Christians in China, of whose destruction I have heard with much consternation from the Reverend Fr. Ignatius Kögler's letters which he sent to one of my fellow priests. Imagining your present misery would have worried us to death, had we not found consolation in thinking that our most gracious God will not only hear our prayers and those of all well-meaning Christians, but that his mildest mercy will far exceed your hope when He will—as we wish—rectify everything, rebuild this devastated temple and restore the Chinese mission to its former, or perhaps even greater, glory.

No-one can imagine your distress, my Reverend Fathers, more vividly than we poor Mariana missionaries who are never lacking in adversity and misery. We are in the same position as all other missionaries in both of the Indies, who do not know how to help or to advise their hard-pressed flock who—as happens everywhere—are unfortunately not only shorn but also barbarously abused by money-grabbing authorities and stingy officials who are madly impatient to become rich all at once. So suppressed is our flock that they hardly have time to breathe, that they despair in their sadness and prefer death to such an ugly life. What are the reasons why the number of our Maria-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Island of Shang-chuan near Macau, also called St. John's Island for its similarity with San Juan in Spanish (see map in HM8: 596). It is where St. Francis Xavier was first buried.

na Islanders diminishes daily? Why are there only 5,000 left when formerly up to 50,000 inhabitants were counted?<sup>1</sup> How painful it is for an apostolic man to observe such suppression of the poor, to have the ruin of his lambs before his eyes always, to hear their justified complaints without end, on the one hand to love them more than himself, but on the other hand being unable to help them. No-one who has experienced it can understand how bitter it is for a pastor to see his flock subjected to such abuse, and even those who have experienced it can find thoughts but not words to express it. We talk about “**the long arm of the king,**” but either his arms are too short, or our islands are so distant that they do not reach here; otherwise, those arms would soon put an end to such evil out of innate mercy and justice.<sup>2</sup>

Yet God has not failed to sweeten this bitter cup somewhat by the safe arrival of two fresh missionaries who, after completing their theological studies, have come here from the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus. One is called Fr. Victor Walter, from Tyrol, the other Francis Xavier Urfarer, born in Regensburg. Both have already been so remote from the world and have been made devoid of all curiosity that they were unable to tell us anything about new European events except that the most Illustrious Archduchess Josephine is engaged to be married to the most Illustrious Elector of Bavaria.

By the arrival of these two priests, divine providence wanted to make good the damage caused to us by the loss of two missionaries, one of whom drowned with the ship which carried my above-mentioned letters.<sup>3</sup> The other was lost to us through a strange incident which I will now describe.

**[Fr. Cantova and the Carolines]**

On 19 June 1721, two boats from Terra Australis, i.e. from the **mainland lying to the south of us**, which were for a long time blown to and fro by the storm, were finally stranded on the shore of our islands. These boats carried no more than 32 souls of both sexes, of various ages, who came ashore not without fear. They were housed with kind hospitality and provided as generously as possible with all the essentials. No-one cared for them and showed concern for them more than Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova of the Society of Jesus. Since for the sake of their eternal salvation, he concentrated completely on learning their language with such diligence that with God’s help he was able in three months to translate into their mother tongue the Lord’s Prayer, our Angelic Salutation [i.e. Hail Mary], the Creed, the Ten Commandments and a brief overview of the main components of Christian teaching.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Bonani arrived at the Islands in 1718, and never learned of the correct population numbers 50 years earlier.
  - 2 Ed. note: At the time Fr. Bonani wrote these words, the wrong-doings of the crazy Governor Sanchez of Guam were under investigation by Major Diaz, a special investigator sent from Manila.
  - 3 Ed. note: He refers to either Fr. Halguero or Fr. Furnari. Both had been part of the same mission band as Fr. Bonani, and both disappeared from the record, circa 1723. It is not clear which shipwreck is referred to here.



Just as with fatherly regard he looked after their bodily needs with food, he also fed their souls without pause with the word of God, teaching them so thoroughly about Christianity that most of them requested holy baptism. It was not administered then, but postponed for some time because after a few months had passed, they became very homesick. They asked us to allow them to return to their fatherland, partly so that they could take home the iron implements obtained from us, partly so that they could get back to their wives and children. In the hope that we would allow them to do this, they assured us that the return voyage to their place of birth would not be too far nor too dangerous. This seemed to be very plausible to us, specially since the coconuts they had brought along with them were quite fresh. Furthermore, a woman who was six months pregnant, as well as three young children hardly three years old had not come to any harm on the journey to us, which would have been impossible if their fatherland had been too far away, considering their poor supplies, their lack of almost all necessities and the lack of any stopping places far and wide. In all likelihood the wind had driven them to us from the Caroline Islands.

Be that as it may, our Fr. Cantova, in his eagerness to save souls, wanted to escort his newly-converted albeit yet un-baptized children in Christ to their fatherland and take this opportunity to learn about the land and the characteristics of the inhabitants, so that between them and the Mariana Islands some trade could be established, and that the flag with the cross of Christ could be hoisted there.

To achieve this goal, he reported to the Commander of our islands and asked for a vessel that could carry about 30 persons. The Commander was glad to oblige. Fr. Cantova made preparations for his departure and sailed on 15 April 1722. He pointed the vessel's bow due south. He was accompanied by 14 soldiers and their sergeant, some of whom were born in Spain, some in the Philippines. Three Mariana boats were added, so that in total, including the two foreign boats, there were six vessels that sailed together until a raging storm forced them twice to return to the harbor from which they had sailed. They sailed a third time, and they had better luck for the first three days, after which, however, a fierce storm dispersed them all. The three Mariana boats and all their occupants, who had almost died from thirst were able—not without the miraculous intervention of God—to return to our harbor, although they were in terrible condition. It would have been impossible for them to find their way in the straits without supernatural help, because they had lost their compass.

When the storm subsided, Fr. Cantova realized that he had lost the three Mariana vessels, but that the two foreign or southern boats were still following him and were under his leadership. Since a favorable wind had started to blow, he wanted to waste no time, and he sailed south with them for ten days. Then another terrible storm came up, which separated him from the two southern boats and drove him so far off that he could no longer see them or join up with them. Nevertheless he tried everything to find them for two days, cruising in almost all directions of the compass.

The way things were, he realized that he would be unable to find either the southern boats or the Mariana Islands because the easterly wind was driving him farther and far-

ther away from the latter. The wind as well as this reason forced him to set course for the Philippine Islands, on one of which the good man, having struggled with wind, water, hunger and thirst, finally landed and ended his sea voyage. It can be easily imagined how distressed this heroic and devout man must have been to have failed his goal.

The above-mentioned southerners told us that their homeland consists of countless islands, all of which are inhabited and very thickly populated. When we asked them about how many people would live on every island, they pointed their finger to a very large ant hill, teeming with life, thus trying to tell us that on their islands the inhabitants are as thick as ants in an ant hill.

As far as we have been able to learn so far, they practice neither idol-worship nor are they devoted to the fallacy of Islam. But they have very superstitious practices in that they worship their dead. They live in great ignorance. Since they have neither script nor alphabet, they know nothing about reading and writing. A man may have more than one wife; on the other hand, there is nothing to prevent him from divorcing them, as long as he observes certain customs and solemn ceremonies. How incredibly many islands there must be in their vicinity can be seen from the fact that they have given us the names of more than 400 of them. But enough of that.

There is nothing we can do now but pray to the most merciful and kind God to show us the way to this large archipelago, so that we can open the eyes of many thousands of blind heathen by proclaiming His luminous Gospel and by planting a fertile vineyard for our heavenly Father in a desert overgrown with thistles and thorns. Otherwise, I humbly commend myself to your holy sacrifices of the mass and remain,

Your Reverence's

Least servant in Christ,

on the Island of Rota, on 14 November 1724.

José Bonani, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

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 Document 1724D
 

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## Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1724

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/2, fol. 70-75.*

### Subsidy sent aboard the Santo Cristo de Burgos

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho del Situado de Philipinas en el Galeon Capitana Santo Christo de Burgos, y las Benditas Animas el año de 1724.***

...

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*El Situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos que en reales y generos toca a esas Yslas por este año de mil sieteientos y veinte y quatro, que a de conducir à ellas el Galeon Capitana nombrado el **Santo Christo de Burgos**, se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

#### ***Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Veinte y siete mil novecientos veinte y tres pesos tres tomines y ocho granos, entregados de esta Real Caja: los veinte y un mil trescientos y setenta y cinco pesos de ellos, para el Governador Sargento maior, y sesenta soldados de la Dotacion de el Presidio de Marianas; y los seis mil quinientos quarenta y ocho pesos tres tomines y ocho granos restantes, para doze Religiosos de la compañia de Jesus, nueve Sacerdotes y tres Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el Santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y augmentando nuestra santa fe, en servicio de la divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro señor. Uno y otro por el Situado correspondiente a este año, yncluyendose en la ultima de las dos partidas el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas. Como tambien correspondiente a la limosna de vino, y azeite, despues de rebajadas algunas cantidades segun lo que produjo la vista de las Certificaciones presentadas, para este intento ..... 27,923p 3t 8 [g]*

...

***Religiosos de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus venidos de España.***

—2,050p 3t 9

...

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.  
Mexico a 10 de Marzo de 1724.  
B.M. de V.Ms. sus afectos servidores,  
Ignacio Joseph de Miranda  
Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos*

### **Translation.**

#### **Despatch of the subsidy of the Philippines aboard the flagship galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, [San Judas Tadeo] y las Benditas Ánimas in 1724.**

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

The subsidy of 250,00 pesos that in cash and goods allotted to those Islands for this year 1724, which the flagship galleon named **Santo Cristo de Burgos** is to convey overthere consists of the following entries:

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

—27,923 pesos 3 tomins and 8 grains released by this Royal treasury, 21,375 pesos of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 6,548 pesos 3 tomins and 8 grains are for the 12 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 9 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are employed in the missions of those Islands in preaching the Holy Gospel, seeing to the progress of their new Christian community and propagating our holy faith, in the service of the divine Majesty and of the King our Lord. Both sums are part of the subsidy for this year, and included in the latter of the two entries is the stipend allotted to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is the sum corresponding to the alms for wine and oil, after certain sums were subtracted, in view of the Certificates presented for this purpose ..... 27,923p 3t 8g

...

#### **Religious of the Society of Jesus who came from Spain.**

—2,050p 3t 9g.<sup>1</sup>

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.  
Mexico, 10 March 1724.  
Your affectionate servants who kiss the hand of Your Graces,  
Ignacio José de Miranda  
Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos

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1 Ed. note: For 4 missionaries who passed to the Philippines in 1723, and others who travelled in 1724.

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## Document 1724E

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# Complaint against Pimentel for salaries unpaid

*Source: AGI Fil. 527.*

## Letter from the Audiencia of Manila, dated 30 June 1724

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Audiencia de Manila da cuenta à V.M. de haverse sentenciado en vista la Residencia del Theniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Governador de las Islas Marianas, y de quedar entendiendo en la revista de dha residencia con testimonio de autos de los Quadernos numeros 14, 15 y 16.*

*Señor.*

*Aunque en los dos años pasados se informo à Vuestra Magestad por esta Audiencia de quedar a la vista la Residencia del Governador de Marianas, Theniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, no havindose podido evaquar en estos dos años por hallarse providenciado por esta Audiencia no se pase a la vista y determinacion de residencia alguna, sin que primero conste que los residenciados han presentado quenta con pago, del Real haver que hubiere sido a su cargo; se tubo por conveniente diferir la vista de dicha residencia hasta que ordenase sus quentas el referido Governador quien con el motivo de los muchos volumenes de que se componian se dilato en la presentacion de dha Certificacion, pero havindola presentado y constando de ella no ser alcansado se paso a la vista de dha su residencia, en la que mirados con atencion los cargos, y descargos sele absolvió de muchos de ellos, condenandole por otros, (en que sele considero culpado) en algunas penas pecuniarias, mandando se tomase razon en ambas Contadurias para su recaudacion y cobranza como mas largamente consta de dicha sentencia.*

*Y aunque en dicha residencia se presentaron los Reverendos Padres Misioneros como vize protectores de los naturales de aquellas Islas en virtud de poder que tenian de Vuestro Fiscal de esta Real Audiencia[,] demandandole las cantidades de veinte y tres mill quatro cientos y treinta pesos por diversos trabajos personales de dhos naturales y frutos de la tierra, que havian dado a dicho Governador[,] sustanciada dicha demanda de ella se dio por parte de dho Governador la Justificacion de haver satisfho a dhos naturales, remitida la demanda à esta Real Zala con Zitacion de partes[,] havindose Articulado por parte de dho Governador antes de su vista, que se librase Ruego,*

*y encargo al Reverendo padre Juan Antonio Cantoba de la Compañía de Jezus (que ya se hallava en esta Ciudad) y quien havia seguido dicha demanda como vize Provincial que era en dichas Islas Marianas, quando se puso y sustanció esta demanda, para que dho Reverendo Padre certificase el paradero de ella, y habiendose librado dicho Ruego y Encargo el referido Padre certificó haver satisfho dicho Governador la demanda que siguió en la Residencia en nombre de los naturales de las Islas Marianas a la parte de los mismos demandantes en cuya vista por sentencia pronunciada en primero de Junio de este presente año sele absolvió de esta demanda y sele dio por libre de ella.*

*Siguiose tambien demanda por los Capitanes Militares, y reformados de aquellas Islas por la baja de los socorros que hizo dicho Governador en el tiempo de su Govierno que cotejada con los socorros que havian hecho otros Governadores la estimaban en el tiempo de los dies años de su Govierno como en cantidad de treinta mill pesos, Y habiendo excepcionado dicho Governador que aunque hubiese havido alguna baja en dichos socorros parece no se devia apriciar dicha demanda por ser constante el aumento de mas de quarenta plazas que se criaron para el descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas, la falta de Zituados en el tiempo de su Govierno con otras razones que dedujo en el termino de dha demanda que vista con la residencia se mando que sacandose testimonio de dicha demanda se remitiese a Oficiales Reales para que la tubiesen presente en la vista de las quantas que dicho Governador esta dando del Real Zituado que rezi- vio y su distribucion, por cuya causa se remitió la determinacion a lo que resultare de las quantas de vista y revista como todo mas largamente consta del testimonio de Autos que en esta ocasion se remiten à Vuestra Magestad quedando vuestros Ministros en la inteligencia de haverla de repetir con los testimonios de lo que se determinare en la revista en cuya substanciacion se queda entendiendo por suplica que interpuso el dicho Governador de la sentencia de vista.*

*Nuestro Señor Guarde la Catholica y Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad los felizes años que la Christiandad a menester.*

*Reales Estrados de la Audiencia de Manila y Junio treinta de mill setecientos y veinte y quatro años.*

*El Marques de Torrecampo*

*Dr. Don Francisco Martinez*

*Dr. Don Francisco Lopez Adan.*

### **Translation.**

The Audiencia of Manila reports to Y.M. about having passed sentence in the *residencia* of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Mariana Islands, and that they are in the process of hearing an appeal in said *residencia*, enclosing the attached record of proceedings filling Notebooks n° 14, 15, and 16.

Sire:

Although during the two past years Your Majesty was informed by this Audiencia that the *residencia* of the Governor of the Marianas, Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, remained pending, as it could not be cleared during these two years, be-

cause this court had decided not to hear any case or determine any *residencia*, unless the persons concerned had first presented the final accounts of the Royal funds that had been in their care, with payment. So, it was found convenient to postpone the hearing in said *residencia* until the above-said Governor had put his accounts in order. It took him a long time to adjust them and to present said Certificate, because he had many volumes to go through; however, after he had presented it and it appeared from it that he did not owe anything, the case of his *residencia* was heard. After the charges against him, and his discharges, were examined with care, he was absolved of many of them, and condemned in others (those in which he was considered guilty) to pay fines, and an order was issued to both Accounting Departments to collect said fines, as covered in greater details in said sentence.

And although the Reverend Fathers Missionaries figured in said *residencia*, as vice-protectors of the natives of those Islands, by virtue of the power that they had from Your Crown attorney in this Royal Audiencia, to demand from him the sums of 23,430 pesos for various personal services rendered by said natives and for local products that they had given to said Governor, once said demand had been substantiated, on the part of the Governor was presented the Justification for his having satisfied said natives, and the demand was remitted to this Royal court, and the parties were summoned. However, since the party representing said Governor had already presented a request for a summons to be issued to Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova of the Society of Jesus (who was then present in this city) and who had formulated this request when he was Vice-Provincial of said Mariana Islands, and when the case was deposited and substantiated, in order to have said Reverend Father certify of its whereabouts. After said summons was issued to the above-mentioned Father, he certified that said Governor had satisfied the demand that he had presented in the *residencia* on behalf of the natives of the Mariana Islands, and as the party representing them. This having been seen, by a sentence rendered on the 1st of June of the present year, he was absolved of this demand and he was declared free of it.

There was also another demand made by the Military Captains of those Islands, in service and reservists, on account of the decrease of their salaries made by said Governor during his term of office, which, when compared with the salaries paid out by other Governors, they estimated to be 30,000 pesos for the period of 10 years of his term of office. And, after said Governor had presented explanations to the effect that he had indeed made some decrease in said salaries, but that it appeared that this demand should not be appreciated because it was well known that there had been an increase in 40 positions, created for the exploration of the Caroline Islands, that the subsidies had failed to arrive during his term as Governor, and other reasons that he gave to end said demand, which was seen along with the *residencia*. It was ordered that a transcript of said demand be made and forwarded to the Royal Officials, for them to verify the accounts that said Governor gave regarding the Royal subsidy that he had received and its distribution; as far as this case is concerned, the determination of this point was postponed until the result of the investigation of the accounts in question is

made known, as can be seen in greater details in the record of proceedings which is presently being remitted to Your Majesty. Your Ministers remain aware that this record will have to be repeated, along with the proceedings of what is yet to be determined in the appeal, which has yet to be heard, as said Governor has appealed the primary sentence.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty for as many happy years as Christendom needs.

From the Royal law-courts of the Audiencia of Manila, 30 June 1724.

The Marquis of Torrecampo

Dr. Francisco Martinez

Dr. Francisco Lopez Adán.



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## Documents 1725A

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# The Inquisition of Mexico to their Jesuit Commissioners in the Marianas

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 348v-350, 355v-356v, 358-358v.*

### A1. Letter dated Mexico 27 February 1725

#### Original text in Spanish.

***A los Rdos. Padres Ygnacio de Ybarguen; Juan Antonio Cantova; y Phelipe María Furnari, Comisarios de este Santo Oficio en las Yslas Marianas, en los Autos acerca Agustín ó Juan de Espinosa.***

*En vista de los Autos que en este Santo Oficio penden contra Agustín ó Juan de Espinosa natural que se dize ser del puerto de Santa María en la Andaluzia por casado dos veces, por uno que probeimos á los 23 de febrero de este año, emos mandado ordenar a nuestro Comisario, como se le ordena que respecto de que el dho Agustín alias Juan de Espinosa parece se caso la primera vez en el pueblo de Calamalayutgan [sic], ó Lalo; y en la yglesia cathedral de la nueva Segobia, por Julio del año pasado de setecientos y noventa, como consta de la partida, y demas diligencias, echas sobre la justificacion de dho primero matrimonio, que á treinta y cinco años que se contrato; y que tambien consta, se caso la segunda vez, en la yglesia de Agadaña por septiembre de 695 años despues del primero, y que solo como tres años vivio con la primera muger, que conduxo á Manila, de donde se paso a esas Yslas Marianas, presuade [sic] a que dho Agustín de Espinosa que caso en Agadaña con Margarita Damagi es el mesmo Juan de Espinosa que estaba cinco años antes casado con Juana Ysabel en la cathedral de la Nueva Segobia; pero respecto de poder ser su edad tan corta, ó el aspectto de ella tal que demuestre lo contrario, lea y reconosca nuestro Comisario con todo esmero, cuidado y disimulo el aspecto del dho Agustín de Espinosa, y si es de la hedad correspondiente á que la tubiese para poderse casar por dho año de 690 procurando asimesmo saber y serziorase del tiempo que á que estaba en esas Yslas antes de casarse en ellas y segun lo que resultare, sobre la identidad de su persona, no ofrezriendose duda alguna, como parece no la ay, respecto, de lo que dize su primera muger Juana Ysabel, y el testigo Santiago Pineda procedera, hazer se execute el mandamiento de prision adjunto, y que con la seguridad correspondiente sea remitido el dho Agustín alias Juan de Espi-*

*nosa á la ciudad de Manila a la disposicion de nuestro Comisario de aquella ciudad á quien en esta ocasion se le ordena lo que [h]a de executar con el susodho; pero si de la inspeccion que hiziere sobre su edad y residencia, en las Yslas Phelipinas; hallare nuestro Comisario que por el año de 90 no pudo ser hedad, ni hallarse en el Pueblo de Lalo, para casarse en la Parroquia de la Nueva Segobia, como parece se caso el dia 31 de Junio de dho año de nobenta suspendera dho mandamiento de prision comunicandolo con sus prudentes compañeros, para que en tanta distanzia se logre todo azierto. Y si acaso nuestro Comisario de la ciudad de Manila hubiere ya embiado, por la persona del dho Agustin de Espinosa (compareze estaba en animo de yntentarlo segun lo que nos escribe) y de facto se le hubiere remitido, no habra que [h]azer mas que remitirle, esta comision con el mandamiento adjunto, para que execute su contenido, y nos abizara en primera ocasion de lo que en dha razon executare; prebiniendo como prebenimos, a nuestro Comisario á mayor abundamiento, y para mas claridad que respecto de que la primera muger, con quien caso por el año de 90 dize que solo vivio con ella tres años, y que abiendola traído a Manila y dexadola alli se paso dho su marido á esas Yslas Marianas; en las que el testigo Santiago Pineda dize haberle visto y conozido, parece no admite duda ser el mismo que contrato dhos dos matrimonios; y solo podra desbanezerlo si por las listas de esas yslas, y otro ebidente medio justificare nuestro Comisario estaba ya en ellas el dho Agustin de Espinosa por el año de 90 y consiguientemente no aber podido estar en la Nueva Segobia por dho tiempo, que en tal caso podra suspender como ba dho la prision y remesa a Manila del dho Agustin de Espinosa; noticiendo á aquel Comisario lo que en dha razon hubiere justificado.*

*Guarde Dios &a*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 27 de 1725 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro.*

### **Translation.**

**To the Rev. Fathers Ignacio de Iburguen, Juan Antonio Cantova, and Felipe María Furnari, Commissioners of this Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, regarding the case against Augustin or Juan de Espinosa.**

In view of the case that is pending in this Holy Office against Augustin or Juan de Espinosa, said to have been born in the port of Santa María in Andalucia, for bigamy, in a decision made on 23 February of this year, we have decided to order our Commissioner, as we do now, since it appears that said Augustin alias Juan de Espinosa got married the first time in the town of Camalayugan, or Laló,<sup>1</sup> in the cathedral of New Segovia, in July of the past year 1690, as shown in the extract, and other procedures, made about the justification of said first marriage which took place 35 years ago, and since it is also proven that he got married a second time in the church of Agaña in Sep-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In fact, the town of Camalaniugan, or Camalayugan, is a river port located north of Lal-ló in the Cagayan Province of northern Luzon.

tember 1695 after the first marriage, and that he lived only three years with his first wife, whom he took to Manila, whence he passed to those Mariana Islands, it is proven that said Augustin de Espinosa, who married Margarita Damagi<sup>1</sup> in Agaña, is the same man as the Juan de Espinosa who, five years before, married Juana Isabel in the cathedral of New Segovia. However, since his appearance could show him to be so young as to prove the contrary, our Commissioner is to look very carefully at the appearance of said Augustin de Espinosa, when the man is unaware, and if his age corresponds to the possibility of his having been able to get married in said year of 1690, he is at the same time to try and find out the time he has spent in those Islands before getting married there, and depending on the findings regarding the identity of his person, should there be no doubt whatever, as it appears probable, in view of the fact that his first wife, Juana Isabel, and the witness Santiago Pineda affirm, he is to go ahead and see to it that the attached order of imprisonment is carried out and that said Augustin alias Juan de Espinosa is remitted with the corresponding security to the city of Manila to be placed at the disposal of our Commissioner in that city, who on this occasion is ordered what he must do with the above-mentioned. However, if the inspection to be done about his age and residence in the Philippine Islands should reveal to our Commissioner that in the year 1690 he could not have been old enough, or have been present in the Town of Lalló, to be able to get married in the Parish of New Segovia, as it seems that he did on 31 June of said year of 1690, he is to suspend said order of imprisonment, and communicate this to his prudent companions, making sure that distance will not create a problem in communication. But if our Commissioner in the city of Manila should already have sent for the person of said Augustin de Espinosa (it appears that he was planning to do that when he wrote to us) and should he have already been transferred, he should do nothing else but send him this commission with the attached order, for him to carry out its contents, and he will advise us at the first opportunity of what he did in this regard. For greater assurance and clarity, we warn our Commissioner that the first wife, whom he married in 1690, says that they lived together for only three years, and then her husband brought her to Manila and left her there to go to those Mariana Islands, where the witness Santiago Pineda says he saw him and recognized him; it appears that he is undoubtedly the same man who contracted said two marriages. And only if our Commissioner can prove through lists in those Islands, or other obvious means, that said Augustin de Espinosa was already there in the year 1690 and consequently could not have been in New Segovia at that time, in this case he is to suspend the order of imprisonment and transfer of said Augustin de Espinosa to Manila, thus communicating his findings to our Commissioner there.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 27 February 1725.

The Gentlemen Inquisitors, Palacio, and Navarro.

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1 Ed. note: Written Damangi below.

## A2. Letter sent to Manila, dated Mexico 28 February 1725

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Al Comisario de Manila, en los autos acerca Juan de Espinosa.*

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario su fecha de 2 de Julio del año proximo pasado con la certificazion del matrimonio que contrato Juan de Espinosa en la cathedral de la Nueva Segobia, con Juana Ysabel por Julio de 690; y con vista asimismo de los demas autos fhos contra el dho Juan de Espinosa alias Agustin sobre la justificazion de dho matrimonio, y del que despues contrato en la yglesia de Agadaña por septiembre de 695, por los que no se perzibe apreziable duda, de que reside en Marianas es el mismo que cometio el delicto de haberse casado dos vezes, en cuiu atencion y a estar suficientemente justificados dhos dos matrimonios, por auto de 23 [sic = 27] del corriente, emos mandado ordenar como en esta ocasion se ordena, á nuestros Comisarios en Marianas procuren serziorase del tiempo que alli residía el dho Agustin de Espinosa antes de casar con Margarita Damangi en Agadaña y de la edad del susodho segun su aspeto que no manifestandose con ebidencia por dha inspeccion, clara imposibilidad de ser el que caso en la Nueva Segobia con la dha Juana Ysabel el año de 90 respecto á que se allase entonces en Marianas ó que fuese de tan corta hedad que no la tubiese para poder ser el que caso en la Nueva Segobia que uno y otro parece dificil, por lo que dize la primera muger de haber vivido con ella solo tres años y que habiendola traído a Manila donde la dejo, se paso a Mariānas en cuias yslas el testigo Santiago Pineda, dize aberlo bisto y conocido, prozedan azerlo prender y embargar sus bienes y que lo remitan a esa ciudad de Manila con el seguro combeniente a la disposicion de nuestro Comisario a quien ordenamos que luego que reciba la persona del dho Agustin alias Juan de Espinosa haga y disponga que el susodho sea preso como Reo del Santo Oficio en la carzel Real de esa Ciudad de Manila y proceda á la justificazion de la causa segun estilo del Santo Oficio hasta ponerla en estado de sentencia como se prebiene en el orden de procesar impreso que para en el Arzobispado de esa comisaria, y en la ynstrucion adjunta para lo que se le remite, la acusazion, y publicazion de testigos que a de dar y poner al Reo en la forma y tiempos que yvan expresados y lo mismo hara en caso de que ya se halle en esa ciudad, por haverlo dispuesto asi en la conferencia que estaba para tener con el Padre Cantova Comisario de Marianas en segundo lugar, y puesta dho causa en estado de sentencia, nos la remitira por duplicado, en las primeras ocasiones como acostumbra en todos los demas negocios.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 28 de 1725 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro.*

**Translation.**

**To our Commissioner in Manila, regarding the case against Juan de Espinosa.**

With reference to the letter from our Commissioner dated 2 July of last year, with the certification of the marriage of Juan de Espinosa with Juana Isabel in the cathedral of New Segovia in July 1690, and also in view of the other depositions against said Juan alias Augustin de Espinosa regarding the justification of said marriage, and of the other one that he contracted afterwards in the church of Agaña in September 1695, it appears that the man residing in the Marianas is undoubtedly the same man who committed the crime of bigamy, in this instance and since there is sufficient proofs that said two marriages did take place, by decision of 27th instant we have decided to order, as we do now, to our Commissioners in the Marianas to try and find out how long has this Augustin de Espinosa resided there before he married Margarita Damangi in Agaña and his age according to his appearance. Unless this inspection should reveal the clear impossibility of his being the man who married said Juana Isabel in New Segovia in the year 1690, for having been then in the Marianas, or should he be too young to have been the man who got married in New Segovia, although either possibility seems remote, given that the first wife had lived with him only three years and that he had brought her to Manila, where he left her to go to the Marianas, where the witness Santiago Pineda says he saw him and recognized him, they are to arrange for his arrest, the seizure of his property, and his transfer to that city of Manila with the appropriate security to be placed at the disposal of our Commissioner, to whom we order that as soon as he receives the person of said Augustin alias Juan de Espinosa, he is to arrange for said man to be kept in the Royal jail of that city of Manila as prisoner of the Holy Office, until his case has been fully heard, ready for sentence to be passed, in accordance with the procedures printed by the Archdiocese of that commissary and the attached instruction, for what is being referred to you, such as the accusation and the declarations of the witnesses that must be given to the prisoner in the form and at the times stated therein. And you should do the same thing, in case he should already be in that city, if it was indeed so arranged in the conference that you held with Father Cantova, our substitute Commissioner for the Marianas who was there [in Manila] and, having processed said case as far as the condition for sentencing, you are to remit it to us in duplicate, at the first opportunities, as usual in all such business.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 28 February 1725.

The Gentlemen Inquisitors, Palacio, and Navarro.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: For continuation, see Doc. 1727B.

### A3. Letter dated Mexico 28 February 1725

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Rdo. Pe. Ygnacio de Ybarguen y en su falta, ó ausencia al R. Pe. Juan Antonio Cantova, y por la de ambos al R. P. Phelipe Maria Furnari, comisarios de este Santo Oficio en Marianas.*

*En este Santo Oficio se recibió la de nuestro Comisario su fecha de 12 de Mayo del año proximo pasado, con las diligencias que la acompañaban, tocantes á la causa del Capn. Francisco de Oxeda y Zentellas, en cuiá bista, emos mandado abisarle de su recibo, y que hizo mui bien, en no pasar a examinar a Ana de Zepeda, segunda muger, que se dize ser del dho, ni a las demas diligencias, asi por lo que tan prudentemente informa, como por haber buuelto el dho Zepeda, que no se le debe ni puede embaracar, por lo que toca al Santo Oficio, hasta que se justifique el primero matrimonio. Y que estubiese viva su primera muger al tiempo que caso con la segunda; en cuiá atenzion hasta tanto que otra cosa se le ordene, a nuestro Comisario, no haga novedad alguna, con dho testificado [sic].*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 28 de 1725 años.*

*Sres, Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro.*

#### Translation.

**To the Rev. Fr. Ignacio de Iburguen, and failing him, or in his absence, to Rev. Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, and in the absence of both of them, to Rev. Fr. Felipe María Furnari, Commissioners of this Holy Office in the Marianas.**

With reference to the letter of our Commissioner dated 12 May of last year which was received in this Holy Office, along with the [record of] proceedings that accompanied it, regarding the case of Captain Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas, we have ordered that you be advised of its receipt, and be told that you did very well in not having proceeded to examine Ana de Cepeda, said to be the second wife of the above-mentioned, and in stopping this process, not only because, as you so prudently reports, said Cepeda did return, but also because you must not and cannot embarrass him, as far as the Holy Office is concerned, unless his first marriage be proven. Unless it be proven that his first wife was still alive when he got married to the second one. In this respect, our Commissioner is not to do anything with said witness, until he be ordered otherwise.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 28 February 1725.

## A4. Letter dated Mexico 5 March 1725

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Rdo. Pe. Ygnacio de Ybarguen, y demas Comisarios de este Santa Oficio en las Yslas Marianas.*

*La de nuestro Comisario su fecha de 11 de Mayo del año proximo pasado, se rezivio en este Santo Oficio, y en su bista emos mandado ábisarle de su rezivo, remitiendo le dos copias de el edicto que pide del Excelentissimo Señor Cardenal Don Francisco Yudize, Inquisidor General; que son las adjuntas, que dispondra nuestro Comisario se apliquen á los Colexios, ó Conventos mas prencipales de esas Yslas, estando en ynteligencia de que no ay nezesidad de que prezisamente se conserben en las sacristias de sus Yglesias y que bastara se continue el cuidado de su lectura, en el dia que a su final se prescribe.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup> Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 5 de 1725 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palacio y Nabarro.*

### Translation.

**To Rev. Fr. Ignacio de Ibarguen, and the other Commissioners of this Holy Office in the Mariana Islands.**

With reference to the letter from our Commissioner dated 11 May of last year, which was received in this Holy Office, we have ordered that you be advised of its receipt, and that you be sent two copies of the edict that he requested by His Eminence Cardinal Francisco Judice, Inquisitor General (enclosed), which our Commissioner is to distribute to the more prominent colleges or convents in those Islands, and he is to be aware that there is no need for copies to be kept in the sacristies of their churches, provided that he continues to make sure that they be read, on the date that is prescribed at the end of said document.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 5 March 1725.

The Gentlemen Inquisitors, Palacio, and Navarro.

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## Documents 1725B

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### Official reaction to the memorial submitted by the natives of the Marianas

*General sources: AGI Fil. 99; copies in Ultramar 561 (year 1726) and in Ultramar 562, exp. 1; copies also in AHN Fil. 5854, and in Colección Pastells, Fil. 3, pp. 1-92.*

*Note: The investigation of the charges presented in this brief had been ordered by royal decree dated 30 March 1722 (see Doc. 1722B).*

#### B1. Letter from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 24 May 1723

##### Original text in Spanish.

*El Virrey de Nueva España da cuenta à V.M. lo que ha podido adquirir sobre el fundamento que tienen las quejas que representaron à V.M. de agravios y vejaciones que padecian los Indios habitantes de las Yslas Marianas y de Mindanao.*

*Señor.*

*Habiendo V.M. servidose mandar al Marques de Valero mi antecesor con Real Cédula de 30 de Marzo de 722 informase sobre las quejas que contiene el memorial que dieron los Indios habitantes de las Yslas Marianas, y de Mindanao representando el miserable estado en que se hallase por las vejaciones y suma codicia de la persona que los gobierna pidiendo à Vuestra Majestad el remedio, y otras providencias utiles al bien comun de aquellos naturales. Debo decir à Vuestra Majestad que despues de haber procurado inquirir aqui noticias verídicas de esta dependencia, y de los fundamentos que tenían los habitantes de Marianas no he encontrado otro sujeto, que me las dé verosímiles, sino el Padre Agustin Soler de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador General de la Provincia de Filipinas.*

*Este religioso supone en el papel en que me informa número 26, del Testimonio que remito, que por el Presidente y Audiencia de Manila se habia puesto ya el remedio, que en la realidad pedian los agravios que experimentaban los indios; mudando la persona que los gobernaba, y poniendo otra con instrucciones combenientes para atajar los daños que hasta entonces se conocieron, de cuya observancia pende el logro de que se trate à aquellos vasallos con la suavidad que Vuestra Majestad ordena y requiere la necesidad de mantener las Islas en el buen estado y Cristiandad que solicita el piadoso celo de V.M. Tambien entiende el espresado Religioso que para asegurar con firmeza*



*este beneficio conviene que V.M. de facultad al Presidente Capitan General de Filipinas, para que nombre y ponga Gobernador de Marianas, y que sea en todo subdito y dependiente del Gobierno de Manila, y me parece que sería muy acertado, por que de esta Suerte podría la eleccion destinar el mas apropiado y tenerle vajo de su mano, para reprimir y castigar los desordenes que puede cometer. El Trabajo y molestia que dicen en el memorial los cristianos habitadores de la Isla de Mindanao estan sufriendo no parece cierto, ni tampoco necesario que se les ponga Obispo, porque puede apacentarles el de Cebú, como lo hace con otros pueblos mas distantes de su jurisdiccion, pero sobre todo me remito á lo que podrán informar á V.M. el Presidente y Audiencia de Manila, por que hallando de esto tan remoto es preciso estar á las relaciones de uno, ó otro, que por mala inteligencia ó equivocacion pueden ser menos seguras, y las de Manila no carecerán de esta circunstancia para que Vuestra Majestad se sirva resolver lo que sea del Real Agrado.*

*Dios guarde la Católica Real Persona de Vuestra Majestad como la Cristiandad ha menester. México 24 de Mayo de 1723.*

**Membrete**

*México á Su Majestad veinte y cuatro de Mayo de mil setecientos veinte y tres. Recibida con aviso en diez y seis de Setiembre.*

*El Virrey Marques de Casafuerte*

*Da cuenta con testimonio de autos de lo que ha podido inquirir sobre el Fundamento de quejas, agravios y vejaciones que representaron padecian los indios habitadores de las Islas Marianas y Mindanao.*

*Consejo en diez y ocho de Setiembre de mil setecientos veinte y tres.*

*—Pase al Señor Fiscal.*

*El Fiscal en vista de esta Carta del Virrey de México Marques de Casafuerte, de veinte y cuatro de Mayo de este presente año, con el testimonio de autos que acompaña, y de los antecedentes de la materia cuyo expediente se reduce á que los indios habitadores de las Islas Marianas, y de Mindanao remitieron memorial á S.M. representando los trabajos continuados que padecian por la codicia del sugeto que los gobernaba; siendo absoluto; y como era independiente del Gobierno de Filipinas no tenia moderacion de sus agravios con los indios recién convertidos, causando notablemente atrasos, y de aburridos ejecutaban cosas indignas á Nuestra Santa Fé; sin poder tener remedio en los excesos del Gobernador padeciendo mas trabajos que á un principio de la conquista de aquellas Islas, y para remedio de estos excesos, propuesieron que el Gobernador para dichas Islas no lo eligiese S.M. de los pretendientes que habia en la Corte, sino que fuese á eleccion del Gobernador de Manila con la aprobacion del Arzobispo de aquella Ciudad, para que siendo desinteresados, se logre la paz y beneficio de aquellos Indios, en su buen trato, y con los Ministros evangélicos.*

*Que los Indios y demas vecinos de aquellas Islas se les dejase libre el cuidado de sus casas y haciendas sin que el Gobernador los tenga ocupados todos los días en sus in-*

*tereses, por lo que se les señalasen sus términos en las tierras á cada pueblo, y dentro de ellos su parte á cada vecino por haberse hecho el Gobernador dueño de todas ellas.*

*Que al Colegio de los Padres de la Compañia se les destinase un pedazo para sus siembras y criar ganado para su sustento por haberselo quitado el Gobernador habiendo llevado los padres algunos animales de los que en aquel tiempo habia en dicha Isla.*

*Que se pusiese en ejecucion la Cédula de Su Majestad que sacó la Duquesa de Aveyra para que pasasen ochenta ó noventa Familias de Indios de Manila; y aunque Fuesen doscientos para exemplo de aquellos barbaros en la politica, á cuales se les asignasen tambien las tierras competentes, y que el Gobernador no les impidiese travajarlas y se les concediesen los privilegios que usaban concedidos en Indias á pobladores y conquistadores; y lo mismo se ejecutase en las nuevas divisiones de Mindanao en el supuesto de que si el Gobernador no Fuere de la aprovacion del Arzobispo de Manila no se podría adelantar nada.*

*Y que seria combeniente que en la Isla de Mindanao se pusiese Obispo por ser isla muy grande y con vastantes Cristianos, cuyo medio seria de gran Fomento para el aumento de la Fé, y para atajar los desordenes de los Cabos; y pidieron se les atendiese á su representacion, y se diesen las providencias combenientes sobre estos puntos.*

*Y por haber venido esta representacion sin justificacion, y que pudiesen ser ciertas las molestias y vejaciones que proponian los Indios, y por esta Razon aventurarse su conservacion, y ser precisa la solicitud en su mayor alivio; resolvió S.M. se remitiesen órdenes asi al Virrey de Nueva España, como á la Audiencia de México; al Gobernador y Audiencia de Filipinas, y Arzobispo de Manila, en copias del espresado Memorial, para que en su inteligencia y de lo que en razon de ello, justificaren y hallaren por combeniente diesen cuenta informes al Consejo para lo cual se les remitieron Reales despachos en treinta de Marzo de setecientos veinte y dos.*

*En cuya consecuencia informa el Virrey haber procurado saber las noticias viridicas sobre el asunto del Memorial, y solo se las participo verosimiles el Padre Agustin Soler de la Compañia de Jesus y Procurador General de la Provincia de Filipinas, quien le informó que por el Presidente y Audiencia de Manila, se habia ya dado providencia, á fin de estribar los agravios que recibian los indios mudando la persona que los gobernaba y poniendo otra con las instrucciones combenientes á fin de atajar los daños que espermentaban aquellos naturales que lo fué Don Luis Tagle, que se hallaba con la futura de Gobernador de aquellas Islas Marianas, por Real despacho de su Majestad. De cuyas diligencias remite testimonio que le entregó el referido Padre Soler hechas en Manila á pedimento del Padre José Virdis (Procurador general de la misma Compañia) por donde consta haber proveido Auto Aquella Audiencia en veinte y tres de Agosto de setecientos veinte, mandando se observasen las instrucciones que se dieron al dicho Don Luis Tagle; y los que le sucediesen; hasta que S.M. mandase otra cosa, con otras providencias que dieran á fin del mayor alivio de aquellos indios naturales. Y que de todo se diese cuenta á S.M. y al Consejo con testimonio de las instrucciones, á que añadió el Padre Soler seria combeniente que el Gobernador de Aquellas Islas no lo eligiese S.M. de los pretendientes en la Corte, sino dejarlo a eleccion del Gobernador de*

*Manila, con aprovacion del arzobispo, por quanto de esta Forma se eligieran personas de justificados procederes ni tampoco Seria por combeniente se nombrase el Obispo que pedian los indios, por poder apacentarlos el de Cebú, por estar corta la distancia de una á otra Isla. Sobre cuyo informe funda el suyo el Virrey, comformandose con el, y que seria bueno, el elegirse Gobernador de aquellas Islas, por el de Filipinas para tenerle mas de su mano, y castigar cualesquiera horror que cometiesen. Y que tambien le parecia incierto, las molestias que representaban los indios de Mindanao, ni tampoco necesario el que se les pusiera Obispo porque el de Cebú, podia cuidar de su pasto espiritual y gobernarlos en este asunto, remitiendose en todo el Virrey a los informes del Presidente de Manila y Audiencia por lo que con mas certeza podrán estos informar sobre la materia. En cuyo impuesto dice el Fiscal que respecto de lo que espresa el Virrey y resulta del Testimonio que Remite parece estan ya dadas las providencias necesarias, por la Audiencia de Manila a fin de la quietud de aquellas Islas Marianas y Mindanao, y sus havitadores y de evitar las molestias y daños que representaron, en su Memorial recivian de su Gobernador como resulta del Testimonio que remite el Virrey entregado por el referido Padre Soler con su informe y hacen que no hay mas noticia que las participadas por este Padre y en quanto Funda el Virrey su informe; sin embargo le parece, son dignas de atenderse como conferidas por persona[s] de tanta graduacion credito y atencion; y si fuesen estimables por el Consejo le parece no hay que hacer en este asunto respecto de estar dadas las órdenes y providencias por la Audiencia de Manila sobre el punto y memorial de los indios; pero en caso que le parezca no son vastantes, ni lo que espresa el Virrey; le parece preciso se esperen los demas informes, que estan pedidos para que se resuelva lo que pareciere mas combeniente: y por si en ellos ocurriese alguna cosa particular en esta materia el Consejo resolvera.*

*Madrid á once de Diciembre de mil setecientos veinte y tres.*

*Hay una rubrica.*

*Consejo en Catorce de Diciembre de mil setecientos veinte y tres.*

*Como lo dice el Señor Fiscal, en la ultima espresion de su respuesta.*

*Rubricado.*

*Superior Gobierno añ de mil ochocientos veinte y tres.*

*Testimonio de la representacion hecha a S.M. por los naturales de las Islas Marianas y Mindanao, y demas diligencias a su continuacion.*

*Srio Don José Moran.*

### **Translation.**

The Viceroy of New Spain reports to Y.M. what he has been able to find out regarding the basis for the complaints that the Indians living in the Mariana Islands and Mindanao presented to Y.M. regarding the wrongs and vexations that they suffer.

