

**HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE  
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 6 — REVOLTS IN THE MARIANAS  
1673-1678**

Compiled and edited  
by

**Rodrigue Lévesque**

**LES ÉDITIONS  
LÉVESQUE**



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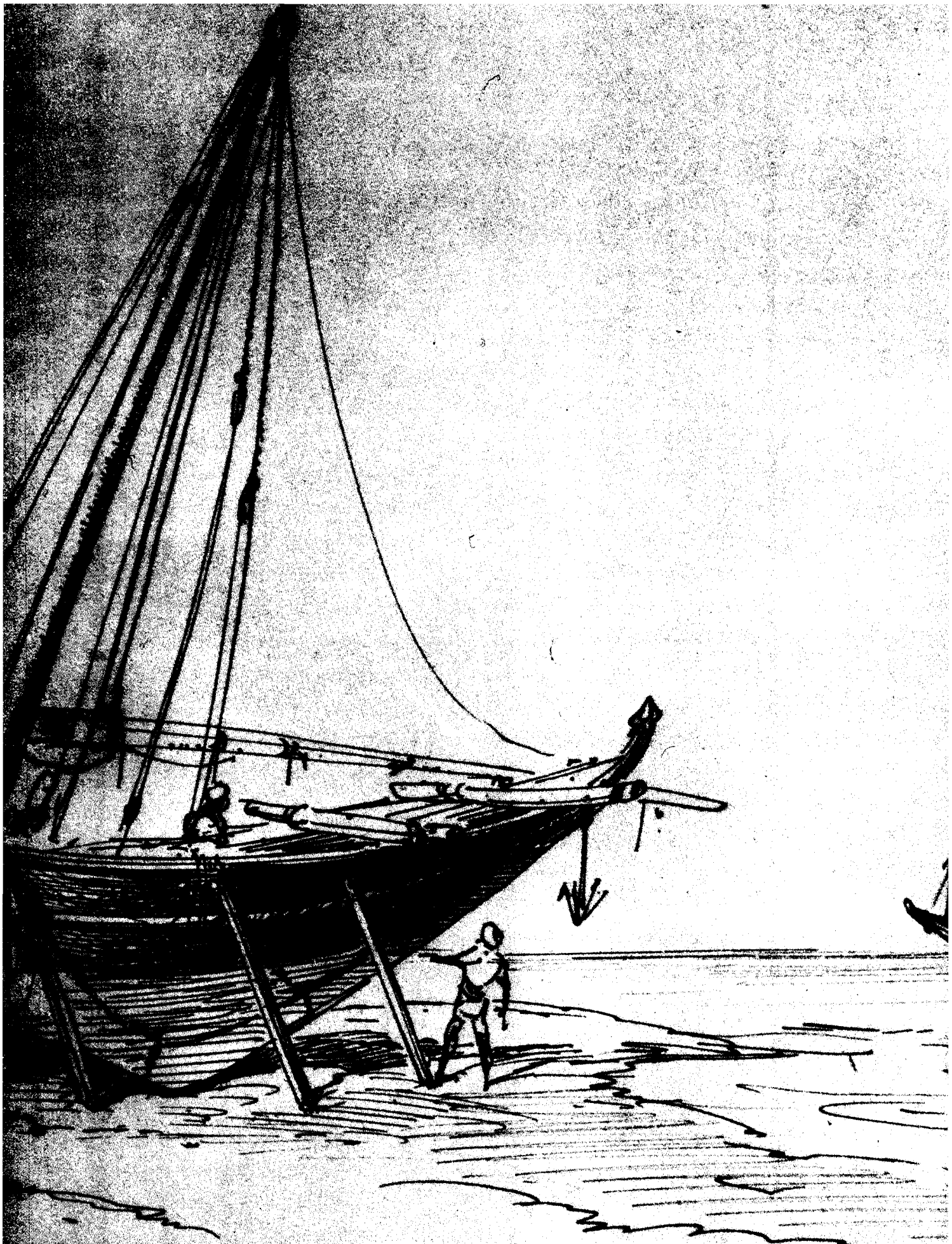
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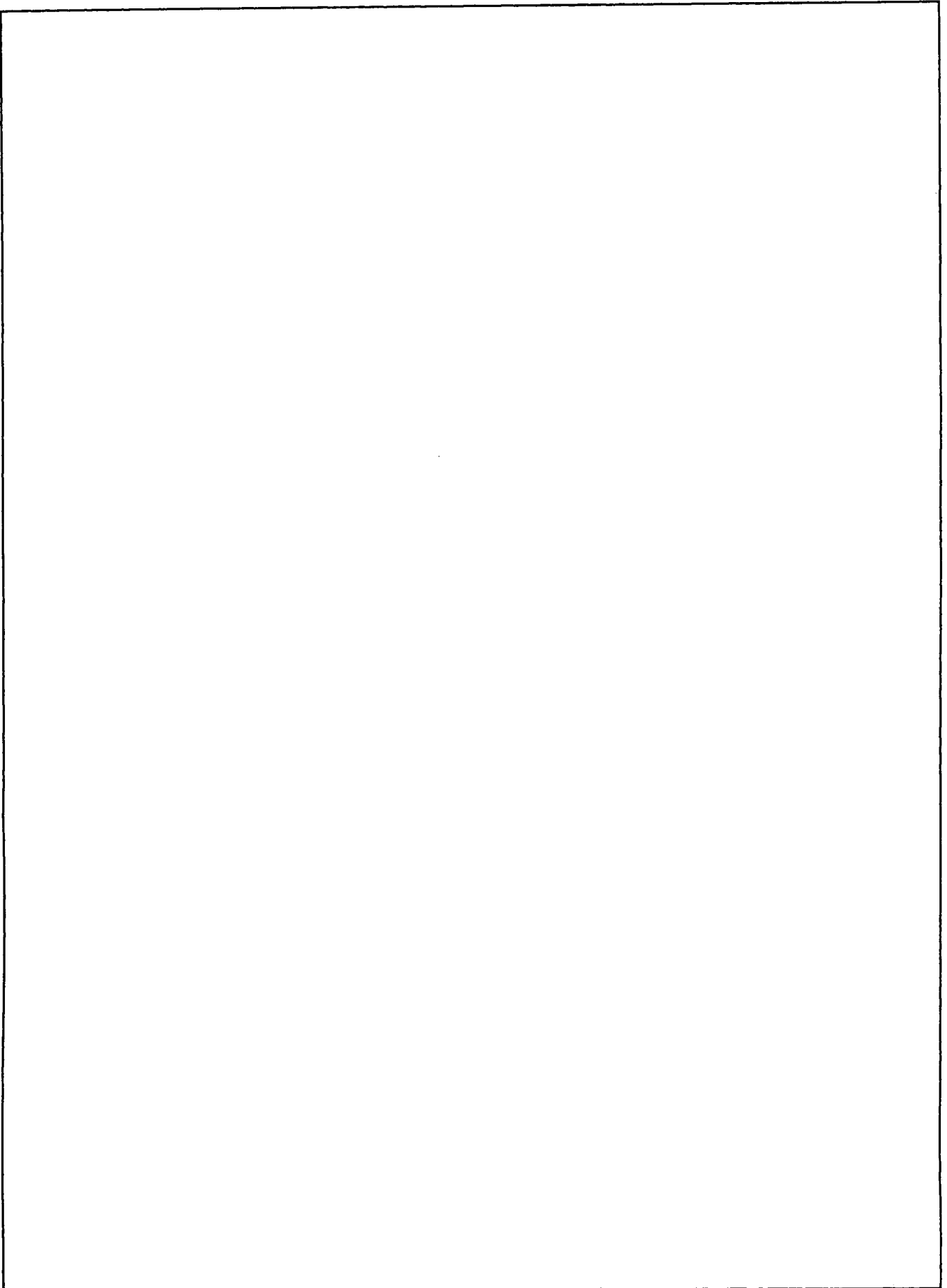
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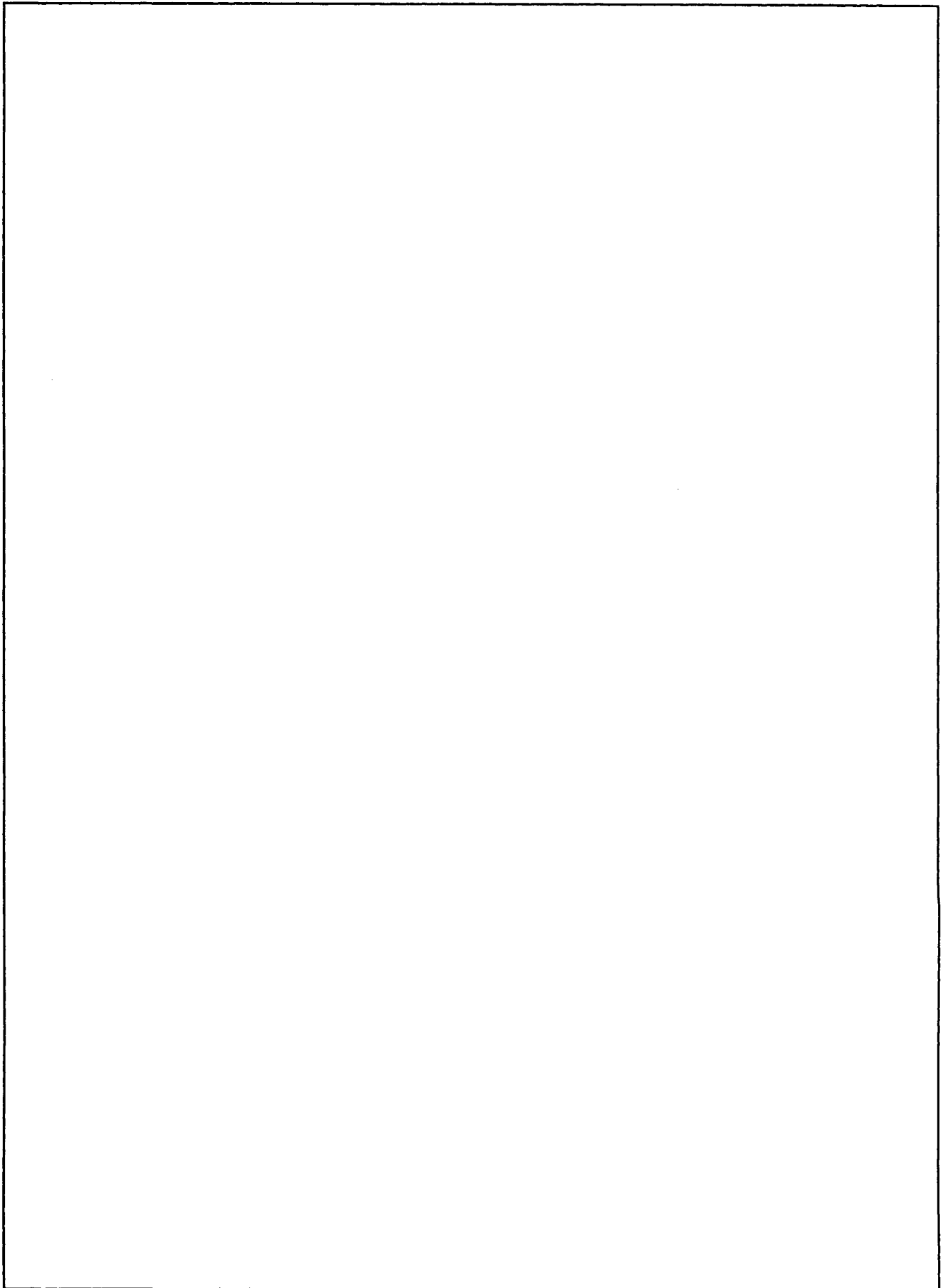
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## Foreword

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*“They call our history a heap of fables. But have we not the same right to call theirs a collection of absurdities?”*

(Words attributed by the first histories published about the Marianas to either Chief Aguarín or Chief Hurao, rebel leaders in Guam in the 1670s)

One man’s garbage can be another man’s treasure. All is relative, nothing absolute. It all depends upon a person’s point of view. And this point of view is often the result of one’s upbringing.

For instance, take Captain James Burney, who began publishing a collection of voyages in 1803 after retiring from the Royal Navy. Like Callander before him, he too wrote one chapter on the Mariana Mission that he took from Father LeGobien.<sup>1</sup> His anti-Catholic bias, however, has had a bad effect on the history of the Marianas for too long. One can twist everything to suit one’s purpose. Witness the following excerpts:

“Of all the intercourse of Europeans with the natives of the South Sea Islands, the settlement of the Ladrones by the Spaniards has been the most unfortunate... It is represented at last to have taken place merely as a Missionary undertaking, upon motives wholly pure and disinterested. A history of this Mission and of the establishment of a Spanish colony at the Ladrones, was drawn up with the help of authentic documents, and published by a Jesuit Father, Charles le Gobien... who, through zeal for the honour of the society to which he belonged, has by colouring and concealment, without any evident direct falsification of fact, given the garb and semblance of holiness and compassion to a course of systematic oppression, by which many Islands in the highest degree fruitful and once filled with people, have been rendered desolate, wild, and wholly bereft of inhabitants.”

On and on he raves, deriding every miracle-like story as contrived to get the Apostle of the Marianas canonized. Burney went so far as to say that murderers should not have been punished: “The Islanders did not acquiesce in the reasonableness of justice being executed on them by the Spaniards; they regarded the imprisonment of their countrymen as an affront to their nation.” Naturally, he is not quoting from LeGobien here. His contention is that the missionaries should not have been defended by armed escorts: “If it is true, as represented, that the Spaniards entered as guests, meaning afterwards to assert dominion, it was acting in a manner for which no excuse can be accepted; and, most of all, derogatory to the character of a powerful nation.” As if the

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1 See Introduction and the bibliography in this volume. The quotations from Burney are from his Vol. 3, chap. 12.

existence of an army in Spain could deter attacks on Spanish subjects in the Marianas. Even straight facts are given a curious twist, quote: "It is to be conjectured the Spanish force at this time was greater than Gobien has mentioned, as the Islanders sued for peace..." unquote. He goes on in the same vein, page after page, for instance: "From Gobien's history we learn in part the ecclesiastical tyranny exercised over these devoted people, and nothing of other exactions and oppressions; except at one time he laments, that, whilst the Missionaries were piously employed in giving them instruction, the Spanish soldiers were committing outrages."

More importantly, Burney has fabricated some stories about the Spanish period that have been treated as truth by too many authors, even recently. Let me mention three such stories invented by Burney, that are false. N° 1 is the forced immigration of 200 Filipino families into the Marianas, circa 1676; there was such a project, but it never took place. N° 2 is the purported flight of the Chamorros to the Carolines, at the end of their final reduction in 1695; that too never happened, and I am ashamed to say that I myself quoted this so-called fact in my first book in 1980, when I did not know any better. N° 3 is the massacre of the local population by the Spaniards, that must have taken place, given the extremely fast reduction in population numbers; that too never happened, although the Jesuits did indeed publish highly-exaggerated estimates of population and baptisms at the beginning.

To be fair to Captain Burney, he did acknowledge that there was a dilemma (for which he had no answer): "to enforce the Gospel by violent means is a profanation of the Christian Religion, as well as a perversion of its doctrines."

Enough said about Burney. It was high time that an example be made of him. I hope that the result will be a fervent desire by students of Micronesian history to consult the primary-source documents that do exist, before writing their comments. The present series intends to make this desire possible. Burney will serve to remind all of us that we can still be carried away by our prejudices, even when all the facts are available.

Rod Lévesque

Gatineau, December 1995.

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### **Errors and corrections**

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

### **Note on sources**

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

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## Introduction

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# Manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Marian, or Ladrone Islands, by Callander (1768)

*Sources: The information stream for this seminal article is as follows (see Bibliography): Fr. García (1683), Fr. LeGobien (1700), DeBrosses (1756), Dalrymple (1767), Callander (1768), and Burney (1803).*

### Vol. III, Art. XXV—History of the Ladrone Islands

We here present the reader with a very curious extract from Father Gobien's History of the Ladrone, or Marian Islands. His work was printed at Paris, 1700, in 12mo, and contains, for the most part, uninteresting [sic] accounts of the endeavours of the missionaries to plant the Catholic faith in these islands, some details relating to the Spaniard residing there, besides many relations of miracles said to be performed by the priests among these Indians, which, being now treated in Europe with the contempt those pious frauds merit, are quite unnecessary in a work destined only to convey useful instructions, and not to perpetuate fabulous legends. As Gobien's work is very little known, and rare to be met with, it has escaped all our other collectors of voyages to this part of the globe, and this account, from an eye-witness, of what he relates, appears in English for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

The Marian or Ladrone Islands have Japan to the north, and New Guinea to the south. They are situated as the extremity of the Pacific Ocean, betwixt the [equatorial] Line, and the Tropic of Cancer, near 400 leagues from the Philippines. The distance from Guan, or Guaham, the most southerly of these isles, to Urack, the most northerly, is about 150 leagues. Though situated within the Torrid Zone, yet the sky here is always serene, the air pure and healthy, and the heat is never excessive. The trees covering the mountains are always green, and the valleys everywhere intersected by crystal streams, render those islands a perfect paradise.

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1 Ed. note: Not true. Fr. LeGobien was never himself in the Marianas. Callander plagiarized from DeBrosses, who admittedly copied from LeGobien's History. Callander's bias was imitated by other English writers after him, down to the present day.

Before the Spanish discovered these islands, the natives lived in the most perfect freedom and independence, subjected to no laws, but every man lived as it best pleased himself. Separated from every other nation by immense tracts of ocean, and confined to their own limits, they concluded that no other lands existed, and looked upon themselves as the only inhabitants on this globe. As they retained no traditionary accounts of their own origin, they followed the method of several ancient nations, and asserted that the authour of their race was formed of a piece of the rock of **Funa**, a small island, lying west of Guam, and therefore looked upon this rock with a sacred dread, as the birth-place of the human race.<sup>1</sup>

Many things, looked upon by us as absolutely necessary to our existence, were utterly unknown to these Indians. They had no animals of any sort, and would not have had even the least idea of them, had it not been for the birds, of which they had but one species, somewhat like the turtle-dove, which they never killed for eating, but only tamed them, and taught them to speak.<sup>2</sup> They were very much astonished on seeing a horse, which a Spanish captain left among them, in the 1673. They were never tired viewing and admiring him, and the force, beauty, and spirit of this extraordinary animal, brought them from all the different islands to see him. They could not understand how he could eat and digest iron, for they thought that the metal of the bit was his food. His long tail was the subject of universal admiration, and in order to obtain some hairs from it, which they highly valued, they caressed him, made him presents of cocoa-nuts; to gain his friendship, and prevail on him to suffer them to pull out some hairs, without kicking them, which sometimes happened. The **Uritaos** (so are their young men called, who keep mistresses, without engaging in the marriage-tie) made use of those hairs to adorn the hollow sticks they carry, instead of the pieces of bark they commonly wove round them, and accounted these their greatest ornament.

What is most surprising in their history, and must appear quite incredible, is, that fire, an element of such universal use, was utterly unknown to them, till Magellan, provoked by their repeated thefts, burned one of their villages.<sup>3</sup> When they saw their wooden houses blazing, they first thought the fire a beast which fed upon the wood, and some of them, who came too near, being burnt, the rest stood afar off, lest they should be devoured, or poisoned, by the violent breathings of this terrible animal.

We neither know when, or from whence these islands were first peopled. Japan lying within 6 or 7 days sail, has induced some to believe that the Marian islands were thence peopled. To support this opinion, they observe that the nobles here are haughty and

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- 1 Ed. note: Fuña was not a rock island (often misplaced at Fuuha Bay) but a rock on a peninsula on the west coast of Guam, near present-day Agat.
  - 2 Ed. note: There exists such an error in only one transcription of a Latin source document, where the verb for "to speak" was substituted for "to fight." All other source documents say that doves were kept in cages and taught how to fight. The copyist, however, must have corrected this word, as he knew of talking Mynah birds in the Philippines...
  - 3 The original accounts of Magellan's discovery do not mention that fire was unknown to these islanders. Ed. comment: At least here Callander realized that this contention was ridiculous.

proud, like the Japanese. But this conjecture has but little in it, and it would seem much more probable, that they came from the Philippine Islands, as their colour, language, and manners, much resemble those of the Tagales, who inhabited the Philippines at the arrival of the Spaniards, and they are certainly the surest evidences of the original of nations. It is therefore probable that these people are the descendents of some Tagales, who, at some uncertain period, were driven on these isles.

Be this as it may, the Ladrones are very populous. Guam, though only 40 leagues in circuit, contains 30,000 inhabitants, Saypan nearly as many, and the others in proportion to their size.<sup>1</sup> They are all full of villages, both on the mountains and the plains, and some of these are composed of 100, and 150 houses.<sup>2</sup>

The natives are olive-coloured, but not of so deep a dye as those of the Philippines. Their stature is advantageous, and their limbs well-proportioned. Though their food consists entirely of fish, fruits, and roots, yet they are so fat that, to strangers, they appear swelled, but this does not render them less nimble and active. They often live to an hundred years and more, yet retain the health and vigour of men of fifty.<sup>3</sup> Many are the concurrent causes of this longevity. Habituated from their early infancy to the changes of the atmosphere, their nourishment is quite simple and uniform, nor do they know any of those despicable arts used by us to quicken a depraved appetite, and incite them to overload their stomachs. Their exercises, though regular, are always moderate, in fishing, cultivating the ground, and caring for their cocoa-trees. Above all, their easy and careless manner of life, exempt from cares and solicitude for the future, leaves their minds and bodies in full vigour, even to the extreme of old age. Diseases are rarely known among them, but if they are attacked by sickness, they generally deliver themselves from it, by the use of a few simples.

The men go stark-naked, but the women are covered. They are not ill-looking, and take great care of their beauty, though their ideas on this subject are very different from ours. They love black teeth, and white hair. Hence one of their principal occupations

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- 1 Ed. note: The present series has proven that such numbers were highly exaggerated. This wrong notion became so pervasive (in books written by English Protestants, at least) that, when it became known for certain that the first census for Guam found hardly 5,000 inhabitants, the theory of a massacre was born, to discredit Catholicism in Europe.
  - 2 Ed. note: That too was an exaggeration. In this connection, I think that some translators of Spanish documents, even to the present (myself included), have too often translated the word "pueblo" by the word "town" instead of "village, or hamlet;" and the word "monte" by "mountain" (which is "montaña," or "sierra" in Spanish), rather than what it really means: "bush, boondock." I have sometimes translated "monte" by "inland, in the interior, in the hills," which is also acceptable. Naturally, if one reads of houses situated on mountain tops, one may visualize a densely-populated area, regardless of the context.
  - 3 Ed. note: Again, this is an exaggeration. Modern archaeologists have proven the fact that they did not live that long. I think that they may have looked 100 years old, but they were in fact 50, and acted accordingly; the young Jesuits were simply inexperienced at guessing the ages of older people.

is to keep their teeth black, by the help of certain herbs, and to whiten their hair, sprinkling on it a water prepared for this purpose. The women leave their hair very long, but the men generally shave it close, except a single lock on the crown of the head, after the manner of the Japanese.<sup>1</sup>

Their language resembles much that of the Tagales in the Philippine Islands. It is agreeable to the ear, with a soft and easy pronunciation. One of its chief graces consists in the facility of transposing words, and even all the syllables of one word, and thus furnishing a variety of double-meanings, which these people are greatly pleased with.

Though plunged in the deepest ignorance, and destitute of every thing valued by the rest of mankind, no nation ever showed more presumption, or a more overweening conceit of themselves, looking on their own nation as the only sensible, polished, and wise, in the world, and beholding every other people with the greatest contempt. Though they are ignorant of the arts and sciences, yet, like every other nation, they have their fables, which serve them for history, and some poems, which they greatly admire. A poet is, with them, a character of the first eminence, and greatly respected. We have a specimen of their manner of speaking and reasoning in the following harangue, which our historian puts into the mouth of one of their chiefs, who attempted to persuade his countrymen to shake off the Spanish yoke, in the year 1670.<sup>2</sup>

*“There Europeans (says this Indian) would have done better, had they continued quiet at home. We had no need of their assistance to live happily. Content with what our islands afford, we wanted nor wished for any thing more; and the knowledge they have brought us, serves only to inflame our appetites, and increase the number of our wants. They find fault with us for going naked. Had a contrary fashion been necessary, nature would not have omitted it. Why load ourselves with cloths, things in themselves quite superfluous, and impede the free action of our limbs, under the pretext of modest covering? They call us Unlettered and Barbarous. But are we to take this on their assertion? Do not we daily see, that, under the specious pretence of instruction, they corrupt our manners, abolish our ancient simplicity, and deprive us of liberty, the first blessing in this world! They try to persuade us, that they come to make us happy; and, alas! there are among us many foolish enough to believe them. But how can we fall into this error, when we reflect, that it is only since the arrival of these strangers, that we are afflicted with a variety of diseases, formerly unknown, and that our quiet and repose are gone! In short they seem to have arrived here, only to afflict and torment us. Their priests murder our children with their poisoned water, and our sick with their oils, while*

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- 1 Ed. note: The knot on the shaven head of the young men was a passing fashion. It soon changed to another fashion, that of tying the (long) hair in a knot on the nape, after the fashion of Spaniards living in Andalusia at the time, we are told by one missionary.
  - 2 Ed. note: These are the words that Fr. García put in the mouth of Chief Aguarin, but Fr. LeGobien attributed them to Chief Hurao. In any case, such a speech was never reported in primary source documents. It should be compared with Fr. Hezel's modern translation (ref. *Winds of Change*, pp. 41-42).

*the attendants massacre our people with impunity, by the superiority of their destructive weapons. Before their coming we knew nothing of those insect-tribes that now cruelly disturb us. We had neither rats, flies, mice, or mosquitos, which seem sent into the world, to be the scourge of mankind. Such are the goodly presents they brought us in their large canoes. Till now, when did we hear of rheums, fluxes, and fevers? Some slight ailments we had, but they were easily removed, while they have brought numberless maladies to infect our people, which all their boasted science is utterly unable to cure. And is this the price at which we purchase iron, and a thousand other trifles, the value of which is only imaginary? These Christians upbraid us with our poverty. What then do they seek among us, and what can incite them to make such long and hazardous voyages to get at our islands? Believe me, they would not come so far, if they had no need of us. To what purpose serve the doctrines they profess to teach us? To bring us under subjection to their laws, to oblige us to adopt their customs, and thus to deprive us of that liberty our ancestors transmitted to their descendents: In one word, to make us unhappy during our whole lives, in expectation of a chimerical felicity, which is to take place when we no longer exist. **They call our history a heap of fables. But have we not the same right to call theirs a collection of absurdities?** Their whole art lies in taking advantage of our candour and simplicity, and thus they abuse our good-nature, and render us miserable. We are blind and ignorant, say they; and true it is, we have been blind in not sooner discovering their pernicious designs, and hindering their establishment amongst us. But let us yet apply the remedy before it be too late. They are but a handful of men, whom we can easily master. Though we have none of their destructive weapons, yet we can overpower them by numbers, and, by one blow, regain our liberty, and deliver ourselves from the insults of those intruders.”<sup>1</sup>*

There are three orders of men among this people, the nobility, the middle, and lower class.<sup>2</sup> Those of the first order are haughty to a degree beyond belief, and hold the others in a state of the lowest subjection. If a nobleman was to sully his name by a marriage with one of the lower class, their custom was, before the introduction of Christianity, for his whole family to assemble, and wash away this infamy in the blood of the offender. Hence they avoid, with the greatest care, the approach of any of the lower orders, and never go near their houses. If a Chamouris [sic], or noble, wants any thing from a peasant, he stands at a distance, and asks it, and the house of a noble would be thought polluted, if a peasant ate or drank in it. The lands are hereditary in the families of the

1 Ed. note: The extract published in the Annual Register for 1768, pp. 12-16, stops at this point.

2 Ed. note: The relative importance of these social classes, noticeable to some observers at contact, has been exaggerated. Apart from the annual reports of the first two years, they are mentioned again only in composite reports, or in Garcia's History. To mention but one case, the inter-class marriages, said to have been taboo, were never prohibited, just frowned upon, perhaps.

nobles. Their children do not succeed to them, but the brothers or nephews of the defunct, who assume the name of the family. How strange soever this custom appears to us, it is so well established in these isles, that no dispute is ever occasioned by it. The principal nobility inhabit Agadna, capital of Guam, induced by the goodness of the waters, and advantages of its situation.<sup>1</sup> The principal nobility preside in their assemblies, and, though greatly listened to, yet the people follow their opinions no further than they judge it expedient, being no way tied down by any established laws, though they follow several received customs pretty generally.

Though, in general, they are barbarous enough in their manners, yet the nobles observe some forms of civility. Thus, on meeting one another, they say, **Ati arinmo**, that is, Permit to kiss your feet. When a noble passes by their house, they ask him to eat, and present him with the herb which they chew continually. One great mark of civility with them, is to draw their hand lightly over the stomach of their superiour, and nothing is held more rude than to spit before him. Their delicacy on this head is extreme. They spit very seldom, and with great precautions; never of a morning, nor near to another man's house.

Fishing is their ordinary occupation from their youth, and they swim surprisingly well. Their boats are very nearly made, and go with prodigious swiftness. They caulk them with a sort of lime, mixed with the oil of the cocoa-nut, and a species of bitumen found in the island of Guam.

Their houses are agreeable and commodious, being built of cocoa-trees, and another, peculiar to those isles called *Maria*. Each house consists of four rooms, divided by mats of palm-tree leaves. In the first room they sleep, they eat in the second, the third serves to hold their provisions, and the fourth to work in.<sup>2</sup>

No people live in a more absolute state of independence. Every one is sole judge of his own actions, whenever reason begins to dawn. Even children pay no regard to their parents, unless they happen to stand in need of assistance. Every man avenges the injury done himself. If a general quarrel happens, they go to war on the slightest occasion, and lay down their arms as easily as they assumed them. In the beginning of an attack they send forth loud shouts, rather to animate themselves than to terrify the enemy, being naturally of a cowardly disposition. They march like an irregular croud, having neither general, discipline, nor order. As they never carry any provisions to the field, they often pass two or three days fasting, occupied in observing their enemy's motions, and endeavouring to draw him into an ambuscade, in which piece of cunning no people excel them: In short, they seem to go to war with this sole view, never coming

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1 Ed. note: The first letters sent by the Jesuit missionaries from Guam mention this congregation of chiefs, but it soon became clear to all that the chiefs had come from all over to claim some foreigners of their own. In 1668, Agaña was not then the largest, nor the most important settlement in the Islands. Fufia, situated on the lee coast, was reported as the capital settlement as early as 1602; besides, it was the religious center.

2 Ed. note: They were not 4 rooms, but 4 types of buildings.



to action, if they can possibly avoid it, or if they do, it is only to escape the reproach of returning home without doing any thing at all.

Being of a timid disposition, two or three men falling, decides the fortune of the day, the rest dispersing in a moment, with the greatest marks of fear. Presently the vanquished send embassadors to the conquerours, with presents and submissions, which are received by these people, naturally vain, with all those marks of contempt a low mind shows on seeing his enemy at his feet. They compose satirical poems, which they recite at their public feasts, and continue to show every token of contempt and insult.

The catalogue of their offensive and defensive weapons is very short. They have neither bows, arrows, or swords, but their sole means of offence are stones and lances.<sup>1</sup> These last are headed with human bones, to which they give a very sharp point, and the natural poison of this weapon is so violent, that if the smallest bit of it remains in the wound, death, attended with violent convulsions, tremours, and excruciating pain, infallibly ensues, nor has all their art yet discovered any remedy against this fatal poison. They throw stones with so much force from their slings, that they are often found sticking fast in the trunks of trees. They have no armour of any sort, but trust entirely to their agility in avoiding the blows levelled at them.

No nation excells them in dissimulation, and by this the Spaniards were often outwitted at first, and the missionaries began to extol the frankness and candour of their behaviour, till they became better acquainted with them, when they found all this to be only hypocrisy, and that they could not be too much on their guard with this perfidious nation.<sup>2</sup>

Revenge is their predominant passion, and the facility and steadiness with which they disguise their sentiments, almost exceeds belief. They never return a harsh word, or change a feature of their countenance on receiving the grossest injury. All lies hid in their breasts, and, with the quickest sensibility of the wrong, they appear quite easy and composed. This specious appearance they will observe for years inviolated, but when the favourable moment comes, they make themselves ample amends for this constraint, by the blackest acts of treason and revenge against their unsuspecting foe. As they never constrain themselves on any occasion, except the one above-mentioned, their inconstancy and fickleness of mind appears every moment. This moment they wish for the thing with the greatest ardour, which in five minutes after, they are quite indifferent about. This disposition makes it very difficult for the Spaniards to deal with them.

They are fond of pleasure and merriment, and being of a jocose disposition, they are always rallying each other, and diverting themselves. Their sobriety is rather the

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1 Ed. note: They bought or stole swords from the foreigners, as of 1668.

2 We may venture to observe here, that this part of their character is common to most uncivilized nations, and is often the effect of the imprudence of the conduct of the Europeans towards them. They generally begin by caressing the savages, and as soon as they find themselves in a condition not to fear their resentment, they maltreat them frequently without reason. We should, probably, succeed much better, if we observed the rules of probity more ourselves, in our transactions with the Indians.

daughter of necessity than temperance. But they meet often together, to regale on fish, fruit, and a certain liquor, made of rice and grated cocoas, and then exercise themselves in dancing, running, leaping, and wrestling. They recite the heroic deeds of their ancestors, and repeat the works of their poets, which are full of fable and extravagance. The women have also their festivals, to which they come dressed with shells, grains of jet, and bits of tortoise-shells, which hang over their foreheads, mixed with flowers. They also wear girdles of little shells, curiously interwoven, which they esteem as highly as we do pearls and diamonds. To these girdles they generally hang small cocoas, very neatly wrought. Their robes on these occasions are woven of certain roots, but so very unshapely, that they have as grotesque an appearance, as if each woman was inclosed in a cage. When they are met, ten or twelve of them form a circle, standing upright without motion. In this posture they begin to sing the verses of their best poets, with a justness of voice, harmony, and cadence, that would please even in Europe. To mark the cadences more perfectly, they use little shells, instead of our castanets. Their song is accompanied with such lively and just action, that there is no hearing them without being charmed with their melody.

Though the men are allowed as many wives as they please, yet they generally content themselves with one. Here the women enjoy that pre-eminence which the men claim every-where else. The wife is absolute mistress of every thing in the house, nor can the husband dispose of the smallest thing without her permission; and if he proves ungovernable, ill-humoured, or irregular in his conduct, the wife corrects, or even leaves him altogether, for here marriages last no longer, than the parties think proper. But from whatever quarter the first overture for a separation comes, the wife retains all her moveables, her children go along with her, and consider the next husband she takes as their father. Thus it happens, that often a father of a family finds himself in a moment deprived of wife and children, by the caprice of a foolish woman. This is not all. Though a man finds his wife unfaithful to him, he may indeed kill her gallant, but he is not permitted to maltreat his wife, and all his resource is to leave her, and take another. But if the husband is guilty of infidelity, the woman can punish him as she pleases. For this purpose she assembles all the women of the village, who repair to the place, armed with lances, and wearing their husband's caps on their heads. Thus accoutred, they march straight towards the house of the delinquent, and begin by tearing up the plants, destroying his grain, and ruining every thing without doors. They next attack the house, and if the husband has not already fled, they quickly force him to abandon his dwelling. At other times, the wife complains to her friends, and tells them she can no longer live with her husband. Her relations are glad to have an opportunity of enriching themselves, by plundering the husband; for they immediately pillage his house, and carry off every thing, and the poor man thinks himself well off, if they do not pull down his house into the bargain. The absolute sovereignty enjoyed by the women, hurts the peace of families, and deters the young men from marriage, who generally keep concubines, whom they buy from their parents for pieces of iron, and tortoise-shell. These con-

cubines are in a manner common to all the youth, and often prove the cause of great disorders.

These islanders abhor murder, and, (if we may credit Gobien), they are never guilty of theft. Thus (says he) the name of *Ladrones* was very improperly given to these islanders by their first discoverers, their honesty being such, that they never lock up their houses, nor do they ever find their goods taken away. But we may venture to say, from the concurrent testimony of all navigators, that however honest they may be towards each other, their behaviour has justly got them the name of *Ladrones* from strangers. However they have sometimes showed great humanity towards other nations, as in the case of the ship *Concepcion*, wrecked on one of these islands, whose crew was treated by the Indians with every circumstance of pity and relief.

Before they saw vessels from different parts of Europe, they believed themselves the only nation in the world. They are now convinced of their mistake in this particular, but as they are naturally vain, they have adopted a system that flatters their prevailing passion extremely. They assert that the first man was formed in Guam, and being transported to *Funa*, was there changed into a rock, out of which were produced the present inhabitants of the globe. That some of these being sent to people Spain, Holland, and other countries, soon forgot their maternal language and customs; and hence (say they) we find, that those who come to us from these regions cannot understand us, but speak a barbarous jargon like idiots.

However ignorant they are, they do not believe the world to be eternal, but have a number of fables concerning the beginning of things, recorded by their poets, and these verses are sung in the festivals. Before their intercourse with the Christians, they had no notion of a Deity, or any religious worship. But they put great trust in their *Macanas*, or soothsayers, who pretended to invoke the *Anitis*, or souls of their ancestors, whose skulls they preserved, and by their help, pretended to foretell events to come, to command the seasons, to restore the sick to health, and procure success in their fishings and agriculture. With all this, they pay very little attention to these skulls, but allow them to lie carelessly about the house, locked up in wicker-baskets, which they never open, unless some fool comes to consult them. When a sick person comes to be near his end, they place one of these baskets near his head, to receive his soul, and they beseech the spirit to accept of this basket as his constant habitation, or at least to lodge in it, when he returns to visit them. This, however, evinces their belief in the immortality of the soul, as well as another they have, of carrying about the embalmed corpse of their parents, to the house of all his relations, that the spirit may chuse among them a habitation for itself.

They have also some irregular notions of a hell and a heaven. They call the former *Zarraragan*, or the house of *Cayfi*, that is, the Devil, who keeps a vast furnace constantly red hot, in which he incloses departed spirits. Their paradise is a region under the earth filled with delicious cocoa-trees, sugar-canes, and other fruits. But it is not their good or bad actions which conduct them to either of these places. Virtue and vice are here entirely out of the question. All depends on the cause of their death. if any one

dies a natural death, he goes straight to paradise, where he enjoys every kind of happiness. But those who fall in battle, or are murdered, are immediately shut up, and tormented in hell. And hence their strong aversion to war and bloodshed. They believe that ghosts often appear on earth, and maltreat the living. Hence they often complain of being beat and injured by them. Then they have recourse to their *anitis*, not to ask favours, but only to prevail on them not to torment them, or send them bad dreams, in which they have an implicit faith and confidence.

There is no nation more naturally eloquent, or more animated in their air and gestures. Nothing can be imagined more melancholy than their funerals. They shed torrents of tears. Their cries would move the most obdurate heart, and they fast and weep continually till they are quite exhausted, as this often continues for many days together, in proportion to their affection for the deceased person. They erect mounds of earth on the tombs, where they sometimes eat, and crown them with flowers, branches of palm, shells, and every precious thing they have. Mothers who have lost their children, carefully preserve a lock of their hair, and wear a cord round their neck, to which they add one knot every day. If a noble or his wife die, then their grief transports them to an excess of fury. They root up their trees, they burn their houses, they destroy their boats, and tear the sails to pieces, which they hang up before his gate. If the defunct was remarkable for his skill in arms, or in fishing, they ornament his tomb with oars and lances, and sometimes they interweave branches of trees among the lances. While they are thus employed, some of the company pour forth lamentations in the most feeling expressions. One begins [thus:]

*“My life is now of no avail,  
Bitterness and misery are my portion,  
My fun is set for ever, my moon is darkened,  
And the star that guided me has disappeared.”*

Another answers:

*“Alas! I have lost my all. No more shall I behold  
What made the joy of my heart.  
I wander in thick darkness, and am plunged  
Into the bitter ocean of tears.  
How is the valour of our warriors departed!  
How is the glory of our nation become dim!  
What will become of us, a miserable race!”*

Such are their complaints, which are often continued day and night for a long while, in proportion to the love and esteem they had for the deceased.

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## Document 1673L1

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# History of the Mariana Island Mission for the 1667-1673 period

*Sources: (1) ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 95-110; and (2) BR Inventory #12160, Cat. #4101, Brussels, which is now incomplete.*

*Notes: The ARSI copy is the original document, since it bears the autograph signatures of six Fathers who were residing in the Mariana Mission. They are the Superior, Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, and Fathers Gerard Bouwens, Peter Coomans, Antonio Maria de San Basilio, Tomás Cardeñoso, and Alonso Lopez. The penmanship of most of the BR copy is that of Fr. Coomans. Fr. Bouwens ascribed the authorship of this historical narration to Fr. Coomans, in two of his letters (Doc. 1673J & M).*

### Summary notes (based on ARSI text).

[folio 95]

—On 24 June 1665, King Philip IV named S. Victores as mission leader.

—On 7 August 1667, the ship **San Diego** left the port of Cavite with Fathers S. Victores and Cardeñoso aboard, the general being Bartholomew Muñoz and Antonio de Acevedo as pilot.

—On 11 January 1668, arrival at Acapulco. S. Victores then went up to Mexico City to get money. He met the secular priest Christopher Vidal.

—On 23 March, departure for the Marianas; 11 Jesuits aboard, among whom 4 priests for the Mariana Mission, plus about 30 lay assistants, Spanish and Indian.

[fol. 95v]

—On 15 June, arrival in sight of Zarpana (Rota) then Guan, Guana, or Iguan (San Juan). To the 4 priests are added 1 more priest and 1 other future priest.

—Beginning of the description of the Mariana Islands.

[folios 96, 96v, 97]

—Description of the new Mission (continued), incl. local customs.

[fol. 97v]

—Beginning of the missionary work. The missionaries were: Fathers San Vitores, Luis de Medina, Luis de Morales, Thomas Cardeñoso; Lorenzo Bustillo, scholasticate.

—St. Ignatius of Agaña founded. The church was dedicated to the Purification in 1669.

—From 16 June 1668 to 27 April 1669: 6,055 recorded baptisms.

—To Rota (300 inhabitants), and to Aguigan, named Guardian Angel.

—To Tenian (3,000 inhabitants), named Buena Vista Mariana.

- To Zaïpan (6,000 inhabitants), where a Spanish galleon was wrecked in 1638.
  - To Anatahan (500 inhabitants), named San Joachim.
  - Managaja [= Mañagaha] and Noos cannot support a population.<sup>1</sup>
  - To Sarigan (200 inhabitants), named San Carlos.
  - To Guguan (100 inhabitants and one extinct volcano), named San Felipe.
  - To Alamagan (300 inhabitants and one extinct volcano), named Concepción.
  - To Pagon with 2 active volcanoes, named San Ignacio.
  - To Agrigan, named San Francisco Xavier and last island visited that year.
  - Assonson, named Asunción.
  - Maog, named San Lorenzo.
  - Urac (last island, uninhabited).
  - [fol. 98]
  - Beginning of the story of the Chinaman Choco. Notes on burial customs.
  - [fol. 98v]
  - Notes about Tenian and missionary work.
  - [fol. 99 & 99v]
  - Idem. Arrival of the 1669 galleon on 17 June.
  - [fol. 100]
  - Wars and warring customs of the natives.
  - [fol. 100v]
  - Luis de Medina became a martyr in Zaïpan on 29 January 1670. He had arrived there 2 days earlier.
  - [folios 101, 101v, 102]
  - Idem. Eulogy of Fr. Medina.
- Note: Missing from the BR copy are about 10 pages corresponding to the 5 following folios of the ARSI copy: folios 102v-107v.**
- [fol. 102v]
  - Idem. No galleon in 1670. Missionary work.
  - [fol. 103]
  - Arrival of 4 priests in June 1671: Francisco Solano, Francisco Ezquerria, Luis de Noriega, Alonso Lopez, but 3 missionaries depart to further their studies. Arrival of 10 more Spaniards and 8 more Filipinos. First sign of trouble.
  - [fol. 103v]
  - Various notes.
  - [fol. 104]
  - Precarious state of peace. Missionary work taken up once more.
  - [fol. 104v]
  - Details of this phase of the missionary work.
  - [fol. 105]
  - Martyrdom of S. Vitores on 2 April 1672. Beginning of his eulogy.<sup>2</sup>
  - [folios 105v to 107v]
  - Eulogy of Fr. San Vitores (cont'd).
  - [folios 108-110]

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1 Ed. note: As there is only one island between Anatahan and Sarigan, now called Farallon de Medinilla, its old native name must have been Noos, or something like it. Mañagaha is, of course, a waterless islet off the west coast of Saipan; its mention here is an attestation as to the ancient origin of its name.

2 Ed. note: Including his letter to Fr. General (Doc. 1659B).

—Rest of the narrative, with signatures of Fathers Coomans and Bouwens, after that of Fr. Ezquer-  
ra.

## Original text in Latin

*Historica Narratio illorum, quæ in insulis Marianis vulgo de Ladrones dictis, ab A° 1667, usque ad A[nn]um 1673 ab operarijs Apostolicis Soctis Jesu implantanda, et propaganda fide, piè et laudabiliter gesta.*

*[Oportunitatem nactus coacti otij, vel potius necdum permissus ingredi ad apostolicos labores, hujus tantum expectatæ, tantum quæsita missionis; operæ pretium me facturum existimavi, si, quæ annuis passim litteris, prout tum res sese offerebant, perscripta fuere, uno quasi aspectu, et inchoato alicujus narrationis filo subijcerem. Fructum ex eo non pænitendum expectans, si, intercidentibus tanto viarum intervallo litteris, ut solet, damnum istud hinc meis ego reparavero, vel repetita sæpius semel ego representavero, vel contusa aliqua suis aptè locis, et temporibus distinxero, promissis certe meis satisfecero, et expertæ toties amicorum benevolentia, hoc certe munusculo, quo licet, respondero.]<sup>1</sup>*

1667

*A° itaque 1667 Pr. Didacus Alojsius de Sanvictores, notum non his solum in partibus nomen, sed per Europam, Hispaniam præsertim, apostolicis virtutibus, et zelo Xaveriano, tam diffuso Philippinarum missionum campo nescius contineri, quod animo voluebat iam dudum, cum Deo primum, tum cum superioribus, ac, quorum intererat, magistratibus sæculatibus, ardentius cæpit insistere, quo Christi illud divinitatis suæ testimonium, pauperes evangelizantur, in se, et suos imitationis ergo transferret. Nactus ergo ad illud decretum Catholicæ Majestatis Pæ Mæ Philippi IV, datum Madriti in suburbano suo palatio Buen Retiro dicto, A° 1665, mensis junij die 24, quo jubebat, et nominabat ad expeditionem hanc prædictum Pem. San Victores, hos pauperes quidem, sed antiquos coronæ suæ subditos imbui Christianis disciplinis: nam ab annis amplius 100, nempe 1565, Janrij 23, etiam ante inchoatam Philippinarum Remp., harum insularum possessionem pro rege solemniter sumptam referunt ipsius Historiæ. Nactus item Gubernatorem promovendæ tantæ rei peridoneum D.D. Didacum Zalzedo [= Salcedo], virum et sua sponte, et stimulis Catholicæ Majestatis, cui hoc in negotio obsequi gratissimum sciebat, ad propagandam rem Christianam ap[er]primè incitatum, tantum effecit ut et a superioribus facultatem, et ab hoc necessarium faciente, expeditioni navigium tandem impetrarit; detractis etiam e proprio stipendio, quæ regio ærario tum deerant pecunijs, ad annonam, et reliqua navigationi necessaria, quamprimum nummis exhibitis comparanda. Ergo 7<sup>a</sup> Augusti navis a Sto. Didaco nominata, in hunc præcipue usum a Gubernatore instructa, è portu Cabite insulæ Manilensis discescit, et in illa P. San Victores, addito ipsi socio P. Thoma Cardeñoso, gubernatore titulo Admirantij D. Bartholomæo Muños; nauclero D. Antonio de Azebedo: et 24<sup>a</sup>, ipso Sti. Bartholomæi festo, insularum angustias, dictas el embocadero, eluctata, reliquo felici itinere, tandem portum Acapulci tenuit 11<sup>a</sup> Janrij 1668, et postoro die gloriosos atlethas in terram exposuit.*

*Illic dum quæ necessaria erat ad expeditionem redintegrandam, et reditum comparatur Annona, Mexicanum excurrit P. San Victores, ut in illo non minus pio, quam celebri totius occidentalis Indiæ Emporio, uti spondebat singularis hujus civitatis zelus, quæ huic suæ missioni aut necessaria, aut utilia prænoverat, pro natura sua suaviter, pro zelo fortiter procuraret. Et res ex sententiâ successit momentum attulit industria singularis, et qualis a Xaveriano pectore expectari debuit, libellus supplex oblatu Mariæ Matri, ac orientis Apostolo Sto Francisco Xaverio; tum per illos congregationi sane percelebri tutelaribus his in civitate erectæ. Valuit industria: at superavit illam pia, et magnifica congregantium liberalitas. Calices, ornamenta, vasa sacra, custodia, remonstrantia, ampullæ, missales, aræ, baldachinum, labarum phrijgio opere perelegans impetrata: et, ne quidquam deesset, supernumerata his in præsentî pecunia, usque dum*

1 Ed. note: The above paragraph appears only in the BR copy.

*decem millia pataconum tota summa expleret: idque præter imagines, et Sanctorum reliquias, aulæa item serica, et alia, quæ longum esset referre, omnia ornandis, et existandis inter barbaros templis, et altari-bus perop[er]ortuna animos congregantium, imo et facultates regebat, quidam D. Christophorus Vidal, Presbyter secularis, congregationis id temporis œconomus, primusque fundator, vel eo solum memoran-dus, quod nominari se, dum viveret, inter missionis hujus benefactores vetuisset, solis beneficijs conten-tus. Sed hunc tam eximium in Mexicana urbe Sti Xaverij zelatorem et æmulum, alij dabunt nobis non licuit beneficam viri memoriam ingrata oblivione præterire. Alia 10 millia pataconum ex publico regis ærario, adnitente plurimum ad id Prorege D.D. Marchione de Mançera, adnumerata adnumerata [sic] digna protecto Catholico rege munificentia, et tanto pluris facienda, quanto sub hisse [sic] auspicijs in tenero quidem, sed tum verè Catholice Caroli 2di. regis pectore magis duratura. Indè eleemosynæ sanè tantæ ab omni ordine, et statu liberaliter collatæ.*

*His subsidijs firmatus, et in ampliorem spem, et animos erectus strenuus hic Mariæ, et Xaverij pugil, auctus item auxiliariis socijs novem, qui hoc anno ab Hispania classe advecti, Philippinas insulas pete-bant, plenus gaudio, plenus in Deum fiducia, cujus liberalem manum iam tum tam prolixè experiebatur, Acapulcum redijt: et inde, confectis feliciter omnibus, quæ ad navigationem, et culturam novæ Xri semen-tis facere videbantur, 23<sup>a</sup> Martij mari sese rursus commisere, e Societate quidem socij universim undecim, ex quibus quatuor omnino sacerdotes iam tum novæ expeditioni accincti: aliud enim par ducibus primis adjunxerat, qui solus adiri tunc poterat, Mexicanæ Provinciæ Provincialis sæculares fere 30, tam hispa-ni, quam ex {fol. 95v} insulis Philippinis Indi, gloriosæ expeditionis comites, se suaque omnia, quem-cumque casum{fol. 2} fortuna daret, propagande Xri. fidei devoverant. Ergo, afflantibus a puppi secundis Zephyris, vel potius divinæ benignitatis, et providentiæ aura, non votis minus, quam ventis tumentia car-basa procedebant: et iam octingentas supra mille leucas (tantum enim distare hæ insulæ ab Acapulci portu, communi peritorum calculo censentur) inito naucleri computu confecerant. Fatigabant interea nostri votis suis superos, et familiam præsertim Marianam, cui moderandas, et nominandas has insulas, quodcumque nomen sive a velis, sive a latronibus aliquando sortitis, communi calculo iam dudum ob-tulerant, indicta solemnè ad id novena, sibi demerebantur iamque aderat dies gloriosæ Dæ. virginis paren-ti Annæ sacrandæ, 15<sup>a</sup> Junij, et de ea, voti reus, dicebat ad aram P. Petrus de Casanova: cum ecce nautæ terram inclamant.*

*In conspectum se dabat insula Zarpana hispanis dicta, incolis **Rota**, nobis a Sta. Anna, sub cujus pa-trocinio posita erat, appellata. Inde ad meridiem cursum direxere: quando viridantia culmina detexit huic proxima insula, nobis a Sto Joanne dicta, incolis **Guan, Guahan, vel Iguan**. Ad hanc præcipuè cursus dirigebatur: futura hæc erat missionum sedes: utpote magnitudine, et incolarum frequentia cæteris præ-s-tans. Dies hæc insularum fastis ilico adscripta, et officio duplici (colebantur illa Sti. MM. Vitus, Mod-estus, et Crescentia) ac festa luce deinceps celebrata: ita enim ante inter Patres convenerat, qua primum luce sese terra detegeret, hanc semper festam insulis, et assignatos illi ab Ec[c]lesia Cælites tutelares per-petuo futuros iamque prona in vesperam decurrebat dies, et Indi, nabigijs suis navi nostræ frequentes circumfusi, non satis sese nostris fidebant ut navem ingrederentur, aut vesperam causati, aut metum: e re tamen illud futurum rati, quo commodius cum illis de exscensione facienda, et intentione sua transig-erent Patres, ad cæli Dominam recurrere, decantatis ex ipsis navis latere ejus litanijs. Vix finis imposi-tus, quin pro se quisque, sed præcipui tantum admissi ascendere, et votis Patrum, edocti per interpretem, aperte, et effuse gratulari.*

*Postero die, is erat sabathi, advit e Philippinis Christianus, olim, ab A<sup>o</sup> 1638 cum navi a **Concep-tione** dicta, ad has insulas naufragus. Magni ille ab incolis semper habitus, filiam bimulam, gratas Divæ primitias, bap-tisandam offerebat; simul faciebat fidem grati, et expetiti Patrum apud incolas adventus. Ergo adscripta in navi Christianorum albo puellula, Mari-Ana dicta est; et duo e Patribus explorandi gratia in terram descendere perbenevolè ab omnibus excepti, trophæum crucis erex erunt in littore, vel victoriæ tam felicibus auspicijs sperandæ, vel impressionis argumentum. Iamque confluebat ex omni cir-cum vicinia concerta multitudo, omnes lætis vocibus faustum Patribus ingressum in suas terras compre-cantes, si unum excipias e montanis principalem qui novos homines inscio se admissos indignabatur: sed veritatem edoctus, advenisse Patres divinæ legis, Deique magistros, statim acquievit, et se quoque Patres cupere affirmavit.*



*Tandem 17<sup>a</sup>, quæ fuit Dominica, Patres in terram comitatus navis Admirantius D. Antonius Nieto, nam obijerat paucis ante diebus D. Bartholomæus Muños, publico convivio ab incolis more gentis exceptus, arcu ferreo primores singulos donavit, eisque Patres dum navis revertitur comendavit. Gratres illi suo more per amplas retulere at ille admiratus per humanam gentis indolem, raros capessendæ fidei mores considerans, instare cæpit: messem quidem muttam, operarios autem paucos. Quin urgere, regium item nomen interponere, ut quotquot in navi erant sacerdotes, ad colligendos manipulos relinquerentur. Ergo alij duo reliquis quatuor adjuncti, unus sacerdos, alter necdum sacris initiatus, adjutor futurus, dum interim apti ad culturam operarij Manila, aut ab Hispania submitterentur. Unus relictus navi sacerdos cum quatuor socijs necdum initiatis. Interea viginti tres ex parvulis baptisati, quorum nomina, primitias lætæ messis, regi Carolo offerendas, unumque ex adultis specimen gentis futurum apud suos, secum a vexit Admirantius ac demum felici itinere Manilam tenuit.*

[Description of the Marianas]

*Insulæ Marianæ (sic enim deinceps nominare illas placuit, sumpto nomine a Mariana familia, sub cujus tutela positæ erant, vel etiam a Maria Anna Austriaca regina Matre Caroli 2di, et per hujus infantiam Monarchiam gubernante) incolis frequentatæ, nam tres interjacent omnino desertæ, numerantur tredecim, a meridie in boream ab gradu 13° latitudinis ad vigesimum 2d5, vix notabili in orientem aut occidentem discrimine interjectæ, longitudine 170 graduum sumpto meridiano ab insulis tertijs itinere occidentali juxta Rixiolium posite: ab alijs in 64 longitudinis ponuntur. Ab Septentrione Japoniam meridionalem ad longitudinem vix 10 graduum latitudinis distantia adjacentem respiciunt a meridie tum eis, tum ultra lineam insulas. Deinde australem terram incognitam paralelam habent tredecim hæ, nam de alijs certi quidquam dicere non habeo, mutuo inter sese navigiorum commercio junctæ, vix diei unius itinere, interlabente oceano ab invicem separatæ, uberem sane messem apostolicis operarijs prebuere.*

*1<sup>a</sup> ad meridiem incolis Guan, Guahan, Iguan, nobis a Sto. Joanne dicta, reliquarum maxima, triginta quatuor aut quinque leucas ambitu complectitur, situ fere quadrato, sed ab oriente in occidentem paulo longius protenso, sinibus undique et portuosus amfractibus intersecatur, in quos fluvij sese passim exonerant, seu rivos potius dixeris. Numerantur hi in insula usque 30, et amplius, piscibus omnes præsertim anguillis et cancris minoribus, sed raris fecundi, limpidas sane, et salubres aquas vehunt. Sed ab his piscibus, nominatim anguillis Indi adeo abhorrent, ut vel ideo nos et nostros, quod illis vescamur nauseabundi vilipendant, abjectæ id sortis, et plebæi generis indicium reputantes. Unde et Patres, omnibus om- {fol. 98} -nia facti, illis abstinere, donec certiores facti superstitionibus magis quam nauseæ inniti ridiculam abstinentiam. Duo ex rivis alveo satis capaci, navigia incolarum, aut majores lembos facile patiuntur. Auræ temperies salubris admodum, ab æstu nimio ob aspirantes plærumque ventos, plus etiam quam Malinensis [sic] tractus temperata, nisi quod ad Septentrionem, afflante hiberno tempore borea, etiam frigida dici possit. Salubritatem experientia nos docuit cum integro quinquennio, quo illas incolimus, vix ullos naturalis mors eripuit: quod mirandum est satis in absoluta medicorum, et [fol. 3] medicinarum inopia. Indi quidem ulceribus toto corpore satis sædis sæpe et crudo vescuntur. Aliud item aeris omnino sani exstat testimonium, quod toto hoc tractu nec in fluvij Crocodylus, nec in terra aliud venenosum animal inveniatur, lacertis etiam, quæ habentur, minime noxijs.] terra omnis montibus utcumque asperis hinc inde sparsa amænas valles, et fertiles planities habet montium alij raso vertice steriles, et colore rubeo latentis metalli speciem aliquam præ se ferunt, quamquam illius nulla prorsus indicia ab incolis produntur: alij arboribus non quidem admodum proceris, aut crassis, sed usibus incolarum sufficientibus vestiti. Valles, et lata circum littora palmas ferunt: planicies orijza maxime, et certis ad victum radicibus fertiles incolæ, si ad duodecim millia numerentur, non multum excedunt in 180 pagos distributi, quorum majores ad 100 vel 80, minores 10, vel etiam 6 tantum domos, aut familias numerant. Gens universa, quamquam barbara, moribus tamen non tam inhumanis, quin ingenuitatis igniculi, et sæpe, eluceant. Occurrente, aut domum accedente quocumque, prima est cura salutandi, quod fit terminis exquisitis: ate umorin. Vin lauem domine? ate aringmo. Vin pedes abluam? Tum viæ lenimen exhibent folia tabaci usum, et virtutem per omnem hunc tractum sortita: buyo vocant. Inde cænâ, aut prandium, et quieti locum circumspiciunt: hospitalitatis nomine apud illos sacrosancto. Si onusto occurrerint, in laboris partem sese offerunt. Denique nec bibere, nec vesci, nec quidquam sibi sumere præsu-*

*munt, quin alteri socio urbaniter offerant: secus si fecerint, non inurbani tantum, sed et inimici passim habentur. Adeo ut si hospites ex improvise advenerint, et domi non sit quod omnibus sufficienter apponatur, herus sibi paratum prandium apponi nequiquam sinat, ne peccet vel offerendo non sufficientia, vel non offerendo inurbanitate: sed sermonibus tantum, etiam in seram noctem ieiunos, ipse ieiunus detinet.*

*Alto plerique, et robusto sunt corpore: ita utque inter Indos maxime versati sunt, fateantur omnes nullos se a toto genere tam æquales, tamque robustos invenisse. Nec ipsi corporis sui dotes ignorant: nam causam imprimis cur vestibus utamur nos, et nostri illam ingeminant, quod corpora nobis tam aptè ad elegantiam fabricata non sint: quamquam non desint, qui ad extremam causam referant quod illis careant. Alia ipsi veste non utuntur, nisi quam reliquit omnium indigens pater Adamus. Ne tamen omnes pudoris igniculos extinctos putes, fæminæ aut arboris folio, aut aliqua e concha testudinea lamina verecundiam suam celant. In crine tamen mulieres, et omnes in dentibus fucum quærunt, ingenti labore, et patientia: nam albicantes illos fæminæ mirum expetunt, non satis benigna ad condescendendum natura. Ergo, quod illa negat, ab industria petunt. Calce mixta oleo caput omne cum crinibus inungunt, tum ardentissimo soli in meridie se exponunt ad littus, horas, imo et dies non paucos exustum caput sæpius udis marinis aspergentes: monstra existimes, si aspicias. Nec minus in tingendis dentibus tormentum illorum nigri apud illos nescio quam præ se speciem venustatis, aut majestatis ferunt. Ut id assequantur, quantum insudan: nigrum colorem gummi alicui mirum tenaci immiscent; illo dentium ordines per diem sæpius inungunt: hac tamen cautela, ut toto tempore, quo durat unctio, sunt hi dies ut plurimum 14, cibi nihil aut potui dentes attingat. Unde detinent miseros in continuo cruciatu, infundibulo solum, ne immoriantur, corpus sustentantes. Effectu secuto epulas vicinis, et amicis, quasi natis mundo tot ethiopiibus quot dentibus, solemnes instituunt. Nec usquam decentius prodeunt, quam ad saltus, quos solemnes inter se, et frequentes instituunt: tum enim ab ambilico ad genua togulam dimittunt, e longulis foliorum stirp[is], uti depingi solent, desluentem(?) tum e flosculis quasi hyacinthinis sertum concinnant, et fronti unionis instar pretiosum collum item e vitro discoloribus granis, aut si non suppetant, lapillis patrijs utcumque flavis, et hic admodum raris circumdant: ad pectus, imo et a tergo concham aliquam testiduneam appendunt, cum nuculis aliquot palmaceis affabre elaboratis. Manu sinistra mediam quasi lunam e ligno, dextra e digitis pendenti aliquot crocala præterunt, et concinno satis gestu ad numeros vocis, seu ad cantum tripodiam instituunt. Nec viris desunt sua encænia. Hi lucta præsertim, et hastiludijs delectantur: ad hæc e diversis partibus hastas quotquot possunt conquirunt, illasque ordine dispositas venditant pro suis. Tum ludos incipiunt, projectis in se mutuo eminus, et cominus hastis, quas dextre admodum, et cum elegantia devitant; ludo tamen sæpe non incruento. Ad luctam corpora præungunt. Dum feruet opus, raptim aliqui cum epulis accurrunt, quæ stante pede, et ferventibus animis devorantur. Festis nomina a præcipue ferculo plerumque adhæsere; ut si ex orijza hoc sit, **oryza** = **cenia** vocantur. Piscæ ut plurimum, quem mare suppeditat, eoque crudo vescuntur si exsiccatus sole, aut sale maceratus fuerit, deliciæ sunt. Pro pane adhibent fructus, quos suppeditant arbores apud illos maxime proceræ: silvestres plane sunt, dicti apud illos **ducdud** et **rimaj**. Formam nucis pinæ, seu strobili viridis habent, gustum pastinacæ non absimilem, dum furno coquuntur. Illius autem ut facilis, ita inopiæ suæ apta structura est. Silices aliquot subjectis lignis incendunt, dum candeant; tum quidquid fructuum, aut radicum superponunt, inde folijs obtegunt, ac demum injecta terra calorem occludunt. Quin et coctos sole exsiccant, et asservant in tempus quo recentes deficiunt. Radices item pro pane adhibent, quas et serunt, rapis(?) haud interiores. **Oryzam convivij solum inferunt.** Commune omnibus nutrimentum, et quasi mater est palma, cujus perennis benignitas mirum quantum horum inopiam consolatur. Hujus enim nux, tam ac tamen, quam ad sitim levandam, gratum semper adest, et expeditum ferculum. Præter hæc (illis sæpe contenti vivunt incolæ) victui utilia vix ulla, præter sal, pepones paucos, melones rariores, poma aurea in una aut altera arbore, platanos, piper hispanicum et gingiber. Gallinæ, quæ ex jactura navium aliquæ hic remansere, habentur quidem, sed admodum raræ, et infirmis subserviunt. Vaccæ, porci, columbæ, quæ Patres induxerant, asservantur, ut multiplicent.*

**[Native houses]**

*Cæterum in tanta penuria domos tamen satis capaces, et accomodatas habent: nito- {fol. 96v} -ris in ijs admodum studiosi, imo et in reliquis omnibus superstitiosi potius. Unde si vas [scias?], quo propinare solent, quis ore contigerit, tamquam inutile abijciunt. Idem de reliquis esto iudicium. Sufficit lin-teum naribus admovere, ut illud ipsi, licet unice cupiant, cum nausea fastidiant. Domus quatuor diversis tectis ut plurimum distinguuntur. Minus culinarijs seruit. Huc facit rarus enimvero modus ignem e duobus bacillis eliciendi. Unum inferius convexum, alterum in plano concavum circumterunt; hos sibi mutuo imponunt, et [fol. 4] vehementi manuum attritione tantum circumducendo fatigant, donec detritus pulvis tandem incendatur. Altera præaltis lapidibus quasi columnis imposita, supellectilem asservant. Hæc omnis apud ditiores conchis aliquot testudineis, nam hæ ipsorum calculo auro appenduntur, arcu terreo aliquo, ascia vel bipenni, granis vitreis discoloribus, et crotalis aliquot constat. Horum, omnes tan avidi, quam inopes. Atque hæc his in locis nostra pecunia est, nulla alia aut nomine, aut estimatione recepta. Dormitorium tecto distincto a tecto item elevat: intra illud aliud quasi cubiculum pro tecto concinnant, in longum protentum, ut totam familiam capiat: storeis illud, quas e palmæ folijs eleganter sane contextunt, undequaque circumdant; appensis ad ostiola varia ex eodem genere cortijnis, quibus nocte calices [calides?], inimicum his partibus, et molestum anima[le]s, excludant. Contra eosdem etiam fumo se armant. Arboris truncus cervical est; unde in cervice ingentes callos circumferunt. Lodices, stragula, et tegetes eadem storeæ: imo ex his in navigijs vela, ex his pileos, loricam in bello, lances inter comedendum, variaque alia suis usibus apte concinnant. Adeo ut P. San Victores, ratus hanc materiam, cum omnis alia desit, aptam vestiendæ horum pauperum extremæ nuditati, interiores sibi vestes e storeis confici juserit, et longo tempore, non sine gravi suo incommodo, illis vestitus per pagos missionem circumducens incesserit: plus nempe suo exemplo quam oratione permoturus: sed irrito conatu; barbaris quidem utpote leviores non rejicientibus, suum illud pannum omnino non recipientibus. Alia, eaque capacior domus servandis navigijs ponitur in ipso littore horrei instar, tecto, quod oblonga palmæ, et aliarum arborum folia intertexta constituunt, ab ipsa terra assurgente.*

**[Native canoes]**

*Navigiorum autem maxima est copia. Hac præsertim in insula, ex qua sua etiam quærunt ab sex insulis proximis; lignis ibi non satis commodis succrescentibus. Reliquis prospicitur ab insula Agrigan indigenis, nobis a Sto Xaverio vocata. Navigiorum autem duo maxime sunt genera, minus alterum, quo vicina circum littora piscandi gratia, et necessaria comportandi discurrunt, ex uno arboris trunco concinne excavatum. Et ne deesse existimes fabrilia instrumenta, arcus ferrei partes (olim cum hispanorum naves nullæ appulissent, silicis dissecti acumine pro ascia, pro navacula [rather navicula] marinis conchis utebantur) cote mirum exacuunt, tum fusti obdurato infigunt, et arcte constringunt: hac ascia, hac bipenni quidquid moliuntur, tandem conficiunt: nam lentis ictibus annos integros graviter insudant. Imo tantum potest invicta patientia, ut quævis terramenti veteris pars navacula [navicula] ipsis sit, qua ad radendum caput, nam in vertice coronulam tantum alunt, et faciem, nisi quod seniores aliqui prolixa **baba** reverentiam venentur, dextrè utuntur. Alterum navigij genus quibus vis usibus, circumcursandis insulis, et transmittendis oceani interlabentis insulas fretis oportunum. Longitudine octo plurimum ulnas amplectitur decimam vix excedit. Latitudo nulla, solius hominis vix usquam binorum capax. Carinam acuto angulo ad secandos fluctus, ex trunco duplici excavato, sibi invicem in medio commissam, funiculis adstringunt, inde ad foros tabulas eodem modo alligant. Quod dictu nobis quam factu illis facilius est: nam cum instrumentis serra præcipue careant, ex integra arbore non nisi unicam tabulam excindunt, reliquis in assulas avolantibus. Commissuras omnes calce viva obturant. Carinam nigro, foros rubro colore oleaceo decenter inducunt oleum exprimunt ex palmæ fructibus, quo et corpora sæpius per diem inungunt. Nullum in illis proræ, aut puppis discrimen, nam utraque utriusque officio, prout usus fert, fungitur in medio palum erigunt, cui velum e storea acuto angulo, latinu nautæ vocant, ad summitatem appendunt. Ex uno latere, ne titubet, transversa ligna adnectunt tria, illis aliud incurvum usque ad ipsam maris superficiem, quo cursum adjuvet: hac mole tam peritè ipsi, tam dextre utuntur, ut miraculo sint nautis nostratibus. Unus homo, imo et fæmina, quod mirere, dextrorsum sinistrorsum vela moderatur, attollit, dimittit, componit, clavum qui ex remo est, remus autem lignei ligonis, regit, manibus pedibus-*

que tam exactè vel minimam adversæ auræ particulam captat, imo navim unus, si vis undrum evertat, iterum erigit, aquam exhaurit, et navigationem restaurat, ut mari, et ventis dominari videatur illud nautarum peritissimi fatentur, se tempestatibus cedere, vela dimittere anchoras jacere, quando illi intrepide et incolumes superant. Nec desunt tamen nostris hoc genere navium insulas circumcursantibus sua incommoda: quorum illud non minimum, quod quolibet fluctu, nec decumano tamen opus est, facile obruuntur. Nec illud: quod die minimum integro, aliquando etiam duobus, nec ubi sedeant, nec reperiant ubi caput reclinent. Et tamen non alia frequentior quam navigandi necessitas.

#### [Fishing]

Navibus ad piscandum late per circumfusa maria juncta classe discurrunt. Vix hora diei est, quin volitantes per maria naves, imo et classes etiam 30 velorum et amplius liceat videre. Imo nocte multo illud illustrius: nam tunc suo quisque navigio facem in prora præstitit, desumpta materia ex cortice palmarum, quæ oleo ex eadem palma nutrita, quibusvis auræ flatibus, extingui nescia, resistit. Sidera tot mari errantia: quot navigio existimes. Hamis piscatio instituitur qui ubi ex ferro deficiunt, suppetunt ex ligno in formam spinæ igne sed minora, et illis plerumque mulieres littora circumeunt, et minoribus inhiant. Dum piscantur superstitionibus mirum sunt dediti: silentium observant, si violaverint, fide ipsorum præda elabatur. Domum portis funem pretendunt, **atota** seu sacrum illum appellant: si quis illis piscantibus transilierit, crimen est; si quis illis omnis piscatio irrita redditur. Quin tantillo impendi quidquid in domo reconditum contra funes, qui rari hic admodum, etiam longo tempore absentus custodiunt: sacrum funem postibus prefigunt, si quis illum violare intentaderit sceleris securus, petito ab hasta remedio indubitatus occiditur.

#### [The classes]

Gens omnis in suas classes dividitur: quorum qui littora incolunt, nobiles habentur. Et vero sub nuda pelle Japonicum quemdam fastum, et superbiam tegunt. Montanos inferioris classis, et humilis sanguinis, ut ipsi loquuntur; adeo præ se fastidiunt, ut ne affatu quidem dignentur. Si quid invicem tractare usu venerit, per tertium quemdam id fit. Domum ingredi omnino nefas. {fol. 97} Imo ne communi quidem sacrorum communi: non baptismate, non reliquis sacramentis dignos asserebant: ægre scilicet ferentes, divinæ legis magistros, factores hominum (hac enim pharasi nos vestiunt) abjectis hominibus [fol. 5] commisceri. Quamquam nec satis integra nobis auctoritatis fama est. Doctos nos quidem, et variarum rerum, sed præsertim cælestium scientia instructos. Sed quid hæc ad ipsorum artes, navigandi, fabricandi navigia, hastas faciendi, et projiciendi, imo et bibendi? Nam cucurbitam, qua bibunt, ori non admovent, sed manu elevant; inde aquam defluentem ore excipiunt, nec intercluso halitu longo tractu exhauriunt. Hoc nobilitatis, hoc ingenij indicium. Hispanorum autem sociorum, aut præternavigantium miseratio hos capit. Tantum divitis suppellectilis apud tam male instructos collocari dolent. Quid enim? Nec loqui quidem intelligibiliter didicisse.

#### [The creation myth]

Juvat hic aliquid, nam locus exigit, de fabulosis ipsorum commentis attexere. **Puntan** homo sine patre cum unica sorore natus, vivebat in spatijs imaginarijs, sine solo. Hoc instantem sibi mortem vaticinatus, sororem advocat, eique cum ultima sua voluntate testamentum committit, quo de corpore suo, et membris in communo bonum disponit. Circumfertur illud versibus vernaculis, nam poetice etiam docti sunt, et per compita cantatur. Mandat autem e ventre suo cælum fieri; lendes et pediculos, liceat incomptam barbariem, quamquam non satis verecundè, tegentium sannis exponere, firmamenti stellas oculorum ortes soli, et lunæ; supercilia iridi destinat. E scapulis jubet terram, e costis, et ossibus arbores ascendere; crines in frondes, et herbas virescere inquen [inquam?] et vesicam mari designat, quod illis extimum plantanis, et arundinibus. Sinus maris, et portus visceribus applicat. Reliqua non prosequor, nam sunt his similia. Ab hoc demum auctore, alij e saxo propagatum fabulantur hominum genus. Nec alios olim præter se norant(?).

Ubi appulsis huc hispanis, et hollandis, alios cognovere; reliquos ex se oriundos, et a se disjunctos facile omnium oblitos opinabantur: ita ut nec loqui quidem intelligibiliter scirent. Hæc ubi conviuantur

*strophis ligata memoria repetunt, qui plura antiquitatis monumenta expresserit, præmium aufert. Et quamquam fabularum dissonantia suadeat hæc non ita credi[- ri?] ab omnibus, facit tamen gentis simplicitas, ut ulterius plures non discurrant. Sic ubi canis venientibus allatrarit, facessere jubent, dicentes: se Tautau Dios, homines Dei, id est christianos esse ubi horologium monstratum primum fuit, rogabant num ille Deus esset. Hæc, et similia ad exhibita illis rara interrogant: ulterius nec afficiuntur, nec discurrunt.*

**[Religion and burial customs]**

*Cæterum nulla dierum aut sacrorum religione tenentur. Nullum apud illos idolum, non templum, non mijsta. Vel inde suscipiendæ veræ fidei sementi peraccomodi. Solum defunctorum Patrum manes, supplices venerantur, interdum magis ne noceant, vel spectris terreant, quam quia amantes colunt [volunt?]. Unde deficientibus primorum aliquibus, capsulam illis ad cervical apponunt, qua recipiatur, et quiescat corpore solutus animus, et ejusdem vices sua domi presentia suppleat. Calvarias item eorumdem asservant, et superstitiose ritu aliquo prosequuntur. nam aliæ bello, aliæ paci. Unde domum ingressis illa auferendi, si forte inveniantur, prima nobis est cura: et parato supplicio, aut ardent, aut sepeliuntur. Maxima celebritas apud illos est mortuaria. Suus cuique fundus, et domus pro sepultura est: quare adduci necdum possunt, ut defunctos sepeliendi causa ad templum deterant, etiam Christiani. Obstat inveterata, cujus tenaces etiamnum sunt, consuetudo. Ergo defuncti corpus uni e navigijs pro sarcophago impositum, inde ab ipso domus fastigio, ubi appenderant, dimittant, ad inconditas.] propinquorum voces, quasi nœnias qui deinde defuncto iam sepulturæ imposito sese proni injiciunt, aut ab alijs injiciuntur, quasi in testimonium necessitudinis, et societatis. Ergo defuncti corpus, ubi terræ commissum est, vario honore prosequuntur: tumulum vesupem(?) erigunt, eumque instrumentis et nauticis, et bellicis, si in utroque genere excelluit, ramis item viridantibus, et multo flore exornant: conchas, et quid est aliud pretiosius, ad illum appendunt. Tum accedit ut quisque est sanguine junctus, circumstat, plangit, gemit, ululat: repetito luctu sex vel septem diebus, pro personæ meritis, et dignitate, quibus lugubres nœnios repetunt, convivantur, et ludos instituunt. Qui defunctum maxime amat, e collo funiculum appendit, in quo adstricto quotidie nodo dies a funere supputat. Ipsi vero aliam anni, mensium, hebdomadarum distinctionem non habent, nisi illam, quam a luna crescente, vel decressente observant.*

*In defuncti locum, hæreditatem, imo et nomen, filius etiam superites non succedit, sed nepos, id est fratris filius, aut reliqui a latere descendentes. Atque illud est totum gentis hujus regimen, quod cum antiquis Philippinarum insularum incolis, uti et linguæ radices commune habent, ut certi e familijs primares reliquis aliquo modo imperitent: quibus tamen vicatim aliam observantiam plebs tota non debet, quam ad exædificandam domum, eamque folijs tegendam, et ad bellum, si opus fuerit, convenire. Aliud tamen illis superest exorta lite quasi ex tripode oraculum. In hæreditatibus, dum superest virilis sexus, mulier non succedit, si quæ tamen fuerit prior natu, et cui solus sexus officiat, quo minus suis præficiatur, huic præ reliquis observantiam aliquam, et venerationem deferunt; atque hæc est dubitati juris indubitata interpretis **magahagam** vocant. Hæc ubi quidvis in quamcumque partem resolverit, definitio est: disputari in posterum velita. Aliud est quod Christianis disciplinis peridoneos hos facit, nempe temperantia, qua et vino, et omni liquore ad inebriandum accomodato, constanter abstinent, ne nomine quidem hujus vitij, inter illos reperto, quod tamen inter Indos, uti et ad virtutem obstaculum, ita ad vitia quælibet solet esse incitamentum: et unica [h]alami consorte contenvivunt [convivunt?]; vel christianis ipsis hac in parte imitandi. Nec aliud est vitium quod vel majori odio, vel supplicio prosequuntur, quam adulterium. Ubi de illo aut marito, aut uxori innotuit, ilico vicinos doloris, aut infamiæ suæ testes adhibet, et probando sceleri sufficit vel una nocte quacumque de causa, nisi longioris itineris domo abfuisse, divortium denuntiat; tum recta domum delinquentis adit, et quidquid inibi verum repertum, præ furore discerpit, maxime si supplicium uxor exequatur, ne storea quidem ad dormiendum relicta. Imo et ipsam domum, quasi zelotipiæ facibus nonnunquam exurit [exurit? exuerit?]. Et est hoc in tractu fæminis potentius aliquod in viros imperium, quo non familiam solum regit, sed eidem dominatur, invalidis etiam quæ sole hujus consensu egerit maritus. Illud deinde certum tam extra respectum humanum apud illos vitium hoc poni, ut si vel parens ipse hoc vitium incurrat, vel filius, nec hic filij, nec ille parentis loco deinde habeatur; sed tanquam mortalium ignotissimus res sibi suas habere permittatur.*

*At quanto strictior hæc inter cojugatos observantis, tanto major inter solutos libertas. Hi in omnem lasciviam sine fræno effusi pellem aut unguibus undequaque dissecant, aut morsibus invicem cruentant, quo relictas e vulneribus cicatrices amoris quasi monumenta circumferant. Domos deinde pagatim publicas habent, in quibus soluti omnes in commune victitant: ad hos quæcumque alte- {fol. 97v} -rius sexus advocatur, aut venit, laud[at]ji id vertitur: magna juventutis, ut per se patet corruptela. Quin imo hi, tanquam in senatum ingressi, venustiore[m] aliquo e vicinia deligunt. Ad hujus parentes concham testudineam, aut si quid [folio 6] habent pretiosus, deferunt, pretium conductæ a se, ut loquuntur; publicæ uxoris: sequitur illa lætis parentibus, et ipsa non invita. Quo successu, facile est cogitare. Postea suis restituitur, nulla inde aut famæ, aut pretij jactum, sed potius incremento; ita ut cuicumque matrimonio tum demum matura videatur. Sed huic malo uti publico, et in propatulo posito, prompta, et facilis, ut sperare licet, erit a Christianis institutis medicina.*

[The beginning of the mission]

*Hunc in campum, tribulis et spinis inveteratæ dudum, et nusquam cultæ gentilitatis late obsitum, ingressa Societas, illud primum cæpit circumspicere, quo locorum commodius certam stationem figeret, ne in incertum inter barbaros vagari diutius cogeretur. Sex erant universi de Societate: P. Didacus Aloysius de San Victores reliquis præesse jussus, P. Ludovicus de Medina, ambo in odium fidei post paulo a barbaris occisi, P. Petrus de Casanova, P. Ludovicus de Morales, P. Thomas Cardeñoso sacerdotes, et Laurentius Bustillo sacris nondum initiatus. His, et sæcularibus socijs sedes certa, et sarcinis, ne cœli inclementia corrumperet, tectum quærebatur. Nec quidquam difficile ubi Maria patrocinium, Mariæ filius moderandis rebus habenas suscepit. Senex e primo-ribus unus, nomine Kipuja, iam ante cum capaci-ribus aliquot baptismatis fonte regeneratus, fundum suum liberaliter Patribus obtulit. Jacebat hic ad oram septentrionalem hujus insulæ, ad fauces interiores portus maritimi: fluvio item amæno, et salubri intersecante, in meditullio pagi tota insula celeberrimi, tam nobilitate incolarum, quam bellica inter omnes virtute. Agaña vocabatur pagus: cui statim a Sto. Ignatio nomen impositum, et fundata in eo prima hujus missionis residentia, ab eodem Sto Patre nominata. Interim dum Patres plantandæ Christi fidei strenue insudant, nam præcipua Christianæ doctrinæ capita vulgari gentis lingua providi cum interprete adduxerant; posita a sæcularibus opera diligenter, ut sua Deo, sua Patribus domus quamprimum esset. Ipsa purificatæ in templo virginis festa luce 1669 templum eidem titulari festo, sanctisque Martyribus rite dedicatum, apertum est: in quo, ne quidquam Marianum requireretur, ipsæ, e quibus magnam partem surrexerat, arbores a Maria vocabantur: ad hoc frequentes statim concursus, non solum ex omnibus hujus insulæ pagis, sed etiam ex adjacentibus insulis fieri cæpti. Rapiebat plærique studium videndi, et nova hæc, nec usquam antea cognita, tam augusta sacrorum species mirè afficiebat. Tum Patribus docendi, formandi, inculcandi copiosa facta materia. Dies totos obsepta erat domus, tum admirantium, tum instrui cupientium turba. Vix primi abcesserant, quin alij continuo frequentes succederent. In omnes sese Patres dividebant ex æquo, zelo eo, qui a viris tantis, in tam incultam barbariem recenter investis expectari debeat. Dum alij inculcandis Christianis misterijs indefessi insistunt, alij devorandis linguæ difficultatibus indesinenter insudant, alij ad conquirendos, et Christo adscribendos parvulos recens natos discurrunt. Iamque resonabant late littora, aut preces, aut sacræ doctrinæ capita decantantium choris. Ut quisque Indorum alicui ex Patribus, aut hispanis obviam factus, pollice fronti admoto crucis signum formare, orationem dominicam incipere, aut aliquod e Christianæ doctrinæ capitibus interrogare: adeo ut a 16<sup>a</sup> Junij 1668, usque ad 21am Aprilis 1669 maximam partem hujus insulæ, nempe sex millia 55, tam adultos, quam parvulos Christianorum albo adscripserint.*

*Iamque adesse tempus videbatur ineundæ possessionis reliquarum insularum. Et quamquam non deessent, qui non gravate Patres in illas transveherent, alij tamen obstabant, causa videbatur subesse, nam alias, nescio quas, pretexebant, ne munuscula, cultri, arcus, vitrea grana, conchæ, in alios præter se dividerentur. Pervicere Patres quidquid id fuit difficultatis, et tres primum, postea etiam quatuor sacerdotes, comitantibus e sæcularibus paucis, per omnem hunc tractum stagnantes Evangelij faces, depulsis late tenebris circumtulere. Jacent, ut dixi, ad septentrionem, vix ultraunius diei iter ab invicem disjunctæ insulæ. In decem præter illam de qua hactenus fidei radij hoc anno diffusi. Prima occurrit Rota incolis, nautis Zarpana, nobis a Sta. Anna dicta non admodum diffusa, haud ultra octo leucas ambitu*

*complectitur: incolis per diversos pagos circiter bis mille frequentata: piscatu maxime nobilis. Inde pari fære distantia adjacet Agiguan, nobis a Sto Angelo Custode: minor, nec plus quam trium horarum circuitu, habitatoribus trecentis. Sequitur angustiori freto Buena Viata Mariana, Indis vocata Tenian: oryzæ fertilitate in camporum planitie nobilis, quam cultoribus illa duplici messo refundit. In illa frumentum hoc genus toto hoc tractu optimum colligitur, album omnino, nam quod alio ferunt insulæ, rubeum est: gustus, et estimationis; ut siligo inter triticum inferioris, habitatores habet ter mille, intra littora 10 fære leucarum. Illam excipit Zaypan, iam a Sto Josepho: angustiore quidem freto, sed maris fluxu non parum reliquis contentiore, in quo perijt, olim navis hispana a Conceptione dicta A° 1638, cujus etiamnum rudera spectantur in domibus, tormenta et anchore in littore. Insula et ambitu, qui erit 15 leucarum, et multitudine incolarum, qui ad sex millia dicuntur ascendere inter omnes secunda. Post hanc Anatajan est, hodie a Sto Joachimo: duas ad meridiem, sed ab hominibus incultas adjacentes insulas habet, dictas Managaja, et Noos. Ipsa in spatio sex leucarum a quingentis cultoribus habitatur. Haud longius reliquis distat Sarigan, sive a Sto. Carolo, colitur plus quam 200 incolis, nec ultra 4 leucarum spatia diffunditur. Proxime succedit Guguan, nunc a Sto. Philippo, monte ignivomo olim celebrabatur: nunc extinctus ille quidem, sed cum ruina majoris partis incolarum, quos cineribus suis et flammis involuit. Non ultra 100 incolas intra trium leucarum terminos complectitur. Offert se inde Alamagan, nostris a Conceptione: monte item ignivomo medias inter undas miranda insula suo ambitu ultra 4 leucas non complectitur, et vix trecentos incolas habet. Mons memoratus evomit sæpe ignem copiosum, silices ignitos, et cineres, et ascendentes ad extrahendum sulphur, quod optimum habet, speciem æneæ fornacis, vel potius sulphuræ horrendum bullientis præbet. Subsequens Pagon, sive a Sto. Ignatio dicta, duplici fastigio luculentos ignes ad astra eiciens, tanta sæpe copia, ut longe in alijs insulis habitantibus videndos se præbeant. Sequitur ultima illarum: quas hoc anno licuit invisere, et excolere, dicta Agrigan sive a Sto. Xaverio; ubi etiam iam templum suo honori rite divatum habet insula arborum præ cæteris ferax, e quibus navigio incolæ, et multa, ita ut proximis etiam insulis sufficiant, et toto hoc tractu optima, imo et maxima conficiunt. Post etiam aditæ aliæ: Asonson, sive ab Assumptione, cineribus suis ab ignivomo monte ejectis pene consepulta. Et Maog, nobis a Sto Laurentio insula eodem nomine triplex: perpaucis utraque habitatoribus. Ultima omnium est Urac, omnino ab hominibus {deserta, avibus tam frequens ut {fol. 98} ad hanc ex remotioribus} etiam insulis statis temporibus concurrant, de annona sibi venando prospecturi. Tanta autem est copia, ut fustibus et stagnis passim deijciant: tum explumatos sale macerant, ac sole exsiccant: inde onusta navigia, suas dilitias, domum avehant. Et vero insulam universam partita inter se volatilis hæc respublica videtur: nam certa ejus parte ova [sic] inter folia deponunt, et excubant: alia pullos alunt: alia inter sese majores quasi conversantur.*

[folio 7] *Per hæc ergo deserta, improbo labore, periculis, ultra quam dici potest, discurrebant Patres, ne vel tantilla orbis æternæ veritati per incuriam detraheretur. Septem millia ducenti et triginta quatuor [= 7,234] primo anno per has oras lustrali aqua abluti. Ad 20 millia eandem passim ambientium numerata. Itaque baptisatorum primo anno computantur plus quam 13 millia, quibus si 20,000 cathecumenorum addideris, habebis, quantum ego non temere judico, et tam ex nostris, quam externis potui colligere, justum fære numerum incolarum, qui hoc in tractu censentur: aut illum certe si exæquet, non multum superat.*

#### [The Choco affair]

*Et quamquam ex voto fluerent quaquaversum omnia, non deerant inferni hostis versutissime fraudes, quibus rebus prospere fluentibus obicem poneret. Versabatur in insula Sti. Jois. Sina [= Chinese] quidam, Choco nomine, qui ante annos facile 20 occiderat unum e socijs, secum ad has insulas naufragis, quare cum reliqui navigium resarcissent, veritus ille justitiam: et defuncti amicos, malvit exilium iam inventum certo supplicio anteponere. Ergo uxore ducta ex insula Sti Josephi [= Saipan], vitam tolerabat cudendis in cultros, et ascias arcubus, nam ferrariam noverat. Versatus hic fuerat Manilæ inter suos, et solennes nostræ fidei cæremonias, quamquam gentilis ipse, et idololatra, compertas satis habebat. Hic*

1 Ed. note: This line is missing from the BR copy.



*ubi nostros cognovit, et ritus in solenni baptismo adhiberi solitos coram introspevit: voces cæpit sacrilegas spargere. Oleum quod adhibebant nostri in solemni baptisate, venenum esse necandis ubique parvulis a nobis advectum. Fundamento, ut ab ipsomet postea compertum est, hoc maxime nitebatur, quod Manilæ inter suos dum ageret. Vix ullos cognovisset, qui post adhibitam unctionem, vitam ultra produxissent. Est hæc natio Manilæ subdola inprimis, et perversa, solis lucris, et corrogando per fas et nefas argento hispanico intenta. Unde in tanta luce fidei Christianæ, ad meridiem solem pertinaces cæcutiunt: certi aciem non intendere, nisi vel lucrum inde, quod Christianis indultum est sperent, vel appropinquans mors terrore suo pertinaciæ tenebras depellat. Ergo desperata iam vita sacerdotem plærique advocant, christianos mori se velle testantur, baptismo expetant. Itaque adhibetur plærumque animæ medicina, quando corpori iam deest, baptisma simul cum extrema unctione. Inde scilicet venenum suxerat nequaquam idololatra, salutaribus remedijs vitium addens, quod vel naturæ, vel Patrijs medicinis debebatur. Valuit hic metus, utpote apud solum de presenti vita sollicitos, de futura ignaros ut non immerito divinæ providentiæ acceptum debeamus, quod ad septentrionem primum navis appulerit, ne si ad meridiem id fieret, ut omnino decretum erat, ob portus opportunitatem, ingentem fidei moram Patres offenderent, apud animos hac peste præoccupatos: nam hic domicilium fixerat seductor. Igitur quamquam omnino damnum evitari non potuit, minus illud fuit; refutante experientia mendacij vanitatem. Secuta dein ipsius impostoris conversio, momentum omne fabulæ abstulit. Nam cum obeundis missionibus, ad ipsius pagum, et domum Patres penetrassent, convictus ille manus dedit: et quamquam in dubio relinqueret, qua fide id faceret, nam est id genus hominum place subdolum, admissus tamen est, tum ad reliquorum exemplum, tum ad convictæ falsitatis apertum testimonium. Quamquam non potuit grassantis mali perniciæ opprimi satis ulla velocitate. Iam fama illud etiam in distantes detulerat: et prona est semper in deterius fides. Itaque quorum animos occupaverat metus, qui mitius agerent, parvulos suos intra montes, et abstrusas latebras abscondere: alij verbis asperis, imo et verberibus ministros evangelicos excipere: alii consuetum hospitibus alimentum, more in his insulis plane recepto, fructus pauculos perfructum negare: idque post continuatum integræ diei iter, et exantlatum solem, ieiunis. Nec defuere qui a videntem ad se unum ex nostris religiosis vestibus spoliarent, nulla apud nudos verecundia, nec nisi post enixas preces, et lacrimas redderent. Et hæc quidem etiam intra insulam Sti. Jois.: in alijs acrius res gerabatur. Et quamquam intra cædem nostrorum, non et stetit tamen intra sanguinem. In insula Zaypan, sive a Sto. Josepho acrius internalis flamma exarserat. Ex illa uxorem duxerat sina, eique sanguine junctam familiam habebat. Hi primum, junctis sibi audacioribus aliquot, Evangelio se opponere: minas, et ubi minæ non sufficerent, arma ostentare.*

#### [Native weapons]

*Inter cætera, quibus utuntur hi barbari, hasta est duplicis generis: una ex osse, eoque humano, altera ex ligno, lento igne, et fumo obdurato. Ad illas tibijs suis cadavera spoliant, et quo longiores, eo magis expetunt. Imo et mortuorum cadavera eo situ sepeliunt, si longiores tibix arriserint [asseverint?], ut juncto ad femora calce. Summa genua vix terra operiat, quibus et funiculos adnectunt, ut putrefactis iam nervis, ossa intacto reliquo corpore extrahant. Ita sepultum invenere nostri P. Ludovicum de Medina: verum de illo infra. Inest autem his ossibus, ut experientia constat, mortiferum venenum; præsertim si vel minima ejus particula vulnere inhæserit: nec ullo, quod quidem repertum sit, medicamento superabile.] has punctum acutissimè acuunt, inde duplici vel triplici serie puncta transversa, sive hamos addunt, ut vulnus facile aperiant, extrahi difficillime queant: aut si extrahantur, propter acumen puncti, et materiæ fragilitatem, aculeum in vulnere facillime relinquunt: linguam serpentinam, autem si piscem existimes.*

*Circuibat hoc tempore insulam P. Ludovicus de Morales: in illum ferebatur gliscens barbarorum furor. Iamque minis et furijs actum parum videbatur. Ad baptismum nescio cujus e parvulis accesserat; quo peracto, ad quietem fatigato corpori necessariam se paulisper receperat: cum ecce e proximo feralis hasta projicitur, et suram decumbenti transverberat. Dies erat Augusti 14<sup>o</sup>, 1668. Non defuit sibi minister Apostolicus, sed supra barbaricum furorem animo excelsior, cultrum a socio, qui forte aderat, pop[us]cit, et vulnere undequaque aperto, lanceam ipse extrahit; et pauculo, quod ad sacrificandum attulerat, vino lavat, et reficit, tum linteo, quo ad sudorem extergendum utebatur, raptim arte constrin-*



*git: inde ad Indos amiciores aliquot paulisper divertit, et cum curando vulnere nihil ibi reperiretur. Ob-  
tento navigio ad Patres socios revertitur, quorum fraterno studio pristinae tandem sanitati, et muneribus  
est restitutus. Felix, qui fuso iam pro Xro. sanguine, ab ictu fortior superaret.*

*Alia paucos post dies, nempe 19<sup>a</sup> ejusdem pene in loco caedes, Patres non leviter afflixit. Socius P[at]ri  
Ludovico datus fuerat quidam {fol. 98v} Laurentius hispanus, et nauta expertus, alterque Indus Philip-  
pinus, nomine Gabriel. Hi Patrem iam profectum secuturi, navigium apud amicum, ut rebantur; conqui-  
runt. Ille meditato iam scelere prodicionem celat, et socium facinoris conscium adhibet; tum admissos  
devehit in altum, non procul ab insulo **Tenian**, seu Buena Vista Mariana: ibi juvenis Indi securus, his-  
panum Laurentium incautum aggreditur, et in mare primo impulsu proturbat. At sui non immemor  
Laurentius, nandi gnarus, et id quod erat praesentiens, audacter ad navigium adnabat: tum alter has-  
tas iam expeditas exerit, et miserum repetitis ictibus horrendum fremens transfigit. Trepidare ad haec  
juvenis non plus quam duodennis, et sese ad genua efferati iam barbari cum lacrimis projicere: parceret  
innocenti, et in quacumque insula vel nudum exponeret. Nihil certe in se culpae, nihil suspicionis reper-  
tum. Obsorduerant aures pietati: hastam quoque adverso pectori cum fremitu ingerit, tum arreptum pedi-  
bus, prono capite in mari devolvit. Inde navigium obvertit, et obtenta quasi victoria superbiem ad suos  
revertitur. Verum quidem est titulum a barbaris minus honestum, [folio 8] quam fidei propagatorem,  
aut certe Apostolici ministri socium deceat, facinori praetensum; sed illo certe innocentem juvenem non  
comprehensum constat, et dubitari non potest, quin odium recenti Patris Ludovici sanguine non satis  
plene satiatum, praecipuum calcar sceleri addiderit. Illud certe non silerim: eundem barbarum post pau-  
cos menses, eodem pene loco navigantem, exorto turbine submersum: Deo vel innocentiae teste, vel  
sceleris vindice.*

*Non omittebat interea divina misericordia consolari suos, tum inusitato aliquorum fervore, tum grata  
aliorum simplicitate. Patres invita matre parvulos baptismo offerebant, matres etiam patre remittente.  
Est vero (nam juvat ex longinquo nosse omnia) tenerum parvulorum recens natorum spectaculum. Ves-  
tis, et omnis linea supellex cum desit, praegrandibus plantani folijs, pro fascijs involuunt; palmæ nucis  
putamen capiti pro pileolo adaptant, tum e storea contextæ corbiculae, quasi cunis Mosaicis imponunt;  
illam, baculo appensam humeris suis a tergo quaquaversum circumferunt. Facilis scilicet, et expedita  
paupertas. Interim nec deerant ex adultioribus, qui parentibus vel invitis ultro sese erudiendos, et ab-  
luendos sacro fonte praebent. Est vero parentibus diminutum prorsus in natos imperium, a quibus  
scilicet exulat metus, optimus infantiae instructor. Si deliquerint filij, pœnis abstinent patres, edocti suo  
damno, quod nempe de sese ipsi barbaram vinctam ab arbore penduli deposcant. Si tamen rarus aliquis  
tante austeritatis est, ut pœnas a natis sumere audeat, ille verberibus, aut flagellis non utitur; sed pros-  
trato in terra supino filio, ventrem, et viscera, et pectus omne pedibus calcet. Et hæc pœna in pignus  
amicitiæ, et hospitalitatem convertitur. Si quis tergum et scapulos calcet, lautitias exhibet, et varijs malis,  
sed praesertim lassitudini medicinam. Unde et salutandi genus illud eximium, vin te pedibus calcem?*

*Imo et alij pro nobis perorabant. Quid enim? Nonne inter cætera legis sanctissimæ capita, et illud in-  
culcant: non occides? Quomodo ergo ad occidendos parvulos nostros patriam hi deserent, plus quam ne-  
farij homicidæ. Singulare hoc in pago **Sogua**, in insula **Tenian**, seu Buena Vista Mariana hoc anno  
accidit. Solicitati iam erant ab inimicis, ut praecones sacros, cum primum advenirent occiderent: venit ad  
illos minister Evangelicus, sed diverso plane eventu nam tanta vis fuit verbi divini, zelum Prædicatoris  
Deo inflammante, ut dimissa necdum concione conclamarent omnes: hinc erant quos mactandos nobis  
proponerent? Qua culpa? Nisi quod recte vitam nos instituere doceant? Quid illis apud nos pretij est, nisi  
animarum salus, qui domi ferro, et vestibus, quibus nos caremus, abundant. Quid multa? Vix adultus  
aut parvulus toto pago superfuit, quin eo die sacris undis ablueretur. Erat ille Sto. Carolo sacer, unde et  
pagus deinceps a Sto. Carolo dictus.*

*Simile huic accidit in insula **Sti. Jois.**, in pago **Tarifay** [sic], sive a Sto. Januario dicto, quo cum ac-  
cessisset defectu sacerdotis, unus e nostris necdum sacris initiatus, licet non minus pertinacia sua, quam  
sacrilegis mendacijs obdurati incolæ essent, victi tamen virtute verbi divini, post brevem perorationem,  
parvulos sacro fonti, et sese instructioni quam libentissimos dedere.*

[The miracles of 1668]

*Placuit etiam divinæ bonitati supernaturalibus beneficijs pauperum horum animos sibi devincire, et micanti iam fidei radio prodigiorum faces accendere. Pauca hic referam e varijs magis illustria, et interpretis Patrum fide, et juramento, ac publica voce populi comprabata. Primum accidit ad invocationem Sti. Francisci Xaverij in insula Zarpana, seu a Sta. Ana, in pago **Muchon**, sub titulo ejusdem gloriosi Indiarum Apostoli. Homo hic erat, in baptismo dictus Franciscus Nufa: hic ex longa et gravi infirmitate bis morti proximus, et ab hominibus desperatus, bis applicato gloriosi Apostoli numismate sanitati pristinæ, et viribus antiquis restitutus. Sic in insula Agrigan, sive a Sto. Xaverio mulier partu difficillimo liberata, invocato P. N. S. Ignatio, et parvula Ignatia dicta est.*

*In **Tarayfac** Sti. Jois. insulæ pago, mulier, dum loqui peterat, baptism[o] restiterat: inde morbi angustiae vocis meatus obstruxerant: miseratus Pater reliquias Sti. Xaverij applicat, et solenni ejusdem orationi insistit. Cum ecce solutis obstaculis loquitur, instruitur, baptismum petit, impetrat loquendi facultatem denuo amittit, et feliciter, ut fas est credere, morito.*

*In **Tomhom** [sic] Insulæ Zaipan [sic] mulier, quæ obsidentis maligni hostis Indicia clara præterebat, nam que longe posita, nec scitu facilia predicebat, sacris armis id est carminibus, et invocatione SSor. Ignatij, et Xaverij liberata.*

*Celebrius fuit, quod subdo, et contigit in insula Zarpana, in Residentia Sti. Xaverij in pago **Fuñā**: parvulis hic trimestris a parentibus abscondetur, et Patre pagum circumeunte deferebatur de domo in domum, ne per ministri presentiam, quod unice timebant, ablutus baptisate, præsertim vitæ periculum incurreret. Sed frustra nam aliunde advenit, quod a medicina timebatur. Mortuus est infans prius quam salutaribus aquis tingeretur post sex circiter horas, cum rigeret iam (verba sunt interpretis fidem cum juramento deponentis) et pollinctus a parentibus, et amicis plangeretur, Patri adventanti, tanquam rem extra periculum iam positam exhibent. Commovebantur nempe viscera pietatis paternæ, et oviculæ innocentis præreptæ tantis ambagibus æternæ vitæ usuram cum lacrimis gemebat: inde ad Misericordiæ Matrem, cui in sabbato litaverat, et Indiarum Apostolum conversu[s] cujus pervigilium celebrabat ieiunus, animo concepit, si infans usura[m] vitæ, vel ad baptismi gratiam recipiat, Xaverium ab se dicendum: tum ad preces conversus, mirum satis, nitebatur repetitis ter vicibus solemnem Divo precationem, **Deus qui Indiarum gentes**, etc: ordiri, ter aut fallent[i] memoria, aut Santo linguam moderante, in has solemnes item Sto. Ignatio voces ada[uj]ctus: **Deus qui ad majorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam novo per B. Ignatium P. N. subsidio militantem Ecclesiam roborasti**: tum subjecit quæ Sto. Xaverio sunt propria: **concede propitius, ut cujus gloriosa merita veneramus, virtutum quoque imitem exempla**. Nec plura: palpitare cor pueri, et manus moveri cæptæ, presentibus fere totius pagi incolis. Suffecere hæc signa, quo baptismo illi sub conditione concederetur. Sed instabat pijs, et vim cælo facientibus suspirijs pius Pater: cum ecce moveri toto corpore, vires, et color restitui, oculos aperire, et profusis {fol. 99} suis lacrimis circumstantium omnium exsiccare: confusis ad hæc parentibus, arquente præsertim sacerdote modicam fidem, baptismus sub conditione repetitus, delevit tandem ex barbarorum animis sacramenti odium, amore instillavit.*

*Idipsum alias etiam confirmavit divina Misericordia in **Oppian** pago insulæ Zaipan, ubi mulier paralitica usum membrorum omnium cum baptismo recepit. Quod illa beneficium solis aquis lustralibus tam solícite referebat, ut redeunti ad pagum Ministro obviam procederet illa, et gratias de recepta sanitate, et perfecto membrorum usu referret.*

[folio 9] *Nec minus est peccatores convertere, quam mortuos suscitare illud etiam Sto. Francisco Xaverio acceptum retulit P. Ludovicus de Medina. Pagus erat **Nisijan** dictus in parte septentrionali insulæ Sti. Jois: in hoc reducendo incassum iam laboraverant varij e Patribus: repulsi omnes cum minis, opprobrijs, imo et verberibus: sanguinem etiam in expeditione posuerat P. Ludovicus, fustibus inclementer exceptus, et læsus duplici vulnere satis gravi in fronte, et capite; præter totam faciem, et oculos acerbissimo livore contusa: certus tamen nisi cum vitæ jactura, quam postea, sed alio loco gloriose fecit, oppugnationem non deserere, ad certamen revertitur, sed ante cum Matre Misericordiæ, et Sto. Francisco Xaverio victoriam pactus, cujus nomen, si compos voti fuerit, pago se impositorium promittit. Et aderat commode glorioso Apostolo festus dies. Ergo oblatis ad id per octiduum sacrificijs, in die octava ad certamen revertitur: et erant iam quod mirere, tractabiles: imo ad omnem exhortantis nutum tam promp-*

ti, ut certatim sese ad baptismum afferrent. Dies aliquot in necessaria adultorum instructione positi, et in octava Conceptæ sine labe virginis, sacris undis universi de pago abluti.

Et nempe pro nobis, vel ipsis contententibus barbaris, superi militabant. Hinc terrentes miseros, et varie torquentes internas umbræ, suscepto baptismo debellate: hinc ad salutaris ligni præsentiam (nam Cruces inscriptis Jesus, Mariæ, Ignatij et Xaverij nominibus recens baptisatorum in domibus præcipuum locum obtinebant) quidquid spectrorum, quidquid dæmonum antea infestabat, quasi ad splendentem solem meras umbras, evanescere. Fuere qui et commercium sibi cum superis dicitabant. Et quamquam apud barbaram gentem imbecillis hujusmodi rerum auctoritas, et fides; fundamenti tamen aliquid affert unius Ignatij dicti repetita sæpius narratio. Vivebat ille in pago **Zungaron** dicto, sub titulo Immaculatæ Conceptionis, insulæ Tenian, ex adverso sacelli, in quo Patres Imaginem sane piam *D[iv]jæ Virginis de Guadalupe*, quæ non longe a civitate Mexico colitur, religiosè, et decenter asservabant[.] hic nocte concubia, fuit hæc 17<sup>a</sup> Augusti, triduo postquam in insula **Zaipan** lancea vulneratus Pr. Ludovicus de Morales, incertum vigilans, an somno pressus, sic enim loquitur, virginem sibi præsertem habuit, et vocem se percepisse testatur, quo sacrilegum facinus virgo detestabatur, omnia prædictæ imagini similis, nisi quod manus, quas junctas præferebat imago, sustinendis ad ubera duobus parvulis occupabat. Stipabant illam ad latera octo ex adultioribus, quales hic præcingendis Christianæ doctrinæ capitibus adhibentur, qui vinctum fune, ex uno nodo in octo lacinias diviso, canem obluctantem, et oblatrantem, Cerberum opinor, pertrahebant.

Non omittam hic coronidis loco apponere singulare in hos pauperes divinæ Providentiæ testimonium. Ad pagum **Pigpug** insulæ Sti. Jois., iam ante reductum ad fidem, in die triumphi Stæ Crucis, ante quam verè sic triumphantem, arserant paulo ante imagines majorum, quas superstitiose venerantur; et calvariæ, reverbeatur visitaturus minister: quando certam domum ingresso offertur vetula plus quam centenaria, a nepotibus metu mortis id est baptismi hactenus oculata: et illa corpore magis quam animo divinæ voci obsoruerat: nec facile remedium faciendæ instructionis, nisi ad divinum sollicitus Pater confugeret. Ergo particulam ligni crucis, quam e collo gerebat, mulieri applicat, et sponsum virginis, cujus festa luce hæc gerebantur, Josephum propitium precatur. Nec plura aures illa ad voces arrigit, interroganti respondet, de necessarijs instructur, baptisatur: admirante circum familia, cunctisque ad quos fama pervolavit.

Hæc cælo maturæ animæ improbum laborem facile Patribus compensant. Fuere e baptizatis plus quam quinquaginta, qui decrepita iam etate centenarijs proximi, aliquis etiam centum iam et viginti annorum, et parvulus plus quam centum, qui hoc anno a fonte baptismatis, stolam gratiæ primam, primitias agni ad cæleste convivium, ut sperare licet, detulere, perituræ vestis iam facile securi. Numeratus inter senes Joannis **Kipuja** insularum omnium estimatione primarius: cui et fundum Residentiæ suæ Patres, et ingressum in has insulas post Deum debebant. Voluit ille raro exemplo, sepeliri in Dei domo: imo, si ejusdem filio credimus, post mortem apparuit, et se receptum cælesti domo, illumque in fide iam recepta confirmavit. Inter hæc culti ad omnem virtutem pauci comites hispani, et Indi Philippini, qui zelo suo, et exemplo, imbecillis his, et quasi in fide titubantibus parvulis firmavere gressum, et ad Christiana exercitia duces fuere. Atque hi sunt fructus, quos dedit prima messe novale hoc Christi non admodum inimicum, et, si copia operariorum adfuisset, multo futurum fecundius.

Iamque e missionibus suis convenerant Patres collaturi inter sese de medijs, quibus, quod hactenus fecerant. Efficacius divinæ gloriæ, et Evangelio in futuro secula stabilimentum compararent, ac simul animum spiritualibus nutrimentis, corpus quiete saltem aliqua, quod solum poterant deficientibus alijs recrearent: ad futuri etiam, si navis, quæ per hæc tempora ab nova Hispania Manilam revertitur, ad suas insulas aqutum appelleret. Cum tandem in conspectum se dedit 14<sup>a</sup> Junij [1669] sub vesperam navis a Sto Josepho nomen {fol. 99v} sortita, et ad illam devectus P. San Victores, invenit colendissimos hospites D.D. Emanuele de Leon, futurum Philippinarum pro rege Gubernatorem, et R. P. Ludovicum Pimentel futurum item ejusdem Provinciæ Soctis. Jesu Provincialem: nec absque singulari Dei Providentiâ accidit, quamquam quid accideret in insulis tam remotis sine singulari ejus numine? Quod navis hoc anno Patres inveniret. Iam a decima tertia quæ dies præcesserat, venerant in conspectum Insularum: et suo more advolarat ad suas nundinas gens habendi studiosissima. Resonabant littora confusis clamoribus, vela dimitti jubentium, fructus suos ostendentium, piscem aliquem, aut avem, aut ex amissa navi

*supellectilis aliquid preferentium: nam explicari vix potest, qua aviditate, qua cura ad conspectum navis universi accurrant. Non studiosius ad farris acervum formicæ, non ad mellis favum muscæ conglomerant: quam ideo **Mâmis**, id est dulcedinem suam appellant. Ad illam in seram noctem hærerere, clamare, [folio 10] blandiri, in omnem formam simiarum instar se fingere, quo tandem aut arcum ferreum, clavum, cultrum, securim, aut quid simile obtineant: ubi impetrarunt, pleni gaudio, et vel ipsis iam hispanis ditiores revertuntur. Si contracta raucedine in morbum postea incidant, illum hispana navis in suas terras advexit.*

*Sed Governatori, ac presertim Provinciali major erat cura de Patribus aliquid intelligere, cum nusquam illi, nusquam litteræ, aut aliud vestigium illorum appareret: nisi quod alij in Christiana schola munire sese salutari signo didicerant, alij hispana lingua **Laudebus Sanctissimum Sacramentum**, aut **ego te baptiso** blæsè utcumque, nam sic plerique loquuntur, sed satis perfecte pronuntiarent. Rogantibus de Patribus, si viverent, ubi morarentur, saxa loquebantur non intelligentibus. Ad vocem tamen Patres, et ad vestem respondebant, **si Pare magas**, quod Patrem magnum sonat, et Superiorem designabant, **si Pare Tiro**, sic Bustillo zyncoparant, **si Pare Manira**, sic Medina inflexerant: ubi vocem hanc Manira percepit P. Pimentel, et repeti audivit: profecto inquit, vel me fallit opinio, vel Patres consumpta opera Manilam reversi sunt. Inde ad interrogandum revertuntur: ubi repeti vocem strenue audivere; desperato negotio, vela jubent attolli, cursum Manilam versus perfecturi. Iamque die integro, et nocte consumptis, insulam navis superaverat, cujus orientem, et meridiem adnavigarat: quando ex duplici parte, expediti iam cum suo navigio ad missiones eam conspiciunt, et ut erant accincti lumbos ad Evangelium ad illam Patres devehuntur. Pro scipione e rudi ligno crucem manibus præterebant, calceati pedes soleis e palma contextis: non enim alios calceos sæpe paupertas suggerebat, sæpe frequentes in occursum et acutissimi silices, et palustres lacunæ permittebant. E storea pileus, et injectum humeris palliolum pluvias arcebat: sunt hæ utpote in insulis medio mari cujus mutationi subjectis admodum frequentes. E collo coronam Divæ appenderant. Ille receptus tum erat et etiannum durat adeundi missiones modus. Recepti in navem commum omnium plausu, et delegendo portu in commune collatum aderat haud longe ad meridiem insulæ portus, dictus continuo a Sto. Antonio, quod ejus festa luce insulas primum detexissent; et in illum invitabat leniter aspirans ventus. Ergo in illo anchoræ jactæ, et ubes [lebes?] nautica ad flumen vicinum aquatum dimissa.*

*Interim exponebantur, quæ eleemosinæ nomine submittebant his pauperibus pij a-nimarum zelatores eminebat inter omnes Congregatio Sti. Xaverij Mexicana, cum Moderatore suo, ejusdem regni Prorege, a quo, et ab Excellentissima uxore, liberales eleemosinæ, et quod maximum, eternum duraturæ afferebantur. Necdum advenerant ab hispania litteræ, quæ expectabantur, quibus juberet Rex primogenitæ huic suæ in Xro soboli, alimenta et defensores exhiberi: privata munificentia cuncta procedebant. Eximium se præbuit pro natura sua, et genio D.D. Emanuel de Leon Philippinarum Governator, nihil omnino, quod vel Dei cultum, vel indigentiam propriam spectaret, passus a Patribus desiderari: adeo ut proprium ipse penum exarmaret, quo indigentibus succurreret. Deinde tenellulam hanc Christianæ reipublicæ intantiam, a predecessore suo tanto studio, et impendijs enutritam, in clientelam suam, et patrocinium recepit. Nec liberalius promisit, quam præstitit: nam nulla deinceps mavis e Philippinis solvit non instructa ordinibus pro hac missione favoris, et munificentæ plenis. Illud singularem præ ceteris affectum demonstravit. Rogaverat illum P. San Victores dignaretur pro sua auctoritate Catholicam aulam informare, de præsenti in his insulis fidei Catholicæ statu. Multis Indicijs prodi iam ingenitam Indirum inconstantiam non licere post hac Evangelicis Ministris inter armatos barbaros tutis consistere: ut corrigantur vitia, et Christiani mores stabiliantur, armis Catholicis opus esse: patere iam, vel apud hos nudos, nisi timor magister accesserit, aut parum, aut nihil inarmatum zelum ad stabilitatem proficere. Fecit quod rogebatur, ubi primum occasio data est, exaratis in Hispaniam litteris, tam nervosis, tam efficacibus, ut fidem, et effectam suum ilico impetrarent. Ergo ad concilium Mexicanum ab Hispania negotium remissum, ut ibi ab expertis harum insularum; de præsidio neophytis illis imponendo, de ejus modo, numero, stipendijs consultaretur. Quare e sententia ibi confecta, dum in Hispaniam rursus remittitur, eadem navis, quæ litteras attulerat, et forte in hybernis Acapulci remanserat, tanto itinerum intervallo, responsum item ab Hispania, et a Mexicano Senatu retulit. Nec desiderati se permisit R. P. Pimentel, promit-*

tens, quod et fecit, procuraturum se operarios, quales requirere hanc Spartam coram ipse inspiciebat zelosos, fortes, et omnium pro Xro præterquam sui amatores.

Ergo compositis sic rebus, 17<sup>a</sup> Junij [1669], aniversario die, quo Patres primum in has terras descend-erant, sublatis anchoris cursum tenuit navis, quem et feliciter perfecit. Patres qui excepto uno missioni-bus extra insulam debento, omnes ad navem accesserant, quasi resumtis animis fortiores ad Apostolica ministeria reversi, nihil antiquius habuere, quam fundita iam at vedebatur fide in Sti. Jois. insula, ad ex-tremas hujus tractus eandem propagare. Ergo relictis, qui instruendis domi Neophytis sufficerent, reliqui in diversas insulas digressi: in quibus tres residentia fundatæ, præter illam, quæ iam stabilita fuerat in insula Sti. Jois. In singulis sua Deo domus, maxima qua per inopiam licuit solennitate dicata. 1<sup>a</sup> in Insu-la Stæ Annæ, alia in **Tenian**, tertia in insula Sti. Xaverij, virgini Dipare omnes, sub deversis festorum titulis, et sanctis titularibus consecratæ. Aliud templum excitatum in insula a Conceptione, sive **AJama-gan**, quamquam ibi certa Patribus futura sedes non est. Itaque in quatuor Residentijs, et 5 Ecclesijs præ-ferebat iam speciem aliquam Christianæ reip[ublicæ]: et, ne quidquam deesset, in duas, quæ elapso anno adi- {fol. 100} -ri non potuerant: insulas fides cum protectu invecta, supplente periculorum contemptu, et zelo Patrum, navigiorum his in partibus imbecillitatem: in alteram quidem ipsa assumptæ in cælum virginis luce, unde quæ antea **Asonson**, ab Assumptione vicino satis vocabulo nuncupata: in alteram in Octava Sti. Laurentijs, quæ etiam **Maug** [folio 11] prius dicta, a glorioso Hispano Martire nomen as-sumpsit. In tredecim hisse insulis, id est in omnibus, quæ patrijs hisse navigijs adiri possunt, et inter quas mutuam Indorum commercium viget, baptizata duobus his annis tam adulti, quam parvuli, circiter 30 millia [sic], quæ est major pars incolarum hunc tractum occupantium.

Rumpebatur interea internalis inimicus, et prædam tam copiosam, tam secure tot sæculis posessam, eripi sibi e faucibus indignissime ferebat. Ergo ad novas machinas, sed prioribus crudeliores revertitur. Renavigabat ab insulis septentrionalibus plantato iam fide Pr. San Victores, alios submissurus, qui eandem rigarent continuo, dum ipse universum hunc tractum vigilans pastor circumlustrat, et delatus in in-sulam Sti. Joachimi Christianam rem sedulo promovebat. Hic mancipium nescio quod ab naufragio navis dictæ a Conceptione, dum corpus liberat inter barbaros, animam in servitutem dæmoni, et idolis dicave-rat. Ille tritam iam fabulam de veneno sub baptismi solennitatibus abscondito, apud incolas renovarat. Horum securus Pater, dum adversante vento detinetur in insula, Apostolica munia constanter obibat. Ipse dum alijs detinetur in insula, socium sæcularem ad perquirendum, et baptisandum parvulum, cujus nescio quæ indicia comparuerant, dimittit. Natione is erat Malabar, naufragium hic pridem passus, Pa-tribus adhærebat zelo plane Catholico, dictus Laurentius forte: dum pergit, in vicina objerat intans paulo ante baptizatus, et parentes felicitatis ignari, veneno nostrati mortem adscribebant. Ergo furore cæci, viciniam universam incendunt, hastas arripiunt, certi injuriam, ut rebantur, acceptam præserti cruore eluere: cum obvium habent hominem nostrum incautum, inarmatum: in illum tacto agmine cum clamore feruntur, hastas ingeminant, et miserum, aut felicem potius repetitis vulneribus prosternunt. Nec con-tenti occidisse, oculos palpitanti adhuc evellunt, vel sic conceptam rabiem satiaturi: corpus in fœtentem cloacam sepulturæ loco projiciunt.

Accidit hæc cædes 17<sup>a</sup> Novembris 1669. Quid faceret ad hæc consternatus Pater? Vindictam ab ar-matis inermis sumere non poterat: desperatio, et furor pænitentiam excludebant. Ergo in insulam **Te-nian** devehitur. Sed hic nihilo pacatiores res offendebantur. Exarserant inter incolas infernalis odiorum flammæ, quæ mutuos adversantium animos in tantum accenderant, ut ubi fluentibus ex voto rebus Chris-tianis, Paradisus antea videbatur, jam strepentibus odijs inferni faciem referret. Et, ut fere assolet, a levi scintilla repentinum incendium eruperat. Juvenis ex pago **Zungaron**, ubi nostri Domicilium fixerant, in-nuptus ille id est liberior, ad vicinum pagum negotij causa accesserat. Ibi exortis rixis, ut sæpe assolet, non satis honestis, mulierem vulneravit: illa ad suos reversa querelis, minis, furijs omnia inflammavit. Super hæc furibundæ supra sexum mulieres, ex adverso pago in nostrum facto impetu feruntur, et agros, unicam genti spem, oryza tum luxuriantes devastant. Ergo more gentis, unicum tantis malis remedium, bellum indicitur.

[More about weapons and war-making]

*Admirationi erit forte belli mentio apud nationem hanc, non nisi sua pelle armatam, et omni telorum genere destitutam: et tamen frequens admodum illius inter illos exercitium. Si palma succisa sit, si messis convulsa, si pueri inter sese rixati fuerint, e diversis pagis bellum geritur: sed præcipua fax plærumque est fæmina. Et quam ad capessenda arma, tam quoque ad componendam pacem sunt faciles. Ubi primus in acie cecidit, induciæ sunt. Interim pars, quæ occidit, concham testudineam exhibet, pretium defuncti, ut ipsi barbare loquuntur. Ad hujus conspectum iræ subsidunt, et pacis fœdera renovantur. Arma ipsis offensiva, præter hastam, de qua supra, etiam funda est, qua ad caput circumacta dexterrime utuntur. E funiculis illam in modum reticulæ contextunt: lapides in pera circumferunt ovali forma, alios e marmore cote efformatos, alios e glebs sole, aut igne obduratos. Illos velut e turbine tam violenter emittunt. Ut si in delicatius membrum cor, aut caput impeerint, hominem ilico extendant. Deinde si incendendi eminus domum cupido incesserit, perforatum laterem stuppa infarciunt ignis mirum tenaci, quæ veloci motu flamma concipit, et in adversas ædes inimica devehitur. Defensiva arma alia vix habent quam storeas, e quibus pileum pro galea capiti imponunt: aliam item pro lorica lumbis circumligant, nudi relique corpore, quo expeditius vel fundam circumagant, vel hastas ejaculentur, tum ne penates adversarij incendiant, quod apud illos est supremum victoriæ, omnem late pagum punctis, et aculeis ex osse, vel e ligno circumsæpiunt, et vias omnes effossis puteis, aut disjectis arboribus impediunt: tum conveniunt ex vicinis pagis invitati bellatores, inter quos præcipuum locum obtinent juvenes matrimonio soluti, qui hunc in finem communibus expensis in commune aluntur: conveniunt item bello utiles fæminæ, quæ in comparandis, et exhibendis alimentis, tum vero abluendis recenti flumine corporibus, operam suam ponunt.*

*Est enim gens supra modum lotionibus dedita, seu nitoris ergo, seu refrigerij. Unde post actionem quamlibet, abluendi, et refrigerandi corporis prima est cura, balneo scilicet ad mare, et situ nudi corporis semper paratis. Ergo ubi convenere, cochleæ inflantur pro tubis, et inconditis clamoribus animi excitantur. Inde reficiendis corporibus exhibetur laulau: potus est ex mixtura aquæ, et orizæ cum glumis suis minutim contritæ; et Guatafe piscis crudus, maceratus sale, et ad solem induratus, belligerantibus debitus. Hæ supremæ gentis deliciæ.*

*His ubi confirmati, pugnæ tesseram certatim a primoribus exposcunt. Illi, quasi molem belli extra periculum melius directuri, in vicinam domum sese recipiunt: ubi prostratis storeis consistunt, tanquam in Senatum admissi Catones; et pugnæ signum volentibus, et poscentibus, stipitem oblongum, cum appenso palmæ folio attollunt: quo spectato, tollitur ad ætherea barbaricus clamor: inde sine duce, sine ordine confusi procurrunt: ac primum eminus fundas exerunt: ubi ab illis hosti damnum notabile non fit, ad hastas contugiunt, quibus evibrandis pertinaciter insistunt, donec ex adverso unus, aut alter ceciderit: tum viso sanguine mitiores iræ residunt: deinde paratæ jam conchæ pro defunctis, aut læsis afferuntur, et cum illis epulæ, quæ prægrandibus lebetibus, huic usui solum servientibus, a pacem petentibus prægestantur. Ad horum conspectum, pax, excluso Marte, optata tecta revisit.*

[1671L1, cont'd]

*Has inter turbas ingressus insulam Pr. San Victores, quamquam et alius Pater illam consueto Ministerio obtinebat, conijciebat facile præcipuum damnum inter bella vix pullulantis fidei futurum. Itaque ad componendos [folio 12] animos, et pacem conversus, in omnem partem sese flectebat, quo efferatos animos mitigaret. Nec difficultas præcipua videbatur in illis, apud quos domicilium fixerant Patres: quamquam nostrorum præsentia, et armorum fama (unicam bombardam e tribus attulerant) nonnihil confidentiores. Cum adversarijs transactio molestior videbatur, ipse P. San Victores, ne quid intenta-  
{fol. 100v} -tum relinqueret, ad illos legati personam assumit, pro pacis obside assumpta in manus Christi e cruce pendentis effigie, ubi in conspectum se dedit, non aliter quam si efferatus Dæmon animos alterasset, inter confusos ululatus lapidibus salutatur; progredi ulterius, ni occidi vellet, prohibitus. Nec mori timebat: nisi sua morte Christianum fidem pessumdaret. Iamque lapides in ipsum terebrantur, uno in pectus, altere in femur, tertio in venerandam servatoris effigiem impacto. Redux igitur desperata pace, non suas, sed Christi injurias vindicatum ibat melissimus Pater. Domus curam, et sui tutelam Patri, et sæcularibus socijs committit: ipse conducto navigio in insulam Sti. Jois. revertitur, experturus, an armis tran[s]igeretur, vel Christo oratore nescia flecti superbia. Hæc dum comparat, annus elabitur: et Indi iter sese pacem componunt, et recrudescentibus odijs, bellum iterato plus una vice restaurant. Nam per quatuor integros menses, quibus duravit intestina hæc pestis, non potuit nisi subministratis ab inferno causis, toties, tamque minaciter recrudescere.*

*Ergo celebratis domi natalitjs, ineunte iam anno 1670 pauci sociorum, tam Hispanorum, quam Philippinorum insulam ingrediuntur cum Pre. San Victores. Non plus quam 12 univers[at]im jungi potuere: certi tamen omnes locum non deserere, nisi et pacem componerent, et illatas Christo injurias ulciscerentur. Sed nempe tam altos animos tantillæ cohorti ille concesserat, qui de illatis sibi, et legato suo injurijs pænas sumere decreverat. Arma attulerant bombardas omnino duas, id est omnes, præter alteram, qua sese hactenus socij defenderant. Tormentum item bellicum campestre, imo manuale apud socios erat. Reliqu[a] præter gladios, et acinaces, seu prægrandes cultros, qui eorum usum hic habent, arcu et sagittis, imo et hastis patrijs armabantur. Ubi junxere sese, terror late universam insulam pervasit et debellari statim amici nobis indi cupiebant: verum placuit prius legationibus agere, et omnes vias componendæ pacis experiri. Frustra omnia fuere. Donec in medio campi, in quo concurrere Indorum acies consueverant, domuncula erecta, castra Christianorum, seu exterorum dicta, juncto illi piè sacello, quod a Maria pacis dicebatur. In hæc castra ora ignivoma, trepidantibus jam tunc cunctis barbaris, illata, et appositæ vigilæ, ne non omnia, ductrice virgine essent tanquam castrorum acies ordinata. Tum partibus nullo discrimine indictum, ni pacem stabilirent, adesse jam qui illam vel invitis. Sed magno suo malo extorquerent. Ad has voces, sed maxime ad conspectum tuborum ignem spirantium, animi commoti, et tractandæ pacificationi petentibus tempus ultro citroque indultum et videbantur res e sententia procedere, nisi inferni hostis invidia obstetisset. Hic uni e primoribus hostium, fidentiore reliquis suggestit, multitudine suorum nostros obruere: facile id esse, præsertim si incautos aggreantur, et præcipuum metum buccas flammivomas occupent, reliquos facile superandos horum omnium securi octo solum ex nostris cum duabus bombardis castra tuebantur: quando derepente cum omnibus suis impetum facit. Vicerant, si silere potuissent. Audiebantur a longe inconditæ adventantium voces, triumphum clamantium, sed ante victoriam. Nec passi nostri elabi occasionem: ubi intra teli jactum venere audentiores, vocatis in voto superis, pulverem incendunt, et felici successu unum præ reliquis ferocem, et propiorem in ipso loco interimunt, alios duos læthaliter vulnerant, inter quos fuit ipse dux, fax belli, et incentor. Ad inopinatum boatum disjecta in terram incondita multitudo, amissa cum voce ferocia, imo et claustris naturalibus, quod pace castarum aurium dixerim, mortali stupere reseratis, tanquam percussi fulmine. Ubi revixere, veniam supplices, et pacem lamentabili voce precabantur: tum vel maxime, quando disseptum misere tormenti globo audaciorem e socijs, alios læthaliter saucios conspexere: nec mora conchæ testudineæ, et epulæ afferuntur: pacem, pacem omnes et misericordiam ingeminabant. Sic discussa tum quidem Deo Duce, et propitijs superis, fœdissima tempestas, pax stabilita, et ita in hoc usque tempus servata, ut in apertum bellum nunquam eruperit. Quamquam non defuere particularium insidiæ: quin imo et venonum diversis vicibus nostris propinatum constat, semper irritò effectū, Deo scilicet, quos victores voverat, etiam incolumes*



*conservante. Tam hujus beneficij, quam victoriae grates, post Deum, ejusque filij matrem, Sto. Xaverio relatae, cujus prodigiosa imago, dicta de Sanboangan, in insula Mindanao tot victorijs nobilis, Symbolum spei fuerat, et victoriae tessera.*

[Death of Fr. Medina in Saipan]

*Dum haec aguntur gloriosius certamen habuit in insula proxima Zaipan P. Ludovicus de Medina. Aderat ille Patri San Victores, et insulam **Tenian** cum altera ordinarius minister administrabat. Ille interim dum armis hic agitur, ne quid christiana res, aut certe quam minimum detrimenti pateretur, missus fuerat in hanc insulam, ad Christi novae consueta officijs excolendu.*

*Delatus in illam 27<sup>a</sup> Januarij 1670 sub medium diem, nihil antiquius habuit, quam recens natos parvulos conquirere; fructu inter barbaros semper maxime securo. Ad illos indagandos dum ipse progreditur, socios etiam, duos natione Philippinos adduxerat, quaquaversum dimittit, jubens in domos ascendere, et rimari omnia, donec absconditos in lucem pertraherent. Pagus dicebatur **Arayao** in quem exscenderant. Hic offensi ex Indis ferociiores aliqui, quod stulti hi, sic enim loquebantur, in perquirendis infantibus tam solcite insudarent, de conficiendis omnibus consilium capessunt. Nec mora: audacior unus, ut erat forte acinace armatus, in caput adstantis Hypoliti, sic vocabatur unus sociorum, minaciter attollit: quod intuens alter, dictus Augustinus de la Cruz, heus! inquit: sic innocentem occidis? et hastam, quam gerebat, infestam minatur. Suspendit ictum, [folio 13] non sacrilegos animos homicida. Itaque turbatis rebus, nihil ulterius audendum rati, pagum relinquunt, ductore et socio altero Christiano, qui ex memeratae navis naufragio, in hac insula remansert. Vix in apertum littus evaserant, cum ecce fundis emissus lapidum grando, et immissae hastae deferuntur. Animus quidem erat bombardam, quam unicam deferebant, in confertos explodere, sed spissis arborum folijs tegebantur, et tam iniqua contra tantos defensio, non poterat nisi animos irritare. Recepere se domum ductoris Christiani tantisper, dum haeserit(?) procella, et vicinae jam noctis silentium, tutius iter praebere. Tum profecti, in pagum devenere, ad quem confracto navis hispana, dictum **Agi{n}gan**: ibique ad capiendam quietem haud gravate admissi, postero die baptisatis, qui inveniri poterant, parvulis, iter gaudentes prosecuti. Vix pagum ingressi, in quo decretam jam sibi mortem non invenirent, sequebantur scilicet illi ipsi, qui pridie frustrati fuerant sua spe, et in- {fol. 101} -colarum animos barbara crudelitate incendebant. Inter haec non desistebat zelosissimus Pater, quasi jam certus paratae sibi coronae, ad patientiam socios exhortari: ferrent aequo animo injurias, et patienti Christo sese imitatores praebere: consolarentur sese recte factorum conscientia: scirent causam Dei se agere, et si quidem ita ipsi videatur, meliori in causa vitam ponere non posse. Donec prolapsa jam die, perveniunt ad pagum **Raurau** dictum. Hic durius etiam excepti. Alia hospitio domus non inveniebatur fessis, nisi una, in qua majorum suorum effigies, **Aniti** seu **macana**, cultu, nescio quo, venerabantur. Stabat Patri cum invicta patientia zelus Apostolicus.*