Sire:

With reference to the order given by Y.M. to the Marquis of Valero, my predecessor, in a royal decree dated 30 March 1722, to report on the complaints contained in the memorial that the Indians living in the Mariana Islands and in Mindanao, in which they represented their miserable condition in view of the vexations and extreme greed of the person who governs them, and pleading with Your Majesty for a remedy, and other useful provisions for the welfare of those natives. I must tell Your Majesty that, after having made inquiries here, to get believable news regarding this pending matter, and about the reasons that the inhabitants of the Marianas might have, I did not find anyone as trustworthy as Father Augustin Soler of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines.

This religious supposes, in number 26 of his report, included in the attached record of proceedings, that the President and Audiencia of Manila have already applied the remedy that really merited the wrongs suffered by the Indians, by effectively removing the person who governed them, and replacing him with another, giving him the appropriate instructions in order to stop the harm that was done until then, and upon whose observance depends the success of the soft treatment that Your Majesty orders toward those vassals, in view of the need for maintaining the Islands in a good Christian state, as solicited by the pious zeal of Y.M. The said religious also explains that, in order to achieve this benefit more assuredly, Y.M. should give authority to the President and Captain-General of the Philippines to appoint and post the Governor of the Marianas, and that he should be in all things subject and dependent upon the Government of Manila. This recommendation seems to me to be very wise, because for one thing he would be able to select the best candidate for the job and to keep him under his control, in order to repress and punish the disorders that he might commit. As for the hardship and bother that the inhabitants of the Island of Mindanao are said to suffer in the memorial, that does not appear to be true, nor is it necessary to give them a Bishop, because the Bishop of Cebu can look after them, as he does with other towns even more distant within his jurisdiction; however, above all, I refer Y.M. to the opinion that the President and Audiencia of Manila might give, because I find myself so remote from overthere, forced to rely upon conflicting opinions, based perhaps on bad intelligence or even erroneous information, whereas those in Manila do not suffer from this circumstance, so that Y.M. may be pleased to resolve what may be of your royal pleasure.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty as Christendom needs.

Mexico, 24 May 1723.

**Endorsement.**

[From] Mexico to His Majesty, 24 May 1723. Received aboard the despatch boat on 17 September.

The Viceroy Marquis of Casafuerte reports, along with a record of proceedings, what he was able to find out about the basis for the complaints, wrongs, and vexations that were reported on behalf of the Indians inhabiting the Mariana Islands and Mindanao.

The Council, 18 September 1723.

—Pass it on to the Fiscal.

The Fiscal, in view of this letter from the Viceroy of Mexico, Marquis of Casafuerte, dated 24 May of the present year, along with the record of proceedings that accompanies it, and of the historical background on the matter, said file can be summarized by saying that the Indians inhabiting the Mariana Islands and Mindanao remitted a memorial to His Majesty, representing the continuous hardships that they suffered on account of the greed of the individual who governed them, that he was absolute, and since he was independent of the Government of the Philippines, no-one could moderate the harm he did to the recently-converted Indians, thus causing a notable lack of progress, as the latter commit acts repugnant to our Holy Faith out of sheer boredom. Since there was no remedy against the excesses of the Governor, they suffered more hardships than at the beginning of the conquest of those islands, and in order to remedy these excesses, they recommended that the Governor of said Islands not be appointed by His Majesty out of candidates present at court, but that the appointment be made by the Governor of Manila, as approved by the Archbishop of that city, in order to have disinterested persons, and to achieve peace and to benefit those Indians, by treating them and their Gospel ministers well.

The Indians and other residents of those Islands should be left free to take care of their houses and farms without the Governor keeping them busy every day in his own interests; hence, they should be assigned their own individual plots of land within the prefixed boundaries of their village.

The College of the Fathers of the Society should also be assigned a plot for their plantations and to raise cattle for their sustenance, since the Governor had taken from the Fathers some of the animals that existed then in said island.<sup>1</sup>

His Majesty's decree that the Duchess of Aveiro had obtained, to the effect that 80-90 Indian families from Manila be allowed in, should be carried out; and even if they were but 200 in number, they would act as an example to those barbarians by living in a civilized manner; they too should be assigned suitable plots of land, and to prevent the Governor from interfering in the cultivation of such lands, they should be granted privileges such as used to be granted in the Indies to colonists and conquerors. The same new divisions should be carried out in Mindanao. In the event that the Governor not be approved by the Archbishop of Manila, no progress will be made.

And [they recommended] that it would be convenient to have a Bishop in the Island of Mindanao, because it is a very big island and there are enough Christians there; such a means would be of great benefit for the progress of the Faith, and to block the disorders of the commanders. And they requested to have their representation examined, and have the appropriate provisions taken regarding the above points.

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1 Ed. note: The Jesuits had arranged for the first Mexican cattle to be brought to Guam, and the animals were later left to roam on Crown lands.

And given that this representation came without justification, although the bother and vexations alleged by the Indians could be true, something which would indeed imperil their preservation, and would make the request for relief acceptable, His Majesty decided to send orders not only to the Viceroy of New Spain, but also to the Audiencia of Mexico, to the Governor and Audiencia of the Philippines, and to the Archbishop of Manila, along with copies of said Memorial, asking them to inform themselves and, should they find anything justified, they might report to the Council; to this effect, royal despatches were issued to them on 30 March 1722.

Consequently, the Viceroy reports that he has tried to obtain believable news about the subject matter of the Memorial, and the only truthful ones he got were from Father Augustin Soler of the Society of Jesus and their Procurator General for the Province of the Philippines, who reported that the President and Audiencia of Manila had already decided to stop the harm done to the Indians by removing the person who governed them, replacing him with another who was given competent instructions to put a stop to the damage done to those natives. The replacement was Don Luis [Sanchez] Tagle, who already possessed the title of Governor-elect of those Mariana Islands, by royal despatch from His Majesty. With the record of proceedings, he sends the results of the inquiries that the above-mentioned Fr. Soler made in Manila, at the request of Father José Verdis (Procurator General of the Society) from which record can be learned that the Audiencia overthere, on 23 August 1720, had ordered said Don Luis Tagle, and those who would follow him, to observe the instructions that had been given them, until H.M. would order otherwise, as well as other provisions they made in order to alleviate those Indian natives. And [they ordered] that everything should be reported to H.M. and to the Council, with copies of the instructions. Father Soler added that it would be proper to have the Governor of those Islands not appointed by H.M. from pretendors at court, without consultation of the Governor of Manila, and without the approval of the Archbishop; in the latter case, persons of known and acceptable behavior might be selected. He added that it would not be proper to appoint the Bishop requested by the Indians [of Mindanao]<sup>1</sup> since that of Cebu could take care of them, given the short distance between the two islands. This report is the basis of the Viceroy's own report; he agreed with it, and goes on to say that it would be a good thing to have the Governor of those Islands appointed by the Governor of the Philippines, in order to have him more under his control, and to punish whatever mistake they might commit. He added that he was also uncertain about the bother mentioned by the Indians of Mindanao, and did not think either that it was necessary for them to have their own bishop, because that of Cebu could look after their spiritual needs and govern them in this matter. In everything, the Viceroy deferred to the reports of the President and Audiencia of Manila, as the latter could inform on the matter with more certainty. In this wise, the Fiscal declares that, with reference to what the Viceroy says in his letter and what

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1 Ed. note: Left unsaid is the fact that the original request for such a bishop had been made by the same, or other, Jesuits, who had by then changed their minds.

appears in the record of proceedings that accompanies it, it seems that the necessary provisions have already been made by the Audiencia of Manila in order to calm down those Mariana Islands and Mindanao, and their inhabitants, and to avoid the bothers and damages that they complained about, in their Memorial, as receiving from their Governor, as appears in the record of proceedings remitted by the Viceroy and delivered by the above-mentioned Father Soler with his report. There are no follow-up news to what this Father says in this report, which formed the basis for the Viceroy's own report. Nevertheless, it seems to him that the report is creditable, given the high position, credit and care of its author[s], and if the Council considers it worthy of consideration, it seems that there is nothing more to do in this matter, since the orders and provisions of the Audiencia of Manila regarding the point and memorial of the Indians have already been given; however, should they be considered insufficient, it seems to him that one should wait for the other reports that have been requested, before deciding on anything more appropriate, and then, if something special should happen, the Council will resolve the matter.

Madrid 11 December 1723.

There is a rubric.

The Council, 14 December 1723.

As the Fiscal says, in the latter part of his answer.

Rubrics.

Superior Government, year of 1723.

Record of proceedings in the case of the representation made to H.M. by the natives of the Mariana Islands and Mindanao, and other proceedings that followed.

Secretary, Don José Moran.

## B2. First petition of Fr. José Verdis

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Poderoso Señor*

*El Padre José Verdis de la Compañía de Jesus, y su Procurador General en estas Islas, en nombre del Padre Vice Provincial de las Islas Marianas é implorando la proteccion amparo y auxilio real de Vuestra Alteza para el bien, justicia y gobierno espiritual y temporal de dichas Islas Marianas dice.*

*Que pide y suplica conforme á Reales Leyes é instrucciones de Vuestra Alteza y de el Superior Gobierno de estas Islas, se renueven y den por Vuestra Alteza las instrucciones que se han dado á los Gobernadores interinos de dichas islas Marianas por Vuestros Presidentes D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, y Don Domingo Zabalburu, y que en el caso de no expresarse en ellas el que no ponga Alcalde en cada pueblo por que no son necesarios y solo sirven de lo que en estas islas hacen y deben hacer los indios Juezes de Sementaras; de suerte que ni es necesario Gobernadorcillo indio que sea distinto de dicho Juez como de practica en estas Islas por que en aquellas los indios naturales de*

*ellas no tienen negocio, y así no es necesario la Jurisdicción y Título que se despacha por el Superior Gobierno en estas Islas, y habiendo solo los dichos Indios Jueces de Sementeras cesará el imcombeniente é injusticia de obligar á los indios con solo la paga de un palillo de Tabaco cada semana, y sin darles comida a trabajar en las Sementeras que el dicho Gobernador llama de S.M. (que Dios guarde) y son á veces para vender los Frutos á los Soldados, y que para evitar el todo y dicho otros incombenientes no se obligue a los Indios, á hacer otras Sementeras mas que las propias, ni cojer alcaparras por ser muy Sensible en Marianas dicho trabajo, ni que obligue a las indias a tejer petates sino petaquillas y velas de petate.*

*Ytem que no se saque vino de Coco para que los indios de Marianas no entren en la borrachera, que se quiten los repartimientos para la estancia que llaman del Rey, y que todo lo que Fuere necesario mandar á los dichos Indios así de trabajo personal, como de contribucion de cosas comestibles satisfecho y pagado segun la moderacion y tasa que V.A. mandare, y que á cualquiera capitan, Soldado ó Indio natural, les sea licito y permitido como lo es por derechos de gentes tener tiendas de cualesquiera cosas vendibles, y á todos los Pobres, como si era en estas Islas, tiendecillas de cosas de comer, y de poco valor con que de el todo se acabara el monopolio que ha usado el Gobernador de aquellas Islas vendiendo el solo todos los géneros así preciosos como viles, y de los comestibles segun aprecio de su voluntad; y por que aunque dicho Gobernador estaba obligado por ley natural y divina á la observancia de todo lo contrario á lo que ha obrado con todo por que se escusa y ha escusado con decir que los dichos Vuestros Presidentes como Gobernadores no podian mandarles sino solo á los internos que pusieron: —a Vuestra Alteza pide y suplica con todo vendimiento se sirva de mandar á dicho Gobernador y á los que en adelante fueren que guarden y observen puntualmente las dichas instrucciones, ordenando que las guarde y observe dicho Gobernador y que se remitan auténticas á aquel gobierno y en caso necesario mandando Vuestra Alteza suplirlas ó añadirlas en los capitulos Suplicados por ser justicia que pide V.A.*

*Otro si Dice: Que vuestro Fiscal como protector general de los Indios, lastimado de que dichos Indios padecen ha dado titulo de vice protector al padre vice Provincial de dichas Islas Marianas, en cuya atencion para la Firmeza y observancia de lo que V.A. mandare y para que dicho Padre vice Provincial pueda celar el bien de los Indios suplica á V.A. se sirva de despachar su provision Real de ruego y encargo á dicho Padre que es ó fuere en adelante vice Provincial, para que por si informe cada añ á dicho Vuestro Fiscal de lo que en adelante sucediere en contrario y que al suplicante se le de testimonio auténtico de todos los órdenes é instrucciones y mandamientos que V.A. para el dicho Gobernador de Marianas por duplicado para que pueda remitir tanto de ellas á dicho Padre Vice Provincial por ser justicia ut supra.*

*José Verdis.*



### **Translation.**

**Almighty Sir:**

Father José Verdis of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands, on behalf of the Father Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands, and imploring the protection and royal assistance of Your Highness for the spiritual and material welfare, justice and government of said Mariana Islands, declares:

That he requests and begs that, in accordance with the Royal laws and instructions of Your Highness and of the Superior Government of these Islands, the instructions that were given to the interim Governors of said Mariana Islands by Your Presidents Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, and Don Domingo Zabalburu be renewed and given by Your Highness, and, in case it is not mentioned in them, to add that in each town there should not be appointed any Mayor, because they are not necessary and only serve the role that in these [Philippine] Islands are given to Indian Judges of Plantations; indeed, it is not even necessary to have Indian Magistrates other than said Judge, as is the practice in these Islands, because overthere the native Indians do not have any businesses, and so it is not necessary to issue the Jurisdiction and Letter of Appointment that is despatched by the Superior Government in these Islands. So, by having only said Indian Judges of Plantations, the disadvantage and injustice to the Indians will cease, that of giving them only one stick of tobacco each week, and without giving them any food while they work in the plantations that said Governor calls the plantations of the King (may God save him) and at times are used to sell their products to the soldiers; and, in order to avoid this and other disadvantage the Indians should not be forced to work any other plantation but their own, or to collect capers, since such a task is arduous in the Marianas, or to force the Indian women to weave mats, except small ones and mat sails.

Furthermore, that coconut wine should not be produced, so that the Indians of the Marianas will not get drunk, that contributions for the ranch called the King's ranch be removed, and that everything else that might be required to order from said Indians, not only for personal services, as well as contribution in the form of food, should be satisfied and paid for, in accordance with the moderation and at a rate that Your Highness would specify, and that any Captain, soldier or Indian native be allowed and permitted, in accordance with the laws of freedom, to maintain stores to sell any saleable item, and to all the poor, as is done in these Islands, or small stores selling food and other articles of little value, in order to end once and for all the monopoly that the Governor of those Islands has had, to be the only one to sell all kinds of goods, precious as well as vile, and food items, at prices fixed by him; and because, although said Governor is obliged by natural and divine law to observe exactly the opposite of what he has done, nevertheless, because he excuses himself by saying that Your Presidents as Governors could not give orders to them, but only to those internal governors that they appoint themselves: —to Your Highness he begs and beseeches in all humility to be pleased to order said Governor and future ones to respect and observe said instructions to the letter, ordering said Governor to respect and observe them, and that authenti-

cated copies be sent to that government, and if necessary, may Your Highness order that the recommended clauses be provided or added, as justice is all that he asks for.

In addition, he declares: That since your Fiscal, as general protector of the Indians, being sorry that said Indians are suffering, has given the title of vice-protector to the Father Vice-Provincial of said Mariana Islands, in this respect, in order to give weight to the observance of what Your Highness might order and so that said Father Vice-Provincial may keep an eye on the welfare of the Indians, he begs Your Highness to please despatch his Royal provision entreating said Father Vice-Provincial, present and future, to send a yearly report to Your Fiscal about anything that may happen in contra, and that an authenticated copy of the proceedings be given to the suppliant of all the orders and instructions that Your Highness may address to said Governor of the Marianas, in duplicate, so that he might remit one set to said Father Vice-Provincial, as justice, etc. as above.

José Verdis.<sup>1</sup>

### B3. Second petition of Fr. Verdis

*Note: He must have written this convoluted note in a hurry, while visiting the Fiscal's office.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*El Padre José Verdis de la Compañía de Jesus y su Procurador General de estas Islas, en el pedimento que tengo hecho á V.A. en nombre del Padre Vice Provincial de las Islas Marianas implorando vuestra proteccion auxilio y real amparo para el bien espiritual y temporal de el Gobierno de ellas, sobre que por vuestro Ultimo Real Auto de veinte y tres de Julio ultimo pasado de este presente año se sirvió Vuestra Alteza de mandar se saque testimonio de las instrucciones que en primer pedimento pido, del cual recaudo en aquella via forma para que en vista de dichas instrucciones y la constante en ellas se sirva Vuestra Alteza de dar la providencia mas combeniente segun lo tengo pedido; y para conseguirla á Vuestra Alteza pido y suplico se sirva haber por presentados dichos testimonios; y para que de ellos se deduze y de mi primer escrito mandar en la Forma que tengo producido en el, sobre que implorar el real auxilio, proteccion y amparo de Vuestra Alteza[.] es justicia que pido V.A.*

*José Verdis.*

#### Translation.

Almighty Sir:

Father José of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General in these Islands, in the request that I made to Your Highness on behalf of the Father Vice-Provincial of the Mariana Islands, imploring your protection, assistance and royal protection for the

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1 Ed. note: This letter arrived at Madrid on 16 September 1723.

spiritual and material welfare of their government, with regards to the recent Royal rescript dated 23 July of this year, Your Highness was pleased to order that the instructions that I requested in my first request be drafted, for said document to be given the form that I requested, in view of said instructions and their contents, Your Highness be pleased to give the more appropriate provision. In order to get it, he begs and beseeches Your Highness to please see to it that such records be presented; and so that it may be deduced and from my first petition, to order that it be produced in the format that I recommended in it, to wit, the imploring the royal assistance and protection, the protection of Your Highness. In justice I ask.

José Verdis.

#### **B4. Earlier decision of the Audiencia of Manila, dated 23 August 1720**

*Acuerdo.—*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en veinte y tres dias del mes de Agosto de mil setecientos y veinte años los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas Islas estando en el real acuerdo que se celebró hoy, de la fecha, habiendo visto el pedimento hecho por el reverendo Padre José Verdis de la Compañía de Jesus su Procurador General, que está en la foxa primera de estos autos, y el testimonio de las instrucciones de el Superior Gobierno de estas Islas en el tiempo que las Gobernaron los Señores Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora Don Domingo de Zabalburu Echavarrí sobre el modo y forma que habia de preservar el General Don José Madrazo, y el Sargento mayor Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo en el tiempo que gobernasen las Islas Marianas con lo demas pedido por dicho Reverendo Padre José Verdis, dichos Señores dijeron.*

*Se guarden y cumplan y ejecuten las dichas instrucciones por el capitan Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle que se halla provisto por Gobernador y Capitan general de dichas Islas por el Rey Nuestro señor, y por todos los demas Gobernadores que le subcedieron precisa y puntualmente hasta tanto que Su Majestad (que Dios guarde) y Señores de su Real y supremo Consejo de las Indias, manden y determinen lo que tubieren por mas conbeniente dejando que libremente puedan tener tiendas de cosas comestibles y ropas todos los que quisiesen para el mayor alivio de la Infanteria y habitantes de dichas Islas Marianas y especialmente de los indios naturales de ellas que está repetidamente mandado por S.M. pagandose ante todas cosas por las personas que quisieren tener dichas tiendas, lo que se les regulara de media annata por el Señor Juez privativo de este derecho y que de dichas Instrucciones se saque testimonio y se remita en primera ocasion á dicho Gobernador de Marianas para que lo mande poner en el Archivo de Gobierno de ellas, y al dicho Reverendo Padre Procurador General José Verdis se les den los testimonios que pidiere de dichas instrucciones y se de cuenta á S.M. y dichos Señores de su Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias con Testimonio de dichas instrucciones, y por este auto asi lo proveyeron y acordaron y firmaron dichos Señores.*

*Arzobispo Gobernador.*

*Licenciado Pabon.*

## **Translation.**

### **Agreement.—**

In the City of Manila on the 23rd day of the month of August 1720, the gentlemen President and members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of these Islands, in the royal agreement that took place today, on this date, they having examined the petition presented by Rev. Fr. José Verdis of the Society of Jesus, its Procurator General, that appears on the first folio of these proceedings, and the record of the instructions from the Superior Government of these Islands at the time that they were governed by Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora and Don Domingo de Zabalburu Echevarri regarding the manner and form that General Don José Madrazo was to follow, and Sergeant-Major Don Antonio de Villamor y Vadillo [respectively] at the time that they were to govern the Mariana Islands, along with other things requested by said Rev. Fr. José Verdis, said gentlemen said:

Let said instructions be respected, kept and carried out by Captain Luis Sanchez de Tagle who has already been appointed as Governor and Captain General of said Islands by the King our Lord, and by all of the other future Governors, in a precise and timely manner, until such time as His Majesty (God save him) and the Gentlemen members of his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies might order and determine as more appropriate. They are to let everyone who wishes to do so, be free to set up stores to sell food and clothing articles, for the greater relief of the Infantry and inhabitants of said Mariana Islands and specially that of their Indian natives, as such was repeatedly ordered by H.M., provided that the persons willing to set up said stores first pay a tax of half an "annata" that the Judge entrusted with such a duty will fix for them. Copies of said instructions are to be made and sent by the first occasion to said Governor of the Marianas for him to order their deposition in the archives of the Government there, and said Rev. Father Procurator General José Verdis is to be given authenticated copies of said instructions. H.M. and said Gentlemen of his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies are to be informed, enclosing a record of said instructions, and in faith whereof they provided this certificate and so agreed, and said Gentlemen signed their names:

Archbishop Governor.

Licentiate Pavon.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Francisco de la Cuesta was then acting Governor of the Philippines. The other official reports to the King are on file: 1) Letter from the Audiencia of Manila, dated Manila 26 June 1725; and 2) Letter from the ecclesiastical council, dated Manila 30 June 1726.

## B5. Report by Fr. Augustin Soler

### Original text in Spanish.

*Exmo. Señor.*

*En vista de lo que V.E. me manda informar sobre lo que se representa a S.M. en el memorial presentado en nombre de los indios habitadores de las Islas Marianas, y de el Mindanao de el miserable estado en que se hallan dichos indios por los agravios y vejaciones que padecen por codicia de la persona que los Governa que como absoluto é independiente de el gobernador y Audiencia de Filipinas no se puede lograr el fin de contenerle en sus escesos: Digo que habiendo hecho las debidas diligencias para adquirir las noticias que vinieron el año pasado con la [nao?] de Filipinas; he averiguado ser verdad todo lo que dice en el referido memorial de los trabajos y molestias que padecian los Indios Marianos en tiempo del mencionado gobernador; y que por haber llegado á Manila su noticia con la justificacion que requeria despues de muchas, consultas y acuerdos de la real audiencia de aquellas Islas que se tubieron para discurrir y aplicar el combeniente remedio á tantos escesos, determinó el Señor Arzobispo de Manila, Gobernador interino de las Islas despachar con un Patache á Don Luis Tagle quien se hallaba con la futura de Gobernador de Marianas por cédula de Su Majestad con orden apretado de que en llegando á dichas islas embiase preso a Manila al dicho su antecesor, lo cual se ejecutó remediandose los daños y escesos referidos en el dicho memorial en lo que por [pre]venir semejantes desordenes se le embiaron en el año siguiente al dicho Gobernador Don Luis Tagle las instrucciones y ordenes que con esta remito á V.E. de cuya observancia pende el buen estado y felicidad de aquellas Islas y para asegurarla el medio que me parece mas oportuno es ó el que propone el sobre dicho memorial que el Gobernador de dichas Islas, no le elija S.M. de los pretendientes que hay en la Corte; sino que se sirva dejar la disposicion de su elecion al Gobernador de Manila con la aprovacion de el Señor Arzobispo de aquella Ciudad, ó que no tenga la Autoridad absoluta y sin dependencia de el Gobernador y Audiencia de Manila por que en esa conformidad se eligieran personas conocidas de justificado proceder y que en sus operaciones tenga el debido respeto y temor al dicho Gobernador y real audiencia.] sobre las demas providencias que pide el citado memorial, aunque las juzgo combenientes para la paz quietud y aumento de aquellas Islas, pero tengo por mas acertado esperar hasta saber con la Nao que viene el estado presente de dichas Islas.*

*En orden á los indios cristianos habitadores de la Isla de Mindanao; digo que ni estan sujetos al Gobernador de Marianas sino al de Filipinas, ni han podido los agravios ni trabajos que representa el dicho memorial, como ni tampoco tengo por necesarios que se señale nuevo Obispo para los Indios Cristianos de dicha Isla pues puede muy bien cuidarles y apacentarles el Señor Obispo de Cebú siendo aun mayor la distancia de otros Pueblos de su jurisdiccion que la que hay desde los dichos Pueblos de Mindanao que consta tan solamente de una travesia de mar. Es quanto puedo informar por ahora á Vucelencia, cuya vida guarde el Señor muchos años.*

*San Borja y Octubre veinte y uno de mil setecientos veinte y dos.*

*Besa la mano de V.E. su mas afecto servidor y Capellan.  
Agustin Soler.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency:

In view of what Y.E. orders me to report upon, regarding the contents of the memorial presented to H.M. on behalf of the Indians inhabiting the Mariana Islands, and Mindanao, about the miserable state in which said Indians find themselves on account of the wrongs and vexations which they endure because of the greed of the person who governs them, who is absolute and independent of the Governor and Audiencia of the Philippines, and no way was found to make him refrain his excesses:

I declare that, having made efforts to obtain news that came in recent years with the Philippine galleon, I found out that everything was true what the above-mentioned memorial says about the hardships and bothers suffered by the Mariano Indians during the term of the Governor in question; and that, there having arrived at Manila this news with the required justification, after many consultations and agreements of the Royal Audiencia of those Islands that were held to discuss and apply the appropriate remedy to so many excesses, His Lordship the Archbishop of Manila, interim Governor of the Islands, decided to send a patache aboard which was Don Luis [Sanchez de] Tagle, who was Governor-elect of the Marianas by decree of His Majesty, with a tight order to the effect that, upon arriving at said Islands, he was to have his predecessor arrested and sent to Manila. This was done and the wrongs and excesses referred to in said memorial were remedied. To prevent such disorders from occurring in future, the following year said Governor Don Luis Tagle was sent instructions and orders, which I enclose for Y.E., and upon them depends the good state and happiness of those Islands. In order to achieve this end, the means that seems to me to be most timely is, either the one recommended by said memorial, which is that the Governor of said Islands not be selected by H.M. out of the pretendors living at court, but that he be pleased to let this selection be made by the Governor of Manila with the approval of His Lordship the Archbishop of that city, or else that his authority not be absolute but dependent of the Governor and Audiencia of Manila, because in this manner some known persons with proper behavior would be selected, and that in his operations he would maintain due respect and fear of said Governor and Royal Audiencia. With respect to the other provisions requested in said memorial, although I judge them appropriate for the peace, tranquility and progress of those Islands, I believe that it would be wiser to wait until this year's galleon arrives to learn the present state of said Islands.

As for the Christian Indians living in the Island of Mindanao, I declare that they are neither subject to the Governor of the Marianas but rather to that of the Philippines; neither could he have had anything to do with wrongs or hardships there, as mentioned in said memorial. I do not believe either that it is necessary to appoint a new Bishop for the Christian Indians of said Island; indeed, His Lordship the Bishop of Cebu can very well take care of them, as other towns within his jurisdiction are even located farther

than said towns in Mindanao which are situated in such a way that only one sea crossing is necessary to reach them. This is all I can report to Y.E. for now, whose life may Our Lord save for many years.

San Borja, 21 October 1722.

He who kisses the hand of Y.E., your most affectionate servant and Chaplain,  
Augustin Soler.

## **B6. Depositions of witnesses called during the inquiry held at Manila in June 1724**

Note: The 5 witnesses were: 1) Second-Lieutenant Diego Sanchez de Leiba, 27 years old; 2) Major José Ruiz, over 25 years old; 3) Captain Pedro de las Cuevas, said to be of competent age; 4) Adjutant Manuel Rodriguez, 31 years old; and 5) Captain Nicolas Rodriguez, 40 years old. Only the depositions of the first two witnesses are reproduced below.

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

*Primer Testigo el Alferez Diego Sanchez de Leiba de veinte y siete años de edad.*

*En la Ciudad de Manila en cinco de Junio de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro años, yo el Sargento mayor Juan de Leon Secretario de Cámara de la Audiencia real y Chancilleria de estas Islas para la averiguacion prevenida por la real Cédula que da principio á este espediente, y en virtud de la comision que por el auto del real acuerdo de treinta de Mayo proximo pasado se le confiere; hice comparecer ante mi al Alferez Don Diego Sanchez de Leiba, de quien recibí juramento que lo hizo por Dios nuestro Señor y una Señal de cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometio decir verdad en lo que supiere y se le fuere preguntando y siendolo por el tenor de los puntos del memorial de los naturales de las islas Marianas y la de Mindanao que se leyó de verbo ad verbum, y enterado de el dixo que de todo el contesto de la espresion de los naturales de las Islas Marianas, solo puede decir con verdad, que oyó decir de muchos de los Soldados de aquel Campo que dos Gobernadores de aquellas Islas, sin explicar sus nombres habian establecido ocupar continuamente á los naturales de ellas sin pagarles su merecido jornal y que el declarante se persuadio a que era cierto lo que le habian dichos dichos soldados[,] que habiendo estado en dichas Islas tiempo de dos años en servicio de S.M. en plaza de Soldado gobernando dichas Islas el Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, vió esto mismo el declarante, y que solo les pagaban á los dichos naturales que trabajan con cuatro ojas de tabaco, y asi mismo oyó de los mismos soldados que por haber reclamado el Reverendo Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, á dicho Teniente General sobre la moderacion del trabajo de dichos naturales, le habian notificado un auto de destierro, aunque no tubo efecto, y que le parece al declarante, fuera muy combeniente el que de estas Islas pasasen como cien Familias de Indios, con los honores de pobladores, y conquistadores, á habitar en dichas Islas Marianas, para instruir á aquellos isleños en policia por ser mas capaces y mas bien educados los indios de estas Islas*

*Filipinas, y que para la manutencion de dichas familias se les señalasen las tierras que fuesen necesarias para la conservacion y manutencion y que el Gobernador de dichas Islas Marianas no les impidiese el labrar dichas tierras, y por lo que toca á la Isla de Mindanao no puede el declarante decir cosa alguna por que no ha estado en ella y que todo lo que lleva dicho es la verdad y lo que save y la verdad so cargo del juramento que lleva fecha en que se afirmó y ratificó y declaró ser de edad de veinte y siete años, y no le tocan las generales de la ley y lo firmo de que doy fé.*

*Diego Sanchez de Leiba.*

*Ante mi Juan de Leon.*

*2º Testigo Sargento mayor Don José Ruiz, de edad de mas de veinte y cinco años.*

*Incontinenti en dicha Ciudad de Manila, dicho dia mes y año; yo el dicho Secretario de Cámara en virtud de dicha mi comision, y en prosecucion de la referida averiguacion hice parecer ante mi al sargento mayor Don José Ruiz, vecino de esta Ciudad, de quien recibí juramento que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y una señal de Cruz en forma de derecho, y so cargo de el prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntando, y siendolo por el tenor de los puntos contenidos en dicho memorial que se le leyó de verbo ad verbum y enterado de el, dixo.*

*Que estubo en las Islas Marianas poco menos que un año, que fué el tiempo en que tomó la residencia del Teniente General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, y que nunca ha estado en la Isla de Mindanao, y que en el tiempo que lleva declarando estubo en dichas Islas Marianas solo conoció por Gobernadores de ellas al dicho Teniente General Pimentel, á quien como tiene declarado tomó la residencia, y al Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle que le sucedió en dicho cargo. Y preguntado sobre los agravios que espresa el memorial de los naturales de dichas Islas que dicen ser les hace el que los gobierna.*

*Dixo.*

*Que sobre esta pregunta se remite á las demandas que le pusieron á dicho Teniente General, en dicha residencia, las cuales paran con los autos de dicha residencia en la Secretaria de Cámara de esta Real audiencia, y que no tiene que decir cosa fina ni cierta, contra el dicho Capitan Don Luis de Tagle, sobre el punto de agravios por que solo oyó de algunos unos rumores de quejas de las asperezas de dicho Gobernador Tagle. Y preguntado si los dichos Gobernadores han quitado con violencia á los naturales de aquellas islas algunas tierras ó ganados y ócuparlos contra su voluntad en su servicio, y propios intereses sin pagarles su merecido jornal.*

*Dixo que en cuanto á tierras y ganados no sabe cosa alguna, y que por lo que mira á la ocupacion de los naturales en servicio del dicho gobernador, se remite el declarante á las demandas que asienta en la pregunta antecedente, y preguntado si tiene noticia que los gobernadores de dichas Islas Marianas hayan quitado á los religiosos misioneros de ellas las tierras de su cultivo y algun ganado dixo.*

*Que dichos Padres misioneros tienen mas abundancia de tierra y ganado que les tiene Su Majestad para su manutencion de aquel Campo y no sabe que los Gobernadores*



*han sido de dichas Islas les hayan quitado cosa alguna de las mencionadas en esta pregunta.*

*Preguntado si sabe ó ha oido decir que dichos Gobernadores hayan despreciado á los Padres Misioneros ámenazandoles con destierros por haberles pedido remedio de los agravios que padecen dichos naturales.*

*Dixo que no sabe cosa alguna de que contiene la pregunta.*

*Preguntado si tiene por combeniente que estas Islas de Filipinas, pasen Familias de indios, como ochenta ó noventa de ellas con el Patache que lleva el situado para habitar en dichas Islas Marianas con los honores de pobladores y conquistadores para que á su exemplo aquellos Isleños se gobiernen en politica, y que á dichas Islas las familias que alli pasaron se les señalen Tierras en lugar en donde hubiere de poblar, en cantidad proporcionada al número de Familias.*

*Dixo que le parece ser muy combeniente el que se remitan á dichas Islas en el Patache que lleva el Situado el numero de familias de indios de estas Islas Filipinas, y que á los que fueren conducidos se les señale las tierras que contiene la pregunta para su conservacion y manutencion[,] que se les atienda como á pobladores de dichas Islas para con su ejemplo instruir en política á los naturales de aquellas Islas por ser mas capaces y mas bien educados los indios de estas Islas Filipinas, todo lo cual dixo ser lo que save, y la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecha en que se afirmó y ratificó, siendole leida esta su declaracion, y que es de mas de veinte y cinco años de edad, y que no le tocan las generales de la ley y lo firmó de que doy fé.*

*José Ruiz.*

*Ante mi Juan de Leon.*

## **Translation.**

**First Witness:** Second-Lieutenant Diego Sanchez de Leiba, 27 years old.

In the city of Manila, on the fifth of June 1724, I, Sergeant-Major Juan de León, Secretary of the Chamber of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of these Islands and by virtue of the commission that was given me in the royal agreement dated 30 May last; convened before me Second-Lieutenant Diego Sanchez de Leiba, who swore an oath with God our Lord as his witness, while making the sign of the cross, in due form. Under this oath, he promised to tell the truth of what he might know about what would be asked of him. The content of the various points of the memorial of the natives of the Mariana Islands and of Mindanao was read to him word for word, and once informed, he declared that, from the context of the declaration of the natives of the Mariana Islands, the only thing he could say truthfully was that he had heard many of the soldiers of that camp say that two Governors of those Islands, without mentioning their names, had arranged to keep the natives there continuously busy, without paying them the daily wages that they deserved, and that he, the declarant, became convinced that what said soldiers had told him was true, that during the two years that he served H.M. there as a soldier, when Lieutenant-General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel was governing, the declarant saw this himself, and said native laborers were paid only 4 leaves of tobacco

[per day]. In addition, he also heard the same soldiers say that the Reverend Father Juan Antonio Cantova, after he had approached said Lieutenant-General about moderating the work of said natives, had received an official notification of [internal] exile, although it had no effect, and that it seems to the declarant that it would be very appropriate for some 100 families of Indians from these Islands to go and live in said Mariana Islands, giving them privileges as settlers and conquerors, in order to teach those islanders to live in a civilized manner, since the Indians of these Philippine Islands are abler and better educated, and that said families be assigned the necessary lands for their own preservation and sustentation, and that the Governor of said Mariana Islands should not prevent them from working said lands. And as far as the Island of Mindanao is concerned, the declarant cannot say anything, because he has never been there, and that everything he has declared is the truth, what he knows, and the truth under the oath already taken, which was affirmed and ratified, and he declared his age to be 27 years, and he is not affected by any legal action, and then he signed, for which I vouch.