*Itaque edidit, nihil sibi commercij cum his inferni titionibus esse: proinde aut se, aut illos loco excluderent, et vel inviti. Tum nocturnae quieti breve tempus impensum. Necdum illuxerat quando jam parvulos, qui in loco erant, Pater baptisaverat. Inde progrediuntur: et forte occurrens in loco vetula monuit, interiora montis ne peterent, ubi paratam jam sibi crudelem mortem haberent. Transjerant pagum illa ipsa nocte, qui sequebantur, barbari armati, et pagum proximum, ubi confederatos habebant. Locum necis conduxerant. Nihilo his commotior Pater collegit sese paululum: et quocumque se vorteret, indubitam mortem circumspiciens, maluit illam adverso ore occurrens excipere, quam incerta fuga denigrare: progreditur itaque animatis iterum socijs, sui securus itinere haud longo: et circa octavam matutinam, in pagum **Cao** dictum ingreditur.*

*Hic sese tandem junxerant sacrilegi paricidae, et longo ordine per viam dispositi, quasi aliud agentes. Victimam suas operiebantur. Ubi adverere: socium Augustinum primi aggrediuntur, conati scutum, et hastas extorquere, quibus armatus incedebat: alij Hippolitum, qui bombardam gerebat, infesti circumstant, et hastas in illum cum furore contorquent: quarum una, dum brachium transverberat, inclamat ille: Jesus bone! occidimur. Idem alter socius ingeminat: ad quas voces dum Pater se convertit, fatale spiculum per humeros defertur. Ad ictum Jesus! Jesus! inclamans, progreditur paululum, tum deliquium passus, in terram pronus devolvitur, haud longe a socio in terram item prolapsus. Interim eluctatus e manibus alter sociorum, in proximo saltu ramorum beneficio se abscondit. Indi ambos hos mortuos rati*



*frequentes circumsistunt: dumque hastam e vulnere extrahunt, Pater sibi restitutus in genua se erigit, manu pectus percutiens: tum quam de collo gestabat, patientis servatoris effigiem manu complectitur, eamque ori applicatam tenerrime deosculatur: dein socium prolapsam voce exhortans, eidem supremum absolutionis beneficium petenti impertit. Atoniti ad hæc Indi, diffugiunt primum; sed mox, resumpto furore, revertuntur, et Patrem quidem repetitis hastarum ictibus, socium, cum hastæ deficerent, impacta in caput bombardam conficiunt[.] contigere hæc 29<sup>a</sup> Januarij 1670, die festo Sto. Francisco Salesio. Corpora ab illis sub vicinis arboribus sepulta: et Patris quidem cum corpore longiori esset, genibus, ut supra retuli, contractis, tibijs nempe in hastas destinatis.*

*Latebat interea alter sociorum, mortem in momenta expectans. Nec difficile erat e latebris protertere, nisi Deus furens obcæcasset: forte ut esset, qui gloriosæ mortis nuncium deterret: nam ex ipsius ore, hæc ego, quæ retuli, jurata fide accepi. Ille igitur alimentorum inopia, sed sibi maxime pressus, post duos dies in solitudine montis exactos, prodijt in lucem, eo ipso in pago, in quo socij ceciderant: eligens scilicet, si moriendum foret(?), apud illos occumbere. Ibi, præter opinionem mitioribus jam animis, ab ipso principali in domum recipitur, liberaliter semper habitus, et contra ferocientes aliquos fideliter detensus, et in insulam Tenian ad suos devectus. Narrabat ille universum pagum horrore percussam, quod ab illo die, quo cædes contigerat, conspicerentur homines hispano more vestiti, qui faces manibus præferentes, non sinebant illorum tumulos nocte alumbrari, quorum animæ cælo receptæ fulgerent quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitate[.] corpora post aliquot menses, confectis jam bellis, in insulam Tenian detulere victores nostri: ubi in templo nostro cum honore sepulta. Caput solum, et aliquas gloriosi herois reliquias, privatæ pietatis ergo avexere in primariam residentiam Sti. Ignatij. Quin imo iidem octo, vel novem homines nostri, quod mirere, certe in stuporem vertit Indos hos incolas, veriti non sunt, ad ipsos paricidas penetrare, et in conspectu armatorum plus quam ducentorum, ambos cædis nefariæ præcipuos auctores, e proprijs tectis, et sedibus, in proximam insulam captivos abducere, nemine barbarorum contra hiscere auso: ubi vinculis detenti, cum ne tunc quidem desisterent incautis aliquibus ex nostris cædem machinari, justas tandem scelerum pænas dedere, a militibus nostris occisi.*

#### [Eulogy of Fr. Medina]

*Res hic postulat, gloriose missionum nostrarum ProtoMartyri (quamquam animus non est de eo quidquam ante S. R. Ecclesiam statuere elogium suum attexere) et quamquam hoc sit falcem mittere, in Bæticam messem, ubi luxit ille virtutibus suis sæcularis, et Religiosus: tamen, quia et occidens Phæbus gratiores aspectus habet, et hæc luces in oculis nostris continuo versantur, audaces potius erimus, quam ingrati.*

*Natus erat P. Ludovicus de Medina in civitate Malacitana, vulgo Malaga A° 1637 3<sup>a</sup> februarij, honestis, et si ex fructu arborem cognoscas, nobilibus Parentibus: ab ipsa nativitate singularem Dei matris tutelam, cui devotissimus semper fuit, expertus narrat enim in Eucharistico, quod in honorem dulcissimæ Matris, et filij ipse sibi composuerat, et gratitudinis ergo circumferebat, se, cum pridie quam nasceretur mater in ventre esset læsa, uno pede claudum, et ut postea patuit, bulbum in lucem prodijisse: nempe ut esset, in quo mitissimam opem Mater Misericordiæ impenderet: dum clientis jam tum sui pedes in Evangelium pacis consolidavit, et [folio 14] linguam, non absque prodigio, fecit esse disortum. Infirmabatur jam juvenis corpore non minus, quam animo; quia se, et ob linguæ tarditatem, et debilitatem corporis præpediri sentiebat, quo minus, quod animo constituerat, Soctem Jesu ingrederetur. Appulserat Sta. Augusti Virgini Deiparæ festa lux, et cum illa spes animo certa desperatis votis per virginem petiundi. Itaque vestibus, prout potest, induitur, etiam repugnantibus, qui aderant, parentibus, et recta ad Soctis templum progreditur: ibi confessorem nactus, dum animi noxas deponit, simul spes suas, et concilium communicat. Ille cæptis jubet constanter insistere: rem a virgine inchoatam, per virginem ad optatum finem deducendam. Devolvitur ille ad aram ipsius supplex, et dum ibi precibus ardentius insistit, sentit e cælo vires sibi, atque animos addi: quibus ab illo die semper accrescentibus, idoneum effecit virgo clementissima, quem in Societatem suam filius admitteret. Nam cum de impedimentis tam pedis, quam linguæ varie a Societatis hominibus consultaretur, tan- {fol. 101v} -quam Ministerijs nostris absolute contrarijs: res Oraculo Pris. Francisci Franco, Bæticæ tum visitoris, et Vice Provincialis demum soluta est, cum usurparet illud, quod quondam in admissione Pris. Nri. Ximenes, P. Balthasar A{1}vare:*

*admittamus illum ut sanctum. Et vero quam non immerito Sti opinionem de se conciliasset, moribus suis satis ostendit. Nam præterquam quod voto perpetuæ castitatis, et ingrediendæ Societatis sese obstrinxerat, addiderat his votum, et quo magis ad constantiam se excitaret, proprio etiam sanguine firmavert, quo obligabat se omnibus Deiparæ Matris suæ festis, quæ 10 sibi præfixerat, item omnibus dulcissimi ejus filij, quæ 13, expiatum animum Sacrosancto Xri Corpore reficere. Accedebant his SSor. Apostolorum, et aliorum Sanctorum dies, omnes tam ferventi pietate celebrandi. Idque præter ieiunia, et varios affligendi corporis modos, quibus jam tum se in victimam, et holocaustum omnipotenti Deo præparabat. Sic animo comparatus, victis etiam difficultatibus non paucis, quæ tam a malo dæmone, quam a parentibus offerebantur, Societatem ingressus est Hispali 1656 30 Aprilis, die festo Stæ Catharinæ Senonsi, quæ vel ideo Singularis Patrona illi inposterum adhæsit. Voti jam compos, totus in illo erat, ut quod virgini, ejusque filio vocationis beneficium singulariter debebat, eisdem illud intento virtutum omnium studio cum usura referret. Totus erat in colenda Deipara, quam non solum ordinaria societatis corona, sed bene longo variarum precationum penso quotidie demerebatur. Illi per præcipua Misteria distributas actiones diurnas fidelis cliens obtulerat. Illi ieiunia, illi pœnitentias, illi extraordinarias ad festa præcipuo etiam 15 dierum, ad reliqua 8 dierum præparationes accumulabat: tum pari passu ad sacratissimum ejus filium progrediebatur. Et ne solius Probationis hi pietatis igniculi essent, in reliquam deinde vitam aut ardenti proposito, aut etiam voto firmaverat.*

*Exemplo sit unum (nam plura hujusmodi brevitatis causa omitto) quod A° 1662, die 2<sup>a</sup> feb., et quod firmitatem sonat, sexto jam religionis anno conceperat. Illo obligabat sese ad ieiunium Sabbatinum, quoad vita suppeteret, aut ad illi æquivalens, si morbus, aut aliud agens impedimentum obstaret. Item donec Sacerdotio mitiarebur, prædictis sublatis recitare officium parvum B. V. uti etiam octiduo ante, et post Xri Di. Nativitatem, et 24<sup>a</sup> Januarij: ieiunare item in 10 pervigilijs festorum Dæ. Vis., in 13 Christi Domini, SSor. Josephi, Joachimi, Annæ, Ap[osto]llorum, et Evangelistarum SSorum., item Ignatij, Xaverij, Borgiæ, Aloijzij, Stanislai, et Japonensium Martyrum deinde SSor. Bernardi, Thomæ Aquinatis, Bonaventuræ, Ildefonsi, Laurentij, Sabiani, et Sebastiani, Catharinæ Senensis, et Martyris, Elisabethæ virginis cognatæ, SSor. Angelorum Michaelis, Gabrielis, Raphaelis, et Custodum. His accedebat singulare votum Indiarum Apostolo Sto. Francisco Xaverio, quo, præter ieiunium jam dictum, sese obligabat per omnem vitam, ad visitandum quinies ipsius altare, vel quid æquivalens, si altare non adesset, ab ipso pervigilio ad ipsius octavam inclusive, reliquis anni diebus semel, et ad ibi recitandum bis Dominicam orationem, bis angelicam salutationem, cum Antiphona, et dicata Sto. oratione. Atque eo hæc omnia unice tendebant, ut et pro collato linguæ beneficio grates persolveret, et illius usum ad prædicandum Evangelium usque ad fines orbis terræ impetraret. Et sane quam in discursu domestico impeditioris linguæ signa, sed raro, præberet, inter prædicandum tamen, tradendam, aut cantandam Doctrinam Christianam, ne vestigium quidem apparuisse. Consumebat Patrem Ludovicum zelus gloriæ divinæ: nec tamen octo primis religiosæ vitæ annis quidquam singulare in se sentiebat, ne quidem ad petendas Indicas missiones: ita scilicet permittente Divina Providentia, quo maturior virtus, consuetisque studijs, et laboribus formata, ad maturam jam messem Marianam accederet: donec conceptum a se missionum Indicarum votum R. Adm. P. N. Generali affectuosis quidem verbis, sed religiosæ indifferentiæ plenis, indicavit A° 1664, ipsa assuptæ in cælum virginis festa luce.*

*Interim dum ardentibus suis votis satisfieri exputat, non desistebat, præsertim in Missæ Sacrificio, conceptos animo ignes excitare: eosdemque fovebat interea Divina Liberalitas forte Corduba transibat Pr. San Victores, impetratum in insulas Philippinas iter suscipiens: cum illo dum familiarius agit noster Ludovicus, vellicari sibi aurem, sed magis animum sentit, quasi voce cælitus illud ingeminante **cum hoc tibi eundum est**. Nec tamen cum socijs hoc anno proficiscentibus ipse admittebatur. Verum postea patuit oraculi veritas, cum admissus et ipse ad Philippinas insulas A° 1667, et Mexicum delatus, reducem ab iisdem insulis habuit Pem. San Victores, et spem animo concepit, vel cælo teste comprobata, fundandi cum illo Marianas Missiones. Nempe conjunxerat jam dudum ambos Divina Providentia, labore, studio, opera, et quod maximum vita et sanguine Marianam Spartam exculturis. In itinere socijs præesse jussus P. Ludovicus, omnes et prudentis Superioris, et Apostolici Ministri partes explevit: observatus non alias a maritima nausea liberior apparere, quam cum ad proponenda Christianæ Doctrinæ capita campanulam insonaret. Totus in procuranda non corporum solum, quibus curandis liberales eleemosinas*

*conferebat ipse, et applicabat; sed maxime animarum salute, quibus salutare missionum, et Doctrinæ Christianæ Jubilæum singulari industria, nec minori fructu proposuerat. Ubi ad terram appulit, statim se, præ feruore suo, saluti animarum addixit: et occasio data est, cum missiones a Societate per diem cæsim suam fieri petijisset D.D. Didacus Osorio Episcopus [folio 15] Angelopolitanus, quibus se Pr. Ludovicus, uti et in Acapulci portu zelosissime impendit. Donec tandem, data rursus navigandi oportunitate, et allectus missionum Marianarum Apostolicus Prædicator, primus in illas vestigium posuit, et trophæum crucis in littore erexit, laurea scilicet superata arce decorandus.*

*Quæ vere patientiæ schola aperiatur Apostolico Ministro primum ingredienti terram nusquam cultam, et si non necessarijs, certe commodis omnibus destitutam (quamquam inter necessaria vulgo recensentur Panis, vinum, aro(?), quibus hæ insulæ omnino carent) facile erit consideranti æstimare. Ad illam P. Ludovicus non tiro jam, sed veteranus accesserat, in insulis terræ fructibus, in potu frigidæ, in storea pro cubili, dilicias Hispaniæ ipse inueniebat: nec contentus his, excedebat quasi mortificandi in omnibus, et macerandi corporis modum: adeo ut a Superiore, cui explicatissimum se cupiebat, non minus observantiæ, quam mortificationis studiosus, adhibendum frænum fuerit, ne majoribus vitam præriperet: tam feruenter ad propositum sibi bravium ferebatur. Sed ita tamen ut probe sciret his medijs solum uti ad procurandam unice salutem animarum. Ergo dum alij, vel ordinandæ domi residentiæ, vel deverandis [deverrandis? devertandis?] linguæ difficultatibus detinentur, ipse pri- {fol. 102} -mus, qui sufficientem jam illius usum in ipsa navi sibi comparaverat, relictis sarcinis in campum procedere, et per circumjacentes late pagos indefessus discurrere, ad proseminandam Evangelicam sementem: idque inter gentes, non alia quam libertatis suæ, et appetitus trutinæ cuncta metientes. Adeo aut asperiores alias, aut certe efficaees spiritus brevi ita mitigarint, ut in contrariam jam partem declinare prorsus videretur. Et quidem fluebant omnia ex voto sub initium, et quoscumque labores, et incommoditates in victu, somno, conversatione, facile condiebat unica animarum salus, secuta præsertim in recens natis parvulis Christianorum albo, id est cælo adscribendis. Pro his ille dies et noctes nullis vigilijs, nullis itineribus parcere, hos venationem suam, hos delitias, hos coronam suam appellare: pro his nihil injuriarum, opprobrij, contumeliæ pensi habere: tum præsertim cum labentibus in deterius rebus, quod uno fere post mense contigit, quam Patres appulerant, cum prorupit in publicum, sacrilegi sinæ de baptismo feralis blasphemia. Et quidem tractus hic omnis, quem impostor infecerat, et incolebat, Patri Ludovico in partem laboris obtigerat. Nec verbis ego facile explicem, quantum patientiæ hæc schola Magistro suo præbuerit, in triplici itinere, quo totam Stî. Jois. insulam visitationis ergo obivit, et in illa baptisavit plus quam tria millia hominum. Alij magum illum convicio appellabant: alij humano unguine occidendis hominibus abuti(?): alij abjectissimum hominem, comedendis viperis assuetum: et similia infinita, quæ dictabat furor, et stimulis agitata barbaries, ingerebant. Nec intra verbo steterit pericula, quibus subeundis par erat Apostolicus Prædicator. Multa mari, multa terra sese obtulere. E quibus dum pauca hic seligo, de reliquis facilis erit conjectura.*

*Vocabat jam major necessitas in alias etiam insulas apostolicos Ministros: obvenerat Patri Ludovico insula **Rota**, a **Sta. Anna**, sive **Zarpana** nobis dicta, atque in illam cum aliquot socijs sæcularibus pergebat jam, afflantibus ventis sub initium prosperis. Vix medium fretum obtinerant, cum ecce a prora boreas allabatur, vehementi turbine et procella agitatus. Obluctabatur initio, qui solus his navigijs imperat nauta; sed malo victus, nec potis ultra obsistere, ventorum libidini, dimissis velis, levissimam ratem permittebat. Fatigabant illam undarum vortices, et in momenta singula quasi transversam excutiebant: abripiebant in occidentem rapidissimi inter insulas fluxus, et jam **Manilam** potius, quam quo iter intenderant ferebantur. Ingruebat inter hæc plus quam cimerrijs [cinereis?] tenebris horrenda nox. Nec aliud nisi a superis remedium. Ergo **Deiparæ Matri**, ejusque **Parenti Annæ**, vota universi instaurant, usque tanquam sacræ anchoræ totam illam noctem incolumes innituntur. Quo modo id factum sit, suppressit verecunda Patris humilitas, solum id memorat, cum casum describit, quod alta jam nocte invocandas suscepit innocentes animas post receptum a se baptismum, cum nuptiali veste in cœlestes epulas receptas. Vix votum absolverat cum ad aures delabatur vox clara, et distincta, et tanquam a parvulorum aliquo mira suavitate prolata, quæ insonabat auribus: **ego hic semper assisto, nempe parata auxilio: et alia, quæ vocem hanc Pater! ingerebat. Vagitus etiam pueri recens nati percipiebat: nec, inquit ille ipse,***

*somnus hic fuit, nam illum temporis iniquitas nequaquam permittebat, sed, si a cœlo hæc non fuerint, deluderet me mea vana imaginatio.*

*Postero die, albescente jam cœlo, delapsos se Manilam versus reperere, et quamquam mitioribus quidem, sed tamen contrarijs ventis, in insulam Sti. Jois., unde discesserant, regredi sunt coacti: ubi in ipso littore intantum reperere, non plus quam 20 dies natum, et mortua jam matre omnino debilem illum Pater, ratus eundem, qui suam opem paulo ante imploraverat, lustralibus aquis perfudit: et hic vitam, quam perdidit, cum meliore, et æternum duratura commutavit. Postea quam inde Pater discesserat, compertum est, Indos in ejus perniciem conjurasse, quod, ut ipsi hallucinabantur, parvulum hunc baptismi aquis occidisset. Aliud non levius divinæ Providentiæ testimonium narrat ipse de se, rationem itineris cujusdam Apostolici Superiori aperiens. Baptisaverat certo loco intantum, reluctantibus, et fieri assolet, nonnihil parentibus, et jam in pagum haud longe disitum terrestri itinere cum socijs pergebat. Procedentis assequuntur Indi tres, et locum, quem petant, diligenter perquirunt: tum subsistente paulisper Patre in vicina domo, duo prægrediuntur, alter viæ comitem se offert. Forte fortuna navicula adlabitur; quæ eundem locum petat, quem Pater designaverat. Ergo illi ipse vehendum se offert, et libenter recipitur. Socij legentes littus progrediuntur: cum ecce ad paratas insidias duo, qui præcesserant, prosiliunt, et Patrem frementes inclamant. Dum abesse conspiciunt, in socios feruntur: sed illi fuga sibi consulvere, non tam efferatis in hos, quam in Patrem animis barbarorum et una(?) demum incolumes in designatum locum delati, Deo gratias dedere id solum Pre. Ludovico tum quidem ingemiscente, quod Martyrij corona dignus non haberetur. Iam supra retulimus, quomodo in eadem causa gloriosum sanguinem profuderit: ubi etiam plæraque divinæ benignitatis argumenta, incerto nomine proposita, Pri. Ludocivo adscribenda existima [folio 16] et hæc quidem omnia cum tanta observantiæ significatione, ut cum alias in simili occasione fundendi sanguinis effugisset, diserte affirmaret, se, prout monitus(?) fuerat, nisi peccati mortalis incurrendi species illum a fuga deterreret, vitam nequaquam in discrimen daturum. Iam gloriosus exitus nos monet, ut quas habemus ejusdem circumstantias, oblivioni non dentur.*

*Obligerat Patri Ludovico in sortem Ministerij, insulæ tres, dictæ Tenian, Agiguan, et Zaipan sive Buena Vista Mariana, ab Angelo Custode, et Sto. Josepho appellatæ. Perlustraverat illas spatio 4 mensium fructu singulari, et plus quam septiginta capita suis ipse manibus baptisaverat, exceptus ab incolis singulari humanitate: donec in insula Tenian exortum est inter incolas bellum.*

#### [The Tinian War of 1670, part 2]

*In illo, dum mediatorem se pro pace interponit, non facile dixeris, quantum laborum, quantum injuriarum exantlarit. Iam intensi erant, hastas minabantur, et victum subtrahebant ipsi amici, quod socios unica bombardæ armatos, ad hostes egredi non permetteret. Iam benefactori suo intensi inimici, dum ad illos legatus pro pace accedit, mortem minabantur: et intulissent, ni unus ex primoribus, prospecta propius Patris mente, vibratam jam hastam detinuisset. Evicit illic, quidquid optavit. Pacem persuasit, et supplices adversarios cum concha testudinea veniam orantes reduxit. Dum concipiuntur fœdera, et pax concluditur, interni assecla, seminator discordiæ nescio quid, viam stimulus insterit, per quam reduces legati læsere pedes, sed acrius animum. Ergo facta infecta, et majori rabie omnes incendi. Nec facile sperandum remedium videbatur, nisi tempus iræ concederetur.*

*Pr. Ludovicus interea ad alteram suam Spartam Zaipan insulam divertit. Verum ibi, vix bene inchoata visitatione, non alio quam divino spiritu, et incendio charitatis actus, ad Superiorem rescribit in Tenian existentem, intellexisse se suam præsentiam ab adversarijs desiderari, et sibi hospitalitatis benigna jura promitti: et quamquam periculosæ plenum opus aleæ negare non possit, iturum tamen se Deo fretum, exemplo Xaverij in Mauricas abeuntis, et caput suum saluti publicæ, sed præ- {fol. 102v} -sertim animarum libenter devoturum. Socios itaque timore percitos in amicam pagum dimittit: ipse solus, et omnia suo secum portans, ad efferatos jam hostes, et barbaros Deo duce provehitur. Ibi, quamquam inter mille mortis discrimina, rogando, obtestando, blandiendo tantum effecit, ut barbaros animos denuo mitigarit, baptisavit parvulos, ad omnem denique humanitatem, et quod maximum culparum pœnitentiam instruxerit confecto negotio, Patres in proximo admonet, et stabiliendæ paci solennis supplicatio ex utraque parte indicitur. Visebatur cum suis Pr. Ludovicus longo ordine: et omnes fructuum aliquid reconciliationis munus manibus præferebant: concham item, quam ex capta paulo ante testudine cælum*

*quasi submiserat. Anteibat omnes crux, et SSor. Ignatijs, et Xaverij labarum: Tum procedebant, Christianæ doctrinæ capita, et contritionis actum concinentes. Ubi ventum est in conspectum crucis, quam in tortis e funda lapidibus paulo ante salutaverant, provoluti omnes in genua, veniam supplices orabant. Sic inita prius cum Deo pace, facilis fuit ad aliam cum hominibus progressus. Applauderant omnes pacis conventis, et quo durabilior pax iniretur, Patrem apud se etiam inimici cum Dei domo perpetuum cupiebant. Ita prohudebat scilicet sacrificio suo magister Christianæ charitatis nam bene exantlatorum illic laborum præmium, et coronam invenit.*

[No galleon in 1670]

*Atque hæc sunt {quæ hoc Anno 1670} dedit missio nostra Mariana: et quam hoc anno navis, quæ ab nova Hispania expectabatur, nulla advenit, duabus, quæ e portu Cabite solverant, adversæ tempestatis violentia in eandem insulam rejectis, non defuit divina benignitas gloriosis Patrum laboribus, exuberante plus segete pretioso sanguine rigata. Et extra primariam insulam quidem, fides in septentrione feliciter culta, baptisatis undequaque parvulis, et adultis ad Christianos mores institutis. In insula Agrigan, sive a Sto. Xaverio portus percommodus, in quo naves, dum ab insulis Philippinis novam Hispaniam petunt, paulisper, si oportunum fuerit, subsistant, et sese reficiant, a Sto. Leone est dictus: non vana gloriosi Sancti tam desertis locis invocatione. Nam, ut alia omittam, cum recens natus parvulus a Patre baptizante Leo esset appellatus, balbitabant in pronuntiatione peregrini nominis parentes, nec facile illud memoriæ imprimebant; donec subsequente nocte repleta est domus inferni terroribus (subjectæ sunt illis plurimum imbelles hæ animæ in quas, suo more ferale dominium emissæ ab erebo furie exercent) conclamant ad strepitum solliciti parentes, tum præcipue, cum in recens natum parvulum armari pugnam conspiciunt: verum ligati canes ad leonem exhorruere, in illo nihil sibi juris, postquam leo dictus est, confessi. Summo mane ad Patrem nova deserunt parentes: et ne somniasse putaret, nomen jam, quod ante nequiverant, diserte pronuntiabant. Nec cessabant ideo frementes invidia interni veteratores, sed eo ferocius in Patrem ferebantur. Indigenarum turbis, nescio quibus, immiscuerat sese justo ferventius Sæcularis Patri socius, et barbarorum iras in se concitaverat. Fugit ille: occidi se inclamans accurrit ad voces anxius Pater: et ecce libratam in juvenem securim in illum, cæco furore exonerant. Nec dubium, quin fatalis futurus fuerit ictus, nisi prævisum manu Pater avertisset: in quam dum impetus frangitur, periculosum vulnus infixit. Nec a vulnere minus periculi, quam a vulneris medicina, cum illa barbaris esset permittenda: nam 100 facile leucis a primaria Residentia aberat, nec ulla navigandi occasio offerebatur. Itaque commissa illis curatione, post ingentes dolores, nam gengibere mixtas herbas asperrimas vulnere imprimebant, non inutilem quidem omnino, sed contortam tamen manum deinceps exhausti pro Deo discriminis memoriam habuit. Ita et illud reliquis Missionis hujus incommodis non minimum accedit, ut quidquid vel malitia, vel imprudentia sæculares socij peccaverint, id omne innocuus Pater persolunt. In reliquis insulis eundem, id est felicem cursum habuit res Christiana.*

*At in insula Sti. Jois. solidius etiam aliquid inceptum. Et quidem videbatur numeris suis absoluta conversio in longum ducenda, ob tardiora jam, et moribus suis, aut superstitionibus hebetata provectorum ingenia, quibus excolendis, et ad omnem Christianam disciplinam instituendis, sæpe tempus, et operam perdi Patres experiebantur. Ergo teneriori ætati salubri S. P. N. Ignatij invento, studia præcipue impensa in Iaria [folio 17] Residentia<sup>1</sup> {Collegium juventuli hoc Anno apertum, et in illud admissi 20 circiter è capacioribus: quod institutum in reliquis deinde Residentias magno cum fructu dimanavit. In illud admissi vestiebantur primum, et proponebatur pæna, si sine veste in conspectu cuiuscumque deprehenderentur. Tum quo cuncta rite procederent, Retor unus e sociis reliquis imponebatur: et ne vel grave foret semper obsequi, vel nimium extollerit semper imparare, mutabatur ille octiduo. Hi consueta doctrinæ Christianæ capita sæpius per diem repetebant. Legere etiam omnes, et scribere aliqui docebantur. Verum hæc tam feliciter cæpta dæmon impedit, turbatis per bella Barbarorum animis, ne optato*

1 Ed. note: Beginning at this point, 5 folios (10 pages) existing in the ARSI copy are missing from the BR copy. These pages, which refer to the eulogy of Father Sanvitores, have been ripped out, or misplaced before the document was sewn together.

*piæ industriæ fructu tam isto frueremur. Qui etiam hac in insula propagandæ fidei hactenus incubuerant, tam Patres, quam socij sæculares, alebantur eleemosinis neophytorum horum: res hæc et perse gravis, et non satis duratura videbatur, præsertim si cresceret numerus sociorum. Ergo conflato pretio ex ijs, quæ hic pecuniæ loco subserviunt, agri coempti, et illi tam ab indis suo more, quam a nostris excoli cœpti. Ut nemini imposterum gravis liberior esset dis[ci]plinarum Christianorum institutio, et vitiorum extirpatio. Templum item capacius, et firmiori opere a fundamentis inchoat[us] et quamquam illud ingruentibus postea bellis perfectam non sit, non leve tamen argumentum præbuit, quo Barbarorum indoles clarius innotuceret. Vivebatur inter illos precario hactenus, et fatiendorum normam, aut etiam omittendorum inermes nostri a Barbaris petebant. Et sane concessa sibi potestate mirum quantum non raro ab--tebantur [abigebantur?]. Forte vicinam nobis semitam templum nostrum aaut adhærere templo porticus aliquantum occuparat: oposuere se statim, et petito ab hasta argumento, aperiri viam publicam iussere. Altaria in templo a reliqua navi sæpimento separaverant maioris reverentiæ causa, ne scilicet corpore nudi, et oleo suo delibuti Barbari, propius aram, et vel maximè sacrificantem accederent: illi, in hoc auctoritatem suam lædi existimantes, apertè contradicere; aut etiam positas iam columnas violenter revellere. Hæc, et similia, cum dissimulanda potius, quam indulgenda viderentur, aut blando sermone, aut munusculo aliquo componebantur: si illi modum aliquem inportunis suis imperijs ponerent. Usi oportunitate Patres, decreverant è lapidibus templi muros exædificare: subministrat illos proximum littus, æquo illos nostri, tanquam communia aut derelicta bona auferebant. Continuò turbati {103} animi: coire inter sese primores, et primo nescio quod inimicum mussitare: tam aperte obloqui et violari suum littus pescatum impediri domus piscium devastari, e germine ferre, ac tandem edicere, nisi absistant, experturos sese, an huic etiam insulæ vires nostræ sint pares. Prepugerat [sic = propugnerant?] nempe animos, tam parcos homines, e duplici insula non tantum incolumnes [sic], sed etiam victores redijsse, et quidem nostri, quamquam arma sua justissimæ defensori intrepide ostentarent, composuere tamen blande negotiam, ne totam Christianitatem indiscrimen vocarent, et inter hæc, et similia annus certe non sine trophæo patientiæ exactus.*

*Interim dum domi patiendo erexit, non omissit alibi divina providentia missionem suam cordi habere nam in Hispania, operarios in vineam suam non obstare designabat. Convenerant eo ab Anno 1670 ad exteris regi subjectis Provincijs socij decem, omnes iam aut sacerdotio initiate, aut prima oportunitate initiandi, atque in Insulas Philippinas a R. Adm. P.N. Generali destinabantur cum ejusdem Provinciæ Procuratore Roma reduce P. Andrea de Ledesma. Verum illorum vota retardavit decretum illius aulæ, quo prohibetur exteris Provincias Indicas adire, nisi facto unius anni in regis Hispaniæ experimentando. Ergo illorum octo obtenta hoc anno facultate, sub auspicijs, et consueta Catholici regis liberalitate profecti sunt: tempori omnino, quando ex illis huic missioni subsidium non oportunum modo erat, sed necessarium.*

*Philippinis etiam in duplici navi singulare præsidium missioni discesserat. In altera quidem dicta a **Virgine Auxiliatrice?** præter opinionem vehebatur illa DD. dicaus [rather Didacus] Salcedo ex Philippinarum Governatore in Hispaniam redux. Ille non contentus apostolicæ missioni fav[or]isse in vita vehit etiam in ipsa morte ostendere, quanti illam apud animum suum faceret. Nam cum difficilimæ navigatio ni impar, sentiret sibi ritæ terminum imminere, decem millia pataconum eidem testamento legavit, dignus profecto, quam non solum Rex, sed etiam, quorum intererat, sacro-sanctæ fidei sacrati iudices gravissimo indicio libentes absolverent: et quem nos (quamquam hactenus non nisi bonæ voluntatis tesseram nobis licuerit experiri, bonis litium labyrintho varie intercalis) non solum egregium Catholicæ fidei cultorem, sed luculentum defensorem et propagatorem in paucis experiremur.*

*Altera navis a **Santo Didaco** dicta, quæ Patrem Sanvictores antea vexerat, vehebat aliud par Apostolicorum Ministrorum Missioni huic destinatum PP. Franciscum Solano, et Franciscum Esquerra, qui generoso zelo plus quam per 5 millium [sic] leucarum amfractus orbis hunc angulum alacros petebant: post quam arrogandis in illa rep[ub]lica: Eleemosinis strenuam operam eidem impenderant: vix è portu Lampon ad 150 leucas in mare progresi, quando in ipso festo Sancti Ignatij navem adoretur valida tempestas, certa nautantem, iam navim et fatitentem [sic] opprimere, nisi gloriosi Patriarchæ suffragia intercessissent. Tenuit vehementissimus hic turbo ipsos 24 horas: ita tamen, ut quatuor amplius horis navem iam quasi desperatam, et super undantibus fluctibus semi sepultam tenuerit: nec sua tantum et*

*naturali furia agitari mare videbatur: nam, præterquam quod omnia nauticam instrumentum, funes, vela, arbores arco(?) impetu confregerit. Illud fortuito accidisse, vix fidem inveniet, quod postquam præcipere navis vela, quasi in lascinias discerpserit, eadem ventorum rabies, vel potius dæmonum vinci se vel invictos indignantium, tam apte tam venuste partes inter sese intervenit, ut in usus proprios jumem(?) texuisse, non dirupisse fortuito videretur. Cæterum vicit, cui victoria debebatur, infernos hostes, ut solet Ignatius: et vectores sed præcipue Patres, non unius votirei [sic], salvi, et incolumes evasere, inde ad reparanda accepta damna conversi, arborem debilem omnino eamque unicam, mali loco in medio erigunt, si forte optatum iter comficienti spes ulla supersit. Dicta mirum: tam optati appuppi venti ipsos sexaginta continuos dies affluxere, ut qui octo ut minimum menses, annum etiam in iter impendunt, intra sex illud menses sine velis, Deo duce, patricinante Ignatio confecerint.*

**[In 1671, 4 missionaries arrived and 3 left]**

*Hic hijbernante Acapulci navi, qua venerant, in alteram transgressi, felici itinere 1671 die 10<sup>a</sup> Junij Mari[aj]nas insulas tenuere. De ejus adventu certiores fasti PP. Missionarij, recepere se ad illam, ubi ab omnibus, sed præsertim a socijs humanissime accepti, deportata in terram, quæ submittebat tam Mexicana, quam Manilana liberalitas, e Patribus, qui vebantur hac navi quatuor sese in auxilium horum pauporum consecraverunt P. Franciscus Solano, P. Franciscus Esquerro, P. Didacus de Noriega, P. Alonzo Lopez, sed ita tamen, ut commutatio potius, quam subsidium videretur, nam a R.P. Provincialis litteræ afferebantur, quibus jubebantur tres alij, jam integro triennio Missionibus his exercitati, et linguam docti, Manilam studiorum causa procedere.] ex Hispanis sæcralibus decem se nobis adjungere, ex Philippinis Indis, octo. Tenuis quidem copiæ, sed ingruentibus hoc anno bellis omnino necessariæ. Reliquum Missionis subsidium tale, quale ab eximia tam Philippinæ, quam Mexicanæ Colonix liberalitate potuit expectari. Jamque recreata utcumque navis qualibus cumque harum insularum suppetijs.*

*Cursum suum ex voto redintegravit: et Patres expositas in littore sarcinas, navigijs Patrijs haud sine incommodo, propter illorum levitatem in Residentiam Sancti Ignatij convehabant. Quamquam ex operarijs reliquis, soli duo remanserant, qui linguam callerent, tamen omnia novis animis, et fervore instaurata. Ad missiones extra Sancti Joannis insulam, statim designati duo Patribus: et quamquam adversantibus auris, uni tantum navigatio obligit, visa est divina Providentia suos ab interitu vindicasse, ne ingruentibus domi bellis, soli aliqui inter frementes undequaque barbaros invenirentur. Reliqui Patres dum deborandis linguæ difficultatibus domi detinentur, totos se informanda 1<sup>a</sup> Residentia impenderant. Templo, quod Anno præterito inchoatum dixeram, tectum impositum: domus etiam aliquæ ex obvia hoc tractu materia excitatæ crescente externorum familia. Sed non licuit diu esse quietis. Jusserant PP. juvenem, dictum Josephum de Peralta, Mexico oriundum, cui aliqua domus cura erat commissa, e proximo saltu st[r]ipites aliquot excindere, formandis crucibus in christianorum domos distribuendis: ille forte longius quam jussus fuerat, quærendi studio in montis abdita delapsus, obvios habuit Indorum aliquos, qui aut cupiditate instrumentorum quæ ad cædenda ligna attulerat, aut concepto jam odio in exteros Christianos, aut utroque miserum occidere plus quam 18 vulneribus lætalibus. Dies hæc fuit 23<sup>a</sup> Julij 1671 vesperi, cum nusquam compareret, putatus ingruentibus tenebris ad vicinos Indos divertisse, quæsitus non est, mane proximo inventus est, haud procul a domo in saltu mire spesso ubi nec si audiretur jubari potuisset. Juvenis erat sane pacificus, omnibusque gratus nec tale quidquam ab Indis, quibus opitulatur [sic] ipse venerat, promeritus corpori suus honor domi habitus. Inde paucos intra dies, homicidæ a barbaris silere nescijs celebrari cepti continuo submissi a nostris, quis antes interciperent, unum a pluribus accusatum, in {103v} vincula rapuere vix apud nos ille detinebatur, cum clamore Indi errorem commissum in nomine, alium cognominem pagi haud ita longe homicidam esse. Dum huic capiendi insistunt ecce tibi a vicinis auxilium duo e primoribus infestas hastas ingerebant, sed ambo a nostris vulneræ sagittis, unus incruere spiculo ferreo que post domum nostram delatus, facile adhibita medicina convaluit; alter in brachio, osseo spiculo, ab Indorum hastis in auctoris suos retorto: unde et veneno serpente per viscera post dies paucos animam efflavit. Captus qui quærebatur et in alio pago duo alij, qui omnes culpam rejecere in alios tres qui dum capiuntur, jam turbatum aliquid erat apud Indos et ipsi nescio quas insidias jamdudum nobis machinabantur, causam afferebantur mortem illius cujus memini supra, ex accepto in brachio vulnere mortui.*



*Unde uno principalis ipsius in pago nobis proximo ad inferendum nobis bellum circumjectos vicinos incitabat. Ergo nocte scintillare faces, et ad incendendam domum nostram audaciores aliquot remitti: adeo ut necessarium fuerit continuis domum vigilis munire, nec sufficientibus ad id continuandum diu noctuque militibus. Patres ipsi in excubijs potius, quam in missionibus tempus impendabant, nec his contenti adversarij, in proximas insulas suos dimiserant qui invitarent incolas: tum adsociandas viros in bello, tum ad occidendos omnes Guiragos: sic exteros omnes nullo discrimine ipsi appellant. Verum tantis procellis resistendo non erat tenella Christianitas. Mitigavit animos divina Providentia: nam ipsi barbari detexere insidias, et submisso navigio unus Patrum cum socijs incolumnis deversus est alter in tuto se posuit apud amicos in insula remota, ad succurrendum multorum parvulorum extremæ necessitati. Interea confluebat barbarorum infinita multitudo, omnes in Deum blasphemias, et in nos pessima quæque vomitantes. Diripere, devastare, exuere domum, et suppellectilem, omnes ad unum usque occidere. Vox erat inter omnes pervagata.*

*Donec tandem 11<sup>a</sup> septembris sub vesperam in apertum bellum voces erupere. Solebat militum aliquis mane et vesperi pagum circumire, convocandis pueris ad consueta doctrinæ Christianæ capita decantanda huic, quoniam rumor de bello jam increbuerat socij aliquot jungebantur. Illi dum sui securi sub Indi alicujus domo consistent, ecce tibi facto agmine barbari erruunt, hastis suis, et fundis metuenti, nisi clamore sui famam præmisissent, ad quem adlatrante, qui forte aderat cane, detecti prius sunt quam nocere possent, et nostris fuga spatium dedire. Remensi domum ad arma conclamat, et occupantibus propere nostris portam atrij, aditus oportune barbaris præf[er]clusus est nostrorum se ad internecionem peti clarius in dies perspexerent, quamquam erubus ipsi suis omnino diffiderent, tamen ne sancta sanctorum templum inquam Sanctorum Reliquias, et sacra vasa pollutis barbaris impie profanari permetterent, domum omnem et templum congestis fortuito ramis circumsepserant addiecta(?) etiam tabulato altiora domuncula, quam castrum vocavere: in eo disposuerant duo tormentula ænea fortuito apud Indos haud ita pridem ex jactura navium inventa, plus causando timori, quam inferendo damno accommodata bombardæ omnino 10 aut 11, defensores externi circiter 30 e quibus si infirmos, senes, et pueros excipias, vix 20 numerantur, et tamen defendere se, ad fidem Christianam, ac ædem sacram, majoribus animis, quam viribus decrebere: ubi omnis defensio irrita caderet, tum demum pro Deo sanguinem ponere; si forte per hanc bijennam, et grandinem viridario suo altiores radices Deus providaret. Itaque in quatuor partes divisi nostri strenue sese inimicorum insultibus offerebant; qui domui nostræ conferto agmine circumfuit tam densam lapidum imbrem fundis suis in nos depluebant, ut e cælo dimissus grando videretur, iique tam valde intortus: ut e lapidibus aliqui oppositu tignis infingerentur: alio per ipsum tectam, et parietes (utroque e palmæ folijs erant) ad pedes Patrum dilaberentur: imo et in templo sacrificantibus in ipsa vasa sacra, et altare, non absque sacrificij periculo deciderent. Adeo ut necesse fuerit detritum velum quod e navi attulerant tecto pretendere.*

*Ingeminabat interim tenerrimo affectu commiserans cæcis Pater Sanvictores solenne illud. **Potens est autem Deus, etc.** nec hactenus bellum notis erat, nisi cum tracta nobis ad boream vicino: verum aut unus alter, qui quæ agebantur, fideliter deferebant, assoruina(?) ab meridionalibus bellum nobis etiam parari, et animes reliquorum incendi præsertim ab uno principali nobis dadum pessimo affecto, nec unius criminis reo. Itaque, si forte auctore comprehenso, reliqui metu continerentur. Ductus in vincula est ille et apud nos mensem facile integrum detentus, sed non ideo alij ab armis cessavere, sed diu nocteque hastis et lapidibus infensi nos circumstitebant fame ut sperabant, vigilia, et lapidum et hastarum vi nos tandem debellaturi.*

*Id dum minus succederet, ad flammam, et armatas faces recurrebant incensa domo, nos et nostra in prædam designantes, sed adfuere suis superi, quarum causa agebatur, forte aderat dies, glorioso cælestis militiæ Principi D. Michaeli sacer, et consueta jam mala, sed præsertim inimicæ tectis faces omnes anxios habebant. Subijt cogitatio avebi: bellatorem cælitum in auxilium advocare, concepto solenni voto, quo se illi millites omnes, et Patres per annum integrum obstrinxere ferebatur ad obsessos flammis fæta, exitium dirum hasta ferens, tectis ardore solis plus quam stipula exsiccatis: cum PP. Sancte Michaeli Pluviam: inclamant severum erat: et tamen tam copiosus imber cælo delapsus est, ut aperte pro nobis arma sumpsisse suffragantibus viderentur. Alios etiam hastæ ipsæ consumpto fomite in tecto inventæ, nullum sole exustis folijs damnus intulere.*



*Interim debilitatis utcumque hostium animis, finem demum belli expectabant, sed secus accidit: nam exacerbati magis resistentia hostes, plures in auxilium pagos vocavere impetum facientes tanta superbia, violentiaque ut jam jam cum fide defensores suos excindi penitus arbitrarentur. Itaque resumendis animis pactum aliquod interponendum, et tractandum de pace aliqua judicarent, hæc quamquam non concludatur; tamen dum deus(?) ultro citroque agetur et conchæ exhibentur mitiores animos futuros, et saltem radices aliquas, aut fructus, remedium famis, facile obtinenda nam fames obsessos maxime premebat, et juvenem aliquem, dum clanculum ad carpenda fructus aliquos, qui hic loco panis servirent, egreditur, triplici hasti ex insidijs confixerant: qui tamen, quæ Dei fuit singularis misericordia, extractis spiculis, brevi convaluit. Nec ullus in tanta hastarum, et lapidum multitudine a barbaris hoc bello occisus, protegente suos maxime, protegentibus superis. Ergo, ne Hispano nomini nota inureretur, Patrum rogata, sic enim loqui placuit, legatio instituta, et conchæ exhibitæ plures etiam, quam inter illos est moris. Petebant autem Patres, ut quoniam doctam illos non pugnatum advenerant, melioribus animis viam ipsi, quæ ad cælum monstrabant, cæca rabie non obstruerent. Idem inculcabat P. Sanvictores è domuncula hosti proxima. Verum illi non nisi hastis, lapidibus {104} et blasphemijs respondebant, quibus non tantum ipsum, sed quam gerebat manibus sacro santam Christi Patientis effigiem impetebant: tamen ubi propius oblatæ sunt conchæ, et delicias suas tractare manibus licuit, iras omnes vel invitis abstensere, et pax certis conditionibus inita. Verum quæ pax a barbaris, sola cupiditate inductis expectanda? devorato dono, redeunt ad vomitum, et bellum restaurant.*

*Iamque dies eluxerat octavam octobris, spirante a borea vehementiore vento, qui sub meridiem incircium, seu turbinem desinans, tam violenter sese, et omnia circumagebat, ut non flatibus consuetis moveri aër, sed execute dæmonum videretur: et 1º quidem tecti folia tanquam plumas difflare, et supellectilem omnem decidentibus aquis exponere tum(?) postes circum omnes tignes, et trabes ad secuturam ruinam revellere: deinde arbores vicinas non solum quatere sed radicibus extirpare: donec sub quartam vespertinam plus horæ spatio tantis effervescere furij cæpit, ut solitis sedibus ad longum spatium ipsum mare violenter expulerit: ita ut nec ire, nec consistere, nec invicem audire, venti rabies, et vicini maris mugitibus permitterit: tum demum disruptis postibus domus universa collabitur, ac templum: nam utraque sub eodem tecto continebantur, quo fragore arrecti animi, nam timor timorem ipsum excludebat, ad succurrendum socijs sub tecto si non contritis, certe depressis, nemini tam luculenta strages nocuerat, quamquam inter varij deprehenderentur, inter quos ipse P. Sanvictores, qui captivum principalem, et socios infirmos consolabatur, quid illa dies calamitatis attulerit misseris observis, facilius opinor erit cogitatione assequi, quam verbis exprimere cum iam diem integrum perpluti, inter tot cæli injurias, imo et sequentem noctem, sine domo, aut ullo tecto, fere etiam fama, et siti, et vigilijs in tam longa obsidione enecti, persisterent, et, si illo die barbari consueta sua ferocia impetum faciunt, conclamatum humanitus de omnibus, et fide Catholica in his partibus erat, sed illis hoc die domi abunde curarum fuit, disectis tota insula domibus plerisque et universa insula tam deformata, ut nullam præ se speciem formæ pristinæ ferret, nec huic tantum insulæ, sed universis eadem hæc tempestas pene suprema fuit, collapsis ædificijs, diffractis arboribus, eradicata semente omnibus denique quæ ad vitam sustentandam faciunt, misere contritis, atque dilaceratis.*

*Postero die frequentes ad bellum reversi nam ip[s]orum opinione continuæ pluvie pulverem nitricum lique fecerant. Verum ubi consuetis ictibus excipi se animadvertere. Ad blasphemias suas infrunito ore conversi, alius Deum se, alius Deo majorem se improperebat, cujus nempe domus cecidisset vi tempestatis, sua incolumi perdurante. His major etiam calamitas accedebat. Misericordia motus P. S. Victores, captum principalem vinculis solvi jusserat, et suis restitui: at illi canina gratitudine sic argumentabantur: destruamus illos: nam vinculis liberarunt principalem nostram, et re ipsa ex omni latere, etiam milli, qui bello hactenus abstinerant infestissimi irruerunt: adeo ut nostros undequaque tanquam rabidi canes ex plus quam triginta pagis, non minus quam tria millia barbarorum circumdarent: sustentibus strenue nostris omnes insultus et sese partes in omnes defensionis causa vertentibus. Ita ut pauci sed animosi milites diurnis nocturnisque vigilijs sufficerent: illic densos hostes continuis ictibus fatigarent, corpus reficerent, somni pene obliviscerantur, etiam quinque ex hostibus ipsi interfecerant; læsarant [sic] sane plures: nemine ex suis, quæ singularis fuit Dei Providentia, si unum excipias de quo memini supra, vel leviter læso donec 20<sup>a</sup> octubris junxere se omnes, majori quam unquam arrogantia, certi eo die aut vin-*

*cere, aut si non vincerent, certis conditionibus pacem firmare, et vero a quatuor partibus nos totum hunc diem violenter oppugnare. Nam a parte maritima navigia sibi tanquam vallum opposuerant, quo ab explodentium ictibus essent immunes: atque inde lapides in nos, et hastas evibrabant, a parte meridionali assonibus etiam seu potius trabibus compostis vallum sibi construxerant, quod continuo promoventes, et illo sese protegentes, plus nobis periculi minitabantur. Verum egressi e castris octo ex nostris, continuis scopetorum ictibus universam hanc turbam plus quam quin gentorum Indorum, in turpem fugam conjicere: unde et pax ex hac parte illo die composita, et frequens annona ad nos de radicibus invecta: reliquis in sua duritiæ adhuc persistentibus, usque in proximum diem, quando egressi ad illos ultro 10 ex nostris, ut animos suos barbari pertinacia superiores obtenderent quo viso dispararunt enimvero fatigati iam barbari, et composita pace, dona nobis e fructibus etiam ipsi obtulere.*

*Inde solemnes Deo, et superis(?) actæ gratiæ, quod inter mille pericula, ipsos 40 continuos dies contra barbarorum iam effrænem multitudinem, salvos omnes et incolumes conservassent. Tum ad reparanda a vento magis, quam ab hoste illata damna, cura conversa est, tectumque sub quo altare Deo erigeretur et PP. a pluvia et sole defenderentur, denuo erectum, iamque in tuto esse omnia videbantur: quamquam nox deessent monitores aliqui ex Indis qui sub pacis hoc palladio latere danaos canerent. Itaque consuetæ missiones tam domi quam finis novis animis desumptæ: dimissæ etiam, ne omnino desertæ reliquæ insulæ viderentur. In Insulam **Tenian** seu Buena Vista Mariana, et **Rota** duo sacerdotes insulam S. Jois. quadri partito dividerat P. Sanvictores: et ipse sibi separaverat orientalem plagam, in pago **Nisijan**, sive a Sancto Xaverio dicto, ubi et templum aliud domumque ædificare incepit, et quidem ad defensionem arma omnia ille respuebat, securiorem se incrimen inter barbaros quam armatum existimans: nempe qui securitatem suam in Martijrio posuisset altera colonia ducebatur in **Teragui**, altera in meridionali parte in pagum **Merizo** seu a Sancto Dima bono latrone appellatam, in quo templum item, et domus firmiore opere exurgebat: eo vel maxime, quod ob præcipue portus vicinitatem, principalis nostrorum statio hoc loco quondam futura videbatur, utpote, quæ omnino cum Hispanis navibus commercio tota dependet, illæ vero in hunc portum sese commodius recipiant. Locis his, et consueta Indorum seminaria instituta et fides modis omnibus, cum christianis moribus inculcata. Id conventus menstrui a divisis inter se Patribus celebrari cæpti, quibus et de/ex fortis difficultatibus in commune conferrent, et sese ad insistendum cæptis pani formiter [sic = uniformiter] excitarent.*

*Efluxerat inter hæc Annus 1671 et 72 fatalem nobis constellationem ab exordio demonstraret: nam 29 Januarij ex hac misera vita, ad meliorem, uti confidimus transijt P. **Didacus Noriega**<sup>1</sup> longa thijsi quam ab Hispania ad has usque oras majoribus animis, quam viribus advenerat, tandem extinctus, pergebat ille zelo plenus in Insulas Philippinas, sed conatibus, animi, vires corporis nullo modo respondebant. Imo immoriturus itineri, et necessarijs navigationum ictarum laboribus videbatur: quando navis hisce insulis optata successit. Hic agitari a Patribus cæptum si non expediret fatiscentem haustu purioris acris [sic = aquis] recreare, præsertim sum [sic = tum] Manilensis [sic = Manilensis] huic malo contrarius omnino conse[r]vetur, res ad P. Didacum delata, et ipsius iudicium in ancipiti causa exqui[s]itum. At ille, germanus scilicet socie- {104v} -tatis filius precise negavit, in alterutram partem sese sententiam dicturum: quocumque superiorum nutus aut beneplacitum vergeret; eo se manibus pedibusque nec usquam alio, iturum: et obedientiam sibi pro martijrio imposterum futuram. Et eventus probavit: nam venientibus Patribus in illud, ut mutationem experirentur, exilijt, ille, et postea ac crescentibus cum malo doloribus, deficientibus etiam his in locis quæ similibus infirmis solatio potius sunt, quam medelæ, cum mortem ante oculos versantem continuo haberet, illud solum cijgnæa voce, identidem modus labatur, se, si martijrio afficeretur, securius non moriturum et vero si fastis diebus heroum gesta adscribebantur: merito fastis nostris P. Didacus adscribendus, qui eodem die obiit quo P. Ludovicus de Medina gloriosus Missionis nostræ, si fas est dicere, proto-Martijri.*

*Sub fines Martij Missionibus suis convenerant Patres. Aderat etiam alter qui hactenus in insulis septentrionalibus hæserat, simul expectantis P. Sanvictores qui a sua sparta necdum advenerat: itaque libuit*

1 Ed. note: Error for 13 January 1672, it seems. This author had Fr. Medina in mind, as the latter died on a 29 January, 1670. He maintains this wrong date below.

ad illum nuncium destinare, qui convenisse Patres significaret, literarum baculum, aliquot leucas progressum, Indi intercipiunt, et crudeliter occidunt. Juvenis erat sane egregius, dictus *Dicacus Bassan* [i.e. *Diego Bazan*], Mexico oriundus, cui non laborum tantum, sed vel maxime periculorum, quæ Patribus his in oris subeunda fuere licuit esse participi. Auctor necis quidam vocatus *Kipuxa*, alterius illius, qui Patres primum exceperat, et fundo etiam donaverat, degener hæres. Ille, ut causam semel edisseram, quæ pluribus deinceps socijs, ex ipsi Patri Sanvictores exitium, si non sola, certe magna ex parte attulit: ille inquam uxorem alterius mariti, quocum illa in facie Ecclesiæ solenniter erat juncta, matrimonio sibi barbaro gentis more copularit: reclamantibus marito, et Patribus, sed illa non invita; eique publice cohabitabat. Pusillorum scandalum miserati Patres, arguebant, obsecrabant, increpabant, inmoto ad hæc barbaro, et blandam medicantis manum exulcerato animo horrescente. Nec ideo animis cadere monitores se instare oportune, importune, et vindices Dei iras obtrudere: donec medelam iam respuens [desperans]<sup>1</sup> barbarus, de auferendis importunis monitoribus cæpit cogitare nec instigans dæmon desperationem emolliri tempore permittebat: forte ad Missionem in pagum haud ita dissitum excurrerant P. Sanvictores, et P. Solano, cum certiores fiunt, emisso[re]s in se promissis et mercede conductos, sed tum quidem nox subsequens, qua tecti diversos sese subduxere, utrumque periculo eripuit, nec desistebat interim, cum publico neophytorum scandalo et monitorum contemptu, de nefaria libidine triumphum quasi instituire: adversante continuo, et minas spernente invicta P. Sanvictores constantia: consuleret sibi, et hiantem iam iam Tartarum pertimesceret. Frustra omnia: malle se æternum ardere quam libidinis faces extinguere, respondebat. Contra hæc PP. ad futuram in flagranti scelere Dei vindictam prædicare, quasi strictum iam divini furoris gladium [sic = gladium] intuerentur. Et vero quam veri vates extiterint, paucis post gloriosam mortem Patris Sanvictores diebus luce clarius patuit: nam adulter ille tam Pernicax octavo die post quam trucidatur est Pater eodem illo sabatho, imo et eadem pene hora, cum sementi suæ nescio quam ob causam assisteret, sanus interea, sui securus repente corruit in terram et infelicem animam infernis cruciatibus æternis. Vero, tanquam arida ligna, æternis ignibus destinat.

Hic itaque *Kipuja* domi nostræ versabatur, cum PP. nuncium prædictum juvenem destinarent, et ab illo suscipiendum iter in diem proximum intelligit. Ille silentio premens prodicionem, in vicinum pagum recedit, perquam iter litterarum baculo futurum erat. Pagus hic, *Chuchugo* dictus, infamis erat acerbissimis fidei nostræ et nostris inimicis, qui nulla a nobis unquam causa lacessiti, paucissimi, et vulgo viles homines habiti, duces se reliquis, et incentores superiori bello præbuerant, et inveteratum in nos, et fidem Christianam odium etiam composita pace dæmonis instinctu actinebant [sic]. Cum his itaque fœdus paciscitur, et illius pagi juvenes, non minus in omnem crudelitatem, quam libidinem effrænes, in insidijs disponit. Illorum duo prætergressum iam juvenem omnium ignarum, tanquam aliud agentes assequuntur; illumque ut minus sinceri pectoris accusant qui arma securo pace circumferret, præferebat ille manu azinacem, eumque videndum exhiberi sibi postulant. Ille, ex se reliquos metiens, haud gravate concedit dum his et similibus incautus distrahitur, agrediuntur scilicet concessis armis proditores, et repetitis tam hasta quam azinace ictibus crudeliter occidunt. Inde tanquam bene ominato eo acto agmine nam macrandos eadem opera Evangelicos ministros omnes, eorumque defensores socios deceperant. Domum nostrum, à qua abesse plures socios noverant agitati furij, et inescati sanguine convolant, et ad illam etiam eadem nocte deferuntur. Illic sine excubijs, sine belli, aut insidiarum suspitione, securo pace omnia quiescebant. Quando an(?) nescio quod confusum murmur canis excitantur latratum sequuntur aliqui viciniore, et animadversam a se flammam conclamant. Dum illi invigilant: ecce tibi ex proximo saltu tres hastæ adlabuntur, et deprehensi ex improvise Indi prosiliunt. Inventus, quem in loco reliquerant, fomes incensus, indubilitatus incendendæ domui nostræ apparatus.

Tremare ad hæc, et mille curis angij, qui convenerant, Patres, et quidem ad huc ignari cædis in primo ad Patrem Sanvictores nuncio patratæ, et prodictione [sic] peti se manifeste cernebant. Aberat, et quidem sine armis in cujus solo capite periclitantur omnes. Pater Sanvictores ergo iteratis nuncijs ipsius reditum implorare: moras omnes abrumperet et suos sollicitos præsens inviseret: nihil periculi superesse,

1 Ed. note: Correction appearing in the manuscript.

*si ipsi adsit incolumis: cum ipso mori Patres reliquos posse, sine ipso non posse. Litterarum baculi designati Philippinis socijs duo, scuto uterque et azinace armatus.*

*Adjunctus illis viæ dux ex Indis adolescentulus Marianus, qui Patribus unicus e sua gente fidelis adhærebat. Et hi quidem penetravere ad Patrem incolumes, et salvi. Ille plus turbatis rebus, quam sua causa sollicitus, utpote qui expeditam animam asserendæ fidei, mortis testimonio iam dudum circumferebat. Itaque nuncios continuo remittit. Juncto illis e suis socijs altero. Alios quinque, qui in templi iam absoluti fabrica fuerant ocupati, diversa {105} via domum etiam ablegat: ipse socium ubi unicum seligit, iter in Iariam Residentiam auspicaturus, post quam montanos aliquot pagos, ubi baptizandos aliquot reliquerat, suo more visitasset.*

*Ex omnibus his non nisi duo, idque perægre, domum incolumes reversi nam primos tres ocupavere ex insidijs reduces, Indi facile viginti, qui ex improvise irruentes, hastis transfixere juvenem Hispanum dictum **Emanuelem Ranchel**, Mexico oriundum, vel eo fortunatum, quod dum quadragesimali supplicatione pænas a se exacturus, Deo sanguinem devoverat, eundem nobiliori in causa, eidem numini cum vita impendit. Nec tamen ideo defuere sibi bini, qui supererant socij Philippini: nam hi cadentem socium nihil morati, objectis clipeis unanimes in hostes feruntur, et unum e primoribus, discusso vertice in terram dijiunt [=dejiunt], reliquos in turpem fugam convertunt; non ante tamen, quam adlabentibus undequaque hastis uterque læderetur. Unde nec profuit illis bene auspiciata virtus: nam dum per cæca viarum ab invicem diversi, et ab accepto vulnere debiles, domum revertuntur, alteratis iam tota insula animis per insidias occiduntur: unus, dictus **Nicolas de Figueroa**, natione Pampangus super mensam azinace percusus: alter natione Tagalus dictus **Damianus Bernal** Indorum hastis confixus, vel, ut alij retulere, tam diu fustibus contusus, donec animam exspiraret. Nec reliquos 5 excepit mitior fortuna. Eorum unus vocatus **Emanuel de Nava** Mexico oriundus, haud potens socios ambulando assequi, a barbaris interceptus in pago **Eurij** [sic] dicto, e precipite rupe, in mare dejectus; reliqui quatuor per varios casus ancipiti fuga quidem evasere, ab amicis aliquibus in pago **Pagat** liberaliter habiti, illorum tamen duo tantum ad suos rediere, reliquis duobus inter barbaros etiamnum hærentibus. Contigere hæc, ni fallor die ultima Martij, et 1<sup>a</sup> Aprilis: nam non eodem die omnes, et inmediate ante Patrem Sanvictores sunt occisi.*

#### [The death of Fr. Sanvitores]

*Interea horum omnium ignarus R.P. Sanvictores, interiora montis, ut dixi, baptizandi gratia obibat: iamque rebus confectis iter maturabat. Dies erat Sabbati 2<sup>a</sup> Aprilis, itaque quo ad offerendum domi sacrificium tempori adesset, quod nullis unquam de causis, ne his quidem in locis, ipse intermittebat, solem eundo prævenerat: et orto vix sole magnam viæ partem confecerant, distans a primaria Residentia duabus paulo amplius leucis in pago **Tumhum** dicto. Ibi, ne occasio elaberetur incultura animarum bene aliquid faciendi, ad proximam domum ilico divertit. Habitabat illam crudelis in paucis et ingrattissimus barbarus, dictus **Matapang**: nam quinque cædes ab illo barbara crudelitate iam ante patratas constabat. Ingratitudinem colligas ex eo, quod appulsis in has oras haud ita pridem Patribus, vulneratus ille graviter ab inimicis domum delatus est, et ibi adhibitis medicinis pietate plus quam paterna curatus: et subinde animi vulnera feliciori medicamine delibuta. Nam doctus ille cum familia salutaris doctrinæ capita, lustralibus aquis rite aspersus. Hunc igitur cum in ipso limine offendisset, rogat Pater num forte baptizandus aliquis in loco parvulus inveniatur (sciebat natam ipsi non multos dies puellalam, quam sacro fonte abluere cupiebat) cui perfusus atrabile iam tum barbarus: **quid malum?** inquit, **agesis calvariam hanc; aderat calvaria, baptiza, si lubet, est hæc**, ut ante retuli supositionum suarum præcipuum instrumentum. Verum nihil commotus Pater, sat gnarus mitigare indomitos, ad instruendos neophytos, et parvulos se accingit. Dum cantum placide orditur, et Christianæ doctrinæ capita modulatur rumpebatur scilicet furore, et invidia barbarus: **et appage**, ait **P[ater] Magne**, ne tum quidem ausus irreverenter appellare, **iam doctrinæ tuæ, et Dei cui nos ?????? ac ???p?????so turbine teniter s????ens** nitebatur intumescens animum dextera affabilitate, qua potens erat inprimis, eblandire: sed frustra: arreptam violenter hastam iam in ictum sustulerat, et evibrabat; nisi in sanum conatum alter Indorum, vocatus **Hidao** [rather **Hirao**], qui adstabat et Patri socius venerat inhibuisset: regans innocuum homi-*

*nem, et inermem invalidumque sine damno dimitteret nempe Christianæ mansuetudine et inculpatæ innocentiae patrociniū vel ab ipsis barbaris debebatur.*

*Verum Matapang imbelles animos et meticulosam pietatem huic dum exprobat, fregit scilicet inconstantem, et indestinatum facinus socium adscivit. Ergo in unicum viæ comitem quem Pater aduxerat, violenter feruntur, et hastis transfigunt. Juvenis erat Philippinus natione Bissaya, dictus Petrus Calonsor. Hic serio rem geni conspicatus Pater, et tempus adesse sanguine magis quam verbis divinam gloriam promovendi, quam suspensam e collo gestebat servatoris, effigiem manibus extulit, et exhortari cæpit impios paricidas per ejus, quem manu gerebat vulnere a sacrilego cæpto abstinere, et animarum ipsi suarum misererentur: scintillabant furore crudelissimi Paricidæ, et in sacratissimum servatorem, inpuras blasphemias spurcato ore evomebant. Hic enimvero collegit in inum [sic] animas constantissimum Pater: et tamen, inquit, et tamen quantus, quam tremendus est ille? et quis illi mortalium comparetur? Hæc proloquentem hasta unus pectus transverberat, alter librato azinacæ luculentum vulnus in caput impingit, ex quo undante copioso sanguine: in terram prolapsus repetitis vulneribus ambo confecire inter hæc verba invictum spiritum efflantem, Deus tui miseriat.*

*Alij negant tam celeriter confectum, sed petito deprecandi Deum ab interfectores spatio, docentem illos et exhortantem occubuisse. Contigit hæc cædes, nulli minus, quam qui illam subijt miseranda, die 2<sup>a</sup> Aprilis 1672, hora circa septimam aut octavam matutinam et, nequemquam lateret mortis tam crudeliter illatæ causa pendulam e collo servatoris Christi effigiem primi diripere et quasi parum profuso sanguine saturi, imaginis faciem arreptis silicibus furore rabidi contudere, in imagine præconem Christi, impræcone suo Christum rursus crucifigentes. Defuncti corpus, uti [sic = Patri] et socij, alligato ad pedes ingenti saxo in mare præcipitare, responsam glorioso sanguine terram exstructo igne exussere opinione ipsorum, ne grave olentia sua aerem inficerent: ita enim contigisse sepultis in terra albis item coloribus hollandis [sic], seniores referebant; revera superstiosiso [sic] hoc ritu Dæmone abutente [sic], ne pretiosis pignoribus derelicti in ardua hac statione orphani filij, ad fortiter agendum, imo et patiendum sese excitarent.—*

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

*Natus erat R.P. Didacus Alojjsius de Sanvictores Burgis antiqua Regum Hispaniæ aula (quamquam animus non est, debitum tanto viro Elogium attexere; utpote cui desunt, quæ ille tam in Insulis Philippinis, quam in utraque Hispania domi sancte et religiose, foris zelose et apostolice gessit) die 17<sup>a</sup> Novembris 1627 dictus solum Didacus in baptismo, ipse postea crescente supra ætatem virtute in sacella virginis beni Concilij Madriti eodem, quo quondam loco B. Alojjsius, nec minore fervore et constantia Alojjsij sibi nomen adscivit: addito ei ineunde Societatis ardenti proposito, procul dubio et eadem Matre suadente: illamque ingressus est ibidem {105v} 1640 emissis in eadem post biennium religiosi votis: 1650 12 Martij sacro subdiaconatus ordine Madriti initiatus: ejusdem Anni Aprilis sacrum diaconatus ordinem suscepit: nempe eodem die ad prædicandum Evangelium legitime ordinatus, quo illud fuso glorioso sanguine in Marianis insulis, volentibus annis postea confirmavit; acdemum 1651 die 23 Decembris sacerdos consecratus, omnipoten]ti Deo nascentem filium et se in holocaustum et primitias immolavit.*

*Cogor hic fragmentum apponere litterarum, quos ipse dedit ad R.A.P.N. Goswinum Nichel, quibus Missionem Indicam ab-- exposit: et annotare illud, quod de S. Francisco Xaverio in summario Epistolæ quintæ annotat P. Tursolinus: vel ex his expende Patrem Sanvictores. Sic igitur havet ijsdem terminis; nam latine etiam scripserat.—<sup>1</sup>*

“R.Ad.P.N. P.X.”