Diego Sanchez de Leiba.  
Before me, Juan de León.

**Second witness:** Sergeant-Major José Ruiz, over 25 years old.

Immediately afterwards, in said city of Manila, on said month and year, I, said Secretary of the Chamber, in view of said commission and in prosecution of the above-mentioned inquiry, caused Sergeant-Major José Ruiz, a resident of this city, to appear before me. I received his oath which he took with God our Lord as a witness and making the sign of the cross according to law, promising under said oath to tell the truth of what he knew and would be asked. The content of the various points of said memorial was read to him word for word, and once informed, he declared:

That he was in the Mariana Islands for less than one year, when he took the management audit of Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, and that he never was in the Island of Mindanao. And that, during the time that the declarant was in said Mariana Islands, the only Governors that he met there were, firstly said Lieutenant-General Pimentel, whom he audited, as was said, and secondly Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle who succeeded him in said post. And, when asked about the wrongs done to the natives of said Islands, as mentioned in the memorial, he declared:

That, regarding this question, he refers to the questions made to said Lieutenant-General in said audit, those that appear in the record of proceedings of said audit now on file in the Secretarial office of the Chamber of this Royal Audiencia, and that he has nothing definite or certain to say against said Captain Luis de Tagle, with regards to possible wrongs done by him, because he has only heard rumors of complaints against the roughness of said Governor Tagle. When asked if said Governors had forcibly taken some lands or cattle away from the natives of those Islands, or kept them busy against their will in their service and own interests without paying them the wages they deserved, he declared:

That, as far as lands and cattle are concerned, he does not know anything, but regarding the work done by the natives in the service of said Governor, the declarant again refers to the record mentioned earlier. When asked if he knows anything about the governors of said Mariana Islands having taken plantation lands and some cattle away from the religious missionaries, he declared:

That said Fathers have more land and cattle than His Majesty has earmarked for the support of that Camp and he does not know if the Governors of said Islands have taken away any of the things mentioned in this question from them.

When asked if he knew or had heard it say that said Governors had depreciated the Missionary Fathers, threatening them with exile, because they had asked for a remedy for the wrongs suffered by said natives,

He declared that he knew nothing about the content of the question.

When asked if he thinks it would be appropriate for some families of Indians from these Philippine Islands, from 80 to 90 of them, to go aboard the Patache that takes the subsidy to the Mariana Islands and live in said Islands, with the privileges of settlers and conquerors, so that by their example those islanders would live in a civilized manner, and if lands should be assigned to the families who would go there, at the places where they would settle, in an amount commensurate with the number of families,

He declared that it seems appropriate to him to have a number of families of Indians from these Philippine Islands move to said Islands aboard the Patache that takes the subsidy, and to provide them with lands, as mentioned in the question, for their preservation and support, and that they be treated as settlers in said Islands, so that by their example the natives of those Islands would be taught civilized manners, since the Indians of these Philippine Islands are abler and better educated. All of which he declared to be what he knows, and the truth under the oath already taken, which was affirmed and ratified, and he declared his age to be over 25 years, and he is not affected by any legal action, and then he signed, for which I vouch.

José Ruiz.

Before me, Juan de León.

## **B7. Charges against army officers who had served in the Marianas**

*Note: The 9 charges against Governor Pimentel have already been listed in Doc. 1721D8. The following are the charges brought against the other officers.*

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

...  
*Contra el dicho Capitan José de Sandoval, alcalde que fué por dos años de los Pueblos de Rota y Seipan, y otros tres años de los de Merizo y Umata, y Ynarajan resultaron dos cargos:*

*El primero por haber comerciado publicamente con una muger casada natural del Pueblo de Seipan y despues que paso a serlo en los de Merizo y Umata la llevó consi-*

*go teniendola en una casa, à vista y ciencia de todos los naturales dandoles mal ejemplo.*

*El segundo cargo por haber hecho repartimientos de Indios siendo Alcalde de Merizo, Umata, Ynarajan, que los hizo trabajar mas de lo que estaban obligados al real servicio, que es el dia lunes de cada semana en las sementeras de dicho Gobernador y en las de dicho Alcalde en los tiempos de labor en discurso de tres años, ni mas paga in razon que dos ojas de tabaco al dia.*

*Contra el **Capitan Juan Nuñez** Secretario que fué de dicho Gobernador, un cargo por haber comerciado ilicitamente con **Teresa Yda**, viuda dando mal ejemplo y escandalo à los naturales y Españoles.*

*Contra el **Maestre de Campo Francisco de Robles**, Alcalde que fué del Pueblo de Agat, un cargo por haber molestado à sus naturales con servicios personales ademas de su obligacion, que es el lunes de cada semana, haciendolos trabajar en varias jornadas por tierra y por mar, desde Humata, y Agat, hasta la Ciudad, cuando estaban los navios franceses en Umata y en labrar sus sementeras de arroz en los tres años que estubo de Alcalde haziendo turno de trabajo entre todos los naturales de Agat sin mas paga ni rasion que dos ojas de tabaco al dia y algunos no fueron pagados.*

*Contra el **Mastre de Campo Andres de Arceo** Alcalde que fué del Pueblo de Pago dos cargos; el primero por haber azotado rigorosamente à **Francisco Ego**, muchacho de once años, hijo de **Domingo Uto**, natural de dicho Pueblo que le hincharon y reventaron las nalgas y parte de la cintura y murio despues de tres semanas[,] sin mas causa que habersele muerto un pabo que le cuidaba, y sin sacramentos por no haber permitido que su Padre lo llevase à la Ciudad.*

*El segundo cargo por haber comerciado publicamente, con una muger casada natural de dicho Pueblo de Pago, dando mal exemplo a sus naturales.*

*Contra los **Capitanes Don Juan de Retana, y Don Juan de Arguelles**, Secretarios que fueron de dicho Gobernador, el uno difunto y el otro ausente[,] se les resultó un cargo por haber comerciado ambos publicamente con mugeres casadas durante sus Oficios con escandalo de sus naturales y Españoles.*

...

#### [Sentences]

*Fallamos atento a los autos y méritos del proceso ...*

*En cuanto a los dos cargos resultados al **Capitan José de Sandoval**, Alcalde que fué de los Pueblos de Rota, Seipan, Merizo, Umata, Ynarajan... le absolvamos de dichos dos cargos.*

*En cuanto al un cargo resultado al **Capitan Juan Nuñez** Secretario que fue de dicho Gobernador... le condenamos en la tercera parte de las costas procesales, mancomunados con el residenciado principal ya percibido.*

*En cuanto al un cargo resultado al **Maestro de Campo Francisco Robles**... le absolvamos de dicho cargo.*

*En cuanto a los dos cargos resultados al **Maestre de Campo Andres de Arceo**, Alcalde que fué del Pueblo de Pago, sobre el primero de haber azotado rigorosamente à*

*Francisco Ego, muchacho de once à doce años, que murio sin sacramentos, despues de tres semanas, se remita al Gobernador y Capitan General de dichas Marianas testimonio literal del dicho cargo y seis comprobaciones para que en su conformidad proceda à la averiguacion de dicha muerte y hallandole culpado al dicho Maestre de Campo, pase à su captura y prision, secuestrandole todos y cualesquiera bienes que le pertenezcan, substanciandole causa conforme a derecho hasta su definitiba determinacion y remission à esta Real Sala, con la persona del reo à esta Real Carzel de Corte, para cuyo efecto se despacha real provision para su puntual y debido ejecucion.*

*Y por lo respectivo al segundo cargo sobre el comercio publico, que tubo dicho Maestre de Campo con una muger casada, natural de dicho Pueblo, dando mal ejemplo à sus naturales, le absolvemos de dicho cargo.*

*Y en cuanto al un cargo, ultimamente resultado à los Capitanes Don Juan de Retana, y Don Juan de Arguelles Secretarios que fueron de dicho Gobernador... le absolvemos de dicho cargo à los susodichos.*

## Translation.

...  
Against said **Captain José de Sandoval**, who was for two years Mayor of the towns of Rota and Saipan, and for three more years Mayor of those of Merizo and Umatac, and Inarajan, there resulted two charges:

The first one, for having had a public affair with a married woman, a native of the town of Saipan, and afterwards, when he moved to the towns of Merizo and Umatac, he took her along, and installed her in a house, in sight of and knowledge of all the natives, thus giving them a bad example.

The second charge, for having used some Indians, while he was Mayor of Merizo, Umatac and Inarajan, as forced labor more what they were obliged to in the royal service, which is on Mondays only, in the plantations of said Governor, and those of said Mayor, during the three years in question, without any other payment than two leaves of tobacco per day.

Against **Captain Juan Nuñez**, former Secretary of said Governor, one charge, for having had an illicit affair with Teresa **Ida**, a widow, thus giving a bad example and scandalizing the natives and Spanish alike.

Against **Master-of-camp Francisco de Robles**, former Mayor of the town of Agat, one charge, for having bothered its natives with personal services beyond their obligation, which is Mondays only, by making them work in various transports overland and at sea, from Umatac, and Agat, to the City [of Agaña], when the French ships were in Umatac, and in working in his rice plantations during the three years that he was Mayor, assigning work shifts to all of the natives of Agat, without any other payment or ration than two leaves of tobacco per day, while some remained unpaid.

Against **Master-of-camp Andrés de Arceo**, former Mayor of the town of Pago, two charges, the first, for having rigurously whipped **Francisco Ego**, a boy of 11 years of age, the son of **Domingo Uto**, native of said town; the boy's thighs and part of his

waistline became swollen and open, and he died three weeks later—the only reason being that a turkey in his care had died—and he died without the sacraments because his father did not permit his being taken to the city.

The second charge, for having had a public affair with a married woman, a native of said town of Pago, thus giving a bad example to the natives there.

Against **Captains Juan de Retana, and Juan de Argüelles**, former Secretaries of said Governor, the former deceased and the latter absent, one charge, both of them for having lived publicly with married women during their terms of office, at scandalizing the natives and Spanish alike.

...

**[Sentences]**

The decisions of the tribunal in the cases, according to their merit...

Regarding the two charges brought against Captain José de Sandoval, former Mayor of the towns of Rota, Saipan, Merizo, Umatac, and Inarajan... he is absolved of said two charges.

Regarding the one charge against Captain Juan Nuñez, former Secretary of said Governor... we fine him for one-third of the court costs, jointly with the principal auditee; fine already collected.

Regarding the one charge brought against Master-of-camp Francisco Robles... we absolve him of said charge.

Regarding the two charges brought against Master-of-camp Andrés de Nuñez, former Mayor of the town of Pago, with respect to the first one, for having rigorously whipped Francisco Ego, a boy from 11 to 12 years of age, who died without the sacraments, three weeks later, the matter is referred to the Governor and Captain-General of said Marianas, with a literal transcript of said charge and six proofs, so that he may proceed to investigate said death, and if he should find said Master-of-camp guilty, he is to apprehend and imprison him, and seize any and all of his assets, then substantiating the case according to law until a definitive determination be made and then referring it to this Royal Court, the person of said prisoner being delivered to the prison of this Royal Courthouse, so that a royal provision can be issued for its timely and due execution.

And, regarding the second charge, that is, the public affair that said Master-of-camp had with a married woman, a native of said town, giving bad example to the natives, we absolve him of said charge.

And regarding the one last charge, brought against Captains Juan de Retana, and Juan de Argüelles, former Secretaries of said Governor... we absolve them of said charge.

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## Documents 1725C

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### Captain Boisoré—Part 7

#### C1. Long report by Captain Boisoré on the galleon trade and other events at Manila, dated 28 December 1715

*Source: AGI Escribania 405C.*

*Note: Captain Boisoré had been imprisoned in Manila in 1714 and his ship, the **Éclair**, was confiscated, and renamed the **Nuestra Señora del Carmen, alias Relámpago**. This report was considered a separate file by the Spanish government.*

#### Available text in Spanish.

*Señor.*

*De Boisoré Capitan General Guarda costas ha tenido la honrra de escribir tres cartas a Vuestra Magestad con dos Memoriales el uno de los quales Pliegos se remitio debajo de cubierta de los Padres de la Compania con vuestro Galeon el **Sancto Cristo** que iba a Acapulco en el año de mill setecientos y catorce.*

*El dho Galeon estaba cargado con ochocientos ó novecientos mill piastres de mercaderia de la China, y de las grandes Yndias: El Segundo pliego con un Navio llamado el **Francisco Dargonje** [sic] de San Malo que llevo á vuestro Puerto de Manila para vender su cargazon y Mercaderias de Europa que consistian en Bretaña, Crea, Bautista, Zintas, Galones de oro y de plata, sombreros, hierro, y otras Mercaderias, quien ocho dias despues de su llegada al Puerto mudo de Pabellon, y enarbolo un Pabellon blanco y colorado que un tal llamado Bournonvile Mercader de un navio Ingles le presto; y el qual podra informar a Vuestra Magestad con toda la individualidad de lo que entra y sale de vuestro puerto de Manila y de lo que se ha hecho, es Don Juan Siscara [sic] uno de vuestros Ingenieros, y el Reverendo Padre Mugurada [sic] Provincial de Santo Domingo, y el Hermano Lucas de la misma orden; todos tres se han embarcado sobre el Navio de San Malo como personas que se libran de la tirania, en la qual se hallaban, el uno por Vuestro Governador y el otro por el Provincial que avia entrado en lugar del Reverendo Padre Mugurada; ambos han muerto el Governador y el Provincial quien no ha visto acabar las demoliciones de una Capilla que el Reverendo Padre Mugurada avia mandado hacer de nuestra Señora del Rossario que es la Patrona de esta Isla y impide que no sea sumergida por razon de todo lo que se comete contra su Dios y Vuestra Magestad.*

*El Nombrado Don Domingo Bermudez Mayor, ha comprado del Navío de san Malo por treinta y dos mill piastres, Don Francisco Atienza y Vany vuestro castellano compro lo restante de su cargazon, el otro castellano es el unico principal y Gefe del Comercio que vuestras Islas Philipinas hacen con los olandeses es Batabia so coler de Portugues, y por su medio la mayor parte que vienen de vuestro Reyno de la Nueva España vá á Bingal, Batabia Malac, Madras, y Surat, no hablo de la China aviendome asegurado que tenian permissio de Vuestra Magestad de venir á comerciar en las Islas Philipinas; me persuado á que Vuestra Magestad no se halla informado del numero de las Embarcaciones que vienen todos los años de la China que regularmente a dies y ocho ó veinte; Porttugueses tres embarcaciones al año; Ingleses tres á quatro, De Batabia tres ó quatro; De Moros de Surat dos; de Armenia quatro ó cinco; Todas las Embarcaciones descargan en un solo navio que Vuestra Magestad permite in todos los años á Acapulco para el mantenimiento de Vuestras Islas Philipinas; si Dios me concede la gracia de poder tener la honra de ver á Vuestra Magestad le dare un medio para mantener vuestras Islas Philipinas sin que os cueste nada y sin el comercio del Navio que [va] á la Nueva España, dicho Navio puede ser llamado una Babilonia, su grandor me admiró quando pasé á su Bordo de manera que tuve la curiosidad de saber que cantidad Vuestra Magestad les permitia de embarcar para su Comercio de Acapulco, y se me aseguro que era por trescientos mill piastres en efectos que proceden de Vuestras Islas Philipinas y es todo lo contrario que es la entrada de todos lso Navios arriba referidos lo dan a conocer segun Vuestra Magestad lo puede ver.*

*Les representte que un Navio las tres quartas partes menos grande les podia bastar para una carga de trescientos mill piastres, y que navegaria con mas seguridad, y en tal caso bastarian setenta hombres de equipage en lugar de quinientos y seiscientos que son menester, y hacen una travesia de cinco ó seis meses sin tomar Puerto, y no embarcan mas que por dos meses de agua fiandose en el agua llovedissa con cuyo motivo se les muere la mitad de su equipage, es un milagro que dicho Navio llegue á Acapulco quando no llueve con abundancia; [h]ay Oficiales que venden el agua a los pobres equipages por el precio que quieren, los equipages estan obligados a dormir a la inclemencia del cielo hallandose cargados los dos entrepuentes con mercadurias, de manera que solamente el General el Mercader, el primer Piloto y el segundo, y el Maestro Artillero y el Guardian tienen todas las conveniencias del Navio, y por esta razon los Pasageros pagan muy caro su pasage al General, ó a quien algunas vezes vale treinta ó quarenta mill piastres; y en quanto a la cargazon del Galeon las tres quartas partes son de Vuestro Governador[,] el Castellano[,] de la Villa y de los Consejeros, lo que me ha parecido muy extraordinario respecto que esto debe tocar a los negociantes, y la otra quarta parte de los habitantes; y los que no pueden ni tienen forma de embarcar venden su plaza que tienen sobre el Navio á ochenta y cien piastres la plaza de cada fardo: y á los a quien Vuestra Magestad da permissio de diez vuestro Governador solamente da tres, y assi va todo, y era el Conde de Lizarraga quien les hacia toda esta tirania con uno llamado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.*



*Vuestra Magestad podra considerar si el fardo es de tanta consecuencia para pagar la cantidad arriba referida sin hacer cuenta de los gastos y derechos; por lo qual ha sucedido que esta Republica há ofrecido a uno de vuestros Governadores cincuenta mill piastres al año durante ocho años que es Governador que hacen la suma de quatrocientos mill piastres, los quales no quiso aceptar aunque le huvieran dado otros quatrocientos mill de que se puede inferir el gran beneficio que saca y lo que carga por su quenta sobre el Galeon.*

*Esto es de lo que se compone la navegacion del Galeon que Vuestra Magestad les mantiene que unicamente sirve para destruir vuestro Reyno de la Nueva España y vuestro Comercio de Sevilla.*

*Si Vuestra Magestad quiere permitir á vuestra Republica continue su comercio de Acapulco tendre la honra de darle un medio para que esta Republica haga este Galeon á sus expensas sin que cueste a Vuestra Magestad.*

*Y otro medio para que Vuestra Magestad no aya de embiar cosa alguna de la Nueva España para el pagamento de las Guarniciones ni de las Religiones, antes sí hare que Vuestra Magestad halle con que os pueda embiar á Europa dos Navios todos los años de cinquenta á sesenta piezas de Artilleria, poniendo para este efecto y su Direccion Gente de Europa a quien vuestros tributarios pagaran todos los años sin [rather sus] tributtos á saber á un receptor General de todas vuestras Islas Philipinas perdon de Vuestra Magestad vera que suss tropas estaran bien pagadas, las quales al presente mueren de hambre, y ádemas de esto os sobrarian fondos considerables.*

*Vuestra Magestad me perdone si hablo con tanta libertad, pues siento que aya tan poca orden en todo lo que mira á vuestros intereses siendo todo ello un latrocinio, y vuestros Soldados montan la Guardia sin zapatos, ni medias ni casaca hallandose tan enteramente en cueros, á quienes solamente se dan dos piastres al mes y veinte libras de Arroz.*

*Es cosa que admirara á vuestra Magestad saber que en vuestro Fuerte de Santiago donde me hallo en prision aya soldados que no ayan sido mudados de una Atalaya de seis años a esta parte, y lo mismo sucede en las demas Atalayas, y quando llegan a ser mudados los pasan á otra Atalaya no teniendo otra cosa sobre su cuerpo que unos malos calzones y sin sombrero, y estos son vuestros Soldados Españoles.*

*Por que los Pampangues [sic] que son tan naturales de las Islas no tienen mas que Diez reales al mes y la misma cantidad de arroz, haciendose la mayor parte de ellos ladrones y sirven como verdaderos Esclavos; Todos los días veo esto en el Fuerte que verdaderamente es una miseria y lastima.*

*Vuestro Galeon que viene todos los años de Acapulco trae dos ó tres millones que se reparten entre quinze ó diez y seis Personas, y de que perciben muy poco los pobres, por aver sido pagados anticipadamente de la Plaza que tenían en el Navio y no aver tenido cosa que embarcar, ó bien por no averselo querido permitir.*

*Otro gasto que me hallo precisado á representar a Vuestra Magestad en orden á vuestro Galeon al qual luego que aya llegado de su viage le dexan podrir a la inclemencia del Cielo cinco ó seis meses, y antes que vuelva a salir le aderezan de nuevo empleando*

*para este efecto madera verde segun viene del monte donde tienen mill hombres para cortarla.*

*Este Navio puede durar segun la calidad de la madera cincuenta años, y me atrevo á asegurar á Vuestra Magestad que si dicho Navio se hiciere á costa de los que le dexan perder, tuvieran mas cuidado de el, y que solamente necessitaria de aderezo cada veinte años[.] es verdad que en tal caso no le enriquecerían los que tienen la direccion del dicho Galeon segun les sucede, y sería precisso que tuviesen prevenida la madera dos ó tres años antes de servir dho aderezo, dura cinco ó seis meses, y hacen que monte una suma exorbitante; tienen los Oficiales á diez reales al mes, y lo que hacen pagar á Vuestra Magestad por diez mill pesos no les cuesta tres: los que trabajan en el Galeon durante su aderezo solo ganan diez reales al mes y veinte libras de arroz por cuyo motivo mueren muchos todos los dias de repente por falta de alimentos; Vuestro Castellano de la Villa hace durar dho aderezo cinco ó seis meses siendo assi que pudiera hacer en un mes teniendo prevenida la madera.*

*Al presente se hace un Galeon a catorze leguas de Manila por parte del Norte y en ello se emplean mill hombres y duscientos soldados para que los Yndios salvages no los maten al tiempo que cortan los arboles; me persuado que Vuestra Magestad no podra creer que aunque estas Yslas se hallan establecidas de ciento y quarenta y cinco años á esta parte no se aya todavia conquistado mas que las Playas estando los Ynfieles a la Puerta de Manila.*

*Buelvo á la construccion de vuestro Galeon donde ay dos mill hombres que trabajan y con todo esso no se hallara acabado dentro de quinze meses, y segun se va cortando la madera la emplean, y se pudiera hacer y acabar dho Galeon muy facilmente en tres meses pero esto quitaría la utilidad y beneficio que sacan de tanta lentitud los que tienen esta direccion ó inspeccion y no podrían labrar Casas que no les cuesten nada, y todo esto es contra los interezes de Vuestra Magestad segun podra ver por las quantas que dan de los gastos que montan sumas muy considerables sin embargo de que los oficiales cuestan poco, y que la madera no les cuesta mas que mandarla cortar, y es cosa que pide venganza a Dios por la poca orden que se observa en orden á vuestros interezes.*

*Si Dios permite que algun día tenga la honrra de ver á Vuestra Magestad le informare de muchas cosas que se hacen á la vista de un numero infinito de infieles, y de tantos pobres desdichados Indios que estan en los bosques a la Puerta de Manila, los cuales todavia no estan reducidos.*

*Ha sucedido en el mes de febrero de mill setecientos y quinze una desorden en la Provincia de Camarines por un Padre de San Francisco quien mato á un natural catholico de un tiro de fuzil, de manera que la Provincia quería levantarse, y pidieron otro Religioso para administrarles; Sucedio otra desgracia esta Semana Santa en Manila por que los Padres de San Nicolas de la Orden de San Augustin no quisieron reconocer a su Prelado, y como tienen su Convento fuera de la Villa á tiro de pistola se fortificaron y atrincheraron en su Convento muy bien armados de fuziles y piedras, Vuestro Presidente Don Joseph Torralba embio alla un Alcalde con todos sus Ministros, pero*

*no quisieron abrir la Puerta y le respondieron por la ventana: Viva Phelipe Quinto, y no otra cosa, Vuestro Gobernador D. Luis Taguele [sic = Tagle] que iba à Mariana[s] y Don Sancho Taguele [sic] Alcalde ordinario de Manila aviendose hecho Protectores de los dichos buenos Padres fueron llevados a este Fuerte, y guardados muy estrechamente sin poder hablar à nadie sobre que ay otras muchas particularidades que no han venido à mi noticia y solamente se que los Padres dixeron que antes morirían que entregarse, de manera que la Republica y todas las Religiones se hallan en Guerra civil menos los Padres de la Compañía; Todas estas disensiones entre los Religiosos hacen murmurar à mas de veinte mill Chinos infieles que estan alrededor de Manila, de los quales Vuestro Gobernador saca una cantidad de dinero todas las vezes que manda echar el Bando para que buelvan a la China y esto hace para hacer venir el agua al molino.*

*Si Dios y Vuestra Magestad no ponen remedio à ello son colonias expuestas à perderse por razon de la cantidad de Sectas que ay alrededor de Manila, y sobre todo la de Mahoma que esta muy cerca.*

*Vuestro Gobernador el Conde de Lizarraga murio la noche del día tres de febrero de mill setecientos y quinze quien dexo el Gobierno de vuestras Yslas Philipinas en muy mal estado. Entro en su lugar un Consejero llamado Don Joseph Torralba sugeto tan propio para Gobernador como yo para Obispo en quanto a lo militar, sin embargo trabaja a poner la Republica en paz la qual casi estaba resuelta a prender [rather perder] vuestro dicho Gobernador por lo qual se vio precisado a reformar todos los Capitanes que eran del tiempo del dho difunto Gobernador y de Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa uno de vuestros Oydores que quería entrar por Gobernador quien huviera acabado de perder vuestras Yslas Philipinas que se hallan en muy mal estado, Vuestro dicho Gobernador se aplica à aquietarla, y para este efecto ha sido obligado a hacer poner en prision à Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa vuestro Oydor, y à Don Luis Taguele vuestro Gobernador de Mariana[s], y à uno de los Alcaldes que es cabeza del Bando sin otras prisiones que se han hecho, y tambien los Padres Recoletos de la Orden de San Augustin que viven fuera de la Villa tienen el partido de los dhos tres arriba expressados.*

*Ay otro fondo muy considerable que se recibe de todos los Navios arriba expressados que entran en el Puerto de Vuestra Magestad. Tambien se necessita reformar cinquenta o sesenta oficiales para que mejor se haga el servicio de Vuestra Magestad; Vuestro Castellano del Fuerte de Santiago llamado Don Joseph Madrazo murio el sabado à nueve de febrero de mill setecientos y quinze—hombre de bien y de justicia; al presente me hallo en la misma missería que antes quando estaba en el fuerte de San Phelipe en Cavite prissionero sin ningun consuelo por una mala voluntad de Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa uno de vuestros Consejeros quien se cargo con la cargazon de mi Navio y puso todo en deshorden en tiempo del difunto Gobernador.*

*De quien recibía de mantenimiento y mucho consuelo era vuestro Maestre de Campo Don Thomas de Andaya, y esto ya cesso algun tiempo à respecto de aver muerto Don Joseph Madrazo y Don Thomas de Andaya eran los dos de quienes yo recibía mucha charidad assí para mi subsistencia como para mi manutencion y de mis criados,*

*de manera que al presente solo puedo hacer quenta sobre los Padres de la Compañia y si estos Padres llegassen à faltarme me hallaría en suma estrechez respecto de que Vuestro Oydor no sabe lo que es piedad.*

*Vuestra Audiencia de Manila solo tiene un Consejero que se llama Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa de quien la justicia no esta bien administrada, àdemas de ser moso, el era el que gobernaba en tiempo del Conde de Lizarraga Don Martín Ursua de manera que era juez y parte[.] dho Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, tuvo la Comission de la descarga de mi Navio y de hazerle desarmar, y lo hizo como si fuera cosa de pillage por donde reconocí su poca experiencia, le represente que hiciese descargar las mercadurías con mejor orden y que considerasse que yo tenía la honrra de ser un oficial de el REY Luís Decimo Quarto diciendole que si mi Navio y cargazon pertenesiesen à su Magestad Catholica lo hiciesse con mas rectitud a que no me respondio nada sino que me retirasse.*

*Tenía con el un Escribano medio Chino y medio negro llamado Juan Luzada [=Losada] que hacia causas extraordinarias hombre propio para hacer qualquier falzedad; tambien tenía à uno llamado Don Juan Antonio Perez Sargento mayor de Cavite el qual tambien es un buen Cossario y Pariente de Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa el Consejero en cuya consideracion se le hizo Depositario de la cargazon de mi Navio. Tambien represente que si mi Navio y cargazon eran y pertenesían à Vuestra Magestad no era necessario depositarlo respecto de que Vuestra Magestad tenía bastantes Almagazenes [sic] vacíos, y que los Oficiales Reales tuviessen una llave, y yo la otra, pero esto no tenía quenta de los dhos tres Señores. Mi navio valia al tiempo que le entregue sobre la palabra de Vuestra Magestad ciento y treinta y quatro mill piastres lo que certifican las facturas y el Estado del Ynventario que se hizo del Navio y Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa le haze montar ochenta y quatro mill piastres, de manera que faltan del principal cinquenta y quatro mill piastres y cinquenta mill que dhas mercadurías debían haver ganado de Canton aca; tengo la honrra de assegurar a Vuestra Magestad que estos Señores con el difunto Governador se aprovecharon de cien mill piastres: la prueba es clara: los Navios chinesses ganan ciento por ciento y estos Señores hacen perder los quarentta por ciento de principal: Suma de lo que valia el Navio 134,000 piastres. Lo que hacen valer oy a primero de marzo 80000.*

*Segun la quenta que dieron Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Consejero y el Castellano Don Francisco Atienza Ybarri [rather Ibañez,] Don Juan Antonio Collando Paredo mayor de Cavite sobrino de el dho Castellano y Juan Luzada; Vuestro Castellano de Cavite se aprovecho de 3/4 del desarmamiento[.] aderezos[,] aparejos y viveres de el Navio respecto de que todo corre por su quenta.*

*De los ochenta y quatro mill piastres que hacen valer el Navio y su cargazon segun la quenta que dan, solo entraran en vuestro Tessorero veinte ó treinta mill piastres, por donde Vuestra Magestad conocera la buena orden que se observa en lo que toca à vuestros intereses en estos Países; El Navio hubiera producido en manos de gente temerosa de Dios y de Vuestra Magestad ciento y ochenta y quatro mill aqui en Manila y dado en Europa trescientos y noventa y cinco mill pesos; la carga costo ochenta y siete mill*

*piastres en Canton y el Navio con sus Pertrechos, aparejos, municiones de Guerra y boca, valia quarenta y siete mill piastres de que hacen fee las facturas segun anteceden-  
tamente he expressado.*

*Tomo la libertad de decir à Vuestra Magestad que vuestras Ordenes y las de su San-  
tidad solo se executan segun la voluntad de vuestro Governador y de vuestros Conse-  
jeros, pues de que **quatro Navios Franceses que han vendido y comprado vuestro  
Governador difunto** saco muy buena cantidad de dinero, y yo que no quise dar nada  
respecto de hallarme en un Puerto desierto á ciento y cinquenta leguas de Manila donde  
no podia comerciar vuestro difunto Governador embio dos Navios el uno de quarenta  
piezas de Artilleria con trescientos hombres Ingleses, Portugueses, Moros, Fran-  
cesses, Españoles, mandado por su sobrino; el Segundo de veinte y quatro piezas de  
Artilleria con ducientos hombres de equipage mandado por su Hijo los quales me dix-  
eron en alta vos que de parte de Felipe Quinto amaynasse las velas, lo qual hize sin re-  
sistencia; confieso à Vuestra Magestad que al principio creí que eran enemigos por  
razon de que en un mismo tiempo entendí tantas lenguas diferentes, y por recompensa  
de aver obedecido a la palabra de Vuestra Magestad me llevaron presso en el Navio  
grande a Manila y estando diez ó doze leguas de Maribell[es] encontramos un Navio  
Portugues que este comandante no quiso apressar contentandose con hacerle venir a  
su Bordo; y me dixo que tenia passportte de Vuestra Magestad el qual no me quiso  
mostrar, y yo que no he maltratado á nadie me veo reducido a padecer crueldades que  
los Turcos jamas han exercitado contra los Cristianos, si que los hacen esclavos, pero  
los alimentan, y á mi no me dan alimento alguno: todo esto lo recibo por amor de Dios  
esperando que su Divina Magestad me hara justicia, y que Vuestra Magestad siendo  
tan recto y justo no permitira semejantes crueldades; pues aunque yo hubiera comer-  
ciado no hubiera sido para mi mayor delito que para los demas estrangeros que comer-  
cian en vuestro Puerto de Manila, por que en tal caso solo podian apressar mi Navio y  
sus Bienes y esto me parece que era bastante castigo, pero á mi me han quitado un todo  
y dexado en cueros como el primer dia que nací.] creo que su Divina Magestad ha  
querido embiarme este castigo para que yo tenga la honrra de darle cuenta de todas las  
maldades que se cometen en vuestras Yslas Philipinas, y los que gobiernan dicen publi-  
camente que estan cinco mill leguas de Vuestra Magestad, y que antes que vaya y buel-  
va la queja estaran ya muertos, ó su parte contraria.*

*Me persuado que se avra dado quenta a Vuestra Magestad de lo que ha sucedido al  
Obispo de Cagayan en orden a la vissita que quiso hacer en su Diocessis a quien los Pa-  
dres de Santo Domingo no quisieron recibir, y esto causo una desorden muy grande  
entre los naturales del Pais.] todos los Padres fueron excomulgados, y con todo esto  
no pudo dicho Obispo conseguir su intento pues Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa uno  
de vuestros Consejeros quien fue embiado por el difunto Governador con Juan Luza-  
da escribano para dar asistencia al dicho Obispo, en lugar de favorecerle tomo el par-  
tido de los Padres de Santto Domingo, y el dho Consejero bolvio a Manila con una  
cantidad considerable de oro que recibieron de los dhos Padres de Santto Domingo, y  
de esta manera se hace justicia en este Pais; dho Juan de Luzada es un mal hombre de*

*la raza de negros muy sospechoso en lo que escribe, y Don Gregorio no se vale de otro sugeto sino de el; Espero que Dios permitira el que pueda decir á Vuestra Magestad muchas cosas que le gustaran tocante a sus Yslas Philipinas;*

*Ha surgido aqui un Navio Olandes que venia de Batavia y iba á las Yslas Malucas, y de tornat [rather Ternate] el viento y corriente contrarios le han llevado á vista de las Yslas de Caraga donde el Alcalde mayor le hizo apressar por los naturales del Pais, el dho Olandes se llama Thomas Bromgor, y le han traído aqui a Manila prissionero al Fuerte de Santiago donde estuvo solamente dos meses presso, pues temiendo Vuestra Republica que los Olandeses hiciesen lo mismo quando algunos de sus Navios fuesse allí que van todos los años para cargar nuezes moscadas, canela y pimienta que embian á la Nueva España; Vuestra Republica saca estas especerias de Batabia siendo assi que podian sacar las bastantes de Ternate para abastecer á vuestro Reyno de Europa y de estas Islas vezinas de Mindanao que son de Vuestra Magestad, y por este medio sacan los Olandeses con que poder hacer la guerra á Vuestra Magestad; dichas Islas producen todas las susodichas espezerias mucho oro y otras cosas preciosas de que esta Republica se aprovecha.*

*He tenido la honrra de escribir a Vuestra Magestad para informarle como en el año de mill setecientos y diez avia entregado a vuestro General de vuestras Yslas de Canarias Don Fernando Chacon un Navio Ingles de diez y ocho piezas de Artilleria que apressé y que peleaba con un pequeño Navio Frances de Bayona, el qual lleve a Sancta Cruz [de Tenerife] para venderle; Dho Navio salia de Vuestro Puerto de la Rota[.] [i]va cargado de vino de Malbazea<sup>1</sup> que tenia permiso de Vuestra Magestad segun me asseguro vuestro General quien me pidió restituyesse dho Navio para asegurar a los Naturales de las Islas que querian matar al Consul Frances llamado Lely, Vuestro General me asseguraba que no faltaria á dar parte de ello a Vuestra Magestad, y viendo que era para la conservacion de vuestras Islas luego le restituí sin querer tomar ni un maravedi de interes, solo sí dos pipas de vino de Malbassea, me hubiera dado la honrra de remitir las piasas justificativas de vuestro General de vuestras Yslas de Canarias y de Vuestro Comissario si vuestro Governador difunto y Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa me huvieran querido entregar mis Papeles que me ocultaron como si yo fuera un verdadero Espía contra vuestra Magestad; el dho Navio podia valer treinta o quarenta mill piastres, y todo esto se restituyo al Capitan Yngles, y sucedio en Diciembre de mill setecientos y diez.*

*Huiera tenido la honrra de embiar a Vuestra Magestad otras piezas justificadas de vuestro Presidente de el Reyno de Chile Don Juan Andres Ustari, y de Don Juan de Velazco de Cobarruvias Governador de Balparayso; He embiado mi pressa Portuguesa para cargar los materiales necessarios en la Concepcion para llevarlos a Balparayso á fin de bolver a fortificar vuestra Ciudadela y despues de aver hecho trabajar siete y ocho meses á siete y ocho de mis Carpinteros para componer todas las Cureñas de la Artillería del Castillo que enteramente estaban podridas fuí precissado en el tiempo á*

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1 Ed. note: That is, Malvasía, Malvoisie in French; it is a part of Greece.

*quedar en el Puerto en virtud de las Ordenes que vuestro Virrey del Peru avia embiado al Reyno de Chile, para que todos los Navios franceses se juntassen para oponerse á la esquadra Ynglessa en que venía embarcado el Marques de Corpas; quedé seis meses ocupado en el restablecimiento de vuestra Ciudadela sin querer admitir ni un real segun constara por los papeles y en remuneracion de todo esto vuestro Governador de las Philipinas me ha mandado prender y poner en una prision donde he recebido y padecido todas las crueldades que se pueden imaginar y executar contra una Espía de Vuestra Magestad y lo tolero por amor de Dios esperanzado [sic] que Vuestra Magestad me hara justicia.*

*En el año de mill setecientos y doze recebi las ordenes de vuestro Virrey del Peru quien dio repetidas gracias de lo que avia hecho en servicio de Vuestra Magestad.*

*Tengo la honrra de remitirle aqui adjunto dos escritos que hize presentar á vuestro Governador Don Joseph Torralba despues de catorze meses de prision con la Esperanza que me huviera atendido segun las Leyes de la Justicia y que no se practicaría lo que se acostumbra hacer en tiempo del Governador difunto el qual se dejaba gobernar por Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa con dhos Papeles y despues de averlos leydo, los arrojó y dixo que si el Conde quería segun su dictamen mandasse ante todas cosas ahorcarme y que despues respondería a mi Escrito por razon de que yo hablava de otros Navios franceses que avian quedado en el Puerto un año.*

*Suplico muy humildemente a Vuestra Magestad se sirva considerar que facultad puede tener un Consejero para decir tales palabras contra un Oficial del Rey; No tengo la honrra de explicar á Vuestra Magestad todo lo que me ha hecho respecto de que lo expressado se puede bastantemente conocer la mala voluntad deste sugeto. Dichos dos Escritos daran á Vuestra Magestad un entero conocimiento de la Justicia que se hace en vuestra Audiencia de Manila[.] no se me ha concedido nada de quanto he pedido, de manera que vuestro Presidente actual hace y dispone lo que quiere, he tenido la honrra de escribir a Vuestra Magestad que me remitia a los Escritos de vuestro Fiscal.*

*Avra algunos dias que hize pedir un alojamiento a vuestro Presidente respecto de aver catorze meses que duermo a la inclemencia del Cielo enzima de la Puerta del Castillo, a que no me ha respondido instandole para que me permitiese salir de esta infeliz pricion para que me escuchasse en justicia lo qual mando el sabado diez y ocho de mayo de mill setecientos y quince con permiso de tomar un Abogado y un Procurador.*

*Tenía toda mi esperanza en orden a mi subsistencia en el Reverendo Padre Joseph Velasco Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus caso que vuestro Governador no huviere querido escucharme, y si este llegare a faltarme, no sé a quien ocurrir; me persuado que los trabajos que padesco desde diez y seis meses de pricion, y despues de aver tomado mi Navio, y todo lo que avía dentro y negarme la subsistencia y parage donde me pueda poner al abrigo de los vientos y lluvias ádemas de las amenazas que se hacen eran bastantes para hacer morir á un hombre de bronze, sin embargo me hallo bueno y mas que nunca, por donde conozco que su Divina Magestad me asiste respecto de que todo lo tolero con paciencia y por amor de Dios y de la Virgen Maria Protectora la qual no me abandona; Que si huviesse caido en manos de los del Japon, no huvieran podido*

*hacerme mas mal, sino es quitarme la vida; sali de Canton costa de la China el dia seis de Noviembre de mil setecientos y treze huyendo de los Chineses, los quales solo aguardaban las ordenes del Emperador para detenerme con el motivo de las quejas que el Comissario de Canton le avia dado que algunos Cossarios Franceses les avian tomado uno de sus Navios que venia de Batabia y robado otros diferentes Navios, y esta era la razon por que los Chineses me querían detener y arrestar de manera que me ví precisado á recibir todo genero de mercadurias por no poder aguardar mas, y fue gran felicidad el aver tenido que hacer con gente de bien y Mercaderes de buen trato los quales son muy raros en la China por cuyo motivo recibí lo que me quisieron dar antes que perderlo todo.*

*Embarque a todos mis enfermos por mucho que lo estuviessen por no dexarlos a la colera y maldad de estos Ynfieles siendo assi que mi Navio se hallaba en muy mal estado no aviendo tenido mas que quatro dias para salir fuera del Rio de Canton, heche ancora cerca de Macao que es una villa Portuguesa donde ví un Navio que creí era la Fragata de Goa que salía de Malaca armada de cinquenta piezas de cañon y de quinientos hombres de equipage para ir á aguardar los Navios franceses que estaban en Manila, este avisso tuve por los Padres de la Compañia[.] tambien me avisso el Capitan Yngles que estaba en Canton y avía passado por Batabia y Malaca, que los Olandeses tenían cinco o seis Navios grandes para aguardar los estrechos y aguardar sus Navios de el Japon y el Cossario Boinau que entonces estaba en Manila para vender y comprar. Todas estas noticias y el mal estado en que se hallaba me hicieron tomar el partido de ir a surgir á alguna de las Yslas Philipinas que fue el día onze de Noviembre de mill setecientos y treze; y hallandome entre la China y las Yslas de Lusson sobrevino una tempestad tan grande que mi Navio estuvo a pique de perderle de que resulto que muchos de mi equipage enfermassen; El dia veinte y tres de Noviembre de mill setecientos y treze dí vista a la tierra despues que la tempestad avia passado, y hallé que eran las Yslas de Lusson donde surgí, puse mi Navio al abrigo de una ladera donde avia una pequeña Playa de arena que se llama Sínay, el Alcalde de Vuestra Provincia vino que se llama Pinera a quien representté el mal estado en que se hallava mi Navio y la misma tarde bolvio, y el dia veinte y quatro del corriente me enbio refresco y me indico un Puerto llamado Salamague tres leguas mas al sur, el dho Alcalde bolvio el dia veinte y seis del corriente con Don Julian Molino Cura de Vigant [sic] para asegurarme que no me faltaria nada para restablecer mis enfermos y componer mi Navio mucho mas barato que en Manila donde segun las noticias que tenia avia muchas enfermedades y que los demas Navios Franceses perdían mucha Gente por cuya razon tuve por bien de quedar alli.*

*El Cura me aseguro que no me faltaría Missa los Domingos y días de fiesta aviendo perdido mi Capellan en el Rio de Canton; El Alcalde y el Cura me dexaron me acercasse á quatro o cinco leguas de Vigant lo que hize el día veinte y ocho del dicho entre en el Puerto de Solasol, y el día veinte y nueve hize sacar a tierra mis enfermos que eran veinte y dos, donde se me murieron dos de ellos, y luego hize hacer barracas para des-*



*cargar mi Navio, y todo ello con licencia del Alcalde segun consta por sus Cartas que me han sido quitadas con los demas mis papeles.*

*Me fue precisso gastar un mes y treze dias para descargar mi Navio, y en el interin estando ya todo en tierra sucedio que se estendio la voz de que los Yndios llamados Tanguianos bajaban de las Montañas para quemar y robar los lugares al rededor del mar y todo mi equipage dormía en tierra por no aver otro recurso.*

*Escribí durante este intervalo tres vezes a vuestro Governador de Manila de quien no recibí respuesta alguna sino una insinuacion para que pasasse a Manila ó prosiguiesse mi viaje, lo qual entonces me era imposible executar ni en mes y medio por razon de que mi Navio se hallaba enteramente desarmado y descargado y que avia sido precisso hacerle componer la mayor parte de el, le respondí<sup>161</sup> como no podía executar lo ni en mes y medio; y aviendo ya casi buuelto a embarcar todo lo que estava en tierra y restablecido mis enfermos y esperando solamente mis viveres y refrescos el día diez y nueve de Henero de mill setecientos y catorze llego otra insinuacion u orden para que passase por tierra a Manila aviendo ciento y cinquenta leguas, y que no saliesse del Puerto; respondí que no podía quitar mi Navio y que me hallaba prompto a proseguir mi viaje el dia quinze ó veinte de Febrero que si avia alguna cosa del servicio de su Magestad Catholica con mucho gusto detendría mi viage todo el tiempo que se me ordenasse siendo para el Servicio del Rey.*

*Entre quatro y cinco de Febrero aviendo recebido todos mis viveres no esperando mas que mis refrescos y ajustar mis quantas para satisfacer a cada uno de los que me avian subministrado dhos viveres, y aviendo ajustado todo ello y pagado passe el dia catorze de Febrero a una legua mas al Norte para tomar forrage para mis ganados y no aguardamos mas que el viento favorable para hacerme á la vela, vi dos Navios el uno grande y el otro mediano que venian aziá mí y se me acercaron dandome voces que amaynasse mis velas de parte de Vuestra Magestad, lo qual hize sin ninguna resistencia, me pidieron mi passaporte y Comisiones, los quales les embie originales con mi Chalupa, la qual me detuvieron media hora y despues embie mi lancha, y me la tuvieron a su bordo, y luego me mandaron passar á el lo qual al instante execute, y apenas avia llegado a su bordo quando me dixerón que mi passaporte era falso, y que si no tenía otro de su Magestad Catholica me apressarían y en este intervalo sacaron todo mi equipage a tierra menos seis ó siete Hombres que dexaron á bordo y algunos pocos metieron sobre sus Navios por Marineros, mi Navio fue enteramente robado y saqueado.] hicieron marchar ciento y cinquenta leguas por tierra á mi equipage en lugar de repartirlos sobre los tres Navios, me trataron como un verdadero Pirata ni mas ni menos, el dia seis de marzo los Navios entraron en vuestro Puerto de Cavite[.] a las dos de la tarde, Vuestro Castellano y el mayor Don Estevan Guigne vinieron a Bordo de mi Navio sin avissarme entraron en la Popa tomaron todos mis Papeles y lo saquearon todo; El dho Castellano embio quarenta y cinco hombres á bordo de guarda con orden de quitar las velas y el timon que hicieron pedazos con hachas, con palabras muy injuriosas, el día catorze de Marzo vino un Consejero llamado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa con el Factor Don Juan Antonio Ibarra, el Castellano de Cavite, el mayor y con*

*Don Estevan de Guigne con orden de descargar mi Navio, lo qual debía aver sido por Vuestro Fiscal respecto de que esta causa tocaba a Vuestra Magestad, les pregunte por que motivo querían descargar mi Navio y porque no se observaban las formalidades de la Justicia, y que por lo menos me dixessen en que avía incurrido y faltado; Vuestro Consejero tomo la palabra y me dixo le obedeciesse y hiciesse abrir la cubierta de mi Navio. Le respondí que no haría tal menos que no me dixesse el delito que avía cometido, y la respuesta fue mandar passar cien hombres de vuestro Galeon[.] hizo abrir la cubierta ó cala y desembarcar las mercaderías como si huviera sido cosa de pillage, y el Navio fue desarmado sin observar orden alguna[.] le quise representar que si era en beneficio de Vuestra Magestad debía impedir los desordenes y la perdida de su cargazon y que considerasse que yo era franzes y no obstante hizo se obrasse peor, de manera que calle aunque ví sacar y llevar el vino y aguaardiente, y mis armas de las quales se apropio vuestro mayor de Cavite y de otras cosas, tomaron todo el cordage y maromas; El dho Consejero mando abrir todos los fardos de las mercaderías mas preciosas para sacar de ellos lo que mas le convenía, y hizo poner la cargazon de mi Navio en Casas de su satisfacion no obstante las representaciones que le hize para que la mandasse poner en vuestros Almazenes, y que vuestros Oficiales Reales tuviessen una llave y yo la otra, pero esto no le convenía, y en lugar de pesar la pimienta, la recibieron à medida como trigo, y las otras mercaderias al peso, y de todas las Caxas ha hecho Deposotario a su Pariente llamado Don Juan Antonio Peredo hombre mas propio para Corsario que para guardar bienes agenos que no podian augmentarse en su poder por lo que le ví hacer à mi bordo de suerte que tomaron esta Cargazon como cosa de pillage, y todo esto se dirigio por el Consejero antecedentemente nombrado quien me parecia muy moso y poco practico para mandar observar la buena orden y regla en orden a los interezes de Vuestra Magestad y descargo de mi Navio.*

*Como su Divina Magestad no ignora todo lo que passa sucedio que el Lunes trece de Mayo de mill setecientos y quinze a las diez de la mañana se trajo presso al fuerte donde estoy a Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Consejero de Vuestra Audiencia de Manila, y supe despues que el dho Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa avía hecho una conspiracion de consecuencia en la qual entran vuestro Governador de las Yslas Marianas y un Alcalde ordinario de Manila por no dejar gobernar a Don Joseph Torralba, y su intencion era de ponerle donde el los avia puesto.*

*Don Thomas de Anday[a] vuestro Maestre de Campo murio lunes à veinte de Mayo de mill setecientos y quinze[.] le enterraron el martes à veinte y uno a las diez de la mañana.*

*La sedicion de los Padres Recoletos que vivían fuera de la Villa à un tiro de pistola se ha descubiertto enteramente con la mala recepcion que dichos buenos Padres hicieron al nuevo Maestre de Campo que vuestro Governador avía embiado para reducir dhos Padres a la obediencia de su Prelado en que no quisieron consentir, y a pedradas hicieron retirar al dho Maestre de Campo y hirieron dos ó tres soldados lo qual causo un tumulto muy grande. Toda la Republica y Guarniçion tomaron las Armas y se cerraron las Puertas de la Villa, y consiguientemente vuestro Governador embio a decir a*

*los dhos Padres por tres vezes que se rindiessen, y que en casso de no, iría à demoler su Convento a golpe de cañon a que respondieron que no querían rendirse[,] de suerte que à las cinco de la tarde vuestro Governador comenzo à mandar jugar la Artillería contra su Convento, por cuyo medio llego a reducirlos, y vuestro Governador mando poner en la Carzel a Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa con Grillos a los pies[,] respecto de que el era el principal y Cavo de la sedicion; esto sucedio el sabado à ocho de Junio de mill setecientos y quinze de manera que los Padres reducidos fueron llevados à otros Conventos con un par de grillos à los pies y eran catorze, y despues de fenecida esta sedicion vuestro Governador hizo soltar y sacar de la Carzel à vuestro Consejero Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, y el Domingo por la mañana mando se le quitassen los grillos, y en este intervalo sucedio otro lance muy gracioso que fue que vuestro Castellano del Fuerte de Santiago llamado Aguirre mando levantar la Puente levadisa y armar todos los Bastiones de el fuerte y el quedo fuera de manera que el Fuerte quedo a la disposicion de un moso de quinze a diez y ocho años, es verdad que vuestro Castellano no tiene mucho mas experiencia, solo sí es muy Amigo de saber quanto vale una pieza de bretaña, y desta manera Señor estan guardadas vuestras Plazas en la America.*

*El día diez y ocho de Mayo de mill setecientos y quinze vuestro Governador me mando salir de la pricion, y tres días despues me mando dar un Abogado y un Procurador para oyrme en justicia lo que no quiso permitir el difuntto Governador, y para este efecto me mando entregar todos los Autos que avían sido fulminados contra mí que eran nulos por aver estado en pricion, y no aver tenido Persona que me defendiesse, porque si yo hacía presentar algun escrito se me amenazaba con la muerte y ninguno de mis Escritos se halla en los Auttos como tampoco los de vuestro Fiscal[,] con todo esso me remito a los dhos escritos de vuestro Fiscal.*

*Entro un Navio llamado la **Maria Theresa** el día quatro de Junio de mill setecientos y quinze que venía de Batabia, el Capitan se llama Manuel Perera quien se dice ser Portugues cargado de nuezes moscadas, pimientta[,] canela y otras mercadurias.*

*Pido mill vezes perdon a Vuestra Magestad de la libertad que he tomado de darle quentta del proceder de vuestro Governador Don Joseph de Torralba uno de vuestros Consejeros de vuestra Real Audiencia de Manila quien me mando sacar de **la pricion donde estuve catorze meses y diez y siete días alimentando[me] de limosnas**, esto sucedio el día diez y ocho de Mayo de mill setecientos y quinze, Don Joseph Torralba hà procedido mejor que el difunto Conde de Lizarraga pues me dio la Villa por Carzel y permitio a Don Joseph Correa mi Abogado por el nombrado y Juan de Leon mi Procurador me defendiessen de las injusticias que me avian sido hechas por el difunto Governador quien me quito todos mis bienes sin ninguna consideracion, y el dicho Torralba hace mucho peor, pues no obstante todo lo que he alegado y los Escritos de vuestro Fiscal, el dicho Governador hà mandado se passe a la venta de dho mi Navio y bienes que pretenden importen poca cosa, respecto de que en ellos se intereza, pues el Comercio le ha representado que no tenia nada con que cargar su Navio que embia a Acapulco.*

*Puedo assegurar à Vuestra Magestad sin ofender a Dios que no entraron en vuestras Caxas treinta ó quarenta mill pesos, lo que hubiera producido en manos de Gente de conciencia ciento y treinta y quatro mill pesos, y en Europa trescientos y noventa mill pesos por lo menos[.]sin embargo vuestro Presidente de vuestra Real Audiencia no cessa de decir que alegue todos mis derechos segun las leyes de la justicia y que me la mandara guardar, y todas estas buenas palabras y promessas me dió en presencia del Padre Prior de San Juan de Dios llamado Alarcon añadiendo que era Presidentte para escucharme y atenderme, y con todo esso à penas salí del Palacio quando me mando decir que no obstante los Escritos del Fiscal y mis alegatos ordenaba se pasasse à la ventta de mis bienes, y en esta forma se acostumbra administrar justicia en estas Yslas Philipinas abandonando la Ley de Dios y no executando lo que Vuestra Magestad ordena; He pedido à Don Joseph Torralba un testimonio de los Autos que han formado contra mí, pero me le ha negado diciendo me que se daría la honrra de remitirlos a Vuestra Magestad. Tambien le pedí un testimonio de los Escritos que he presentado desde que salí de la Carzel lo qual no quiso hacer, y assi me remito a los Escritos de vuestro Fiscal quien no faltara à dar parte à Vuestra Magestad de las injusticias que vuestros Gobernadores me han hecho sin ninguna missericordia por aver surgido à vuestro Puerto de la Ysla de Lusson; dejando ir a todo mi equipage donde bien les parece no obstante averle representado que el REY mi Señor sentira mucho que sus Matelotes sirvan a Moros. Han permitido a mi Escribano y à mi Mercader se retiren, no obstante que los debían aver detenido para dar quentta del Navio y de la Cargazon, cuyos efectos han sido cargados en el Navio que va à Acapulco, este año de mill setecientos y quinze, la dha Cargazon y Navio han sido adjudicados por la mitad menos que valían, y todos estos robos hacen Don Francisco Atienza Ybarri [sic], vuestro Maestre de Campo, y vuestro Gobernador para la compra de mi Navio y cargazon; el dho Maestre de Campo se ha valido de un sugeto llamado Don Pedro Bavaso secretario de el difunto Gobernador todo ello pagadero a la buelta del Navio la **Vigoña** [sic] ha dado por fiador à Don Francisco Ursua sobrino de el difunto Gobernador y yerno de dho Maestre de Campo por donde Vuestra Magestad puede ver que todo queda en manos de la Familia del difunto Gobernador con el consentimiento de vuestro actual Gobernador. Me remito a la consulta que vuestro Fiscal embía à Vuestra Magestad.*

*Quedo como siempre padeciendo esperando en la Divina Bondad y recta justicia de Vuestra Magestad me sacara de tanta miseria; Vuestro Navio la **Vigoña** que debía aver partido el día veintte y cinco de Junio no ha salido hasta el día ocho de septiembre ultimo passado para ir a la Nueva España en busca de vuestro Gobernador y Consejeros para vuestra Audiencia, la qual solamente tiene un Presidente que es Don Joseph Torralba[.] ha buuelto à surgir el día cinco de Diciembre diciendo que no puede hacer viage de manera que las Yslas Philipinas se hallan sin Gobernador ni Audiencia de dos años a esta parte, la orden que Vuestra Magestad avía embiado para establecer à uno de vuestros Oydores llamado Pavon no ha servido de nada pues vuestro Presidentte Don Joseph Torralba quiere gobernar solo sin executar lo que Vuestra Magestad manda; El dicho Oydor se vio precissado a retraherse en la Yglecía de los Augustinos por razon*

*de que el dho Torralba le quería desterrar, de manera que el Fiscal de Vuestra Magestad no se atreve a decir nada de miedo de que le destierre; El dicho Torralba solo gobierna, el es Presidentte[,] Oydor, y Acessor, y si Dios no lo remedia creo que las Yslas se perderan por faltar enteramente Persona que haga justicia y execute vuestras ordenes: Tengo la honrra de ser con el mayor rendimiento*

*Vuestro muy rendido y humilde servidor*

*De Boisloré*

*Manila Ysla de Lusson a veinte y ocho de Diziembre de mill setecientos y quinze.*

### Translation.

Sire:

De Boisloré, Captain-General of the Coast Guard, has had the honor of writing three letters to Your Majesty with two Memorials, one of which was inserted among the correspondence of the Fathers of the Society aboard your galleon **Santo Cristo** that was going to Acapulco in the year of 1714.

Said galleon had been loaded with 800 or 900,000 pesos of merchandise from China, and from the Great Indies. The second letter went aboard the [French] ship **François Dargonje** [sic] of Saint-Malo<sup>1</sup> that arrived at your port of Manila to sell her cargo and merchandise from Europe that consisted of linens of first and middling qualities, cambric, ribbons, gold and silver braids, hats, iron, and other merchandise. Eight days after her arrival at the port, she changed her flag and raised a white-and-red flag that a certain Bournonville, merchant aboard an English ship, loaned her. The man who is best able to inform Your Majesty in a very detailed manner about what comes in and departs your port of Manila and about what went on, is Don Juan Siscara, one of your engineers, and also the Reverend Father Mugurada [sic], Provincial of St. Dominic, and Brother Lucas of the same Order; all three have embarked aboard the ship from St. Malo, as persons who are freeing themselves of the tyranny in which they found themselves, the former from the tyranny of your Governor, and the other from that of the Provincial who had replaced Reverend Father Mugurada. Both have since died, the Governor and the Provincial who did not see the end of the demolition of a chapel that Reverend Father Mugurada had ordered built to our Lady of the Rosary, who is the patroness of this Island (may she not let this ship sink on account of everything that is committed against God and Your Majesty).

A man named Domingo Bermudez Mayor has purchased from the St. Malo ship [goods] worth 32,000 pesos. Francisco Atienza y Vany [rather Ibañez], your Fort Warden, bought the rest of the ship's cargo. The other fort warden is the sole principal and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Not to be confused with the François of Port-Louis, this ship was also known as the Marquis-de-Vibray, and is listed as n° 88 in Dahlgren's *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* (Paris, 1907), commanded by Captain Julien Marion Dufresne" during a voyage to Peru and [directly] back to France in 1711-15. It is possible, but not probable, that this ship visited Manila in 1714. Doc. 1728E gives the correct name of this ship as the **Saint-FrançoisXavier** of St-Malo, Captain Lavigne, that came from India.

head of the trade that your Philippine Islands has with the Dutch in Batavia, under the pretension of being Portuguese. It is through him that the larger part of what comes from your Kingdom of New Spain goes to Bengal, Batavia, Malacca, Madras and Surat. I do not mention China, because I have been assured that they have permission from Your Majesty to come and trade in the Philippine Islands. I am persuaded that Your Majesty has not been informed of the number of ships that come every year from China: there are regularly from 18 to 20 of them; plus 3 Portuguese ships; 3-4 English ships; 3-4 ships from Batavia; 2 belonging to Moslems from Surat; 4-5 from Armenia. All of these ships offload their cargo in a single ship that Your Majesty allows every year to go to Acapulco for the support of your Philippine Islands. If God should favor me, I may have the honor of meeting Your Majesty, at which time I would let you know of a means for maintaining your Philippine Islands without they costing you anything and without this ship having to go and trade in New Spain. Said ship could be called a [floating] Babylon; I was amazed at her large size when I went on board her, to such an extent that I became curious to know what quantity Your Majesty permitted them to load for their trade with Acapulco, and I was told that it was for 300,000 pesos in goods originating from your Philippine Islands. As Your Majesty can see, the opposite is true, as can be inferred from the visits of all of the above-mentioned ships.

I pointed out to them that a ship 3/4 that size would be sufficient for a load worth 300,000 pesos, and that it would sail more safely, in which case a crew of 70 men would suffice, instead of the 500 or 600 who are necessary, during the crossing of from 5 to 6 months without any stopover along the way. They take on water for only 2 months, trusting in rainwater, and that is why half of the crew die; it is a miracle that said ship makes it to Acapulco when rain is not abundant. There are officers who sell water to the poor crewmen for prices of their own choosing. The crew is forced to sleep in the open, exposed to the weather, because the space below deck is all taken up with merchandise, so that only the General, the merchant, the pilot and his mate, the Master Gunner and the boatswain enjoy all the comforts of the ship, and that is why the passengers pay very dearly their passage to the General; sometimes, they must pay up to 30 or 40,000 pesos. And, as far as the cargo of the galleon is concerned, three-quarters of it belong to your Governor, the Warden, De Villa and your Counsels, which seemed to me to be very extraordinary, considering what must be left to the traders, as the fourth part belongs to the residents; those who are unable to load anything sell the spaces they have aboard the ship at a price from 80 to 100 pesos a share or bundle. Those who have been given permission to load 10 bundles are only allowed 3 by your Governor, and so with the rest. It was the Count of Lizarraga who tyrannized them in this manner, with the connivance of a certain man named Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

Your Majesty might wonder how come a bundle can be worth as great a sum as that mentioned above, not counting the expenses and taxes; that is why it happened that this Republic had made an offer of 50,000 pesos to one of your Governors, for every year of the 8 years of his mandate, but he refused to accept it, even if they had offered

him 400,000 pesos more. Hence, one can infer the great profit that he makes with his share of the cargo aboard the galleon.

This is what is happening with the navigation of the galleon that Your Majesty maintains for them; it serves only to destroy your Kingdom of New Spain and your trade at Seville.

If Your Majesty wishes to allow your Republic to continue to trade with Acapulco, I have the honor to give you a means for this Republic to build this galleon at its expenses at no cost to Your Majesty. Another means that I found, that would not require Your Majesty to send anything from New Spain for the payment of the garrisons or of the religious orders, would consist in Your Majesty allowing the despatch of two ships of from 50 to 60 guns every year to Europe, and they should be commanded by and manned with Europeans, for which your vassals would pay their tribute every year, that is, to a receiver general of all of your Philippine Islands. Hence, Your Majesty can see that your troops would be well paid, whereas presently they die of hunger; in addition, considerable sums of money would be left over.

Your Majesty will please forgive me for talking so freely; indeed, I feel that there is so little order in everything that concerns your interests, as all of this business is but thievery, and your soldiers stand guard duty without any shoes, or stockings, without coats even, they being so completely naked, because they receive only 2 pesos and 20 pounds of rice per month.

Your Majesty might be amazed to learn that in your Fort Santiago, where I find myself prisoner, there are some soldiers who have not been moved from one watch-tower in the last six years, and the same thing happens in the other watch-towers; and when they are moved, they are simply transferred to another watch-tower. Such soldiers have nothing more on their bodies than some bad pants, and they wear no hats; those are your Spanish soldiers.

As far as the Pampangos are concerned, that is, the natives of the Islands, they do get over 10 reals per month and the same ration of rice; thus most of them are thieves and they serve like true slaves. I have them in sight every day in this fort, and it is a real pity and a shame.

Your galleon that comes every year from Acapulco brings 2-3 millions that are divided among 15-16 persons. Very little filters down to the poor, because they had been paid in advance for the post they held aboard the ship and they had nothing to load as cargo, or else, they had not been permitted to load it.

Another expense that I simply must bring to the attention of Your Majesty with respect to your galleon, is one resulting from their abandonment of it after her arrival; she is left exposed to the weather and left to rot for 5-6 months. Furthermore, before she leaves again, they refit her anew, using green timber in the process, just as it comes from the forest where a thousand men are busy cutting it.

This ship could last for 50 years, according to the quality of the wood used, and I dare say to Your Majesty that if said ship were built at the expense of those who let it waste away, as they would take better care of it; it would then be necessary to refit it

only every 20 years. It is true that in such a case, those who have the control of said galleon would not get rich, as happens now, and it would be necessary for them to cut the required timber 2 to 3 years before it be used in said refit, which lasts from 5 to 6 months and they make sure it costs an exorbitant sum. The officers receive 10 reals per month, but what they charge Your Majesty 10,000 pesos does not cost them 3,000, as those who work on the galleon during the refit only receive 10 reals per month and 20 pounds of rice, that is why every day some die suddenly for lack of food. Your Warden [rather Counsel] de Villa makes this refit last 5 to 6 months, whereas he could do it in one month, if the wood were already available.

At present a galleon is being built some 14 leagues northward of Manila. A thousand men are employed at it and 200 soldiers who keep wild Indians at bay to prevent the men from being killed while they are cutting timber. I think that Your Majesty might not believe that, although these Islands have been established 145 years ago, only the coasts have been conquered, and the heathen live not far from the gates of Manila.

I return to the subject of the construction of your galleon at which 2,000 men are working, but they will not finish it within 15 months. As soon as the timber is cut, the wood is used. Said galleon could be done and finished very easily in three months, but this would remove the usefulness and profit derived from such delays by those who manage or inspect the project, and they could not then build houses that cost them nothing. All of this is against the interests of Your Majesty, as you may see from the accounts they give of the expenditures that make up very considerable sums of money, although the officers cost little, and the timber costs little if only the price of having it cut. This lack of care, as regards your interests, is something that demands punishment from God.

If God permits that some day I may have the honor of meeting Your Majesty, I will inform you of the many things that take place before the eyes of an infinite number of heathen, and of so many poor unfortunate Indians who live in the bush close to the gates of Manila, and have not yet been reduced.

During the month of February 1715, there happened a disorder in the Province of Camarines, as a Father of St. Francis killed a Catholic native with a rifle shot, so that the whole Province was on the verge of rebellion; they sent another religious to administer them. Another mishap happened in Manila this Holy Week, because the Fathers of [the Province of] St. Nicholas of the Order of St. Augustine refused to recognize their Superior, and since their convent is located outside the walls at a distance of a pistol shot, they fortified and entrenched themselves in their convent, and were very well armed with rifles and stones. Your President, Don José Torralba, sent a Mayor over there with all of his Ministers, but they refused to open the door and answered him through the window: "Long live Philip V," and nothing else. When Don Luis Tagle, your Governor-elect of the Marianas, and Don Sancho Tagle, the ordinary Mayor of Manila, made themselves the protectors of said good Fathers, they were taken to this fortress, and watched very closely, not being able to talk to anyone, but there are many other details that did not reach me; I only know that the Fathers said that they would



rather die than capitulate, so that the Republic and all of the religious orders, except the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus], are involved in a civil war. All of these dissensions among the religious cause rumbling among the more than 20,000 heathen Chinese who live around Manila. Your Governor gets a sum of money from these Chinese every time that he sends someone to publish an edict to make them return to China; he does this in order to bring water to his mill.

If God and Your Majesty do not remedy this, these colonies risk being lost, because of the many sects that are present around Manila, and above all that of Mahomet which is very near.

Your Governor, the Count of Lizarraga, died in the evening of 3 February 1715, and he left your Philippine Islands in a very bad state. A Councillor named Don José de Torralba took his place, for things military; this individual is as fit to be a Governor as I am to be a Bishop. Nevertheless, he works toward returning the Republic to a peaceful state, as your Governor had almost succeeded in ruining it; that is why he was forced to retire all of the Captains who were serving during the term of the deceased Governor and of Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, one of your Audiencia members, who wished to become Governor. He would surely have caused the complete ruin of your Philippine Islands, that are now in a very bad state. Your Governor in question was trying to bring tranquility, and to do that he was forced to place your Audiencia member, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, in prison, as well as Don Luis Tagle, your Governor-elect of the Marianas, and one of the Mayors who is the head of the criers, but no-one else had been jailed, although the Recollect Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine who live outside the walls are on the side of the three above-mentioned men.

There is also another very considerable sum of money that comes from all of the above-mentioned ships that visit the port of Your Majesty. In addition, changes are needed in posts affecting from 50 to 60 officers, in order to improve the service of Your Majesty. Your Warden of Fort Santiago, named Don José Madrazo, died on Saturday 9 February 1715; he was a good and just man. At present I find myself in the same miserable situation as previously when I was prisoner in Fort San Felipe in Cavite, without any consolation, because of the bad will of Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, one of your Counsels who took charge of the cargo of my ship and turned everything into chaos, during the term of the late Governor.

The person who was providing me with food and much consolation was your Master-of-camp Don Tomás de Endaya, but this support stopped some time ago, because Don José Madrazo and Don Tomás de Endaya have died. They were the two men from whom I received much charity, not only for my subsistence but also for my support and that of my servants, so that at present I can only count on the Fathers of the Society; if these Fathers should fail me, I would find myself in extreme poverty, because your Audiencia member knows no pity.

Your Audiencia of Manila only has one Counsel, named Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, and he does not administer justice very well. In spite of his being but a lad, it was he who governed during the term of the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin Ursua, so

that said Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa was not an impartial judge. He took the commission to unload and disarm my ship, and doing so he acted as if he were pillaging it, by which I recognized that he was inexperienced. I represented to him that the merchandise should be unloaded in a more orderly fashion and that he should consider the fact that I had the honor of being an officer of King Louis XIV, by telling him that if my ship and cargo had belonged to His Catholic Majesty he would do it with better care, to which he said nothing, except that I was to go away.

He had in his company a notary, half Chinese and half negro, named Juan Luzada [rather Losada], who looked after extraordinary cases; this man is self-serving, ever ready to falsify anything. He also had with him a man named Don Juan Antonio [Collado] Peredo, Sergeant-Major of Cavite, who is also a good corsair and a relative of Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, the Counsel, in whose interest the man was made Trustee of the cargo of my ship. I also represented that if my ship and cargo belonged to Your Majesty, it was not necessary to use a trustee, given that Your Majesty owns a number of empty warehouses, and that the Royal officials should hold one key, and I the other, but this was not taken into account by the said three gentlemen. My ship was worth, at the time that I turned it over under the guarantee of Your Majesty, 134,000 pesos, as certified by the invoices and the Inventory statement that was made of the ship, but Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa gives it a value of 84,000 pesos, such that 54,000 pesos are missing from the principal, plus the 50,000 that said merchandise would have earned from the transport from Canton to here. I have the honor of affirming to Your Majesty that such gentlemen, along with the deceased Governor, appropriated 100,000 pesos: former value of the ship 134,000 pesos; what they say is its present value, as of 1 March, i.e. 80,000 pesos.

According to the accounts reported by Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, Counsel, and the Warden, Don Francisco Atienza Ybarri [rather Ibañez], Don Juan Antonio Collado Peredo, [Sergeant-] Major of Cavite and nephew of said Warden, and Juan Luzada, your Warden of Cavite availed himself of 3/4 of the artillery, the rigging, and the food supplies from the ship, as these items all appear under his account.

Out of the 84,000 pesos that make up the value of the ship and its cargo, according to their accounting, only 20,000 or 30,000 pesos were turned over to your Treasury, from which Your Majesty will appreciate the good order that is observed in matters concerning your interests in these countries. In the hands of God-fearing persons loyal to Your Majesty, the ship would have produced 184,000 pesos here at Manila and in Europe would have yielded 395,000 pesos; the cargo cost 87,000 pesos in Canton and the ship, with its equipment, rigging, war munitions and food supplies, was worth 47,000 pesos, in accordance with the invoices that I have previously mentioned.

I take the liberty of telling Your Majesty that your orders and those of His Holiness are only carried out in accordance with the wishes of your Governor and of your Counsels; indeed, **your late Governor got a very good sum of money by selling to and buying from four French ships**, while I did not wish to give anything, since I found myself in an empty port at 150 leagues from Manila, where I could not trade. Your late

Governor sent two ships, one of 40 guns and 300 men, English, Portuguese, Moslem, French, and Spanish, commanded by his nephew; the other ship had 24 guns and a crew of 200 men commanded by his son. They shouted to me in the name of Philip V to lower my sails, which I did without resistance. I confess to Your Majesty that at first I thought that they were enemies, because at the same time I heard so many different languages. And as a reward for having obeyed at the name of Your Majesty, they took me prisoner aboard the big ship to Manila. While we were some 10-12 leagues from Mariveles, we met with a Portuguese ship which this commander refused to seize, and he contented himself with making him come alongside. He told me that he held a passport from Your Majesty, but he refused to show it to me. But I, who did not mistreat anyone, find myself suffering cruelties that the Turks have never inflicted upon Christians. They do make them slaves, but they feed them, whereas I am not given any food. I accept all of this for the love of God, hoping that His Divine Majesty will do me justice, and that Your Majesty, being so righteous and just, will not allow such cruelties; indeed, even if I had traded, my crime would not have been greater than for the other foreigners who trade in your port of Manila, because in such a case they might have seized my ship and its goods and this seems to me that it would have been sufficient punishment, but they have taken everything from me and left me naked as on the first day I was born. I believe that His Divine Majesty wished to send me this punishment so that I would have the honor to report to you all of the evil deeds that are committed in your Philippine Islands, where those who govern say publicly that they are 5,000 leagues from Your Majesty, and that they, or the opposite party, would already be dead by the time a complaint can make it overthere and back.

I am convinced that Your Majesty has received a report about what happened to the Bishop of Cagayan with regards to the visit that he wished to carry out in his diocese, when the Fathers of St. Dominic refused to admit him, and this caused a very great upheaval among the natives of the country, because all of the Fathers were excommunicated and in spite of it all, said Bishop did not achieve his purpose; indeed, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, one of your Counsels, who was sent by the late Governor, along with Juan Luzada the notary, to give assistance to said Bishop, instead of favoring him, he sided with the Fathers of St. Dominic. Said Counsel returned to Manila with a considerable sum of gold that he received from said Fathers of St. Dominic, and in this manner is justice being done in this country. Said Juan de Luzada is a bad man belonging to the negro race; what he writes is very suspicious, but Don Gregorio does not employ anyone else. I hope to God that I will be able to tell Your Majesty many things that will please you regarding your Philippine Islands.

A Dutch ship has anchored here. It came from Batavia and had been sent to the Molucca Islands. Upon returning from Ternate, the contrary wind and current took it in sight of the Islands of Caraga<sup>1</sup> where the District Mayor had it seized by the local natives. Said Dutchman is called Thomas Bromgor, and he had been brought here to

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1 Ed. note: On the east coast of Mindanao.

Manila where he was kept prisoner in Fort Santiago for only two months; indeed, your Republic feared that the Dutch would do the same when some of your ships might go there, as they do go there every year to get nutmegs, cinnamon and pepper, which they send to New Spain. Your Republic gets these spices from Batavia, although they could get enough from Ternate to supply your Kingdom of Europe, and from these nearby Islands of Mindanao that belong to Your Majesty. That is how the Dutch can earn enough to make war on Your Majesty; said Islands produce all of the above-mentioned spices, much gold and other precious things that this Republic takes advantage of.

I have had the honor to write to Your Majesty to report to you about my having delivered, in 1710, to your General of your Canary Islands, Don Fernando Chacón, an English ship of 18 guns that I had captured as it was fighting with a small French ship from Bayonne. I took it to Santa Cruz [de Tenerife] to sell it. Said ship had left your port of Rota and was loaded with Malmsey wine, and he had permission from Your Majesty, according to what your General affirmed to me, asking me to restitute said ship in order to save the life of the French Consul named Lely whom the natives of the Islands wanted to kill; your General assured me that he would not fail to report this to Your Majesty. Seeing that it was for the preservation of your Islands, I then restituted it, and even refused to take one maravedi in interest, except that I accepted two casks of Malmsey wine. I would have been honored to attach the documentary proof from your General of your Canary Islands and from your Commissioner, if your late Governor and Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa had not refused to return my papers, which they kept from me as if I were a true spy against Your Majesty. Said ship was worth between 30,000 and 40,000 pesos, and all of it was given back to the English Captain. This happened in December 1710.