“Patres Spirituales me huiusque jusserant esse contentum harum litterarum materia cum PP. Provincialibus communicata: nunc etiam majorem Dei gloriam me debere V[uestr]æ P[aternali]t[ati] omnia ex-

1 Ed. note: A Spanish translation of this letter was made by Fr. Sanvitores himself, to send to his father (see HM4: 116 et seq.). The abbreviated salutation stands for: “Reverende Admodum Pater Noster, Pax Christi.”

ponere, serio admonent: quod facio, primum exemplar, quod cæperam, nova additione qua inferius, transcribens.”

“Ab infantiae annis quos potui memoria revoluere, totus fui indesiderio (juxta, et forsan supra illam ætatem) conversionis animarum [max]ime infidelium, et Martijrij Annis 12 natus, per magnam Dei, et Beatissimæ Deiparæ misericordiam, vocatus sum in Soc[ietate]m, eo ani[mo] et more in patientia, ut, licet primum obrepserit ætatis error, tandem cognitus ante ingressum, nondum completus decimus tertius anni non obstiterit, quo minus admissus fuerim, accedente mox dispensatione P.N. Mutij, ad quod forsan movit id quod tum contig[it] matri meæ.”

“Etenim cum mater decrevisset me tunc Madriti commorantem remittere ad Patrem meum degentem Hispali, ego diuturnam saltam moram timent, ut securiorem elegi fugam in locum mei refugij, Collegium Soctis: ubi id mater mea cognovit, tanquam tigris abreptis [par]bulis in nostrum Collegium inruit, me inquirens, simul et P. Provinciale[m] (erat is P. Franciscus de Aguado) qui suam fidem illi obstriverat, atque illius consensu nunquam me in Soctem admittendum: dum igitur ipsa minas, et flammam spirans ante januam communem et antiquam nostri Collegij Imperialis responsum expectat, ecce per quandam fenestram januæ proximam, et currui equo expect--- æqualem, sibi apparere visus est S.P.N. Ignatius, qui post seme manu ducebat Soctis habitu indutum (quam re ipsa nondum induer[et]) et ea veritate me ipsum videre persuasit sibi, ut statim urserit famulos ad me arripiendum, magna voce clamans ecce meus filius sed dum famuli intrensecus respiciunt fenestram, et nihil vident, nec audiunt; mater intensius figens oculos in mean speciem, ea vidit sanguine perfusam et Martijrij nobis insignem, et simul sibi vita est audire S.P. Ignatium hæc verbu clara voce profertem: relinque illum erit enim Martijr. Hæc feminæ et su opte ingenio occasione valde iracundæ. Ita animum mutarunt, ut ardiens Patrem Provinciale[m] in Professorum domo visitando agere, me non amplius inquirens illum adierit, et rem totam, quasi sub confessionis sigillo ponens, promisit nunquam restitutam meo ingresui, sed totis viribus in illum influuram; et hoc idem narravit, et promisit intra confessionis sacramentum P. Jacobo Ramirez charissimo meo spirituali Patri, et P. Ludovico de la Palma, et, ni fallor, P. Andrea de Rada tunc [tem]poris Collegij Ministro, et alijs ex gravioribus Patribus promissit ita stetit, ut dum Patruus meus obtinuisset apostolici tontij [rather nuntij] litteras, quibus me in libertatem, ut aiunt, vindicarent, mater ipsa in tempesta satis nocte, ad P. Provinciale[m] venerit, monens de suo dissensu in talis [litte]ras, et rogans ut illum dissensum eoram Notario prosequeretur, utque quam primum me in Soctem admitteret, juxta ardens meum de[si]derium et preces: et tandem ipsamet animum sedans, et nihil morata absentium et dolorem mei Patris, omnia necessaria ministravit ingresui, et itineri in Probationis Domum Villaregensis, quod ita mirum fuit omnibus eam agrocentibus, ut nihil scientes de viso illo, aliquid supernaturale hic indicarent intervenisse: et viso, qui sciverunt magnam adhibuerunt fidem ex eventu tam miro accidit hic et adnotandum: mater, ut me post visum illud convenit in Soctis templo, duxit, ipsa in sacellum S.P.N. Ignatij, et sistens me ante altare inter lacrimas (quibus præ magnanimo, et acri ingenio, non assuescebat) hæc verba protulit: Sancte Pater Ignatij hunc filium tibi tracto, ut æternam salutem mihi adeo impetros, et hæc dixit die Jovis 19 Julij 1640, et eodem die etiam Jovis (recurrat enim eadem littera Do[m]nicali) 19 Julij A. 1657 migravit evita, non sine præclaris Indicijs salutis æternæ, ut de Dei misericordia, et S.P. Ignatij intercessor confidimus.”

“His ne quidquam a me neglectis, et interna cortius afflante Dei gratia et vocatione: quam ut tolem agnovere plures PP. Spirituales conscientiae sinus scrutantes, crevit Indies in me innatum illud, vel, ut ita dicam, adnatum desiderium, infidelium præsertim animum ad Christum ducendi, sanguinemque propterea fundendi, quin unquam potuerim alio flectore animum, nec aliud a me consequi, quam [resig]nationem obedientiae, et patientiam moræ, quam quotidie, ut meæ voluntatis, et propensionis sacrificium, interim Deo offero perdicam iam novem annos<sup>1</sup> negligo varia viva, et somnia etc<sup>a</sup> neque enim sive dormitus, sive vigilans aliud ita frequenter evolubam. Sæpe PP. Provincialibus meum desiderium aperui, licet non meminero alicui, præter eosqui sciverant, aperuisse hactenus vitam illud matris: tum præ qui-

1 Ed. note: This vow was for 9 years (“novem,” not “undeviginti”). Therefore, the Spanish version saying 19 years is wrong (see HM4: 118-119).

dam pudore animi, agnocontis me observantia, et moribus tam igraviter respondere illi quali quali Dei ostensioni: tum quia ex sola constanti, et superioribus probata interna vocatione, sperabam obtinere finem desideratum; licet non raro moram, et repulsam sentiens, fior desiravi et petij, si id in majorem Dei gloriam cederet aliquod divinæ voluntatis signum etiam superioribus ex hiberi: q[uod?] per morbum aliquem gravem mihi immissum, qui me, et superiores urgeret, ad aliquam promissionem efferendam, et acceptandus quod et tandem per magnam Dei misericordiam assecutus sum.”

“Primum enim superiore Anno 1657 mense Novembri inquamdam incidi febrim malignam (mihi quidem benignissimam {106} eo die, quo a medicis corporis, et spiritus ad ultima sacramenta et horam disponi jussus sum, ipseque iam fere persuasus ob mea demerita ab alio presiotiore mortis genere depolli, in id toto animo, et desiderio parabar, testæ mihi fuerunt litteræ Cardinalis Toletani, eodem die datæ, quo ego in febrim incideram, quibus, occasione cujusdam Missionis, me sanctis, et magnis verbis Hortabatur ut totum me Missionem dederem Ministerio: ad id enim vocabat me Do[m]inis etc<sup>a</sup> hæ litteræ adeo meum animum immutarunt, ut deinceps de morte alio: quin proxima, et iam expetita, nihil fere cogitarim, sed ad missiones reversus et magna confidentia persuasus, Deum mihi vitam prorogaturum ad id munus obeundum, et ad desideratum usque finem consequendum, enixe postulavi, ut afferentur mihi quædam litteræ Sancti Francisci Xaverij propria ipsius manu subscriptæ, et aliæ similiter quas apud me servabam, V.P. Marcelli Mastrilli, et rem cum meo confessario, et P. Rectore communicans, nuncupandi voti obtinui facultatem libenti anime a P. Rectore concessam: ut enim ipse con fastim ad domesticos dixit, concepit inde magnam spem meæ vitæ prorogandæ. In maiorem ergo Dei gloriam, et honorem beatissimæ Virginis, et S.P.N. Ignatij, et propter materiam, singulariter sub patrocinio Sancti Francisci Xaverij, et V. Marcelli, coram Santissima Eucharistia, quam mox suscepi, id votum emis; nempe: **me totam vitam et vires omnes positurum deinceps in Ministerio Missionum imprimis inter fideles...**” [unquote]

“Hic deerat Epistolæ folium quod sequebatur continens completum voti formulam et prodigiosam sanitatis plus una vice restaurationem: actum demum sic concludebat, evibrans semper scintillas animi sui flagrantis, et assistere cupientis Patribus.”

[quote] ...“sequi in Philippinas laborant, opitulaturi etiam vicinis gentibus, si Deus dederit occasionem, ad hanc singillatim Philippinarum Missionem, V.P. me offerem, cujus forsán datur modo oportunitas; cum Philippinarum Procurator apud V.P. de socijs mittendis agat. Cæterum prædicta omnia non tam permodum petitionis, quam meæ conscientia rationis in materia adeo gravi communi Patri N. reddendæ accipiat quæso P.V. vereor enim ne prorsus immeritum, et inutilem memet ultatories ingeram rebus tam arduis; sed vereri quoque admonibus semper supra nominatos PP. meæ conscientia immediatos directores ne imprudenti silentio, et omissione diligentia debitæ Deo nostro displiceam: quare ipsi obediens scribo et obediens expecto V.P. vocem, quasi vocem Domini mei Jesu Christi, cujus solum honorem, et gloriam, et pretiosi sanguinis in omnibus ab ipso redemptis fructum unice intendo votis et desiderijs meis, idque precibus et litteris, utinam et recto ad Deum corde, et placitis ei operibus assequar per immaculatam Virginem matrem, et Parentem N. Beatissimum Ignatium, meorumque votorum Patronos Xaverium cum Marcello; et Borgiam, Beatosque omnes, per quos et V.P. dirigat Deus, et nobis diu incolumem servet, ut desideramus et indagemus ad Soctis nostræ, et tot animarum bonum.”

“Compluti, 2 Julij 1659.”

*His litteris quamquam non integris, consummata perfectionis idea, ni fallor continetur: certe ita indicavit R.Ad.P.N. Generalis P.M. Gosvinus Nichel cum gravissimum de illis testimonium ad superiores Provinciæ Tolænæ datis 12<sup>a</sup> octobris 1659 litteris transmisit asserit illis, se postquam Patris vocationem attente, et singulari advertentia considerasset coram Deo, indicasse, si non in tam pia vota, et desideria condescenderet, de futurum se graviter obligarioni officij sui, et conscientia, si missionem Indicam tam instanter ab illo, licet cum summa indifferentia petitam, et desideratam, non concederet addens, ilico: Deum ad illam Patrem elegisse, nec posse dubitari, quin illa sit expresa voluntas divinæ Majestatis.*

*Quam primum itaque ad hanc illum destinant: sibi enim stare ab hac mente non recedere, nec absistent, donec sit executioni mandata cognoscere se, et estimare talenta, quæ huic suo servo Deus communicavit, et quam utilis esse posit illi Provinciæ: verum nec Sancto Francisco Saverio, alijsque permultis, qui in Indias sunt profecti. Quid quam horum defuisse ubi Deus imponet, obtemperandum illico, nec divi-*



*næ suæ voluntate resistendum. Hæc tam locupletia absolutissimæ virtutis testimonia hisce inservi, ne ipsorum memoria tam desertis in insulis sepeliretur. Cæterum de R.P. Sanvictores nihil ego nisi quod immediate Missionem nostram spectet, attingam. Ad illam (nam difficilia sunt semper rerum magnarum initia) incitatum se, et quasi divinibus stimulatam ipse fatebatur, cum in Evangelio Missæ illud lucæ recitaret: **quia non erit impossibil[e] apud Deum omne verbum.** Nam etiamsi ad illam capessendam regia mandata abunde suppeterent, tamen tantum feris ab externis, quorum intererat; tantum domi impedimentorum et molestiarum opponebatur: nam in tanta ærarij penuria distrabi vires et ubi vix, aut ne vix quidem tueri parta sufficiant, tum quæri parta sufficiant, tum quæri nova alij oponebant: et sane, nisi sub tam Catholico Gubernatore hoc solo telo conatus omnes confecerant: alij quibus mitior animus zelum laudebant, zeli terminum criminabantur: non deesse terras quibus illata fides alere sese ipsa, et ministros suos, possit; ut quid ergo illam designari, in quam quidquid nutriendæ fidei conferatur, e domesticis visceribus quasi ferro excindatur: in promptu esse terras, Ternate, Mindanao, Siau, aliasque in quas illata fidei non minus agente docili, et majus ab non tam iniqua cultoribus suis terra operæ pretium spondeat, nec minora domi obstacula superanda: angustus sociorum numerus, qui pro messis amplitudine vix quartæ ejusdem parti respondeant, locorum distantia extra superiorum reginem, et commercium quasi posita hæc, et his similia, vinci nescia ut videbatur tanta dexteritate, tanta constantia solus ipse superavit, ut, non immerito usurparet illud: **quia non erit impossibile etc\*** iam ad ipsam navigationem quod spectat, ut alia mitta omittam, illud certe admirationem non vulgarem mæretur, quod longissimo illo itinere, universam nautarum turbam cum suis superioribus tam obnoxiam, tam compositam habuerit ut ordinati infetiola [insehola?] discipuli magistrum audire, et venerari viderentur, tantumque illorum animos occupaverat, ut alij illum ut Sanctum, alij ut Prophetam, omnes at amantissimum Patrem amplecterentur.*

*Erant inter illos non inferiores notæ qui palpare se in illo, et tractare manibus sanctitatem affirmarent: alij unum quidque verbum Prophetiam, unum quodque opus, miraculum habebant: itaque leyes(?), Juramenta imprecationes enixæ, tanquam in musæo aliquo, affixo ad malum edicto, sub mulcta prospecta. Ipse ad omnes concionem bene longam quotidie habebat, idque præter cathecismum, aliaque privata colloquia in qua, si festus dies aut Dominicas aliud argumentum non præteret, tractabatur sancti ejus diei vita, ejus denique virtutes inseram sæpe noctem practice et ad hominem inculeabantur, tanta attentione, ut theologicam aliquam questionem exispete discipulos ad ore Magistre putares: tanta fructu ut nihil omnino ad consonam suo statui perfectionem ingente tam libera desiderares; unde sacramenta ab omnibus {106v} quod mensibus, et sæpius frequentata, supplicationes institutæ, contritionis actus solenniter, sæpius repetitus, votum immaculatæ conceptionis defendendæ ab omnibus nuncupatum. Nempe incendebat omnes exemplo suo flagrantissimus pater, qui ardenti orationi non solum dies, sed et noctes impendebat, divinum sacrificium latabat quotidie, corpus silicij, disciplinis, continua inodia, et vigilijs macerabat: quibus accedebat tanta erga vel abjectissimum benignitas, amor, studium, ut omnipotenti visco deglutinasse sibi cunctorum animos videretur. Illud vix scio an usquam alias auditum: solent vectores non solum longa septem mensium, sed difficili plane et periculosa navigatione defuncti, ubi optato portu potantur, votorum non minus quam periculorum obliti liberius animo atque utinam non vitij indulgere at postquam Acapulcum appulit P. Sanvictores, religiosorum cæterum vicus est advexisse. Itaque suæ genti ipse separatim templum seligere, ad illos mane sacrificium convenientibus cunctis celebrare, vesperi ad recitandam incommune virginis Deiparæ coronam omnes rursus convenire, ubi spirituali exhortatione refectos domum remittebat, tantumque ea consuetudo innotuerat, ut notæ sibi ducerent, si qui objecto negotio tam pio conventui non interfuissent. Nec minorem admirationem illud mæretur, tam difficili et longo itinere, amisso nemines salvos omnes, et incolumes portum tenuisse, ipsius meritis et præsentia adseripsisse: adeo ut in proberbium illud abjerit, novem illam, quæ Patrem Sanvictores in Marianas Insulas veccerit, singulari præ rogativa commissos sibi homines vivos omnes confecti itinere redhibere, et sane ego dum annis post quatuor eadem navi in Marianas navigarem coram experientia didici, quod ante non credideram, cum tamen excopia militum, et navis angustijs, non deessent plusquam ordinaria incommoda, quæ in tanta hominum colluvie infirmitates et funera solent causare.*



[1673L1, cont'd]

**[Eulogy of Fr. Sanvitores (cont'd)]**

*{Mexicum inde ut supra retuli, urgentibus de causis divertens, dici vix potest, quam zelo plenus, quam radicata in Deum, et superos confidentia et mexicanum illud emporium sit ingressus vix urbem attigerat cum recta ne jumento quidem, quo vectus fuerat, domum dimisso ad Sancti Francisci Xaverij sacellum quod} apud Paræciam Veræ Crucis ejusdem Sti Congregatio habet, necdum salutatis domesticis, solus ipse degreditur, ibique ut de longinquo, eoque difficillimo itinere fatigatus et sordidus, libellos suos omnes, et tractanda negotia in manus Deiparæ Virginis, et Sti. Indiarum Apostoli committit, crederes cum sacrosanctis illis cælestis aulæ numinibus, non ex viatoribus his miseris aliquem, sed assuetum curiæ angelum, pro necessitate, et sua consuetudine exposcere magis, quam supplicare.*

*Hinc ad ipsum Pro Regem ingressus, et admissus statim pro sua auctoritate, quasi alter Moijses, vul{tie} ipso conceptam a tractandis divinis flammam Professus, negotia omnia, erant illa de Missione hac nostra supra relata, momento proposuit: explanavit, conferit. Narrant, cum declarandæ pauperum horum extremæ necessitati diutius inhæreret: et Prorex hinc rationum momentis, inde ærarij penuria suspensus in neutram partem inclinare se satis posset: orto derrepente terræ motu, quasi dato e cælis signo commotum, in preces Patris libentem consensisse. Confectis hic rebus ex omnium sententia, a capite ad membra, id est civitatem reliquam conversus, qua privatis congressibus, concionibus, Doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus explicandis, qua supplicationibus, quas ab actu Contritionis appellant, magno cum fructu frequentari ubique solitis, universam civitatem, tam amplam, tam copiosam, unus homo, viribus debilis, corpore pusillus, oculis pene captus, tantum ad omnem virtutem truncatis vitijs inflammavit: ut [aut] {vel ut} delapsus olimpo, aut suscitatus a mortuis sanctorum antiquorum aliquis videretur. Et quid mirum si largas eleemosinas pro nudis his suis ab illis impetraret, quibus ille cælestes divitias tam liberalis impertiret. Quadriennium effluerat, quando tam sancta vestigia, petens ipse Marianas insulas, non æquis passibus sequebor, et adhuc viva Patris imago, et salutifera dogmata civium passim animis obversabantur, cunctis sanctum illum esse: et futurum Martijrem indubitate affirmantibus prætermittam, quæ in reditu Acapulcum, quæ in ipso portu, imo et in ipsa navigatione, cum socijs Soctis, quos ad Philippinas per[se]gentes hic commode invenit, cum Hispanis, et Indis zelose et laudabiliter gessit, ut paucis ad missionem ipsam nostram, et Marianas insulas perveniam.*

*In illas devectus, quis tandem fuerit R. P. San Vitores, nec ille qui viderit, verbis, nec qui non viderit, cogitatione facile assequetur. Et mihi æstimatu illud difficile occurrit, [an] {et} Apostolicum ejus ferorem {et zelum}, an, quam illi junxit, orationis sublimitatem, an gubernantis prudentiam, an patientis constantiam potius admirer[er]. Et sane singula hæc, ut reliqua omittam, in Pre. San Vitores summa omnia fuere, zelus et animarum sitis tanta, ut præ illa deficere sæpius, et quasi liquescere videretur, nec facile ipsi fuerit de parvulis suis in Xro aut cogitare, aut colloqui, quin tenerrimo dulcedinis sensu perfunderetur: nempe materna viscera cum apostolo gentium induerat, donec formaretur Xrus in illis. Itaque solidos dies, menses, annos illis tribuebat, sacrificium Missæ ceteraque orandi spatia mature præveniens, ne vel tantilla temporis [pars] illis detraheretur. Si domi esset, jam ante lucem suos dimiserat, qui collectos parvulos undequaque [conquirerent] {adducerent}, quos ille singulari affectu a prima luce instruebat, et quo per sensus facilius doctrina influeret, quidquid cupediarum, aut panis nautici suppetebat, inter illos largiebatur. Hoc hamo facile inescati, domum frequentes, et libentes confluebant. Illic Christianæ Doctrinæ capita primum, et ante omnia inculcabat: ipseque ad vincendam difficultatem, quæ non levis in eo sese offerebat, ut inter incultos barbaros facilis {est} conjectura, ad hoc singulari voto sese obstrinxerat; et quo conjunct{ior} virtus nullis difficultatibus cederet: ad illud Patres reliquos comites {indux-}erat. Deinde Hispanam etiam linguam, ac prima litterarum rudimenta, si tempus suppeteret promptiores aliquos ipse docebat, reliquisque Christianis disciplinis assiduus imbuebat. Inde ad grandiores natu, quamquam jam tardiores conversus, solidum omnina diem, nisi quod sibi necessaria corporis sustentatio decerperet, de mane usque ad vesperam illis tribuebat. Et si forte imminentis post meridiem solis æstus, aut Indos ab accessu domus prohiberet, aut socios domi quiescere cogeret, tum ipse, quasi ad laborem continuum natus, aut litteras exarabat, aut acceptas pervotuebat(?), aut negotia Missionis in utraque Hispania scribendo, et ruminando tractabat.*

*Cæterum sola necessitas, et quasi violentia ignitum Patrem domi detinebat; foras autem progressum, Deus immortalis quæ benignitas, quæ suavitas comita{ba}tur. Orphea diceres potenti Cithara saxa ad sese, et cautes pertrahere: ita brutos barbaros suavi blandi: loquentia et ad sese alliciebat, et in quamcumque vellet partem inflectebat. Horas integras pendebant ab loquentis ore {quasi} obstupefacti barbari, dum ipse præpotentis Dei laudes, et sacrosanctæ doctrinæ capita instilaret: tam ad ipsorum aut linguæ proprietatem, aut accentus dissonantiam, aut morum simplicitatem sese ipse accommodabat. Vere pro Xro omnibus omnia factus, ut omnes Xro lucrifaceret. Omitto hic, quod alias attigi, vestes quas ex ipsorum storeis ipse sibi confici jusserat, nec sine gravissimo incommodo circumferebat.*

[Fr. Sanvitores' eyeglasses]

*Omitto, quamquam nec ego, si velim, verbis complectar, infinitas {in} itineribus exhaustas difficultates, quibus non exiguum pondus superaddebat, quod usum oculorum omnem a longe amiserat: adeo ut quamvis minuta quevis, si prope essent, et intra ipsam aciem posita, accurate distingueret, extra illam tamen, et a longe ne confuse quidem intueretur: unde et conspicilia, quibus uti Manilæ consueverat, tanquam inutilia abiecerat. Itaque ad objectos in via lapides facile offendere, facile ad lubricos aliosque difficiles passus prolabi, nec tamen usque aut animis, aut vigore deficere. Imo interdum desumpto in manus socij scipione incertum gressum dirigere: interdum alienis pedibus incidens humeris {alicijus} {unius} ex Indis institutum iter conficere: nec tamen ullus e Patribus frequentius in itinere versari; nec quidquam alienis manibus credere, quod ipse proprio labore, vigilantia, sudore prius non elaborasset, delatus autem in locum destinatum, tum demum charitatis viscera ipse explicabat. Illico infirmis, si qui decumberent: solatio aderat eosque tum salutaris doctrina, tum spiritualibus medicinis potissimum recreabat. Hos parvuli sequebantur, aut baptisandi, aut Christianis disciplinis imbuendi. Ibi enim vero exultare ipse, et sese vix capere, ut locum intrarat, nolula[m?], quam expeditam semper circumferebat, pueros convocabat, nisi silentio progredi suaderet major utilitas, ne nempe aversæ ab undis salutaribus matres baptisandos parvulos, inter silvarum dumeta, et abstrusas latebras absconderent: tum ipse modulando Christianæ doctrinæ capita præcinebat: sequebantur longo ordine, omnis generis adulti, et parvuli: his ille solidum diem quietis omnis impatiens; et necessariæ refectionis oblitus, imo absorptus quasi in Deum,<sup>1</sup> {et sui immemor, impendebat: nec secum reputabat si complutus, et perplutus, aut imminentis solis radijs exustus, si genuum tenus lodo emersus, aut adstreptentis oceani undis aspersus ad Apostolicum munus accederet: illud solum ponderabat an adessent, quibus ille esurientibus panem frangeret; vel quibus vere maternis uberibus lac potum præberet, et vero hic præcipue eluxit, quanto in pretio animarum divitias ipse haveret: pro parvulo baptisando non solum bene collocates suos labores, vires, industriam, sed vel ipsum sanguinem existimabat et experientia sæpius docuit, quam vere pastoris boni partes expleret, dum vitam pro oviculis suis cuius discrimini indubitanter concrederet. Unum e multis, exempti causa, lubet adducere: detinuerant nos periculoso bello conjurati in nos Indi iamque pactis fæderibus quiescebant; cum rumore perferetur in pago montano, vix sesquihora a nobis divito, sed infessissimis inimicis celebri inprimis, natos aliquot infantes indigos baptismi: scilicet ad hæc nova inardecebat animus Patris, etiam accinctus vireri [sic] advolaverat: verum admonebant Indi socium nullum ab Hispanismitteret; nam metu percitos barbaros fuga sibi consulturos, maluit Pater sese potius quam Indorum aliquem periculo exponere: ergo uno solo ex indigenis comitatus, fidens Deo, et periculorum immemor progreditur, ac in destinatum locum defertur: ubi nequidquam freudentibus barbaris inimicis non minus quam inferis, octo parvulos salutaribus undis aspergit, ac demum ad suos salvus et incolumis revertitur: nempe necdum venerat hora ipsorum et potestas tenebriarum. Infinitus sim, si omnia tam paternæ industriæ, quam sollicitæ curæ argumenta prosequar: sufficet ab ipsis barbaris desumptum testimonium, qui illum factorem hominum, et amantissimum suum Patrem uno omnes ore deprædicabant [sic]: adeo ut vel eo titulo hostes se paricidarum profiterentur, quod parentem optimus, nihil usquam nisi filialem affectum commertum, interfecissent.*

1 Ed. note: At this point begins one missing folio in BR.

*Huic vero tam apostolico zelo, quam ille internarum virtutum copiam iuxerit, non est meum verbis exprimare, utpote quæ sua sublimitate stijli mei rubiginem fugiant: orationis, aqua tranquam [sic] a fonte reliquæ dimanant, quanta vix, quanta consuetudo? Adeo ut qui cum illo familiariter versabantur Patres, admirabundi non caperent, tantam, in tantis occupationibus orandi assiduitatem et certe apostolico fervore totus actis, sublimi contemplatione totus oratio videbatur: et eadem hæc insulæ præconi Evangelico palabram suam, et Anachoretæ solitariam cremum præbebant; et ipse due(?) ingenue confitebatur, quamquam in illis quæ ad sui æstimationem spectarent liqueis oculis circumspiceret, non vulgarem sese orandi facilitatem his in oris adeo obtinuisse: adeo ut ne parbulos quidem fidei capta doceret. Quin ab illis in Deum continuo raperetur, supplebat ipse scilicet interiore affectu, quod incultis per incuriam barbaris deerat. Dum domi inter nostros versaretur, etiam versis ramis casam sibi remotam astrepitu erigebat, ad quam præcipue mane et vesperi, nam interdiu ocupabatur, inseram noctem, et multo ante lucem sese recipiebat, ibique divinis visitationibus pectus totum, animumque pandebat, tum præsertim cum asceticis S.P.N. Ignatij exercitijs animum exercitabat: cæterum tum comentandi spatia quæ nullis ipse limitibus certis poterat circumscribere, quam officij divini persolvendi pensum, ubicumque locorum illum occupatio deprehenderet. Compositis semper humi genibus; reliquoque ad pietatem corpore presolvebat; et quamquam præscriptum fue duæ horæ spatium vix excederet, dum divinis operaretur, tenerrimo tamen divinæ dulcedinis sensu perfundebatur, qui in ipsum vultum exterius redundans circumstantes omnes pie afficiebat: tum imprimis, cum ad orationem dominicam progressus, petitionem hanc singulari affectu suspirans intenderet, **Sanctificetur nomen tuum.** Enimvero oratoris Evangelici ex plenitudine cordis os loquebatur ad hoc tam fertili radice quid mirum sicopiosa virtutum reliquarum seges: erubere? pauperitas extrema cuius effectus licet abunde doceret necessitas in oris tam desertis, ingeniosa tamen industria magi sibi imprimebat numquam vissus nitida charta excipere illa, quæ inusus proprios ipse conscribebat, dum litterarum fragmenta, et adversaria, suppetere. Vestis ipsi detrita, et anigra ince-ruleum colorem degenerans, eaque varijs partibus segminibus discoloribus interpolata: interio- {107v} - res, si ipsæ storeæ non servirent, tam detritæ, et viles, ut mendici potius, quam Reverendi Sacerdotis existimares: calcei et tibi alia in Misionibus plerumque nulla, si domi ad decentiam assumerentur, calcei e palmæ folijs erant, femoralia a detritis lacinijs simul consutis. Absque hæc omne vanæ gloriæ tineæ adreperet. Commoditatis pallio amiciebantur. Lectus ipse ex aliqua temore inventa tabula, ad quem ne stoream quidem admittebat: quamquam cippum potius, aut aculeum dejeret, tantum inequaliter congestæ supellectilis in illum admittebatur hic quidem domi commodior: foris non nisi nuda humus deficienti prædebat aliquam quietem, et hanc quidem tormenti genere, m--tis culicibus interpolatam: nam adduci numquam potuit, ut conopæum aliquod erudiorē tela circumferret victus tenuis omnino, et --cultis in his insulis parabilis; unde ex omnibus his, quæ ex nova Hispania eleemosinæ nomine afferebantur, nihil ipse pro sese admitebat, non panum nauticum non carnem bovinam, aut porcina, non legumina, fabas, pisa, lentes ab omni usu vini extra se --ficium prorsus abstinebat: usum vero Indici potus, chocolate dicti, cuius non exiguam copiam Mexici, abeunti suppediteveratos eorum liberalitas, et quotanis submittebat, concepto voto sibi interdixerat, ad quod etiam exemplo suo Patres socios induxerat unde quod Patrum solatio mittebatur, infirmis socijs sæcularibus, alijsque non satis sua virtute subsistentibus serviebat. Ergo ipsius potu ad solam frigidam reducebatur, cibus ad terruæ radices, aut fructus pro pane hic servientis; quibus accedebat vehiculi loco nux pa[rs] cuius mediatas discum ipsi et scutellam præbebat: raro orijzam aqua coctam admittebat, rarius pisculi aliquid, gallinam nunquam -- si ex illis, quæ pauce his in insulis inveniuntur, aliqua apponeretur, ipse suam partem statim ad infirmes aut debiles aliquos admitebat et ne inde sibi mortificationis aliqua species apud alios adhæresceret, continuo excumbat, et hæc oculis suis, alia molaribus dentibus quos amiserat, alii alijs de causis minima convenire dicebat: nempe in abijssio humilitatis, santitatis consummatæ ipse fe-tigium exstauerat.*

*Ad prudentiam quod attinet, quantum sæculares socios, quam Patres Evangelicæ, messis cooperatores regebat, nihil illa discretius nihil maturius potuit exegitari, cum benignitate singularem quamdam efficaciam ipse conjunxerat, qua quidquid vellet a sæcularibus vol-bus, et libentibus obtineret ad quod magnum operæ prelium illud conferebat, quod malorum causam, infelix otium nusquam radices i-cere inter illos pateretur. Circumbat igitur ipse casas(?) singulorum, etsi quem etiamtem(?) invenisset, continuo projecta insinum fomitis -- teria, aut designato aliquo manuum labore occupabat, et pro promp-*

tioribus ad quævis uteretur, mercedem continuo operi jungebat: ita expeditos ad omnia socios habebat, et malorum semina otium eradicabat. At vero concreditos e Societate comites laborum tam reverenter, -- amanter tractabat, ut ipse omnium inferior, et subditu videretur; et quamquam rationum momenta in rebus agendis prius ipse disporeretur [ni]hil tamen usquam exequi quod ad ipsorum calculum non revocaret: itaque blandis exhortationibus, sed vel maxime exemplis omnes in--debat ut similes sui aut faceret, aut inveniret. Certe R.P. Solano, vir in Provincia Philippinarum apostolicis virtutibus, quibus bis in Colegio Manilano Minister inventuti prebexit, et postea Reverendo P. Sanvitores in officio successor, illud sancte profitebatur, se ad suscipiendum lo[n]gissimum iter, utpote plusquam 5 Millium leucarum, eo maxime inductum, ut incendenti ipsius ferrace, languentem suam spubr-- ita ipse donec de sese sentiebat, igniret atque inflammaret, et certe quotquot ipsius regimini aliquando parvire, unanimiter affirmant sequentes sancti sui superioris memoria recurrit, tum ad omnem virtutem, sed vel maxime ad procuranda animarum lucra incendi.

Patientia denique quæ vincit omnia, tam continuum victorem habuit Patrem Sanvitores ut tandem felicem coronidem, id est coronam triumph[hi] ipsius imposueri: est Marianoum hæc natio in extrema sua paupertate, et barbaris superba imprimis, ceterasque nationes præ sue --ro factu despiciens ab hac quantum ille quadriennio quo inter illos vixit: pertulerit, credi vix potest: accedebant nudipelles hi barbari tanquam infirmæ sortis hominem iam manibus palpabant, iam barbam et crines per bidubrium vellicabant, iam pileum cæterasque ut-- ipsi detractas sibi imponebant: quin imo eo dissolutionis aliquando progressi, ut sacrum ornatum imprudenti surriperent, tar-- vestiendi sese cupido incesserat: et quamquam hæc et similia excusaret barbara simplicitas, non deerant ubique occasiones, quita -- inexplabilem patientis sitim exstingueret: iam lapidibus, iam fustibus, iam etiam hastis in illum ferebantur aliqui, ad turbandam pacem, et fidei progressus a dæmone instigati. Alia nec levior patiendi materia a sæcularibus socijs offerebatur, qui immemores aliqu-- se Apostolorum socios et defensores in has partes advenisse, quos recta doctrina erudiendos susceperant, pravis exemplis non semel per--vertebant. Enimvero tum disrumpebatur dolore pectus zelo divinæ gloriæ exæstans, et cum Apostolo exclamabat, quis scandalizatur, et -- ego non uxor? tempus fuit, cum ob similis defectus, arrepta in manus coram omnibus publice disciplina, ipse in sese tam diu verberitur sequeret, donec copioso sanguine perfusus circumstantes aspergeret: quo scilicet contractas ab illis culpas ipse piaret, et quod vertis --tis non peterat, quamquam et illis erat potentissimus, cruore sua tanquam potentiori lingua peccati, gravitatem exaggerareti-- hæc de se ipso supplicia nullo unquam tempore ipse inter mittebat, ut nunquam sine cruce servatoris sui inveniretur. In illam mente, ad illam suspirijs totus ferebatur. Accidit in insula **Tenian** seu Buena Vista Mariana, cum in illa componendis, de quibus meminimus, biduo(?) asisteret, ut in periculosam febrem incideret: aberant medicamina, medentesque, et malum indies magnis incrementis augebatur, dup--rabant de vita ipsius, qui aderant: solus ipse, qui timebatur, nihil timere: quin imo desiderijs suis, votisque, et reciprocis, promissic --bus fretus, ad Mariam Virginem fidenter, et filiali affectu recurrere, pactorum fidem ab illa exposcens; suspirabat scilicet ad dulcissimam matrem, et identidem sua vissimas voces ingeminabat, **Hæc sine est pactorum fides? o mater?** Sciebat ipse scilicet, quam indubitanter f-- sui crucem hæc mater sibi despondisset. Ergo in ejus desiderio et amplexu per reliquam vitam semper, sed vel maxime ultimis b[fi]s] annis toto conatu, viribusque ferebatur; ut mirum non sit; cum a barbaris his in odium Christianæ fidei tam crudiliter est interfectus, quod æneam crucem præacutis undequaque punctis et aculeis infestam, paricidæ ipsi barbari hærentem ipsius denso, humeris {108} obstupuerint atque hæc sunt quæ nobis, tanquam exacta iam messe spicelegium exercentibus inferiora viri meritis assequi licuit, maluimus tamen exilitate obsequij potius, quam ingratitude peccare.

#### [Arrival of the galleon San Diego in 1672]

Inter hæc, ut ad institutam narrationem revertar, iam portum Sancti Antonij tenebat et anchoras jecerat navis a **Sancto Didaco** dicta, Gubernatore eodem et Admirantio D. Leandro Cuello insigni Missionis nostræ benefactore: et in illa octo Sacertotes, ex Societate adventum Patrum ad navem impatienter expectabant, et debaum(?) salute Indos lintribus suis circumfusos interrogabant: quin imo illorum unus committens se Indis in terram saltaverat, quo aliquod de illis indicium deprehenderet. Simulabant callide Indi, et de Patrum salute et vita quidquam interrogantibus, aut nihil, ut diversa omnia

respondebant: iamque 2<sup>a</sup> Maij, quo die portum tenerant, cum sua nocte effluerat et tertia iam in meridiem excreverat: quando e longinquo navicula detegitur a plustri in crucis fastigio insignis, hoc indicij Patres navigio suo posuerant, verum qui adventantem curiosius notavere ex nigro colore, lævum omen nec temere conjecturarunt: itaque dum interfectos tormentorum beatus navem propius accedit, brevi quod verebatur præsaus animus, res ipsa edocuit: etiam antequam in navem ascenderet præ fante Patre Francisco Solano, in quem Missionis cura Superiorum mandato incubuerat, præfante inquam lugubria hæc insignia temporis, esse, quod quidem, etiam infelicissima optimi parentis morte non possit non esse luctuosum occisum crudeliter ab Indis elapso mortis se Patre Sanvictores, azinacem illum, præferebat manu, etiamnum innocuo sanguine respersum, mortis gloriosæ testimonium, et pignus. Reliqua omnia tam mari quam barbaris spoliis cessisse audita hæc profundo silentio, et singula verba tanquam tela<sup>1</sup> læsifera vectorum animis recepta. Tum ducto suspirio e pectore, ingemibus et lacrimas viri cæteri fortes erumpébant, tantum scilicet auctoritatis, benevolentia, et amoris apud omnes obtinuerat, crederes communem omnium parentem a barbaris trucidatum. Inde arefactis lacrimis ignis accensus, et adsumendam vindictam animi efferbuerunt. Non Admirantium, non militum duces, non Navarchæ desiderari, quin prompte sese vel cum vitæ, et fortunarum dispendio adsumendas pœnas sacrilegæ crudelitatis offerrent. Verum cum hisce affectibus obstaret regis obsequium, a quo necdum advenerant litteræ patentes ad formandum his in insulis militare præsidium; obtenti solum, qui sufficerent ad necessariam Patrum defensionem fuere hi omnino 27, quibus arma necessaria, pulvis tormentatus, et plumbum ad formandas glandes concessa.

Tres item e sacerdotibus huic se missioni consecraverunt: ita nimirum moderatoribus jam ante disponentibus Pr. Gerardus Bouens [sic], Pr. Petrus Coomans flandro-Antverpienses, et Pr. Antonius San Basilio Siculo-Cataniensis. Reliquum subsidium tam peragendo Divino Sacrificio, quam recreandis, et nutriendis socijs necessarium tale omnino exstitit, quale munificos hactenus benefactores decebat, id est admodum liberale.

7<sup>a</sup> Maij [1672] {cursum tenuit navis recreata recentis aquæ copias expetita, nec non fruct[or]um et gallinarum non conterendis: tam longinquo itinere suppetiis, lignis etiam tam nauticis, quam culinarijs usibus leportatis. Patres præmissis mani sarcinis, in primariam residentia sese recepere, inquam 9<sup>a</sup> Maij<sup>2</sup> simul omnes sunt recepti. Sed ibi diu quietis esse non licuit: ita scilicet permittente divina Providentia, ne tum demum composita omnia potemus, cum viribus humanis, et armis probe instruuntur. Vix quartus ab adventu dies eluxerat, cum domum nostram adeunt, vocati an sponte duo ex principioribus Indis, duces barbarum toties hac in insula tam male compositarum, pretextu quidem conditionum pacis nobiscum initæ firmandarum, revera ut præsentem rerum statum oculis usurparent, si forte pares se auxiliarijs copijs, quarum fama jam lata insulam pervolaverat, judicarent: nam temerarium sit a barbaris toties fœdifragis solidi quidquam, aut pacifici expectare. Dum domi morantur, et novos insulæ suæ hospites nos studiosius contemplantur, facile nostrorum vicissim in sese oculos rapuere, interrogantium præsertim, quinam illi nudipelles, quemnam præ se fastum præferrent: ubi audire rebelles hos, et duces rebellium, fœdifragos, proditores, sacrilegos, innocentium sociorum, imo et Patris Sanvictores Paricidas: nam constans apud omnes fama erat gloriosum Patrem, et socios, incentoribus his, datis etiam mercedis loco testudineis conchis interfectos: exarsere scilicet impotentes iræ, et vindicandi innocui sanguinis animum subijt vehementior cogitatio. Ergo inter sese circulos celebrare, et Patrum oculos, penes(?) quos etiam armorum regimen erat, dum a Rege certi quid statueretur, studiose fugere. Absolutis negotijs Indi omnium securi domum sese conferebant, forte fortuna per porticum egressi, qua via trans flumen in montem aperitur, cum post illos nescio quot ex nostris armati erumpunt, et confuso Marte incautos cominus aggrediuntur: ac primum quidem Hurao dictum, præcipuum turbarum omnium auctorem, et apud nos nupero bello captivum, nec una vice mortem commeritum, in loco conficiunt: alterum ejus comitem cæcum, et quod pejus innocentem, sed defectu notitiæ pro nocente habitum, multis vulneribus, ijsque lætatibus prosternunt. Ille domum delatus curatus quidem tam spiritualibus, quam corpora[libus] medicinis defluente sanguine, et superante malo extinctus est. Tertius Hagao dictus, præteriti belli dux,

1 Ed. note: At this point, the BR text re-appears.

2 Ed. note: These 2 lines were skipped in error in the BR copy.

*et inceptor, prætensa, quam gerebat, asciola, tam diu sese defendit, donec ad proximum fluvium retro-grediendo delatus, ipse nudus facile per illum strictum in se ferrum effugit. Continuo tumultu domus repleta, dum alij ad arma, alij occidi Indos: alij nostros incerti conclamant: donec funesto spectaculo cognito, præsertim cæco, et innocente, in planibus et lacrimas omnia conversa: et damnati sero impetus militares: ecce autem dum præsentim malo remedium quærimus, in aliud inopinato incidimus.*

*Domo aberant, nescio qua de causa, aliquot sociorum: metus incesserat, ne in illos Indi audito tumultu impetum facerent. Itaque revocatum illos alij submissi. Sed ecce error pejor priore. Vix domo abcesserant, cum in conspectum sedant Indus, et Inda, nostrorum metu fugam parantes: quando unus ex nostris in illos explodit, tam meditate, ut Indam glande e vestigio confecerit, Indum in ventre graviter læserit. Atque ita, quæ firmandæ paci, nec non exigendo asontibus supplicio arma fuerant comparata, dum ijs insontes nullo discrimine habito miscentur, excitandis novis tumultibus, et renovandis antiquis servivere. Stabat capacious templum columinibus suis, tignisque exædificatum: huic lateritium parietem circumducere, tegulisque illud desuper insternere, contra expertas jam toties flammiferas hostium procellas animus erat: verum ad eru[d]endam(?) argillam nam habitatio posita erat in littore, opus erat nemoris interiora rimari. Eo processere socij, sed ar- {fol. 108v} -mati. Ecce autem, dum pergunt, viam omnem stimulis et aculeis plantatam offendunt: nostri nihil territi, tollunt obstacula, et cæpto itinere progrediuntur vix pervenerant ad metam, volare hastæ, lapides pluere hæc arma in nos Indi dirigebant. Tumultuatim a nostris, et aliquot bombardæ in illos explosæ, sed incerto eventu, propter densam interpositi arbusti umbram. Fugam cum clamore arripuerunt Indi: nostri ad sua sese recepere; nam cæcu, nemus obstabat, quominus prosequerentur. Noctem illam duxere nostri insomnem, nec tamen Indi quidquam ulterius intentavere. Nec dies exinde elapsa, qua non ad arma conclamatum, Indis undequaque vel in nos, vel in animalia pastum exeuntio impetum facientibus.*

**[The Battle of Tumhon, 1672]**

*Donec 17<sup>a</sup> Maij spiritualibus armis jam ante rite præmuniti, egressi nostri mane ante lucem ad pagum Tumhum dictum, in quo R. P. San Victores tam nefarie occiderant, de sacrilega nece justis armimeritas pænas sumpturi. Ex itinere cæpere captivum cum sua uxore prænominati Hagao nepotem: tum ne per compita ad hostes delatus, eos jam cæptæ expeditionis faceret certiores, tum ut in persona illius pignus aliquod aut belli, aut pacis haberent. Inde cæpto itinere perrexere, raros, aut nullos ex hostibus obviam nacti: sed vias ordinarias invenere cæsis arboribus obseptas stimulis item, et aculeis sparsas: unde sectantes littora deflexere nostri per viam aliam, ac tandem incolumes sacrilegis paricidis infamem locum tenere: ubi, cum illos non invenissent: ultricibus flammis in participem sceleris locum desæviere, confregere navigia, ac denique hostilia omnia [folio ...] ibidem exercuere, raris ad propulsanda damna Indis comparentibus. Et habet gentis consuetudo: quod hæc ab injustitiæ macula eximat, apud quam omnino est nefas alium hostiliter aggredi, nisi universo pago in illud consentiente.*

*Cæterum peracta, ut rebantur, fabula revertebantur nostri, quando ultimus isque difficillimus actus superfuit. Nam convenerant jam, evocati a suis, ex vicinis difficillimus actus superfuit. Nam convenerant jam, evocati a suis, ex vicinis locis Indi conjurati, et obseptis, ut ante dixeram, vijs intercludere nostros sperabant, et illi ulterioris jam discriminis securi, et pæne ovantes littus iterum tegebant, neglectis item aquis, quæ maris æstu excreverant: quando ad præcipitem rupem mari imminentem hostes obvios habent, quorum qui in insidijs positi fuerant, prætergredi indemnes nostros permisere: tum illis obversi infestis hastis terga petebant: adversi etiam, qui transitum occupaverant, a fronte irruebant: a sinistris, ubi densum nemus excreverat, protecti arboribus latera fodiebant: tum ex præcipite rupe nostris imminente ingentia saxa impune devolvebant: ac tandem, ne ulla pars mali deesset, per ipsum jam excrescens mare lintribus suis facti propiores Barbari, copiosas hastas, et quod pessimum, plerumque impunitas ingerebant: ad hæc in composito satis agmine nostri procedebant: nam alij in ipsa arena, aut aliquo usque immersi aquis, aut illis proximi incedebant, alij dorsum littoris superius occupaverant. Verum tot malis simul ingruentibus excitata quidem, sed sero vigilantia: nam sociorum uni sub ipsum pugnae initium suram hasta transfixere, nequidquam illo aut violenter extrahere, aut armis sese contra irruentes defendere conante, donec sociorum fortior virtus successit. Pluebant interim lapides, volabant*

*hastæ tam densæ, ut unius jugeri spatio plus quadringentis confregisse sese nostri unanimes affirmant; omnia horrendo Barbarorum clamore, et ululata resonabant.*

*Aderat inter reliquos **Matapan** sacrilegus Patris interfecto, qui etiamnum cæco furore inflammatus, in Deum, et superas mille blasphemias evomebat. Adesse se magni Christianorum Patris, et ipsum Dei victorem, venirent tandem vindices ignavi, et secum manus conferrent: sese solum nocentem esse, sese **Matapan**, quem quærent. Inter hæc et similia continuas in nostros hastas ingerebat: nec suis contentus, suppeditatas ab alijs incessanter evibrabat, lintre interim muniens se contra immissas in se plumbeas glandes, et excrescentibus aquis, quibus se post singulos ictus totum immergebat. Enimvero erupit tandem coactata virtus, et animadverso omnium periculo, unanimi constantia in barbaros mari infestos tam ardentem delati sunt, plures genuam alij lumborum tenuis aquis immersi, ut ferocientem hanc manum omnino dispulerint. Unus adacto per tempora plumbeo telo, immersit se quidem aquis, sed emergere non potuit, inopinatæ mortis pondere prægravante. Matapan ad quem præcipue nostrorum tela spectabant, quamquam frustratis melioribus aquarum injuria, transfixo in cubitu brachio, pugnam deserere est coactus. E quo vulnere nunquam postea sanatus, acerbissimis doloribus octo amplius menses discruciatu, brachio ipso rigescente, et plicari nescio dum interim ipse desperatione sua, et exemplo, tanquam alter Cain insulam complet, demum superante malo, plorans non peccata sua, sed letiferos dolores, extinctus est. Alius a parte maritima in pectore etiam graviter læsus unde retrixit hic plane æstus animorum. Tum in reliquos aversos, et adversos pari impetu conversi, fecere viam vi, ac tandem dissipatis hic etiam hostibus, in capacius littus cuncti simul penetravere. Læsi ex hac parte etiam quatuor, aut quinque adversariorum.*

[The wounded soldiers]

*Nec nostris fuit incruenta victoria tres alij præter illum, de que supra, vulnerati, variorum vestes pileosque, his diversis partibus perforavere. Inter sæsos dux ipse **Joannes de Sant Jago Bozo** Hispanus e Biscaya oriundus, per cujus humerum hasta lignea tam violenta impacta, ut penetrato thorace bubulo bene duro, ipsum humerum pæne transfixerit. Nec tamen in illo vulnere metus versabatur, in quo extracto telo nulla dein timendi causa superesset. Plus in alijs laboratum, nam in duorum vulnera spiculum osseum cum aculeo venenam immiscerat, alterius immersum salsis fluctibus mortifero stupore inficiebatur. Adhibita quidem illis humana omnis diligentia in vulneribus nullo modo letalibus, utpote duos in pede, in siera(?) altero, et tamen cæsa omnia fuere: primo illorum ad nonæ diem vita erepto, altero ad undecimum, tertio ad 17um usque perdurantibus. Pupugit sane non leviter Patres tam inopina sociorum clades, eo vel max[im]a quod, ut solet, optima quæque Libitina sibi selegisset. Primus cæsorum fuit **Petrus Vasijan** Philippinus, natione Bissaya, juvenis domi, militiæque spectabilis in paucis; nam præterquam quod in armis tractandis animo jungeret admirabilem dexteritatem, domi tractandis rebus omnibus adhibebatur: procurator potius, quam dispensator. Nec nisi multis lacrimis ab invitissimo, imo pæne coacto P. Superiore veniam comitandi socios extorserat magis, quam impetrarat: quasi monitore aliquo interius ad expeditionem exhortante. Alter dictus **Josephus de Torres** Angelopolitanus, officio faber lignarius, missioni non tantum utilis, sed necessarius tertius devexæ jam ætatis vir, dictus **Joannes Bertran**, collocatis rite in matrimonium quatuor liberis, relicta quam administrabat familia divitis prædij œconomus in Septentrionale America, Sinaloa dicta, longo dif- [fol. 109] -cilque itinere Mexicum venerat, ultimos vitæ dies in religione aliqua Deo consecraturus, a qua propter graviorem jam ætatem repulsam passus, subjît animum cogitatio in Missione hac nova, de qua tum quidem Mexici frequens erat sermo, Deo sese holocaustum tanquam in religione aliqua offerre. Nec plura: iter Acapulcum versus capessit, in navem illic paratam haud gravate admittitur, navigat, missioni adscribitur, vix ingressus optati voti compos efficitur. Libet hic sane admirari divinæ Providentiæ placita. Ambos hos post navigationem tam longam, alterum etiam moderatoribus invitis ad laborum suorum præmia, et salutis portum evacantis: ita enim suadet non solum causæ in qua cecidere, bonitas, sed vel maxime mors placidissime obita, non sine pijssimo sensu cœlestis in illa consolationis incidit hæc pugna in 17um diem Majj: interfuere ex nostris militibus tam Hispani, quam Philippini universim 23: cum qui ex Barbaris undequaque infesti incurrent, facile sexcenti numerarentur.*



**[Peace negotiations, May 1672]**

*Interim fama insulam pervolaverat, de exusto a nostris hostili pago, et relata præter opinionem victoria. Ergo ut quisque conscius sibi erat timore percelli, adeoque et sua omnia ad rationes pacis, aut belli, prout magis usus fore videbatur, exigere sequenti die occidentales nobis pagi, nam hæc ad orientem gesta erant, de pace et venia oratores supplices misere. Aduere deinde e duobus pagis nobis proximis Indi facile 60, omnes longo ordine supplices, et substratis storeis in orbem consistentes, jussi sunt principales aliqui legationis capita proterve [folio ...] illi prolatis urbane muneribus, hisce se gratulari recens appulsis Patribus, assidebant illi in subsellijs altioribus, iisque fausta omnia sua in terra precari, meditata oratione præstati, de cætero veniam sibi, et suis pacem et fœdora postulabant, parati vicissim dicto obedientes esse, et Christianis legibus lubentes sese conformare. Patres collaudata ipsorum tam laudabili urbanitate, omnem illis favorem, amoremque addixere; his tamen conditionibus, ad condiscenda rite capita doctrinæ Christianæ ipsi deinde quot Dominicis et festis deibus, id est dato ad id tuba, et campana signo, ad Missæ sacrificium convenirent: infantes recens natos ad nos baptismi causa deferrent: domum denique publicam perdendæ potius quam alendæ juventuti aptam, de qua supra, aut destruent aut in scholam fidei Christianæ converterent: tum demum nihil illis a nobis mali timendum, sed sperandum plurimum boni. Promisere hæc omnia liberaliter, sed, promissis dives quilibet esse potest, non præstitere barbari, in quibus, præter cætera constantiam maxime desideres.*

*Nocte ejusdem diei deprehensi primum aliquot, qui custodiam, qua detinebatur captivus, effringere nitentur, subsequenter illos pluribus, sed irrito conatu: nam deprehensi a nostris indemnes ipsi, nec illato damno recessere. Ab nobis interea nec die, nec nocte licuit esse securis, Indis ubique ex insidijs in omnem occasionem intentis. Egressus fuerat militum aliquis ad carpandos aliquot e vicinis palmis fructus: vix ascenderat, cum defertur e proximo hasta, et arboris trunco infigitur: ille ad arma conclamans socios convocat, qui post Indos egressi, assequuntur quidem, sed a præsentem P. Superiore explodere vetiti, ne crudelitatis aliquo macula Patribus inde, quasi illa jubentibus adhereret: præsertim cum incertum adhuc esset, an pacificis forte conditionibus componi res posset. Sed frustra hæc omnia: pergebant barbari hostiliter nos, et nostra habere. Stabat trans flumen, ut dixi, templum columinibus suis tignisque innixum, instratum palmæ folijs, ne ligna vitium contraherent, dum tegulæ coquuntur: huic imminabant barbarorum insidiæ. Ergo intempesta nocte ad illud exurendum conveniunt: iamque sub tecto latentes constiterant, imo et aliqui cum incenso fomite illud ipsum ascenderant, quando decedentes aliquot scintillæ insidias detegunt. Explosæ continuo in illos aliquot. Bombardæ incendiarios fugavere.*

*Postero die inventæ perticæ oblongæ duæ, et aliquot fascis fomitis apud illos usitati in ipso tecto exustæ, et extinctæ; non contemnendo sanæ divinæ protectionis miraculo, quo incenso fomite sole exsiccata folia exuri non permisit, forte ne nimium blasphemæ impietas, hoc etiam inter divinitatis suæ testimonia aggregaret. Hic successus Patribus ansam præbuit præripiendi barbaris oportunitatem. Post ruinam præcedentis anni a Circio seu turbine illatam vivebant Patres sub tecto angusto sane, et humili, imposito stipitibus aliquot, vix 14 pedibus a terra elevatis, vix totidem inter sese distantibus, et in simili casa altare omnipotenti Deo erexerant: non quod facultas aut animus deessent, sed quod sperarent compositis turbis in locum sese posse commodiorem recipere, nam littus hactenus habitabant. Verum ex his principijs conjecturati quod erat, resolverant templum dissolvendo<sup>1</sup> a sacrilegorum rabie præservare, et aliud intra septa transferre: itaque cum viderentur in longum trahendæ hæ discordiæ domus nova Deo ædificari cœpta, qua sub principia mensis Julij [1672] perfecta rursus, et majori qua licuit solennitate dedicata est. Post illam ædificata etiam sua Patribus domus satis ampla, hostibus præsertim cædenda ligna prebentibus, et destructi templi rudibus utrobique servientibus: Deo sic temperate cuncta moderante, ut cum viva Dei templa extruere prohibemur, materialibus fabricandis otium et tædium fugiamus. Sed interim dum hisce occupamur non defuere, vel a familiaribus domi, vel foris ab hostibus memorandi argumenta et illud quidam, Philippinus altri humoris homo actus instigantis dæmonis melancolicis instinctibus, alia enim causa cogitari non potest nemine vel Sociorum vel Patrum ipsi quid-*

1 Ed. note: At this point, there is a change of handwriting in the BR copy, indicating a different copyist (it looks like Fr. Coomans' handwriting).



quam molestiæ exhibente, clam omnibus sese nobis subduxerat, Indis sese nescio quam ob causam conjuncturus et fuerat alias eandem ob causam severe satis correctus: nam exempli intererat semitam hanc corporibus non minus, quam animis periculosam nostris non aperiri, ut orta domi quacumque molestia apud Indos azylum sibi constituerent.