I would also been honored to send to Your Majesty other documentary proofs from your President of the Kingdom of Chile, Don Juan Andrés Urtari, and from Don Juan de Velasco de Cobarruvias, Governor of Valparaiso. I had sent my Portuguese prize to Concepción to bring back to Valparaiso the materials necessary for the fortification of your Citadel and, after having made 7-8 of my carpenters work for 7-8 months in the repair of all of the gun carriages of the fortress, which had been completely rotten, I was forced to remain in the port the whole time, by virtue of orders that your Viceroy of Peru had sent to the Kingdom of Chile, to the effect that all of the French ships should join to oppose the English squadron that was expected, with the Marquis of Corpas on board. For 6 months I was kept busy at the rebuilding of your Citadel, while I refused to accept not one real, as can be gathered from the papers, and to reward me of all of these services, your Governor of the Philippines had me arrested and put in prison, where I have received and suffered all of the cruelties that one can imagine and carry out upon a spy of Your Majesty, but I tolerate it for God's sake, hoping that Your Majesty will do me justice.

In the year 1712, I received orders from your Viceroy of Peru who gave me repeated thanks for what I had done in the service of Your Majesty.

I have the honor to enclose here two documents that I presented to your Governor, Don José Torralba, after 14 months in prison, in the hope that he would attend to me in accordance with the law of justice, and that something different would happen besides what happened during the time of the late Governor, who would let himself be governed by Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, with said papers, but after reading them he threw them away and told me that the Count had been of the opinion that I should be hanged before anything else, and that he would answer my petition later because I had mentioned other French ships having remained in the port for one year.

I very humbly beg Your Majesty to please consider what authority can a Counsel hold to say such words against an officer of the King. I do not have the honor to explain to Your Majesty everything that he has done to me, given that the ill will of this individual can be sufficiently made obvious by what I have just said. These two documents will give Your Majesty a complete knowledge of the type of justice administered in your Audiencia of Manila. I have not been granted a single request, so that your actual President does and decides whatever he wants. I have had the honor to write to Your Majesty that I was relying upon the briefs of your Fiscal.

A few days ago I petitioned your President for a lodging, given that I have been sleeping while exposed to the weather for the past 14 months, above the gate of the fortress, to which he did not respond. I was requesting him to give me permission to leave this unhappy prison and let me appear before him in justice; this he did order on Saturday 18 May 1715, giving me permission to take an attorney and a barrister.

I relied entirely upon Reverend Father José Velasco, Provincial of the Society of Jesus,<sup>1</sup> for my food, in case your Governor had refused to hear my case, but if he had failed me, I do not know what my recourse would have been. I am convinced that the hardships that I have suffered over the past 16 months of imprisonment, after they took my ship and everything that was in it, while refusing to provide me with food and a place where I could find shelter from the winds and rains, besides the threats addressed to me, would be enough to make a man of bronze die. Nevertheless, I find myself in good health, more than ever, by which I recognize that His Divine Majesty is on my side, since I bear it all with patience and for His sake and that of the Virgin Mary, who protects me and has not abandoned me. If I had fallen into the hands of the Japanese, they could not have done me more harm, by taking my life. I left Canton on the coast of China on 16 November 1713, fleeing from the Chinese who were only awaiting the orders of the Emperor to detain me, because of the complaints that the Commissioner of Canton had made against some French corsairs who had taken one of their ships that came from Batavia, and had robbed various other ships. This was the reason why the Chinese wanted to detain and arrest me, so that I was forced to take on board all sorts of merchandise, because I did not wish to delay [my departure] any longer. However, I was lucky in that I was dealing with good people and honorable merchants, of

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1 Ed. note: Provincial from 1715 to 1717.

the type that is hard to find in China; that is why I accepted what they wished to give me, rather than lose it all.

I took all of my sick people back on board, no matter how sick they were, so as not to leave them exposed to the anger and evilness of those heathen, although my ship was in a very bad state. Not four days had passed after I had left the Canton River when I dropped anchor near Macao, which is a Portuguese town, where I saw a ship which I believed was the frigate from Goa, that left Malacca armed with 50 guns and manned by 500 men, to go and await the French ships that were in Manila; I got this news from the Fathers of the Society. I had also been told by an English Captain who was at Canton that he had passed by Batavia and Malacca and that the Dutch had 5-6 big ships guarding the Straits, to protect their ships from Japan and capture Boinau [i.e. Bouynot] who was then at Manila selling and buying. All of these news and the bad condition of my ship made me take the decision to go and anchor at one of the Philippine Islands. It was on 11 November 1713, when I found myself between China and the Islands of Luzon, that a storm arose, so great that my ship became on the point of foundering, the result being that many of my men became sick. On 23 November 1713, I sighted land, after the storm had passed, and I found that it was the Island of Luzon, where I anchored. I sought a shelter for my ship behind a cliff where there was a small sandy beach named Sinait. The Mayor of your Province, a man named Piñera, came. I mentioned the bad state of my ship to him. That same afternoon he returned, and the next day 24th, he sent me refreshments and pointed out to me a port named Salamague, some 3 leagues further south. Said Mayor returned on the 26th with Don Julian Molino, the curate of Vigan, to assure me that I would not lack in anything to reestablish my sick men and to repair my ship at much lower cost than at Manila, where, according to the news that he had, there were many illnesses and where the other French ships were losing many men, for which reason I decided to remain there.

The priest assured me that I would be able to hear mass on Sundays and on holidays, in spite of having lost my Chaplain in the Canton River. The Mayor and the priest gave me permission to move to within 4-5 leagues of Vigan, which I did on the 28th of said month, and I went into the port of Solotsolot. On the 29th I had all of my sick men taken ashore; there were 22 of them, and 2 of them died there. Then I ordered that barracks be built in order to unload my ship, and all of this was done with the permission of the Mayor, as shown by his letters, the ones that were taken from me with the rest of my papers.

It was necessary for me to spend one month and 13 days to unload my ship, and in the meantime, when everything was already ashore, it happened that a rumor was spread to the effect that the Indians called Tanguianes, were coming down the mountains to burn and steal from the places along the seashore, this when my whole crew was sleeping ashore, because there was no other way.

During that period, I wrote three times to your Governor of Manila, from whom I did not receive any answer, except an insinuation that I should go on to Manila, or pursue my voyage, something which was then impossible for me to carry out, not within a

month and a half, because my ship was completely unrigged and unloaded, and that it was necessary to repair the greater part of it. I answered him, telling him that I could not carry it out, not for another month and a half. Then, when I had reloaded almost everything that had been ashore and my sick men had recovered, and that I was waiting only for my food supplies and refreshments, on 17 January 1714 there arrived another insinuation and order for me to go to Manila overland, a distance of 150 leagues, and that I was not to leave the port. I answered that I could not leave my ship and that I found myself ready to pursue my voyage on the 15th or 20th of February, and that if I could do something for the service of His Catholic Majesty, I would be glad to delay my departure for whatever time would be necessary, it being in the service of the King.

By the 4th or 5th of February, I had received all of my food supplies, and was waiting only for my refreshments and the adjustments of my accounts, to satisfy everyone who had supplied me with said supplies. By the 14th of February, I had finished adjusting and paid for all of it. I moved to a place one league further north to take on some fodder for my cattle and to await a favorable wind to set sail. I saw two ships, one of them big and the other of average size, that were coming toward me. They came near me and shouted that I should lower my sails in the name of Your Majesty, which I did without any resistance. They asked to see my passport and commissions; I sent them the original copies of them with my ship's boat, and they detained it for half an hour. I then sent my launch, and they detained it alongside. Then they ordered me to come over, which I did immediately. I had hardly climbed on board when they told me that my passport was false, and that if I did not have another from His Catholic Majesty, they would arrest me. Meanwhile they took all of my crew ashore, except for 6-7 men whom they left on board and a few others whom they placed aboard their own ships as seamen. My ship was completely despoiled and sacked. They made my crewmen walk 150 leagues overland instead of distributing them among the three ships. They treated me as if I were a real pirate, no more and no less. On the 6th of March, the ships came into your Port of Cavite at 2 in the afternoon. Your Warden and Major Estevan Guigne came on board my ship and, without warning, went into the poop and took all of my papers and they sacked it all. Said Warden sent 45 guardsmen on board with an order to remove the sails and the rudder which they reduced to splinters with axes, with very insulting words. On 14 March, there came a Counsel named Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa with the Factor Don Juan Antonio Ibarra, the Warden of Cavite, the Major and with Don Esteban de Guigne, with an order to unload my ship, which should have been done by your Fiscal, since this case involved Your Majesty. I asked them why they wanted to unload my ship and why they did not observe the legal formalities, and why they did not at least tell me what was my mistake or crime. Your Counsel spoke and told me to obey him and to open the hatch of my ship. I answered him that I would not do such a thing until he told me what crime I had committed. His answer was to order that 100 men come from your galleon. He had them open the hatch or hold and unload the merchandise as if it were something of a pillage, and the ship was unrigged without any order being observed. I wished to represent that if it was to benefit Your Majesty,

he should prevent the disorders and the loss of your cargo, and that he should consider that I was a Frenchman. However, he proceeded worse than before, and that is why I shut up, although I saw them take out the wine and brandy, and my weapons, which were taken over by your Mayor of Cavite, along with other things. They took all of the ropes and hawsers. Said Counsel ordered that all of the most precious bundles of merchandise be opened in order to take from them what he saw fit. He had the cargo deposited in houses of his choice, regardless of the representations that I made for him to send them to your warehouses, and have your Royal officials remain with one key and I with the other, but this arrangement did not suit him. Instead of weighing the pepper, they received it using the same measure as for wheat, and the other merchandise was simply weighed, and he entrusted all of the crates to his relative named Don Juart Antonio Peredo, a man more suited to be a corsair than to watch over other people's goods, that could not possibly increase in number while in his care, according to what I saw of his doings on board my ship, such that they got hold of my cargo as something being pillaged. And all of this was directed by the above-mentioned Counsel, who seemed to me to be too young and inexperienced to order the observance of good order and discipline, in the interest of Your Majesty, in the unloading of my ship.

As His Divine Majesty knows everything that goes on, it happened that on Monday 13 May 1715, at 10 in the morning, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, Counsel of your Audiencia of Manila, was brought into the same fort where I was prisoner. I learned afterwards that said Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa had entered into an important conspiracy with your Governor[-elect] of the Mariana Islands and an ordinary Mayor of Manila not to let Don José Torralba govern, his intention being to overthrow him and put him where he had placed them.

Don Tomás de Endaya, your Master-of-camp, died on Monday 20 May 1715. They buried him on Tuesday 21st at 10 in the morning.

The sedition of the Recollect Fathers who lived at one pistol shot outside the walls was discovered fully with the bad reception that the good Fathers gave to the new Master-of-camp whom your Governor had sent to reduce said Fathers to the obedience of their Superior, but they refused to submit and made said Master-of-camp withdraw by throwing stones at him and they wounded 2-3 soldiers; this caused a very great disturbance. The whole Republic and garrison took up arms and they closed the gates of the city. Consequently, your Governor sent someone to tell said Fathers three times to give themselves up, and, if they refused, he would demolish their convent with cannon shots, to which they responded that they refused to capitulate. So, at 5 in the afternoon, your Governor began ordering that gunfire be directed at their convent; by this means, he succeeded in reducing them. And your Governor ordered that Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa be put in jail with his feet in irons, since he had been the principal and head of the sedition. This happened on Saturday 8 June 1715, in such a manner that the Fathers who had been reduced were taken to other convents, with leg irons. There were 14 of them, and after this sedition was over, your Governor had your Counsel, Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa, released from jail. On Sunday in the morning, he ordered



that his leg irons be removed, and during this affair, there happened another, very curious, event when your Warden of Fort Santiago, a man named Aguirre, ordered the lift bridge to be raised and the loading of all the bastions of the fort, but he himself was left outside, so that the fort was left at the disposal of a lad who was between 15 and 18 years of age. It is true that your Warden does not have much more experience than he; however, he is very much interested in finding out the price of a piece of fine linen. This is how, Sire, they guard your fortresses in America.

On the 18 May 1715 your Governor ordered my release from jail, and three days later he ordered that I be given an attorney and a barrister in order to hear my case, something that the late Governor had refused to do. To this effect, he ordered that all of the records of proceedings against me be delivered to me, though they were void because of my having been jailed, with no-one to defend me, because whenever I presented some petition I was threatened with death and none of my petitions was found in the records, and neither the briefs of your Fiscal. Nevertheless, I refer to said briefs of your Fiscal.

On 4 June 1715, there came from Batavia a ship named **Maria Teresa**, commanded by Captain Manuel Pereira who is said to be a Portuguese; it was loaded with nutmegs, pepper, cinnamon and other merchandise.

I beg Your Majesty a thousand pardons for the liberty I have taken to report on the proceedings of your Governor Don José de Torralba, one of your Counsels of your Royal Audiencia of Manila, who ordered my release from **prison where I have been for 14 months and 7 days**, being sustained by alms. This release occurred on 18 May 1715. Don José Torralba has behaved better than the late Count of Lizarraga, since he let me have the freedom of the city and allowed Don José Correa, my attorney, and Juan de León, my barrister, to defend me from the injustices that I had received from the late Governor who had taken from me all of my property without any consideration, but said Torralba did much worse; indeed, in spite of all of my petitions and the briefs of your Fiscal, said Governor has ordered the sale of my ship and goods, which they pretend are not worth much, because he is interested in them himself. In fact, the traders have made representation to him saying that they did not have anything with which to load the ship that is now being sent to Acapulco.

I can certify to Your Majesty, without offending God, that no more than 30,000 or 40,000 pesos were turned over to your treasury, whereas in the hands of men of conscience it should have been 134,000 pesos, and in Europe 390,000 pesos at least. Nevertheless, the President of your Royal Audiencia does not stop saying that I should take advantage of all of my rights under the laws of justice, and that he would order them to be observed. All of these good words and promises he uttered to me in the presence of the Father Prior of St. John of God, named Alarcón,<sup>1</sup> adding that he was President

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Juan de Alarcón, says the historian of his Order, was a noted orator and poet. "For a long time he was physician for the entire city, and administrator of the convent at Cavite and of the ranch of San Juan de Buenavista, belonging to the order." (ref. B&R 47: 198).

to listen to me and attend to me, but despite all of this, I had hardly left the Palace when he sent someone to tell me that, in spite of the briefs of the Fiscal and my petitions, he had ordered that my goods be sold. Such is the way that justice is administered in the Philippine Islands, to the abandonment of the Law of God and not carrying out what Your Majesty orders. I have requested Don José Torralba to let me have a copy of the record of proceedings against me, but he refused, saying that he would have the honor to send them to Your Majesty [instead]. I also requested a copy of the petitions that I have presented since I left the prison, but he refused; thus, I rely on the briefs that your Fiscal wrote, since he will not fail to inform Your Majesty of the injustices that your Governors have done me, without any mercy, for having anchored in your port of the Island of Luzon, by letting go all of my crew to wherever they wished, in spite of my representation that the King my Lord would be very sorry to hear that his seamen are now serving Moslems. They have allowed my Clerk and my Supercargo to withdraw, in spite of the fact that they should have detained them to give an account of the ship and its cargo, whose effects have been loaded aboard the ship going to Acapulco this year 1715. Said cargo and ship have been adjudicated for half of their worth, and all of these thefts were made by Don Francisco Atienza Ibarri [sic], your Master-of-camp, and your Governor for the purchase of my ship and cargo. Said Master-of-camp has used a third party, an individual named Don Pedro Bavase, secretary of the late Governor, and all is to be paid only upon the return of the ship **Begoña**. He gave as his bondsman Don Francisco Ursua, the nephew of the late Governor and son-in-law of said Master-of-camp. Hence, Your Majesty will see that everything is left in the hands of the family of the late Governor, with the consent of the present Governor. I refer to the consultation that your Fiscal sends to Your Majesty.

I remain, as always, suffering but hoping that the Divine mercy and the righteous justice of Your Majesty will get me out of so much misery. Your ship **Begoña** that should have departed on 25 June did not leave until 8 September last to go to New Spain, to collect your Governor and members of your Audiencia, which at present has only one President who is Don José Torralba. The ship returned on 5 December, saying that it could not make the voyage, the result being that the Philippine Islands have remained without a Governor or an Audiencia for the last two years. The order that Your Majesty had sent to install one of your Audiencia members named Pabon has had no effect; indeed, your President Don José Torralba wants to govern by himself and does not care to carry out Your Majesty's orders. Said Audiencia member was forced to seek refuge in the Church of the Augustinians, because said Torralba wanted to exile him. Consequently, the Fiscal of Your Majesty does not dare say anything, for fear of being exiled too. Said Torralba governs alone; he is President, Judge, and Counsel, and if God does not remedy this situation, I believe that the Islands will be lost, for the complete lack of a person to render justice and carry out your orders. I have the honor of being with the greatest of submission,

Your very humble servant,  
De Boisloré.

Manila, Island of Luzon, 28 December 1715.

## C2. Royal decree dated Madrid 22 December 1725

*Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 331v-332, pp. 718-719; copy in Escribania 405C.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Governador de Philipinas, remitiendole copia de una carta, de Don Juan Boislere [sic], de Nacion frances, para el fin, que se expresa.*

*El Rey.*

*Mi Governador, y Capitan general, de las Yslas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de la Ciudad de Manila en ellas:*

*Por Don Juan Boislere, de Nacion Frances, se me ha representado, en carta de 28 de Diciembre de 1715, todo lo ocurrido en el comiso que se hizo, en esas Yslas el año de 1714 de su navio, nombrado **la Clair** [i.e. l'Éclair], ó Relampago; lo executado con su persona, y solicitud que hizó, para su restitucion, y la de las mercancias, que en él conducia; expresando al mismo tiempo los excesos cometidos en esas Islas, el referido año de 1715, en gravíssimo perjuicio del servicio de Dios, y mío, y proponiendo diferentes medios para su buen Gobierno;*

*Y habiendose visto la expresada carta en mi Consejo de las Indias, con los autos que remitió la Audiencia de esa Ciudad en razon del referido comiso; lo que en su inteligencia, y de los antecedentes de esta Dependencia, dixó mi fiscal, y consultadome sobre ello: He resuelto, que los referidos autos, y demas papeles pasen a Justicia à fin de que se les dé, el curso, que corresponda, y que se os remita copia de la expresada carta de dho Don Juan Boislere, para que sobre su contenido, me informeis con Justificacion de lo que se os ofreciere, y en su consecuencia, os ordeno y mando, que luego que recivais este Despacho, executeis el referido Informe, previniendoos tambien, que en caso de necesitarse de algun remedio sobre los puntos que contiene, apliqueis las providencias que considerareis mas correspondientes, dandome quenta con toda Justificacion, para tomar la resolucion que se tubiere por mas conveniente.*

*Fha en Madrid à 22 de Diciembre de 1725.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Andres de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.*

### Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, forwarding to him a copy of a letter from Juan Boislere, a Frenchman, for the purpose specified.

The King.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila:

Don Juan Boisloré, a Frenchman, has made representation to me, in a letter dated 28 December 1715, about all the events surrounding the seizure made in those Islands in the year 1714 of his ship, named *Éclair*, or *Relámpago*,<sup>1</sup> what was done to his person, and the request which he submitted for the restitution of this ship, and the merchandise that it carried. At the same time, he revealed excesses committed in those Islands, in the year 1715, in very grave prejudice to the service of God, and mine, and proposed various means for their good Government.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the record of proceedings remitted by the Audiencia of that City, regarding the above-mentioned seizure, as well as what my Fiscal said about the background of this affair, after due consultation, I have decided that the above-mentioned records, and other papers, be turned over to the courts, so that the regular process be applied to them, and for you to be given a copy of the above-mentioned letter from said Juan Boisloré, so that you may be able to report to me about its contents, with proofs submitted for whatever may offer, and consequently, I order you to prepare the above-said report, as soon as you receive this despatch. I also warn you, in case that some remedy be needed regarding the points in question, to apply the provisions that you might consider most fitting, letting me know about them, with complete details, so that I may be able to take whatever decision as I see fit.

Made at Madrid, 22 December 1725.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: This patache was already unseaworthy by 1719 (see Doc. 1719D).

2 Ed. note: The answer of the Audiencia is Doc. 1728E.

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 Document 1725D
 

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## Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1725

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/2, fol. 102-106.*

### Subsidy sent aboard the *Sacra Familia*

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Despacho del Situado de las Yslas Philipinas tocante al año de 1725 en el Galeon Capitana nombrado la Sacra Familia que el citado año hizo tornaviage à aquellas Yslas.***

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*El Situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos que en reales y generos toca a esas Yslas por este año de mil setecientos y veinte y cinco, que a de conducir a ellas el Galeon Capitana nombrado la **Sacra Familia**, se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

#### ***Misiones y Pressidio de Marianas.***

*Veinte y siete mil quatrocientos treinta y cinco pesos dos tomines y diez granos entregados de esta Real caja: los veinte mil quinientos y cinquenta pesos de ellos para el Governador y sesenta soldados de la Dottacion del Pressidio de Marianas: y los seis mil ochocientos ochenta y cinco pesos dos tomines y diez granos restantes para doze Religiosos de la compañía de Jesus, nueve Sacerdotes, y tres Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y aumentando nuestra Santa Fé, en servicio de la divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno y otro por el Situado correspondiente a este año, yncluiendose en la ultima de las dos Partidas, el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas, como tambien lo correspondiente à la limosna de vino, y azeite, despues de rebajadas algunas cantidades, segun lo que produjo la vista de las Certificaciones presentadas para este yntento ..... 27,435p 2t 10 [g]*

...

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico a 10 de Marzo de 1725.*

*Ignacio Joseph de Miranda*

*Joseph Tiburco Lopez de Costa(?)*

*Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos*

### **Translation.**

#### **Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.**

The subsidy of 250,000 pesos in cash and goods allotted to those Islands for this year 1725, which the flagship galleon named **Sacra Familia** must convey overthere, consists of the following entries:

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

—27,435 pesos 2 tomins and 10 grains released by this Royal treasury, 21,550 pesos of which are for the Governor and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, and the remaining 6,885 pesos 2 tomins and 10 grains are for the 12 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 9 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are preaching the Holy Gospel there, making their new Christian community prosper, and propagating our Holy Faith, in the service of the divine Majesty, and of the King our Lord. Both sums represent the subsidy for this year. Included in the latter of the two entries is the stipend assigned to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included in the amount corresponding to the alms for wine and oil, after certain sums have been subtracted, in view of the Certificates presented for this purpose ..... 27,435p 2t 10g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 10 March 1725.

Ignacio José de Miranda

José Tiburco Lopez de Costa(?)

Manuel Ximenez de los Cobos

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## Documents 1725E

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### Governor Sanchez' case file (cont'd)

*Sources: AGI Ultramar 561; also found in AGI Fil. 530 (ex 106-2-23).*

*Note: This is a follow-up to Doc. 1724B.*

#### **E1. Governor Sanchez is ordered arrested upon his arrival at the Philippines in 1725**

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

*Escrito del Señor Fiscal*

*Muy Poderoso Señor*

*Vuestro fiscal noticioso de personas fidedignas que vuestro Gobernador de la islas Marianas se halla en estas islas en la Provincia de la Laguna, y en consideracion de este nuevo grave delito de desercion de aquellas islas con los que constan de la misma gravedad de traidor à vuestra real persona en los autos y diligencias que vuestro oidor Doctor Don Francisco Lopez Adan ejecutó en virtud de Comision de V.A. à quien tiene respondido vuestro fiscal à la vista que se le dió de ellos, por real auto de Vuestra Alteza en escrito de veinte y cinco del corriente que reproduciendole en este se ha de servir Vuestra Alteza mandar se ejecuten las diligencias de la aseguracion de persona y bienes de dicho Gobernador, con la de los demas que en su Compañia hubiesen llegado à estas islas por comprendidos en el nuevo delito de desercion como receptores de su persona y bienes de dicho Gobernador, por todo lo cual:*

*Suplica à Vuestra Alteza se sirva de proveer, y providenciar segun que llevo pedido, y por lo que puede ser asi mismo el culpado el Alcalde mayor de dicha Provincia de la Laguna en haber ocultado esta noticia à Vuestra Alteza, ó Superior Gobierno será bien mande Vuestra Alteza despachar comision de toda confianza para el sigilo de dicha diligencia, habiendo todas las averiguaciones que puedan conducir à dicho efecto que siendo como es todo de justicia asi lo pide vuestro fiscal para ello, &c.*

*Manila y Abril veinte y ocho de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años.*

*Licenciado Bedoya.*

## Translation.

### Brief from the Fiscal

Almighty Sir:

Your fiscal, having been notified by trustworthy persons that your Governor of the Mariana Islands has arrived at these Islands and is presently in the Province of Laguna [de Bay], and in consideration of this new and serious crime of desertion from those Islands, along with the other equally serious charges of treason against your royal person, as recorded in the proceedings that your Audiencia member, Don Francisco Lopez Adan, undertaken by virtue of a Commission from Your Highness, to which your fiscal responded after his review of same, by royal decree of Your Highness dated 25th of this month, as recorded in this file, Your Highness was pleased to order that arrangements be made to arrest the person and seize the property of said Governor, as well as that of the persons in his company who might have arrived at these Islands, for being implicated in the new crime of desertion as receivers of the person and property of said Governor, for which reasons:

He begs Your Highness to please provide for what I have requested, and also make arrangements with respect to the Provincial Mayor of said Province of Laguna who might be guilty of having hidden this news from Your Highness, or Superior Government; Your Highness would be wise to send a secret commission to carry out this procedure, and carry out all of the inquiries that might lead to this effect, since it is all a matter of justice, and why your fiscal so requests, etc.

Manila, 28 April 1825.

Licenciate Bedoya.

## E2. Governor Sanchez writes from the hot springs of Los Baños

### Original text in Spanish.

*Consulta.*—*A los Señores Presidente y Oidores de la real Audiencia y chancilleria de estas Islas.*

*Muy Poderoso Señor*

*Doy cuenta à Vuestra Alteza como arribé à la isla de Masbate el dia diez del corriente y el de veinte y tres de este Santo Hospital, à cuyo fin sali de las islas Marianas el dia veinte y nueve del mes proximo pasado, por estar totalmente paralítico y sin esperanza de humano remedio considerando que con estas aguas calientes seria posible conseguir el alivio de que necesito.*

*Dexé en mi lugar al Sargento mayor Don José de Sandoval, con la gente de armas polvora y demas peltrechos de guerra necesarios para resguardo y defensa de aquel presidio y para todo lo demas que se pudiere ofrecer por mi ausencia interin que V.A. da las providencias conbenientes al Servicio de S.M. la divina le guarde à V.A.*

*Baños y Abril veinte y ocho, de mil setecientos y cinco años.*

*Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle*



**Translation.**

**Consultation.**—To the gentlemen President and members of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of these Islands.

Almighty Sir:

I report to Your Highness how I arrived at the Island of Masbate on the 10th of this month, and on the 23rd I went into this Holy Hospital, for which purpose I left the Mariana Islands on the 29th of last month, because I am totally paralyzed and without hope of a human remedy, and consider that these hot waters might possibly give me the relief that I need.

I left Sergeant-Major José de Sandoval in my place, with the soldiers, gunpowder and other war equipment necessary for the protection and defence of that garrison and for anything else that might offer during my absence, until such time as Y.H. may issue the appropriate provisions for the service of H.M. and that of God. May He save Your Highness.

Los Baños, 28 April 1725.

Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle.

### **E3. Translation of the letter in Tagalog that the Mayor of Laguna (de Bay) had received**

*Note: Major Navarro, the District Mayor in question, was then away on business at Pagsanjan.*

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

*Señor mi Alcalde mayor Sargento Mayor Don Miguel Navarro*

*Señor*

*Señor mio, anoche despues de las Oraciones, llegó aqui el Gobernador de Marianas Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, y fué derecho al Combento en la emfermeria hospedandose alli, por hallarse muy enfermo, manco de ambos pies y manos, que cuando come un criado suyo le da el bocado, y cuando habla no se le entiende lo que dice; vienen en su Compañia un Español llamado Capitan Villavicencio, que segun dice es criado de mi Señor y cuatro criados, los dos son Tagalos ó Pampangos y un Cafre, y dos muchachos naturales de Marianas, y dicen que llegaron à el Pueblo de Tiaong, y à los cuales condujeron naturales de dicho Pueblo, son mas de treinta y uno en su compañia el Teniente ó alguacil fuera de caballos ó bueyes que cargaron sus trastes, le doy parte à mi Señor en cumplimiento de mi obligacion.*

*Guarde Dios à mi Señor aqui en la Tierra, y despues en la santa gloria del Cielo Amen.*

*Baños y Abril veinte y cuatro de mil setecientos veinte y cinco.*

*El criado de mi Señor que espera sus mandatos.*

*Juan de los Santos.*

### Translation of the informant's letter.

Sir:

Your Lordship, last evening after prayers, there arrived here the Governor of the Marianas, Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, and he went directly to the infirmary of the convent and is lodged therein, because he is very sick. Both his feet and hands are crippled, and when he eats, a servant of his places the food in his mouth, and when he talks, what he says is unintelligible. There are in his company a Spaniard named Captain Villavicencio, who says that he is a servant of your Lordship,<sup>1</sup> along with four servants, two of them Tagalog or Pampango and one a negro, and two boys, natives of the Marianas, and they say that they arrived at the town of Tiaong, and they were guided here by natives of said town. In all there are 31 persons in this company, [including] a Lieutenant or Constable, besides the horses or oxen used to carry the baggage. This I report to your Lorship in compliance with my duty.

May God save Your Lordship here on Earth, and afterwards in the holy glory of Heaven. Amen.

Los Baños, 24 April 1725.

The servant of Your Lordship, who awaits your orders,

Juan de los Santos [Captain, and mayor of the town of Los Baños].

### Editor's notes.

Following an investigation by a judge commissioner, named Francisco Fernandez Toribio, who had been sent to Los Baños, it was learned, by indirect means, since Governor Sanchez had taken refuge in the Convent's infirmary, that the Governor had arrived on 23 March, coming from the town of Tiaong, Province of Tayabas, where he had landed with his family, plus a Spaniard named Villavicencio, 4 servants (2 natives and 1 black), 2 boy servants (natives of the Marianas), and a locally-hired company of over 30 [Filipino] Indians, with a caretaker. The whole gang came riding overland on top of horses and cows, and it is said that only Villavicencio had a weapon, a small shotgun hanging from his horse's saddle... They had arrived with only two trunks which the judge was unable to seize. The judge was let into the convent and he did meet Sanchez. He reported that the man was indeed paralytic, unable to move and feed himself, or talk with a normal voice; his appearance was that of a thin and extenuated man...

Meanwhile, the court was able to lay their hands on the pilot that had brought Governor Sanchez' boat from the Marianas, Luís Díaz, who was arrested and put in jail.

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1 Ed. note: He was probably the same man as the Nuño de Villavicencio, whom B&R report as being Sergeant-Major by 1728 and had been recently promoted to the post of accountant and royal official of the Royal treasury. A man named Nuño Nuñez de Villavicencio was Captain and Master of the Patache Pilar that travelled to Acapulco in 1738-39 (HM10:682).

## E4. Declaration of Pilot Luís Díaz

### Original text in Spanish.

*Declaracion de Luis Diaz, de edad de treinta y nueve años.*

*En los términos de Parian estramuros de Manila en once de Mayo de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años el Señor Doctor Don Francisco Martínez en virtud de lo mandado por el auto de la Real Sala, hizo comparecer ante si à Luis Diaz que se halla preso en la real carcel de corte à el cual por ante mi el presente escribano receptor recibió juramento...*

*Preguntado y siendolo por si ha estado en las islas Marianas ó residido en ellas[,] dixo: que en el Patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** que el año pasado de mil setecientos veinte y cuatro se despachó para aquellas islas fué à ellas con el ejercicio de Piloto acompañado.*

*Preguntado quanto tiempo estubo y residido en dichas islas[,] dixo: que desde el mes de Octubre de dicho año de veinte y cuatro que arribó à ellas con dicho Patache hasta ultimos de Marzo de este presente año.*

*Preguntado en que tiempo salió de dichas Islas Marianas para estas el dicho Patache, dixo: haberse levado dicho Patache en demanda de estas islas el dia veinte de Diciembre de dicho año pasado.*

*Preguntado como no continuo su viage à dichas islas en dicho Patache, sirviendo la plaza que obtubo à la ida, dixo: habiendo exhibicion de una certificacion del Padre Vice-Provincial de la sagrada Compañia de Jesus en que dice consta haber hecho las diligencias para embarcarse lo que no tubo efecto por no haberle dado licencia el Gobernador de dichas islas, lo cual dice ser constante de otro villete que exhibio en forma de memoria de el cual consta haber pedido dicha licencia al dicho Gobernador.*

*Preguntado, como y en que embarcacion y de mandato de quien salió de dichas islas à los últimos de Marzo como tiene espresado y para adonde, dixo: haber salido de dichas islas por orden y mandato del Gobernador de ellas Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle quien le obligó à ello, diciendole se le mandaba en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor y por no contradecirle por no experimentar ninguna vejacion que pudiese sobrevenirle si no le obedeciera ejecutó lo que le andaba; y que la embarcacion que dicho Gobernador tenia povenida para el efecto es un barco viejo que tendrá à su parecer diez y seis codos de quilla, y servia para descargar en el Puerto de Merizo el situado de dichas islas, en el cual vinieron con mucha incomodidad y riesgo de perderse por ser tan pequeño: y que la derrota que tomaron desde dichas islas de Marianas para estas Filipinas fué en derechura y segun lo que dicho Gobernador le ordenó al tiempo y cuando se levaron de Agaña.*

*Preguntado quantos marineros, grumetes, pasajeros, ó soldados se embarcaron en dicho barco, dixo: que fueron veinte y seis con dicho Gobernador todos los que se metieron en dicho barco y arribaron à estas islas.*

*Preguntado que trastes ó ropa ú otras cualesquier cosas traxo dicho barco; dixo no haber visto en dicho barco mas que la aguada y los vastimentos para el viage, y cuatro*

*ó cinco caxas de dicho Gobernador las dos le parece serian de cinco palmos de largo y tres de alto y las otras tres restantes mas pequeñas y que no vió lo que en ella se encerraba, solo sí vió que al tiempo de desembarcar una de las dichas dos cajas grandes la cargaban entre dos hombres de donde infiere no podía ser de mucho peso, y que no puede dar mas razon de lo que contiene en esta pregunta.*

*Preguntado cuando llegaron à estas islas y adonde arrivaron, dixo haber llegado à avistar la tierra del Cabo del Espiritu Santo el dia ocho de Abril, el dia once de dicho mes llegaron al Pueblo de Mobo de la isla de Masbate, y que dicho dia se desembarcó dicho Gobernador y se fué al Pueblo diciendo que iba à confesar, y que el declarante asi mismo se desembarcó dicho dia y fué à la Casa de Comunidad de dicho Pueblo y en el estubieron hasta el dia diez y ocho de dicho mes que dicho Gobernador estubo todo este tiempo en casa del Padre Ministro doctrinero, y de alli salieron el dicho dia diez y ocho, y fueron à dar al rio del Pueblo de Tiaong, Provincis de Tayabas, el dia veinte y uno de dicho mes, y al dia siguiente se fué el dicho Gobernador por tierra diciendo iba à los Baños de la Laguna de Bay, y el declarante se vino para esta Ciudad y que vino en el dicho barco hasta Balayan, en cuyo puerto quedó dicho barco.*

*Preguntado si en dicho intermedio de tiempo desde que descubrieron la tierra de estas islas, hasta que se aparto dicho Gobernador para irse a los Baños, supo el declarante ó vió si el dicho Gobernador hizo algun despacho para esta Ciudad ó para otra alguna parte. Dixo que oyo decir que desde Tiaong hizo despacho para Manila que tierra no sabe para quien solo oyó decir que era para el Señor Gobernador de estas islas dandole cuenta de su llegada.*

*Preguntado si en dicho tiempo llegó al barco algun Español, dixo: que no vió ni supo que Español alguno hubiese llegado sino el Padre Doctrinero del dicho Pueblo de Mobo[.]*

*con lo cual se cerró dicha declaracion declarando el dicho declarante que lo que lleva dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que ha fecho en que se afirmó y ratifico y dixo ser de edad de treinta y nueve años, y no tocarle las generales de la Ley, y en este estado fue preguntado por dicho Señor que si los veinte y seis hombres que ha declarado venian en dicho barco con dicho Gobernador todos se los llevó cuando se fué para el Pueblo de los Baños, dixo: que solos seis criados llevó consigo dicho Gobernador, y la demas gente quedó en Balayan de donde no sabe para que parte hayan ido y lo firmó con dicho Señor de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Martinez*

*Ante mi Francisco Cisneros escribano receptor.*

### **Translation.**

Declaration of Luís Díaz, 39 years old.

Within the boundaries of the Parian, outside the walls of Manila, on the 11th of May 1725, His Honor Don Francisco Martinez, by virtue of the order issued by the Royal court, caused Luís Díaz, who was then prisoner in the royal jail of this court, to appear before him, and before me the present notary for depositions received his oath...

When he was asked if he had been in the Mariana Islands or lived overthere, he declared: that he went there aboard the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores** in the year 1724 where he served as pilot's mate.

Asked how much time he was and resided in said Islands, he declared: that he did from the month of October of said year 1724 when he arrived there, until the end of March of the present year.

Asked when said patache left said Mariana Islands to return to these Islands, he declared: that said patache had sailed bound for these Islands on 20 December last.

Asked why he did not pursue his voyage to said Islands with said patache, serving in the post that he had on the way over, he answered: by exhibiting a certificate from the Father Vice-Provincial of the sacred Society of Jesus in which it is said that he had made efforts to embark but without an effect because the Governor of said Islands had not allowed him, and he says that such was recorded in another note in the manner of a list by which it appears that he had requested said permission to said Governor.

Asked how and in which vessel and on whose order he left said Islands at the end of March, as he just said, and bound to which place, he declared: that he had departed from said Islands by order of their Governor, Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, who forced him to obey, by saying that he was ordering him in the name of the King our Lord and, so as not to contradict him, in order not to experience any eventual vexation in case he refused to obey, he carried out his orders; that the vessel that said Governor had arranged for this purpose is an old boat that appears to measure 16 cubits at the keel, and that was used to unload the subsidy of said Islands in the port of Merizo, aboard which they came with much discomfort and risk of sinking, because it is so small; and that the route taken from said Mariana Islands for these Philippines was direct and in accordance with the order he had received from said Governor at the time of their departure from Agaña.

Asked how many seamen, ship's boys, passengers, or soldiers were aboard said boat, he declared: that there was a total of 26 men, including said Governor, aboard said boat, as arrived at these Islands.

Asked what baggage or clothes or other things whatever were carried by said boat, he declared: that the only things that he saw aboard said boat were the water supplies and the clothes for the voyage, and 4 or 5 crates belonging to said Governor, two of which appeared to be about 5 spans in width by 3 in height, and the other three were smaller, but he did not see their contents, except that he can affirm that upon arrival one of the bigger crates was transported by two men, from which he infers that it could not have weighed that much, and he cannot add anything more regarding the points of this question.

Asked when they arrived at these Islands and where this happened, he declared: that they had arrived in sight of the Cape of Espiritu Santo on the 8th of April, and on the 11th they arrived at the town of Mobo on the Island of Masbate, and that on said date said Governor disembarked and went to the town, saying that he was going to confession, that the declarant also disembarked on the same day, but went to the community

house in said town, where they remained until the 18th of said month during which time said Governor had remained in the residence of the Father Minister and religious teacher, and from there they left on the 18th, and they made the river of the town of Tiaong, in the Province of Tayabas,<sup>1</sup> on the 21st of said month, and the next day said Governor went overland, saying that he was going to Los Baños in Laguna de Bay, but the declarant came to this city and that he came with said boat as far as Balayan, in whose port said boat was left.