*Iamque unus ne vani forent, metus, precesserat, deductus a nobis Manila Linguae Marianæ, interpretis; qui orto ut fuit, domi nescio quo dissidio relictis nobis ad Indos cum illis victurus descenderat, apud quos ante annos aliquot naufragus habitaverat. Hic ergo degressus a nobis iam dies aliquot sylvam perambulabat perfugium sibi ad Indos non satis securum reperiens quippe illis exosus, quod nupera expeditione Dux itineris nostris fuisset. Ergo domum penitens, ut narrant aliqui revertebatur, quando obvius habuit e barbarique infestiores aliquos, qui expectate diu pridie ferociter inhiantes involant continuo, et inermem in sylvæ interiora abripiunt: illic vivo oculos primum effodiunt, tum crudeliter hastis suis transfigunt.*

*Iamque clariora inferendi nobis belli indicia apparebant prohibiti accedere ad nos et ad decantanda capita fidei christianæ pueri pagi nostri, qui cum parentibus suis relictis domibus in montana sese aut pagos proximos recepere; etiam Indi nobis occidentales, qui hactenus amici fuerant, et etiamnum erant: causam rogati hanc adferebant, quod comminarentur illos severe inimici, nisi nos ipsi relinquerent domos desererent, alimenta nobis subtraherent, se ad unum omnes cum pœnalibus exusturos: et quamquam illis arma nostra ad defensionem offerremus, plus potuit metus in barbaris, quam spes incerta. Hisce non lætis aliud accessit sane mirandum.*

*E Missionariis consuetis solus hierebat in insula **Tenian**, seu Buena Vista Mariana P. Alonsus Lopez turbarum istarum non ignarus quidem; nam fama perferebantur, sed incertus tamen atque sollicitus: nam illi coloribus, quos vel in ipsis, vel in Indorum animis fama invenerat, cuncta depingebat. Jam oppressos a Barbaris nostris universos, iam confectam missionem, iam destructa ac perditâ omnia representabat. Habebat apud se socium, imo patrem potius nostrum tam sedulo nos et nostros in septentrionalibus insulis de **Gane** dictis ipse labore manuum, nam faber ferrarius erat, et sudore suo sustentaverat, Indum Philippinum **Franciscum** nomine e famoso naufragio etiamnum superstitem: hunc utpote notum omnibus et amicum ablegato placuit in primariam residentiam laturum nova certa et eadem vicissim cum suppetiis relaturum. Et quidem salvus ille et incolumis iverat, rediveratque.*

*Iamque secundum revertebatur Patrem socium, qui accinctus itineri hærebat in **S. Jois**, cum reliquis suppetris adducturus. Discedentem P. monuerat Indorum amicitiae et notitiae ne fideret, neu, si fieri ita posset, in insula **Rota** exscenderet, nam illic substiterant ex hostibus aliqui in omnem ultro citroque occasionem intenti. Ille aut ad monitionis negligens, aut tempestate coactus in insulam exscendit cum altro sociorum dicto **Jofannje Marinducque**, qui cum uxore sua quam in his insulis duxerat, in primariam residentiam sese conferebat. Vix appulerant, et proximos Indos amicos inviserant, cum offendunt eosdem illos, qui invemen(?), de quo supra, tam crudeliter trucidaverant. Illi calenti adhuc sanguine efferati Joem primum inter usitatos more gentis amplexus laqueo proditore innectunt, tum hastis impactis ne facie conficiunt. Inde ad socium Franciscum conversi pari scelere et illum trucidunt: sarcinas aliquot, ipsis commissas deripiunt furore suo et instamata rabie omnia complent. Contigit hæc cædes 5 Julij<sup>1</sup> vel hoc etiam nobis deploranda, quod per illam commercium omne cum insulis Septentrionalibus nobis adimeretur. Nam præterquam quod Franciscus in illis dux [folio ..] nobis erat et interpretis reflante cujus vis auræ vicissitudine, ad hanc insulam ingressus omnino est necessarius. Ubi si hostilibus in nos animis et vel maxime delictorum conscientia exagitantur incolæ, deploratus iam sit per insulas discurrendi modus.*

*Demirabamur deinde in nos Divinæ Providentiæ suavitatem, qua huic periculo eripuit P. Antonium San Basilio unum e Patribus recenque advectis [1672], qui ut hunc Franciscum in Tinian comitaretur, omnino accinctus itineri diem integrum steterat et ob nescio cujus auræ vicissitudinem detinere se jussus; forte reservatus ad aliam eamque meliorem oportunitatem. His intellectis agitare cœpere Patres, si quo modo absentem Patrem ex statione possent secure evocare: sed et sæptum domesticum contra vim hos-*

1 Ed. note: Junii, in the ARSI copy.

*tium premunire impactis ubique novis arborum truncis, si qua veteres defecissent. Sed nemine domi imminebat quanto magis inopinatum, tanto malum omnibus sensibiles.*

**[Death of Fr. Solano]**

*P. Franciscus Solano alter post Prem San Victores missionis hujus fundator, ejusdemque post ejus mortem Superior quamquam infirma satis valetudine. Vexatur, ingruentibus tot simul malis visus primum absoluto deficere, deinde fraterna patrum diligentia sibi paululum res titulus, ac demum superante inevitabili thisi rupto etiam intra viscera apostemate, cum sputo sanguinis Apostolicam animam precatori suo ubi confidere nos cubet Apostolica vita, traditi omnibus Ecclesiae Sacramentis ante rite præmunitus die 13 Junij anno justo expleto ex quo in has oras prima vestigia post longinquus iter posuerat, dignus profecto disset; cui ad cumulum laudum, quarum elli pro merito sertum concinnabit Provincia hoc non arctuarium debemus, quod conquiritendis huic missioni largis apud omnes eleemosynis, exantlandis pro eadem longis et difficilibus itineribus evigilandis pro eadem, ita exigente necessitate continenter diebus et noctibus alter ejusdem fundator et parens jure meritissimo fuerit appellatus. Itaque cœlesti hæreditate receptis intra trimestre missionis hujus parentibus orphana relicta est illa, nisi qui superabant Patres pro viribus succurrerent. Et illi quidem afflictis rebus magis incumbendum rati ad amicos pagos oculos convertere, quorum incolæ et primores sancte promiserunt, si pax secure etiam adversa parte bellum prosequente sese et suos ad catechismum et templum reversuros; quod et fecere aliquot saltem sequentibus diebus donec pro innata inconstantia ad diversa iterum dilapsi, ut assolent, arctiora nobis in dies fiebant vitæ subsidia.*

*Interea dum præparatur quam suppetias aliquas: ex superabundanti navis annona et eleemosynis Mexicanis nobis attulissent, aliquid carnis sole induratæ piscis item aliquid nautici panis haud contemnendam quantitatem fabarum item et lentium, quod superabat in navi: tamen quid hæc inter tantos? 58 capita nobis in dies erant sustentanda. Itaque his solis vivendum si sit vix bimestre hoc penu annonam suppetebat. Terra autem etsi inculta et barbara, magis Guam sterilis tamen infestis habitatoribus avara etiam erat et inimica. Ergo ad conquirendum panem, hunc per trimestre suppeditant arbores supra a me mæmoratæ, pater unus et alter cum armata manu egrediebatur in dies; nam fructus qui pani inserviunt ad 2m diem vel 3m computrescunt: et tum quidquid hastis et lapidibus illo qui arborem ascenderat, cæterique socij non rare appetebantur. Et quidem tolerabilia hæc omnia videbantur, dum explendæ fami necessaria non deessent. At vero ubi deficientibus fructibus; radicibus terræ, quas Indi promiserant, vivendum fuit, tum domum arctiora omnia fidei. Nam amici nobis Indi etsi haud gravate, quæ sibi suppetebant, adferrent allecti discoloribus granis, variaque ipsa grata suppellecties, tamen nec sufficiens ipsis domi res, et quæ adhibebatur in distribuendis parcitas ingrata non paucis socijs sæcularibus erat; utpote non assuetis voluntaria media corpus affligere, et impatienter sæpe semisaturis sese cubitum recipientibus. Nec exiguam nobis præbuit hæc difficultas patiendi materiam justis optimorum Sociorum querelis, ut par est, animum nostrum discruciantibus; nec tamen malo remedium pro paterno affectu invenientibus.*

*Inter hæc illuxit nobis solatij radius, P. Alonsus Lopez ab insula Tenian, salvus et incolumis adfuit 8 Julij receptis biduo ante littoris P. Superioris, quibus cubobatur, cum nobis omnis omnino spes esset præcisa ipsi quacumque via succurre communem cum reliquis fortunam experiri. Gesserat ille præclare rem fidei Christianæ in commissis sibi insulis Zaypan, Agigfujan, Tenian in quibus parvulas instituta visitatione baptizaverat et adultos Christianis disciplinis rite instruxerat. Exceptus a om[ni]bus cum sociis tribus, nam quartum baptizan- {fol. 110} -dis parvulis, et evidentia tum viæ insidantium hostium pericula. Indi, qui illum advexerant, non ausi hac in insula hærere, vix tacta terra, domum iterum ad sua sunt reversi. De reliquo in dies bellum nobis majori strepitu parabatur, et Indi se nostris vix paucis passibus domo egressis, ingesti opponebant, et cæcis domuum [sic] angulis latebrisque hastas in nos evibrantos; quod cum impune sæpius facerent, nostri quo campum aperirent et hosti solitudinem causarent, vicinas nobis domos ultricibus flammis tradidere. Præterea cum celebrantibus nostris S. Jacobi festum eduxisset suos festa lustratione reliquorum Dux in pagum nobis inimicum ibique festis explosionibus hosti insultaret adfuit ille armatus et in pascentia primum animalia, deinde in nostros iram omnem hastasque effudit. Nihil turbati postri peracta pompa festivo ordine, recessere, sequentibus a longo et cla-*

*more prosequentibus Indis. Verum ubi propiores facti, dimissa pompa serio contra illos actum, et tibia uni glande trajecta, reliqui in fugam coniecti. Interim iam convenirent ex suis pagis Indi bellum nobis illaturi, et nos desumpta occasione ex festo S. P. N. Ignatij, quod solenniter celebravimus, ad implorandas e cœlo vires, quoniam angustus Sociorum numerus inconditæ multitudini comparari non poterat, Virgini Matri Divisque tutelaribus solennes preces, et novemdiales supplicationes indiximus. Inde crescentibus animis ad defensionem strenue conversi, ab hostili parto arbores omnes, quantum bombardæ majores tolem assequitur, radicitus excindimus experientia docti nupero bello illas occasionem præbuisse, qua lapides suos hastasque in nos ipsi commodius, evibararent utpote post illas plumbea nostra tela devitantes.*

[The Agaña War of August 1672]

*Jamque 4<sup>a</sup> Augusti clamoribus undique lacessiti, et lapides, sed rari funda in nos ejecti, 5<sup>a</sup> [rather 15] demum bellum publice contra nos geri cœptum, nobis auspiciatum omen a sacro virgini die accepientibus. Itaque lapides jaculari cœpti, sed magno Indorum metu, qui propius congregi, et arboribus egressi palam se nobis obijcere non audebant. Commoda iam tum nobis arborum dejectione. Sub medium diem accessere etiam ad nos et spem quoque obtulere Indi nobis ad occidentem contermini: sed immisceri illos ob inconstantiam non satis tutum judicavimus. Sequenti die amici Indi attulere aliquam oryzae annonam; imo et parvuli quasi contemptis hostibus ad repetenda doctrinæ christianæ capita ad nos accessere: raro indicio cum parvulos et fœminas ad nos accedere in simili occasione nequaquam alias permetterent. Interim accedebat ad hostes ab omni parte navigia, seu annonam seu bellatores advehentia: nec tamen ultra clamores et lapides a longi jactos processere; quo hostium metu fidentiores facti nostri non amplius delitescendum rati,<sup>1</sup> sed aperto Marte hosti occurrendum conspirare audentiores, et occasione sumata, quod animalia in hostiles agros pastum exivissent, egressi illa domum egere inspectante infinita hostium multitudine et successu elati recta in hostes impetu facto perrexere: at illi terrore victi fugam arripuerunt [-re]: unde ad succedenda vexilla, quæ erexerant hostes, nostri [folio ...] conversi sunt illa oblonga aliquot arborum folia præaltæ perticæ alligata, cum ecce res satis mira; dum primum proturbant, et ex aquis auferunt, infrendentibus Indis, et fundis suis lapides projectantibus, duo alia ejusdem generis labara non exiguo intervallo erecta nemine ex nostris Indisve manum admovente eodem momento ad terram alliduntur ingenij circumstantium hostium terrore, nec alio quam divino adjumento. Cum his cecidere Barbarorum animi, et conspicati non sibi rem esse, iam cum copiis anni superioris de sua magis salute, quam de victoria, et ruina nostrorum solliciti recipere sese extra teli jactum, ibique de munitione aliqua qua sese protegerent inter se contulere.*

*Ergo sequentibus diebus missis aliquot qui clamore et lapidibus nostros detinerent convehendis e litore lapidibus sese accinxere, e quibus tenere congestis ad pedem rupis præcipitis mari imminentis vallum erexere, quo si forte nostri improvisi erumperent sese protegerent.*

*Post hæc reduces a festo, quod in Reti[dijan] pago proximo celebraverant ab omni parte lapidibus et clamore impetere nos iterum occipere, quibus irritati nostri sub vesperam egressi ad succidendas arbores cum lapidibus impeterentur; in hostes proveci aliquot ictibus illos fug{av}ere [coegerunt]; non ita tamen quin ex nostris unum a reliquis paululum discunctum hastis suis circumstiterent sed frustra: nam ille sui memor bombardæ strenue sese {ab illorum insultibus defendit,} [defendebat] invocato, et propitio, ut ille referebat, S. Laurentij Patroni sui auxilio: dum succurrentibus socijs in effusam fugam Indi coniecti atque his et similibus fere quotidianis congressibus totum hunc mensem, imo et sequentem nostros Indi detinere vix ano opere pretio, nam læsere ex nostris neminem, quam quod consueta evangelici numeris exercitia impederent. Sub finem Augusti [1672] egressi nostri ad conquirendos fructus, quibus hic pro pane vescimur, cum nihil hostile et fructus consumptos reperissent, ulterius conquirendo progressi rati, id quod erat, raros relictos ad castra defendenda, impresione facto Indos aliquot se, et sua intortis hastis tueri conantes explosis bombardis facile abigunt valle potiuntur, unum præcipius glande, sed leviter vulnerant, demum reliquas a nupero incendio domus exurunt: inde domum salvi omnes revertuntur. Ex hinc*

1 Ed. note: Not "rati", but "domi" in the ARSI copy.

*cum Indi timore percussi montibus sese occultebant, ad quos propter acerrimos aditus, et oclusas vias difficillimus est accessus. Insidiis res agi cœpta: nostris mane et vesperi addierum crepuscula egredientibus, si forte incautos aliquos deprehenderent: non alio tamen successu, nisi quod 6<sup>a</sup> octobris unum ex illis temere in insidias prolapsus ictu bombardæ occiderint: hujus mors turbavit non nihil animos Barbarorum: aliis damnato bello pacem ex optantibus aliis exasperato animo vindictam spirantibus. Nos in omnem occasionem intenti, evocatis pacis amatoribus aleam tentavimus et tractandæ pacificationi tempus ultro citroque concessum domum vincente pervicacia vacus [rarus?] ea primoribus qui sub initium turbarum domi nostri hostiliter habitus, nostrorum manibus fuerat elapsus res omnis evanuit; et annus nec bellum volentibus Indis, nec pacem firmare audentibus, elapsus est; otiose quem si consueta propagandæ fidei exercitia spectes; cum fructu tamen si quæ domi cum socii sæcularibus, et amicis Indis pie laudabiliterque transacta: nam dum foris patitur domi radices egit tenella hæc Ecclesia planta: ubi in nova templo divina officia decentius celebrata, conciones habitæ sodalitas Dæ Vis.: novo fervore resumpta frequentata Sacramenta, omnia denique Christianæ Reipublicæ instituta, rite decenterque usurpata.*

*{Francisco Ezquerro Gerardus Bouwens Petrus Coomans*

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*Antoninus Maria San Basilio + Thomas Cardeñoso + + Ildephonsus Lopez +}*

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**Document 1673L2**

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## **History of the Mariana Island Mission for the 1667-1673 period**

**The historical narrative of the events in the Mariana Islands from 1667 to 1673 —Loose translation of the Latin report**

**The Historical Narrative of the pious and praiseworthy deeds done by the apostolic workers of the Society of Jesus in the implantation and propagation of the faith in the Mariana Islands, commonly called the Ladrones, from the year 1667, until 1673.**

I, finding an opportunity of forced leisure, or rather of not yet being permitted to go out for apostolic works in this so much awaited, so much sought-after mission, I have been thinking that I could make my spare time valuable if I were to treat under almost a single aspect and in the unfinished style of a certain narrative the things which are part of the annual letter everywhere, just as the events were then presenting themselves, they would have been related in writing. I, anticipating that the result from it would not be objectionable if, the letters being lost due to the very great distances along the way, as it is wont to happen, I would have hereupon repaired that harm by writing my [letters], either I would have portrayed the things repeated more often than once, or I would have separated certain things squeezed together closely in their own places and times, I would have been certainly satisfied with my letters sent forth, and I would have responded so often to the tried benevolence of friends, certainly with this small present, to the extent that is allowed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The above introductory paragraph appears only in the BR (Belgian) version, and is not present in the ARSI (Rome) version.

## 1667

Thus in the year 1667, Fr. Diego Luis de San Victores, a name known not only in these parts but also throughout Europe, especially in Spain, because of his apostolic virtues and Xaverian zeal, not knowing how to be held in check by the immensity of the Philippine mission field, had flown there in spirit many times. As soon as God permitted, as well as his superiors, not to mention his civilian teachers, he began to insist ardently, upon becoming the witness of Christ's divinity, by evangelizing the poor, directly and then by his example. Thus was born that decree of his Catholic Majesty, King Philip IV, dated in Madrid from his suburban palace, called Buen Retiro,<sup>1</sup> on 24 June 1565, which ordered and appointed this expedition by the said Father San Victores, to the land of the poor, but old subjects of his to apply Christian discipline to them. Indeed, it had been over 100 years, since the date 23 January 1565, even before the Republic of the Philippines was set up, that possession of these Islands was taken in the name of the king in a formal ceremony referred to in history books. This also gave rise to promotional activities by the appropriately-named Governor, Don **Diego** Salcedo, a man stimulated by his own, as well as by his Catholic Majesty's initiatives, who knew how to carry out this business, in the pursuance of Christian affairs. Above all, he was interested in carrying out the wish of his superiors, by providing a ship for the expedition. He also diverted some of his own salary, as the public treasury was short of funds, for the yearly budget, and the other necessary things for the navigation, as soon as the required moneys could be had. Therefore, on 7 August [1667], a ship named **San Diego** specially prepared for this purpose by the Governor, left the port of Cavite in the Island of Manila. Aboard were Fr. San Victores, along with his companion, Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso, and Don Bartholomew Muñoz, given the rank of Admiral by the Governor, plus the pilot Don Antonio de Azevedo. On the 24th, the feast-day of St. Bartholomew, they surmounted the difficulties of the narrows of the Islands, called the Embocadero. After a successful voyage, the port of Acapulco was reached on 11 January 1668, and the next day our glorious athletes stepped ashore.

Then, as it was necessary to renew the expedition, and to obtain the yearly budget, Fr. San Victores travelled to Mexico, that pious as well as famous Emporium of the whole West Indies, in order to test the zeal of that special city, in favor of his mission, to buy necessary, or useless, articles, which he tried to get by his own zeal and his naturally sweet character. In accordance with his wishes, he made a special effort, one that can be expected from his Xaverian heart, to compose a small tract as an offering to the Mother Mary, and the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier; then, through their sodalities, of course, that had been erected in honor of the patron saints of this city. The effort bore fruit, but the pious and magnificent liberality of the sodality exceeded [expectations]. Chalices, ornaments, sacred vases, pixes, monstrances, flasks, missals, tabernacles, a dais, a banner elegantly embroidered with gold were some of the things

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1 Ed. note: This palace has long been razed. Part of this site is presently occupied by the Army Museum, just west of the Retiro public park.

he obtained, and, so as not to miss anything, a sum of extra money was added as a present, as much as 10,000 pesos. With this money, he was able to procure statues and relics of Saints, also silk curtains, and other appropriate things, too numerous to mention, all destined to decorate the temples and the altars among the barbarians. The prime mover of the sodality was a certain Don Cristopher Vidal, a secular priest, who served as the treasurer of the sodality, and founding member of it, one who will be remembered for having taken upon himself the task of being a benefactor of missions as long as he lived, content only to serve them. However, the devotion to and emulation of St. Francis Xavier was so extraordinary in Mexico City that others gave us something that cannot be allowed to go into oblivion. Another 10,000 pesos from the public purse, the royal treasury, was obtained in addition by the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, and assigned to the worthy support of the munificent Catholic King, and so many efforts were made under the auspices of this still young, but truly Catholic King Charles II, forever a great heart. So, the alms collected were so generously given, and unusually large in quantity.

Having ascertained those subsidies, with promises of even greater support, this straight and strong fighter of Mary, and Xavier, turned his attention to getting associates from the new band that had sailed from Spain that year, and were on the way to the Philippine Islands; full of happiness, full of trust in God, whose liberal hand he had always experienced, he returned to Acapulco. Then, with everyone on board, eager to complete the voyage, and begin the cultivation of the new vineyard of Christ, they set sail on 23 March. There were a total of 11 members of the Society, out of whom 4 priests had been attached to the new mission. Another pair was attached to be the first (military) leaders, to one who was then alone; so, the Provincial of the Mexican Province arranged for more Spanish civilians to join the almost 30 Indians from the Philippine Islands, as escorts, all volunteers, bent on accepting whatever luck, they burned to propagate the faith of Christ. Therefore, pushed by favorable winds, rather by breeze of divine goodwill and providence, they were making their way, their desires being no less full than the sails inflated by the wind. Already the pilots had computed the distance covered to be 800 of the 1,000 leagues (which is the distance that experts commonly give as the distance from Acapulco to these Islands). Meanwhile, our men, but specially our Mariana family, were getting tired of seeing their wish unfulfilled, these islands, whose name used to be, either Islands of Sails or Islands of Thieves, whatever you wish, and which they should have reached already, in accordance with the common estimates. They decided to begin a solemn novena, for their own benefit, and already they had begun it on the day dedicated to Ann, the mother of the glorious Virgin Mary, 15 June, and so, according to a vow, Fr. Pedro de Casanova was saying mass when, all of a sudden, the sailors shouted Land ho!

They were in sight of the Island of Zarpana, as it is called by the Spanish, and **Rota** by the inhabitants, and St. Ann by us, under whose patronage it was placed. Until noon, the heading was toward it. Then, the green summits of this, the next island, called San Juan by us, and **Guan, Guahan, or Iguan** by the inhabitants, attracted attention, and

the heading was expressly changed toward it, the future seat of this mission, on account of its large size, and the larger number of its inhabitants. To this day of sighting the islands were ascribed both the mass (celebrated in honor of the Holy Martyrs Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia) and their feast celebrated in turn. This is what had been agreed among the Fathers beforehand, that on the day of first sighting land, the feast for that day would forever be assigned as a holiday in the islands, and the saints listed by the Church would become the future patron saints. Already, the day was turning into night, and the Indians in their canoes were surrounding our ship, not trusting our people enough to come alongside, either on account of the approaching darkness, or out of fear. Nevertheless, thinking about the future, it was desirable to have them come up; so, with this in mind, the Fathers dealt with Heaven, asking our Lady to intervene, by singing her litanies at the rail of the ship itself. It was hardly over, when everyone at once, as many as could be admitted climbed aboard, and the intention of the Fathers, explained by an interpreter, was openly and actively welcome.

The next day, which was a Saturday, there was present a Filipino Christian, who, a long time ago, in the year 1638, had been shipwrecked in these islands with the ship called **Concepción**. He had always lived with the inhabitants, had a daughter almost 2 years old, whom he offered to God to be baptized, the first such divine offering. At the same time, he thanked God for having sent the Fathers to the inhabitants. Therefore, the little girl was dressed in white and the ceremony took place aboard ship; she was named Mariana. Two of the Fathers went ashore to explore the land, and the goodwill of everyone having been obtained, they raised the trophy of the cross upon the shore, not just to proclaim a victory, in the hope of better things to come, but also to make an impression. Already a large crowd gathered from all the neighboring enemy villages, all happily clamoring for the entrance of the Fathers into their respective districts, with the exception of a chief from the interior who was indignant and did not want the new men to be welcomed. However, when the truth was made known, that the Fathers were bringing the divine law, and they were God's teachers, he relented at once, and stated that the Fathers could suit themselves.

The next day, 17th, which was a Sunday, the Fathers were led ashore by the ship Admiral, Don Antonio Nieto, for Don Bartolomé Muñoz had died a few days before. At the public banquet given by the inhabitants, in accordance with local custom, he gave an iron hoop to every chief, then saying goodbye to the Fathers, he returned to the ship. They showed their thankfulness to him in accordance with local custom, giving back large amounts, and he was quite impressed by the pleasing character of the natives, rare customs that would make them apt to receive the faith, which made him say: the harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. Why not, he urged in the name of the king, since there were many priests aboard the ship, to assign a few to gather the remaining sheaves? Therefore, 2 more were added to the 4 already assigned, one a priest, the other not yet ordained, a future priest, until more qualified workers were sent from Manila, or from Spain. One priest remained aboard ship with 4 associates who were still novices. In the meantime, 23 were baptized among the young children, being the first



happy crop offered by King Charles, and given names, as well as one of the adults who was to become a specimen of the future among his people. This man the Admiral took him along and after a happy voyage arrived at Manila.<sup>1</sup>

### [Description of the Marianas]

The Mariana Islands (such is the way that they have been pleasantly named, with the sumptuous names of Mary's family, under whose protection they have been placed, and also under the protection of Maria Ana, the Austrian Queen Mother of Charles II, who acts as Regent during his infancy) are inhabited, except for three that are completely deserted. They are 13 in number, lying from south to north, from 13° in latitude north as far as 22°5', with hardly any difference in east-west placement between them, their longitude being 170° west of the meridian of the third islands, placed next to Rixiolium:<sup>2</sup> they are placed 64° in longitude from others. To the north is southern Japan, whose longitude is along the same longitude, with a distance of hardly 10° in latitude; it is adjacent but encompassed by one line going through them, and another line passing beyond the islands. Hence these 13 islands are parallel to the southern unknown land (but I have nothing certain to say about the latter). There is communication between them by canoes, with hardly a day's journey separating any one of them from a neighboring island, and they certainly represent a rich harvest for gospel workers.

The first southern one, called **Guan, Guahan, Iguan** by the inhabitants, and San Juan by us, is the largest of them all, 34 or 35 leagues in circumference, shaped almost like a square, but from east to west it is a little longer in extent. It is cut with curved bays and ports on all sides, into which rivers flow, rather I should say streams. One can count up to 30 of those in this island; the bigger ones all have fish, specially eels and small crabs, but the waters they carry are unusually rich, very clear, and salubrious. However, regarding the fish called eels, they are hated by the Indians so much when they see our people enjoying themselves when eating what the natives look upon as bad luck, they give signs of nausea. So, the Fathers and everyone else have decided to abstain from it, while they are getting to know more about the superstitions, more on account of the nausea than for a ridiculous abstinence. Two of the streams carry enough water for the canoes of the inhabitants; even larger boats could easily be used. The temperature of the breezes is very salubrious; in summer it tends to be excessive, on account of most of the blowing winds bring a higher temperature even than in Manila, unless they blow from the north, which is in the winter, when they say it can be cool. Our

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- 1 Ed. note: This appears to be the only reference to a Chamorro having been taken to the Philippines as early as 1668. There is no mention of him in the primary (eyewitness) accounts of 1668.
  - 2 Ed. note: This word is not in a classical dictionary, and is not to be seen in any of the atlases by Ptolemy either. The datum line in question could be located in the island of Terceira in the Azores; if so, he may have added (instead of subtracting) 6° from the meridian of Palma in the Canaries, stated as being 164° from Guam in Doc. 1670C; however, they are 9° apart, not 6°.

experience with the salubrity has taught us over the past five years that we have been living here, that hardly anyone has suffered a natural death, something that the complete lack of physicians and medicine renders more admirable. In any case, the Indians are often covered all over their bodies with fetid ulcers and are eaten alive.<sup>1</sup> There is another outstanding proof of the salubrity of the climate, and it is that there is no trace of any poisonous animal having ever been found, either in the rivers in the form of crocodiles, or anywhere on land; even the existing lizards are not at all harmful. The land is anyway all steep mountains here, with pleasant valleys and fertile plains here and there; some mountain tops are sterile, and red in color, and may contain some sort of metal ore, although no signs of it has been produced by the inhabitants so far. There are also certain trees, neither tall nor thick, that provide the natives with sufficient clothing. The valleys, and a wide fringe along the shore bear palm trees, the plains have much **rice, and are fertile in certain root crops the natives use as food.** The natives number up to 12,000, and not more; they are distributed among 180 villages, the largest containing up to 80 or 100 houses, or families, and the smallest ones from 6 to 10. The people, although they are complete barbarians, are nevertheless not so inhuman; in fact, their ingenuity shines through, and often brightly so. Whenever someone comes up to a house, the first thing he does is salute, in terms that are exquisite: **ate umorin** which means: Do you wish to be washed, sir? **ate aringmo** which means: Do you wish to have your feet washed? Then, to make the way bearable they take out and use some tobacco leaves, and some leaves [sic] whose qualities are found everywhere in these parts: they call it **buyo** [=betel nut]. Then, they look around for a quiet place to have lunch, or supper. Hospitality is a sacred word among them. If one should be overloaded, they offer themselves to share part of the work. In short, they neither drink nor eat, or presume to take for themselves anything, unless it be politely offered to them by another companion; if they were to do it themselves, they would be considered not simply impolite, but would be taken everywhere as an enemy. So much so that, if guests were to show up unannounced, and should there be not enough food at home to serve to all, the householder would in no way let the lunch prepared for himself be served, nor commit an offence by offering not enough a quantity, in order not to be impolite; instead, he would rather be talking late into the night, and fast along with his guests.

Most of them are tall, and strong in body, in such a way that they are very experienced among [other] Indians; it is generally agreed that none others can be found to be equal to them in strength. And they do not ignore the qualities of their own body, for, the main reason why we wear clothes, and our people keep saying that, is that they are not so skilled at making elegant clothes; what if they are not, that cannot be the extreme reason for their lacking clothes. They do not use any clothes, other than what our poor father Adam used to wear. But that does not mean that modesty is completely gone; women hide their shame either with the leaf from a tree, or some plate from a tortoise shell. Nevertheless, the married women want to dye their hair, and all [women?] want

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1 Ed. note: This is a reference to leprosy.

to dye their teeth, and patiently spend a lot of time doing so, for the women seek to have them [their hair] look white, not being satisfied with what nature provided them with. Therefore, what nature denied, they seek with some effort. They anoint the whole head and their hair with a mixture of lime and oil, then expose themselves to the burning rays of the sun at noon, for hours, rather, for days on end. Whenever the head is burning hot, they sprinkle it with sea water; if you look at it, you show your appreciation.<sup>1</sup> They spend no fewer efforts in bothering to dye their teeth black, and I do not know why they think it makes them beautiful, or majestic. In order to do this, they spend some sweat; they mix black coloring with some gum to make it long-lasting. They often reserve an entire day to anoint that one tooth; nevertheless, this care, and above all this time, taken for this unction [process] will take up as many as 14 days, during which time the teeth must not touch anything.<sup>2</sup> That is why they suffer a continuous torment, with only a funnel, to give sustenance to their body, so as not to die. When the effect has been obtained, the neighbors and friends organize a formal feast, as if as many Ethiopians as teeth had come into the world. And in no other way do they show that a progressive step has been made, as when they organize these frequent **feasts** among themselves. For instance, they cover themselves from the navel down to the knee with a skirt, and they usually decorate themselves with some rather long nerves from leaves, then prepare wreaths with small flowers that look like hyacinths to place on their forehead, and they also add a precious-looking collar made of discolored glass beads, or if none are at hand, some local stones in any case yellow, but this they very rarely wear.<sup>3</sup> On their chest, as well as on the back, they hang some tortoise shell, with some small pieces of coconut shells artistically crafted.<sup>4</sup> Through the left arm they slip in a piece of wood in the shape of a half-moon, and from the fingers of the right arm hang

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1 Ed. note: Come to think of it, a black, well-tanned, body must also have been considered pretty.

2 Ed. note: I imagine that during this time, the woman would not eat solid food, but suck coconut water, and rice gruel, through a hollow piece of bamboo, or reed.

3 Ed. note: This color could perhaps be translated as “yellowish”, or “golden”. The wife of a Carolinian chief, who had drifted to the Philippines about a decade earlier, carried such a collar of beads, described as made up of material unknown to Europeans, but resembling amber. They are no doubt related to similar beads still preserved in Palau, but by no means unique to those islands then.

4 Ed. note: The expression “as well as” could also be translated “rather and”. I think that Fr. Coomans is describing two pairs of half-coconut, or pieces of tortoise, shells tied both on the chest and on the back of a dancer. A similar coconut-shell dance is still performed in the Philippines today. In any case, the shells on one’s back are used by one’s partner in a dance, to make rhythmic noise.

some castanets,<sup>1</sup> and they begin to dance and sing, accompanying the numerous voices with gestures in unison. And the men do not abstain from their feasts either. They especially delight in their games and sport matches; they come from all districts with as many javelins as possible to participate in the latter, and they lay them out to sell among themselves. Then they begin the games, throwing the javelins at one another, from a distance, and from close by; they are very skilled at avoiding them with elegance. Nevertheless, the game is often not bloodless.<sup>2</sup> They oil their bodies before the game.

### [Native foods]

While the game is in progress, some rush in quickly with food, which they devour while standing and with real appetite. Many gave it the name of feast, because of a special dish; so that if **rice** was present, it would be called **cenia** = **rice**. Fish there was aplenty, supplied by the sea, and which they eat either raw, or sun-dried; when macerated in salt, they are delicious. In lieu of bread they make use of a fruit, supplied by trees that are among the tallest trees; they grow wild, and are called by them **ducduc** and **rimay** [i.e. breadfruit]. They are shaped like green pine cones;<sup>3</sup> they taste not too different from parsnips, when they are baked. However, this fruit can be kept for times of food shortage. They burned stones and a quantity of wood together. When they [i.e. the stones] are white hot, then they place some fruit, or roots, on top. Then they cover them with leaves, and finally trap the heat in by adding earth. Why not? They can make use of them in the season when fresh ones are not available, and the same with what was sun-dried. They also make use of root crops in lieu of bread; these they plant or steal(?) them inland.<sup>4</sup> **Rice is served only at feasts.** The common food of everyone, and almost their mother, is the palm tree, whose perennial largess they look upon as

- 1 Ed. note: I imagine that some small stick was tied to each right-hand finger, and the fingers tapped upon the wooden half-moon on the left arm.
- 2 Ed. note: What I have translated as "javelins" is "hastas" [i.e. shafts] in Latin. It is clear that such spears had no tips, but they could still produce nasty puncture wounds, when they found their mark.
- 3 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans uses two equivalent expressions: "nucis pinæ", and "strobili". Rather large pine cones, I would say.
- 4 Ed. note: This part is an approximate rendering.

food to satisfy them at any time. Indeed, its nut, as much and whenever they get thirsty, is always available, and a ready-made dish. Besides these (the islanders are almost contented with them) there is hardly any useful food [to be found], with the exception of salt, a few melons, fewer watermelons,<sup>1</sup> golden apples from some tree or other,<sup>2</sup> bananas, Spanish pepper, and ginger. They have some chickens, which have remained here from some passing ship, but they are very few, and cannot be depended upon. Cows, pigs, turtle doves, that the Fathers introduced, are being taken care of, to make them multiply.<sup>3</sup>

### [Native houses]

In spite of other shortcomings, the houses are nevertheless spacious and comfortable; the finish is carefully done, rather, in this and everything else they follow their superstitions. For instance, when they have a drink, if anyone should touch the side, then they throw it away as useless.<sup>4</sup> The same judgment is applied to other things. Suffice to move a cloth, which they covet at this time, toward one's nose, for them to turn it down with disdain.

Their home is made up of 4 types of houses, or shelters. A small one serves them as a cook house. Here they do indeed make fire sometimes by rubbing two sticks together. The bottom one is convex [sic], the other, concave [sic] one, they rub around the flat portion; these they place upon themselves and so vigorously twist it around that they get tired, until [wood] dust catches fire.<sup>5</sup> They keep their belongings in another [house]

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- 1 Ed. note: These were two different types of melons, but the Latin words used, "pepo", and "melo", respectively, cannot be made more precise.
  - 2 Ed. note: Unclear expression in Latin. This made me think of "pomodoro", which means "tomato" in modern Italian, but I doubt very much that tomatoes were then cultivated in the Marianas. If they were citrus fruits (which I think they were), Fr. Coomans could have used more precise language.
  - 3 Ed. note: Turtle doves were native to the Marianas, at least at one time. Of two things one: either Fr. Coomans is mistaken on this point, or the Fathers brought in a different kind. I think he was mistaken, because the first French scientific expedition in the early 19th century, found that the turtle dove of the Marianas was a unique species, still not extinct then. A note of interest here; the Guam rail is not mentioned by the early missionaries.
  - 4 Ed. note: Unclear statement: was it only when someone else touched the drinker's cup, or when the drinker accidentally touched an object with his cup?
  - 5 Ed. note: Badly explained; however, the bottom stick can be visualized as being bigger than the other, and having a concave slot along one side, holding the wood dust, and into which the sharp tip of the other stick was applied.

built high upon pillar-like stones. Here are found all their riches, such as some tortoise shells, for they value them more than gold, [and] in some earthen pot, a [single-edge] or double-edge axe, discolored glass beads, and some castanets. The greater the shortage of these, the more they covet them. And they constitute our money in these parts; they estimate nothing else and they accept nothing else in their place. Their dormitory house is yet another type; inside it, they arrange another, like a bedroom, as a shelter, lengthwise much longer, in order to contain the whole family.<sup>1</sup> Around that, they place elegant mats made of woven palm leaves; they hang the same type of curtains over various small doors, which at night exclude "warm air" [or biting animals], unfriendly and bothersome in these parts.<sup>2</sup> Against the latter they arm themselves with smoke also. The trunk of a tree is used as a pillow;<sup>3</sup> that is why they have extremely callous skin around the neck. The blankets, bed sheets and covers are the same palm mats; in fact, they are aptly used to make the sails of their boats, their hats, their armors in battle, plates to serve food, and various other useful articles. So much so that Fr. San Victores, thinking that this material, when everything else was wanting, was apt to be used as clothing to cover the extreme nudity of these poor people; he ordered interior clothes to be made of this matting for himself, and for a long time, not without much serious lack of comfort for himself, dressed in this way he would undertake and lead a mission through villages: was it not by his example more than by his preaching that he impressed the people? However, the idea was abandoned; any barbarian preferred to wear a lighter piece of cloth, although not all of them could receive a piece. They have yet another type of house, this one much larger, that serves to shelter the canoes and it is raised along the shore itself, as big as a barn. Its long roof consists of interwoven palm leaves and leaves from other trees, rising from the ground itself.<sup>4</sup>

### [Native canoes]

However, there is a large supply of canoes, specially in this island, from which come even those of the six neighboring islands; the wood overthere does not replace itself fast enough. The rest come from the Island called Agrigan by the natives, and St. Francis Xavier by us. **Moreover, there are two types of canoes.** One is smaller, and used for fishing along the shore, for transporting necessities here and there; it is a dug-out made

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- 1 Ed. note: I think that the statement could be interpreted as not excluding the possibility of the dorm sharing the same roof as the house on stilts, although Fr. Coomans seems to emphasize that they were distinct. The confusion comes partly from the two meanings of "tectum" in Latin (as well as in English): roof, and shelter.
  - 2 Ed. note: There can be two misprints in this sentence: "calices" may not be "calides" [=warm, biting] after all, and "animas" [=airs, or souls] should be read as "animales", from what follows. What word did the ancient Romans use for mosquito anyway?
  - 3 Ed. note: This was a communal pillow, as the tree trunk ran the length of the dormitory, along one or two sides, lengthwise; this commodity can still be seen in traditional communal houses in the Carolines.
  - 4 Ed. note: This last point is undeniably what Fr. Coomans says. It appears, therefore, that such boathouses (also used as community halls) could be entered only at their extremities...

by excavating a single tree trunk. And so as not to be short of building tools they sharpen pieces of iron hoops to a polish with a hard stone (a long time ago, when there were no passing Spanish ships, they used sharp pieces of split silex as adzes, and sea-shells for the small canoes). Then they stick it into a [fire-] hardened stick [for a handle], and tie it tightly. With this [single-edge] axe, [or] this [double-edge] axe, whatever is to be built, it is a lengthy process, for they sweat at the task for years with slow blows. For instance, it takes so much obstinate patience that a piece of the small canoe comes from whatever old one, whose head is to be scraped, for at the tip they develop the small crown so much, and the way it looks, unless some older and long *baba* which they venerate are used skilfully. The other type of canoe is the one used commonly to travel around the island, and to sail the ocean and cross straits to [other] islands sometimes. Most of them are 8 yards in length, and hardly ever exceed 10.<sup>1</sup> There is no width [to speak of]; only one man can fit in, two at most. The hull, at an acute angle to cut the water, is made up of an excavated tree trunk split in half<sup>2</sup> and joined together in the middle, tied with small cords, then on the outside they fasten boards the same way. This is easier for them to say it to us than for them to do it, for they lack tools, specially the saw; they can make only one board out of a whole tree, the rest flying off as chips. They hide all the cracks with quick lime. The hull is coated black, the side boards red, with an oily coating, the oil for which is squeezed out of the palm fruits [i.e. coconut], which they more often use to anoint their bodies in the daytime. There is no difference between the bow and the poop, for one can equally serve the purpose of the other. Before they can make use of it, they finish the job by erecting a pole in the middle, and at the top of it they hang a sail made of palm mats at an acute angle, i.e. lateen, as the sailors call it. Out of one side, so as not to capsize, three transverse poles are fastened, and they [in turn are tied] to another round one at the surface of the sea itself, which helps with the heading. They themselves use so skilfully this machine, built by expert hands in the first place, that it seems miraculous to the sailors from back home. A single man, even a woman, which is something to see, can control the sail right or left, raise it, lower it, fold it together, guide the rudder, which is also the oar, but an oar of wood joined together,<sup>3</sup> with his hands and feet so exactly that the minimum amount catches the contrary breeze; rather, if one capsizes the boat by force, he turns it up again, evacuates the water, and pursues navigation, so that at sea, in dominating the winds, they are judged to be able to do it like the most expert of sailors. When they meet with storms, they lower the sail, let go the anchors, whenever the storms go beyond [the limits of]

1 Ed. note: Therefore, 30 feet or 10 meters, was the approximate length of the largest Chamorro canoes.

2 Ed. note: Although the word for trunk is singular, “duplici” can (and should) be translated as “made up of two dug-out trees”.

3 Ed. note: In other words, a short piece of board tied to a pole. Pigafetta (1521) had described these oars as looking like the wooden flat shovels used by bread-makers to take bread out of their ovens.

intrepidity and safety. Nevertheless, our people do not want this type of craft to go about the islands because of their disadvantages, not the least of which is that, when the waves run high, in spite of a considerable amount of work, they can be easily swamped. That is not all; not less than a full day, sometimes even two days, and not where they are sitting, and not found again when the chief lies down; however, no others more frequent than the need to sail.<sup>1</sup>

### [Fishing]

They go out fishing together as a fleet and then spread out through the surrounding seas. At almost any time of the day, one can see boats flying over the sea, for instance, even fleets of 30 sails and even more. At night, this is an even more brilliant [sight], for every boat then has a torch raised at the bow, made up of material selected from the bark of palm trees,<sup>2</sup> and fed by the oil provided by the same palm, which resists whatever breezes that try to extinguish it. One can imagine that there are as many wandering stars at sea as there are boats. The fishing of small fish is done with a fishhook, but when they lack iron, they make a substitute by giving a piece of wood [sic] the shape of a thorn with fire, but these are used by the women along the shores, and the small fish bite them. While fishing they are extremely prone to superstitions: they observe silence; if they should violate this [rule], they believe that the prey will escape. They stretch a rope across the door of their house; they call this a sacred thing: *atota* [i.e. taboo]. If anyone should trespass over it during those fishing trips, it is a crime; if anyone does so it renders all fishing useless. Anyone who has placed even a small something in security behind the ropes, which is extremely rare, it is safe even during a long absence; they lay out the sacred rope between posts and if anyone should try and trespass, he is surely a criminal, and undoubtedly deserving of being killed with spears.

### [The classes]

All the people are divided into their classes. Those who live along the shore are held to be the nobles. Indeed, under their naked skin they hide the same pride and haughtiness as the Japanese. The hill people are of an inferior class, and of humble blood, so that they do not speak themselves, so as not to attract disdain, unless someone deigns to address them first. When their turn comes to speak, they do so through a third party. It is absolutely forbidden [for them] to enter a house. For instance, they are not to take sacred communion together, nor baptism, nor the rest of the sacraments; in fact, it is painful for us teachers of God's law to bear such human factors (as they make Phari-

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- 1 Ed. note: Blurred meaning. I interpret this to mean that, when a large number of canoes is required, the men sailing them are easily distracted at every stopping place, and it is a struggle to get them to regroup and sail out again, to the next stop, etc.
  - 2 Ed. note: The coconut tree has no bark; what the author means is the jute-like material that is at the base of the leaves. I imagine that they could also use coir from the coconut outer covering, the same material from which they made sennit. Later in this report, Fr. Coomans used the Latin word "stuppa", which means tow, to refer to the same substance.



sees out of us) and to mix freely with abject men. However, it is said that our moral authority is not enough. In any case, we teach them various things, but specially teach them the science of Heaven. However, what about their own science, in sailing, building canoes, making spears, and throwing them, for instance, and in drinking? Indeed, when they drink from a gourd, they do not bring it to the mouth, but they raise the hand, then let the water flow into the mouth, emptying it while holding their breath for a long time. These nobles show their talents. They make us pity our Spanish companions, specially in matters of navigation. They have such an intellectual baggage that they resent being placed with such bad teachers. Why? In fact, they have been saying that they do not even speak intelligibly.<sup>1</sup>

### [The creation myth]

It might be helpful at this time to make some comment about their fables. *Puntan* was a man born without a father and only one sister. He lived in imaginary spaces, but alone. When the moment came for him to die, he called his sister, and let her know his last will and testament, which was, that out of his body and limbs something for the common good be done. This [story] is told by them with verses in the local language, for they are even knowledgeable about poetry, and is sung at road intersections. He also ordered that out of his belly the sky be made; that out of his lice and their eggs (let the barbarians expose their lack of culture, though it be under the guise of a joke and without sufficient shame) be made the stars in the firmament, out of his eyebrows originated the sun and the moon, and out of his eyelashes the rainbows.<sup>2</sup> From his shoulders the earth was ordered [made], and from his ribs and bones the trees were to grow; from his hair issued forth the branches and the green grasses, his bladder became the sea, and the lower extremities the banana trees and the reeds. His intestines became the sea straits and the ports. I omit the rest, for they are similar comparisons. The above came from his body, but fable has it that the whole human race issued forth from a rock, at least themselves; as for other men, it was a long time ago, and they do not know.

When the Spanish and the Dutch sailed in, they came to know other men, and they adopted the opinion that the rest of mankind had derived from themselves and, once away, men had forgotten everything easily; that is why they do not talk intelligibly. Whenever they hold a feast they repeat such stories from memory; whoever can repeat the largest number of old records wins the prize. Although the content of the different fables stretches credibility, the simplicity of the people is nevertheless such that many later on do not disagree. So, whenever a dog barks at [foreign] visitors, they order it to go away, by saying: *se Tautau Dios*, men of God, that is, Christians, to be where the first clock was exhibited, and they were praying for God to appear. These, and similar

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1 Ed. note: Disdain for their Filipino cousins originated then.

2 Ed. note: The lousy aspect of Puntan has been expurgated from secondary-source documents, and those printed in Europe. If only Fr. Coomans had recorded the original verses!

lar [beliefs] they rarely question; moreover, they are not affected by them, nor do they discuss them.

### **[Religious and burial customs]**

They do not celebrate any religious or other holidays. There are no idols among them, no temple, no priest. Therefore, there are no impediments for them to receive the seeds of the faith. They only have the cult of the souls of their dead forefathers, which are to be venerated with prayers, so that they will not cause them any harm, or frighten them by appearing as ghosts, because they (colunt = disturb?) lovers. That is why, when some of them are dying, they place a box as a pillow, which is to receive the soul released by the body, so that it will not return and appear at home. Also, they keep their skulls, in order to perform some superstitious ceremony with them, for instance to win a war, or to get peace. That is why when those are to be brought home, if by chance they are to be visited, their first care is to advise us; and once the prayer is over, either they burn them, or they are buried. Burials are accompanied by great solemnity among them. According to their law, burial must be at home; that is why it is not yet possible to bring the dead to the church to be buried, even Christians. Their custom is categorically opposed to this, and they hang on to it even now.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the body of the deceased is placed into one of the canoes to serve as a coffin, and then hanged from the roof ridge of the house, where it is left, unburied. The voices of the neighbors are raised in funeral songs, until the body of the deceased is placed under the ground, either by them or by others, as if it were the performance of a family, or civic, duty. Therefore, once the bodies of the dead have been committed to the earth, various honors are to be given them; on top of the tomb, they place either navigation or war implements, depending on what he had excelled in, and also decorate it with green branches and many flowers. They hang tortoise shells, and other precious things upon it. Then, someone with a blood relationship comes in and stays near it; he hits himself in sign of sorrow, cries out, and shrieks. The wake is repeated over six or seven days, in accordance with the merits and rank of the person, during which they repeat the lugubrious funeral songs, they feast, and organize games. He who loves the deceased the most, hangs a small cord from his [own] neck, and daily ties a knot in it to compute the days of the wake. Indeed, they do not account for the days of the year, of the month, or of the week, but only those of the rising moon and waning moon.

As far as the inheritance, and the name, are concerned, they are not passed on to the son, but to the nephew, that is the son of a brother, or to other collateral descendents. Besides that, they share customs with the ancient inhabitants of the Philippines, for instance, the roots of the language are common; also certain first-borns from other families would take control by some means. On the other hand, not all the people must

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans is quite explicit. The burial of Chief Quipuha under the floor of the first church was therefore an exception, and the new custom was resisted. This custom existed to prevent their enemies from getting at the leg bones of the dead (to make spear points).

observe another custom, which consists in coming together, to finish building a house, and, if required, to fight a war.<sup>1</sup> However, there remains another custom of making Delphic-like predictions at the beginning of a battle. In inheriting, when there remains a male, no woman can succeed, unless she was born first, and only (her) sex prevents it; he (or she) becomes the head of the family. Here they take precedence in some observance and veneration ahead of the others. Besides, when the law is doubtful, it can be interpreted by go-betweens they call *magahagam*.<sup>2</sup> Whenever and wherever there is a case to be resolved, a determination is given in what is under dispute and a sentence is given. There is another custom which makes them ideal Christian disciples, namely their temperance; they constantly abstain from any wine or liquor that could inebriate. They do not even have a word for this vice, which is generally an obstacle to virtue among Indians, since an enticement is usually required for one to acquire any vices; and they live with only one wife or consort, or by imitating the Christians themselves in this matter. And there is another custom which they consider very odious, and punish strongly; it is adultery. When it becomes known that a husband, or a wife, has done it, this immediately brings pain to their neighbors and infamy upon their heads, and it is sufficient to prove the crime that any one night was spent away from home, unless on a long trip, for divorce to proceed. Then, the delinquent is denied access to his house, and anything found therein; out of fury, it is torn apart, the more so if the wife is seeking the punishment, so that not even a sleeping mat is left. Rather, he is left with just the house in these spectacles caused by jealousy. In this deal, a woman has something more powerful than the men, who do not rule the family alone, but it can be dominated by her,<sup>3</sup> even contradicting the husband who, by her own judgment she can eject from home.<sup>3</sup> Hence, this vice has placed a certain human respect among them, so that, if a parent should incur this vice, either the son, or the grandson, is then to take over the role of parent; however, so long as he lives, it is completely unknown that he be permitted to have his own things [back].

In spite of so much rigor in observing conjugal customs, there is so much freedom among bachelors. The latter gave themselves without restriction to lascivious practices; either they cut their skin in many places with their fingernails, or mutually bloody themselves with bites, which leave scars upon healing, by which to remember their love. Then they have public houses in each village, in which they all live in common. To be invited by a member of the other sex, and to come, is considered praiseworthy, so that a large proportion of the youth is exposed to corruption.<sup>4</sup> In effect, they would rather choose one of the more graceful ones in their neighborhoods, to join them in the senate [sic].<sup>5</sup> To her parents they present a tortoise shell, or something precious that they have, being

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1 Ed. note: This custom is called “bayanihan” in the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: The Latin word used is “interpres”; it can also mean “interpreters, mediators, negotiators, arbiters.”

3 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

4 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

5 Ed. note: Either Fr. Coomans did not know the Latin word for “brothel”, or he did not dare use it.

the price agreed to by themselves for the public wife; it follows that neither her lucky parents nor herself object. One can easily draw conclusions about what happens. Afterwards, she is restituted to her family, her reputation and value not sullied but increased by the experience, so that she is from then on viewed as more mature for whatever marriage. However, we hope to apply the quick and easy remedy of Christian doctrine to such a public evil, for all eyes to see.

### [The beginning of the mission]

The Society recently came into this field of deep-rooted thorns and traps, inhabited by heathens completely devoid of culture. Firstly, they looked around for an appropriate place to establish a station, giving no further thought to the danger of wandering among barbarians. There were six of them from the universal Society: Fr. Diego Luis de San Victores, at whose orders the others were; Fr. Luis de Medina, both of them having been killed a short time later in hate of the faith; Fr. Pedro de Casanova; Fr. Luis de Morales; Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso, all of them priests; and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo, not yet consecrated as a priest. They were looking for a safe shelter for their secular associates and their baggages, to keep them clear of the elements. This was not difficult in a place dedicated to Mary, the son of Mary being the one pulling the strings. One of the older chiefs, named **Kipuja**, having already been regenerated with some other more capable people by the waters of baptism, freely offered his own property to the Fathers. This site lied on the northern shore of this island, toward the inner approaches of a maritime port; it was also intersected by a pleasing and salubrious river, in the middle of a village that is very famous all over the island, as much for the nobility of its inhabitants as for its reputation in war among all of them. This village was called **Agaña**, and its name was immediately changed to San Ignacio. The first residence of this mission, bearing the same name of our holy father, was founded here. Meanwhile, the Fathers were sweating strenuously to plant the faith of Christ, for they had managed to translate the first precepts of the Christian doctrine into the local language with the help of an interpreter; as for the civilians they were working diligently at building God's place, and the Fathers' house, as soon as possible. On the very feast-day of the Purification of the Virgin in the temple, on [2 February] 1669, the temple was dedicated to her, as the titular saint, and to holy martyrs, and opened. In building it, so that something Marian might not be excluded, a large part of it was made of some trees they call Marian.<sup>1</sup> The people began to arrive immediately to visit it, not only from all the villages of this island, but also from adjacent islands. Many were enraptured to see something so new, and never known before, and they liked to watch the solemnity of the sacraments. Then, they were taught, trained, and indoctrinated with copious examples by the Fathers. The house was filled for entire days by a crowd, either wishing to look around, or to be instructed. Hardly had the first visitors left that others would continuously take their place. They were divided among all the Fathers, who applied a zeal that

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1 Ed. note: That is, the tree called "palo maria" [Maria tree/wood] in the Philippines.

is equal to the task, something that is expected in a newly-founded mission among the barbarians of such an uncultured land. While some were untiringly insisting in inculcating the mysteries of Christianity, others were sweating ceaselessly while being devoured by the difficulties of the language, and others were busy travelling to conquer and record the newborn babies for Christ. Already the shores were resonating everywhere with the sounds of prayers, or precepts of the sacred doctrine being recited. Now, when one of the Indians meet with one of the Fathers, or a Spaniard, he makes the sign of the cross as promised, begins a Sunday prayer, or asks a question taken from the precepts of the Christian doctrine. To such an extent that from 16 June 1668 until 21 April 1669, a large part of this island, a total of 6,055 people, counting adults as well as small children, were baptized and became Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Already the time had come to go and take possession of the other islands. And although some of the Fathers were indeed willing to sail there, others nevertheless objected, the underlying reason being, I do not know what other reasons there were, not a small one either, that they would have to divide the number of knives, [iron] hoops, glass beads, tortoise shells and other things among them. The Fathers finally overcame this difficulty, and at first three, and later four, priests, accompanied by a few civilians, brought the burning torches of the Gospel to disperse the shadows over a wide area of these districts. They lie, as I have said, toward the north, with hardly a day's sailing distance between any two islands. The roots of the faith have been carried to 10 of them, up to now, that is up to that one year [1669]. The first one visited was **Rota**, called Zarpana by sailors, and Santa Ana by us. It is not very big, not over 8 leagues in circumference; its 2,000 inhabitants are distributed among various villages, and fishing is reportedly good. Then, almost at an equal distance lies **Agiguan**, known to us as Santo Angel Custode [Holy Guardian Angel]; it is smaller, and not more than three hours [sic] in circumference, inhabited by 300 people. Next to it, across a more narrow strait is Buena Vista Mariana, called **Tenian** by the Indians; its plains are known to be fertile for **rice**, as they produce two harvests [per year]. This type of cereal gathered all over this district is completely white, whereas that of other islands is red; in taste and estimated value, its flour ranks lower than that of wheat. It has 3,000 inhabitants, spread along a shoreline of about 10 leagues. That leads us to **Zaypan**, now San José. The strait between them is indeed narrower, but the sea currents have no equal in the others; this is where the Spanish ship called **Concepción** perished a long time ago, in the year 1638, and whose remains can be seen even now in the houses, with the guns and anchors on the beach. This island ranks second of all in size and population; it could be

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1 Ed. note: The number of baptisms stated here for the first 10 months is less than half the number first reported in 1669 for the whole archipelago, for the same period. What happened is that the real number for the whole group (7,234, see below) was added to the number for Guam, resulting in double counting—a simple mistake in arithmetics, caused by blind enthusiasm. Besides, some natives sought baptism more than once, in order to get a reward of clothing, beads, etc.

15 leagues in circumference, with a multitude of inhabitants, the number of whom is said to be 6,000. After this comes **Anatajan**, nowadays San Joaquin. To the south of it are two other islands, both uninhabited, called **Managaja** and **Noos**.<sup>1</sup> The island itself [i.e. Anatahan] is inhabited by 500 people in the space [i.e. circumference] of 6 leagues. By no means farther lies another island, **Sarigan**, also called San Carlos; inhabited by over 200 islanders, and spread over a circumference of less than 4 leagues. The next one is **Guguan**, now San Felipe; it claimed an active volcano a long time ago; now it is extinct, but once it caused a major destruction among the inhabitants, overcoming them with its ashes and flames. There are no more than 100 inhabitants [left] along its circumference of 3 leagues. Then comes **Alamagan**, called Concepción by our people; there is also a volcano, halfway submerged. Along its circumference, not over 4 leagues, live hardly 300 inhabitants. The mountain often spews much fire, burning stones, and ashes, and sulphur can be extracted from its slopes; there can be seen a lot of this frightfully boiling sulphur within the oven-like cauldron. The next one is **Pagon**, also called San Ignacio. Two volcanoes emit brilliant fires toward the sky, often in such quantity that they can be seen by the inhabitants of other faraway islands. The island that follows was the last one to be seen, and visited, in this one year [1669]; it is called **Agrigan**, or San [Francisco] Xavier. It is where there is already a temple in his honor. The island produces a tree that grows faster than the others, and used by the inhabitants in their canoes. It is so plentiful that it can supply even the neighboring islands; most of the canoes, all over this whole chain, are made of it. There are more islands beyond that: **Asonson**, or Asunción, which is almost buried under a mountain of ash from a volcano; and **Maog**, known to us as the Island of San Lorenzo, a triple island bearing the same name.<sup>2</sup> All together they have very few inhabitants. The last one is **Urac**, completely devoid of men, but birds are so numerous that [people] come from the remotest islands at given times of the year to hunt them. They are so abundant that they kill them with sticks and drowning them everywhere; after the feathers have been removed, they are salted, or dried in the sun. Then they sail home with their canoes full. This island is like a republic shared among the birds, for in a certain part of it they lay their eggs, and watch over them; in another part, they raise their young; and in another part the adults live together by themselves.

Therefore, the Fathers were travelling through these deserts, at the cost of labor and more danger than can be said, so that this tiny corner of the world would not be kept from knowing the eternal truth through neglect. Along these shores, a total of 7,234 were baptized this first year. **The population counted over the same territory amounts to 20,000.** Therefore, the number of baptized this first year is computed at over 13,000 [sic]. If one were to add the number of 20,000 catechumens to this, he would have about the correct number of inhabitants; that is as many as I myself do not fear

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1 Ed. note: In fact, Mañagaha is an islet off the west coast of Saipan, not lying off Anatahan. My educated guess is that Noos corresponds to what is called Farallon de Medinilla today.

2 Ed. note: Maug is made up of three peaks from the edge of the crater of a sunken volcano.

to declare that I was able to tally by asking for the count made in this district by some of our missionaries as well as our associates. Certainly if the numbers were checked, the population would not go beyond that number.

### [The Choco affair]

Although everything everywhere was happening as desired, the residents of hell were not wanting in committing very astute frauds, thus placing obstacles in the prosperous development of affairs. There usually lived in the Island of San Juan a certain Chinaman, named **Choco**, who, easily 20 years earlier, had killed one of his companions, with whom he had been shipwrecked in these islands; that is why, when the others had repaired the ship, he, fearing justice and the friends of the deceased, preferred exile over a certain execution. Therefore, with his wife who came from the Island of San José [i.e. Saipan], he earned a tolerable living by making knives and axes from iron hoops, for he operated a forge. This man had lived among his people at Manila, and seen the solemn ceremonies of our faith; although he had himself remained a gentile and idolater, he had learned sufficiently about them. When he learned about our people, and the rite used in performing baptism, he thought about it by himself, and he began to spread sacrilegious rumors: the **oil** [sic] which our people are using in solemn baptism, is a poison used by us to kill the children. He relied for this argument, as it was found out from him in person afterwards, on what was being said among his people in Manila. Hardly anyone [of them] would have known, that after applying the unction, they would have secured their afterlife. This nationality in Manila is overly astute, and perverse; it is only interested in profits, and in grabbing Spanish silver by means fair and foul. Hence, amid the light of the Christian faith, in the south<sup>1</sup> they were being blinded by the sun of obstinacy; certain people have no intention of putting on a fight, unless they would get some benefit out of it, hoping to get concessions from the Christians, or, through terror, approaching death might expel the shadows of obstinacy. Therefore, many are those who call on the priest when their life is already despaired of, and they seek by baptism to be recognized as Christians when they die. Consequently, many are those who want medicine for the soul when they already need medicine for the body; baptism is given at the same time as extreme unction. Naturally, not even an idolater can suck the poison, by adding a defect to the salutary remedies; that would be due to nature or the medicine of the Fathers. This fear has been strong, given that, toward those concerned only with the things of this life, ignorant of those of the future, we had accepted it, not without some merit, as something sent by divine providence, and that was, that when the first ship arrived at the north side, and not in the south side, where it was supposed to go, on account of the existence of a suitable port there, the Fathers would have experienced a huge delay in [spreading the] faith among souls preoccupied with this pest, for this seductor has fixed his residence there. Accordingly, although all harm could not be avoided, it was nevertheless minor, as experience was refuting the

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<sup>1</sup> ent, weapons were exhibited.

vanity of the beggar. The conversion of the impostor himself then followed, and took away momentum from the whole rumor. Indeed, when the Fathers were on their mission tours, they chanced upon his own village, and went into his house. That adversary gave up;<sup>1</sup> and although he remained with some doubt, which could be cleared with faith, for he is the type of man who is pleasantly astute, he nevertheless accepted, either to be an example for the others, or to be a living testimony of the adversary falsehood. Although he could not proceed to stop the spread of the pernicious evil with any speed. That rumor had already been carried to distant parts, and it continues to be an obstacle to the faith. Consequently, anxiety continued to bother the minds of those who were meek, and they hid their children in the bush, and impenetrable ravines. Some threw rough words, rather sticks at the Gospel ministers; others were denying [them] the enjoyment of a few small fruits, the customary food given to guests, in accordance with a custom fully accepted in these islands. So, a full day's journey, under a relentless sun, had to end with fasting. And there was no lack of those who would have despoiled the clothes off the back of our religious for themselves; there is no shame among naked people, and they would not have given them back, only after earnest prayers, and tears. This was also true inside the island of San Juan; in other islands, the affair was carried out more roughly: although the matter ended up with the massacre of our people, it nevertheless did not stop with the blood. In the Island of Zaypan, or San José, the internal flame was to burn more roughly. The wife of the Chinaman comes from that island, and she has her blood relatives there. At first, some of the more daring ones gathered, to oppose themselves to the Gospel; threats were used, and when threats were not sufficient, weapons were exhibited.

### **[Native weapons]**

Among the weapons used by these barbarians, there are two types of spears: one is made with a bone, a human one at that, and the other is made of wood, which has been slowly hardened by fire and smoke. To make the former, they despoil corpses of their leg bones, and the longer ones are the most desirable ones. For instance, should they want to get their hands on longer leg bones, they bury the corpses of the dead at a site, so that the earth would hardly cover the legs from the hips down to the heels, to which they tie small cords, so that, when the ligaments have already putrefied, they pull them [i.e. the leg bones] out intact from the rest of the body. That is what happened to the burial of our Fr. Luis de Medina; more on this below. Besides, as experience has proven, a mortal poison exists in these bones, specially if the smallest piece of them remains in the wound. No medicine has been found to overcome it. They make the tip of these very sharp, then they add a double or triple row of [teeths], like fishhooks, transversally, so that they enter the wound easily, but remain very difficult to extract; or, if they are to be extracted, on account of the sharpness of the point, and the fragility of the

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1 Ed. note: Literally, presented his hand.



material, they leave a barb inside the wound: makes one think of the [forked] tongue of a serpent, or even that of a fish.

At this time Fr. Luis de Morales was making his tour of the island;<sup>1</sup> the growing fury of the barbarians was borne against him. Already it was seen that threats and fury were not sufficient action [for them]. He had approached I do not know which young child to baptize him, and, this done, was giving his tired body a little rest, when here comes a mortal spear thrown from nearby, and it transpierced the calf of his leg as he lied down. That happened on 14 August 1668. The apostolic minister was not there by himself, given the increasing fury of the barbarians; one of the companions, who happened to be there, took a knife, and insisted upon opening the wound all over, and extracted the tip of the spear itself. Using a small amount of wine that had been brought to say mass, he washed it and quickly dressed it tightly with a piece of linen, which was [normally] used to wipe the sweat. Then he went to stay for awhile with some friendly Indians, and he recovered from the wound, as nothing had been left inside it. He procured a canoe and returned to the Fathers, and, thanks to their fraternal care, he fully recovered. Lucky is he for having already spilled his blood for Christ, and luckier still to have recovered from the blow.

A few more days later, in fact on the 19th [August 1668], almost at the same place, a massacre seriously afflicted the Fathers. It happened to a certain Spanish companion of Fr. Luis, named Lorenzo, an expert seaman, along with another Filipino Indian, named Gabriel.<sup>2</sup> They were to follow the Father, who had already gone ahead, and were searching everywhere to find the canoe of a friend. The latter was hiding the treacherous crime that he had already planned, and he employed a willing accomplice for the crime. When they had reached the high sea, not far from the island of **Tenian**, or Buena Vista Mariana, the Indian youths feeling safe there, caught Lorenzo the Spaniard unaware, and they first threw him overboard. I do not remember if Lorenzo could swim or not, but what was reported is that he was swimming bravely toward the canoe. When the other had avoided the spears already thrown at it, he was unhappily transpierced with repeated blows while they made horrible shouts. Skaking with fear, the boy who was no more than 12 years old, had begged the already wild barbarians to spare him, on his knees and with tears, but they killed him; they did not spare the innocent one, [not even] by leaving him naked in whatever island. He had certainly made no mistake; not even the suspicion of a fault was found. They turned a deaf ear to pity: with a shout his chest was transpierced with a spear, then they took him by the feet and threw him head first overboard. Then they turned the canoe around and, having gained insolence with this victory, they rejoined their people. In any case, it is true that the title of propagator of the faith is [considered] less honorable by barbarians, but it certainly fits the companion of a Gospel minister, accused of a crime. However, it does not apply to the

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1 Ed. note: The Island of Saipan, as confirmed below.

2 Ed. note: They were Sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos and his young servant, Gabriel de la Cruz (see Doc. 1669A1).

young man, whose innocence cannot be doubted. Why was not hate fully satisfied with the blood recently spilled by Fr. Luis, and what spurred the criminal to add a head? I certainly will not omit to say this: a few months later, the same barbarian was sailing almost at the same place, when he was capsized by a sudden storm. The crime was vindicated by God, or the head of the innocent one.

Meanwhile, divine mercy did not omit to console his own, either with the unusual fervor, or the agreeable simplicity of the others. Fathers would offer their children for baptism when the mother was unwilling, and also mothers would remit them when fathers were unwilling. The spectacle of newborn babies is truly touching (for it is helpful if one does know everything that is going on at a distance). When the supply of clothes and linen is completely missing, they wrap the baby in huge banana leaves, by way of swaddles. They adapt leftover coconuts to make it a bonnet, then they place it in a basket woven with palm leaves, such as Moses might have had. They carry this around on their back, by hanging it from a stick passed over their shoulder. In fact, poverty makes it quick and ready.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, there is no lack of adults who can stand in at the sacred baptismal font for the parents, when the latter are unwilling, or not yet instructed themselves. It is true that the authority of the parents is really diminished over their offsprings, because fear, the best teacher of children, is in fact banished. If the sons become delinquents, their fathers abstain from punishing them, having learned to their chagrin that they do defy them by hanging themselves from a tree, to win the barbaric argument. If, however, someone should rarely use enough austerity to dare to use punishments, he does not use sticks or whips, but he places his son on his back upon the ground and steps all over his stomach, belly and chest with his feet. And this [form of] punishment has been converted into a guarantee of friendship, and hospitality. If anyone should step on one's back and shoulders, he shows distinguished generosity, and a remedy for various ailments, specially weariness. Hence, that extraordinary form of greeting: "Do you wish me to step on you?"

For instance, some would add at the end of our presentations: "What for? Is it not true that one of the other precepts of the most sacred law, says: Do not kill? Therefore, why should they abandon their country to come and kill our young children, an abominable homicide?" A particular example of this happened in the village of **Sogua**, in the Island of **Tenian**, or Buena Vista Mariana, this year [i.e. 1668]. They had already been warned by enemies that as soon as we would come, we would kill. The Gospel minister came, but something else clearly happened, for having heard the divine word preached with so much force and zeal that, inflamed by God, before the sermon was finished, they all exclaimed: "These are the people they wanted us to kill? For which fault? Would it be because they teach us to live correctly? What prize do they want from us, besides the salvation of souls, when they have abundant iron and clothes at home,

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1 Ed. note: In other words: "Necessity is the mother of invention."

and we don't have any? Why punish them?" There was hardly one adult or one child who was not baptized that day in that village. This was on the feast-day of San Carlos; hence, the village was named San Carlos.<sup>1</sup>

The same thing happened on the Island of San Juan, in the village of **Tarifay** [sic],<sup>2</sup> also called San Januario, where, on account of the lack of priests, one of our people who was not yet a priest,<sup>3</sup> applied as much persistence against the inhabitants who had been influenced by the sacrilegious beggars.<sup>4</sup> However, they were won over by virtue of the divine word and, after a brief discourse, they very willingly offered their children to be baptized and themselves to be instructed.

### [The miracles of 1668]

Divine kindness was even pleased to bond these poor souls to Himself with supernatural benefits, and to increase the intensity of the already brilliant rays of the faith with miracles. I will now mention a few of the more famous events, as they have been interpreted by the Fathers, under oath, and confirmed by the general knowledge of the people. The first one happened at the invocation of St. Francis Xavier in the Island of Zarpana, or Santa Ana [Rota], in the village of **Muchon**, dedicated to the glorious Apostle of the Indies. There was a man there, named Francisco Ñufa. He had been sick for a long time and had been near death twice, being given up by men. A medal of the glorious Apostle was applied twice, and he regained his former pristine health and strength.<sup>5</sup> The same thing happened in the Island of Agrigan, or San Francisco Xavier, where a woman was freed from a very difficult delivery by the invocation of our holy Fr. St. Ignatius, and the [female] baby was named Ignatia.

In **Tarayfac**, a village of the Island of San Juan,<sup>6</sup> a woman who was trying to regain her voice, thought of getting it by baptism; the passage for her voice would then have been blocked by disease. The Father took pity and applied the relics of St. Francis Xavier, and made a solemn prayer to him. There and then she began to talk, the blockage having been removed. She was instructed, asked and begged for baptism, lost the ability to talk once again, and happily, it is fair to believe, she died.

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1 Ed. note: The feast-day of St. Charles is celebrated on 4 November. The event took place on 4 November 1668. Sogua is still a place name on the northern shore of Tinian.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps, this should be transcribed Tarisay instead; it corresponds to Talisay (on the south side of the Orote Peninsula), its equivalent pronunciation, the letters r and l being interchangeable.

3 Ed. note: Clearly, this was then-Brother Bustillo.

4 Ed. note: A reference to Chinamen.

5 Ed. note: The Latin word "numisma" could also mean a wood print. So, rather than a medal, it is quite possible that the object used was the image of St. Francis Xavier which had been printed in many copies in Mexico earlier that year (see Doc. 1668B4).