Asked if, during the interval from the time they sighted the Cape until said Governor took his leave to go to Los Baños, the declarant learned or saw if said Governor send some despatch to this city or to anywhere else, he declared: that he heard it say that from Tiaong he sent a despatch for Manila but he does not know by which means, only that it was sent to the Governor of these Islands, to report on his arrival.

Asked if some Spaniard visited the boat during that time, he declared: that he neither saw or heard of any Spaniard having visited, except the Father Minister of said town of Mobo.

In this way said declaration ended, with the declarant declaring that what he had just said is the truth, under the oath that he had taken, which he affirmed and ratified and he said that he was 39 years old, and not sought after by the law. At this point, he was asked by His Lordship if said Governor had taken along to the town of Los Baños the 26 men whom he had declared as present in said boat, he declared: that said Governor only took six servants along with him and the rest of the men remained at Balayan, and he does not know where they might have gone, and he signed along with His Lordship, for which I vouch.

Doctor Martinez.

Before me, Francisco Cisneros, notary for depositions.

### Editor's notes.

Similarly a native of Pegú on the Coromandel coast of India, named Agustin Bruno, was also arrested and interrogated, on 14 May. He was the servant of Luís Díaz, the Pilot's Mate of the patache **Dolores**. Similarly, there was a man called Agustin de la Cruz, a native of São Tomé de Meliapur, also on the Coromandel coast; this man had lived for three years in Guam, having arrived as a sailor aboard the patache **Santo Toribio** in 1722.

The old sloop, which had been taken further and abandoned at Balayan (Batangas Province), was embargoed by Manila officials. Then, the old Governor Sanchez stole the native canoe used by the rector of the so-called hospital to flee across the lake of Laguna de Bay toward the Pasig River, along which he took refuge in the convent at San Sebastian in Tondo, across the river from the walls of Manila City. Many depos-

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1 Ed. note: This river flows into Tayabas Bay. By going up this river to Tiaong, they were then halfway to Los Baños, on the shore of Laguna de Bay.

itions were gathered regarding this sudden move. One of the interviewees was a “Japanese” soldier named Alonso Martinez.

A series of three edicts (or summons) were sent to the convent but the old Governor never showed up in jail voluntarily; by then he was certainly made fully aware of the charges against him. By mid-December 1725, the court was getting tired of no results and asked the Governor of the Philippines for permission to put the trial on hold. By this time, it would already have been impossible to collect the numerous witnesses interrogated so far. As for Major Díaz Dozal, he had a long time ago been sent to serve as commander of the fort at Zamboanga.

## **E5. Governor Sanchez is ordered to appear in court, 22 September 1725**

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

#### ***1er Edicto.***

*El Doctor Don Francisco Martinez del Consejo de S.M. su Oidor y Alcalde del Crimen de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de estas islas Filipinas.*

*Hago saber à vos el Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, à vuestros hijos[,] hermanos, y parientes si los tubieren, ó à vuestros amigos y vecinos para que os lo digan y avisen, y no pretendais en tiempo alguno alegar ignorancia, como en quince del corriente en vista de las diligencias hechas sobre la fuga que hicisteis de las islas Marianas desamparandolas dejando el Gobierno de ellas que era à vuestro cargo viniendoos à estas islas Filipinas y sobre las operaciones que observasteis siendo Gobernador de dichas islas Marianas con el Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dozal Comisario que fué de la Real Audiencia de estas dichas islas, y lo acaecido en aquellas islas Marianas con el Patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** que le condujo à ellas à dicho Comisario que fué del cargo del Capitan Don Jaun de Miranda, y otros escesos que contra vos resultan en los autos, mande despachar el presente en cuya virtud, y mediante la Comision con que me hallo para la substanciacion de ella, hasta ponerla en estado de difinitiba, os llamo, cito, y emplazo para que dentro de tres dias primero y siguientes y contados desde el dia de la fixacion de este mi edicto comparezcais en la Real Carcel de Corte, à estar à derecho ante mi en dicha causa, y seguirla por los términos de el, dando los descargos que tubiereis de los delitos que contra vuestra persona resultan en ella entregando vuestra persona al Alcaide de ella, que haciendolo asi, y presentandoos por preso dentro de dicho término os oiré en justicia y os la guardaré en todo aquello que tubiereis con apercibimiento que pasado dicho término no lo haciendo proceder contra vuestra persona en vuestra ausencia y rebeldia y os tendré como si fueseis presente, y declararé los extrados de mi juzgado y de dicha Real Audiencia por vastantes para el seguimiento de dicha causa y en los cuales se siguen y seguira hasta ponerla en estado de difinitiba haciendose en ellos todas las notificaciones, citaciones y demas diligencias precisas hasta su fenecimiento, y os pararán tan entero perjuicio, como si el vuestra persona se hiciesen, y para que llegue à vuestra noticia, y*

*no podais alegar ignorancia como arriba va espresado mando que sacandose testimonio del presente se fixen en las partes publicas, y acostumbradas de esta Ciudad y sus extramuros por combenir asi à la recta administracion de justicia y este el primer edicto.*

*Dado en los terminos del Parian, extramuros de Manila en la Casa de mi morada en veinte y dos de Setiembre de mil setecientos veinte y cinco años.*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez.*

*Por mandado del Señor Juez de esta Causa pasa su substanciacion.*

*Francisco Cisneros Escribano receptor.*

## **Translation.**

### **First edict.**

Doctor Francisco Martinez of H.M.'s Council, member of his Audiencia and Criminal Judge therein and the Royal Chancellery of these Philippine Islands.

By the present I notify thee, Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, your children, brothers and sisters, and relatives if there be, or your friends and neighbors, for them to so tell thee and advise thee, the better for thee not to plead ignorance at any time, how on the fifteenth day of the present month, by virtue of proceedings carried out regarding the flight thou made from the Mariana Islands, thus abandoning them and leaving their Government which was in thine charge, and having come to these Philippine Islands, and regarding the operations which thou carried out, while Governor of said Mariana Islands, with Sergeant-Major Manuel Diaz Dozal, formerly Commissioner of the Royal Audiencia of these Islands, and what happened in those Mariana Islands with the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier** that took said Commissioner there and that was commanded by Captain Juan de Miranda, and other excesses that are recorded against thee in the records of proceedings, I have caused the present despatch to be issued, by virtue of which and by virtue of the commission I hold to substantiate it, until it reaches a definitive state, I call thee, cite thee, and entreat thee to appear within three days, beginning from the date that this my edict is posted, at the royal jail of this court, and there be available for me to proceed with said case, and to follow it until finished, and judging thee in the charges that have been retained against your person. Thou art to deliver your person to the Warden thereof. Should thee appear within said interval, I shall hear thee in justice and take due notice of thee in all of that, but should this interval pass without thee doing so, I shall proceed against your person in your absence and rebellion and shall act as if thee were present, and I shall declare my court and said Audiencia as being able to hear said case and it shall be pursued until reaching a conclusive state, with any notification, citation and other necessary procedures taking place therein until their completion, and there might result some prejudice, as if your person were present, and in order for this to come to thine notice, so that thou might not plead ignorance as mentioned above, I order that authentic copies of the present be posted at the customary public places in this city and outside its walls, as such befits the righteous administration of justice and this the first edict.



Given within the boundaries of the Parian, outside the walls of Manila at my residence on the 22nd of September 1725.

Doctor Don Francisco Martinez.

By order of His Lordship the Judge of this case for its substantiation,  
Francisco Cisneros, notary for depositions.

[Governor Sanchez did not show up and, on 1 October 1725, the Judge ordered his arrest, but that too did not take effect. The case eventually proceeded without him being present.]

## **E6. Declaration of the attending physician, Dr. Castro, on 3 March 1726**

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

*1er Testigo el Maestro Don Joaquin de Castro, Cirujano de esta Ciudad de edad competente.*

*En los términos del Parian extramuros de la Ciudad de Manila en trece dias del mes de Marzo de mil setecientos veinte y seis años, el Señor Oidor y Alcalde del Crimen, Doctor Don Francisco Martinez del Consejo de S.M. y Juez de esta causa hasta ponerla en estado de definitivo en conformidad de lo prevenido por el auto antecedente sobre que se soliciten testigos que pudiesen declarar à favor del reo en esta causa, hizo comparecer ante sí por mi el presente escribano al Maestro Don Joaquin de Castro, cirujano de esta Ciudad, por haber tenido noticias de que le curó al dicho reo, Capitan Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle... prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendolo sobre si à visitado à dicho reo, desde que tiempo, cuantas veces, y si en ellas ha reconocido que enfermedad padece[,] desde que tiempo, y si hallandose accidentalmente con ella al tiempo y cuando servia el Oficio de Gobernador en las islas Marianas se hallaba con peligro evidente, y cierto de perder la vida por causa de no haber en dichas islas medios asi de médicos como de medicinas para su curacion y asi mismo si dichos accidentes ó enfermedad le impedia notablemente ejercer dicho oficio de Gobernador diga y declare lo que en dicho reo hubiese conocido segun su arte:*

*Dixo que luego que se trasportó dicho reo al Combento de San Sebastian estramuros de esta Ciudad que fué à los ultimos dias del mes de Mayo del año inmediato pasado, fué primero llamado y cumpliendo con las reglas de su arte tomó metódicamente indicacion y haciendo inspeccion de los signos pactonomicos [rather patognómicos] le halló una enfermedad crónica imbeterada al parecer de mas de cuatro años, segun sus señales que por entonces demostró la cual enfermedad es llamada paralissis total, que está totalmente imposibilitado de todas las partes del cuerpo, y asi a su movimiento como à la articulacion de las voces, como de la vista, y asi siendo enfermedad general que embaraza toda la substancia del cerebro como los demas miembros principales es de entender estar en ageno à su gobierno natural; por cuya razon no está capaz para ejercer su Gobierno por que por consecuencia si asi no puede gobernarse menos podrá*

*governar à otros y así aparte de esto es enfermedad incurable y con gran peligro de perder la vida siendo del regimen paliatibo que para dicha enfermedad ofrecen los autores por que no obediendolos ó desmandandose en alguno, le sucedirá muerte repentina; y que no tiene noticia ni sabe halla en dichas islas médico de profesion que pueda curar con inteligencia y ciencia dicha enfermedad, y así es de parecer que le fué preciso à dicho reo venirse à curar à esta Ciudad, y sino muy en brebe creé y tiene por cierto, hubiera perdido la vida dicho reo con dicha enfermedad, y que es lo que tiene que decir y declarar en orden à lo que sabe so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmó, y ratificó ser de edad de mas de veinte y cinco años, y que no le tocan las generales de la ley con dicho reo y lo firmo con dicho Señor Oidor de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Don Francisco Martinez*

*Maestro Joaquin de Castro*

*Ante mi Pedro de Leon escribano receptor.*

### **Translation.**

**First witness, Master Don Joaquin de Castro, Surgeon of this city, of a competent age.**

Within the boundaries of the Parian outside the walls of the city of Manila on the 13th day of the month of March 1726, His Lordship Doctor Don Francisco Martinez, member of the Audiencia and its criminal Judge, and member of H.M.'s Council, as judge of this case until it reaches its conclusion in accordance with the provision recorded in the above proceedings, regarding the plan to seek witnesses who might declare in favor of the prisoner in this case, caused Master Don Joaquin de Castro, surgeon of this city, to appear before me, the present notary, since advice had been received that he had treated said prisoner, Captain Luis Sanchez de Tagle... he promised to tell the truth of what he might know and would be asked.

When asked if he had visited said prisoner, since when, how many times, and if he had diagnosed from which illness he suffers, since when, and if he had been in that state or perhaps suffered an accident at the time he was serving in the post of Governor of the Mariana Islands and been in an obvious danger and certain risk of losing his life, caused by the absence in said Islands of means, such as physicians as well as medicines for his treatment and also if said accidents or illness seriously prevented him from exercising said post of Governor. He was to say and declare what he might have recognized in said prisoner in accordance with his profession:

He declared that after said prisoner was transported to the Convent of San Sebastian outside the walls of this city, which took place at the end of May of last year, he was first called and, in compliance with the rules of his profession, he examined him methodically and, looking for pathognomic [sic = pathological] signs, he found it to be a chronic illness that seems to have existed for more than four years, according to indications then present, said illness being called total paralysis, that he is totally paralyzed in all of the parts of his body, not just in his movements but also in the articulation of his voice, as well as his eyesight, and since it is a general illness that affects the whole

brain as well as the rest of the principal limbs, it is to be understood that everything is outside of his natural control. That is why he is incapable to exercise his Government because, if he is unable to control his own body, he is less able to control other people, and besides, this illness is incurable and presents a great risk to his life; it falls within the category of palliative care, as the authors say, because if he should have no-one to help him and do his bidding, there would follow sudden death. He added that he knows of no-one practising medicine in these Islands who could cure said illness with intelligence and science, and thus he is of the opinion that it was necessary for said prisoner to come to this city to seek a cure, and if he had not done so, he believes that for sure said prisoner would have lost his life from said illness, and that is what he had to say and declare about what he knows, under the oath that he took, which he affirmed and ratified, being over 25 years old, and not involved in any lawsuit with said prisoner, and he signed along with His Lordship the member of the Audiencia, for which I vouch.

Doctor Don Francisco Martinez.

Master Joaquin de Castro.

Before me, Pedro de León, notary for depositions.

## E7. Declaration of Captain Esteban García

### Original text in Spanish.

***Segundo testigo el Capitan Don Esteban Garcia de edad competente.***

*En los términos del Parian, estramuros de la Ciudad de Manila en diez y seis dias del mes de Marzo de mil setecientos veinte y seis años dicho Señor Oidor y Alcalde del crimen juez de esta causa hasta ponerla en estado de difinitiva, hizo comparecer ante si para los efectos que hubiere lugar al Capitan Don Esteban Garcia, vecino de esta dicha Ciudad, por noticia que tubo de haber estado en las islas Marianas y estando presente le recibió juramento que lo hizo por ante mi el presente escribano à Dios nuestro Señor y una Señal de Cruz en forma de derecho y so cargo de el prometió decir verdad de lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendolo sobre que diga y declare lo que supiere en orden à los cargos, y culpas que resultan contra dicho reo, dixo:*

*Que habiendo pasado à dichas islas en el Patache **San Andres** que condujo à ellas el real situado el año de diez y nueve y buelto à estas el año de veinte, y bolbió à dichas islas segunda vez el año de veinte y cuatro en el Patache de **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y S. Francisco Xavier**, que asi mismo condujo el real situado à dichas islas y bolbió en el Galeon **Sacra Familia** el año de veinte y cinco, y que lo que puede decir en orden à no haber querido dar dicho reo cumplimiento à los despachos, y órdenes de esta Real Audiencia, y del Superior Gobierno, era por decir estar impedido como lo estaba dicho reo é inhabil para poder escribir y notar y siempre respondia que si mejoraba de sus accidentes daria la devida providencia à los despachos que llevaba el Sargento mayor Don Manuel Diaz Dozal, à quien le mandó un recaudo con el **Padre Antonio Balmeri [sic]**, Capellan de dicho Patache que se detubiera hasta que se fuera al Patache para dar cumplimiento à lo que hubiere lugar, en orden à lo que pedia en dichos des-*

*pachos, aunque ya habia procedido al hacer preso al dicho Sargento mayor como cosa de un cuarto de hora con un par de grillos, y luego mando que el declarante y un Capitan vivo de aquel Presidio le trageran à dicho Sargento mayor detenido en el Patache, y se le entregaron al Guardian de dicha embarcacion hasta su orden como asi mismo le dixo dicho reo à este declarante que le instava al dicho Sargento mayor para que le escribiera una carta pidiendole licencia con el pretesto de estar enfermo para venirse à aquesta Ciudad à curar, y habiendolo ejecutado se le fué concedida la licencia y se pasó à dicha Ciudad donde se estuvo hasta que salió para estas islas y habiendole dicho este declarante que no se viniera por que le habia comunicado dicho reo que le queria dar la posesion de Sargento mayor luego que saliera el Patache à lo que le respondió à dicho declarante en varias ocasiones que no queria dicho baston, por no le cuadrar la tierra, y por haber sentido algunos desaires que le habia hecho dicho reo en lo que mira à la omision de no haber dado cumplimiento, ni abierto los pliegos de esta real Audiencia y Superior Gobierno aunque citaba lo bastante achacoso en algunos dias, pudiera haber mandado habrir dichos pliegos, y que se los leyera aunque de responder à ellos le costava algun trabajo por sus achaques pero que siempre le oyó decir el declarante que sino podia en el Patache mandar el respuesta de dichos pliegos, lo haria en el Galeon que pasaba.*

*Y por lo que hace el baleo del Patache que estaba surto en el Puerto de Merizo, y en que llegó à dichas islas dicho Sargento Mayor Dozal, que lo que puede decir es que estando el Capitan Don Juan de Miranda en la Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agaña le llebó este declarante orden verbal de dicho reo, que (avisara) a primero de Enero ó ultimos de Diciembre, y por quanto tenia que componer el Patache, queria se le diese licencia para pasar à dicho pueblo la cual se le concedio, y habiendo ido à despedirse de dicho reo, le ordenó que en teniendo el Patache aparejado le diese aviso, y que se viniese à la Ciudad à verse con dicho reo para tener que comunicarle y entregarle en mano propia, para traer à esta de Manila y habiendo quedado que asi lo haria, lo cual fué lo contrario, pues que asi que aparejo el Patache se empezó à levar, teniendo en la Ciudad al Padre Capellan, y al segundo Piloto, y Contra maestre y viendo el Alcalde de dicho Puerto de Merizo que se estaba levando le dió parte à dicho reo, y como los tenia à bordo, unos soldados que habian ido al dicho Patache con un bote, los cuales vinieron à esta Ciudad, parte de ellos y entonces fué cuando mandó al Sargento mayor de aquel presidio, y algunos soldados para que le detuvieran, pero que no daba la orden fixamente que llevaba dicho Sargento mayor, solo si que habiendole requerido de dicho reo, si bolviese amarrar como estaba, oyó decir que no habiendo obedecido dicho Capitan y Cabo se fueron à un cerro que estaba enfrente de la barca en donde hallaron dos piezas de artilleria que habia alli tapadas, las cuales oyó decir el declarante que las habia tapado un Portugues, llamado Francisco por orden de dicho Capitan, y Cabo, en que habiendolas destapado le tiraron al navio unos cañonazos que no sabe quantos por no haberse hallado alli yendo ya à la vela dicho navio ó patache, pero no ha oido que aiga recibido daño alguno. Asi mismo oyó decir que viendo dicho Capitan y Cabo que le disparaban les disparó desde el Patache unas cinco ó seis piezas con las cuales pegó*

*fuego al montecillo en que los soldados que estaban alli con las piezas de artilleria hubieran de peligrar con la pólvora que tenian alli para las dos piezas, y habiendose salido à la mar dicho Patache se fué en frente del Pueblo de Agate, y alli estubo dos dias à la capa de donde hizo un despacho para dicho reo diciendole que el se venia para Manila, que le mandara la gente que estaba en tierra lo cual hizo dicho reo menos el acompañado Piloto que no le quiso venir y otros que le pidieron licencia para quedar.*

*Y por lo que hace à la desercion de dichas islas hecha por dicho reo, viniendose à esta los motibos que tubo eran por estar enfermo é inhabil para lo que requiere el oficio militar y de Gobernador, pues no era dueño de comer, ni beber por su mano, ni andar por sus pies, y hallarse privado de hallar remedio para su salud por no haber en ellas médicos ni medicinas que pudiesen curarle su enfermedad por lo que le parece le fué preciso venir à estas islas donde pudiese recobrar su salud con los médicos y medicinas que hay en esta Ciudad, y que le oyó decir à dicho reo que considerando la imposibilidad que tenia en dichas islas de curarse habia pedido licencia à la real Audiencia para venirse à estas à curarse y que en esto se remite à lo que constare en el oficio de Camara de dicha real Audiencia, y que antes de venirse dicho reo, y salir de dichas islas Marianas combocó toda la gente de guerra y los propuso su venida, y los motibos que para ello tenia que son los que arriba tiene espresados, y oido por dicha gente condescendieron muy gustosa y se alegraron, y dexó en su lugar al Sargento mayor y Teniente general Don José de Sandoval.*

*Y que es lo que tiene que declarar en órden à lo que se le ha preguntado y la verdad de lo que sabe so cargo del juramento fecho en que se afirmó y ratificó y declaro ser de edad de treinta años y que no le tocan las generales de la ley y lo firmó con dicho Señor Oidor Juez de esta causa de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Martinez*

*Esteban Garcia*

*Ante mi Pedro de Leon Escribano receptor.*

### **Translation.**

**Second witness, Captain Don Esteban García, of a competent age.**

Within the boundaries of the Parian, outside the walls of the city of Manila on 16 March 1726 His Lordship the Audiencia member for criminal cases and judge of this case until its completion, caused to appear before him for the effects that might offer Captain Don Esteban García, a resident of this city, for he had learned that he was been in the Mariana Islands and, upon his appearance, received his oath which he took before me the present notary with God our Lord as his witness and with a sign of the Cross according to law and under said oath he promised to tell the truth of what he might know and would be asked. When asked to say and declare what he knew regarding the charges and crimes that said prisoner is accused of, he declared:

That, after going to said Islands aboard the patache **San Andrés** that took the royal subsidy there in 1719 and returned to these Islands in 1720, he went back to said Islands a second time in 1724 aboard the patache **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San**

**Francisco Xavier** that also took the royal subsidy to said Islands and he returned aboard the galleon **Sacra Familia** in 1725, and what he can say about said prisoner not having complied with the despatches and orders of this Royal Audiencia and from the Supreme Government, was to say that he was incapacitated, as said prisoner in fact was, and unable to write and make notes, and would always answer that if he would improve from his illnesses he would give due responses to the despatches that Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dozal had brought in, to whom he sent a message through **Father Antonio Balmeri** [sic],<sup>1</sup> Chaplain of said patache, saying that he should wait until he would go to the patache to give compliance to anything that might be required by said despatches, although he had already proceeded in making said Sergeant-Major prisoner for about 1/4 hour with a pair of fetters, and then he ordered the declarant and another Captain in active service in that garrison to escort said Sergeant-Major to be detained aboard the patache. He was delivered to the boatswain's mate of said vessel until further order. In addition, said prisoner told this declarant to urge said Sergeant-Major to write him a letter requesting permission, under the pretext of being sick, to come to that city for treatment, which he did. And he was granted permission and transferred to said city where he was until he left for these Islands. And when said prisoner had insinuated to this declarant that he should not go away because he wished to give him possession of the post of Sergeant-Major after the patache had left, this declarant told him in various occasions that he did not wish said baton, because he did not like the island, and for having detected some slights toward his person by said prisoner with respect to the omission of not having given compliance, or even opened, the correspondence from this Royal Audiencia and Superior Government, although he gave as a reason his excessive indisposition on some days, he could have ordered said correspondence to be opened and be read aloud. Although his indispositions would indeed have cost him some work to answer the letters; however, the declarant always heard him say that if he could not send answers to the mail aboard the patache, he would do so with the passing galleon.

And regarding the shooting at the patache that was anchored in the port of Merizo, aboard which said Sergeant-Major Dozal had arrived at said Islands, what he can say is that, while Captain Juan de Miranda was in the city of San Ignacio de Agaña, this declarant relayed a verbal order from said prisoner to him, that he would advise [him] on the 1st of January, or the end of December, and therefore, he was to repair the patache. He wished to be given permission to go to said town, and it was granted, but upon going to say goodbye to said prisoner, he was ordered to let him know as soon as the patache was ready to sail, and that he was to come to the city for an interview with said prisoner, as he had to speak to him and deliver documents to him directly, in order for him to bring them to Manila. They having agreed to do just that, the opposite occurred; indeed, as soon as the patache was ready, he began to raise the anchor, when the Father Chaplain, the pilot's mate and the boatswain were still at the city. So, when

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1 Ed. note: His proper family name was Malvesi, I think.

the Mayor of said port of Merizo saw that he was about to depart, he sent word to said prisoner, and, as far as the soldiers who had gone to said patache with a boat and were alongside [or on board], some of them ended up in this city. It was then that he ordered the Sergeant-Major of that garrison and some soldiers to stop him, but that said Sergeant-Major was not to give a fixed order but only request him on the part of said prisoner to drop anchor as before. He heard people say that, when said Captain and Commander had not obeyed, they went to a hill facing the ship where they found two cannon that had been plugged there, and said declarant heard that a Portuguese named Francisco had plugged them on orders from said Captain and Commander. Having unplugged them, they fired a few shots at the ship or patache—he does not know how many because he was not present there—which was already on its way, but he did not hear of any damage done to it. In addition, he heard it said that, when said Captain realized they were shooting at him, he fired from the patache some 5 or 6 guns, that set fire to the small hill where the soldiers were with their cannon and there was the danger of explosion of the gunpowder they had there for the two guns. After said patache had sailed off, it went before the town of Agat and hove to there for two days, from where they sent a despatch to said prisoner to tell him that they were on their way to Manila, and that he should send the people who were ashore, which said prisoner did, except for the pilot's mate whom he did not wish to send and others who asked permission to remain.

And regarding the desertion from said Islands by said prisoner, to come here, the reasons he had were his sickness and incapacity to fulfill his military duties and those of Governor; indeed, he could not even feed himself, nor drink with his own hand, nor walk with his own feet, and he could not find a remedy for his health, since there are no physicians or medicines that might have cured his illness in the Islands there, so that it seems to him [i.e. the declarant] that he was forced to come to these Islands where he might recover his health with the physicians and medicines available in this city, and that he had heard said prisoner say that, in consideration of the impossibility of finding a cure in said Islands, he had requested permission from the Royal Audiencia to come and seek a cure in these Islands, regarding which he refers to the records filed in the Chamber of said Royal Audiencia. And before said prisoner came, and left said Mariana Islands, he convened all military personnel and told them of his plan to come over, and the reasons that he had for same, which are those mentioned above. When said personnel heard that, they agreed very happily and were happy. He left Don José de Sandoval as Sergeant-Major and Lieutenant-General.

And that is what he has to declare in answer to the question that he was asked, and is the truth of what he knows, under the oath he made, which was affirmed and ratified, and he declared that he was 30 years old and that he was not involved in any lawsuit, and he signed along with His Lordship, the Audiencia Judge of this case, for which I vouch.

Doctor Martinez.  
EstebanGarcía.

Before me, Pedro de León, notary for depositions.

### **Editor's note.**

Lieutenant Pedro Tomás Gonzalez, who had been in the Marianas, was also interrogated. He too had been promised the post of Sergeant-Major of the garrison by Governor Sanchez. Another witness was 42-year-old Lieutenant Juan Candil, who had held the post of seaman aboard the 1724 patache. He was interviewed, as follows.

## **E8. Declaration of Lieutenant Juan Candil**

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

...  
*Se hallaba el declarante en el Puerto de Merizo, cuidando del Patache en cumplimiento de su obligacion...*

*Y en cuanto al segundo cargo que se le hace à dicho reo sobre el baleo del Patache, dixo que en orden à esto lo que sabe y puede decir es que ocho dias antes del tiempo de la salida del Patache pidió licencia el Cabo de el à dicho reo, para ir al Puerto de Merizo à disponer su salida, la que le concedió dicho reo, ordenandole al mismo tiempo se esperase en dicho de Merizo, hasta que condugesen à el los Bastimentos que hubiere de llevar dicho Patache y los despachos, y que habiendose ido dicho Cabo à dicho Puerto para el referido efecto, oyó que el Contraestre de dicho Patache saltó en tierra, y llenó de lodo unos cañones que habia en dicho Puerto de Merizo, y que despues se levó de dicho Puerto sin aguardar los bastimentos y despachos, y al tiempo de levarse dispararon de dicho Patache un cañonazo con el cual pegaron fuego à la serrania de dicho Puerto de Merizo y que en este particular no sabe, ni puede dar razon de otra cosa y responde.*

*Y en órden à la verdad de dicho reo sobre su venida à estas islas lo que vió en tres meses que estubo en dichas islas Marianas que dicho reo estaba gravemente enfermo y postrado de tal forma que no podía, ni aun comer sino por mano agena, y del mismo modo totalmente impedido de Gobernar dichas islas, y imposibilitado de la curacion de dicha enfermedad por la notoria falta que hay en dichas islas de médicos, y medicinas, por lo cual combocó los Cavos, y reformados de dicho Presidio, y con ellos consultó y propuso si les parecia que podía venirse à estas islas para efecto de curarse, y viendo todos y experimentado ser cierta dicha enfermedad, su gravedad y la imposibilidad de su curacion fueron de parecer que podía venir para solicitar su remedio à estas islas y asi lo ejecutó dejando en su lugar con consentimiento de todos al Sargento mayor Don José de Sandoval; y que es lo que tiene que decir en órden al referido cargo...*

...



## Translation.

...  
The declarant was at the port of Merizo taking care of the patache in compliance with his duty...

And regarding the second charge against said prisoner, that is, the shooting at the patache, he declared: that what he knows and can say about this incident is that, 8 days before the departure of the patache, its Commander asked permission from said prisoner to go to the port of Merizo to prepare for sailing. Said prisoner granted this permission but he also ordered him to wait in said port of Merizo until the food supplies to be taken on board said patache, and the despatches, had been delivered. However, after said Commander had gone to said port for the above-mentioned purpose, he heard it said that the boatswain of said patache stepped ashore and filled with mud a few cannon that were in said port of Merizo, and that afterwards he sailed from said port without waiting for the food supplies and despatches, and at the time of sailing off, they fired from said patache a gun that set fire to the hills of said port of Merizo, but that he knows nothing else and no other details about this affair, and so he answers.

And regarding the truthfulness of said prisoner regarding his coming to these Islands, what he saw during the three months that he was in said Mariana Islands is that said prisoner was seriously ill and so weakened that he could not even eat, unless someone helped him, and therefore totally unable to govern said Islands, and unable also to be cured of said illness because of the well-known lack of physicians and medicines in said Islands; that is why he convened the Officers, serving and retired, of said garrison, and consulted with them, proposing to come to these Islands to seek treatment. They were all of the opinion that his illness was real, serious and that he was unlikely to recover, and that he should come to seek a cure at these Islands, and so it was done, he leaving Sergeant-Major José de Sandoval in his place, with the agreement of everyone.

And that is what he has to say regarding the above-mentioned charge...

...

## Editor's notes.

Another witness was Lieutenant José Lozano, 27 years of age, who came from the Marianas in the patache **N.S. de los Dolores**, but he was not an eyewitness to the gun battle off Merizo. Lieutenant Salvador García, born in Granada, had spent 4 years in the Marianas (1721-25), before returning to the Philippines aboard the galleon **Sacra Familia**; as a witness, he added no new information. Lieutenant Juan de Oviedo, 30 years old, who had spent one year in the Marianas (1724-25), was also interrogated; he had been at Merizo during the fight.

## E9. Declaration of Lieutenant Juan de Oviedo

### Original text in Spanish.

...

*Y en cuanto al baleo del dicho Patache, dixo que lo que sabe y vió por haberse hallado en el Puerto de Merizo, fué que de orden del Sargento mayor de dichas islas se dispararon al dicho Patache algunos cañonazos, habiendo precedido que el dicho Sandoval escribió al dicho Cabo una carta en que le decia tener orden de su superior de balarle y hecharle à pique si se levaba, pero que no sabe si la dicha orden era cierta ó no, y responde.*

...

### Translation.

...

And concerning the shooting at said patache, he declared that what he knows and saw for having been in the port of Merizo, was that by order from the Sergeant-Major of said Islands they fired a few shots at said patache, but not before said Sandoval had written to said Commander a letter in which he said he had orders from his superior to shoot at him and make him sink if he sailed off, but that he does not know if the order in question was true or not, and so he answers.

...

## E10. Final legal proceedings in the case, 1726

### Original text in Spanish.

*Escrito fiscal.*

*Muy Poderoso Señor.*

*Vuestro fiscal en vista de las diligencias hechas de oficio en el término de prueba en favor del Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Gobernador que fué de las islas Marianas en los autos criminales de desercion de dicho Gobierno y demas escesos cometidos à la representacion de V.A. sus ministros y comisario, con el abaleo del patache cuyo tenor por repetido:*

*Dice, que Justicia mediante se ha de servir V.A. condenar à dicho reo en las penas ordinarias que corresponden à los delitos perpetrados por lo manifestamente convito y confeso en su rebeldia; mayormente cuando las declaraciones à su favor recibidas hacen mas claro y manifesto dichos delitos sin refugio à escepcion que le favorece; por todo lo cual concluido Vuestro fiscal para la difinitiva determinacion de estos autos:*

*Suplica à V.A. se sirva de haver por hecha la publicacion de provanza de terminar en todo segun que por Vuestro fiscal se lleva pedido y latamente espresado en sus escritos que reproduce por de justicia que pide y para ello, &*

*Manila y Abril cinco de mil setecientos veinte y seis años.*

*Licenciado Vedoya.*

**Auto.**

*En los términos del Parian estramuros de Manila en seis de Abril de mil setecientos veinte y seis años ante el Señor Oidor y Alcalde del Crimen Doctor Don Francisco Martinez Juez de esta causa hasta ponerla en estado de difinitiva se presentó esta peticion e vista por dicho Señor:*

*Dixo Traslato con tercero dia à los estrados señalados y pasado que sea dicho término traiganse los autos citadas las partes. Y por estar asi lo proveyó[,] mandó y firmó dicho Señor Oidor Juez de que doy fé.*

*Doctor Martinez*

*Ante mi Francisco Cisneros.*

**Real Acuerdo extraordinario de la Audiencia de Manila de treinta y uno de Mayo de mil setecientos veinte y seis años.**

*Los Señores Presidente y Oidores de ella en vista de los autos de las causas que se le han fulminado al Capitan Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, Gobernador que fué de las islas Marianas sobre desercion de dicho Gobierno y lo demas que con dichos Señores dixeron que en atencion à haberse remetido su determinacion hasta la llegada à dicha Real Audiencia de la Residencia de dicho Capitan, que le està cometida al Sargento mayor Don Manuel de Herrera que al presente se halla en dichas islas Marianas sin tenerse noticia de dicha Residencia debian de mandar y mandaron que en el estado en que se hallan dichos autos se saque testimonio de ellos en la forma ordinaria y se le cuenta à S.M. (que Dios guarde) en su Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias en el presente despacho. Y por estar asi lo acordaron mandaron y firmaron dichos Señores.*

*El Marques*

*Doctor Martinez*

*Doctor Adan*

*Ante mi Francisco Cisneros.*

**Translation.**

**Writ of the Fiscal.**

Almighty Sir:

Your fiscal, in view of the official proceedings providing proofs favoring Captain Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, former Governor of the Mariana Islands, in the criminal case of desertion brought against said Governor and for other excesses committed toward the representatives of Your Highness, your ministers and commissioner, with the shooting of the patache, whose contents I need not repeat:

Declares, that justice would be served if Your Highness be pleased to condemn said prisoner to the ordinary penalties that correspond to the crimes obviously perpetrated by the guilty party, who confessed his rebelliousness, specially when the declarations

made in his favor make said crimes even clearer and obvious, without even one exception that could save him; therefore, your fiscal considers these proceedings to have reached a definitive determination:

He begs Your Highness to be pleased to agree to have the publication of the fact that the proving stage is complete, and that everything that your fiscal has requested and expressed at some length in his briefs be published, if justice is to be served, etc.

Manila, 5 April 1726.

Licenciate Bedoya.

### **Certification.**

Within the boundaries of the Parian, outside the walls of Manila, on 6 April 1726, before His Lordship the Audiencia member and criminal judge, Doctor Francisco Martinez, Judge of this case until it reaches a definitive state, the above petition was presented and, having been examined by said Judge:

He declared that it was to be posted for three days in the assigned courtrooms, after which delay the records of proceedings were to be brought forward and the parties summoned. And to this effect said Judge so provided and ordered, and he signed, for which I vouch.

Doctor Martinez.

Before me, Francisco Cisneros.

[On 6 May 1726, the Audiencia was notified by the investigating judge that the case was ready to be decided. The decision, made on 31 May, was simply to postpone sentencing until the report of the audit of the former Governor's term of office had been received.]

### **Royal agreement extraordinary of the Audiencia of Manila dated 31 May 1726.**

The gentlemen President and Members of the Audiencia, in view of the records of proceedings in the cases that were brought against Captain Luis Sanchez de Tagle, the former Governor of the Mariana Islands, regarding his desertion of said Government and the other charges, said gentlemen declared that, although the case file has reached the definitive stage, until the arrival to said Royal Audiencia of the management audit of said Captain, which has been entrusted to Sergeant-Major Manuel de Herrera who is presently in said Mariana Islands, since knowledge of said audit is required, they had to order, and they did order, that a copy be made of said file in its present state and in the ordinary manner, and be included in the report to H.M. (God save him) in his Royal and Supreme Council. And to this effect said gentlemen so agreed and ordered, and they signed.

The Marquis.

Doctor Martinez.

Doctor Adan.

Before me, Francisco Cisneros.

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## Documents 1726A

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### Royal decrees of 1726 about the Marianas

*Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 340-341v, pp. 735-738; also AGI 530 (for the case file); also AGI 418 (for later acknowledgment).*

#### A1. Decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 12 October 1726

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas, aprovandole el nombramiento que ha echo de Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas.*

*El Rey.*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*En carta del 30 de Junio del año proximo pasado de 1725, dais quenta con testimonio de haver recibido el despacho de 10 de Mayo de 1723, expedido por 2ª via reservada en que os ordené que no pudiendo continuar en el empleo de Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas Don Joseph de Quiroga, pusieseis en su lugar à Don Francisco Belez de Arze, siendo aproposito para ello, y en su defecto nombrareis persona que le ejerciese, expresando al mismo tiempo, que con motivo de haver fallecido los dos sujetos referidos, nombrasteis para dho empleo a Don Manuel Díaz Dozal, y que habiendo pasado este à dhas Yslas, no fué admitido por el Governador de ellas, por presumirse llevase algunas comisiones contra él, por lo qual se retiró, pidiendoos le permitieseis pasar à servir al Presidio de Zamboanga, para donde le conferisteis la Sargentía Mayor de aquella Milicia, y nombrasteis otro sugeto, afin de que en compañía del nuevo Governador ynterino de las referidas Yslas Marianas, fuese à ejercer dho empleo de Sargento Mayor.*

*Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias la referida representazion, y testimonio, con lo que dijo mi fiscal, ha parecido aprovaros (como lo hago) el referido nombramiento de Sargento Mayor de las mencionadas Yslas Marianas, por haver sido arreglado a lo mandado en el zitado despacho de 10 de Mayo de 1723.*

*Fha en San Yldefonso a 12 de octubre de 1726.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Andres de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.*

### **Translation.**

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the appointment he made for the post of Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands.

The King.

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

In your letter dated 30 June of the past year 1725, you reported, including an acknowledgment of the despatch of 10 May 1723 remitted by the second confidential route, in which I had ordered you that, since Don José de Quiroga could no longer serve in the post of Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, you were to replace him with Don Francisco Velez de Arce, a man suitable for it, and failing him you were to appoint a person to carry it out, and it was mentioned that if the two above-mentioned individuals be dead, you were to appoint Don Manuel Díaz Dozal to said post, but the latter having gone to said Islands, he was not admitted by their Governor—who supposed that he had some commissions against him—reason for which he withdrew, requesting you to allow him a transfer to the garrison of Zamboanga, and you obliged by conferring upon him the post of Sergeant-Major of that garrison, and you appointed another individual to accompany the new interim Governor of said Mariana Islands, and once there serve in said post of Sergeant-Major.

And said representation, and its certification, having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my fiscal said about it, I have decided to approve (as I do now) the above-mentioned appointment of Sergeant-Major of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, since it was arranged in accordance with the said despatch of 10 May 1723.

Made at San Ildefonso, 12 October 1726.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.

## **A2. Decree to the Audiencia of Manila, dated San Ildefonso 12 October 1726**

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

*A la Audiencia de Manila, ordenandola determine los Autos hechos, contra el Governador de las Yslas Marianas, Don Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, sobre sus prozedimientos, y dé quenta.*

*El Rey*

*Presidente y ohidores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila, en las Yslas Philipinas.*

*En carta de 28 de Junio de el año proximo pasado de 1725, dais quenta con testimonio de Autos, de lo acaezido con Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, Governador que fué*

*de las Yslas Marianas, y el Sargento Mayor Don Manuel Díaz Dosal, que pasó à aquellas Yslas, con comission vuestra, para prozeder contra dho Governador sobre los agravios, y vejaciones que padezian aquellos naturales por sus ynjustas operaciones, refiriendo asimismo lo subcedido con el vajel que condujo al expresado Sargento Mayor, y desamparo que hizo Tagle de dhas Yslas, pasandose à esa Ciudad y refugiandose en el convento de San Sevastian Extramuros de ella, y que quedavais entendiendo en la substanciacion de las causas, y cargos que resultan contra el mencionado Governador para dar quenta destados [sic].*

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias la zitada representacion con lo que dijo mi fiscal: Ha parecido ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo hago) substancieis, y determineis los referidos autos, obrando en todo conforme à derecho, y que de lo que resultare me deis quenta en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca.*

*Fha en San Yldefonso a 12 de octubre de 1726.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Andres de Elcorobarrutía, y Zupide.*

### **Translation.**

To the Audiencia of Manila, ordering it to determine the case against the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, regarding his proceedings, and to report on it.

The King.

The President and members of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

In a letter dated 28 June of the past year 1725, you reported, including a record of proceedings, about what happened between Don Luis Sanchez de Tagle, the former Governor of the Mariana Islands, and Sergeant-Major Manuel Díaz Dozal, who had gone to those Islands with your commission to proceed against said Governor regarding the wrongs and vexations suffered by those natives due to his unjust dealings, and in addition referring to the incident with the vessel that carried the above-mentioned Sergeant-Major there, and the abandonment of said Islands by said Tagle when he passed to that city and sought refuge in the convent of San Sebastian outside the walls, and that you were busy substantiating the cases and charges brought against the above-mentioned Governor in order to report on their status.

And said representation having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my fiscal: I have decided to order you (as I do now) to substantiate and determine the above-mentioned case files, by proceeding according to law, and you are to give me a report on the result at the first opportunity.

Made at San Ildefonso, 12 October 1726.

I the King.  
By order of the King our Lord,  
Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: By the time this decree was received at Manila, much work had already been done (see Doc. 1724B and 1725E).



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## Documents 1726B

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# The Inquisition to its Commissioners, dated 16 January 1726

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 364v-365.*

### B1. Letter to the Commissioner at Manila

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Al mismo [i.e. Dr. Don Francisco Rayo, dignidad de la Santa Yglesia de Manila] en los autos acerca Agustín de Espinosa.***

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 26 de Junio del año proximo pasado con la zertificazion que la acompañaba de haver fallecido en las Marianas el Ayudante Agustín de Espinosa; emos mandado abisar de su recivo, y dezir a nuestro Comisario que respecto del fallezimiento del susodho, no ay que hazer ya en su causa, dandole como se le dan todas gracias por el celo y cuidado que puso en las diligencias para la justificacion del primer matrimonio en Cagayan, y lo mismo dezimos en esta ocasion al Comisario de Marianas.*

*Guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup> Inquisición de Mexico henero 16 de 1726 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Garzaron y Palazio; anate el Secretario Carranza.*

#### Translation.

**To the same [i.e. Dr. Don Francisco Rayo] in the proceedings involving Augustin de Espinosa.<sup>1</sup>**

In view of our Commissioner's letter dated 26 June of this past year, with the certification that accompanied it, stating that Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa had died in the Marianas, we have ordered that their receipt be acknowledged, and to tell our Commissioner that, regarding the death of the above-mentioned, there is no longer any reason to pursue his case, and to give him thanks for the zeal and care that he took in the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Doctor Francisco Rayo Doria was a secular priest who became interim Archbishop of Manila in 1712, but his right to the archbishopric was successfully contested by the Municipal Council, who gave him a position as its Dean instead and appointed Altamirano in his place (ref. B&R 44: 144). He held another appointment as Commissioner for the Holy Crusade.

measures for the justification of the first marriage in Cagayan, and the same message is being sent at this same time to the Commissioner of the Marianas.

May God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 16 January 1726.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron and Palacio; before Secretary Carranza.

## **B2. Letter to the Commissioner in Guam**

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

*Al Comisario de Yslas Marianas en los autos acerca Agustin de Expinosa.*

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 5 de Diziembre del año pasado de 1724, con la zertificazion que venia adjunta de la muerte del Ayudante Agustin de Expinosa, emos mandado avisarle su recivo, y dezir a nuestro Comisario, que respecto de lo referido, no ay que hazer ya mas en esta causa y sí el dar como le damos todas grazias por su puntualidad y cuidado, esperando le continuara en todo lo demas que se ofresca y ocurriere del ministerio.*

*Guarde Dios a nuestro Comisario &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico henero 16 de 1726 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Garzaron, y Palazio, ante el Secretario Carranza.*

### **Translation.**

**To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands in the proceedings involving Augustin de Espinosa.**

In view of the letter from our Commissioner dated 5 December of the past year 1725, with the certification that was enclosed, of the death of Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa, we have ordered that their receipt be acknowledged, and to tell our Commissioner that, regarding the above matter, there is no longer any reason to pursue this case, but there is reason to give you thanks, as we do now, for your timeliness and care, hoping that you will continue to do the same on other occasions that may offer and occur in your ministry.

May God save our Commissioner, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 16 January 1726.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Garzaron, and Palacio, before Secretary Carranza.

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 Document 1726C
 

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## Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1726

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/3, fol. 32-36v.*

### Subsidy sent aboard the patache Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Contaduria de Real Hacienda. Año de 1726.*

***Despacho de el Situado de las Yslas Philipinas tocante al año de 1726 en el Patache nombrado Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier que el citado año hizo tornaviage a aquellas Yslas.***

...

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*El Situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos que en reales y generos toca a esas Yslas, por este año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, que a de conducir a ellas el Patache nombrado Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier, se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

***Misiones y Sargento Mayor de Marianas.***

*Siette mill settecientos quarenta y seis pessos tres tomines y siette granos entregados de esta Real caja: los quatrocientos doze pessos y quatro tomines de ellos, para el Sargento mayor Ynterino de las Yslas Marianas: y los siette mill trescientos treinta y tres pesos siette tomines, y siette granos restantes, para doze Religiosos de la compañía de Jesus, nueve Sacerdotes, y tres Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueba Christiandad, y augmentando nuestra Santa Fé, en servicio de la divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno y otro por el Situado correspondiente a este año, en que se yncluye el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas. Como tambien lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino y azeite, con advertencia, que en esta ocasion no se à pagado el situado del mencionado Presidio, por falta de apoderado, y de ynstrumentos que justifiquen su percepcion ..... 7,746p 3t 7*

...

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.  
Mexico 14 de Febrero de 1726.  
Sor. Don Joseph de Ozaeta  
Joseph Tiburco Lopez y Villalba(?)  
Sor. Don Angel de Villegas y Puente*

### **Translation.**

Accounting Department of the Royal treasury. Year of 1726.

**Despatch of the subsidy of the Philippine Islands for the year 1726 aboard the patache named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier which made her return voyage to those Islands that same year.**

...

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

The subsidy of 250,000 pesos in cash and goods meant for those Islands for this year 1726, which the patache named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier** must convey overthere, consists of the following entries:

...

#### **Missions and Sergeant-Major of the Marianas.**

—7,746 pesos 3 tomins and 7 grains released from this Royal treasury, 412 pesos 4 tomins of which are for the interim Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, and the remaining 7,333 pesos 7 tomins and 7 grains are for the 12 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 9 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are employed in the missions of those Islands in preaching the Holy Gospel, making their new Christian community prosper and propagating our Holy Faith, in the service of the divine Majesty and of the King our Lord. Both sums represent the subsidy for this year. Included is the stipend allotted to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is the amount corresponding to the alms for wine and oil.

Be it noted that on this occasion, no payment is made for the subsidy of the Garrison, for lack of a legal representative [in Mexico City], and of instruments to justify its perception ..... 7,746p 3t 7g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.  
Mexico, 14 February 1726.  
Don José de Ozaeta  
José Tiburco Lopez y Villalba(?)  
Don Angel de Villegas y Puente

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## Document 1727A

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# List of boarders and routine of the College of Guam in 1727

*Sources: ARSI Fondo Gesuita #1466/3; facsimile and discussion in the Guam Recorder, n.s. 7 (1977) 12-18.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Numero de los Colegiales, que ordinariamente se crian, alimentan, y visten en el colegio de la juventud Mariana, es poco mas o menos de cinquenta entre chicos, y grandes, y actualmente se hallan en el cinquenta, de los cuales (los) tres son mestizos españoles, y (los) dos huerfanitos de padre, y madre, y el tercero dedicado de su madre por salvo del peligro del parto, al culto de la Iglesia, y los otros quarenta y siete hijos de los naturales, entre sacados de todas las iglesias, y varias residencias, como se vera del cathalogo siguiente:*

*Miguel Matanani, natural de Mongmong, nacio en 10 de Diciembre de 1700. Llego al Colegio 1712.*

*Julio Quizacha de Assan, nacio a 1 de Septiembre de 1706. Entro en el Colegio 1713.*

*Joseph Muña de Aniguag, nacio a 27 de Marzo de 1706. Entro en el colegio 1714.*

*Matheo Lauchi de Aniguag, nacio a 20 de Febrero de 1706. Entro en el Colegio 1716.*

*Nicolas Taisiyu de Mongmong, nacio a 20 de Febrero de 1708. Entro en el Colegio 1716.*

*Pedro Magugui de Tepungan, nacio a 18 de Mayo de 1706. Entro en el Colegio 1716.*

*Francisco Taisegui de Aniguag, nacio a 10 de Abril de 1706. Entro en el Colegio 1717.*

*Ignacio Migai de Pago, nacio a 14 de febrero de 1710. Entro en el Colegio 1718.*

*Pedro Namña de Rota, nacio a 24 de Agosto de 1711. Entro en el Colegio 1718.*

*Francisco Quico de Aniguag, nacio a 10 de Julio de 1711. Entro en el Colegio 1718.*

*Ignacio Taitiguang de Pago, nacio a 6 de Julio de 1709. Entro en el Colegio 1718.*

*Miguel Ninagsin de Mongmong, nacio a 1º de febrero de 1710. Entro en el Colegio 1718.*

*Clemente Taiñgataotao de Aniguag, nacio a 25 de Noviembre 1711. Entro en el Colegio 1719.*

*Estanislao Erita de Merizo, nacio a 7 de Mayo de 1713. Entro en el Colegio 1719.*

*Ignacio Afchiho de Assan, nacio a 12 de Enero de 1710. Entro en el Colegio 1720.*

*Joaquin Maldonado de Anarajan, nacio a 24 de Mayo 1711. Entro en el Colegio 1720.*

*Rafael Taifaihan de Mongmong, nacio a 26 de octubre 1712. Entro en el Colegio 1722.*

*Julio Taisipic de Pago, nacio a 13 de Junio de 1712. Entro en el Colegio 1722.*

*Ignacio Tumero de Mongmong, nacio a 17 de Julio 1713. Entro en el Colegio 1722.*

*Julio Aña de Mongmong, nacio a 10 de Mayo de 1715. Entro en el Colegio 1722.*

- Joseph Albay de Umatag, 13 Noviembre del año 1704. Entro en el Colegio 1723.*
- Francisco Taisongsong de Mongmong, nacio a 13 de Mayo 1713. Entro en el colegio 1723.*
- Julio Tassi de Mongmong, nacio 4 de Febrero de 1715. Entro en el Colegio 1723.*
- Miguel Chatfauros de Mongmong, nacio a 30 de septiembre 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1723.*
- Francisco Teitano de Aniguag, nacio a 30 de Noviembre de 1713. Entro en el Colegio 1723.*
- Ignacio Madamang de Pago, nacio a 19 de Agosto de 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1723.*
- Julio Teipitup de Mongmong, nacio a 7 de Septiembre de 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1724.*
- Phelipe Quiguma de Aniguag, nacio a 10 de Enero de 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1724.*
- Phelipe Ramirez de Agadña, nacio en 26 de Mayo de 1717. Entro en el Colegio 1724.*
- Pedro Taidiris de Assan, nacio en 29 de Junio de 1713. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Salvador Tegutgut, de Sinahaña, nacio el 1° de Abril 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Casimiro Agiguang de Merizo, nacio a 10 de Marzo de 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Manuel Chatpañon de Assan, nacio a 28 de Diciembre de 1717. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Miguel Natainam de Seipan, nacio en 2 de octubre de 1714. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Estevan Añaño de Agat, [blank]. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Phelipe Apu de Seipan, nacio a 26 de Diciembre de 1715. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Thomas de la Concepción de Agadña, nacio a 26 de Diciembre de 1716. Entro en el Colegio 1725.*
- Julio Teypagyo de Seypan, nacio a 13 de febrero de 1713. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Francisco Eguaraf de Pago, nacio a 14 de Septiembre de 1718. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Mathias de Benavente de Agadña, nacio a 2. de Marzo 1716. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Julio Estevan Tetmachuza de Aniguag, nacio a 1° de febrero de 1716. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Manuel Mamlogyao, de Pago, nacio a 5 de Enero de 1719. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Antonio Gumataotao de Mongmong, nacio en 24 de Febrero de 1717. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Julio Chatgadi de Aniguag, nacio en 28 de Septiembre de 1717. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Pedro Hium de Seipan, nacio en 22 de Mayo de 1715. Entro en el Colegio 1726.*
- Ignacio Acnesiña de Seipan, nacio [blank]. Entro en el Colegio 1727.*
- Francisco Ignacio Tatacaon de Aniguag, nacio en 1° de Mayo 1719. Entro en el Colegio 1727.*
- Pasqual Antonio Seli de Aniguag, nacio en 15 de Abril de 1716. Entro en el Colegio 1727.*
- Julio Enam de Mongmong, nacio en 9 de Abril de 1714. Entro en el Colegio o1727.*
- Martin Estanislao Tetmachuga, nacio a 13 de Noviembre de 1719. Entro en el Colegio 1727.*

## **Distribucion**

### **Para los dias de Trabajo**

*Se levantan al romper el nombre, que comunmente, es como a las cinco de la mañana. Rezan en comunidad sus oraciones, se laban, y visten haciendo tiempo, que se toque a la Santa Missa, que oyen todos los dias.*

*En tocando para la Sta. Missa, q. es acabando los PP. la oración, van de dos en dos a la iglesia, rezando las oraciones en castellano, y en su lugar ya determinado oyen la Sta. Missa, después de la qual buelven con el mismo orden a casa, que por ordinario ya es cerca de las seis y un quarto.*

*Desde las seis y un quarto hasta las siete, cada uno cumple con su tarea (porque cada semana los sabados por la noche, se leen los officios de cada uno señaladas en una tabla)*

*y assi los unos barren las salas, otros los transitos, otros parten el coco p<sup>a</sup> los cinquenta puercos, q. ay entre chicos y grandes en el chiquero; otros les traen hiervas, otros agua; y acabada esta tarea, almuerzan su araguan como se dira mas abajo.*

*Desde las siete hasta las nueve es la escuela, a la qual se da señal con campanilla. Se principia invocando todos de rodillas al Espiritu Santo y se acaba invocando la Virgen Santissima, para sacar fruto de la enseñanza recibida. En la escuela apre(he)nden su leccion por med[is]a] hora, y los capaces se exercitan la media hora en el escribir. Corregeles despues el Maestro las planas y baja el Rector, o el Hermano y si se hallan en casa, bajan ambos a recibir las lecciones. Despues rezan por partes dividida la Doctrina Christiana, y oraciones, en lengua española todos los dias. Siguesse algo del canto como v.g. la Epistola en votiva B. V. o el Asperges, y Vidi aqua[m], y De profundis, y los unos dias, los otros el modo de ayudar a la Santa Missa, y los otros la Tabla de Contar.*

*A la escuela acuden con los Colegiales tambien los de afuera Mestizos y Criollos con los muchachos, que viven en la casa de los Padres de Agadña, y para que no hallen embarazo en embiar sus hijos a la escuela por su estremada pobreza, les suministra el Colegio a todos, los libros necesarios para aprender a leer, y papel, tinta, y pluma p<sup>a</sup> escribir.*

*De los Colegiales acuden actualmente, menos unos ocho mas grandes, que se ocupan en las faenas que se ofrecen para la economia del Colegio.*

*Desde las nueve hasta las once estan de varias maneras atareados, segun la capacidad de cada uno; las tareas son la Musica, sastrear, bordar, enquadernar, y assi los aplicados a la Musica, se emplean la primera hora en el exercicio de las Missas, y salve que han de cantar el sabado, y en el Motete [sic], y Letanias, que se cantan los Domingos, aquel por la mañana en la missa de los Españoles, y estos despues de la platica que tienen por la tarde. Entretanto los aprendices se exercitan en el Harpa, Rabel, y canto por que despues el Maestro les toma su leccion en la segunda hora. Los que no son capaces para el canto estan atareados en coser ropa para sus concolegiales; otros aprehenden bordar, otros enquadernar libros, otros remiendan, y texen las redes p<sup>a</sup> la pesca, etc. Ni por eso quedan los chiquillos ociosos, por que ellos les toca barrer el Refectorio, y componer entre tanto las mesas para la comida del medio dia. A veces, viendolos tan ocupados, compadecido el Padre Rector les da un quarto de hora de asueto antes de la comida.*

*Desde las once hasta las doce, comen en comunidad, sirven los unos a la primera mesa, y los que ya han comido a la segunda mesa, procediendo la bendicion, y siguiendose la accion de gracias, que dan todos puestos en hilera entre las mesas, y entretanto que comen, uno lee algun libro devoto, o que trate de exemplos, a veces en lengua castellana (como actualmente se lee en su Refectorio el Año Virgineo), a veces en lengua Mariana, de los que traducieron los PP.*

*Desde las doce hasta las doce y media, barren todos juntos el Refectorio, que es la sala, que sirve juntamente para la escuela, y se divierten algo, hasta que se toque para el fin de la quiete de los Padres.*

*Desde las doce y media hasta las dos, todos se recogen a sus salas para la siesta, y se cierra el Colegio. En ella, unos la duermen, otros leen algun librito, otros remiendan sus vestiditos, otros aderezan sus altarcitos, segun el gusto de cada uno, por que pueden ocuparse en lo que mas les agrada en su lugar señalado, por que el salir trabeseando, o el hacer ruydo, les es gravemente prohibido.*

*Desde las dos hasta las dos y media rezan la tercera parte del Rosario de la Virgen Santissima con sus misterios y ofrecimientos.*

*Desde las dos y media hasta las quatro es la escuela con la misma distribucion, que se dixo por la mañana.*

*Desde las quatro, hasta las cinco, y media, son las tareas de la Musica, sastrear, etc. con la misma distribucion [que] por la mañana.*

*Desde las cinco y media hasta las Aves Marias (que rezan siempre en voz alta, repitiendo tres veces la salutacion angelica) dan los unos agua, y los otros tra(h)en hiervas a los cerdos, y los otros componen los candiles de las salas, transitos, etc. y toman su araguan.*

*Desde las Aves Marias hasta las siete, esto es, hasta que se toca para la cena de los Padres cantan primero la Letania Lauretana con los instrumentos de Rabeles, violin, y harpa, despues cantan el Ave Maris Stella, ya en castellano, ya en Mariano, y rematan la devocion entonando dos tiples el alabado; lo qual [terminato] rezan un Padre Nuestro, y un Ave Maria, y Gloria Patri, por los que cooperaron a la fundacion de esta obra pia.*

*Dura esta devocion por ordinario, segun la variedad de tono de las Letanias ya quarto y medio, ya media hora. Siguesse luego el rezo de la Doctrina Christiana las unas noches, las otras las oraciones. Con esta ocasion el Padre Rector les explica a menudo con una exhortacioncita ya esta, ya aquella pregunta, ya el sentido de las palabras de las oraciones que rezan. Otras veces les explica el Caton [=Catequismo?] Christiano enseñandoles las costumbres christianas y politica. Otras veces se emplea este tiempo despues de las Letanias para la devocion de los Novenarios, en los quales confiessan todos, y comulgan los capaces, haciendoles el Padre Rector su platiquita segun la materia, que ofrece la distribucion de la Novena.*

*Los viernes, acabadas las Letanias, en lugar del rezo de la Doctrina Christiana, rezan el Rosario de las cinco llagas.*

*Desde que tocan para la cena de los Padres hasta las ocho cenan.*

*Desde las ocho hasta las nueve, rezan primero por las animas, y despues se juntan en la sala grande y rezan las oraciones de la noche; y despues las noches de luna se divierten en el patio como media hora poco mas o menos. Las noches que no ay luna ay el exercicio de las danzas hasta el mismo tiempo. Siendo tiempo de recogerse, que suele ordinariamente ser como las ocho y tres quartos, saludada la Virgen Santissima, dan las buenas noches al Padre Rector, y al Hermano, y se van a dormir.*

*Esta distribucion es indispensable en todos los dias del trabajo, ni ai mas mudanza, que el **Miercoles** por la mañana en lugar de la escuela van a la iglesia para assistir con los muchachos del pueblo a la explicacion de la Doctrina Christiana, y que los **Jueves***



que son de assueto en lugar de la escuela, se ocupan una hora en algun trabajo corporal, v.g. desgranar maiz, limpiar las sementerillas, que ay al rededor del Colegio de nica, de maiz, camote, zuni, etc. y que se da de divertimento por la mañana una hora, y otra por la tarde. Esta hora unos la gastan en jugar a las bolas, otros en tirar la barra, otros se diviertan con el juego de las damas, trompillo, y pelota, etc.

Los **Domingos, y Fiestas**, que son para todos de guardar, acuden a la Missa de los naturales, y asisten a su platica. Van a la iglesia con una bandera rezando en voz alta por el camino en lengua castellana las oraciones. Entonan despues llegados a la iglesia en voz alta el Acto de Contrición, siguiendolos todo el pueblo junto. Despues de la platica salen en la misma orden los primeros de la iglesia, rezando en voz alta en lengua castellana la Salve, y prosiguen las demas oraciones por el camino hasta llegar en el colegio. Por la tarde asisten a la platica de los Españoles en comunidad; qual acabada cantan las Letanias de la Señora, y buelven al Colegio. A la noche, acabada la cena les hace el Padre Rector por media hora una platica extraordinaria, tomando por materia lo que juzga mas aproposito para ellos.

### Comida

Se les da quatro veces al día. Por la mañana almuerzan, y es el almuerzo un genero de comiztrage que llaman **araguan**, y se hace de arroz, y harina de la tierra que sacan de una raiz que llaman **gapgap** si la ay, y en falta della con arroz solo. Y quando ay mucha carestia de arroz se hace su **attole** de maiz. Algunas veces se les añade azucar, o miel, segun la solemnidad del año, o segun las tareas que han tenido. Otras veces, especialmente a los cantores, se les da tambien su champurrado de chocolate.

A medio dia se les da su caldo, segun los tiempos que lo produce, **morisqueta**, o **tamales**, o **rimai**, o camote, o **nica**, etc. En las solemnidades mayores se les suele dar algo mas, y mejor comida, matando para ellos algun puerco, o algunas aves. Y a las tres, o a las quatro saca un **bilao** de bizcocho con una, o dos basinicas de dulce, que se pide de Manila.

Los días de ayunos, quaresmas, vigiliás, y que no se come carne, se les da a medio dia mongos, o frigoles, y su pescado, que bastantes veces suele acontecer, se les hace sopas de bizcocho, si lo ay; y en faltando este se les han de sustentar con algo de legumbres, leche, y su pan.

Al ponerse el sol, toman de nuevo su **araguan** que es el comiztrage arriba mencionado.

La cena se les da su pan y carne, o su pan, y pezcado conforme el dia lo pide, aunque en menos cantidad q. a medio dia.

### El vestido

Con que se distinguen los colegiales, quando salen en comunidad son unas ropas azules, hechas de Lanquin. Salen con ellos todos los días a la Santa Missa, a la Doctrina Christiana, a las platicas, a los entierros de los soldados, y demas vecinos de Agaña, assi españoles, como mestizos, y criollos, cantando los Psalmos, y responzos

*acostumbrados, sin que reciban de estipendio una barrilla, sino es en tiempo de balandras, que a algunos dellos se les dan una vela.*

*N.B.(?) Assisten ellos al Rosario, que se canta de los soldados por la ciudad los sabados por la noche, cantando a son de harpa los misterios, ellos asisten con estas misas cantadas, y demas officios divinos, que ay en la iglesia, o fuera della, v.g. quando se lleva patente el Señor Sacramentado, en los bautismos, casamientos, etc. y los de todo el pueblo, assi españoles, como mestizos y criollos, Philippinos, y naturales de la tierra, y esso todo gratis. En una palabra ellos hacen, y forman la Capilla, y Clerecia en todo lo que se ofrece para el culto divino, assi en los tiempos ordinarios, como extraordinarios, sin mas estipendio, que la limozna, que les da su Magestad (que Dios guarde) de los tres mil pesos, que se cobran en Mexico. Y si hacemos el computo tan solamente de las missas, que cantan en esta cabezera son mas de sesenta y siete por que este el numero ordinario dellas, sin computar los que se cantan, pedidas de la devocion de los Señores Governadores, o de las publicas necessitates, etc.*

*El vestido pues ordinario, que llevan de trabajo, es de guinoley con algun pañuelo de Cambaya. Los dias de fiesta es de lanilla, con sus calzoncillos blancos debaxo, y sus chininas blancas de lienzo, o azul, con sus ceñidores, ya de espumilla, o de otro genero equivalente, con medias, y zapatos, quando van a la iglesia. A algunos de los mas benemeritos, o ya por que se esmeran en la limpieza, o en la musica, o en el Officio, o que son aplicados, o ya por que son de mejor sangre, y mas nobles y principalmente a los que se esmeran en las virtudes y piedad y letras se les da algun vestido mas precioso de los generos que se piden de Manilla.*

*El vestido de los grandes, que no frequentan ya la escuela, que actualmente son ocho, y se ocupan segun los arriba insinuado, es el mismo tocante a los dias de trabajo, y fiesta, y se diferencian tan solamente de los demas que no salen a la iglesia con ropas, sino con sus capotes de paño de color musgo, o azul, que se pide de Mexico, y de que se usan casi todos los Indios de la tierra, que compran a los soldados con sus pañuelos blancos al cuello, y sombrero, que llevan tambien todos los demas assi quando van a la iglesia, o salen fuera della.*

### **Translation.**

The number of college boys who are ordinarily raised, fed, and clothed in the college for Mariano boys is about 50, counting the small as well as the big boys. At present there are 50 exactly, of whom 3 are Spanish half-breeds, 2 being small orphans of father and mother, and the third has been dedicated to the service of the Church by his mother, on account of having been saved from a difficult childbirth; the other 47 are sons of natives, who have been selected from all of the parishes and various residences, as can be seen in the following list:

1. Miguel Matanani from Mongmong, born on 10 December 1700, joined the College in 1712.
2. Julio Quizacha from Asan, born on 1 September 1706, joined the College in 1713.
3. José Muña from Aniguag, born on 27 March 1706, joined the College in 1714.
4. Mateo Lauchi from Aniguag, born on 20 February 1706, joined the College in 1716.

5. Nicolás Taisiyu from Mongmong, born on 20 February 1708, joined the College in 1716.
6. Pedro Magugui from Tepungan, born on 18 May 1706, joined the College in 1716.
7. Francisco Taisegui from Aniguag, born on 10 April 1706, joined the College in 1717.
8. Ignacio Migai from Pago, born on 14 February 1710, joined the College in 1718.<sup>1</sup>
9. Padre Namña from Tota, born on 24 August 1711, joined the College in 1718.
10. Francisco Quico from Aniguag, born on 10 July 1711, joined the College in 1718.
11. Ignacio Taitiguang from Pago, born on 6 July 1709, joined the College in 1718.
12. Miguel Ninagsin from Mongmong, born on 1 February 1710, joined the College in 1718.
13. Clemente Taiñgataotao from Aniguag, born on 25 November 1711, joined the College in 1719.
14. Estanislao Erita from Merizo, born on 7 May 1713, joined the College in 1719.
15. Ignacio Afchiho from Asan, born on 12 January 1710, joined the College in 1720.
16. Joaquin Maldonado from Inarajan, born on 24 May 1711, joined the College in 1720.
17. Rafael Taifaihan from Mongmong, born on 26 October 1712, joined the College in 1722.
18. Julio Taisipic from Pago, born on 13 June 1712, joined the College in 1722.
19. Ignacio Tumerero from Mongmong, born on 17 July 1713, joined the College in 1722.
20. Julio Aña from Mongmong, born on 10 May 1715, joined the College in 1722.
21. José Albay from Umatag, [born on] 13 November 1704, joined the College in 1723.
22. Francisco Taisongsong from Mongmong, born on 13 May 1712, joined the College in 1723.
23. Julio Tasi from Mongmong, born on 4 February 1715, joined the College in 1723.
24. Miguel Chatfauros from Mongmong, born on 30 September 1714, joined the College in 1723.
25. Francisco Taitano from Aniguag, born on 30 November 1713, joined the College in 1723.
26. Ignacio Madamang from Pago, born on 19 August 1714, joined the College in 1723.
27. Julio Teipitup from Mongmong, born on 7 September 1714, joined the College in 1724.
28. Felipe Quiguma from Aniguag, born on 10 January 1714, joined the College in 1724.
29. Felipe Ramirez from Agadña, born on 26 May 1717, joined the College in 1724.
30. Pedro Taidiris from Asan, born on 29 June 1713, joined the College in 1725.
31. Salvador Tegutgut from Sinahaña, born on 1 April 1714, joined the College in 1725.
32. Casimiro Agiguang from Merizo, born on 10 March 1714, joined the College in 1725.
33. Manuel Chatpañigon from Asan, born on 28 December 1717, joined the College in 1725.
34. Miguel Natainam from Seipan, born on 2 October 1714, joined the College in 1725.
35. Estevan Añao from Agat, [born unknown date], joined the College in 1725.
36. Felipe Apu from Seipan, born on 26 December 1715, joined the College in 1725.
37. Tomás de la Concepción from Agadña, born on 26 December 1716, joined the College in 1725.
38. Julio Teypagyo from Seypan, born on 13 February 1713, joined the College in 1726.
39. Francisco Eguaraf from Pago, born on 14 September 1718, joined the College in 1726.
40. Matías de Benavente from Agadña, born on 2 March 1716, joined the College in 1726.
41. Julio Esteban Tetmachuga from Aniguag, born on 1 February 1716, joined the College in 1726.
42. Manuel Mamlogyan from Pago, born on 5 January 1719, joined the College in 1726.
43. Antonio Gumataotao from Mongmong, born on 24 February 1717, joined the College in 1726.

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1 Ed. note: The above tall boys are probably those who were no longer attending classes and staying in the residence of the Fathers (as mentioned below), or at the government-run plantations.

44. Julio Chatgadi from Aniguag, born on 28 September 1717, joined the College in 1726.
45. Pedro Hium from Seipan, born on 22 May 1715, joined the College in 1726.
46. Ignacio Acnesiña from Seipan, born [blank date], joined the College in 1727.
47. Francisco Ignacio Tatacaon from Aniguag, born on 1 May 1719, joined the College in 1727.
48. Pascual Antonio Seli from Aniguag, born on 15 April 1716, joined the College in 1727.
49. Julio Enam from Mongmong, born on 9 April 1714, joined the College in 1727.
50. Martín Estanislao Tetmachuga, born on 13 November 17819, joined the College in 1727.

## Routine for workdays

They get up at *réveillé* which generally is at 5 a.m. They recite their prayers together, wash themselves, and dress themselves and wait for the bell announcing holy mass which they attend every day.

While the bell rings for holy mass, which happens after the Fathers have finished their prayer, they go two by twos to the church, while reciting prayers in Spanish, and once they have reached their assigned places, they hear holy mass, after which they return home in the same order. They reach it usually at about 6:15.

From 6:15 to 7 a.m., each one comply with his task (because every week on Saturday night, the jobs of every one of them is read to them from a table). So it is that some sweep the halls, others the passageways, others split coconuts for the 50 pigs of all sizes that live in the piggens; others bring them grasses, others water. Once these tasks are finished, they eat their **araguan** for breakfast, as I will explain below.<sup>1</sup>

From 7 to 9 a.m. is school, and it is announced with a small bell. It begins with all on their knees praying to the Holy Ghost and ends with a prayer to the Most Holy Virgin, to get some benefit from the instruction received. In school, they learn their lesson for half an hour, and those who can [write] practice writing. The teacher then corrects their sheets, and the Rector, or the Brother (or both if they are both present) comes down to review the lessons. Afterwards, they divide into appropriate groups to recite either the Christian doctrine or prayers in Spanish every day. There follows some singing practice, such as the Epistle of one the feasts of the B.V.M., or the *Asperges*, and the *Vidi aqua[m]*, and the *De profundis*, on some days, and on other days, how to serve mass, and on some other days how to use arithmetic tables.<sup>2</sup>

Half-breeds and locally-born Spanish children living outside the college, as well as the [older] boys living in the residence of the Fathers at Agadña, join the college boys in this school. So that there will not be any impediment to sending their children to school, on account of their extreme poverty, the College supplies all of them with the books that are necessary to learn how to read, and paper, ink, and pens to learn how to write.

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1 Ed. note: *Araguan* is a Chamorro word meaning porridge (see below).

2 Ed. note: The Latin words correspond to various parts of masses in Latin, the *Asperges* occurring with the blessing with holy water at the beginning of solemn masses, and the *De profundis* being part of the mass for the deceased.

At present, 8 from among the older college boys do not attend school but have been assigned various chores to benefit the College economically.

From 9 until 11 a.m., each is busy with some task in accordance with his own capacity; said tasks comprise music, tailoring, embroidery, book-binding. For instance, those who are learning music spend the first hour practicing for high masses, and the *Salve [Regina]* which they must sing on Saturdays, and in the *Motete* and the litanies that are sung on Sundays; the former for the morning mass for the Spaniards, and the latter for after the afternoon sermon. In the meantime, the learners practice the harp, the viol, and singing because afterwards the teacher checks their knowledge during the second hour. Those without ability for singing are kept busy sewing clothes for other college boys; others learn how to embroider, or do book-binding, or mend clothes, or make fishing nets, etc. Even the very small boys are kept busy with sweeping the refectory, and setting the tables for the noon meal. Sometimes, upon seeing them so busy, the Father Rector takes pity on them and gives them time off before lunch.

From 11 until noon, they eat together; some serve the first seating, and those who eat first serve the second seating. Blessing is said first, and graces follow the meal, with everyone standing in a row between the tables. While they eat, one boy reads from some book of devotion, or one dealing with examples, sometimes in Spanish (for instance, right now they are reading the [book entitled] *Año Virgineo* in their refectory),<sup>1</sup> and sometimes in the Mariano language, from books that the Fathers have translated.<sup>2</sup>

From noon until 12:30, they all sweep the refectory together, as it also serves as the hall where school takes place, and [then] they entertain themselves a little until the bell announcing the end of the rest period for the Fathers.

From 12:30 until 2 p.m., they all rejoin their dormitories for the siesta, and the College doors are closed. During siesta, some do sleep, but others read some small book, or mend their clothes, or arrange their small altars, according to their own taste, because they are free to use this period to do what they please, provided they remain in their assigned places, because it is strictly forbidden to go out for a stroll, or to make any noise.

From 2 until 2:30 p.m., they recite the third part of the Rosary of the B.V.M. with its mysteries and offerings.

From 2:30 until 4 p.m., school is on, with the same routine as for the morning classes.

From 4 until 5:30 p.m., they do the same tasks of music, tailoring, etc. with the same routine as in the morning.

From 5:30 until 6 p.m. (when they always recite the Hail Marys aloud, repeating the angelic salutation three times), some of them give water to the pigs, while others bring them grass, and some others prepare the oil-lamps in the rooms, the passageways, etc. and they take their **araguan**.

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1 Ed. note: The title means: The feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary throughout the year. I cannot find any reference to potential authors.

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, none of those have survived.

From the Hail Marys until 7 p.m., that is, until the bell is rung for the Fathers' supper, they first sing the Litanies of the Virgin of Loreto, accompanied with the musical instruments, i.e. viols, violins, and the harp, then they sing the *Ave Maris Stella*, either in Spanish or in Mariano, and they finish with a devotion, when two sopranos intone the praises which terminate with the Lord's Prayer, one Hail Mary, and a *Gloria Patri* recited for those who collaborated in the creation of this pious work.<sup>1</sup>

This devotion usually lasts, depending on the cadence used in the Litanies, between 22 and 30 minutes. It is then followed with the reciting of the Christian doctrine on some evenings, and of prayers on other evenings. At this time, the Father Rector often explains some point or other with a small exhortation, or explains the words of the prayers which they recite. At other times, he explains the Christian catechism(?) to them, teaching them Christian and civilized customs. At other times, the Father Rector employs the time following the Litanies for the devotion of those making novenas, during which he confesses them all, and those permitted can take communion, and he makes a small sermon, according to the subject matter as offered by the novena in progress.

On Fridays, once the Litanies are over, instead of reciting the Christian doctrine, they recite a full Rosary.

From the bell announcing supper for the Fathers until 8 p.m., they eat their own supper.

From 8 until 9 p.m., they first pray for the souls [in Purgatory], and then they gather in the big hall to recite the evening prayers. And afterwards, on moon-lit nights, they entertain themselves on the patio for about half an hour, more or less; on dark nights, they practice dancing for the same period of time. When it is time to retire, and that usually occurs at about 8:45, they salute the B.V.M., say good-night to the Father Rector, and to the Brother, and they go and sleep.

This routine is adhered to on workdays, and without any variation, except on **Wednesdays** in the morning, when, instead of school, they go to church to attend the explanation of the Christian doctrine with the boys from the town. On **Thursdays**, time off replaces school; they then spend one hour in the morning doing some physical work, such as shelling corn, weeding the vegetable garden plots around the College, where *nica* [yam], corn, sweet potato, *suní* [taro], etc. are being grown. In addition, one hour in the morning and another hour in the afternoon are then spent in relaxation; some play ball games, some throw javelins, others play checkers, or with tops, or balls, etc.

On **Sundays and Holidays**, which everyone must observe, they attend the mass for the natives, and their sermon. They go to church with a flag, reciting aloud some prayers in Spanish along the way. As soon as they enter the church they intone aloud the Act of Contrition, and the crowd follows them. After the sermon, they lead the procession out of the church, reciting aloud in Spanish the *Salve [Regina]* and they continue with other prayers along the way until they reach the college. In the afternoon, together they attend the sermon given to the Spaniards, after which they sing the Litany of Our Lady,

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1 Ed. note: In other words, praying for the repose of the soul of the Duchess of Aveiro, etc.

and they return to the college. In the evening, once supper is over, the Father Rector preaches an extraordinary sermon lasting half an hour to them, selecting a subject matter that he thinks will be more appropriate to them.