6 Ed. note: South of Agat.

In **Tomhom** in the Island of Zaipan, a woman was giving clear signs of having being possessed for a long time by a malignant host, for he was preaching with astute arguments; she was freed with the sacred weapons, that is, by the assigned prayers, and the invocation of our Saints, Ignatius and Xavier.

More famous still, I submit, is what happened in the Island of Zarpana, at the [district belonging to the] Residence of San Francisco Xavier, in the village of **Fuña**.<sup>1</sup> This three-month-old child had been hidden by his parents, and the Father who was visiting the village was being sent from house to house, so that he [the child] would not run the risk of losing his life by the mere presence of the minister, as they feared baptism would bring. But, what they feared from the medicine, came from another quarter. The infant died before he was touched with the salutary waters of baptism. He had been dead for about six hours, and was already stiff (these are the words faithfully taken from the sworn statement) and had been embalmed by his parents, and was being mourned by their friends, when the Father arrived, so that they brought him out when the affair had already been placed beyond [mere] danger. The entrails of the Father were moved by pity, and he shed tears upon seeing that the little innocent lamb had been ravished from the enjoyment of eternal life by so many detours. Then, having turned toward the pity of the Mother, whose litanies were to be recited that Saturday, and that of the Apostle of the Indies, whose long vigil he was then celebrating by fasting,<sup>2</sup> he conceived the idea that, if the child were alive, he could receive the grace of baptism, and would be called Xavier. Then turning to prayers, surprisingly enough, he was having recourse to the solemn prayer to him three times, **Deus qui Indiarum gentes, etc.**<sup>3</sup> He tried again, but either his memory failed, or his tongue was guided by Saint Ignatius, because he continued with the solemn words of his prayer: **Deus qui ad majorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam, novo per Beatum Ignatium (Patrem Nostrum) subsidio militantem Ecclesiam roborasti.**<sup>4</sup> Then he remembered the appropriate words for St. Francis Xavier: **concede propitius, ut cujus gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla.**<sup>5</sup> And nothing more, as the heart of the child began to palpitate and his hand to move, in the presence of the whole population of the village. These signs were sufficient for him to be granted conditional baptism. However, the pious Father was pursuing his pious requests for Heaven to give him vigor; then the child moved his whole body, with vigor and color returning, he

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- 1 Ed. note: It appears that the villages of Fuña and Mochon were located near Agusan on the NE coast of Rota. This Fuña is not to be confused with Fuña, or Fuuña, in Guam.
  - 2 Ed. note: The date in question was therefore 2 December 1668.
  - 3 Ed. note: This is the Catholic prayer said before the Epistle of the mass on 3 December, whose first part means: "God, thou has deigned to gather into the miracle of your Church the peoples of the Indies through the preaching of the Blessed Francis, etc."
  - 4 Ed. note: First part of the prayer said on 31 July, meaning: "God, thou has fortified thy militant Church anew with the assistance of the Blessed Ignatius for the greater glory of thy name to be propagated."
  - 5 Ed. note: Second part of the prayer said on 3 December, meaning: "please grant that we also imitate his example, virtue and glorious merits which we venerate."

opened his eyes, and the whole crowd surrounding him was made dry as they shed abundant tears. The parents were made confused by these things, but especially the priest and his moderate faith. He repeated the conditional baptism, and finally the hate of the sacraments in the minds of the barbarians was replaced by love.

Divine pity confirmed these same kinds of things in **Oppian**, a village of the Island of Zaipan, where a paralyzed woman regained the use of all her limbs with baptism. She was so keen in ascribing the benefit entirely to the water of baptism that, when the minister on tour returned to the village, she gave him thanks for having regained her health and the perfect use of her limbs.

To convert sinners is not less difficult than to resuscitate the dead, as Fr. Luis de Medina reported as agreeable to St. Francis Xavier. The village was called **Nisijan**, in the northern part of the Island of San Juan. Various Fathers had tried to reduce it already with much labor. They had all been repelled with threats, insults, even sticks. Fr. Luis would even shed his blood; he was received with sticks and wounded twice, once rather seriously on the forehead, and on the head. His whole face suffered from contusions and his eyes were cruelly made black; nevertheless, he was ready to give the life, which he was to do afterwards, but at another place, as they did not stop their attack. He returned to the battle, but beforehand he made a victory pact with the Benevolent Mother and St. Francis Xavier, promising to give the latter's name to the village, if his wish were fulfilled. The feast-day of the glorious Apostle conveniently arrived. Therefore, having offered his being during eight days with masses, on the eight day he went back.<sup>1</sup> They were wonderfully tractable; rather, at all the signs of exhortations they were so agreeable that they vied with one another to accept baptism. A few days were spent in preparing the adults with the necessary instruction, and during the octave of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, the whole village was baptized.

Superior forces were indeed militating for us, and for the recriminating barbarians themselves. Hence, the poor ones were terrified, and frequently tormented by internal troubles; once baptized, they were pacified. So, in the presence of the wood of salvation (for the recently-baptized were hanging some crosses inscribed with the names of Jesus, Mary, Ignatius and Xavier in prominent places in their homes) any ghost, any demon that was infesting them before, would simply vanish, as darkness before a brilliant sun. There were some who would keep on repeating the above [names] whenever they would meet among themselves. And although among barbarian people the reliability in things of this nature, and the faith, are weak, nevertheless, there is some basis in the often-repeated story about one Ignatius.<sup>2</sup> He lived in the village called **Zungaron**,<sup>3</sup> under the protection of the Immaculate Conception, in the Island of Tenian, across a small chapel where the Fathers had piously placed an Image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which they had brought from the city of Mexico and they took care of re-

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1 Ed. note: The exact date was 10 December 1668.

2 Ed. note: His family name was Ipapa.

3 Ed. note: Usually written as it is pronounced: Sunharon.

ligiously and decently. Before midnight on 17 August, three days after Fr. Luis de Morales was wounded by a spear in the Island of Zaipan, perhaps awake, or perhaps asleep, he claimed that the Virgin appeared to him, and he perceived that she was saying that she hated the sacrilegious crime. She was [dressed] the same as in the image, except that her hands, which are joined in the image, were holding two babies feeding at her breasts. At her side were eight bigger ones, together, being taught the precepts of the Christian doctrine. With a rope, which had a knot divided into eight laces, they held a dog that was resisting them and was barking, Cerberus, I think.

I will not omit to mention here the singular proof given by divine Providence to these poor people in the village of **Pigpug** of the Island of San Juan, which had already been reduced to the faith on the feast-day of the Exaltation of the Cross.<sup>1</sup> Before it became truly triumphant, they would have burned some time before most of the images that were superstitiously venerated, and the skulls. The minister had come back to visit, when, upon entering a house, he came upon a little old lady over 100 years old, whom her descendants had beforehand hidden out of fear of death, i.e. baptism. She had been deaf to the divine voice, more as a result of her body than of her mind, and there would be no easy remedy in instructing her, unless the anxious Father would have recourse to the divine. Therefore, he applied to the woman a piece of wood from the cross, which hung from his neck, and he prayed for the help of the husband of the Virgin, Joseph, whose feast-day they were celebrating.<sup>2</sup> Nothing more was needed to open her ears to voices; when questioned, she would answer. She was taught the essentials, baptized, in the presence of her surprised family, all of whom spread the news.

Such timely souls for Heaven easily repaid the Fathers for evil deeds.<sup>3</sup> Over 50 people were baptized, who had already reached a decrepit old age close to 100, some of them being even 120 with children over 100, who this year [1669] received the first robe of grace through the baptismal font, and joined the first lambs in Heaven, as we hope, being easily saved by such appropriate clothing.<sup>4</sup> Among the said old people was Juan **Kipuja**, the foremost leader of the islands, to whom the Fathers owed, after God, the land for their residence, when they made their entrance into these islands. He wished to give a rare example, by being buried in the house of God; rather, if we give credence to his son, to whom he appeared after his death, he was received in the heavenly home, and would have confirmed what he had already received with the faith. Among the virtuous people here, there are a few of our Spanish companions, and Filipino Indians, who, by their zeal and example, have become the leaders of these weak people, leading the children who were hesitating in some Christian exercises. Such are the fruits gathered in the first harvest, not at all inimical to Christ, and which would be more productive in future, if only a greater number of workers would come.

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1 Ed. note: This reduction had therefore taken place on 16 July 1668.

2 Ed. note: That feast is held on 19 March; the date for this event was therefore 19 March 1669.

3 Ed. note: Approximate rendering.

4 Ed. note: With more than a touch of skepticism, the ages of the old folk could easily be divided by a factor of 2.

And already in their missions the Fathers have agreed among themselves about the means, which up to now have been made more efficient by divine glory, and would give support to the Gospel sickle in future, and also give the mind some spiritual food, and some salt to calm the body down, if only they could enjoy some other things that were lacking, even in future, if the ship, which is to return to Manila from New Spain at about this time, were to arrive to take on water at these islands.<sup>1</sup> However, when the ship named **San José** came into sight in the afternoon of **14 June** [1669], and Fr. San Victores went out to it, he found very cultured hosts in Don Manuel de León, the new Governor of the Philippines [appointed] by the Viceroy, and Rev. Fr. Luis Pimentel, also the new Provincial of his Province of the Society of Jesus. This happened out of a singular effect of Divine Providence, although—how else could this happen in islands so remote if not through his particular will?—that the ship this year [1669] carried [Jesuit] Fathers. Already they had come into sight of the islands on the 13th, and, in accordance with their custom, the [local] people flew toward them, very anxious to trade. The shores were echoing with confused shouts, orders for the sail to be lowered, for their products to be shown, some fish or some bird, or some favorite supply from the passing ship, for it hardly needs to be explained, with what avidity, with what care they all flocked to look at the ship. They congregated no more anxious than ants upon a crumb of cake, or flies upon sweet honeycomb; it made me think of their **Mamis**, which is the name of their sweets.<sup>2</sup> Until late that night, they persisted, shouting, using charm, imitating monkeys by contorting themselves into all kinds of shapes, to get either an iron hoop, nail, knife, axe, and such. When they got it, full of joy, and considering themselves richer than the Spaniards, they would return [home]. If afterwards hoarseness degenerated into sickness, [they said that] the Spanish ship had brought it to their lands.

However, the Governor, and more so the Provincial, were trying to find out about the Fathers, but none of them, not even a letter, or any other sign of them appeared, except that some who had benefited from Christian schooling were signing themselves, others would say in Spanish: Let us praise the most holy sacrament!, or else babbling: *Ego te baptiso* [I baptize you], for many talked that way, but they pronounced it more or less correctly. When asked about the Fathers, whether they were alive or dead, where they resided, it was like talking to some stones. Nevertheless, when they were told the word “Padres”, and shown the soutane, they would respond: **Si Pare magas**, which means “Big Padre”, and pointed at the Superior; **Si Pare Tiro**, which was their way of saying “[Padre] Bustillo”; **Pare Manira**, which meant “[Padre] Medina”. When he heard the word “Manira”, Fr. Pimentel understood it, and dared to have them repeat it; surely, my opinion is that he understood it to mean that the Fathers had given up and returned to Manila. Then, they were questioned again; when he listened carefully and heard the word again, [he thought] the affair desparate, and they were about to order that the sails be raised, and to pursue their course to Manila. Already the ship

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1 Ed. note: A reference to the list of requests (Doc. 1670H2).

2 Ed. note: Probably referring to the treacle, or syrup, made from boiled coconut water.

had spent a whole day, and night, to round the island, whose eastern and southern shores had been coasted when, from two [different] places, those who had been sent upon mission tours aboard canoes, ready for the Gospel task, sighted the ship, and sailed toward it. They were standing at the bow holding a rough wooden cross by way of a triumphal banner, sandals made of palm leaves on their feet, for their poverty often suggested no other shoes, very easily worn out when meeting with very sharp rocks, and swamps. Their hat was of palm mat, and their shoulder covered with palm leaves to repel the rains; such are the items worn at sea in the islands, and which require frequent changes. From their neck hung the divine beads. This was the customary dress, and still is even now, for going on missions. Upon arrival at the ship, everyone was overjoyed, and they all agreed to divert to a port, by no means very far toward the south of the island, a port which was immediately named San Antonio, as they had first sighted the islands on his feast-day.<sup>1</sup> The soft breeze was inviting them into it. Therefore, they anchored there, and lowered the nautical [ubes = boats?] to take on water from the river nearby.

In the meantime, they were unloading the goods sent by way of alms to these poor people by the pious zeal for souls, among whom stood out the Sodality of St. Francis Xavier of Mexico, whose Moderator was none other than the Viceroy of the Kingdom. He, and her Excellency, his wife, gave liberal alms, and what is more, what they sent was to last them for eternity. There were not yet any letters expected from Spain, by which the King would have ordered food and defenders to his descendants in Christ; all gifts came from private donations. Don Manuel de León, Governor of the Philippines, showed himself to be extraordinarily generous, and interested; nothing at all, for the divine cult, which the Fathers had done without, on account of their own poverty, was left out, so that he gave away his own food supply to help the needy. Then he received the tender request of this Christian community, looked after so well by his predecessor, for food subsidies, under his patronage and protection. And he did not promise more than he could guarantee, for none of the ships from the Philippines sailed without orders to favor this mission, and without being full of gifts. That demonstrated his singular affection for all to see. He was begged by Fr. San Victores to please use his authority to inform the Catholic court, regarding the present condition of the faith in these islands.<sup>2</sup> There are many signs already that the progress had been hampered by the innate inconstancy of the Indians, which do not allow the Gospel ministers to live in safety among armed barbarians, so that to correct their vices, and to accustom them to Christian morals, Catholic arms are necessary. Already it is obvious that, for these naked people, unless fear acts as a teacher, either not enough, or nothing can be achieved by unarmed zeal [alone] to stabilize them. He did what he was asked, by taking the first opportunity of sending letters to Spain, so crucial, so effective, that they might affect

1 Ed. note: This port was then called Hati by the islanders (and was still so called on maps up to the 1890s; the modern name of Cetti must therefore have originated from a misprint introduced by U.S. map-makers). The feast of St. Anthony of Padua is indeed celebrated on 13 June.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores gave him a summary of the first annual report (see Doc. 1669E).



the faith immediately. Therefore, the affair was turned over by Spain to the Council of Mexico, where the experts on these islands are, for it to consult upon the case of those young recruits being sent to the garrison, their salary scales and the number of positions. Why does it take so long to receive an answer? When something is remitted to Spain, that ship which is to carry the letter, perhaps winters in Acapulco, causing such a great delay for a response to return from Spain, and from the Mexican Council. It goes without saying that what Rev. Fr. Pimentel promised to do, he did, to try and get more workers, who are required for this Spartan place, openly recognized as being zealous, strong, and totally dedicated to Christ's work.

Therefore, these affairs having thus been arranged, on **17 June** [1669], on the first anniversary of the Fathers' arrival at these islands, the ship weighed anchors and resumed its course, which it completed happily. All the Fathers, with the exception of one who was away on another island, were able to visit the ship, and, as if given new vigor, they returned to their apostolic ministries, with nothing more important in mind than propagating the faith in the Island of San Juan beyond what was already founded, to its remotest districts. Therefore, those who were enough to take care of teaching the Neophytes at home were left behind, and the others went to various parts of the island, where three residences were founded, except the one which had already been established in the island of San Juan. A single house of God was dedicated as solemnly as privation allowed in each [of the other islands]: 1° in the Island of Santa Ana [i.e. Rota], another in **Tenian**, a third in the island of San Francisco Xavier [i.e. Agrigan], all dedicated to the Virgin Mary, under various titles of hers, and placed under the protection of their saintly patrons. The other temple that had been raised on the Island of Conception, rather **Alamagan**, although it might be a future parish for the Fathers, it remains uncertain at present. Therefore, with four Residencies, and 5 Churches, a sort of Christian community was surfacing and, so that none be left wanting, the faith could not be brought to two of the islands this past year, as the lack of protection and the presence of dangers aboard the weak canoes in these parts cannot be overcome by the zeal of the Fathers. Another one, which was visited on the very day in which the assumption of the Virgin took place, and was formerly called **Asonson**, had been renamed Asunción, which is a word quite close to it [in pronunciation]. Another was visited during the octave of San Lorenzo; this one was previously called **Maug**, and it has assumed the name of the glorious Spanish martyr. In these 13 islands, that is in all of them that the Fathers were able to reach aboard these canoes, and among whose Indians there exists mutual contact, so many adults and children have been baptized these past two years, about 30 thousand [sic],<sup>1</sup> which means the majority of the inhabitants occupying this district.

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1 Ed. note: The true number was about half of that, because Indians sought baptism more than once, in order to get the rewards (clothes, etc.) given by the Jesuits.

Meanwhile the internal enemy was losing the prey which he had held so numerous and so securely for so many centuries; it was like taking food right out of his mouth.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, he reverted to employing new schemes, more cruel ones than before. The vigilant pastor was revisiting this whole district of the northern islands, where Fr. San Victores had already planted the faith, and where some people, still under the influence [of the Devil], remained to be reduced. Having stopped at the Island of San Joaquin [i.e. Anatahan] to zealously promote Christian affairs, here he met a [former] slave, who I think had come from the shipwreck of the ship named **Concepción**; when the body of this man was released among barbarians, he dedicated his soul to becoming a slave of the Devil, and of idols. Three times he had gone to hide among the inhabitants, upon hearing the rumor of the poison being spread by solemn baptism. Seeking safety, the Father had been detained in the island by stress of weather, and was constantly fulfilling his apostolic functions. When he was himself detained in the island by others, he sent a civilian assistant to search for a baby to baptize, which he had missed for I do not know what reasons. This man was a Malabar, from the same shipwreck of long ago; he had joined the Fathers with a fully Catholic zeal. He was perchance named Lorenzo. He was pursuing his search, when he chanced upon a vicinity where a child he had baptized earlier had died; the ignorant parents had ascribed the death to our poison. Therefore, blind with fury, the whole neighborhood got excited and threw spears at him, meaning to cause him some harm, in order, they thought, to erase the murder with murder; when they met our man unaware and unarmed, shouting they threw themselves upon him, and again threw spears at him. With repeated blows they brought down the miserable, rather lucky, one. Not content with having killed him, they ripped out his palpitating eyes, to satiate their preconceived rage that way. Instead of burying him, they threw his body into a fetid sewer.

This murder happened on **17 November 1669**. What was the dismayed Father to do? Being unarmed, he could not take revenge with weapons; despair and fury did not exclude regret. Therefore, he returned to the Island of **Tenian**. But here the affairs were not at all found any more peaceful. The infernal flames of hatred among the islanders had been stirred up. The normally contrary minds had been so inflamed that, where a Paradise had been seen before, the Christian affairs flowing as desired, there now echoed the works of anger from Hell. And, almost as usual, from a small spark there erupted a sudden fire. The young men (unmarried ones who have more freedom) from the village of **Zungaron**, where our people had fixed their residence, went to the neighboring village on business.<sup>2</sup> As often happens, a dispute arose, in which a not quite honest woman was wounded; upon returning to her people, she had stirred up everything with quarrels, threats and furious acts.<sup>3</sup> The women of the latter village, made furious by this sex business, made for the adversary village where our people bore the brunt of

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1 Ed. note: Literally: He (i.e. the Devil) had them taken most indignantly from his throat.

2 Ed. note: This village was Marpo, east of Sunharon.

3 Ed. note: The Urritaos (bachelors) from Sunharon had used this woman as their public mistress, and wanted her back.

their attack, as they devastated the rice fields, the unique hope of the people. Therefore, in accordance with the custom of these people, the only remedy for such an evil was war.

**[More about weapons and war-making]**

The mention of war among these natives would perhaps seem ludicrous; after all, they are armed [sic] with bare skin and completely destitute of clothes. Nevertheless, they very frequently have battles among themselves. Should a palm tree be cut, a harvest pulled out, or if children have a dispute among themselves, this generates a battle between various villages. However, many of these affairs are caused by women. Although they are quick to take up arms, peace can just as easily be arranged between them. As soon as someone is killed by a spear, a truce is declared. Meanwhile, the party which did the killing comes up with a tortoise shell, to pay for the death, as these barbarians call it.<sup>1</sup> At the sight of it, hatred subsided, and a peace treaty was renewed. Except for the spear, mentioned above, their offensive weapons themselves include the sling, which they aim very skillfully at the head. Out of small ropes they weave a sort of net-bag, in which to carry stones with an oblong shape, some formed out of a marble stone, and others of clay, hardened in either the sun or fire.<sup>2</sup> They whirl and shoot those so violently. Should it make an impact upon a more delicate part, like the heart, or the head, the man is flattened on the spot. Then, if envy would make them want to burn a house from a distance, they would stuff the perforated side of it with tow burning with a very ferocious fire, which, with a swift movement became a flame, and sail away to seek shelter in enemy houses. Their defensive weapons are hardly more than palm mats, which they place like a hat upon their heads by way of a helmet. They also use another [mat] which they tie around their chest by way of a breast-plate, leaving the rest of their body naked; this way, they can more easily shoot their sling, or throw spears. When they decide not to burn the belongings of their adversaries, which among them represent a supreme victory, they lay a siege to the whole village with spears whose points, or tips, are either of bone or wood, and they block all access trails by digging trenches, or felling trees. When the fighters who have been invited from the neighboring villages have gathered—among them the unmarried youths figure prominently—they are fed a common meal at common expense. Women also contribute during the war, by procuring and serving the food, but their best work is to wash the bodies with fresh water from the rivers.

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1 Ed. note: In fact, the Chamorro word used was “Taryot”, or “Taryoryot”, which originally meant only “thanksgiving,” or “gratitude.”

2 Ed. note: Modern archaeologists can expect to find only the real stones, and perhaps ceramic ones. Sun-dried clay projectiles were temporary, and in any case, would have crumbled on impact.

These people are in fact extremely fond of lotions, either for the sake of fashion, or to cool themselves. Hence, after whatever action, their first care is to wash and cool their body; in fact, being naked, they are always ready for a bath in the sea. Therefore, when they are called to gatherings by the sounding of a shell by way of a trumpet, their spirits are excited by unrestrained shouting. Then the bodies are fed by serving **laulau** (this drink is a mixture of water, and rice whose small lumps have been finely mashed)<sup>1</sup> and **Guatafe**, a raw fish, macerated with salt, and [then] hardened in the sun, before being served to the fighters.<sup>2</sup> These are the supreme delicacies of the people.

When these [troops] have been consolidated, the chiefs vie with one another to carry the battle standard; they, as if seeking extra danger by taking the lead in battle, hold a meeting in a house nearby. There, they sit together upon mats, like so many Catos attending a meeting of the [Roman] Senate.<sup>3</sup> The battle standard is a long stick, from which hangs a palm branch; this flies about, as every one of them tries to grab it. To this spectacle are added the sounds of barbarian shouting. Then, without a leader, without any order they run forward in confusion, and at first they shoot their slings from a distance. When no serious harm is done to the enemy with them, they resort to their spears. They throw these persistently, until one of their opponents, or someone else has been killed. Then, at the sight of blood their anger recedes. Then, the tortoise shell, which they already kept in abeyance, is brought forward [to pay] for the dead, or wounded. This done, it is customary here to serve a formal meal, out of giant cauldrons, while negotiating peace. Upon sighting the cauldrons, peace is made up, and fighting is forgotten.

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- 1 Ed. note: This mixture is called "lugau" in the Philippines. Raurau Bay in Saipan got its name from this rice gruel.
  - 2 Ed. note: From a later document (Doc. 1701A), I have learned that Guatafe was a sword-fish. Specifically, I think that it was the blue marlin.
  - 3 Ed. note: A reference to the first Cato, a Roman consul who lived between 234-149 B.C.

[1673L2, cont'd]

Fr. San Victores came to [Tinian] island in the middle of these troubles, although another Father was maintaining it with the usual ministry, and realized easily that the principal damage with battles was hardly in favor of the propagation of the faith. Therefore, intending to calm the minds and arrange peace, he would go where necessary, trying to appease the savage minds. And the main difficulty was not seen in those, among whom the Fathers had fixed their residence, although the presence of our people and the reputation of the firearms (they had brought only one of the three muskets) would not make them more confident. When dealing with the adversaries was seen more bothersome, Fr. San Victores himself, so as not to relinquish the attempt, assumed the lead of the envoys in person. As a peace symbol he carried a crucifix in his hand, and appeared in front of them, intending only to challenge the Devil, if he should excite the minds; amid confused shouting, he was saluted with stones. Further progress was impossible, if he did not want to be killed. Not that he feared to die; he feared that the Christian faith would be stifled by his death. Already he was being pelted with stones, one in the chest, another on a thigh, a third one impacted upon the venerable face of the servant [of God]. The sweetest Father turned back, despairing of achieving the peace, and sorry not for his own wounds, but for those made to Christ. He entrusted the care of the residence to the secular companions, under the guidance of the [other] Father, and he went back to the Island of San Juan aboard a canoe, hoping to arrange for firearms to curb the haughtiness of those who had ignored the intercession of Christ. While these were being procured, the year came to an end, and the Indians arranged peace among themselves. With hatred returning, once again the war was renewed. This internal scourge lasted for 4 whole months, surfacing so often and so menacingly that it could not but be attributed to infernal causes.

#### [The Tinian War of 1670, part 1]

Therefore, having celebrated Christmas at home, at the beginning of the **year 1670**, a few companions, Spanish as well as Filipino, arrived with Fr. San Victores. No more than 12 of them could be gathered up.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, all of them could be counted on not to abandon the place, until peace was restored and the insults done to Christ had been revenged. However, he realized that the high spirits of his small escort would be sorely tried in undertaking the punishments, for insults suffered by himself and by his envoy. The only firearms they had brought were two muskets; except for another one, that was all the companions had for self-defence so far. The companions also had a

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1 Ed. note: Ten of the 12 were Filipinos. Half of their names are known, as follows: 1) Captain Juan de Santa Cruz; 2) Francisco de Mendoza; 3) Juan de los Reyes; 4) Juan de Santiago; 5) Gregorio Martinez (old Galician Spaniard); 6) José de Peralta (young Mexican Spaniard).

field-piece, rather a hand-held gun.<sup>1</sup> The other weapons they had were only swords, long and short ones, or else some long knives which are in common use here, a bow and some arrows, and some local spears. Whenever they attacked to themselves some Indians friendly to us, the terror was pervasive throughout the island, and they would be reduced on the spot. It is true that they first sent envoys, and tried every way possible to make peace. Everything was futile. Up to that time, a small hut was built in the middle of the battle field, where the front lines of the Indians had been set up. This was the camp of the Christians, or so-called foreigners. Next to it was appended a pious chapel where they prayed to Mary for peace. Around the camp's ring of fire, all the Indians were then already in commotion, insulting and attacking the sentinels, the holy Virgin not having arranged everything along ordered battle lines. When the parties could not agree, nor come to peace terms, she was already to regretfully obtain that by force, not without great damage done to them. Within voice range, but at most in sight of the fire-breathing guns, with animated spirit, the time allotted to go back and forth for negotiating peace terms was over, and the general opinion was to proceed, unless the envy of the infernal host prevented it. Then, one of the enemy chiefs, more confident than the rest I suppose, attacked our people with the crowd of his people. It would have been an easy thing, if they had been caught unaware, but they kept the fire-throwing weapons busy, easily overcoming these people. There were only 8 of them defending our camp, with two muskets, but they were all safe, when suddenly he had charged with all of his people. They might have won, had they kept silence. Their coming out of hiding had been announced ahead of time by their voices, well ahead of the victory. Not one opportunity was missed by our people; when the more daring ones came forward to throw spears, inspired by a superior desire, they touched the powder and luckily hit one of the more ferocious ones on the very spot, killing him. Two others were mortally wounded, one of whom was their chief himself, leader and instigator of the war. When he fell upon the ground, mortally wounded, as if he had been hit by lightning, the hidden crowd let go a sudden cry of horror, issuing ferocious shouts from their natural hiding places, which I think sounded like peace to the ears in the camp. When they were revived, they came begging for peace with a lamentable voice: actually, when those mortally wounded saw that one of the more daring of our companions had excessively used a cannon ball, they brought a tortoise shell and food without delay, blurting out: peace, peace everyone and pity. In any case, the matter was consulted with God our Lord, and mass offered, so that, once peace was established, at no time and nowhere here would open warfare erupt again. Although they did not stop their special ambushes, and various of our neighbors even gave poisoned drinks to our people, God willed that they would never be adversely affected, to return as victors, and still safe. For these benefits as well as the victory, they owe thanks, after God, to His Mother, to St. Francis

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans must have asked for clarifications here, because he is the only one to make this correction; this so-called field-piece (found inside a house in Saipan earlier) was therefore only a "manuale", or hand-held device, and I think it was only a blunderbuss ("trabuco" in Spanish).

Xavier, whose miraculous image, it is related, had won so many noble victories in Zamboanga in the Island of Mindanao, being a symbol of hope, and a victorious banner.

### [Death of Fr. Medina in Saipan]

When this glorious encounter took place, Fr. Luis de Medina was in the next island of Zaipan. He was sent there by Fr. San Victores, who remained in the island of Tenian with another who administered it as its ordinary minister.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, as long as it was up in arms against the Christian affairs, in order to keep such detriments to a minimum, he was sent to this island, to cultivate this new field for Christ with the usual duties.

He arrived there at noon on **27 January 1670**, and had nothing more pressing than the conquest of the newborn babies; among barbarians, they are always the most important. He was going around looking for them, leading two companions, both from the Philippines. He despatched them in many directions, ordering them to go into the houses and to explore everything, until they found the hidden ones. They would have come down in a village called **Arayao**.<sup>2</sup> Here they were intercepted by some of the more ferocious Indians, and were then called names, that is “such fools!” for endeavoring to seek children so eagerly; they held a council about finishing them all off. And without delay, as one of the more daring one, who was perchance armed with a sword, held it up threateningly to the head of Hipolito—such was the name of one of the companions. When the other companion, named Augustin de la Cruz, saw this, he cried out: “Hey! You would kill an innocent person that way?” The spear that he held threateningly was an infected one.<sup>3</sup> He did not strike the sacrilegious, homicidal blow. Therefore, with things in turmoil, they did not dare do anything more, and left the village, with their guide and another Christian companion, who had remained behind after the famous shipwreck that had occurred in this island. They had hardly come out onto the open beach when they were thrown big stones from slings and some spears. They were of a mind to use the musket, the only one they carried, to shoot at the concentration, but they were hidden behind thick tree leaves, and it was such a useless defence against so many, that they could not but further irritate the spirits. They were received in the house of the Christian guide, during the time that the squall lasted and, with the night coming, silence once again returned to the neighborhood. Proceeding forward, they arrived at a village, called **Agingan**, where a Spanish ship had been shipwrecked,<sup>4</sup> and where they were received peacefully as expected, and by no means reluctantly. The next day, as many children as could be found were baptized, and they pursued their trip. They had hardly entered the village, where they might not [sic] have found the death already decreed against them, when in fact they were followed by the very same people

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1 Ed. note: The curate of Tinian was then Fr. Casanova.

2 Ed. note: Spelled Araiao in a later report by Fr. Coomans, written much later, in 1684. It was located in the area of San Antonio today.

3 Ed. note: That is, one with a human bone at the tip.

4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1638A.

who had frustrated their hope the previous day; they were exciting the minds of the inhabitants with barbarian cruelty. Meanwhile, the very zealous Father was not desisting, as if he was already certain about the crown [of martyrdom] awaiting him, exhorting his companions to be patient. They bore insults with equanimity, and their patience showed them to be imitators of Christ. Rightly so, they would have been consoling themselves with the knowledge of the facts: they knew that they were doing the work of God, and if they had to place their life at stake, it could not be for a better cause. In the course of this day, they arrived at the village called **Raurau**. Here they were received even more harshly. They were unable to find shelter in any house, except one, inside which there were the faces [i.e. skulls] of some ancestors, **Aniti**, or **macana**, which were perhaps venerated through some cult. The apostolic zeal of the Father bore this with unflinching patience.

Therefore, he had them taken out, as he wanted no contact with these embers from Hell. So, they were invited, to remove them themselves, or he would do so himself. Then he spent a brief time to rest during the night. The sun was not yet up when the Father baptized the children who had already gathered at the place. Then they went ahead, and perchance an old woman came to warn them not to go into the interior hills, where they had already set up a death trap for them. They passed through the village in question that same night, but were followed by armed barbarians to the next village, where their confederates were. They would have concentrated at the scene of the assassination. The Father was not at all made upset by them, but he collected his thoughts for a moment; to return would undoubtedly mean death, yet he did not wish to tarnish it by making an unsafe escape from that contrary shore. Therefore, he again pursued his journey, still safe for a while, with his animated companions, and at about 8 a.m., he entered the village called **Cao**.<sup>1</sup>

Here he was finally met by the sacrilegious patricides, their agents being all lined up along the trail. They had found their victims. When they arrived, they began by attacking Augustin, the companion, who was trying to protect himself from their spears with a shield. Hipolito, who had control of the musket, was surrounded and became the target of the furious spears, one of which transpierced one of his arms. He shouted: "Good Jesus, they have killed me!" The other companion was also complaining. When the Father heard their voices, he turned around, and was fatally hit by a javelin through his shoulders. At the blow he exclaimed: "Jesus! Jesus!" and went forward a little, then passing out, he fell flat upon the ground, where he was joined not much later by a companion.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, the other companion crawled on his hands and knees, and hid among the bushes nearby. The Indians surrounded the two bodies of the dying. When they pulled out the spear from the wound, the Father regained consciousness and got up on his knees, his hand beating his chest. Then he was taking the crucifix that was hanging from his neck into his hands and was bringing it to his mouth and kissing it

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1 Ed. note: My educated guess is that Cao was located somewhat east of present-day San Vicente.

2 Ed. note: This was Hipolito. Augustin escaped.



very tenderly. Then he was exhorting his fallen companion, who was asking and received the benefit of the extreme absolution. The Indians were stunned at all this, and started to disperse, but presently they returned, having regained their fury, and inflicted the Father repeated blows with spears. When they ran out of spears, they killed the companion by hitting him on the head with the musket. These things happened on **29 January 1670**, the feast-day of St. Francis of Sales. The bodies were buried by them under some nearby trees. The Father, because his body was longer, was laid on his back, bent at the knees, and buried with the legs upward, because they meant to use the leg bones for their spears.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the other companion was lying low, expecting death at any moment. And it would not have been difficult [for them] to flush him out of the ravines, had God not blinded the furious ones, perhaps in order to save him to become the reporter of the glorious death. Indeed, what I say here, I took from the sworn statement made of his deposition. He then had no supply of food, but after spending two days of solitude in the bush, he was hard pressed. He came out in the open, in the same village where they had killed his companions. In fact, he had decided to face death, and perhaps be buried with them. There, however, the spirits had already calmed down, and he was received into the house of the chief himself, liberally as is the usual custom, and faithfully defended against the other more ferocious ones, then taken by his people to the Island of **Tenian**. What he reported filled the whole village with horror, because from that day, in which the massacre occurred, they would have seen men dressed like Spaniards, who held torches in their hands, and were not allowing them at night to illuminate their tombs, from which their souls rose and were received in heaven, to remain there forever as bright as stars. After a few months, once the war was over, the bodies of our victors were transferred to the Island of Tenian, where they were buried in our church with honor. Only the head, and some relics<sup>2</sup> of the glorious hero, were brought to the first residence of St. Ignatius, for private devotion. Whoever might think that the 8, or 9 of our men, remaining there [i.e. in Tinian] would have been terrified at these Indian inhabitants, would make a mistake. They went where the patricides themselves were, and in sight of over 200 armed men [i.e. Saipanese], they led both of the main authors of the nefarious murders out of their own houses, and bases, and took them as prisoners to the next island, with no-one daring to speak against this daring act. There they were put in irons. However, when their captors had become unaware, they tried to murder some of our people. Finally, they were punished for their crime and executed by our soldiers.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans has described this process earlier. The legs were thus buried very close to the surface, and the leg bones could be recovered later on, by pulling on a rope that had been made fast to the ankles at the time of burial. In fact, before the bodies of the martyrs could be salvaged by Christians 3 months later (see HM5:496), the barbarians had already scavenged their leg bones.
  - 2 Ed. note: His former belongings.

**[Eulogy of Fr. Medina]**

In enclosing the eulogy of the Proto-Martyr of our glorious mission, it is not in any way our intention to establish this fact before our Mother the Church has done so, and although he did bring the sickle to the harvest in Andalusia, where his virtues shone among secular and religious peoples, nevertheless, because this Sun shone mainly in the west, and its rays will continue to strike our eyes, we can afford to be more daring than ungrateful.

Fr. Luis de Medina was born in the city of Málaga, on 3 February 1637,<sup>1</sup> from honest, and if we apply the rule “like fruit, like tree”, noble parents. His mother placed the birth itself under the special protection of God, toward whom she was always very devout, proving it by receiving the Eucharist in honor of the most blessed Mother, and her Son. Therefore, she was congratulating herself when, on the day before he was born his mother was wounded in the belly. He came out head first, but with a club-foot, from which he suffered afterwards. Indeed, the Mother of Mercy was to assist him very sweetly in his trials. When he had already become steady on his feet in the Gospel of peace, and its language, not without some miracle, he was made to lie down again. He became sick when his body and mind were still young. On account of his language development lagging behind, and the weakness of his body, he felt that they would constitute an impediment to being admitted to the Society of Jesus. The feast-day of the Immaculate Conception arrived, and with that hope in mind, he made a desperate vow to the Virgin. Therefore, dressing himself up as best he could, even in the presence of his skeptical parents, and went straight to the church of the Society. There he found a confessor, then he unburdened the scruples of his soul, as well as his hopes, and received counsel. He was ordered to keep on insisting, entrusting the affair to the Virgin, hoping that the Virgin would bring the desired end. He returned to the altar, kneeled by himself, and there, while he persisted with his ardent prayers, he felt that some strength came down from Heaven, to his body, and also to his soul; from this day forward, they were to keep on increasing, until the most benevolent Virgin found him ideal for her son to be admitted to the Society, for the matter of his foot and of his speech impediment was consulted by various men within the Society, so much so that they were absolutely contrary to our ministries.<sup>2</sup> The matter was referred to Fr. Francisco Franco, Visitor for the Andalusian Province, who had just vacated the post of Vice-Provincial, which would have just been taken over, in the opinion of our Fr. Ximenez, by Fr. Balthasar Alvarez: “let us admit him as a saint.” True indeed, the opinion they had of him as a saint was not without merit; he showed it enough by his morals. For, except for the vow of perpetual chastity, that he had promised to make upon joining the Society, he would add the following vows, and in order to encourage himself to respect them, he signed the list with his own blood. On all the 10 feast-days of the Virgin Mother that he had selected him-

1 Ed. note: His biographers say that the year of his birth was 1636. He was just a few days short of his 34th birthday when he died.

2 Ed. note: The speech impediment is not specified. If the young man was stuttering, the condition might be improved, but if he had a cleft palate, as I suspect, the situation was practically hopeless.

self, and also on all the 13 days commemorating her Son, he obliged himself to receive the sacrosanct Eucharist in favor of the souls in purgatory. He added the feast-days of the holy Apostles, and of other Saints, which were to be celebrated just as fervently, except for fasting, and various ways of making bodily sacrifices, in which he was already preparing himself to become a victim and holocaust for Almighty God. Thus ready in spirit, when he had overcome the many difficulties placed in the way, as much by the bad Devil as by his parents, he joined the Society at Seville on 30 April 1656, on the feast-day of St. Catherine of Siena; that is why, he considered her a special Patron afterwards. Having made his vows, he was totally observant of them, in order to repay the special favor of his vocation to the Virgin and her Son; with the same intent, he applied himself to the studies of all the usual virtues. He was totally devout to the Immaculate Conception, to whom he said, not only through the ordinary rosary, but for a long time, I think, various prayers daily. He faithfully observed the daytime practices through the principal mysteries, for instance fasts and penances. He cumulated extraordinary ones, even for 15 days ahead of the main holidays, followed by their octave. On the appointed day itself, he would come forward to receive the holy sacrament of her Son. These were not the only sparks of his piety which he was then strengthening the rest of his life, either by ardent resolve, or even desire.

Just one example (for I omit the many others, for the sake of brevity) which, on 2 February 1662, he conceived of to mark the completion of his sixth year in religion. He obliged himself to fast on Saturdays, as long as he enjoyed life, or, which is equivalent, unless sickness or some other impediment should prevent it. Also, as soon as he became a priest, he would recite the short office of the Blessed Virgin, even 8 days before, and after, Christmas, and the 24th of January. He would also fast on the eve of the 10 holidays of the Blessed Virgin, and the 13 of Christ the Lord, of Saints Joseph, Joaquin, Ann, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, plus Saints Ignatius, Xavier, Borgia, Luis [de Gonzaga], Stanislaus [de Kotska], and the holy Martyrs of Japan, then Saints Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, Buenaventura, Alphonsus, Laurentius, Sabianus and Sebastian, Catherine of Siena, and the Martyrs, Elizabeth the relative of the Virgin, the Saint Angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the Guardian Angels. He made a special vow in honor of the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, by which, except for the already-mentioned fast, he obliged himself throughout his life to visit each one of his altars five times, or its equivalent, if there was not a special altar, from the eve until, and including, the eight day after his feast-day. Similarly, on the other days of the year, he would recite twice the Sunday prayer, twice the Angelus, with the alternate chant, and the so-called holy oration. Besides that, all of these were specially directed at giving thanks for the favor related to his speech defect, and to obtain the favor of being able to use it for preaching the Gospel as far as the end of the world. Of course, while talking at home his speech problem was more obvious; nevertheless, when he was preaching, teaching or singing the Christian doctrine, he made efforts not to show it. The zeal for divine glory consumed Father Luis. Nevertheless, during the first 8 years of his religious life, he was not feeling himself ready to ask for the missions of the Indies. In fact, Divine

Providence had so arranged it, so that he would make progress in virtue, in the usual studies, and [good] works, in order to give him access to the already-maturing Mariana harvest. When he took it upon himself to write to our Most Rev. Fr. General to ask for the mission of the Indies, he used affectionate words, but full of religious disinterestedness. This letter was dated on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin [i.e. 15 August] of the year 1664.

Meanwhile, while he expected to have his ardent wishes satisfied, he did not desist, specially while saying Mass, from stirring up the fires that burned in his soul; while these were burning bright, Divine Goodness arranged for Fr. San Victores to pass through Cordova by chance, at the beginning of his voyage to the Philippine Islands. When our Luis could act more familiarly with him, he had his ear tortured, but he felt a great soul, as if a little voice from Heaven was whispering to him: "Take him along with you." However, he was not accepted in the mission band that year. It is true that afterward the oracle became true; when he was himself accepted and sent to the Philippine Islands in 1667, and had arrived at Mexico, there was Fr. San Victores, who had returned himself from the Islands. He conceived the hope in his heart, or it had been placed into his head by Heaven, to go and found the Mariana Missions with him. For a long time now, Divine Providence would have worked at joining them both, to labor, study, work, and what is more, spend their life and blood in the cultivation of the Marian Sparta. During the voyage, Fr. Luis was the prudent superior of the mission band, and he had fulfilled much of the apostolic ministry, as he had not been so affected by nausea at sea as the others; he would ring a small bell to call the people to attend explanations of the precepts of Christian doctrine. He procured not only everything that was necessary for the body, and he attended the sick ones himself thanks to gifts received in alms, but more importantly for the salvation of souls, he held a mission and a Jubilee of the Christian Doctrine with singular efforts, and would have obtained no less fruit. When they stepped ashore, out of fervor, he immediately gave himself up to the salvation of souls, and when the opportunity arose, Fr. Luis joined the missions given by the Society at the request of Don Luis Osorio, the Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles, and faced the enemy all day long. This he did also with very great zeal when he showed up at the port of Acapulco. Finally, when he was given an opportunity to sail, and was chosen to preach the apostolic mission of the Marianas, he was first to step ashore and plant the trophy of the cross upon the shore; as a matter of fact, he decorated it with the branch of a laurel.

What gave a real lesson in patience to the Gospel Minister upon first entering that land without culture and, if not devoid of necessary things, certainly destitute of every luxury (although among necessary things are normally included common bread, and wine, for mass(?), they are completely lacking in these islands), it would be easy to estimate them as luxuries. Fr. Luis was no longer a novice at this game, but had become a veteran, drinking tasteless drinks, sleeping on mats, and finding them to be like the comforts of Spain. And he was not content with this, and exceeded [the norm] as if to mortify himself in everything, and as a way to macerate his body, to such an extent that

the Superior intervened to curb him (to which he conformed himself very clearly), so that he would not exceed the bounds of simple mortification and thus put his life in danger; he had been so dedicated to winning the palm of victory for himself. Nevertheless, he had to learn to make use of such means only in trying to get the salvation of souls. Therefore, when the others, either organizing the residential home, or being detained in sweeping off the difficulties of the language, he became the first to head for the field with the rest of the baggage, as he had acquired a sufficient use of the language for himself aboard the ship itself,<sup>1</sup> and to tirelessly covering all the villages in the vicinity, to plant the seeds of the Gospel, mixing freely with people who measure their appetites with a loaded scale, so that, either by clipping off the rough edges, or softening up the minds, it would be seen to tip forward toward the opposite side already. Everything did flow smoothly as desired at the beginning, and whatever labors, discomforts in food, in sleep, in speaking, were easily borne for the purpose of saving souls, especially the salvation of the newborn babies made sure by baptism, that is, by being recorded in Heaven. For them he spared none of his days and none of his evenings, no trips, in calling them his prey, his sweets, his crown. For them he thought that insults, reproaches, and other bad words were worth it. Then the state of affairs became worse, almost one month after the Fathers had arrived, when the sacrileges of the Chinaman regarding baptism erupted in public. Indeed, the whole district where the impostor lived was infected, and would have affected part of the work of Fr. Luis. And I cannot easily explain in words, with what lesson in patience he was to show in his teaching, in three mission tours, in which he visited the whole Island of San Juan, and during which he baptized over 3,000 men. Some were calling him sorcerer as an invective; others were accusing him of using human fat to kill men; others that he was a very servile man, used to eating snakes;<sup>2</sup> and an infinite number of similar things, dictated by their fury, itself excited by barbarian stimuli. Words fail to express the dangers that the Gospel preacher was submitted to along the way. Many appeared to him at sea, and on land. So, from their large number I choose a few to mention here; it would be easy to imagine the rest.

There was already a greet need felt then for Gospel ministers in other islands. The Island of **Rota**, or Zarpana, called Santa Ana by us, having fell to Fr. Luis, he was soon on his way there with a few secular companions, pushed by favorable winds at first. They had hardly reached the half-way point, when here come strong northerly winds blowing contrary, mixed with squalls. At first, the seaman in charge of these canoes fought against it, but lost out badly, and, unable to proceed, he allowed the sails to come down, and they sailed like a very light raft at the pleasure of the winds. The crests of the waves were bothering it, and at particular times almost swamped it. The very strong currents existing between the islands were dragging them westward, and already they thought that they would have to divert to Manila. To top it all, night came hor-

- 1 Ed. note: With Fr. Sanvitores, he learned the basics of the Mariano language, from two Filipino interpreters who had lived in the Marianas for 20 years, 1638-58.
- 2 Ed. note: This comment should not be interpreted in the literal sense; snakes were not known to have existed in Guam at that time. They were probably river eels.

rendous with darkness deeper than usual. And there was no other remedy. Therefore, they began to pray together to the Immaculate Mother, and Ann her mother, so that they relied upon this sacred anchor for their survival during that whole night. How this was done, the discrete humility of the Father has not revealed; it is only known, because he has described it in a case study, that in the middle of the night, he invoked the innocent souls of the babies who had received baptism, and had been received at the heavenly banquets in nuptial vestments. He had no sooner finished his plea when he heard a clear voice in his ears, which distinctly sounded in his ears as if spoken by the sweet voice of some child: "I am always here, to give you any help!" Another voice shouted this word: "Father!" Even the cry of newborn children was heard, but, says he, "this was a dream, for the bad weather could not make this possible; however, if these things did not come from Heaven, my imagination played tricks with me."

The next day, when dawn came, they found themselves on the way to Manila and, although the winds were milder then, they were still contrary, so they were forced to return to the Island of San Juan, from which they had come. They were no sooner ashore, intact, that they found out that the mother of a child, born not more than 20 days earlier, had died leaving it completely weakened. The Father, thinking that it was the same baby whose cry for help he had heard before, gave it the water of baptism; soon he died, and commuted this life for a better everlasting one. After the Father had left, it was discovered that the Indians had plotted treason against him, to the effect that, they had imagined, this child to have been killed by the water of baptism. That constituted an important proof of Divine Providence, as he writes himself, about his experience, thus opening the way for a mission tour by the apostolic Superior. At a certain place, he had baptized not a few, who had reluctant parents, as usual, and he was already on the way to another village by no means distant overland with his companions. Along the way they were followed by three Indians, who persistently asked them where they were going. When the Father stopped for a short time at a nearby house, two of them went ahead, and one offered himself to accompany them. Perhaps by chance, a canoe going to the place that the Father had indicated came ashore. Therefore, they offered to take him aboard, and the offer was willingly accepted. His companions were making their way along the shore, when suddenly they fell into an ambush set up by the two who had preceded them; they jumped ahead, shouting desparately to the Father. When they saw the Father away, they attacked his companions, but they had run away from them; the mind of the barbarians was not so much afraid of them, as of the Father. Thus escaping, they went on to the appointed meeting place. They gave thanks to God. Fr. Luis, however, was sorry that he had not been worthy of the crown of martyrdom. We have mentioned already how he would have spilled his glorious blood for the cause; of that [there are] many proofs of divine kindness, proposed by a certain someone, the admirable things written by Fr. Luis, and all of them were written with so much understanding of the practice, that with others to be found with a similar opportunity of shedding blood, he would have clearly stated, himself, inasmuch as it was by prophecy, unless he was to incur some sort of mortal sin he would avoid that [confrontation?]

by fleeing, and would not give his life indiscriminately anywhere. Already he warns us of the glorious outcome, so that we have the circumstances of it, saved from oblivion.

Lots were drawn and three islands befell to Fr. Luis, namely, **Tenian**, **Agiguan**, and **Zaipan**, otherwise known as Buena Vista Mariana, Guardian Angel, and San José respectively. He was to cover them during 4 months with particular fruit (over 700 heads were to be baptized by his hands), being received by the inhabitants with particular humanity. While he was in the Island of **Tenian**, a war arose between the inhabitants.

### [The Tinian War of 1670, part 2]

In it, when he interposed himself as a peace mediator (not easily, I would think), how many labors, and how many insults would he have suffered through? They were already hard at it, the spears were threatening, and his food supplies eaten by his own friends. His companions were armed with only one musket, which did not allow them to make sorties against the enemies. They were already intense enemies of their benefactor, when the peace envoy went toward them. They threatened him with death, and were already throwing their spears when he stopped. There he obtained, whatever he wished. He persuaded them to accept peace, and the regrets of their opponents with a tortoise shell, and brought them back the pardon. When the pacts had been accepted, and peace concluded, as in internal sequel, the sower of discord found some way of stirring it up, during which the envoys had their feet wounded,<sup>1</sup> but their spirit hurt more. Therefore, matters became infected, and they were all animated by a greater rage. And it was not easy to hope for a remedy, unless time would appease the hatred.

Meanwhile, Fr. Luis went off to his other Sparta, the Island of **Zaipan**. True it is, that he had hardly begun his visit there, acting only in accordance with a divine mind, and fired by charity, he received a letter from the Superior who had remained in **Tenian**, to let him know that his own presence was desired by the opponents,<sup>2</sup> and they had promised to give him a benign hospitality; and although he could not deny that the work was full of risks and dangers, nevertheless he was about to throw himself into the fray for God, at the example of Xavier on his way to the Moors, and about to offer his head willingly for public salvation, but specially that of souls. Therefore, he left his companions who were strongly moved by fear in a friendly village; he alone, and everything he could carry, toward the already-wild enemies, and barbarians and sailed with God as a guide. There, although among a thousand mortal dangers, by praying, begging, and sweet talking, he succeeded again in mitigating the barbarian minds, so that he was able to baptize children; in short, he instructed one and all to make penance for their sins. This business concluded, he advised the Fathers in the next [message/village?] that both parties were requesting that formal peace be concluded. Fr. Luis was to check with his people at length, and they all came bearing gifts in their hands to achieve reconciliation. One gift was a God-sent; it was a shell, obtained from a recently-caught turtle.

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1 Ed. note: They must have fallen into a hidden trap, with pointed sticks hidden at the bottom.

2 Ed. note: The people of Marpo, in Tinian.

Leading them was the cross, and the banners of Saints Ignatius and Xavier. Along the way, they were singing the precepts of the Christian doctrine and the act of contrition. When the cross came into sight, those who would have saluted it a short time before with sling-stones, all knelt down, and were praying and asking for pardon. So, peace having been made with God first, it became easy to make progress with humans. They all applauded once the pact was agreed to, and wished to make the peace more long-lasting, even permanent, as [former] enemies joined the Father in the house of God. So, this was in fact an exercise in Christian charity for our teacher, who did find the prize for athletic labors and the crown [of martyrdom].

**[No galleon in 1670]**

Besides, these are the things that happened in our Mariana Mission, and that year the ship that was expected from New Spain did not come. Two of them had left the port of Cavite, met with violent storms and been driven back to the same island. Divine kindness did not wish it to be [in spite of] the glorious labors of the Fathers in the excessively plentiful harvest irrigated with precious blood. Outside of the first island, the faith in the north was being cultivated happily, with baptisms of children everywhere, and adults being taught Christian customs. In the Island of **Agrigan**, or San [Francisco] Xavier, there is a port named San León [i.e. St. Leo] that is suitable for the galleons that come out of the Philippine Islands bound for New Spain, where they can possibly stop, for a short time, to refresh and rest themselves.<sup>1</sup> It is not in vain that such a desert place is called after the glorious saint,<sup>2</sup> because, among other things omitted here, when a newborn child was named Leo by the baptizing Father, his parents were stuttering in pronouncing the name of the pilgrim, and they had trouble memorizing it. When the following night their house was full of infernal terrors (these timorous people are subject to states of mind in which delusions from Hell take control of their savage behavior), the worried parents shrieked at the noises made by the newborn baby, specially when they saw that it was fighting a battle; the leashed dogs were certainly trembling at the sight of the lion.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth, they confessed that, with such a name, it could defend itself against anything. At daybreak, the parents brought the news to the Father, and in case he might think that they had been dreaming this up, they were now pronouncing correctly the name that they had been unable to pronounce before.<sup>4</sup> Still they remained full of roaring anger inside, and they turned this anger toward the Father. A

- 1 Ed. note: It is an open roads where anchorage is possible off the SW corner of the island on a narrow shelf, but it is not safe when the winds blow from the SW or when there is a heavy swell.
- 2 Ed. note: There are at least 5 Popes named Leo who became saints. Their feast-days are 11 April, 19 April, 11 June, 28 June, and 19 July. It is possible that the anchorage in question, lying off the ancient village of Summarrago, was first recognized by Fr. Morales in 1669, on one of the above dates.
- 3 Ed. note: A reference to the earlier vision of the Virgin in Tinian, and the name Leo, which also means "lion" in Spanish.
- 4 Ed. note: I presume that they had been saying "Reo" (which means "criminal, accused" in Spanish) instead of "Leo."



crowd of natives, I don't know why, meddled with one of the just and more fervent among the secular companions of the Father. He fled, and came running to the worried Father, shouting: "They are killing me." These free youths would surely have discharged their blind fury against him. There is no doubt that any blow would have been fatal, if it had not been deflected by the hand of the Father thus forewarned. In diverting the momentum, a dangerous wound was inflicted. The danger came not so much from the wound itself as from the medicine for the wound, as the barbarians were allowed to cure it, for there was easily 100 leagues to the first residence, and no opportunity to sail the distance. Therefore, the cure was left to them, after formidable pains, because they apply a rough mixture of ginger leaves to the wound.<sup>1</sup> It was not at all useless, because when he withdrew his bandaged hand, it reminded him in turn of his determination for Christ. So, he continued with his mission tours with not a little discomfort; whatever bad or imprudent things committed by his secular companions were all diverted toward the innocent Father. In the rest of the islands, the Christian affairs were following their happy course.

And in the Island of San Juan, something consistent was also undertaken. It was seen that a number of them would in the long run reach an absolute conversion, because the minds of the more advanced ones were already slow in their customs, or dulled by superstitions;<sup>2</sup> in cultivating them and in instituting the whole Christian discipline, often-times, the work of the rigorous Fathers was suffering some losses. So, as it was found in the more tender era of our salutary Fr. St. Ignatius, I found this year that a college for youths was opened at great expense at the first Residence,<sup>3</sup> and in it were admitted about 20 of the ablest [children]. This institution was then spread to the other Residences with great fruit. Those admitted in it were first clothed, and a punishment was threatened, if they were seen and caught without these clothes. Then, in order to instil the custom fully, the Rector assigned one of the companions as truant officer; and to make sure that the custom would always be pursued, or to prevent too much tolerance, he was changed every week. They recited the tenets of the Christian doctrine more often daily. Also, all of them were taught how to read and write. Truly, given such happy beginnings, the Devil would have prevented us from enjoying this particular fruit of pious efforts, by exciting the minds of the barbarians toward wars. Also those who in this island had so far looked after the propagation of the faith, be they Fathers, or secular companions, were encouraged by these neophytes; this business was seen as rather serious in itself, but not long-lasting enough, specially if the number of companions would grow. Therefore, with the increased wages, which their presence here imposed upon us, some plantations were bought, and cultivated in accordance with

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- 1 Ed. note: This is a rare mention of native cures. The Latin word used, "gingebere," is the neo-Latin form of "zingiberi." Ginger is still used as a medicinal plant, e.g. see Purslove's book.
  - 2 Ed. note: The context seems to indicated that the reverse was true; they were losing interest in the former customs.
  - 3 Ed. note: Beginning at this point, the Brussels copy is missing about 10 pages, found only in the Rome copy.

methods used by the [local] Indians as well as those of our own people. The purpose of it all was to impose upon everyone some Christian disciplines, and to extirpate vices. The foundations were also laid for a more spacious and solid church, and although it was not completed until after the intervening war, it nevertheless presented not a slight argument, by which the nature of the barbarians would become clearer. Life among them was so far precarious, and a norm was sought by which our people would, either make peace or be left to live peacefully, safe from the barbarians. Of course, with them taking liberties, it was not surprising that they were not rarely expelled(?). Perchance they would sometimes occupy the portico of our church or the trail next to it; they immediately were opposed to it, and making a strong argument with a spear, they demanded that it be opened to the public. The altar in the church has been separated from the rest of the nave by a fence, to maintain greater reverence, in fact, to prevent the altar itself from being stained by the nude and oily bodies of the Barbarians, and reserve the area mostly for the officiating priest. They, estimating that their own authority had been hurt by this, were in open contradiction; or else, they did violently bring down the columns that had already been put in place. These, and similar, things, when they were seen to be more of a show than for real, were arranged, either with a bland sermon, or with some small gift, if they did not somehow prevent it with their bothersome orders. When they had the opportunity, the Fathers would resolve to build the walls of the church with stones, supplied by the nearby shore; our people were taking them with or without their agreement. The minds continued to be troubled. Firstly, the chiefs met among themselves, to plot I do not know what inimical thing, to complain so openly and to pretend that the house would devastate their shore-based fisheries, declaring also that the fish seed would be taken away, unless they stopped it, by themselves, or unless our forces were equal to [those of] this island. Indeed, it was thought that so few men, would not only be safe in half of the island, but also would return as winners, and certain of our people, although they could have made a show with their weapons in a very just defence, they nevertheless arranged the business blandly, so that the whole Christian community would not suffer harm. Meanwhile, the year was certainly not exempt from occasions to practice patience.

While the house was patiently being built, divine providence did not omit to provide its mission with some good, for in Spain, it did not fail from designating workers for its vineyard. In the year 1670, they agreed to accept 10 companions who were foreigners from provinces subject to the King, all of whom were either full priests, or would become so at the first opportunity. Moreover, they had been assigned to the Philippine Islands by our Most Reverend Father General, with Fr. Andrés de Ledesma returning from Rome as Procurator of that Province. Indeed, they had been delayed by a decree of that Court, which prohibited foreigners to pass to the Provinces of the Indies, unless they had spent one year in the kingdom of Spain. Therefore, 8 of them having obtained permission that year, travelled as usual at the expense of the Catholic king; at all times, whenever there is a need for a subsidy for this mission, it is not optional but necessary.

Also a special garrison set out for the mission in two ships. Aboard the one named **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**, Don Diego Salcedo, ex-Governor of the Philippines was returning to Spain. This man, not content with favoring apostolic missions when alive also wished to show it when dead, as much as his spirit could do so. However, with the voyage being unusually difficult, when he felt that his life was coming to an end, he bequeathed 10,000 pesos in his testament, in which he told not only the King, but also those whom it might concern, that judges should willingly absolve [him] of a most serious accusation against the sacred faith.<sup>1</sup> Although up to now we have not been lucky enough to be adjudged the money—red tape having intervened—we will benefit from his having been someone who not only spread the Catholic faith, but was an excellent defender and propagator among very few.

The other ship, named **San Diego**, which had previously tortured Father Sanvitores, carried another couple of Gospel ministers bound this way: Fathers Francisco Solano and Francisco Esquerro, who, with generous zeal, made a detour of more than 5 thousand leagues over the globe, eagerly seeking this corner of the world, after they had managed to get some alms in that city [of Manila] and spent it all toward this good work. Hardly had they come out of the port of Lampon and made 150 leagues at sea, when on the very feast-day of St. Ignatius the ship was attacked by a fierce storm, intent upon oppressing the sailors and the already tortured ship, unless prayers to the glorious Patriarch intervened. This very strong disturbance lasted for 24 hours; nevertheless, for a space of over 4 hours, the ship was almost in a desperate state, and was half buried under giant waves. And they experienced not just the natural fury of the sea, for, besides that, it broke the sailing equipment, cables, sails, and masts. That happened by chance; hardly had faith come up, except that after the sails of the ship were taken off, almost torn to shreds, by the fury of the winds itself, or rather by the power or indignation of the unwilling devil, so aptly and so elegantly did the parts intermix that they became intertwined, and it was thought lucky that they did not break into small pieces. As usual, Ignatius, to whom victory was due, won over all the others, the infernal hosts. The passengers, but specially the Fathers, escaped safe and sound, and not one missing(?). Then, efforts were made to repair the damages; they erected just one completely weak mast, at a bad spot amidship, in case some hope remained of making the desired voyage. This said, it so happened that for the next 60 days straight the winds blew astern, so that they made it after a minimum of eight months, and almost a year of travelling, 6 of which were without sails, God willing, under the patronage of Ignatius.

**[In 1671, 4 missionaries arrived and 3 left]**

This ship in which they came was to spend the winter in Acapulco. They transferred to the other and, after a happy voyage, on 10 June 1671, they arrived at the Mariana Islands. This arrival day was marked in the annals of the Missionary Fathers. They

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1 Ed. note: He had been falsely accused by the Holy Inquisition, but was later absolved.

were made welcome there by everyone, but specially received very warmly by the companions. The supplies that had been so generously provided by Mexico as well as Manila were unloaded, along with the 4 Fathers who sailed aboard this ship and had consecrated themselves to help these poor people. They were: **Fr. Francisco Solano, Fr. Francisco Esquerro, Fr. Diego de Noriega, Fr. Alonso Lopez**, but nevertheless, this was seen more as an exchange than a succor, since they brought in a letter from the Rev. Fr. Provincial, by which three others,<sup>1</sup> who had spent a full 3-year period in these missions and knew the language, were ordered to proceed to Manila to finish their studies. A total of 10 Spanish civilians were adjoined to us, and 8 from the Philippines. A slim succor, but a necessary one, given that this whole year was one of war. The rest of the subsidy for the Mission was such that one could expect from the shortages and liberality of the Philippine and Mexican colonies, and already the supplies for these Islands had been replenished by this ship.

It wished to pursue its course, and the Fathers' baggages were left ashore, to be carried to the Residence of San Ignacio aboard the uncomfortable and light local canoes. Although there remained only two workers who knew the language well, nevertheless everything was undertaken with new minds, and fervor. Two of the Fathers were immediately assigned to the missions of the Island of San Juan as extras. Although the ear was obliged to make one voyage among opponents, divine Providence saved his people from death, so as not to bring war at home; only some barbarians were grumbling when they came upon them. The other Fathers were then retained at home while devouring the difficulties of the language; all were busy learning at the primary Residence. The church, which was said to have been begun last year, was roofed over. The house was also enlarged to house the increasing family of foreigners, using materiel available in this district. However, there was not one day of peace. The Fathers ordered one youth, named **José de Peralta**, born in Mexico, who was assigned to be a house servant, to go and cut some branches from a nearby bush, to make crosses to be distributed among the houses of Christians. By chance, he was away for more time than he had been ordered, busy in making a careful search out of sight in the bush. He must have fallen upon some Indians who, either out of cupidity for the tools that he had taken along to cut the wood, or out of some hate already for the Christian foreigners, or for some other reason, they inflicted upon the poor fellow more than 18 lethal wounds. That day was the **23 July 1671** in the afternoon, when he was nowhere to be found by the neighboring Indians, as darkness was coming in. He was found the next morning, by no means far from the house in a thick part of the forest where he could not have been heard, nor helped. He was of course a peaceful youth, and appreciated by everyone, even by some of the Indians, whom he himself loved to help; his worthy body was received at home with honor. Then within a few days, some unknown barbarians who had kept quiet, began to turn in a continuous stream of killers, whom had been intercepted by us before. One of many was accused, and placed in irons. He had

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1 Ed. note: They were Fathers Casanova, Morales, and Bustillo. Only Bustillo would return later.

no sooner been detained by us that the Indians shouted that an error had been made in the name, as there was another man with the same name in the village by no means far away who was the killer. When they insisted that he was the right man, there appeared two chiefs from the vicinity to give help and they threw infected spears, but both were hit by arrows shot by our men. The one who was wounded by an iron tip, and was taken to our house, was easily cured with medicine; the other, who had been hit in the arm by a bone-tipped spear, made by Indians, met his comeuppance: he gave up the ghost after a few days when the poison had made its way through his bowels. They caught the man they were looking for, and two others in another village, who denied their guilt and pointed at three others. The Indians were somewhat troubled by this already, and I do not know myself how long they had been planning some ambushes against us, the cause being to revenge the death of the one mentioned above, who died from a wound in the arm.

Then one chief himself from the village next to ours was inciting its residents to make war upon us. Therefore, at night they lit some torches, and sent some of the most daring to burn our house down. That is why it became necessary to have a continuous watch over the house, but there were not enough of our soldiers to do this during the day. The Fathers themselves did some guard duty, such as they have to do at times in the missions, to prevent them from inviting their people who were our known adversaries in the neighboring islands, to join them in the war, and to kill all **Guirago**, as they call all foreigners equally with that name. Truly, Christianity was not delicate by resisting so many squalls. Divine Providence mitigated the minds, for the barbarians themselves stopped their ambushes, and one Father was sent with some companions safely aboard a canoe to join friendly Indians in a remote island, in order to assist many children in extreme need. Meanwhile, a large crowd of barbarians was converging, all shouting blasphemies against God, and worse insults against us. The word was passed among them: to pillage, to devastate, and to tear the house and the roof down, and even kill everyone to the last man.