## Food

They eat four times a day. In the morning they have breakfast. For lunch they take a kind of porridge which they call **araguan**; it is made of rice, and local flour that is extracted from a root crop which they call **gapgap**,<sup>1</sup> when it is available, but if not, they use rice only.<sup>2</sup> When there is a shortage of rice, some corn **atole** is prepared instead.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes some sugar, or honey, is added, according to the solemnity of the season, or according to the jobs that they do. At other times, some, specially the singers, are also given a drink of chocolate.

At noon, they get broth, whose contents depend on the season for local products, **morisqueta**,<sup>4</sup> or **tamales**,<sup>5</sup> or **rimai** [breadfruit], or sweet potato, or **nica** [yam], etc. On major holidays they are usually given more, and better, food, by butchering some pig, or a few birds. And at 3 p.m., or 4 p.m., they get a **bilao** [tray]<sup>6</sup> of biscuits with one or two crocks full of preserves, which come from Manila.

On fasting days, during Lent, eves [of feast-days], and when meat is not allowed, at noon they are given mong beans, or [kidney] beans, with fish. Also on many occasions, they are given some soups made with hardtack, when available, but when sea-biscuit is not available, they are fed with some vegetables, milk, and their bread.<sup>7</sup>

At sunset, they again eat their **araguan**, which is the above-mentioned porridge.

At supper they get their bread and meat, or their bread and fish, depending on the requirement of the day of the week,<sup>8</sup> although in lower quantity than for the noon meal.

## Clothing

The clothes that distinguish the college boys, when they go out together, are some blue uniforms, made of nankeen.<sup>9</sup> They go out every day with them to attend holy mass, the Christian doctrine, the sermons, the burials of soldiers, and of other residents of Agaña, either Spaniards or half-breeds and locally-born Spanish, singing the Psalms, and the usual responses, without their getting rewarded with anything, not even a small bar [of soap?], except when the [Manila] patache is in, when some of them might be given a candle.

1 Ed. note: *Gapgap* is the Chamorro word for arrowroot.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, *araguan* could be translated as rice gruel. It is called *Jugao* in the Philippines.

3 Ed. note: *Atole* is a Mexican word for a thick corn broth still eaten in Mexico today.

4 Ed. note: Literally meaning Moorish trick. It was another type of rice gruel.

5 Ed. note: Name of a well-known Mexican meat-filled turnover, which also means trickery, or intrigue.

6 Ed. note: *Bilao* is the Tagalog word for basket, usually the winnowing type.

7 Ed. note: That means breadfruit, of course.

8 Ed. note: That is, fish on Fridays at least.

9 Ed. note: *Nankeen*, originally from Nanking, China, is a durable cotton cloth.

Note(?). They participate in the Rosary that is sung by the soldiers through the city on Saturday evenings, singing the mysteries at the accompaniment of the harp, besides their participation in high masses, and other divine offices that take place in the church, or outside of it, for instance, when the Holy Sacrament is exposed, during the baptisms, marriages, etc. of the whole population, not only Spaniards, but also half-breeds, locally-born Spanish, Filipinos, and native inhabitants, and all of that is gratis. In summary, they are the ones that make up the choir and clergy in all of the offices of the divine service, not only on ordinary occasions, but extraordinary ones as well, without any reward, other than the alms of 3,000 pesos [a year] that His Majesty (may God save him) gives them, which are collected in Mexico. And if one were to compute the number of high masses (when they sing) in this capital, there are more than 67 in a normal year, not counting the high masses requested by the devotion of the Governors, or public needs, etc.

Their ordinary clothes, that is, the clothes they wear on workdays, are made of *guinoley* [sic] with some kerchief made of cambric (for holidays, the clothes are made of serge).<sup>1</sup> They wear some white shorts underneath, and some white-, or blue-cotton, shirts, plus some belts, made of crepe or equivalent material, with stockings, and shoes, when they go to church. The boys who have merited some special favors, either because they excelled in cleanliness, or in music, or as altar boys, or who have applied themselves much, or because their parents are of higher rank, or from the nobility, but specially those who excel in virtue, piety, and their studies, are given some richer clothes that are acquired in Manila.

The clothes worn by the older boys, those who no longer go to school (there are 8 of them at present) and have kept busy with the work described above, are the same, for workdays or for holidays, but the difference is that they do not go to church wearing uniforms, but wearing cloaks of dark-brown or blue cotton, that comes from Mexico, and that are used by almost all of the local Indians, who buy them from the soldiers, plus some white kerchiefs around the neck, and a hat, the same as all of the other people wear when they go to church, or when they go out elsewhere.

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1 Ed. note: The word *lanilla* in Spanish is translated as “swan-skin, nap of cloth,” in old dictionaries. Some of this fancy stuff could have been brought into Guam by the French ships of 1708-17. These pants were short, above the knees, of course.



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**Documents 1727B**


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## The Inquisition closing the file on Adjutant Espinosa, etc.

*Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 379, 380-380v, 404v.*

*Note: This is in continuation of Doc. 1725A and 1726B.*

### B1. First letter dated 21 February 1727

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Al Comisario de Manila en los Autos acerca el Ayudante Agustin de Espinosa.***

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 5 de Julio del año proximo pasado y zertificacion que la acompañaba y dize lo remitio el Comisario de Marianas sacada de los libros de apunttes de aquellas Yslas en orden áberigar [sic] la identidad de la persona del ayudante Agustin de Expinosa; emos mandado avisar de su recibo y dezir a nuestro Comisario que en attention á la refirida zertificacion y a la en que conto del fallezimiento del susodho no ay ya que azer en dha causa como se le prebino el año pasado y lo mismo se le dize en esta ocasion á dhas Marianas.*

*Guarde Dios a nuestro Comisario &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 21 de 1727 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro, ante el Secretario Carranza.*

#### Translation.

**To the Commissioner at Manila in the proceedings involving Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa.**

In view of the letter from our Commissioner dated 5 July of last year, and the certification that accompanied it, which he said had been sent to him by the Commissioner of the Marianas, who had transcribed it from the note books of those Islands, in order to verify the identity of the person of Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa, we have ordered that our Commissioner be sent a receipt of acknowledgment and be told that, with respect to said certification, and the one that reported the death of the above-named, there is no longer anything to do in said case, as he was advised last year, and the same thing is being repeated on this occasion to the Commissioner of said Marianas.

May God save our Commissioner, etc.  
 Inquisition of Mexico, 21 February 1727.  
 The gentlemen Inquisitors Palacio and Navarro, before Secretary Carranza.

## B2. Second letter dated 21 February 1727

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas; en los autos de Agustin de Expinosa.*

*En este Tribunal se rezivio la de nuestro Comisario de 26 de Noviembre del año pasado de 725 en que menudamente informa sobre la identidad de la persona de Agustin de Expinosa, y en su bista, emos mandado abisar de su recivo, y estimar como estimamos a nuestro Comisario su zelo y cuidado esperandole continuara en todo lo demas que le ofreziese y ocurriese del ministerio, y que respecto a los que ynforma y al fallecimiento del dho Expinosa, no ay ya que hazer como se le dixo y prebino el año pasado a nuestro Comisario, que guarde Dios &<sup>a</sup>*

*Inquisicion de Mexico febrero 21 de 1727 años.*

*Sres. Inquisitores Palazio y Nabarro; ante el Secretario Carranza.*

### Translation.

**To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, in the proceedings involving Augustin de Espinosa.**

This Tribunal received the letter of our Commissioner dated 26 November of the past year 1725 in which he informed on the identity of the person of Augustin de Espinosa in great details, and in view of which we have ordered that its receipt be acknowledged and to say that we estimate our Commissioner for his zeal and care, hoping that he will continue to do so in any other case dictated by his ministry. Regarding the notification of the death of said Espinosa, there is nothing more to do in this case, as we have told our Commissioner last year.

May God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 21 February 1727.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Palacio and Navarro; before Secretary Carranza.

## B3. Letter dated 22 February 1727

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas remitiendo nombramiento de Comisario en 3º lugar.*

*Atendiendo a lo que nuestro Comisario ynforma en carta de 9 de Junio del año pasado de 1725: cerca de estar ya cierto de que el Padre Juan Antonio Cantova Comisario nombrado en segundo lugar, de esas yslas Marianas, no bolbera á ellas, y las buenas partes y calidades que concurren en la persona del Padre Joseph Bonanni; le hemos*

*mandado despachar nombramiento de Comisario de este Santo Oficio en 3º lugar para esas dhas yslas Marianas, el qual remitimos con esta a nuestro Comisario para que se lo entriegue y reciva el juramento de fidelidad; y secreto acostumbrado para que quando llegue el caso pueda exercer este Ministerio, sin dudar, lo hara con la aplicacion, celo y cuidado con que nuestro Comisario y sus antezesores lo han exercido.*

*Guarde Dios &ª*

*Inquisicion de Mexico febrero 22 de 1727 años.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro, ante el Secretario Carranza.*

### **Translation.**

**To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, remitting the appointment of the third substitute Commissioner.**

In answer to what our Commissioner reports in his letter dated 9 June of the past year 1725, stating that it was then certain that Father Juan Antonio Cantova, holding the title of second substitute Commissioner of those Mariana Islands, would not return there, and mentioning the good talent and qualities found in the person of Father José Bonanni, we have ordered the despatch of his appointment as Commissioner of this Holy Office in third place for the said Mariana Islands, and we remit same to our Commissioner to be delivered to him and to take the usual and secret oath of loyalty, to enable him to exercise this ministry as the case may offer, not doubting that he will do so with the same application, zeal and care as our Commissioner, and his predecessors have done.

May God, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 22 February 1727.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Palacio and Navarro, before Secretary Carranza.

## **B4. Letter dated 27 January 1728**

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

*Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, sobre los Autos del Ayudante Agustin de Espinosa.*

*En vista de la de nuestro Comisario de 16 de Mayo del año pasado, duplicada de las de los antecedentes, que habla en orden a la ydendidad de la persona del Ayudante Agustin de Espinosa y su fallecimiento, emos mandado avisar de su recibo, y dar como damos a nuestro Comisario todas gracias por el celo, y cuidado en la remision de dhas diligencias, que tambien se an recibido por medio del Comisario de Manila, repitiendo á ambos que respecto de lo referido, no ay que hazer en la causa de dho Espinosa segun y como se tiene prevenido a nuestro Comisario que guarde Dios &ª*

*Inquisicion de Mexico henero 27 de 1728.*

*Sres. Inquisidores Palazio y Nabarro, ante el Secretario Carranza.*

**Translation.****To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, regarding the proceedings of Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa.**

In view of the letter of our Commissioner dated 16 May of last year, a duplicate of his previous letters, and touching on the identity of the person of Adjutant Augustin de Espinosa and his death, we have ordered him to be sent a receipt of acknowledgment, and to give thanks to our Commissioner for his zeal and the care that he took in remitting said proceedings, which have also been received through the Commissioner of Manila, repeating to both that, regarding said matter, there is nothing more to do in the case of said Espinosa, as told previously to our Commissioner, whom may God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 27 January 1728.

The gentlemen Inquisitors Palacio and Navarro, before Secretary Carranza.

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## Document 1727C

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### The Marianas were still considered a war zone

#### Royal decree dated 19 August 1727 sent to the Governor of the Philippines

*Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 13, fol. 38-38v, pp. 137-138.*

*Note: He orders him to issue the appropriate orders so that the half anata (a deduction equivalent to half a year's salary which was sometimes applied to certain commissions) not be charged to the Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, since the military assignments there are still considered dangerous. The receipt of this royal decree was acknowledged on 16 May 1731 (AGI Fil. 418).*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Governador de Philipinas ordenandole de las ordenes convenientes afin de que no se cobre media anata al Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas por estar declaradas por de guerra viva los empleos militares de aquellas Yslas.*

*El Rey*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en carta de 29 de Junio de 1725 disteis quenta con testimonio de que habiendo nombrado por Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas a Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, y Bustamante el Juez del derecho de media anata se la regulo, y que habiendo reclamado el referido Don Pedro, alegando que sus antecedentes no la havian pagado, le havian reledo de su satisfaccion debajo de fianza que hizo de pagarla en caso que yo lo mandase, y pedisse declare si los empleos militares de aquellas Yslas se deven reputar por de guerra viva, y relevados de pagar este derecho.*

*Y habiendo visto en mi Consejo de la Yndias la referida carta y testimonio con lo que dijo mi Fiscal como quiera que se ha reconocido que por despachos de 30 de Marzo de 1683, y 10 de Julio de 1714 en que se fonciorio(?) por mi el empleo de Sargento Mayor de las Marianas a Don Joseph Quiroga y se le asignó el sueldo que devia gozar se declaró no dever pagar media anata: Ha parezido ordenaros, y mandaros (como lo hago) deis la orden conveniente para que no se cobren mrs. [=maravedis?] algunos por razon de este derecho al referido Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, entendiendose lo mismo por lo que mira a los demas empleos militares de las expresadas Yslas mediante estar reputados por de guerra viva.*

*Fha en Madrid a 19 de Agosto de 1727.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado de el Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.*

### **Translation.**

To the Governor of the Philippines ordering him to give the appropriate orders so that the half "anata" would not be levied against the Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, since the military posts in those Islands are considered to be in a war zone.

The King.

My Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila, in a letter dated 29 June 1725 you reported, enclosing a certification, that, having appointed Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, Bustamante the Judge responsible to collect the duty of half-anata charged it to him, and, since the above-mentioned Don Pedro put in a claim, alleging that his predecessors had not paid it, he was relieved of this obligation when he gave the assurance that he would pay it if I were to order it, and you asked me to declare whether or not the military posts in those Islands must be reputed to be active duty at the front lines, and [thus] relieved of paying this duty.

And said letter and certification having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the opinion of my Fiscal, since it has been recognized that in despatches dated 30 March 1683, and 10 July 1714, in which the post of Sergeant-Major of the Marianas was granted(?) by me to Don José Quiroga and he was assigned the salary that he was to enjoy, it was declared that he was not to pay the half-anata: I have decided to order you (as I do now) to give the appropriate order so that no mrs. [sic = monies?] be charged under the guise of this duty to the above-mentioned Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, with the understanding the the same thing applies to the other military posts in the above-named Islands, by virtue of their being reputed to be located in a war zone.

Made in Madrid, 19 August 1727.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Andrés de Elcorobarrutía y Zupide.

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## Document 1727D

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# Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1727

*Source: AGN AHH 1242/3, fol. 42, 63-66v.*

## Subsidy sent aboard the patache Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier

### Original text in Spanish.

*Contaduría de Real Hacienda. Año de 1727.*

***Despacho de el Situado de las Yslas Philipinas tocante al año de 1727 en el Patache nombrado Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier que el citado año hizo tornaviage à aquellas Yslas.***

...

*Señores Oficiales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Manila.*

*El Situado de doscientos y cinquenta mil pesos que en reales y generos toca a esas Yslas, por este año de mil setecientos y veinte y sitte, que a de conducir a ellas el Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier**, se compone de las partidas siguientes:*

...

### ***Misiones y Presidio de Marianas.***

*Quarenta y ocho mil trescientos noventa y tres pesos y tres granos pagados de esta Real caja: los quarenta mil doscientos noventa y ocho pesos cinco tomines y diez granos de ellos, para el Governador[,] Sargento mayor y sesenta soldados de la Dottacion del Presidio de Marianas, por su situado del presente año, y el antecedente; y los ocho mill noventa y quatro pesos dos tomines y cinco granos restantes, para treze Religiosos de la compañía de Jesus, diez Sacerdotes, y tres Coadjutores, empleados en Misiones de aquellas Yslas, predicando el santo Evangelio, adelantando su nueva Christiandad, y augmentando nuestra Santa Fé, en servicio de la Divina Magestad, y del Rey nuestro Señor, uno y otro por el Situado correspondiente a este año, en que se yncluye el estipendio asignado al Seminario de los Niños Marianos, donde al cuidado de dhos Padres son ynstruidos en las costumbres Christianas y Politicas. Como tambien lo correspondiente a la limosna de vino y azeite ..... 48,393p 0t 3g*

...

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.  
Mexico a 12 de Marzo de 1727.  
Sor. Don Angel de Villegas y Puente*

### **Translation.**

Accounting Department of the Royal treasury. Year of 1727.

**Despatch of the subsidy of the Philippine Islands for the year 1727 aboard the patache named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier which made her return voyage to those Islands that same year.**

...

Gentlemen Officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Manila.

The subsidy of 250.000 pesos in cash and goods meant for those Islands for this year 1727, which the patache named **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y San Francisco Xavier** must convey overthere, consists of the following entries:

...

#### **Missions and Garrison of the Marianas.**

48,393 pesos and 3 grains paid out of this Royal treasury, 40,298 pesos 5 tomins and 10 grains of which are for the Governor, the Sergeant-Major and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison of the Marianas, for their subsidy for the present year, and that of last year, and the remaining 8,094 pesos 2 tomins and 5 grains are for the 13 Religious of the Society of Jesus, 10 priests and 3 coadjutor brothers, who are employed in the missions of those Islands, in preaching the holy Gospel, seeing to the progress of their new Christian community, and propagating our Holy Faith, in the service of the Divine Majesty, and of the King our Lord. Both sums represent the subsidy for this year. Included is the stipend allotted to the Seminary of the Mariano children, where they are taught Christian and civilized customs under the care of said Fathers. Also included is the amount of the alms for wine and oil ..... 48,393p 0t 3g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 12 March 1727.

Don Angel de Villegas y Puente



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## Document 1728A

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# The salvage of the bronze cannon from the Concepción shipwreck (cont'd)

*Sources: AGI Fil. 95-2-75; copy in AGI Ultramar 561.*

## Royal consultation dated 26 August 1728

### Original text in Spanish.

*Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche*

*Don Manuel de Silba*

*Don Diego de Zuñiga*

*Don Gonzalo Machado*

*Don Manuel Vadillo y Velasco*

*Marques de Montemayor*

*Don Juan Joseph de Motilua*

*Don Antonio Sopena*

*Don Fernando Verdes Montenegro.*

*Señor*

*De orden de V.M. remitió al Consejo Don Joseph Patiño con papel de 23 de Junio de este año, una carta del Marques de Torrecampo Governador de Philipinas de treinta de Junio de 1725 con un Testimonio de autos que la acompaña afin de que viendose en el, ynformase à V.M. sobre su contenido lo que se ofreziese y pareziese.*

*Reduzese la zitada carta, a partizipar este Governador, el rezivo del despacho expedido en 20 de Noviembre de 1722 en que se le ordeno ynformase de la Artilleria que se condujo al Puerto de Cavite del Buzeo que mando hazer Don Domingo de Zabalburu su antezesor en aquellos cargos de la Nao que se perdio el año de 1638 en las Yslas Marianas, y que continuase por su parte la misma providenzia en la que hubiese quedado por sacar; expresando que en su cumplimiento avia nombrado a Don Manuel Diaz de Dozal, persona de su satisfazion, para que entendiese en la dispo[s]izion de estas dilixenzias, y que no habiendo tenido efecto, por no haver dado lugar a usar de su comision el Governador de dichas Yslas Marianas, quedava en repetir esta providenzia por medio del Governador provisto de ellas, de cuiu resulta daria quenta en prime-*

*ra ocasion; executandolo aora de haverse conduzido al referido Puerto de Cavite por los años de 1704 y 1707 diez y siete cañones de Bronze de los que sacaron del mencionado Buzeo, de las cuales los dos de ellos por estar de buena calidad, se aplicaron a que sirviesen, y de los quinze restantes, solo quatro que pudieron tener compostura los llevo el Galeon San Francisco Xavier que se perdio el año de 1705 sin aver tenido noticia de su paradero, y los demas se fundieron por ynutiles, y se combirtieron en otros fines del Real servicio de V.M. como constava del referido Testimonio que remitia.*

*El Consejo en yntelixeria de lo referido y teniendo presente que la zitada Carta y autos que la acompañan, es duplicada de otra que se bio en el, a lo qual tubo por combeniente acordar se esperase a que el referido Marques de Torrecampo diese quenta (como lo ofrezia) de lo que en este asunto egecutase el Governador nuebamente electo de dichas Yslas Marianas, para que en su vista se tomase la providenzia combeniente sobre todo: Lo pone en la Real ynteligeria de V.M. afin de que se halle enterado de ello.*

*Madrid a 26 de Agosto de 1728.*

### **Translation.**

Don Francisco Xavier de Goyeneche

Don Manuel de Silba

Don Diego de Zuñiga

Don Gonzalo Machado

Don Manuel Vadillo y Velasco

The Marquis of Montemayor

Don Juan José de Motilua

Don Antonio Sopeña

Don Fernando Verdes Montenegro.

Sire:

By order of Y.M. Don José Patiño forwarded to the Council a paper from the Marquis of Torrecampo, Governor of the Philippines, dated 30 June 1725, with the record of proceedings that accompanied it, for them to be seen in it, and Y.M. be informed as to what might be done regarding their contents.

Said letter can be summarized as follows: this Governor reports that he had received the despatch issued on 20 November 1722<sup>1</sup> by which he was ordered to report on the cannon that were taken to the port of Cavite from the salvage that Don Domingo de Zabulburu, his predecessor in the same post, had ordered carried out on the [shipwreck site of the] galleon that was lost in the year 1638 in the Mariana Islands, and in which he was ordered to continue himself to obey the same provision, to look for what was left to recover. His answer was that he had complied by appointing Don Manuel Díaz

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1722F.

de Dozal, a person of his satisfaction, making him understand the disposition of these measures, but that it had not had any effect, because the Governor of said Mariana Islands did not give him a chance to use his commission. He was to repeat this provision to their Governor-elect, and would advise of the eventual result at the first opportunity. And, doing so now, he reports that in the years 1704 and 1707 there were transported to the port of Cavite 17 bronze cannon from those recovered during the above-mentioned salvage, out of which two were of good quality and were used as such, but out of the remaining 15, only four that could be repaired were taken on board the galleon San Francisco Xavier, which was lost without a trace in the year 1705, and the others were melted down as being useless, and were converted to other purposes in the service of Y.M., as stated in the above-mentioned record that he remitted.

The Council, in view of the above and realizing that the above-mentioned letter, and the records accompanying it, were duplicates of others that had already been seen in it, thinks that it would be appropriate to encourage the above-mentioned Marquis of Torrecampo to report (as he offered to do) on what in this matter has been done by the newly-appointed Governor of said Mariana Islands, so that, once seen, the appropriate provision can be made about it. In any case, the file is being returned to Y.M. so that you may gain more information from it.

Madrid, 26 August 1728.

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**Document 1728B**

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**Request for more Jesuit missionaries**

*Source: AGI Fil. 95-2-77.*

**Answer to a petition of Fr. Bobadilla****Original text in Spanish.**

*Don Diego de Zuñiga*

*Don Diego de Rojas*

*Don Manuel de Vadillo*

*Don Antonio de la Pedrosa*

*Marques de Almodobar*

*Marques de Montemayor*

*Don Antonio Sopena*

*Don Juan Pizarro*

*Don Fernando Berdes.*

*Señor*

*Joseph de Bobadilla de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurador Gral. por su Provincia de Philipinas, ha representado que en el año de 1721 se sirvió V.M. conzeder à Augustin Soler, Procurador Gral. de dha Provincia el que pudiese llebar à ella 40 Religiosos Misioneros con los Coadjutores correspondientes, atendiendo a la suma falta de operarios con que se hallavan aquellas Misiones, de los cuales solo pudo Juntar 23 sugetos que fueron los que llebó; Y que habiendo oy en dha Provincia de Philipinas mayor falta de operarios, así por el mucho numero de reducciones à que tienen que asistir, como por los Gentiles que piden Ministros ebangelicos, y los muchos que mueren de los que se lleban, pues desde el mes de Jullio de 1725 en que el suplicante salió de aquellas Yslas hasta Junio de 1727 en que recibio las ultimas cartas, le havisan haver muerto 10 sugetos los 8 sazerdotes, siendo correspondiente à esto el numero de ympedidos, por cuios motibos, suplica que en esta consideracion se digne V.M. conzederle lizencia para bolberse à dhas Yslas de donde vino, y llebar consigo hasta el numero de 40 religiosos con los Coadjutores correspondientes àdemas de los 17 que dejó de llebar el referido Augustin Soler en el año de 1721, mandando se les libre lo que por su haviamiento, flete y matalotaje devieren percivir en la forma acostumbada.*

*El Consejo en vista de esta yntancia y de los antezedentes de ella, y lo que en razon de todo expuso el fiscal, considerando el crecido numero de religiosos que nezesita la referida Provincia para conserbar las Misiones que tiene à su cargo, los muchos que mueren y los que se ymposibilitan de poder asistir à ellas; es de parecer se sirba V.M. conzeder al expresado Joseph de Bobadilla la Lizencia que solicita para bolber à dhas Yslas y llebar consigo 40 Religiosos con los Coadjutores correspondientes, inclusos en ellos los 17 que dejaron de pasar con el expresado Agustin Soler mandando que lo que ymportare el haviamiento y demas nezessario hasta llegar à Philipinas, se les pague en las Cajas de la Veracruz, y en su defecto de las de Mexico, del Caudal que hubiere en ellas prozedido de Mesadas Ecclesiasticas, y en su falta de qualesquiera caudales de Real Hacienda; y respecto de tener V.M. resuelto à Consulta de este Consejo de 11 de Diciembre de 1724 se le ynforme el coste que tendrà el havo y pasaje de las Missiones que fuesen en adelante à las Yndias; Haze presente a V.M. que segun el ynforme que ha hecho la Contaduria de el, para este caso, son nezessarios para los referidos 40 Religiosos sazerdotes y los 4 Coadjutores que les corresponde 1 qto 239 mil 160 maravedis de Vellon, los 1 qto 194 mil 160 de ellos por lo que les corresponde à dhos 40 Religiosos à razon de 26 mil 854 maravedis cada uno, 15 mil pesos diez Ducados que por hir [sic] por la N<sup>a</sup> Spaña se dan a cada Religioso, y los 30 mil restantes por los 4 Coadjutores que les corresponden a 7 mil 500 maravedis cada uno, à que tambien se ha de añadir el gasto que han de hazer desde los Collegios de donde salieren hasta llegar a la Ciudad de Sevilla ó Cadiz, contandolos a razon de 7 Reales cada dia y 8 leguas de camino en cada uno, y dos Reales por cada dia de los que se detubieren hasta embarcarse, à que se ha de agregar asimismo el coste de la embarcacion, el qual no pudiendose dar punto fijo en el, se encarga al Ministro que tiene à su cargo la Yntendencia de Marina procure el mayor veneficio y aorro de la Real Hacienda en el ajuste del flete de los Religiosos.*

*V.M. resolberà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.  
Madrid 26 de Octubre de 1728.*

### **Translation.**

Don Diego de Zuñiga  
 Don Diego de Roxas  
 Don Manuel de Vadillo  
 Don Antonio de la Pedrosa  
 The Marquis of Almodovar  
 The Marquis of Montemayor  
 Don Antonio Sopeña  
 Don Juan Pizarro  
 Don Fernando Verdes.

Sire:

José de Bobadilla of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for their Province of the Philippines, has represented that in the year 1721 Y.M. was pleased to grant to Agustín Soler, [then] Procurator General of said Province, permission to take 40 Religious missionaries overthere, with the corresponding number of Coadjutor brothers, given the extreme lack of workers suffered by those Missions, but he was only able to gather 23 individuals whom he took along. Now that said Province of the Philippines has a greater need of workers, not only because of the great number of reductions to which they must attend, but also because of heathen who ask for Gospel ministers, and the many who die among those who go there; indeed, since the month of July 1725 when the suppliant departed those Islands until June 1727 when he received the last letters, he has been advised that 10 individuals, including 8 priests, have died, besides the number of invalids which is the same. That is why he begs Y.M. to consider the situation and be pleased to grant him permission to return to said Islands whence he came, and to take along up to 40 religious with the corresponding number of Coadjutors, **in addition to the 17** whom the above-mentioned Agustín Soler left behind in 1721, ordering that they be given their outfit, passage and sea supplies in the usual manner.

The Council, in view of this petition and its historical background, and what the Fiscal said about it all, considering the large number of religious needed in the above-mentioned Province to preserve the Missions that are in their care, the many who die and those who are too invalid to work there; is of the opinion that Y.M. may grant to the above-named José de Bobadilla the permission that he seeks to return to said Islands and take along 40 religious with the corresponding Coadjutors, **including** the 17 who did not go with the above-named Agustín Soler, ordering that the sums for their outfit and other necessities to travel as far as the Philippines be paid to them out of the funds in Veracruz, and failing them, those in Mexico, from the existing reserve funds proceeding from the Ecclesiastical salaries, and failing which, out of any other funds in the Royal treasury; and with regards to Y.M.'s decision taken in this Council on 11 December 1724 for you to be advised of the estimates for the outfits and fares of the Mission bands that would travel to the Indies from then on, in this case, the above-mentioned 40 religious priests and 4 Coadjutors corresponding to them would need 1,239,160 maravedis in gold, of which 1,194,160 maravedis is what correspond to said 40 religious, at the rate of 26,854 maravedis each, i.e. the 15,000 pesos & 10 Ducats that are given to each religious going to New Spain, plus the 30,000 for the 4 corresponding Coadjutors at the rate of 7,500 maravedis each, to which must be added the expenses that they must make from their Colleges of origin to reach the city of Seville, or Cadiz, counting this at the rate of 7 reals for each day, at 8 leagues of travel to each one, and 2 reals for each day for the time they have to wait until embarkation, to which must be added the cost of embarkation, but, since no fixed amount can be given for it here, the Minister who is in charge of the Navy procurement is to try and get the best deal in arranging the passage of the religious, to save money to the Royal treasury.

Y.M. will decide what may be of your Royal pleasure.

Madrid, 26 October 1728.

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## APPENDIX 2--SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1718-1740

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1718	6	N. S. de Begoña	F. de Echeveste	Spanish	*Valdivieso, *Bonani, *Spilimberg. B&R 44:150-1, 300. BM Add ms. 19293.
1719		N. S. del Carmen [alias Relampago]	D. Iturralde	Spanish	*Iturralde, *Cermeño, Bustillo B., etc. Patache, turned back. Former Éclair 1713
1719-1720		San Andrés (patache)	?	Spanish	*García. AGI Ultramar 561.
1720		Sacra Familia	Manuel Santisteban	Spanish	Pimentel, Fray Cuesta. AGI Ultramar 561.
1720-21		San Andrés (patache)	B. de Egui & A. Bernabal	Spanish	AGI Ultramar 561 & 99-10. Stayed 5 extra months. Fought Clipperton. Bernabal Frer
1721	05	Success	J. Clipperton	English	*Taylor, *Betagh, Harris, Kerr.
1721	07?	Santo Cristo de Burgos	J. Ignacio de Vertiz	Spanish	Concepción. AGN AHH 332. Gov. Cosio aboard.
1721	10	Happy Return (ex-Sacra Familia)	G. Shelvocke	English	*Shelvocke. Re-discovered Socorro Island A 300-ton prize, captured at Sonsonate.
1721-22		(unnamed ship)	?	Spanish	*Cantova, *Walter, Valdés Tamón, Gobien. See also 1731-34.
1721-22		Ruelep + another canoe	?	Carolinian	*Cantova. From Faraulep to Guam.
1722		N. S. de Begoña	José de Aguirre	Spanish	*Sanchez. AGN AHH 332. AGI Escribanía 1119B.
1722 & 23		Sacra Familia	J. P. de Orduña	Spanish	Dahlgren. BM Add mss. 19293.
1722-23		Santo Toribio (patache)	Juan de Miranda	Spanish	To Guam, until 1723. B&R 44:266-75+ AGI Fil 591 (2).
1724	10	N. S. de los Dolores y San F. X.	Juan de Miranda	Spanish	*Díaz, *García. Left Merizo under fire. AGI Fil. 591-2 & Ultramar 561.
1725		Sacra Familia	D. Gonzalez Cosio	Spanish	*García. AGI Ultramar 561.
1726		N. S. de los Dolores y San F. X.	J. D. de Nebra	Spanish	Dahlgren. B&R 44:198, 46:38.
1727		N. S. de los Dolores y San F. X.	A. Gonzalez de Quijano	Spanish	Dahlgren. B&R 46:38. BM Add mss. 19293.
1728	6	Sacra Familia	P. Gonzalez del Rivero	Spanish	Orozco, Dahlgren. BM Add mss. 19293. B&R 51:309.
1729	6	N. S. de Gufa	F. A. de Abarca y Valdés	Spanish	Orozco, Dahlgren. Gov. Valdés aboard. AGI F.236/B&R44:196
1729-30		N. S. de Loreto (?)	?	Spanish	Bonani (Doc. 1733B). Brought Fr. Cantova back from Manila.
1730	6	Sacra Familia	Gerónimo Montero	Spanish	Vargas, Dahlgren. (Doc. 1734E). BM Add mss. 19293. Lost Mindoro, Phil.
1731	2	(unnamed boat)	Father J. A. Cantova	Spanish	*Cantova, *Walter, Valdés Tamón, Gobien. Attempt at colonizing Ulithi.
1731	7	N. S. de Gufa	F. A. de Abarca y Valdés	Spanish	Dahlgren. AGI Fil 239. B&R 45:30. BM Add mss.1929

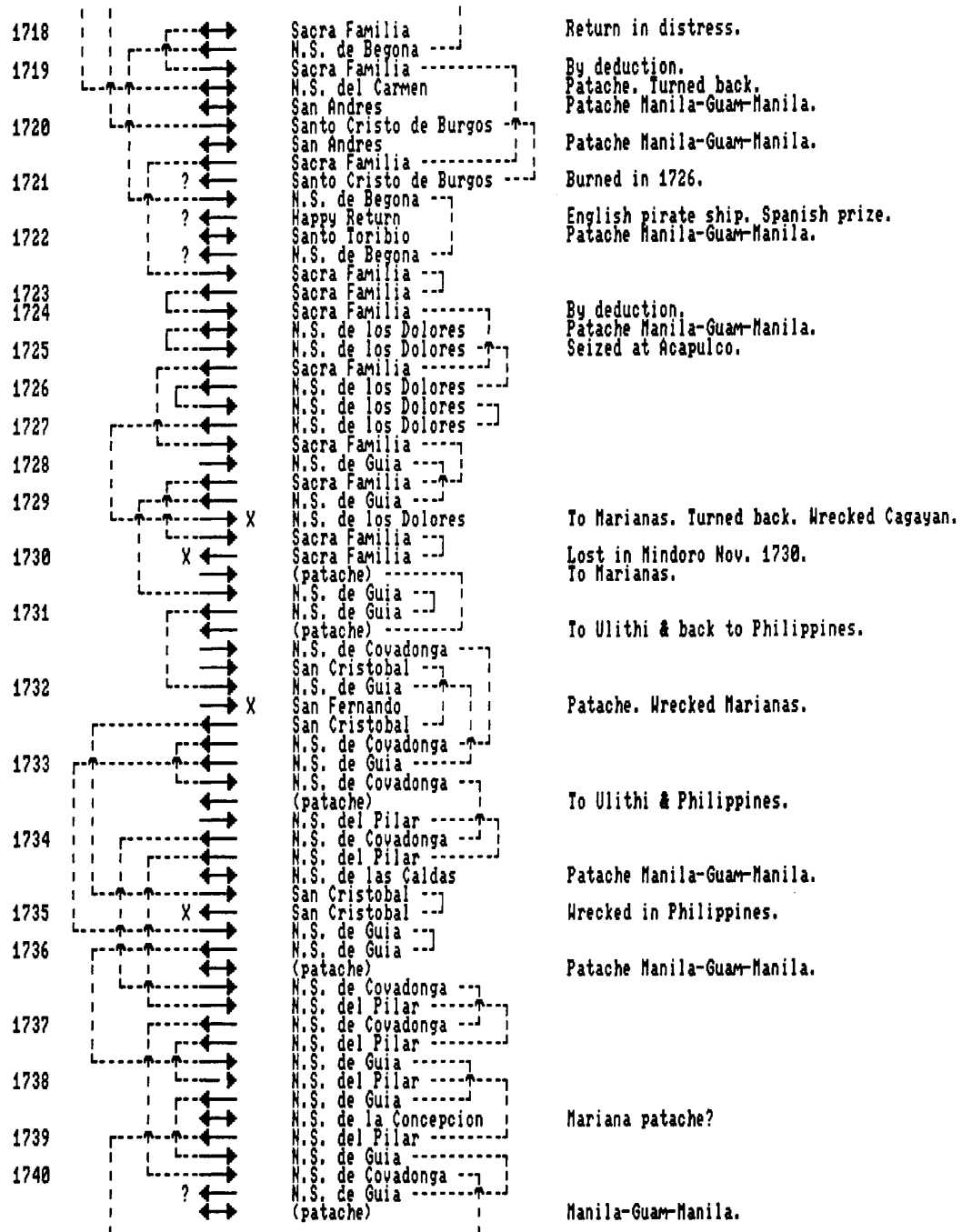
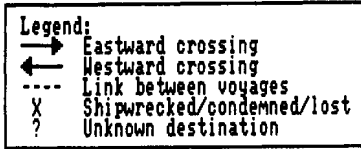
## APPENDIX 2--SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, 1718-1740

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1732	San Fernando	José Zacarias	Spanish	Audiencia.	Shipwrecked at Guam.
1732 a 6	N. S. de Covadonga	A. González de Quijano	Spanish	Dahlgren.	BM Add mss. 19293.
1732 b 6	San Cristobal	J. Manuel de la Vareda	"	"	" " "
1733 6	N. S. de Guía	F. Sanchez de Tagle	Spanish	Dahlgren.	BM Add mss. 19293.
1734	N. S. de las Caldas	Juan Antonio Jove	Spanish	*Walter, Valdés Tamón, Gobien.	Patache visited Ulithi. Used Apra Harbo
1734 a	N. S. de Covadonga	G. Montero	Spanish	Dahlgren.	B&R 45:51-2. BM Add mss. 19293.
1734 b	N. S. del Pilar	J. Gonzalez Bueno	"	"	" " " "
1735 6	San Cristobal	G. de Zumalde	Spanish	Concepción, Dahlgren.	MP Fil. 259. B&R 46:56. Wrecked in Phil
1735 & 36	N. S. de Guía	J. D. de Nebra	Spanish	Dahlgren.	BM Add mss. 19293.
1736 11	(1 patache)	?	Spanish	*Walter.	Anchored in San Luis de Apra Harbor.
1737 a 6	N. S. de Covadonga	J. F. de Irisarri	Spanish	Dahlgren.	AGI Fil. 241. BM Add mss. 19293.
1737 b 6	N. S. del Pilar	Balthasar de Araneta	"	"	As above, plus AGN Calif. 26, fol.83v.
1737 & 38	N. S. de Guía	P. D. Gonzalez del Rivero	Spanish	Dahlgren.	AGI Fil. 241. BM Add. mss. 19293.
1738	N. S. de la Concepción (patache)	?	Spanish	*Galvez (Doc. 1730B9).	Possible Mariana patache.
1738 & 39	N. S. del Pilar	F. A. Sendín & G. Montero	Spanish	Dahlgren. AGN Calif. 26, fol. 86v.	Gov. de la Torre aboard (1739).
1740 7	N. S. de Guía	B. de Illumve	Spanish	*Bonani, Dahlgren.	

VOLUME 12 APPENDIX 3

FLOW DIAGRAM OF SHIPS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1718-1740

by Rodrigue Levesque



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