This went on until, finally, rumors of open war broke out on **11 September** in the afternoon. Some soldier used to go around the village in the morning and afternoon, to convocate the children for the usual recitation of the tenets of the Christian doctrine here. After the rumor of war had already spread, some companions were to be assembled. Then they sought refuge in the house of some Indian, when a column of barbarians rushed in, to threaten them with their spears and slings, so that they would not raise the alarm, but, thanks to a barking dog that chanced to be there, they were detected before they could do any harm, and our men had time to flee. Returning home they called "to arms!" and quickly occupied our doorway, to deny entry to the barbarians and prevent the massacre they had envisaged, as it became clear over the next few days, although they were not at all confident in themselves, nevertheless, so that the holy of holies in the church where the relics of the saints and the sacred vases were kept would not be impiously profanated by the impure barbarians, the whole house and church were fenced in with closely-woven branches just in case, and the small house,

which they called castle, was made higher with some boards. In it were placed two small bronze cannon which had by chance been found among the Indians, and had by all means been first found in the shipwreck of a ship. More so to cause fear than to inflict damage, a total of 10 or 11 muskets were made ready. The total number of foreign defenders was about 30, of which, if one does not count the sick, the old, and the servants, they numbered hardly 20. Nevertheless, to defend themselves, and the Christian faith, and the sacred treasure, they offered more spirit than strength. If the whole defence should turn out badly, they were then to spill their blood for God, if only they could get through this two-year period, and God would provide an abundance of higher roots for his garden. Therefore, our men were divided into four parties to resist the insults made by the enemies, who pelted our house with so many stones from their slings that it seemed as if stones rained from the sky, and despatched with so much violence that some of the stones got lodged into the beams opposite; others would go through the roof and walls (both being made with palm leaves) and land in pieces at the feet of the Fathers. Rather, they would decide to take the risk of saying mass inside the church using the altar and the sacred vases themselves, so that it became necessary to try and cover the roof with the worn-out sail they had brought from the ship. Meanwhile, the blind Father Sanvitores would continue uttering with singular tenderness this solemn phrase: *Potens est autem Deus, etc.* [However, God is powerful, etc.] and so far the war was not general, but only with our immediate neighbor to the north. True though, there was one other, who were being agitated by the southern people to get ready to make war on us, and the minds were specially inflamed by one chief most antipathetic to us, and guilty of more than one crime. Therefore, if perchance the instigator were caught, the others would be contained by fear. He was brought in, placed in irons and detained among us for at least a month, but I do not think that the others stopped taking up arms. Rather, day and night they were surrounding us and attacking us with spears and stones, and they hoped to starve us, keep us awake with the force of their stones and spears until they could force us to surrender.

When that did not happen, they had recourse to the flames, i.e. lit torches, to burn the house, us, and take away our possessions as booty, but when they moved in with their superior numbers, who joined their cause, it happened that it was the feast-day of the glorious prince of the heavenly militia, St. Michael Archangel. They did the usual harm, but the enemies were all specially anxious to throw torches on the roof. That is when the idea came up, to call in the help of the heavenly fighter, by making a solemn vow, by which all the soldiers and the Fathers pledged for one whole year, the flame-bearing spear carrying a terrible disaster to the blockaded ones, the sun having dried the roof more than straw. When the Fathers shouted "St. Michael, rain", things were serious. Nevertheless, such a copious shower fell from the sky that they saw that he had openly taken up arms in our favor. Also, some other spears were found on the roof, that had been consumed by the flames, without touching the sun-dried leaves.

Meanwhile, in any case, the spirit of the enemies was weakened; they were just waiting for an end to the war, but it happened otherwise, for the enemies becoming exacer-

bated by more resistance, and called on the villages for more reinforcement and they made an attack with so much insolence and violence that the defenders sincerely felt that they were already annihilated. Therefore, some thoughts were given again about negotiating some peace, although it was not concluded. Nevertheless, when both sides got into the act, and [tortoise] shells were shown, the minds became calmer in future, and at least some roots, or fruits, the remedy to hunger, were easily obtained, for hunger was pressing the blockaded ones. One youth, went out secretly to collect some fruits, which are used here instead of bread. As he went up, he was hit by three spears thrown from ambush. Nevertheless, thanks to God's mercy, the tips were extracted, and he recovered quickly. And there was not one killed by the barbarians in this war amid the multitude of spears and stones, greatly protected as we were by superior protectors. Therefore, so as not to soil the Spanish name, at the request of the Fathers, an embassy was set up, to begin talks, and also many [tortoise] shells were exhibited, according to the custom among them. However, the Fathers were asking them to come willingly by themselves to be taught the way they were showing for meek souls to reach heaven, and not block it with a blind rage. Similarly Fr. Sanvitores was trying to convince [them] from a small enemy house. It is true that they were not responding except with spears, stones, and blasphemies, by which they were attacking not so much his person, but the holy image of Christ crucified that he bore in his hands. Nevertheless, when they had come closer to get the offered shells, once they had their sweets in their hands, they abstained from all angers, rather unwillingly, and peace began under certain conditions. Isn't it true that peace can be expected from barbarians only by involving cupidity? After the gift was devoured, they went back to their insults, and they renewed the war.

It was daylight already **on 8 October**, when a very strong wind was felt blowing as a northerly, which by noon had become a whirling wind, so violent in itself that it made everything fly around, so that the air was not moved by the usual winds, but seemed to be excited by the devil. In any case, at first the leaves flew off the roof as if they were feathers, then exposing the whole roof to the water that was falling; almost all the posts, beams and traverses were in danger of being torn off. Then the nearby trees were not just shaken but uprooted. This lasted until 4 p.m., when, during more than one hour, things began to be so furious that the sea itself violently overflowed its usual bed over a wide area, to such an extent that it was not possible to go out, or to sit down to eat, or hear one another, on account of the raging wind, and the strong noises made by the sea. It was then that the posts of the house broke and the whole house collapsed, and the church as well, because both of them shared a common roof. This cracking noise sharpened our minds, for fear excluded fear itself: help had to be given to our companions under the roof, a depressing task, when not extenuating. No-one had been spared in such a clear disaster, although among many who were trapped was Fr. Sanvitores himself, who had been consoling the captive chief and our sick companions. What calamity befell the miserable blockaded people on that day is easier to describe with words than follow in imagination, I think: they were soaked by rain for a whole day already, amid so much damage from the sky, but persist they would; in addition, they spent the

following night without a house, or even a roof, nearly exhausted from hunger and thirst also in such a long siege. And, if the barbarians had attacked with their usual ferocity on that day, with everyone shouting at once, that would have been the end of the Catholic faith in these parts. However, they had to take care of their own houses on this day; most of the houses in the whole island were broken, and the island in general so deformed that it could never regain its former pristine state, and not just in this island, but all over this storm was nearly supreme, with buildings collapsed, trees overturned, plantations ravaged, in short, all that could sustain life, everyone demoralized, besides being lacerated.

The next day, a multitude returned to war, for they had the opinion that the continuous rains had turned the gun-powder into a liquid. Truly, they noticed themselves that they received the usual blows. They went back to proferring their blasphemies with their stupid mouth. One called himself God, another pretended to be better than God, saying: isn't it true that His house was destroyed by the force of the storm, and mine was not? A greater calamity was yet to happen: moved by pity, Fr. Sanvitores ordered the captive chief released, and restituted to his people. However, they, with a dog's gratitude, argued thus: let us destroy them, because they have freed our chief. The result was that thousands came from all sides, even those who had abstained so far, and they attacked in a most hostile manner. In fact, more than 30 villages attacked our people from everywhere like mad dogs, no fewer than 3,000 barbarians surrounding us. The assault was strongly repulsed by all our men who had distributed themselves on all sides to resist it. But there were not enough courageous soldiers to maintain guard both in the daytime and at night; they would have become tired with the continuous blows of the numerous enemies, their bodies needed a rest, sleep could not be simply forgotten. Also, five of the enemies themselves slipped in, wounding many, of course. It was a particular providence of God that none of His people was even lightly wounded, except one whom I mentioned before, until the **20th of October** when they had gathered, with more arrogance than ever, sure either to win on that day or, if they did not win, to obtain certain conditions for peace. For the whole of that day, they attacked us violently from four directions. On the side toward the sea, they opposed us with their canoes as well as a wall/trench which rendered them immune from the blows of the exploding guns; besides, they were then throwing stones and spears at us. On the southern side, they did the same; rather, they had built a wall made up of trees, which they continuously moved about, and thus protecting themselves, in addition to threatening us with danger. It is true that eight of our men went out of the fort; by continuously firing their muskets at this crowd they hit more than five of those Indians, and they took full flight. So, on that day, peace was negotiated with that part, and they frequently brought us a ration of root [vegetables]. The others, so far persisting in their stubbornness, until the next day, when once again 10 of our men went out after them, so that their superior minds would oppose the obstinacy of the barbarians, given that it was true that the barbarians were already tired. Peace was arranged, and they themselves brought us gifts of fruits.



Therefore, solemn acts of thanksgiving were addressed to God for preserving us all safe and sound amid a thousand dangers, during the 40 continuous days that we faced an uncontrolled multitude of barbarians. Then, in order to repair the damages inflicted more by the wind than by the enemy, care was taken to re-erect the roof under which was erected an altar to God, and to protect the Fathers from the rain and the sun. They were completely kept busy with this, although they were wanted at night as advisers [as] some of the Indians who under the cover of peace would sing “danaos” by the side of the palladium.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the usual missions, at home as well as at the limit [of the territory?], were undertaken with renewed vigor; they were also sent to the other islands, so that they would not be seen as completely abandoned: two priests to the Island of **Tenian**, or Buena Vista Mariana, and to **Rota**. Fr. Sanvitores divided the Island of San Juan into 4 districts. He reserved the eastern region for himself. In the village of **Nisijan**, also called San Xavier, he began to build another church and house, and he rejected all weapons for his defence, estimating in turn that he would be safer that way among the barbarians, though his safety might lie in martyrdom. Another colony was directed at **Teragui**, another in the southern part at the village of **Merizo**, also named St. Dimas the Good Thief; he was counting on this church and house for a stronger enterprise, mostly because of the proximity of a port, seen as our main station in this place at some future date, given the entire dependence upon contact with the Spanish ships; they would certainly be received more comfortably in that port.<sup>2</sup> At the above sites, the usual seminaries for the Indians were founded and the faith inculcated by all means, along with Christian customs. The Fathers agreed among themselves to meet monthly about the projects to be celebrated, to confer about common difficulties, and for them to foment and install uniform projects.

Meanwhile, the year 1671 would disappear and the stars at the beginning of 1672 would turn out to be unlucky for us, for **on 29 January Fr. Diego Noriega** left this miserable life, for a better one, we trust,<sup>3</sup> of a long phthisis he brought from Spain to these shores with greater spirits than physical strength. Finally, he died. Full of zeal, he had been on the way to the Philippine Islands, but his efforts, spirits, and corporal strengths were not responding. Rather, it seemed as if he would die along the way, given the necessary hardships of the blows of the voyage. Then the ship in question chanced upon these islands. Here the idea was discussed by the Fathers here, whether he should stay here where he would not tire himself and have access to purer water to drink, specially when compared to Manila where he might never recover from this illness. The affair was referred to Fr. Diego himself, for him to resolve the ambivalent case by himself. He, as a true son of the Society, refused precisely to choose between either option by himself, but to accept the will or wish of the superiors; he would go in that direction

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1 Ed. note: The author seems to refer to some Greek legend, one involving King Danaos and Pallas. Danaos' daughters had killed their husbands...

2 Ed. note: The author is referring to the port of Umatac, that soon became the major port of call.

3 Ed. note: Error for 13 January 1672, it seems. This author had Fr. Medina in mind, as the latter died on 29 January 1670. He maintains this wrong date below.

hands and feet and nowhere else, and obedience for him was to be his martyrdom as it turned out. The events proved it, for there also came some Fathers to effect a replacement; he was exiled, and afterwards, when the pains caused by the illness were increasing, the sun exposure, which is rather like medicines in similar illnesses, was deficient, even in a place such as this, and he constantly had death before his eyes. His swan song was just that. Many times he was shaken [with seizures]; if he had been affected by martyrdom, he would not have been closer to dying. Truly, if the events were recorded for judgment day, our Fr. Diego would surely have been recorded as a hero. He died on the same day as the glorious Fr. Luis de Medina of our Mission and, if it may be permitted to say, its proto-Martyr.

At the end of March, the Fathers were recalled from their missions. Also present was to be another who so far had stayed in the northern islands, and had not yet arrived; Fr. Sanvitores was waiting for him and had not yet come from his own Sparta. Therefore, it pleased him to send a messenger there with a stick containing letters, to advise the Fathers to get together, [but] he had not gone beyond a few leagues when the Indians intercepted him and cruelly killed him. This youth was indeed an excellent one. His name was **Diego Bazan** and he was born in Mexico. He had been allowed to share not so much in the hardships, but fully in the dangers that affected the Fathers in coming to these shores. The author of this killing was a certain man named **Kipuxa**, not the same man who had first welcomed the Fathers and also given them a plot of land, [but] his unworthy heir. I will fully explain once and for all the case of this man, who had brought the ruin of many companions of Fr. Sanvitores himself in turn, if not alone, at least in great measure. In fact, he had taken the wife of another man, who had been solemnly joined to her in holy matrimony, to live with her as a couple in accordance with the barbarian custom of the people. The Fathers and the husband objected, but she was not unwilling, and she lived with him openly. As they deplored small scandals, the Fathers argued convincingly, begged, reproached him, but the barbarian was not affected by it, and he acted irascibly toward the soft hand applying the medicine. That is why those warning him did not desist from doing so, at every opportunity, good or bad, and threatening the vengeful wrath of God, until the barbarian, already disdainful [despairing]<sup>1</sup> of the remedy, began to think about bringing troubles upon his advisers and the instigating devil did not allow the despair to be mollified with time. By chance Fr. Sanvitores and Fr. Solano were on a mission tour to a village by no means distant, when they became informed that envoys had been sent toward them and, moved by pity, but in any case the next night, various people gathered secretly under a roof. Both of them avoided this danger, and they did not desist in the meantime, given the public scandal for neophytes and the contempt of their guides, from trying to arrange a triumph over nefarious passions. By passing directly ahead and spurning insults, Fr. Sanvitores, with an invincible patience, would have deliberated with himself and feared to utter [back] some hellish things. Everything was to no avail; he responded with the

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1 Ed. note: This correction added to the manuscript is improper.

phrase: better burn in hell forever than to extinguish the flame of passion. Against these words, the Fathers preached the vengeance of God against future criminals caught in the act, as if they had in mind the strict sword of divine fury already. Prophets could not have revealed this more clearly. A few days after the glorious death of Father Sanvitores, this became quite evident, for this adulteror, so persistent, was visiting his plantation, I do not know why, on the very Sunday after they killed the Father. Rather, he had been there for one hour, completely healthy, when suddenly he fell upon the ground and rendered his unlucky soul to the torturing flames. Truly, he was meant to be dry wood for the eternal fire.

Therefore, the house of this **Kipuja** had become ours, which the Fathers would have affected to the above-mentioned young messenger, and he would have heard of it the next day upon arriving there. He, secretly planning a treachery, returned to a neighboring village, which lied along the route to be taken by the mail carrier. This village is called **Chuchugo**. Its people were notorious for being very bitter enemies of our faith and our enemies. They were aggressive against our cause everywhere, very few, but unusually vulgar individuals; they stood out by their being leaders of the others and instigators of the previous war, and they were moved by a devilish instinct toward an incorrigible hate against us and the Christian faith, even after peace was arranged. Therefore, a treaty was arranged between the youths of this village and those of another, just as uncontrolled as they in complete cruelty and passions; an ambush was set up. Two of these youths acted as spies and followed the youth who was returning already, completely unaware [of their intentions]. They accused him with an apparently sincere heart of going around with weapons in peacetime; he had preferred to carry a sword in his hand, and they pretended that he was exhibiting it. He, fearing the rest of them, by no means seriously agreed, when he was distracted and lost his caution of them and others. In fact, the traitors took out their concealed weapons and cruelly killed him with repeated blows with a spear as well as the sword. Then, as if this act was taken as a sign to close ranks, for all the Gospel ministers might be killed by such works, they had taken companions for protection against them. When this incident became known, it incited many of our companions to rage, and the desire to leave home, and they assembled with their blood boiling. That same night they went overthere. There, they found no sentinels, no war, or even suspicion of an attack, and everyone enjoying a secure peace. I do not know exactly when, but some muffled noise made a dog bark and some residents woke up and shouted a warning against fire. Then they were on their guard; from the bush nearby three spears were thrown, and Indians unexpectedly jumped out and were caught. On the spot was found material used to make fire, which undoubtedly was meant to burn down our houses.

Shaken at this revelation and troubled with a thousand cares, the Fathers agreed to warn others, but firstly to send a messenger to Fr. Sanvitores who so far was unaware of the previous killing, begging him to distinguish clearly who was a patron or a traitor. He left, unarmed, and in any case the safety of everyone rested only on the head of this man. Messengers were again sent to Father Sanvitores to beg for his own return.

He should immediately break off all delays and come and see them in person; the danger would not be over, until he was himself safe, [but he answered] that the other Fathers could do so, and he himself could not. He chose two Filipino companions to carry letter sticks; both were armed with a shield and a sword. A young Mariano Indian was attached to them as a trail guide; he was the only one of his people who was faithful to the Fathers. In any case, he was to lead them to the Father, safe and sound. He [was] more concerned about the troubled state of affairs than his own cause, given that his soul had been ready for a long time to assert the faith and suffer martyrdom. Therefore, he continuously sent messengers. Another one of his companions was added to them. He dismissed five others who had been busy building the church and they went home by different routes. When he was left only with just one companion, he planned to make his way to the first Residence, after first passing by some mountain villages which he would visit in according with his custom to baptize as many as of those who were not yet baptized.

Among the five who returned home through foreign country, two made it safely, but the first three fell into an ambush. At least 20 Indians attacked them suddenly. They speared a Spanish youth named **Manuel Rangel**, born in Mexico, a lucky one of sorts, because he had been about to suffer pains and spill his blood for God during the prayers of Lent, but it was God's will to have him give his life for a nobler cause. Nevertheless, that did not stop prevent his two Filipino companions from counter-attacking twice, for, not detained at all by their fallen comrade, together they put up their shields against the enemies and brought down one of the chiefs with a blow to the head. The rest fled shamefully, but not before they had wounded both of them by throwing spears from all sides. But courage was not very useful for them, because, while making their separate way through blind trails, and weak from the wound they had received, they were returning home, but were killed in ambushes, as the whole island was already rebellious. One of those, named **Nicolas de Figueroa**, a Pampango, was hit with a sword while eating. Another, a Tagalog named **Damian Bernal**, was pierced with spear by the Indians; rather, as others have reported, he was beaten with sticks for a long time, until he gave up the ghost. The remaining five did not get better luck. One of them, named **Manuel de Nava**, born in Mexico, by no means able to walk as fast as his companions, was intercepted by barbarians in a village called **Eurij**;<sup>1</sup> he was thrown over a steep cliff into the sea. The remaining four did indeed escape a similar fate by taking doubtful flight, but they were made welcome among some friends in the village of **Pagat**. Nevertheless, although two of them have returned to their friends, the two others still remain among the barbarians. These events took place, if I am not mistaken, on the last day of March, and on 1 April, because not all of them were killed on the same day, and immediately before Father Sanvitores.

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1 Ed. note: Transcription error for Guay, a village near Nisihan, his departure point. They were heading NW toward Pagat.

**[Death of Fr. Sanvitores]<sup>1</sup>**

Meanwhile Rev. Fr. San Vitores, not being aware of these happenings, went into the interior to baptize those in need of baptism. Once through with this, he hastily went on his way. The day was Saturday, **2 April** [1672]. That he might have time to offer the holy Mass in a house, a thing he never omitted for any reason, not even in such places as this, he took time for it before sunrise. Hardly was the sun up when he had covered a good distance towards our principal Residence, which was some two leagues away, when he arrived at the village of **Tumhum**.

Lest he miss the opportunity of doing there some good for the souls, he paused at a nearby house. A barbarian called Matapang lived there, a most cruel one, and most ungrateful. For he had already perpetrated before with barbarous cruelty five homicides among his peers. A proof of his ingratitude is that soon after the Fathers had arrived at these shores, he was gravely wounded by his enemies and, taken to our house, he was restored to health there with medicines applied with more than paternal care. Subsequently with a better medication the wounds of his soul were healed. For being instructed together with his family on the principal tenets of our faith he was administered the holy waters of baptism.

Once the Father had reached the door of his house, he asked him if perhaps there was some child in the place to be baptized (he knew that a few days before a daughter was born to him. He wanted to baptize her). The barbarian full of anger replied: "What wrong is there to bother about? I have a skull in my house (and there was). Go and baptize it, if you wish." As reported above, this is a principal instrument of their superstitions. But the Father kept his calm. Knowing as he did how to pacify untamed characters, he gave himself to instructing neophytes and children; he had them sing pleasant songs and the main themes of Christian doctrine, while the barbarian's fury and ill-will might subside. But then he cried: "Go away, Great Father," (he dared not even then address him irreverently), "we are fed up with your doctrine and with your God."

But quietly weathering the turbulent storm, he tried as best he could with kindest words to soften his raving heart. But in vain. He violently grabbed a spear and was ready to hurl it at him, except that one of the natives, called Hiraio, who was present and had accompanied the Father, controlled his insane attempt, and begged that he dismiss unharmed such an innocent, unarmed and helpless man. Protection for Christian meekness and innocence was forthcoming even from the barbarians themselves!

But while Matapang objected to his peaceful mind and scrupulous compassion, he broke and won over his inconstancy towards the inevitable crime. They, therefore, violently assaulted the one and only assistant whom the Father had taken with him and hurled spears at him. He was a young Filipino from the Visayas, named Pedro Calonsor.

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1 Ed. note: This small section on the death of Fr. Sanvitores is adapted from Fr. Juan Ledesma's book entitled: "The Cause of the Beatification."

The Father realized now that the matter had turned serious, and that the time had come for promoting the glory of God with blood rather than with words. With his hands he raised the image of our Savior which he had hanging from his neck and began to exhort the impious parricides through the wounds of Him whom he was holding with his hands, that they desist from the sacrilege they had begun and that they take pity on their own souls. The most cruel parricides were burning with fury, while their dirty mouths were vomiting impure blasphemies against the most holy Savior.

Here the most faithful Father embracing the souls together exclaimed: "And yet how great and how tremendous is He! What mortal can be compared with Him?" While he was proclaiming this, one of the barbarians pierced him with a lance, and the other, brandishing a machete, opened a severe wound in his head. Copious blood flowed from it. Together they inflicted repeated injuries on the fallen victim, who expired proffering these words: "May God have mercy on you." Others declare that he did not die so suddenly, but that having obtained from his assassins an interval for prayer to God, he expired while teaching and exhorting them.

This death, less deplorable to the one who suffered it than to anyone else, took place on 2 April 1672, at about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning. And that the reason for this so cruelly-inflicted death might not be concealed to anyone, assassins first tore off the image of Christ our Savior which was hanging from his neck. Then, as if not yet satiated with the copiously-shed blood, with rabid fury they pounded the image with stones, perpetrating a double crucifixion, that of the preacher of Christ in his image, and that of Christ in his preacher.

With a huge rock tied to the feet they threw into the sea the body of the martyred priest and that of his companion. They burned the ground which had been saturated with the glorious blood, lest, in their belief, the air might be infected by its foul odor. In order to have them buried ashore as well as with white-colored *hollandis*,<sup>1</sup> the old men were consulted, [but] really, the Devil made use of this superstitious ceremony, in order that his orphaned sons in this difficult post would not be excited by the value of such a brave deed, rather sacrifice.—

### [Short biography of Fr. Sanvitores]

[Synopsis: Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores was born in Burgos on 17 November 1627. He was then named only Diego in baptism, but later on, in Madrid, he added the middle name Luis.<sup>2</sup> He joined the Society in 1640. On 12 March 1650, he was made a sub-deacon. The following month, he became a deacon, and could then preach. On 23 December 1651, he was ordained as a priest.]

[At this point is enclosed the Latin text of Fr. Sanvitores' original request to go to the missions in the Indies. See Doc. 1659B.]

1 Ed. note: This word means "Dutch," but some other word must have been used in the original, perhaps "storeis," meaning palm mats.

2 Ed. note: In honor of then-Blessed Luis de Gonzaga.

[When difficulties were made to his leaving Spain, he was much consoled by a phrase from the Gospel, while saying mass: Because nothing is impossible to God, etc. He had imagined himself serving in the Philippines, specially Mindanao, or else in Siau, or Ternate. He did everything he could to win the privilege of becoming a missionary: masses, bodily disciplines, fasts, the practice of virtues, etc. Finally he made the voyage to the Philippines. After 5 years in the Philippines, he was back at Mexico at the beginning of 1668.]

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He went by himself to the Parish of Veracruz [in Mexico City] where there was a Sodality of the Saint [i.e. St. Francis Xavier], but not yet a convalescent home. At some distance from there, as he was resting from the long, dirty and very difficult journey, he entrusted to the Immaculate Virgin and the saint Apostle of the Indies all of his correspondence, and the business at hand. One might imagine that, with the help of those heavenly hosts, they reached the usual angel at court,<sup>1</sup> not simply care of these miserable travellers, there to be presented as a normal memorial, rather than as a request.

From here he went to see the Viceroy himself, and was received at once, on his own authority, as another Moses, recognized for the burning flame with which he dealt divine business. He presented all his business, regarding our mission, as was narrated above, with some impact; he explained it, and elaborated it. They say that he spent more time in declaring that these poor people live in extreme need, and that the Viceroy was then not too inclined to do what he could to overcome the lack of funds in the treasury. Suddenly, there occurred an earthquake, as if a sign had been given to him by Heaven, to willingly grant the requests of the Father. Having arranged affairs here, he went from the opinion of the mind, from the head to the limbs, that is, to the rest of the city with supplications, exhortations, explaining the tenets of the Christian doctrine, and with prayers such as the one called the Act of Contrition, with much fruit, by visiting people whenever they could be found, all over the city, with such a great effect, for a man of little physical strength, with a small body, a poor eyesight, he excited them so much to all virtues with diminished tools that he appeared as someone either fallen from the sky, or inspired by the deaths of the old saints. It is not surprising if he got from them large alms in favor of his naked people here, to whom he would so generously impart this heavenly wealth. A four-year period had passed, since he had left such holy footprints, by trying to go to the Mariana Islands himself, and would have to pass through some trials, and up to that point the lively image of the Father and his desires for their salvation would impress the minds everywhere with the wish to be together with that holy man, and future martyr, thoughts which he no doubt encouraged. I will now omit what happened during his return trip to Acapulco, in the port itself, rather in the voyage itself, when he zealously and honorably brought along companions from the Society, who came this way under good conditions while travelling to the Philip-

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1 Ed. note: Meaning his own father.

piners, as well as Spaniards, and Indians, so that he arrived at the Mariana Islands with a few for our mission itself.

Rev. Fr. San Victores finally arrived at the islands; he who was there as an eyewitness, can easily follow the words, but he who was not there can easily follow in imagination. In my estimation, that did not take place easily: What made each of them join him? Which did they admire most? His sublime apostolic fervor, or his prudent leadership, or even the constancy of his patience? Of course, I will not speculate further about these, as they were all present in Fr. San Victores, in addition to his zeal, and so much thirst for souls that, more often than not, it was made obvious to all, like a flood, and it was not easy to disregard his thoughts and words when he spoke about his children in Christ.<sup>1</sup> Such very sweet tenderness was pervading the maternal bosom of this apostle of the peoples, while he was recognizing Christ in them. Therefore, for whole days, months, and years he granted them the sacrifice of the Mass and the rest of his time devoted to prayers, anticipating that a very small part of these periods might be taken away. When he was at home, he would send his people out before dawn already, to gather children wherever they might be found, and he would instruct them from sunrise with a singular affection, and in order for the doctrine to sink in more easily through their senses, he would supply them with things they coveted, such as sea biscuits, which he distributed among them. They bit at this fishhook easily, visiting the house, and willingly swallowing the tenets of the Christian doctrine which he inculcated into them first, and before anything else. There were not a few difficulties to be conquered by him in so doing, as it is easy to conjecture among uncultivated barbarians; he would engage himself in this task, until all such difficulties had yielded. The rest of the Fathers were assisting him in this. If there was any time left, he taught some of the more advanced ones the Spanish language, and the first rudiments of reading and writing, and he imbued them with the other Christian disciplines. Then, from morning until evening he devoted himself to the older ones, in spite of greater workloads, during the whole day, except for the period necessary to sustain the body. And if perchance the heat of the sun in the afternoon [was too much], either he forbid the access of the house to the Indians, or he gathered the companions in the house to rest, while he, born to continuous labor,<sup>2</sup> either writing letters [to local missionaries], or glancing through letters received [from them], or writing to Spain and New Spain about mission business, and making notes on various subjects.

Only the need of others would force the lively Father to remain at home. Once away from home, he was committed to God's immortal kindness and sweetness. You might say that, like Orpheus, he was attracting stones and rocks to himself with his potent lyre, that is, in the sweet talking style of these rough barbarians, he attracted them to him, and he diverted them to whatever place he wanted. For hours on end the stupefied barbarians would be listening to his every word, while he was instilling into them

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1 Ed. note: The allegoric type of language used here can only be paraphrased to some extent.

2 Ed. note: I was tempted to translate this phrase by the modern term "workaholic".



the praises of almighty God and the principles of the holy doctrine. He accommodated himself, either to the twists of their language, in meanings or accentuations, or simplicity of their character. Truly, everything he did was for Christ, so that all would benefit from Christ. I omit here what I touched upon before, about the clothes that he had ordered made for himself out of palm mats, and which brought him very serious discomfort.

**[Fr. Sanvitores' eyeglasses]**

I omit, although I am not sure I should neglect the shear weight of the infinite number of exhausting difficulties he faced in travelling, on account of his near-sightedness, to such a degree that, although he might have distinguished accurately the small things that fell within a sharp focus, nevertheless, what fell outside of it and were far away, would have appeared confused;<sup>1</sup> therefore, he disregarded the eyeglasses that he had obtained in Manila, as practically useless.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the stones along the trails would easily make him trip, and he would easily lose his balance upon stepping over slippery spots, but nevertheless he would not give up his spirit and energy. Rather, he would sometimes rely on a companion leading him by the other end of his walking stick; sometimes he would put one hand upon the shoulder of some Indian and follow his steps. Nevertheless, none of the other Fathers would be on the road more often than he; and he would not entrust to other hands what he could elaborate himself first by his own labor, vigilance and sweat. Upon reaching his destination, he would then explain himself with the substance of true charity. He would attend to the sick right away, if they were sick in bed; he would console them, renewing them, either with the doctrine of salvation, or with the most potent of spiritual medicine. He followed this up with the children, either baptizing them, or imbuing them with Christian disciplines. There, it is a fact that he could hardly jump in and have them gather by themselves, so that upon entering any place, he would go around quickly to call the children to a meeting, unless proceeding in silence was of greater benefit, so as to prevent their mothers from taking the young children away from the salutary waters, by hiding them among the thickets in the woods, and impenetrable ravines. Then he would lead them in singing the main points of the Christian doctrine. They were followed by a long line of all kinds of adults, and children; he could not keep them all quiet for the whole day, and oblivious of the necessity of eating, rather as if absorbed in God,<sup>3</sup> he was devoting himself, not thinking about himself. And he thought that unless he were sprayed, even soaked by rain, or burned by the threatening rays of the sun, unless he were deep to his knees in mud, or sprayed by the roaring waves of the ocean, he would not meet with his apostolic duty.

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- 1 Ed. note: Approximate rendering, partly based on an educated guess about the neo-Latin word for eyeglasses: "conspicilia."
  - 2 Ed. note: After his death, they were sent to Spain, but it is not known what happened to them afterwards.
  - 3 Ed. note: The next folio is missing from the BR copy. It corresponds roughly to part of fol. 107v and part of fol. 108 of the ARSI copy.

His only worry was about their being present, so that he could break bread with the hungry ones; or provide them with a drink of milk from their true mother's breasts. Truly, he would excel particularly in this, since he himself put a high value on souls. To baptize a child, he esteemed that [it was worth] offering not only his own labors, strength, energy, but even his blood, as experience more often has taught that he fulfilled the role of the good shepherd, since he would have undoubtedly entrusted his life for his flock in any crisis. Let me mention just one example among many. Some Indians in rebellion against us had detained us with a dangerous war, and were then quiet after having concluded treaties [with us], when there came news from a mountain village, hardly 6 hours distant from us, and with very hostile enemies, that some newborn infants were in need of baptism. In fact, the spirit of the Father warmed up at this news, and was even ready to run up there and visit(?) them. It is true that the Indians had warned that none of the companions of the Spanish would be made welcome, because the wayward barbarians would take it upon themselves to flee out of fear. The Father preferred to expose himself to danger rather than some of the Indians. Therefore, only one of the natives went as an escort and, trusting in God, and oblivious of the dangers, he made it to the point of destination, where not a few enemy barbarians were left grinding their teeth in vain, while he baptized eight children, and soon returned home safe and sound; indeed, the time had not yet come for the power of darkness. I would go on and on, if I were to proceed with all the arguments of his paternal energy as well as solicitous care. Suffice to mention the testimony of the barbarians themselves, who tried to waylay(?) that working man and their very loving Father with prayers, all with one voice, so as to declare themselves in this manner enemies of the patricides, who would kill their best parent; this was nothing if not deserved filial affection.

[Summary of next two pages of this eulogy: He took time to retire to an isolated palm hut to do the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius. Mass was said with singular devotion. His poverty was extreme, even in such desert islands where everything was lacking. His clothes were worn out and discolored. His shoes were made of palm mats, and so was his inner clothing, in tatters. His bed was a board he had found, not even covered with a mat. Whenever supplies came as alms from New Spain, he took nothing for himself, not even sea biscuits, meat, or imported beans, peas and lentils. Hot chocolate was reserved for the sick companions. He was satisfied with local root crops and fruits. He rarely ate boiled rice, more rarely fish, and never chicken. His prudence is then described. He kept everyone busy. Fr. Solano, who had been twice house minister at the College of Manila and became successor of Fr. Sanvitores, had known him and his virtues. Patience, which is said to win over everything, was another of his virtues. He did not lack occasions to exercise this virtue, since the Indians insisted on remaining naked, on using offensive weapons, etc. When he was involved in the Tinian War, he feared nothing, and had complete faith in the Virgin.]

**[Arrival of the 1672 galleon]**

In the meantime, and to return to the core of the narrative, the ship named **San Diego** had already arrived at the port of San Antonio and dropped anchor. Her commander was the same Admiral Leandro Coello, the remarkable benefactor of our Mission. Aboard her were eight priests from our Society, impatiently awaiting the coming of the Fathers to the ship. One of them was intent upon stepping ashore with Indians, and he was trying to get information from some of them. The Indians pretended that they did not know what he wanted, and when questioned about the health and life of the Fathers, they answered either nothing, or with different answers. They had reached the port on **2 May** already, and, counting the night, it was already noon of the third day when, from afar, they spotted a canoe exhibiting a cross on its bow as a recognizable sign that Fathers were aboard. Truly, as it got closer, something in black color could be seen, a propitious sign, it was conjectured without fear. Therefore, until it happily arrived at the ship itself, their mind was tortured by the thought that they had been killed; the affair soon became known. Even before Father Francisco Solano came alongside, he who had taken over the care of the mission as superior, his presence was felt to be a sorry sign of the times. In any case, even the most unhappy death of the best parent possible could not be. He had been cruelly killed by the Indians. They heard that Fr. Sanvitores was dead. That sword, which he [i.e. Fr. Solano] had in his hand, even now soiled with the innocent blood, was a proof of the glorious death, and a guarantee.<sup>1</sup> Everything else stopped, including trading between sailors and barbarians, upon hearing these things amid a deep silence, as every word hit like a lethal dart. Then, with sighs heaving their chests, other strong men burst with lamentations and tears. His authority, good-will, and love for all had affected them so much. Will you believe that a common father to them all had been killed by barbarians? Then, after the tears dried, enflamed by fire inside, they burned to assume revenge. Neither the Admiral nor the military officers, or the Pilots were left out, as they promptly offered themselves, even to put their lives on the line, to assume the punishments for the sacrilegious cruelty, meaning with their affections to make a gift to the king, from whom the orders to form a garrison had not yet been received. Permission had been obtained for only a sufficient number to defend the Fathers. All in all, there were granted 27 men, with the necessary weapons, powder for the guns, and lead from which to make balls.

There were also three priests coming to dedicate themselves to the mission here; certainly they came with reasonable predispositions already. They were: Fr. Gerardo Bovens and Fr. Pedro Coomans, from Antwerp in Flanders, and Fr. Antonio San Basilio, from Catania in Sicily.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the subsidy involved things necessary for the divine service, as well as things for recreation and to feed the companions, a quantity so com-

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- 1 Ed. note: It seems, therefore, that the long knife, or machete, used to kill Fr. Sanvitores, had been recovered and sent to Manila at this time.
  - 2 Ed. note: From this point on, Fr. Coomans writes about events of which he was an eyewitness.

pletely liberal, sent by our generous benefactors so far, that it can only be called extraordinary.

On **7 May** [1672], the ship pursued its voyage, having replenished its supply of fresh water, fruits, and chickens that had been consumed during such a long voyage, plus some wood loaded for naval as well as cooking purposes. The Fathers and their hand baggage were received in the first Residence, as I said, on **9 May**, the people were all received together, but on that day they were not allowed to rest. As a matter of fact, divine Providence allowed it, so that we could not put everything in good order, with the desired human strengths, and not yet well instructed in handling weapons. Hardly a quarter of a day had passed since our arrival when two Indian chiefs showed up at our house, invited or spontaneously.<sup>1</sup> They had so often been the leaders of arranged disturbances creating such evil in this island. The pretext was to negotiate peace conditions with us. In reality, they came to spy on the state of affairs, to judge the strength of the auxiliary forces whose fame had already been spread throughout the island, for it would be naive to expect anything solid or peaceful from barbarians who have so often violated treaties. When they linger in the house, and carefully watch us, the new guests in their islands, it is easy in turn for the eyes of our people to fall upon them, wondering among other things, which of these naked people, who behave themselves so haughtily, are those considered rebels, leaders of rebellions, violators of treaties, traitors, sacrilegious killers of innocent people, more specifically Patricides of Father San Victores, for the memory was still vivid in everyone of the killing of the glorious Father, and his companions, by these instigators, who would trade tortoise shells for mercy. In fact, the more one thinks about it, the more impotent hatred arises and one wants to avenge the blood of the innocent. Therefore, they held meetings among themselves, and the Fathers carefully avoided eye contact with them, given that the management of weapons was also placed under their care by a certain decision from the King. After all the Indians had, in the safety of our house, finished conferring among themselves, perhaps by chance they went out through the porch that faces the mountain from across the river,<sup>2</sup> when, after I don't know how many of our armed people burst upon the scene, and attacked them unaware in a confused hand-to-hand fight. A certain chief, named **Hurao**, the main author of all the troubles, made captive in a recent battle against us, and deserving of death more than once, was killed on the spot. There was also a blind companion of his, who was no worse than innocent, but used to his making trouble; for lack of knowledge [of his innocence], they were happy to bring him down with many wounds. He was brought inside the house, given spiritual as well as physical medicine, and the illness worsening, he died. A third chief, named **Hagao**, leader and inciter of the last war, defended himself for a long time with a small adze that he carried and held

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens (Doc. 1673I) says that the incident arrived on 13 May.

2 Ed. note: We get an interesting clue here about the location and orientation of the original Jesuit house in Agaña.

before him, while withdrawing toward the nearby river; being naked, he easily escaped from the iron across that strait.<sup>1</sup> The house was full of continuous uproar, some searching for weapons, others being dead Indians, others being our perplexed people, all shouting at the same time, until the disastrous spectacle became known, regarding the blind, and innocent, man, that is. Then, it brought tears to the fore in everyone. The military men were blamed for their late interference;<sup>2</sup> there we were in the end, having found the remedy for one evil, but having fallen into another unexpected evil.

Some of our companions were away from home, I don't know why. It was feared that they might be assaulted by the Indians, once they learned about the uproar. Therefore, after they were recalled, others submitted themselves. But, they had hardly reached the house that another error, worse than the previous one, occurred when, coming into sight of it, an Indian man and an Indian woman, prepared themselves to flee, for fear of our people; one of whom took aim at them, so purposefully that the woman was killed by one of the balls, and the man seriously wounded in the belly [by another ball]. Besides, what peace negotiations were those, when the guilty ones were summarily executed, and the innocent ones mixed up with them indiscriminately? There stood the spacious temple, built upon columns and beams; here, they would be surrounded by a brick wall,<sup>3</sup> and protected from above by its roofs [sic] against enemy charges, so many of them having been made with flame-throwing spears already.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the idea was to smoothen(?) the clay, for the barrack was located on the beach, the work consisting of cutting across the wood.<sup>5</sup> The companions proceeded there, but armed. They were going along, when suddenly their way was completely blocked by some trap with pointed sticks. Our men were not at all afraid. They removed the obstacles and continued on their way. They had almost reached their destination when spears started flying, sling-stones pouring down; such are the weapons that the Indians directed at us. The reaction by our people was immediate; some muskets were fired at them, but with

1 Ed. note: By wading, or swimming, is not said. If Fr. Coomans had specified it, we would know how much water there was in the Agaña River in those early days.

2 Ed. note: The nervous shooting was done by the newly-arrived green recruits, untrained and undisciplined, and not yet able to differentiate between local friends or foes. Later, the missionaries were to file separate complaints about this type of soldiers being sent to the Marianas.

3 Ed. note: The Latin word "lateritium" means brick. The word for wall is "parietem", singular, not plural; still, what is meant is the building's walls, not the wall of its enclosure. I think that the walls of the church itself were made of **adobe bricks**. It was not until 10 years later that a "new" building method was used on the first fort of Agaña, whose walls were made of chunks of coral, cemented by lime made from burnt coral. By the way, the Filipino brick factory was also making roof tiles (see below).

4 Ed. note: In this case, the thatch must have been still green and/or the defenders were ready to throw sand or water on the fires.

5 Ed. note: This is my interpretation of the original sentence, which is somewhat confused. Was the clay needed to fill in the cracks in the brick wall, on the inside? Were they staying temporarily in the church, and working on the barrack, or vice versa?

unclear result, on account of the shelter of dense bushes in-between. The Indians took flight, clamoring. Our people made it to their barrack, for it was useless to pursue them, the wood being in the way. Our people spent a sleepless night, but the Indians did not attempt anything further. Days later, they were called to arms again, as the Indians made sorties everywhere against us, or against our animals in the pasture.

### [The Battle of Tumhon, 1672]

This lasted until the **17 May** when our people, after having prepared themselves with the spiritual weapons, went out early before sunrise to the village called **Tumhum**, where they had killed Rev. Fr. San Victores so abominably by sacrilegious murder, to render justice by force of arms. Along the way, they first captured the nephew<sup>1</sup> of the above-mentioned **Hagao** with his wife; then, in order not to be delayed by enemies through their crossroads, and to make the undertaken expedition even more secure, they then kept them alive to serve as a guarantee, either in war, or in peace. Then, they pursued their journey, meeting very few, or none, of the enemies along the way. However, they found that the ordinary trails had been blocked with fallen trees, as well as a few traps with pointed sticks. Hence, our people cut across to the beach and took another route, and finally, safe, they arrived at the infamous place of the sacrilegious patricide. They found nobody there; they exercised their fury by putting the torch to the place of the criminal, they destroyed the canoes, and also exercised all the hostilities in the pursuit of the few Indians who showed up. There is this local custom: when one erases the damage caused by some injustice, among them it is considered completely foul to interfere with anyone else in a hostile manner, unless the whole village had been willing participants.

After the deeds were done to others, to give tit for tat, our people were returning when a most difficult deed came up. Indeed, the Indians living nearby had been called to arms by their own kind, and they had hoped to block the trails to our people, as I have said before, but they, who had already come out safe from other difficulties, and were coming back along the shore almost in triumph, had simply forgotten to take the tides into account. So, when they came upon the enemy, the latter was overlooking the sea from the top of the cliffs, where they were lying in ambush and could assault our men safe from retaliation. Either the opponents were hitting them on their back with infected spears (there were also some opponents that blocked the way ahead, by hiding in the dense bush on the left, protected behind the trees), or they were pushing huge stones over the cliffs above onto our men, with impunity. Finally, to make matters worse, the barbarians had launched their own canoes into the already rising sea, well supplied with spears, and what is even worse, they were immune from any reprisal. Our men were not proceeding in orderly fashion; some marched on the sandy beach, others waded in the water, or went ahead of the others, while others were occupying the upper

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1 Ed. note: The Latin word “nepos” also means “grandson”, but Fr. Ezquerria says “sobrino” in Spanish (Doc. 1673K).

crest of the shore. It is true that they were awake and expecting any kind of evil attack, but vigilance came too late, for one of the companions had his thigh pierced by a spear at the very beginning of the fight; to no avail, he could either pull it out with force, or try to make a stand with weapons against his attackers, until the strength of his companions came out stronger. Meanwhile the stones were raining down, the spears flying so densely that, over the space of 100 feet, our people all agree that over 400 spears were thrown at them. Horrendous shouts and shrieks from the barbarians echoed everywhere.

Among others was **Matapan**, the sacrilegious killer of the Father, who was even then inflamed with a blind fury, against God, and vomited a thousand blasphemies, saying that he was the victor of the Big Father of the Christians and of God, that finally the cowards had come to avenge them, and get their hands on him, that he was the only guilty one, he was **Matapan**, the one they were after.<sup>1</sup> While saying all of this, and more, he kept throwing a continuous barrage of spears at our people, and not satisfied with having spears despatched ceaselessly by his people, he was taking shelter behind a canoe against the lead balls, and diving into the rising waters after every shot. It is a fact that his courage had finally brought him out, and it was recognized by all that they were so ardently delayed by the persistence of the barbarians infesting the sea. Many had water up to their knees, others up to their shoulders, so as to dispel this ferocious hand completely. One who was reached by a timely lead projectile, dove in, but could not emerge, as he had been overloaded by the weight of unexpected death. Matapan, at whom the projectiles of our men were specially aimed, although they were prevented from causing him more harm by the water, was hit in one elbow, and forced out of action. This wound never healed afterwards, and caused him excruciating pains during 8 full months, with the arms itself remaining stiff and folded. I don't know, but in the meantime, as he was filling the island like another Cain with his desperation and example, his illness became worse, and he disappeared, lamenting not his sins, but the pain from his wound.<sup>2</sup> Another one who was at sea was seriously wounded in the chest, whence he was plainly drowned in tide waters. Then the other opponents were attacked, given a similar treatment, and finally, having dispersed the enemy, they burst out onto a wider beach together. Four or five opponents were also wounded in this place.<sup>3</sup>

#### [The wounded soldiers]

Victory was not bloodless for our people, as three others, besides the one mentioned above, were wounded. Many had their clothes and hats perforated in various places. Among the wounded was the officer himself, **Juan de Santiago Bozo**, a Spaniard orig-

1 Ed. note: In the Mariano and Filipino languages, Matapang means "the brave one."

2 Ed. note: Matapang fled to Rota, and he was later captured by friendly Indians, not without a fight, but he died of his wounds during the voyage back to Agaña. His body was dumped near where he had himself dumped the body of Fr. Sanvitores, but not after his head had been cut off.

3 Ed. note: The ambush took place at Ipao Point, and other points of the same peninsula in the Tamuning area.

inally from Biscay, who had a shoulder pierced by a wooden shaft, so violently that it penetrated the very hard hide of his armor, but hardly touched the shoulder itself. Nevertheless, the projectile having been extracted, and it was not feared that he might not be able to overcome this. But, in two other wounds, one had a speck of bone from an infected spear point left in. In the other, the immersion in salt water had killed the mortal stupor. Human care was applied quickly to the wounds that were not at all lethal, given that two of them were, one in a foot and the other in the upper [siera = side?], and nevertheless they were all cuts. The first one was brought back to normal within 9 days, and the other in 11, while the third lasted 17 days. The unexpected massacre of companions certainly made the Fathers suffer not a little.

As usual, Death was to pick the most, and the best, for Herself. The first of the wounded was **Pedro Basijan**, a Filipino from the Visayas, who was a young [servant] in the house, and one of the remarkable ones in the militia, except that in handling weapons he would show wonderful dexterity, while in the house he would be dealing with all affairs, but he was better at procuring things than at being a servant. It had been at the cost of many tears that he had convinced, rather forced, the Fr. Superior to let him join the company of the soldiers, as if some interior guide was urging him to join the expedition. Another was named **José de Torres**. He was from Puebla de los Angeles [in Mexico], and his trade was that of a carpenter, not so useful in the mission, but the third one was necessary. This man, named **Juan Beltran**, was already well past middle age. Properly released from marriage and four jobs, the last one having been administrator of the families on the vacant land grants in the northern American province called Sinaloa, he came to Mexico [City] after a long and difficult journey. He decided to spend the rest of his life in religion, to serve God, but on account of his advanced age, he was rejected. Then he was inspired to come to this mission, which the whole of Mexico was talking about. He had offered himself to serve God in some religious capacity. No more was needed than to travel to Acapulco, where he had no difficulty boarding the ship that was ready. He sailed, applied to join the mission, and had hardly come aboard when his wishes were realized. Let us here admire the will of divine Providence. Both of his wishes came true; after such a long navigation, he got his second wish also, unwillingly accepting the prize for his labors and reaching the port of salvation. So, he was guided not just by the cause for which he died, i.e. kindness, but above all by death that came so peacefully, not without the most pious of heavenly meaning in that consolation. This happened on **17 May**. The barbarians have killed a total of 23 of our soldiers [so far], Spaniards as well as Filipinos. When they were invested by the barbarians everywhere, there were easily 600 of them.

#### [Peace negotiations, May 1672]

Meanwhile, the news spread quickly throughout the island, that a village hostile to us had been burned down, with the opinion put forward that it was a victory. Therefore, so that anyone was conscious with the fear of being beaten, so that there were reasons for peace, or war, whichever was seen to be more useful. The next day the western



villages sued for peace,<sup>1</sup> as peace negotiations were already going on with the eastern villages, and spokesmen were begging with good-will. Then there came a long line of people from two villages in our vicinity, easily 60 persons, all begging; they all sat on mats all around, some of the senior chiefs presenting the main points of their embassy, along with the polite presentation of gifts, much to the delight of the recently-arrived Fathers. These chiefs were sitting on higher benches, and begging for everything to be prosperous in their land, with a well thought off prayer, they postulated a guarantee of the goodwill of the others, peace for their people, and their allies. In turn, they said that they were ready to be obedient, and to follow the Christian laws willingly. The Fathers, responded themselves with the same kind of polite praises, and adjudged all requests favorably and affectionately, nevertheless, with these conditions: they were to agree to attend the sacrifice of the Mass on Sundays and holidays, that is whenever they heard a signal given with the sound of a gun and the bell; the newborn infants were to be presented to be baptized; finally, regarding the public house, where the youth was more apt to become lost than to play in (see above), was either to be destroyed or converted into a school of the Christian faith. Then, they had nothing to fear from us, but only good things to hope for. They willingly promised all these things, but it is quite possible for any barbarian not to carry them out, as their constancy leaves a lot to be desired.

On the night of the same day, many of the followers of some of the first ones who had been captured, and were being detained under custody, made an attempt to break in, but the attempt failed, for the captives themselves were not harmed by our people, but they went away without causing any harm. In the meantime, either day or night we could not consider ourselves safe, the Indians being intent on ambushing us at every opportunity. Some soldier went out to collect some coconuts from a nearby tree; he had hardly climbed it, when a spear was thrown from nearby, and planted itself into the tree trunk. He shouted to call his companions, who went after the Indians, but were prevented from shooting them by the Fr. Superior [Solano] who was present, so that some cruelties [should not] be attributed to the Fathers after, as if to impress the youth [in question], specially since the matter was uncertain,<sup>2</sup> and could possibly lead to peaceful conditions. However, it was all in vain; the barbarians persisted in being hostile toward us, and our [business]. The church stood across the river, as I have said, resting upon its columns and beams, covered with palm leaves, so as not to cause a shortage of wood, while roof tiles were being baked.<sup>3</sup> The ambushes of the barbarians threatened this place. Therefore, they gathered late one night to burn it down. Already they might have started it by hiding under the roof, or else, with some burning material thrown upon it, but some falling sparks revealed the ambushes. Some shots were fired continuously at them. The muskets chased away the arsonists.

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1 Ed. note: The villages in question were all close to Agaña: Aniguag, Asan, and Apurguan (see Doc. 1673K).

2 Ed. note: They may not have been the guilty party.

3 Ed. note: The Latin text clearly says that the tiles were “cooked”, but the method is not specified. There may have been an oven for making bricks after all.

The next day, two long poles were found, with some bundles of flammable material normally used by them, stuck in the roof itself, and extinguished. We do not exclude that divine protection performed a miracle, by not allowing the sun-dried thatch to catch fire, perhaps because their lack of piety was too blasphemous, and a proof of His divinity would also be provided. This event gave an opportunity to the Fathers, by removing a timely opportunity from the barbarians. After the destruction inflicted by the strong wind, or cyclone, of the preceding year, the Fathers were living under a really narrow, and humble, roof, raised upon some piles, hardly 14 feet above the ground, and hardly more space between themselves. The altar of Almighty God had been erected in a similar house, not because they could not or would not do otherwise, but because they were hoping, once the troubles were over, to move to a more spacious location, for they had been living along the shore up to that time.<sup>1</sup> Since what they had conjectured from these beginnings was true, they decided to dismantle the church to preserve it from the rage of the sacrilegious people, and to move it inside the enclosure. Therefore, when they saw that these disputes dragged on, the construction of a new house of God was begun; it was completed at the beginning of July [1672], and was dedicated with a great solemnity. After this, a rather spacious house was also built for the Fathers, and, since the enemies prevented the cutting of wood, the timbers of the old church were re-used everywhere in this construction. So, with moderation together with God's supervision, as we were prevented from erecting a live temple to God, we chased away idleness and boredom by building material ones. However, while we were busy, there were no lack of these [i.e. idleness and boredom]; following arguments from either the house servants, or from enemies, a certain Filipino, a man of another humor, under the influence of melancholical instincts instigated by the devil (since no-one, either among the companions or the Fathers, could remember another possible cause, or obvious bother from anyone), secretly fled from all of us, to go and join the Indians, for I don't know what cause. Perhaps one of the causes was that he had been corrected rather severely. Still, this seed of an example was no less present in the bodies, than was to be revealed to our minds as a danger, so that, whenever there was a problem at home, they might find refuge for themselves among the Indians.

#### **[Murder of Fr. Sanvitores' interpreter]**

Already, there had been a precedent; fear would have pushed one man, who had been brought by us from Manila as an interpreter,<sup>2</sup> to flee. As it happened, once he left home, for I don't know what dissension with the rest of us, he went to live with the Indians, among whom he had resided for some years before, as a shipwrecked person.

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- 1 Ed. note: This spot now lies under Marine Drive, just west of the main intersection. The church that was nearly burned, and was about to be dismantled lied just across the river, at the spot where Fr. Medina had planted the first cross.
  - 2 Ed. note: One of the two old interpreters brought by Fr. Sanvitores: either Francisco de Mendoza, or Estevan Dias. Since the former was trusted and given command, the latter is not so mentioned. Therefore, the runaway was more probably Dias.

Therefore, having left us some days previously, he was seeking refuge for himself among the Indians in the bush, not feeling quite safe, finding that he was in fact hated by them, for having been our guide in the above-mentioned expedition. Therefore, regretting what he had done, as some people have told us, he was returning home, when he was met by some hostile barbarians, who had been lying in wait continuously for a long time since the day before; they caught him unarmed in the interior bush. They first put out his eyes while he was still alive, then cruelly pierced him with their spears.

Already the signs of the war begun against us were becoming clearer; the children of our village were prohibited to come to us and to recite the tenets of the Christian faith, and their parents took them to their mountain home to stay, or sent them to neighboring villages. Even the Indians west of us, who had been friendly up to that time, and still were, were being asked to join this cause, and were severely threatened by the enemies, unless they themselves abandoned us, abandoned their houses, stopped providing food to us; otherwise, they would burn every one of their houses as a punishment. Although we would have offered to defend them with our weapons, fear could be more important than an uncertain hope among barbarians. We will now take a good look at yet other unhappy events.

Fr. Alonso Lopez, one of the missionaries who usually ministered alone in the Island of **Tenian**, or Buena Vista Mariana, was not ignorant of these troubles, for the news of them had reached him; nevertheless, he was not sure of them, even worried about them, because the Indians were depicting with colors the news they brought themselves, or heard from others, representing the situation thus: the barbarians were pressing us on all sides already, the mission was finished already, destroyed already and everything lost. He had with him a companion, actually more like a father to us,<sup>1</sup> who had so diligently, and literally, lent us a hand in the northern islands called **Gane**, for he was a blacksmith, and lived by his sweat. This Filipino Indian, named **Francisco**, had survived the famous shipwreck [of 1638]. Given that he was known to all and a friend, he accepted to become an envoy to the first residence, taking accurate news and bring back accurate news, along with supplies. He did go, and returned safe and unharmed.

The second companion of the Father<sup>2</sup> was already on the way back; he had also gone to San Juan, and was returning in charge of the supplies. Upon his departure, the Father had warned him to distrust the friendships of the Indians and news from them, and to avoid, if at all possible, a stopover at the Island of **Rota**, for some people living there were hostile and might attempt something if any opportunity were given them. Either neglecting the warning, or forced by a storm, he stopped at the island with another com-

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1 Ed. note: He was over 50 years old, and the average age of the missionaries less than 30.

2 Ed. note: From Doc. 1673K, we know that he too was named Francisco, but this young Francisco was Francisco Maunahan.

panion, named **Juan Marinduque**, who, with his wife whom he had brought to these islands,<sup>1</sup> and was taking her along to the first residence. They had hardly stepped ashore, and were visiting with friendly Indians in the vicinity, when they were attacked by the same people mentioned previously,<sup>2</sup> who killed them so cruelly. These hot-blooded savages first embraced Juan according to the custom of the people, hanged him with a treacherous noose, then killed him with blows from spears without further ado. Then they turned to his companion, **Francisco [Maunahan]**, and with a similar crime, killed him too. They destroyed some of their effects in their fury and finished off everything with an uncontrolled(?) rage. This happened on **5 June**,<sup>3</sup> and what is more deplorable for us, whatever contact he had with the northern islands was completely cut off, given that, besides the fact that in Francisco we had lost a guide to those islands and an interpreter of the strength of the contrary winds, access to this island was completely necessary. If the inhabitants there, greatly conscious of the crimes against us, became hostile to us, there would no longer be any way to travel throughout these islands.

We were surprised then by divine kindness toward us. While this danger erupted, Fr. Antonio San Basilio, one of the recently-arrived Fathers, who, in order to accompany this Francisco to Tinian, had been ready to make the trip for a whole day and by some circumstance of weather unknown to me was forced to delay [his departure]; perhaps he was reserved for another, better, opportunity.<sup>4</sup> The Fathers began to act on this information, pondering whether there were any way to recall the absent Father [Lopez] from his station. However, the domestic enclosure was reinforced with new tree trunks against a hostile attack, in case the old ones were to fail, but no-one in the house had suspected that something much worse was impending, that would leave none of them insensible.

### [Death of Fr. Solano]

Fr. Francisco Solano, the second founder of this mission after Fr. San Victores, became its Superior after the former's death, although his health was rather weak. He was tormented by many attacks, enough to make him quit at first, then with fraternal diligence he assumed the direction of affairs little by little, and only with the inevitable progress of the phthisis,<sup>5</sup> with abscesses breaking inside him, with blood in his sputum—his apostolic life makes us inclined to believe in the predestination of his apostolic soul—that, after he had already received all the Sacraments of the Church with due solemnity, on **13 June**, having completed exactly one year from the day he had first

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- 1 Ed. note: The word "islands" is plural. Mrs. Marinduque, it seems, was also from the Philippines. Perhaps she was the sister of Mrs. Santa Cruz, the first female teacher in the Marianas (see Doc. 1668F).
  - 2 Ed. note: These rebels, or criminals, were from Guam.
  - 3 Ed. note: The BR copy says, erroneously, 5 July instead.
  - 4 Ed. note: He was to be killed in the north part of Guam later on.
  - 5 Ed. note: Fr. Solano died of tuberculosis.

stepped upon these shores after a long voyage, this most assuredly worthy man gave up the ghost. It was much to its credit that this Province had produced this jewel for its crown. We owe to him the very large supplies gotten by this mission, thanks to all the extraordinary alms that he collected during long and difficult journeys that he made for that purpose, necessarily spending continuous days and nights in so doing. He most rightfully deserves to be called second founder and father of this mission. Therefore, through heavenly heredity, the mission was left orphan of its fathers twice within a three-month period, unless the Fathers who were left could make this up with additional vigor. They, afflicted by the management of affairs, turned their eyes toward the friendly villages, whose inhabitants and chiefs had solemnly promised, if peace were assured, even during the on-going war with the opposite side, to return themselves and their people to catechism and the church. They made a few visits overthere during the following days, as long as they, due to an inborn lack of constancy, took a different course, as usual, by supplying us with fewer food supplies within days.

Meanwhile, some supplies were still available from the superabundant yearly subsidy and alms brought to us from Mexico, some sun-dried meat and fish, also some sea biscuits, by no means a negligible quantity of beans and peas, which had been surplus aboard the ship. Nevertheless, would that be enough to feed so many? There were 58 mouths to feed every day among our people.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it was only possible to live for two months with the food supplied by the subsidy. Besides, although the land was uncultivated and wild, the greater part of **Guam** was sterile, stingy, even infested with hostile inhabitants. Therefore, to acquire bread, which is supplied abundantly here during a three-month period by some trees that I have talked about earlier, one Father and another one carrying a weapon in his hands go out every day, because the fruit that serves as bread rots after two or three days, and when some spears and stones are thrown at the one who climbs the tree, they are not rarely repulsed by his other companions. All these things would be tolerable, if only the necessary things to appease hunger were not missing. It is true that, when the fruits become deficient, the local root crops that the Indians had promised, for us to live on, were in short supply in the house of the faith, because the Indians friendly to us, although by no means regretfully, after supplying themselves, their envoys carry away discolored glass beads, and various supplies of the same nature; nevertheless, it was not sufficient by itself for the house, and the small amounts distributed among the numerous secular companions were not welcome, given that they afflicted the body with the usual involuntary movements, and often impatiently remained half-satiated and bed-ridden. And that was not all; besides the ample material problems we suffered, we had to do justice to settle quarrels among of the com-

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1 Ed. note: In June 1672, the Spanish colony included 8 missionaries, and 50 civilians; of the latter, only about a dozen were full-time professional soldiers, the others being part-time soldiers, catechists, tradesmen, servants and labourers. A couple of Filipino wives were supposed to be part-time teachers at the School for Girls.

panions, as best we could, of course, as they were tormenting our mind, and not necessarily bringing a remedy to the evil through paternal affection.

Amid these problems, a ray of hope shone upon us. Fr. Alonso Lopez left the Island of **Tenian**, safe and sound, on **8 July**. Two days later, he was welcomed by Fr. Superior<sup>1</sup> on the beach, where he was lying down, with all of us, completely hoping that some way might be found for him to make common fortune with the others. He had been managing remarkably the affairs of the Christian faith in his assigned islands of Zaypan, Agiguan, and Tenian, where he baptized children on regular visits and taught the adults the proper Christian disciplines. He was welcomed by all with his three companions, because four times they had been in obvious danger of losing their life when baptizing children. The Indians who brought him in, not daring to remain in this island, had no sooner stepped ashore that they went home again. As for the rest, every day the sound of war was getting ever nearer, and the Indians would attack us if we took hardly a few steps out of the house, and throw spears at the blind corners and sides of the houses, which they did more often with impunity. Our people, to clear a field and isolate the enemy, set an avenging fire to the houses located close to us. Meanwhile, when we were celebrating St. James Day [25 July 1672], the military officer led the rest of his people on a celebration visit to an enemy village where with festive explosions he insulted the enemy; first, he went out armed to [check on] the animals in the pasture, then he dispensed every ire(?) in our side and spears. Nothing disturbed the proper order of the solemn ceremonies; as they retired, they were followed for a long time by the shouts of the pursuing Indians. When they were in the thick of it, after some shots had been fired at them, and one received a ball in a leg, the rest all fled. Meanwhile, they had already agreed to come out of their villages to inflict war upon us, and having found an opportunity on the feast-day of our Father St. Ignatius [31 July] which we were celebrating solemnly, to implore strength from Heaven, because the small number of companions could not be compared to the hidden multitude. We began a novena to make solemn prayers to the B.V.M. asking for her protection. Then we turned our minds to ways of putting up a strong defence, by clearing all the trees on the enemy side, within the range of the heavy muskets, and we destroyed the stumps, having learned by experience from the previous war not to give them an occasion, for them to throw their stones and spears more easily, while they could avoid our leaden projectiles [by hiding] behind them.

#### **[The Agaña War of August 1672]**

Already on **4 August**, they assaulted us with shouts from everywhere, throwing stones, but rarely with slings. On the **5th** [rather 15th] the beginning of the war was openly declared against us, and this was accepted by us as an auspicious omen, it being

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Ezquerro, the new superior. There is a discrepancy in dates between Fr. Coomans, and the official report (Doc. 1673K) which says that Fr. Lopez left Tinian on 21 June.

on a feast-day of the B.V.M. Therefore, they began to shoot stones, but at the great fear of the Indians who had gathered closer and were not daring to come out from behind the trees and be killed by us. Our tree clearance project had already paid off. At noon, the Indians who were our immediate neighbors to the west<sup>1</sup> also came up to us and offered some hope, but we judged it not quite safe to mix with them on account of their lack of constancy. The next day, our friendly Indians brought us some subsidy in the way of rice; rather, it was done, as if to scorn the enemy, by the children who came to us to recite the tenets of the Christian doctrine. This was a rare show, for the children and women to come to us on such an occasion, one that they would not allow at all on other occasions.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, canoes were coming from everywhere to the enemy, either to bring them food subsidies or warriors. Still, they went beyond shouting and stoning from a distance, the fear of the enemy did not make the more confident ones among us remain in hiding at home more and more, but the more audacious ones conspired to make an open war occur with the enemy. The matter came to a head when the animals went out to pasture in fields belonging to the enemy; their going out of home brought out an infinite crowd of enemies to look at them. Elated by their success, they persisted in making a direct attack on the enemies, and they, vanquished by terror, took flight. So, they went out to replace the flags, which the enemies had erected. Our people recognized those long tree branches fastened to very tall poles as such, as soon as they laid eyes on them. When they were chasing them away at first, and they brought them out of the water, with the Indians grinding their teeth and throwing their sling stones, two other standards of the same type were planted within a long interval, none of our Indians made a move at that moment to bring them down, out of natural terror of enemy circumstances, and not out of help other than divine. With these the spirits of the enemies died, and having noticed that the affair was not for them, [we being] already with the supplies of the previous year, seeking their greater salvation, more than victory, and intent on the ruin of our people, they withdrew after throwing a few more projectiles, to a place where they had stockpiled some ammunition with which to protect themselves.

Therefore, during the days that followed, those who had detained our people with shouts and sling-stones, transported stones from the shore to prepare themselves, by piling them at the foot of a rock outcrop near the sea, erecting a wall, to protect themselves in case our people were to attack them by surprise.

Later on, as we were returning from a feast that was celebrated in the neighboring village of **Reti[di]an**, they attacked us again with stones and shouting from everywhere to kill us.<sup>3</sup> This made our irritated people go out in the afternoon to cut down trees, when they were prevented from doing so by stones. They fired a few shots at the enemies and they fled [or were forced to flee]. Nevertheless, one of ours who had separated a

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1 Ed. note: Those from the town of Agaña proper, and perhaps also from Aniguag.

2 Ed. note: Specially, since rice was reserved for special occasions, such as feasts.

3 Ed. note: As Ritidian is on the NW corner of Guam, they had sailed there.

little from the rest, was encircled with their spears, but in vain, because he defended himself strenuously {against their insults} with his small musket, while invoking, as he himself reported, the help of his patron saint, San Lorenzo, until his companions came to help and the Indians were scattered. Moreover, such gatherings and face-offs lasted almost daily for one whole month. Rather, the following month the Indians kept our people busy, hardly worth their effort, as they wounded none of our people. They were being prevented from doing so by the usual exercises of the Gospel number.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of August [1672], our people went out to gather fruits, which we eat instead of bread here. When they met with no hostility and found the fruits gone, thinking of looking for some further on, what happened was that the few, who had stayed behind to defend the stockade, made an impression on some Indians by watching for any spear thrown at it, and easily chasing them away with musket shots, taking over their wall, wounding slightly with a shot one of the leaders whose house had previously been destroyed along with others. Then, they all returned safely home. From here on, the Indians, shaken by fear, were hiding themselves in the mountains, where it was very difficult to go after them, on account of the very rough accesss and hidden trails. The enterprise was subject to ambushes, our people going out at dawn and at night after sunset, to see if they could catch some unaware, but not without any success, until the **6 October**, when, after lying in ambush for some time, they killed one of them with a musket shot. His death disturbed the minds of the Barbarians a little; some blaming the war were opting for peace, and others with an exasperated mind aspired for revenge. As for us, at every opportunity, we took our chances by calling on the lovers of peace, the time chosen for negotiating peace here and there was at home, having overcome the rare(?) obstinacy of the chiefs who at the beginning of the troubles had been hostile to our house, the matter slipped out of our hands and the whole thing disappeared. With the Indians neither renewing the war, nor coming to a peace understanding, the year passed in idle rest, if one looks at the usual exercises of the propagation of the faith; nevertheless, with fruit, if one considers the pious and laudable transactions with our secular companions at home and with the friendly Indians, for these were the plants of the Church, whereas its roots away from the house were suffering. However, the divine offices were celebrated more decently in the new church by the sodality of the B.V.M. with the usual prayers, the sacraments were attended with renewed fervor; in short, every institution of a Christian community was solemnly and decently practiced.

Francisco Ezquerria   Gerardo Bouwens   Pedro Coomans

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Antonio Maria San Basilio   +   Thomas Cardeñoso   +   Alonso Lopez.

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1 Ed. note: A squad of 12 defenders was always on duty in the stockade.



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## Document 1674A

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# Fr. Sanvitores' father is told about his son's death in 1672

## Account of the happy death of the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores, dated Mexico 1675

*Sources: 1) ARSI Fondos Jesuíticos 851, doc. 4 & 5; 2) AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 12; 3) RAH 9/3596; 4) copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 225-227.*

*Notes: There were printed two editions of this letter, and the report that was attached to it: Seville, 1674, and Madrid, 1674 (see Doc. 1672H6). Mr. San Vitores died 1-2 years after receiving this letter.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Carta escrita en la Ciudad de Mexico por el Padre José Vidal de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador de las Islas Marianas, á Don Geronimo San Vitores de la Portilla, Caballero del Orden de Santiago del Consejo de S.M. en el Real de Hacienda.***

*No doy, ni quedo dar á V.S. pésame, por que no lo permite la razon y piedad cristiana, antes si repetidos placemes por la singular dicha que el Señor comunicó á V.S. concediendole por suerte un hijo tan escogido de su divina providencia para el cielo, que lo destinó á la dichosa vitoria del martirio, tanto antes que pronosticado, y anunciado (para consuelo de sus Padres) de nuestro glorioso Patriarca, y Padre S. Ignacio, cuyo pronostico se cumplió á dos de Abril del año de setenta y dos, Sabado de la Dominica in Pasione, en mi Padre, y mas que hermano, como á V.S. consta, el Venerable, dichoso Apostolico varon, y martir de Cristo Señor nuestro, mi Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, meritisimo hijo, y heredero de las virtudes de tal Padre (y no es lisonja antes me veo obligado á reprimir lo que el afecto me dicta.) No doy el pésame, por que el caso no lo permite, y si lo permitiera, dando yo á V.S. el pésame, pidiera me lo diera á mi, pues si V.S. perdió (en lo humano no mas) un hijo tan digno de ser amado, por lo que todo el mundo pregona, y se hace lenguas, y yo en lo humano he tenido tal pérdida, que no puede ser mayor, pues me ha faltado en el Padre Diego, hermano muy de mi corazon, por la singular llaneza, y amor con que me trataba, me ha faltado amoroso Padre, a quien estimaba como á tal, y veneraba, y amaba con ternura de hijo recon-*

*ocido, á las singulares finezas que le debí: y si en V.S. el titulo de Padre, aun no da licencia para que la muerte dichosisima del Apostolico Martir pase á pena y sentimiento verdadero, sino que se quede en amago de dolor, y se confirme en regocijados afectos de ternura, en mi los motibos propuestos, no dan lugar al sentimiento que en lo humano pedia mi afecto, antes si doy repetidas gracias al Señor, de la suerte que tube en conocer, tratar, y comunicar intima y cordialmente á un varon tan de Dios, que no sabia resavios de carne, y sangre, y fuera hacerle manifiesto agravio á su vida apostólica, y á su muerte feliz, dar lugar á la carne, y sangre para que hiziesen su oficio: y asi, Señor, en vez de pésames, nos podemos dar muchos, y reciprocos parabienes por los motivos ya referidos, y todas las noticias que vinieren á mis manos de los Apostólicos empleos de nuestro venerable martir, las remitiré á V.S. no para templar pena ó sentimiento, pues como he dicho no cabe en el cristiano pecho de V.S., sino para aumentar el gozo, y jubilo interior del alma, con que Dios aun en esta vida ha de premiar la generosidad con que V.S. quiso privarse de la comunicacion, y asistencia de tal hijo por dedicarlo á Dios, á quien buscaba su celo entre aquellos bárbaros.*

*Ea, Señor, buen ánimo, que si el Padre ha sido martir en el cuerpo, V.S. (yo no me quiero tomar tanta licencia para contarme, y entrar á la parte en lo que ya digo) ha sido mártir en el afecto: y si V.S. lo dedicó á Dios, para que entre los dos se compartiese el zelo de aquella mision, y combersion de nuevas gentes: Dios que escogió á V.S. para que entrare á la parte, le quiere ya para que sea el todo de aquella mision, y del aumento de Nuestra Santa Fé Católica, que con el fecundo riego de tan ilustre sangre, confiamos en la misericordia divina se han de coger á manos llenas sazonados frutos para el cielo. Y para remitir al presente á V.S. el regalo mas de mi estimacion y su afecto le embió esa relacion del martirio del Venerable mi Padre Diego Luis Sanvitores.*

*Guarde Dios á V.S. muchos años.*

*Mexico 10 de Febrero de 1674.*

*B.L.M. de V.S. su Capellan y siervo Mariano, José Vidal.*

### **Translation, by Fr. Juan Ledesma.**

**Letter written in the City of Mexico by Fr. José Vidal of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Mariana Islands, to Don Jerónimo de San Vitores de la Portilla, Knight of the Order of St. James, Member of His Majesty's Council of the Royal Treasury.**

I do not, nor can I express my condolences to Your Lordship, for neither right reason nor Christian piety permit it. Rather, indeed, should I give you effusive congratulations for the joy the Lord gave you, granting Your Lordship the fortune of having a son chosen for Heaven by divine Providence since he was destined for the happy victory of martyrdom. Long ago was this predicted and revealed (for the consolation of his parents) by our glorious Patriarch and Father Saint Ignatius. On 2 April 1672, on the eve of Passion Sunday, this prophecy was fulfilled in my Father and more than brother. He is, as Your Lordship knows, the Venerable and fortunate apostle and martyr of Christ our Lord, my Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, most worthy son and heir

of the virtues of such a father (and this is no flattery, for I am rather forced to restrain the sentiments that inspire my speech.)

I do not express to you my condolences, for the present situation does not permit it. And if it permitted that I should condole with Your Lordship, I would rather beg that you express your condolences to me. For if (only on the human level) Your Lordship lost a son so worthy of others' love, because of what the whole world knows and praises, I too on the same human level have suffered the same loss, such that it cannot be greater. For in Father Diego I lost a brother whom I very greatly loved, because of the extraordinary friendship and love he had for me. I lost a loving father whom I esteemed and venerated as such. As a son, I loved him tenderly, cognizant of the debt I owed him for the singular kindnesses he showered on me. And if in the case of Your Lordship, being a father does not allow that the most happy death of the apostolic martyr be without pain and true grief, but that you rather be left with signs of sorrow and overwhelmed by tender sentiments towards him, in me the above-mentioned motives do not give room for the feelings that, humanly speaking, my love for him would demand. Rather I give unceasing thanks to our Lord for my fortune in having known him, dealt with him, and conversed intimately and cordially with a man so godly and utterly spiritual.

It would be clearly no honor to his apostolic life and to his happy death to let flesh and blood behave as they naturally would. And so, my Lord, rather than condolences, we should offer each other many congratulations for the reasons mentioned above.

I will let Your Lordship know whatever news I may receive concerning the apostolic labors of our Venerable martyr. I shall do this, not to assuage pain or sorrow, for, as I have said, there should be no room for it in the Christian heart of Your Lordship. It will be rather to increase the soul's pleasure and interior joy, the reward which even in this life God will grant for the generosity with which Your Lordship deprived yourself of the company and service of such a son, in order to consecrate him to God. It was Him that his zeal was looking for among those barbarians.

Courage, my Lord! For if the Father became a martyr in the flesh, Your Lordship (I would not take such license as to include myself and take part in what I am asking) has been a martyr in your heart. And if Your Lordship consecrated him to God, so that you too would share in the zeal for that Mission and conversion of new peoples, God who chose Your Lordship to be a partner, wants you now to be the sole support of the Mission and of the progress of our Holy Catholic Faith. We trust in the divine mercy that, with the abundant watering of such noble blood, that Faith will have a plentiful harvest of fruits ripe for Heaven.

And in order to offer now to Your Lordship a gift which I esteem most and you would appreciate, I am sending to you this account [see Doc. 1672H6] of the martyrdom of my Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores.

May God preserve you for many years.

Mexico, 10 February 1674.

Your Chaplain and Servant from the Marianas kisses the hands of Your Lordship,  
José Vidal

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## Document 1674B

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# Letter from the King to Fr. General, dated 12 March 1674

*Source: Colección Pastells, doc. 1610; reproduced in Vicente D. Sierra's Los Jesuitas Germanos, pp. 106-107.*

Don Carlos, by the Grace of God, King ... and the Queen, Doña Mariana de Austria, his mother, as his tutor...

Reverend and devout Father General of the Society of Jesus.

In a letter dated 18 June of the year 1673, you say that, in obedience to the despatch that I had sent to you, dated 26 April of the same year, you had the intention of sending to the Mariana Islands, in the Philippines,<sup>1</sup> as many religious as possible in order to lend support in the conversion of the Indians there to Diego Luis de San Vitores, who is<sup>2</sup> involved in this, and at that time you requested that the paper written by the Assistance of Spain and the Indies of your Order be considered.<sup>3</sup>

That paper gives detailed reasons why it is important to allow foreign missionaries to go there, without the limitation that was placed upon their taking part in the reduction and teaching of the Indians, included in the decree of 10 December 1664, regarding the possible despatch of missionaries of your Order to the missions of the Indies, the fourth part of which could be foreigners, with the qualifications expressed therein.

Having consulted on the matter, due attention being paid to the reasons stated in the Assistant's paper, I have resolved that, notwithstanding the content of the above-mentioned Decree of 10 December 1664, **your Order may send to the missions of**

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- 1 Ed. note: The Marianas were then an integral part of the Philippines, and was under the control of Manila for civil matters, and Cebu for religious matters.
  - 2 Ed. note: They were soon to receive the news of his demise.
  - 3 Ed. note: The paper in question had been written by Fr. Sebastián Izquierdo, Assistant in Rome for the provinces of Spain. Among other things, he asked that the Society be allowed to send foreigners to the Indies in accordance with the spirit of its Institute and that of the early years of the Church, and that it was so because he so interpreted the words of Jesus Christ: *Ite in mundum universum, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ* [Go to the whole universe and teach the Gospel to all creatures].

**the Indies the third part of the religious who may be considered foreigners**, as long as they are the vassals of this Crown and of the hereditary states of the House of Austria, and that they may be kept in whatever [Jesuit] province of Spain until the time has come for them to embark aboard the galleons or fleets in which they are to make their voyage, without it being necessary for them to reside for one year, as was ordered, in the province of Toledo, and that the selected religious may bring with them the approval of the Provincial of the province where they remained until their embarkation, with the restriction that they may not be employed in tasks outside the preaching of the Holy Gospel to the Indians, which is the reason why they are permitted to go on to those provinces.<sup>1</sup>

To this effect, I have ordered that Decrees be issued, bearing today's date, to all the Viceroy, Presidents, Audiencias, Governors, Magistrates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Indies to order them to obey this, each one according to the part that may concern him, and I thought it proper to inform you of same, for your own purposes...

### **Editorial comments.**

The 1674 decrees opened the door of the New World, not only to Jesuits from the Germanic provinces, but also to others from provinces outside of them. The reason given by the Jesuit superiors was that the boundaries of their own provinces and those of the states in question were themselves not clearly defined. One such example was the Jesuit Gallo-Belgian Province which had at least half of its members belonging to France.

An interesting result of all this was the beginning of the practice, even among the clearly-admissible missionaries, of giving themselves Spanish-sounding names, the better to pass unmolested through the Spanish dominions. In so doing, they also muddied the waters of history and that is one reason why the personal data of many of them cannot be traced accurately.

The practice was reinforced when it was realized that some mission band would otherwise be decreased because the number of Spanish Jesuits did not constitute 2/3 of the total number (see, for instance, Fr. Boranga's letter of 27 March 1681, Doc. 1681D). Sometimes, however, there was no attempt at cheating but just to adopt a name that Spaniards could pronounce and write more easily; an example of this was the adoption by Fr. Kerschpäufer of an alias that was the literal translation of his German name: Cerezo, i.e. Cherry Tree.

The Spanish Crown was leery of admitting too many foreigners into its dominions, not because their allegiance was questionable, but mainly because they might become involved in commercial activities. The suspicion that some Jesuits in parts of South America had become traders by 1680, never applied to those of the Mariana Island Mission; they would never have had even a slight opportunity of doing so.

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1 Ed. note: Fr. General Tirso Gonzalez was able to have another decree, dated 15 November 1676, lifting this restriction.

Between 1703 and 1715, however, the presence of foreigners in the mission fields was again resented. In 1715, Philip V opened the door wider, admitting Jesuits from Poland, Bavaria, Venice, Genoa and the rest of Italy (except for Milan and Naples), but the same king reduced their relative importance back to 1/4 of any mission band by a 1734 decree. The needs of the missions, however, led to the lifting of all restrictions regarding foreign missionaries, by the so-called "big" Decree of 17 September 1743.

By 1750, the German Assistance was the most developed of all five Jesuit Assistances in the whole of Europe,<sup>1</sup> and German-speaking missionaries to a greater extent made their presence felt in the Spanish overseas territories, including the Marianas.

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1 The 10 provinces of Germany had as many members as the 17 provinces of France, Portugal and Italy combined. Germans then constituted 2/5 of all Jesuits.

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## Document 1674C

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# Letter from the Archbishop and Viceroy of Mexico to the Queen, dated Mexico 10 May 1674

*Source: Colección Pastells, Audiencia de Filipinas, vol. XXII, p. 166; translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma.*

*Notes: The original of this letter must be in AGI, the source for all documents in the Pastells Collection. Archbishop Payo de Rivera was from Seville. In 1670, he had been ordained bishop of Guatemala, and from there he was promoted Archbishop of Mexico. He was also Viceroy of New Spain until 1681, when he left for Spain, where he died in 1684.*

## Letter from Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain

Your Ladyship.

In this letter I report to Your Majesty that in conformity with the Royal Decrees of Your Majesty 5,000 pesos were sent to the Mariana Islands in the ship, which on March 31 of the present year of 1674 left the port of Acapulco on its return voyage to the Philippines. Of this amount, 3,000 were for the foundation of a Seminary College for orphan boys and 2,000 for the foundation of another College for girls of the said Islands.

I report also that help was given to 11 missionary Religious of the Society of Jesus who went to those Islands in the said vessel.<sup>1</sup>

Your Ladyship, the efforts made prior to these accomplishments, account taken of the Royal Decrees of Your Majesty, the reports of the Royal officials and what was said and asked for by the treasurer of Your Majesty from this Royal Audiencia and the summary of the general accounts which I made for them, all these are verified by the testimony which with this letter I remit to Your Majesty. Add to this what was resolved

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Eight (8) names are confirmed as having arrived at Guam in 1674 (see HM4: 671-2). The rest must have gone forward to the Philippines.

in regards to the sending of a ship for the said Mariana Islands by the Governor of the Philippines, including 200 Pampangos.

At the time that, Your Ladyship, the said points were being discussed and made ready for their execution, the news of the violent death of the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived. He was a Religious of the Society of Jesus, an apostolic preacher of the Gospel in the Mariana Islands. At the outset such death, given the pious reasons for it, can be called a martyrdom. On this occasion, José Vidal, of the same Society of Jesus, and Procurator in this City of the said Islands, reports about it and all its circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

May God keep the Catholic and Royal person of Your Majesty, in accordance with the needs of the Christian faith.

Mexico, 10 May 1674.

Fray Payo, Archbishop of Mexico.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See Doc. 1674A.



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## Document 1674D

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Coukerken, dated Agaña 10 May 1674

*Source: AGR 2: 171bis-171bis verso.*

*Note: This letter is one of the rare letters written by Fr. Coomans in which his lettering is Gothic and hard to decipher; he must have been in a great hurry.*

### Original text in Latin

*Rde in Chro Pater,*

*P. E.*

*Quamquam triennium jam elabatur ex quo nullas a R. V<sup>a</sup> accepi, facile ignosco propter itineris longinquitatem et immensum locorum intervalum: nam plane confido, licet tarde perferantur perferendas tamen aliquando gratisimas R. Væ, nec posse regionum distantiam hactenus frequentatum litterarum commercium violare. Ergo ego pactis et muneri meo hisce rursus [1-cm hole] stacio. Et primo quidem vivo salvus et incolumis, integris viribus, et plane valdus, ne vestigio quidem inveterati mali, et consuetæ infirmitatis apparente. Atque utinam hoc tam singulare Dei beneficium, qualicumque in salutem animarum possim impendere, et illi demum salutem reddere, cui illam tam multis titulis debeo.*

*Contegit ex voto, ut scripsi ultimis R. Væ excolenda missio Mariana, in qua jam tertium annum solus persevero: nam P. Gerardus individuus hactenus comes, avulsus est, et missus elapso anno Manilam missionis nostræ Procurator. Missio hæc nostra apostolicis votis apprime respondet: nam ut reliqua omittam quæ in adjuncta relatione habet R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, martyrum illa in paucis est ferox. Dedit hoc A<sup>o</sup> 1674 R. P. Franciscum Ezqueram missionis nostræ Superiorem, quem in odium fidei interfecere hujus insulæ inquilini die 2<sup>a</sup> Februarii cum sociis sæcularibus 5, quos in corporis sui custodiam circumdecebat, elapso uno solo acceptis 6 lethalibus vulneribus, ut esset quei rei gestæ ordinem nobis explicaret.*

*Nec longe ego a letho abfui: nam me in suam excursionem antea designaverat, et nescio qua de causa cecidit sors super ipsum superiorem, qui dignas jam tam glorioso præmio virtutes comparatas habebat. Sed non est abbreviata manus Domini: Si R. V<sup>a</sup>*

*me suis precibus, et sacrificiis adjuvare perrexerit, forte et mihi meam lauream obtenebit. Sed magna timeo vota; liceat solum salutem et vitam incolumitati pauperum horum cum fructu impendere, tum demum divinæ providentiæ corpusculi hujus curam relinquemus.*

*Interim, quod magis mirabitur R. V., morte R. P. Superioris devoluta est in me cura gubernandæ missionis. Heus, mi P. Norberte! (nam exclamare libet) superior factus sum, reluctans, invitus: Nec scio, candide loquar, gravius mihi quidquam in sorte nostra accidisse. Obfuit mihi inutile annorum pondus male in Socte. consumptorum. Exhibita fuit instructio R. P. Pro[vincia]llis Philippinarum, qua jubebat, si Superior nemine nominato e vita decederet, id munus occuparet antiquior sociorum. Aberat, malum! P. Gerardus, qui virtute ætatem completeret. Ego movere omnem lapidem non destiti: frustra omnia fuere. Ergo illud solum reliquum fuit, ut altissimi placit a meo vitio non corrumperem. Totum dixi; obœdivi. Nec facile videatur R. V<sup>a</sup> solum 4 sacerdotibus, qui in hoc studio relictis eramus, implerere: nam gravior cura annexa huic muneri erat, regimen sociorum sæcularium, qui cum non minus sexaginta nobis assisterent, non levibus difficultatibus omnia complebant. Sed antequam muneris hujus singularia exprimam, præmittam primo anni præsentis in apostolicis laboribus decursum. Post discessum itaque P. Gerardi perrexi ad victum necessaria sociis nostris, et Patribus comparare, donec sub medium Augusti evocatus a P. Superiore ad apostolicam excursionem, in qua 4 circiter menses exegi non sine dulcissimis laboribus et periculis Christi causa exantlatis. Ibamus comitati 15 e sociis sæcularibus non aliis instructi impedimentis, quam necessario sacrosancto sacrificio apparatu, reculis aliquibus ad coemendum a Barbaris annonam, et ahenum coquendis terræ radicibus, aut orizæ necessarium. Ita instructi p[er] avia et invia, asperos montes et laccinosas [=lacinosas] valles pergebamus. Si Indiorum aliqui comitarentur articulos fidei, et reliqua Christianæ legis capita præcinentes, fructus labori respondit, nam baptizati plusquam 200 parvuli, et fides christiana circumquaque cenovata. Ubi, deficientibus sociis quieti dandum tempus aliquod erat, residebam in residentia S. Josephi, ad quam Indi frequenter e mediterræ confes[r]vebant. Cum illis primus sermo de Deo, et fidei christianæ rudimentis, tum ad commercium iter aliquod aperiebatur. Itaque necessaria ad multos menses annona abundanter congesta, et patriis navigiis in primariam residentiam remissa magno omnium solatio.*

*Atque ita effluxit A<sup>o</sup> 1673 non sine suavi memoria R. Væ et amicorum, qua recreabar inter apostolicos labores, et gaudebam parvulorum aliquid Norbertum, Libertum, Laurentium, etc., nominare, non sine admiratione sociorum ad ignota his locis SS. nomina, quæ mihi dulcis R. Væ recordatis exhibebat. Ineunte, ut dixi, anno 1674, designatio iterum eram in novam expeditionem, sed coronam præripuit ipse, qui hac dignus erat missionis nostræ Superior: et mutatis clypeis crucem suam mihi commodavit, se ipse ad beatum evocatur. In hoc ergo munere nova omnia obtulere sese, et primo quidem negotia omnia missionis in adventum navis tractanda, et componenda, ne per similem omissionem notabile detrimentum missio nostra pateretur, quæ cum in Aula Madritensi, in nova Hispania et Insulis Philippinis pleraque occurrerent, propter his-*

*pani idiomatis ignorantiam, cujus ipsos apices hæc requirebant, singulari molestia me affecere. Feci itaque quod potui, diu noctuque labori non parcens, et Patres Socii Hispani libenter adjuvare, reliqua divinæ providentiæ comisi. Et quidem decreveram, præter relationem, quam concunavi [concoxi?], de moribus Incolarum ad R. Vam singularia aliqua perscribere, sed non permisit hæc tam molesta occupatio. Proximis meis, si Deo cordi erit, non ingrata, ut spero, aliqua transmittam. Altera occupatio adhuc erat molestior in componendis sociorum sæcularium litibus, et rixis, refrenanda militaris licentia, vitiis, et publicis scandalis corrigendis, imo et puniendis, factus illorum dux, judex, prætor. Nam incredibile dictu est, [verso] quod compluries hominum in Nova Hispania exilio multata hic sese nobis jungat, cum quibus plus nobis negotii est, quam cum barbaris ipsis. Ita nusquam deest vel patientiæ, vel exercendi zeli materia. Alia quæ occurrebant videtur complexa relatio quam transmissi: et si Deo cordi erit, proximo anno sese afferet copiosior nec injuncta materia. Nam expectamus navim quam sumptibus suis exædificari, et transmitti nobis diplomate suo jussit Regina Gubernatrix. Ubi illa ab Insulis Philippinis advenerit, invisemus ut spero insulas ad meridiem nobis adjacentes, de quibus multa inter antiquæ missionis nostræ scripta inveni; et hoc anno illarum habuimus, hic non contemnenda argumenta.*

*Reliquum itaque est solum ut R. V<sup>a</sup> has meas, et adjunctam relationem<sup>1</sup> amicis communicet, et a me plurimam illis salutem ex animo precetur. Pi. Liberto de Pape, P. Laurentio van Papenbroeck, nec [P.] Danieli; alterique cujus nomen cum inscriptis non habeam, excidit: Patribus Henricis Duplessy(?), et van Standed(?) reliquosque nominati omnibus, nam longum esset recensere: Gratulor Patribus Professis conno vitiis, et condiscipulis meis. Nobis non licuit propter viarum longinquitatem quamquam indigni undequaue, tanto honore gaudere. Litteræ quidem Mexico advenerant, quibus scribebat Missionis nostræ Procurator illam ad me Roma destinari: sed error fuit: nam referatæ litteræ illius non meminerant. Sed facilis jactura: Faxit Deus ut sanguine, et vitam Xristianam fidem inter hos barbaros profiteamur, aut propagemus.*

*Quod ut R. V<sup>a</sup> a Deo mihi impetret, SSmis. Sacrificiis et precibus ex animo me commendo.*

*Agadña, ex Residentia S. P. N. Ignatij, 10 Majj 1674.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Christo*

*Petrus Coomans*

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674I.

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace of Christ.

Although three years have passed without my receiving any letter from Y.R., I forgive it easily on account of the great distance and huge space between us, for I fully trust that sooner or later I will nevertheless get some letter from Y.R., so as not to let this distance interrupt the heretofore frequent exchange of letters. Therefore, I re-iterate the pact that we made earlier, as being my duty. In any case, as long as I am safe and sound, strong and in full health, with no trace of that old illness, or usual disease apparently.<sup>1</sup> Besides, I hope to God that such a benefit from Him may have some impact on the salvation of souls, and on my own salvation in turn; I owe Him that on so many accounts.

This letter picks up where the last one I wrote to Y.R. left off,<sup>2</sup> with chosen news from the Mariana Mission, where I persevere for a third year already, alone, because Fr. Gerardus, so far my individual companion, has sailed away. He went to Manila last year as Procurator of our mission. This mission of ours is worthy of our apostolic desires, for it is a proud source of martyrs; I will omit the rest [of the news] that is part of the **enclosed report** sent to Y.R. This year of 1674, it gave another, Rev. Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, the Superior of our mission, who in hatred for the faith was killed by residents of this island on 2 February with 5 lay companions, who were acting as his body-guards. Only one escaped, with 6 lethal wounds, and was able to explain the whole thing to us.

And I was not far from death myself, for I had been assigned to do his excursion before, and I do not know what luck made the superior assume it himself, perhaps because his virtues made him worthy of such a glorious reward already. But the hand of the Lord is not short; if Y.R. will consent in helping me with your prayers and sacrifices, chances are that I may carry off my own palm. But I fear to press for my desires; suffice for us to spend the poor hours of our existence in maintaining our health, and then let divine providence take care of our little bodies.

Meanwhile, Y.R. will be astonished to learn that, after the death of our Rev. Fr. Superior, the care of governing the mission fell upon me. Hey, my Fr. Norbertus! (allow me to shout) I am superior, albeit a reluctant and unwilling one. And I do not know, to speak candidly, what more serious thing could have happened to me. It came to me as a result of the bad weight of so many years spent uselessly in the Society. The instruction from the Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Philippines was read, in which he ordered that, if the Superior who had been specifically named should die, the post would be occupied by the most senior of the companions. Too bad! Fr. Gerardus, who should have replaced him by virtue of his age, was absent. I desisted from moving the big rock; it

1 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans refers to his earlier asthma.

2 Ed. note: His letter of 1673 to Fr. Coukerken, also mentioned by Fr. Bouwens in Doc. 1673J, has either been lost, or refers to Doc. 1673L2.

was not possible. Therefore, the only thing left for me to do was to wish that I would not spoil it by displeasing the Almighty with my imperfection. I had said it all; I obeyed. Y.R. may think that it was easy, with only 4 priests left here to employ their zeal, but there were attached to it the more serious duties of the administration of the lay companions, not fewer than 60 of them, who were assisting us; they fill up the rest with heavy difficulties. But before I express any one of these duties, I will mention the apostolic labors that occurred during the first year. Hence, after the departure of Fr. Gerardus, I continued the search for the necessary food for our companions and the Fathers alike, until just before the middle of August, when the Fr. Superior called me to undertake an apostolic excursion, in which I spent about 4 months, not without very sweet hardships and dangers for the exhausting cause of Christ. We were going in a group of 15 of the lay companions carrying not just the baggage necessary for the holy sacrifice [of the mass], but also other small resources collected as the annual food contribution from the barbarians, a cauldron to cook the local root vegetables, or the necessary rice. Thus equipped we made our way over the trackless bush, over steep mountains and tangled valleys. If some of the Indians should commit themselves to the articles of the faith, by pronouncing the other chapters of the Christian law, the labor is fruitful, for over 200 children are baptized and the Christian faith partaken all around. When, for lack of companions some pause was necessary, I stayed at the residence of San José [i.e. Fuña], and the Indians would frequently gather there from the southern part. After they had first been given a sermon about God and the basics of the Christian faith, the way was opened for some trade. Therefore, many months were necessary to collect enough food, and then to remit it aboard native canoes to the main residence, to the great consolation of everyone.

Moreover, so passed the year 1673, not without remembering Y.R. and friends, while enjoying apostolic labors, and I am glad to say that we have some children named Norberto, Liberto, Lorenzo, etc.<sup>1</sup> to the amazement of my companions who had not known the names of such saints before, but which were a sweet reminder of Y.R. to me. As I said, the year 1674 began and I was designated for a new expedition, but the crown of martyrdom itself was seized by the Superior of our mission instead, and the shield of his cross was passed on to me, while he went on to blessedness. Consequently, all my time was taken up by this charge, and first of all by mission business to be dealt with at the arrival of the ship, so that our mission would not suffer the detriment of any notable error of omission, such things as generally occur with the Court at Madrid, in New Spain and in the Philippine Islands, on account of [my] ignorance of the Spanish language, whose fine points were required in these matters, and which caused me particular bother. I did what I could, working day and night, the Spanish Fathers of the Society liberally helping me out, and I left the rest to divine providence. In any case, I will short-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: So named to honor his Belgian acquaintances, Fathers Norbertus van Coukerken, Libertus de Pape, and Lawrence van Schoonen.

en the exceptional account, that I had concocted(?) about the customs of the inhabitants, and to write some special excerpts to Y.R., but this bothersome business did not give me time. The next time, God willing, I will not be ungrateful, I hope.<sup>1</sup> My other occupation was more bothersome, that of fixing up the disputes and fights among the lay companions, restraining the soldiers' licence, vices, and correcting, rather punishing, the public scandals, by being their leader, judge, and commanding officer. Incredible though it is to say, rather often New Spain sends to us here men who have been punished with exile, who give us more trouble than the barbarians themselves. So, there is no lack of opportunity to exercise one's patience, or zeal. As for the other things that occurred, they are included in the relation which I sent. God willing, next year I may add more matters not included therein. For we expect the ship which the Queen Regent has ordered by decree to be made ready for us to be sent to us. When it should arrive from the Philippine Islands, we will visit the islands that lie south of us, about which I have found many things written among our old missions; this past year, we had interesting discussions here about those [islands].<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, there is nothing left for me to do than to communicate this letter and the **enclosed report** to Y.R. and to my friends, and to beg that my heartfelt greeting be passed on to many of them: Fr. Libertus de Pape, Fr. Lawrence van Papenbroeck, not to forget Fr. Daniel, and those I failed to write to: Fathers Henry Duplessy(?) and van Standed(?), and all the others whose names would take too long to list. I congratulate the Fathers Professors who were my student companions in the novitiate. It was not possible for us, on account of the large distance, to enjoy such an honor [together], though unworthy we may be. In any case, there should have come news about this in a letter written to me in Mexico by the Procurator of our Mission on the way to Rome, but it was an error; his letter said nothing about the matter. However, it is easy to conjecture. May God allow us to benefit from His blood, or propagate the faith and the Christian way of life among these barbarians.

I heartily commend myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers that Y.R. will try and get from God for me.

Agaña, from the Residence of our holy Father St. Ignatius, 10 May 1674.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans

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1 Ed. note: His next letter to Fr. van Coukerken was not until 8 years later. It does talk about the local customs (see Doc. 1682G).

2 Ed. note: This remark helps my contention that it was Fr. Coomans who studied, and copied, Fr. Miedes' 1664 report about the Carolines, during his stay in Manila a few months after he wrote this, and that a copy of the report in question was then available at Agaña.

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## Document 1674E

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Agaña 10 May 1674

Source: AGR 2: 172-172v.

Note: This letter, signed on the same day as the previous document, is much easier to read (not as Gothic in style), although both were penned by Fr. Coomans himself.

### Original text in Latin

*R[everen]de in Christo Pater*

*P. C.*

*Non permittit debita in Ram Vam observantia prætermittere occasionem qua de rebus nostris Ram Vam faciam certiozem. Hæreo usque in Insulis Marianis jam secundo anno salvus et incolumis, insistens quantum permittunt temporis angustia et barbarorum inconstantia eorundem conversioni, non sine infinitis laboribus, et periculis, quæ in terra tam inculta Christi causa exanthlanta [sic] solatio mihi sunt.*

*Hoc anno 1674, die 2<sup>a</sup> februarij interfectus in his insulis in odium fidei R. P. Franciscus Ezquerra Missionis nostræ Superior, dum solito suo fervore Indorum pagos circumcursat, parvulos baptizando, instruendo rudes, omnibus cæli tramitem demonstrando. Circumstantias et rei ordinem habet in **adjuncta Prosecutione Relationis Historiæ**, nam relationem ipsam elapso anno transmissi, ex qua poterit R. V<sup>a</sup> Missionis nostræ statum intelligere. Itaque ijsdem repetendis hic supersedeo. Ego ordine ætatis, tantum potuit inutile annorum pondus male in Societate Jesu consumptorum, oneri successi, et gubernandæ Missioni: ita enim jubebat instructio exhibita a Rdo. P. Provinciali Philippinarum, qua jubebat, si forte Missionis Superior nemine nominato decederet, in locum succedere antiquiorem sociorum. Proposui, ut debui, incapacitatem meam, defectum virtutis, idiomatis ignorantiam: frustra omnia fuere. Itaque quod mihi deerat in obedientiam reyjeci [sic]; et ne reluctatio mea in animarum periculum cederet, malui videri obediens quam perspicax. Itaque ne Altissimi placita meo ego vitio corrumperem, in hoc solum incubui, ut quæ parta jam fuerant conservaremus, donec ab transeunte navi subsidium nobis a Rege adveniret. Nam angusto loco remanserat missionis nostræ status: amissis non integro biennio tribus ejusdem Superioribus, P.*

*Gerardo propter Missionis negotia absente, et relictis solum quatuor sacerdotibus inter infinita pericula et circumfrementes indignæ barbaros: nam etsi ex illis amici aliqui haberentur, tamen innata barbaries, et inconstantia confidentiam omnem nobis merito ademerat; ne, quod factum hactenus fuerat, Christiana res tota per illam in discrimen daretur. Ergo malui videri nimis timidus quam parum prudens, non quod mei capitis periculum timerem, sed quod acceptis elapso anno Regiæ sollicitudinis argumentis non levibus certa incertis præponerem: et jud[ic]icarem expedire temperare paululum zelo donec promissi a Rege sufficientes milites advenirent. Illud ergo Ram. Vam. rogare non desinam, ut si ab Rdo. Adm. P. Nro. Generali litteræ advenerint, quibus a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> auxiliares socios pro Missione nostra exquirat, ne gravetur in eo Patrem se nobis, et Missioni nostræ exhibere. Ego id illum unire rogavi pro experientia quam habeo, quam male Provincijs hispanicis de sacerdotibus prospectum sit. Et credat velim R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> Missionis nostræ incolumitatem in sociis exteris esse sitam.*

*Proximo anno si navis advenerit, quam suis sumptibus exædificari, et transmitti nobis diplomate suo jussit Regina Gubernatrix, adjacentes nobis ad meridiem insulas, si Deo cordi erit, invisemus, et non deerit copiosa et pia ad Ram Vam scribendi materia. Nunc reliquum est solum ut Ræ Væ Sacrificiis et precibus me, et Missionem nostram ex animo commendem.*

*Adjunxi his meas ad optimam matrem. R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> dignetur illas ad eam destinare.*

*Agatña ex Residentia Sti. P. N. Ignatii, 10 Maij 1674.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Chro*

*Petrus Coomans.*

[Address:] *Rdo in Chro Patri Laurentio van Schoonen Soctis Jesu per Flandrobelgicam Provinciali aut ejusdem in officio successori.*

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,

Peace of Christ.

Due regard for Y.R. does not allow me to bypass any opportunity to inform Y.R. about our affairs. I have been stuck here in the Mariana Islands since I arrived, safe and sound, two years ago already. I continue, in spite of the present difficulties and the lack of constancy of the barbarians, to work at their conversion, not without infinite hardships and dangers, which are a deep source of consolation for me in such an uncivilized country.

During this year 1674, on the 2nd of February, Fr. Francisco Ezquerra, the Superior of our mission, was killed in these islands in hatred of the faith, while he was visiting villages with his usual fervor for the Indians, baptizing children, instructing the rough [people], showing to everyone the way to Heaven. The circumstances and the sequence of events are described in the **attached Continuation of the Historical Account**,<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674I.



for I sent the account of this past year itself, by which Y.R. should be able to understand the status of our Mission. Therefore, I will not repeat what is found therein. By order of seniority, I succeeded to the post of superior of the Mission, thanks to the [relative] importance of so many years spent however uselessly and badly in the Society of Jesus. So read the written instructions of the Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Philippines, who had ordered that, in case the person expressly appointed as Mission Superior should die, the most senior companion would succeed him. I pointed out, as I ought, my inability, my lack of virtue, my ignorance of the language; it was all in vain. Therefore, what was lacking in me, I set aside out of obedience; and lest my reluctance would result in a danger for souls, I did not wish to seem [more] obedient than perspicacious. Thus, lest I would bring to naught the orders of the Almighty through my own imperfections, I abide by only this: what had already been achieved, we would maintain, until the subsidy from the King is brought to us by the passing ship.

For the circumstances of our mission have remained in a difficult situation; after having lost three of its superiors in a period of not even two years, Fr. Gerard being absent on account of the affairs of the mission, only four priests are left amid endless dangers and indigent barbarians making noises all around. For, although some of them would be regarded as friends, nevertheless their inherent barbarism and changeable character had justly taken away all our trust, so as not to place what had been done so far, the entire Christian endeavor, in jeopardy. Therefore, I preferred to be seen as too timid rather than not careful enough, not that I feared danger to my life, but because after accepting the arguments for the royal uneasiness of mind during the past year as things not to be taken lightly, I would propose certain things to the doubtful; and I would decide to put a damper on zeal a little, until the soldiers promised by the king arrive in sufficient numbers. Therefore, I will not cease to ask that from Y.R., that if the letter from our Very Rev. Fr. General should arrive, asking for additional companions for our Mission, please do not refuse to act as a Father to us and our Mission. If I add this, it is because I know from experience that the Spanish provinces are short of priests. And I wish that Y.R. will believe that the safety of our Mission depends on foreign companions.

Next year, if the ship arrives which the Queen Regent has ordered to be built at her own expenses and that it be conveyed to us through her own decree, we may visit the islands that are close to us towards the south, God willing, there would be no lack of abundant and pious news to write about to Y.R. Now the only thing left for me to do is to heartily commend myself and our Mission to Y.R.'s sacrifices and prayers.

I enclose a letter to my dear mother. May Y.R. be pleased to forward it to her.

Agatña, residence of our Father St. Ignatius, 10 May 1674.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Peter Coomans

[Address:] To the Rev. Fr. in Christ Lawrence van Schoonen of the Society of Jesus, care of the Provincial of the Flandro-Belgian Province, or whoever may have replaced him in office.

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## Document 1674F

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# Letter from Governor de León to the Queen Regent, dated Manila 31 May 1674

*Source: AGI Fil.10-1-31, formerly 67-6-11, pp. 1-4; cited in B&R 53: 306.*

*Note: See Doc. 1676F2 for the King's acknowledgment of this letter.*

## A boat was sent, dismantled, to the Marianas aboard the San Telmo

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Philipinas: Da quenta a V.M. de lo que se le ofreze zerca de la mission de los Religiosos de la Compañia de JESUS en las Islas Marianas.*

*Señora*

*En dos zedulas que V.M. fue servida despachar con fechas de 16 de Noviembre de 1671 se sirve V.M. mandarme me corresponda con el Virrey de la Nueva España en horden a solisittar la mejor disposicion para que los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus que se hallan Missioneros en las Islas Marianas ttengan una embarcasion para pasar de unas islas a otras. Y que assimismo se confiriese las combeniencias o yncombenientes que podria tener el que se cambiasen 200 Indios Pampangos en trueque de otros Ducientos Indios que vendrian de aquellas Islas.*

*Y lo que sobre uno, y otro se me ofreze dezir es, que para poner en efecto la dicha embarcasion embió el año passado el Virrey Marques de Manzera tres mill pesos y aunque no bastaron para su fábrica, se puso en execusion, y se remitte en quarteles en el Galeon **San Telmo** que ba en esta ocasion a la Nueva España con horden de que halandose de buelta de viage çerca de las dichas Islas Marianas la armen, y se embarquen en ella los religiosos, y gentte que viniere para aquella Mission.*

*El cambio de los 200 Indios Pampangos trae consigo no pocos incombenientes pues su transporte a de ser, yendo desde aqui a la Nueva España cuio viage es de seis meses quando mas breve, y quatro desde Acapulco a qualquiera de las Islas Marianas cuio*

*sustento precisamente à de ser con mui cresidos costos, de mas que en la Provincia de la Pampanga harian considerable falta estos Indios por ser los que mas trabajan en el servicio de V.M. Pues continuamente estan ocupados en los cortes, y arrastres de madera para la fabrica, y adereso de los navios que ban a la Nueva España, y no habiendo numero sobrado de estos naturales para alternar el trabajo se considereria con notable dificultad lo que tanto importa como es, el despacho de las naos: Estos Indios Pampangos son de quien con mas confianza se puede echar mano en caso de guerra assi por su fidelidad, y valor como por hallarse bastantemente adestrados en el manejo de nuestras armas por cuiã rason se les conserva con mas preheminiencias que a los demas naturales de estas Islas, y **sin duda que mill de los Marianos no llevarian el baxio de los 200 Pampangos** que se solicita bayan ni la Provincia se halla tan sobrada de naturales que pueda desaxerse de este numero sin que haga falta notable pues mientras los unos se ocupan en el servicio de V.M. trabajan los otros en la labor de sus sementeras de arroz para su sustento, y el abasto desta Ziudad. De estas incombenientes doy noticia al Virrey de Mexico, y de que mi parezer es, que no combiene hazer el cambio referido.*

*Las noticias que hé tenido del estado en que se halla esta Mission no son nada favorables pues con la muerte violenta que dieron los Marianos al Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores han cobrado ttanto brio que han reduzido a sola una isla a los ministros evangelicos suzesos que siempre ttemí por haver entrado en esta mission sin el fundamento, y resguardo de las armas, y sin ellas no se an de poder lograr los progressos que se desean en la reduçion de aquellos barbaros a nuestra santta fee.*

*En esta ocasion pasa a la Nueva España **Gerardo Boubens** de la Compania de JESUS a conferir con el Virrey lo que pareziere mas combeniente al servicio de ambas magestades.*

*Guarde Dios la C. y R. P. de V.M. como la Christiandad à menester.*

*Manila 31 de Marzo 1674.*

*Manuel de Leon*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines.—He reports to Y.M. what is happening with the mission of the Religious of the Society of JESUS in the Mariana Islands.

Madam:

In two decrees, dated 16 November 1671, that Y.M. was pleased to despatch, Y.M. is pleased to order me to correspond with the Viceroy of New Spain in order to solicit the best arrangement so that the religious of the Society of Jesus who are acting as missionaries in the Mariana Islands may have a craft to travel among the islands. Also, I am to hold consultations with regards to the advantages and disadvantages that might be found in the exchange of 200 Pampango Indians with 200 other Indians who would come from those Islands.

What I have to say about these two matters is that, to comply with the said craft, last year the Viceroy, Marquis of Mancera, sent 3,000 pesos, and although they were

not sufficient for its construction, it was carried out, and it is being remitted dismantled aboard the galleon **San Telmo** which is on the way to New Spain with an order to the effect that, upon the return voyage, as they near the Mariana Islands, they are to put it back together again, and that the religious and men bound for that Mission be placed aboard it.

The exchange of 200 Pampango Indians brings up not a few disadvantages, given that their transport would have to be made by going from here to New Spain, whose voyage lasts 6 months at least, and 4 months from Acapulco to any of the Mariana Islands. The food alone would cost very dearly. Besides, in the Province of Pampanga, there would be a considerable lack of these Indians, as they are the ones mostly employed in the service of Y.M. Indeed, they are kept continuously busy in cutting and dragging wood for the construction and renovation of the ships that go to New Spain, and not having an excess of these natives to alternate them in the work, there would be a noteworthy difficulty in what is of such importance as the despatch of the galleons really is. These Pampango Indians are those we can trust the most when we need manpower in case of war, not only on account of their faithfulness and valor, but also because they are found to be rather skilled in the handling of our weapons. That is why they are kept in reserve with more privileges than the other natives of these Islands, and **undoubtedly 1,000 of the Marianos would not compensate for the loss of 200 Pampangos** which is the number requested. The Province is not so well populated either, not enough to let go this number without their absence being felt, because, while some are busy in the service of Y.M., the others work in their rice fields to provide food for themselves and to supply this City. I give notice of these disadvantages to the Viceroy of Mexico, and report my opinion, which is, that it is not advantageous to effect the said exchange.

The news that I have received of the present state of this Mission are not at all favorable, given the violent death which the Marianos gave to the Venerable Diego Luis de San Vitores. They have acted so brazenly that the gospel ministers have been restricted to a single island, an outcome which I have always feared, because the entry to this Mission was made without the basic protection provided by weapons, and without them it is not possible to achieve the desired progress in the reduction of those barbarians to our holy faith.

On this occasion, Fr. Gerardo Bouwens of the Society of JESUS is going to New Spain to consult with the Viceroy about what might be more advantageous to the service of both Majesties.

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

Manila, 31 March 1674.

Manuel de León

### **Editor's comments.**

This letter was received by the Council at Madrid on 23 January 1676. On 1 February, the Council referred the letter to its Fiscal for comments. The Viceroy's com-

ments were added to the back of this letter, as follows: “The Archbishop Viceroy in a letter dated 18 July 1675 (received on the same occasion as this one) advises of the subsidies that he has sent to the Marianas, and that, on account of it not being serviceable, the boat mentioned by the Governor of the Philippines was sent back to him, and he had him return the 3,000 pesos that it had cost to the subsidy, and he applied them to the construction of another one, which the religious of the Society were put in charge of. And he does not say anything about the rest.” In view of the absence of reaction from the Viceroy, the Fiscal agreed with the Governor that the exchange of 200 Pampangos with an equivalent number of Chamorros was not a good idea. On 16 May 1676, the Council reviewed the matter and agreed with the Fiscal’s recommendation.

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## Document 1674G

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# Letter from Fr. Solorzano to Fr. Francisco de Florencia, dated Granada 5 June 1674

Source: RAH 9/2677.

## Fr. Manuel Solorzano's request to go to the Mariana Mission

### Original text in Spanish.

*Pax Chri[st]i et t<sup>a</sup>*

*Por carta de V.R. emos sabido en este Collegio del feliz transito y dichoso martirio del P. Diego Luis de Sanbitores, cuyas noticias è oydo con no pequeño gozo de mi alma, considerandome capaz de tan dichosa suerte, y con premissas, aunque inciertas, de ella. Yo tengo mi pretension en mui buen estado; porque è tenido segunda carta de N.M.R.P. General, en que me da mui buenas esperanzas de la licencia para pasar a las Marianas, y que dexa su ultima resolucion para quando aya venido la Flota. Aora todas mis diligencias dependen de el aviso que V.R. me tiene prometido, para que puedo Yo escribir, y tener respuesta con tiempo de Roma.*

*Suplico a V.R. que no eche en olvido esta diligencia, de avisarme de la venida de la Flota, y desto demas, que a V.R. pareciere ser conveniente para conseguir mas facilmente nuestro intento, pues ve lo que importa: mui seguro de que (como confio en Nuestro Señor y con la ayuda de su Divina gracia) no quedara por mi la execucion, por quanto tiene el mundo; porque estoy tan firme en mis propositos, que solamente me puede divertir dellos mando expresso de N.P. General, sin el qual no dejare de insistir para lograr mi vocacion, y tener quietud, y sosiego en mi conciencia.*

*Esto se obra con el silencio, que tengo encomendado a V.R.; por logical la respuesta desta carta à de venir por el Hermano Martin Ximenez. Y quando huviere relacion del martirio del Padre Sanbitores ó de su vida, estimare mucho me la envie V.R. A quien*

*suplico me encomiende mui de veras à Nuestro Señor, que guarde a V.R. como deseo ett<sup>a</sup>.*

*Gran<sup>a</sup> [sic] y Junio 5 de 1671.*

*Mui siervo de V.R.*

*Manuel de Solorzano.*

[A] *Mi Padre Francisco de Florencia*

[Address:] *Al Padre Francisco de Florencia de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, y su Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias en Sevilla.*

### **Translation.**

Peace of Christ, etc.

In a letter from Y.R. we in this College have learned of the happy transit and lucky martyrdom of Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, which news I have heard with great pleasure in my soul, as I considered myself able to face such a good luck,<sup>1</sup> and with premises, albeit uncertain, about it. My pretension happens to be in very good state, because I have received a second letter from our most Reverend Father General, in which he gives me very good hopes of getting permission to pass to the Marianas, and he postpones his final decision until the Fleet has come [from Veracruz]. Now all my steps depend upon the [shipping] advice that Y.M. has promised to give me, so that I may write, and receive a reply from Rome, in time.

I beg Y.R. not to forget this step, i.e. to advise me of the arrival of the Fleet, and of anything else which may appear advantageous to Y.R. for us to achieve our purpose more easily. See how this is important for me: I am quite confident (as I trust in Our Lord and with the help of His Divine grace) that I will succeed in getting my wish, materially speaking, because I am so firm in my intentions that the only thing that can make me divert from them is an express order from our Fr. General; otherwise, I will continue to insist in order to achieve my vocation, and gain peace and consolation in my conscience.

This will be achieved with the silence, which I have asked Y.R. to please keep; naturally, the answer to this letter must come care of Brother Martín Ximenez. And when an account of the martyrdom of Father Sanvitores or his biography becomes available, I would be very grateful if Y.R. sends it to me. I beg Y.R. to please recommend me very truly to Our Lord, and I wish Him to keep Y.R., etc.

Granada, 5 June 1671.

Y.R.'s great servant,

Manuel de Solorzano.

[To] My Father Francisco de Florencia.

[Address] To Father Francisco de Florencia of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies, in Seville.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He was to have his chance to die violently in Guam 10 years later.

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## Document 1674H

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Agaña 10 June 1674

*Source: AGR 2: 173-174v.*

## Father Coomans causes a near-mutiny among the soldiers, led by the haughty Captain Santiago

### Original text in Latin.

*R[everen]de in Chro Pater,  
P. E.*

*Observatis jam litteris propter incertitudinem navis hæc ab Nova Hispania in Philippinas insulas transeuntis, materiem præbuit Missio nostra scribendi ad Ram Vam, dum integrum non est **Relationi** quod subnecto adjungere.*

*Ipsa igitur Pentecostes festo die, hujus A[nn]i 1674, cum pro officio præparassem aliqua, quæ sociis sæcularibus e suggestu proponerem, admonui militum decurionem, convocaret omnes, nec permetteret deesse quemquam tam solemnem die concioni consuetæ. Paruit, et dum illorum domus circumlustrat, forte ludentes aliquot offendit, qui joco an serio respondent sese monachos non esse, qui ad concionem vocentur. Hoc responsum cum uni e Patribus retulisset, argumentum præbuit non mediocris sensus. Itaque alii, aperte Decurioni obloqui, alii relicto lusu domum sese recipere, et concioni nolle interesse. Ego tum quidem necdum horum certior factus, dixi ea quæ Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui mihi. Vesperi, dum more hic militibus usitato ad persolvendum Divæ Rosarium conveniunt, captata occasione, explicavi illis obligationem, quæ in sanctificandis festis Christiano cuilibet incumbit, non tantum ad audiendum rite sacrum Missæ sacrificium, sed vel maxime ad verbum Dei, et salutarem doctrinam auribus recipienda.*

*Dum his inhæreo, et obortam nuper contentionem vix verbo attingo, unus ex illis signari se existimans, et irarum impatiens, interrumpit, et multa in Decurionem furiose deblaterat. Ego tam irreverenter tractari locum sacrum, et sacra in eo explicantem indignatus, semel, iterum, tertio silentium imposui. Sed frustra; refrenari non poterat in-*



*domita obloquendi libido. Per sacra omnia, per præsentem sub speciebus cæli, terræque dominum obtestatus sum: minas etiam addidi, me anathematis fulmine percussurum, ni impedire desineret, et locum daret Pastori gregi suo spiritualementem pastum exhibenti. Frustra omnia. Incendebatur magis furore agitated animus. Donec tamen aut crebris monitionibus victus aut clamando fessus conquievit. Et ego institutum sermonem, prout cœperam absolvi. Post hæc, vocatis in consultationem Patribus reliquis, jussi hominem domi suæ se continere, nec illa egredi, nisi obtenta ad ida me facultate: nempe ne dissolutis sermonibus reliquorum animos incenderet. Obluctabatur primis mandatis, et obedire recusabat: paruit secundis: Ni pareret infligendam excommunicationis pœnam proposueram.*

*Postrera die, hæc erat 2<sup>a</sup> Pentecostes militum alius, prædicti familiaris Decurionem aggredditur, et primo verbis male excipit, post etiam verberibus, injectisque in fauces manibus, strophio, quod gerebat, strangulare enititur. Ego, certior factus cippo constringi caput delinquentis jubeo. Paret ille: verum ad sumendum prandium cippo educatus, redire denuo recusat, et constringendum pedem exhibet. Dum ego admoneor, et dissimulandum tantis perjudicio: ecce tibi ex eadem societate familiaris eundem Decurionem alio loco aggredditur, et crinibus arreptum ad terram allidit, ibique arrepto fuste ignominiose contundit. Res ad me in flagranti defertur, et quamquam subvereretur animus aliquid conspiracy aut ulterioris confidentiæ sublatare, tamen ne res in exemplum vergeret, vinciri compedibus impero: et ne forte aliquis resisteret, militum duci unum e Patribus adjungo. Res ut verebar accidit: resistit ille, quem vinciri mandaveram, et regium nomen intentantibus, [173v] bombardam quam obviam habuit, arripit et erecto silice in Ducem ejusque socios convertit. Pater qui aderat, sociorum magis quam suo periculo motus, ferocientem invadit, et bombardam avertit primo, mox reluctantis manibus extorquet. Interim unus aut alter qui aderant, socios se ipsi contra ministros justitiæ addicunt, et ille aliud e ligno telum offendit, et illud in scribam publicum attollit. Ingeminant ilico qui accurrerant, milites violari Regem, violari Ecclesiam, et ad arma conclamant. Distinebar ego cum reliquis patribus, componendo illo, quem pridie in templo refractarium mihi scripsi, ne, cum caput factionis ipse videretur, turbis obortis sese immisceret. Gliscebat tumultus, et arma armis utrimque opponebantur. Cippum etiam perfregerat, qui illo detinebatur, armis et ipse instructus auxilio sociis futurus. Advolo ego de periculo monitus frequentibus et ipse armis cinctus, et strictos undequaque prægrandes cultros, genus armorum hic usitatum, offendo. Incederat animum species tam inopinata. Itaque ferocioribus ultro obvius pectus aperio, et in me tela omnia depono. Si eversuri Christianam fidem jam sint, qui defensores advenerint, feriant me primum, in me ferrum exacuant, me justitiæ Præsidentem, meo jussu factum, quidquid factum. Nihil illos peccare qui mandatis meis obtemperent. Ad has voces refrixit aliquantulum indomitus furor. Tum nomine Regis arma jubeo deponere. Nec tamen illico obtinebam. Hærebant stricto ferro nutum utrimque expectantes. Dum Patres discurrunt, conciliandæ paci intenti, dum adest militum Præfectus, et Caput; alia se mihi repente species objecit. Subduco me turbæ et e cubiculo pendentis e cruce venerandam Christi effigiem cum fiducia attollo, collo obvium forte funem temere injicio,*

*atque ita ad obstinatos etiamnum, et flecti nescios irrumpo. Vivat Jesus inclamans. Vivat Ecclesia. Vivat Rex.*

*Inopinato spectaculo mire inflammati animi et statim unanimi voce clamores pro Deo et Rege attollunt. Tum ego ad obstinatos hactenus sic armatus progredior, et exprobrata pertinacia ad audendum aliquid invito. Cecidere scilicet feroces animi, et post irarum tonitrua, quæsitus pœnitentiæ imber successit. Itaque alii in genua supplices provolvi, alii in complexus ruere, et collo circumjectum funem explicare; alii veniam humiliter poscere. Nihil sibi contra Deum, nihil contra Ecclesiam, aut Regem unquam intentatum. Adesse se paratos quamvis pœnam subire, et vel propria vita illata damna resarcire. Inter hæc templi adytus reserati, et ego confusum agmen in illud introduco, ibique in genua provolutus ante venerabile Sacramentum, dum elata voce commissum crimen exaggero, rursus exoritur pœnitentium clamor. Accurrunt iterum, et prostratum in genua attollunt. Ipsi se supplices prosternunt, ibique meos pedes constringentes cum gemitu, et lacrymis, veniam exorant. Alter etiam, qui factionis caput habebatur, unum e Patribus suppliciter rogat, pro se, quando quidem præ turbatione sibi integrum non sit, apud reliquos peroret, errorem et choleram excuset, veniam postulet. Idem militum præfectus et plerique omnes uno ore postulabant. Ego cum mea causa nihil hactenus egissem, respondeo mihi non illatam injuriam, et si illata sit ulla, me illam ex animo condonare; solius Dei causam me agere, et de ipsius injuriis contristari. Rogatus iterum ignoscerem, et a vinculo censuræ absolverem, ut paci publicæ consulerem, et emollirem nonnihil animos; precibus condescendi, et injuncta pœnitentia ab excommunicationis vinculo absolvi. Tum producto in publicum venerabili Sacramento contritionis consuevit carmen prævi: et captata occasione Pr. Alphonsus Lopez ad pacem et quietem e suggestu omnes est adhortatus. Atque sic demum fœta periculo turbatio felicem exitum habuit. Ille qui cippum perfregerat vincendum se ultro obtulit. Alter qui violente restiterat vincendum se quoque dedit. Et ego, ut non solum paci, sed etiam securitati imposterum consulerem, alios tres, qui armis sese publice opposuerant, sub vesperam quietis jam utcumque animis vincendos compedibus [174] curavi.*

*Hæc eo scripsi ad Ram Vam ut ex ungue leonem conjiciat. Nec enim illa, quæ speculative patientiæ nostræ argumenta considerantur, fames, sitis, et reliqua molestiam nobis exhibent, quia promissis a Deo consolationibus, et vocationis gratia miscentur. Hæc quæ subjeci, et id generis infinita, Apostolicos operarios his in oris exercent. Itaque ut illis ferendis pares esse possimus, R. V<sup>a</sup> suis precibus et Sacrificiis a Deo nobis impetrabit. Non scripsi hoc anno amantissimis Ræ Væ parentibus quia occupationes scribendi ad omnes ad quos ex officio debuit locum non dedere. R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> plurimam a me omnibus salutem precabitur, et piam in precibus apud Deum mei memoriam requiret. Salutem item amantissimam omnibus in Provincia notis et quondam familiaribus.*

*Ex Insulis Marianis Residentia Nostra S. P. Ignatij Insulæ Sancti Jofannj's Pagi de Agatña, 10 Junij 1674.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Xro,*

*Petrus Coomans, S.J.*

*[Address:] Rdo Pri in Xro Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu sacerdoti. Bruxellis.*

### Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

Having noticed already that, on account of the uncertainty of these ships passing from New Spain to the Philippine Islands, our Mission presents material in writing to Y.R., given that it does not appear entirely in the **report** attached hereunder.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, on the day of Pentecost itself, of this year 1674, when I was making plans to include some for the lay companions as a result of a suggestion, I reminded the officer in charge of the soldiers to call everybody, so that he would not have anyone miss such a solemn holiday, as usual.<sup>2</sup> He obeyed, and when he went around their house, by chance he offended some gamblers, who jokingly or seriously told him that they were not monks, to be called to a gathering. He would have brought back this answer to some of the Fathers, presenting it as an argument that made some sense. Therefore, with this open contradiction by the Officer, some stayed at home to gamble, and did not want to attend the gathering. In any case, I, who was not yet informed of the time then, said what the Holy Spirit made me say. During vespers, when the soldiers came for the usual recitation of the holy rosary, I used the occasion to explain to them the obligation, which every Christian has to sanctify holidays, not so much to attend the holy rite of the mass, but above all to listen to the word of God, and the doctrine of salvation.

While I was advancing this idea, and had hardly finished raising the above issue, one of them, estimating himself directly implicated, and impatient with anger, interrupted me, and uttered many words, much to the displeasure of the Officer. I was outraged that the sacred place, and explanations of things sacred there, were so irreverently treated; so, again and again, I imposed silence. But in vain; the untamed pleasure he took at contradicting me could not be stopped. I begged him to take into account that all sacred things and the Lord of Heaven and earth were present. I also added threats, that he would be slapped with excommunication by me, if he did not stop hindering me, and let the Pastor give spiritual food to his flock. To no avail. His excited spirit was fired up with a greater fury. Nevertheless, either vanquished by the numerous warnings or tired of shouting, he quieted down. And I, who had started the sermon, gave it up. Afterwards, having called the other Fathers to a consultation, I ordered the man to be kept under house arrest, forbidding him to leave it, unless he had my permission to do so.<sup>3</sup> Is it not true that he would have excited the minds of the others with his pervert talking? He resisted the first orders, and refused to obey. He obeyed the second time. It did not seem necessary to inflict the proposed punishment of excommunication.

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1674I.

2 Ed. note: The date is not mentioned, but it could have been only one of 3 Sundays: 20 May, 27 May, or 3 June 1674.

3 Ed. note: Until the first real Governor, named by the King, arrived at the Marianas in 1681, the Jesuit superior had overall command over the military assistants.

The next day, which was the 2nd [day of] Pentecost, another soldier, a friend of the above-mentioned Officer, approached him. He took offence at the first word spoken, and after some blows with a whip and hits in the mouth with his hands, he tried to strangle him with a ribbon that he was carrying. After I was informed of this, I ordered the head of the delinquent to be restrained with fetters. He gave in; indeed, when led by the fetters to have his meal, he refused again to return, and showed his foot to be restrained. When I admonished him, I did not pay attention to so much provocation; right then, another friend of that Officer came up to him and aggressed him a second time, grabbing him by the hair and pulling him down to the ground, where, grabbing a stick, he beat him shamelessly. The affair had to be decided by me right away and, although it might be feared that some spirit of conspiracy or future confidence was underlying this reaction, yet an example had to be made, and I ordered his feet placed in fetters. Also, so that he would not resist anyone, I had one of the Fathers assist the military commander. What I feared happened: he resisted to submit to the one I had ordered to do it, in the name of the king. He grabbed a bombard [sic]<sup>1</sup> that was handy, loaded it with a stone and aimed it at the Commander and his companions. The Father who was present, moved by the greater danger affecting the companions than by his own safety, attacked the ferocious man and, after first diverting the bombard, reluctantly used his hands.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, one or other from among the companions who were there sided against the ministers of justice, and wounded another with a wooden spear, and the latter called for the public notary. Right then, the soldiers who were running in, were shouting: "To hell with the King, to hell with the Church, let's get the weapons!" The other Fathers and I kept ourselves apart, arranging with the man, whom I said quarrelled with me the previous day in the church, not to join in the open fight, as he would be seen as the leader of the faction himself. The riot continued, weapons opposing weapons from all sides. The man being detained wished to have the fetters broken open, in order to arm himself and help his companions. I myself ran up, giving frequent warnings of the danger, with a weapon [i.e. sword] at my belt, and on all sides met with their long bare knives, a type of weapons used here. Their state of mind was taking on a whole new face. Therefore, I bared my chest to the more ferocious ones, and I invited them to choose me [as the target] for all their spears. If they wanted the Christian faith to be destroyed already, they who had come to defend it, first they would have to hit me, they would have to test the sharpness of their knives on me, who was the President of justice, who had ordered it done, whatever was done. Those who had obeyed my orders had committed no sins. At these words, their untamed fury abated somewhat. Then, in the name of the King I ordered them to put their weapons down. Still, I did not get this right away. They were holding on to their drawn knives, waiting

- 1 Ed. note: The word "bombarda" is not a Latin word. A bombard, in the 17th century was a small field gun, loading stones, the ancestor of the modern mortar. However, in the documents of 1671, what Fr. Coomans called a bombard was called a musket by Fr. Bouwens.
- 2 Ed. note: The Father who assisted Fr. Coomans in this way could not have been Fr. Bouwens, as he was then in Manila. He was Fr. Lopez.

for a second order. The Fathers were running about, trying to arrange peace, when the military commander, and Chief, [came] from somewhere and suddenly looked at me. I withdrew from the troubles and lifted the cross of Christ crucified from the wall of my cell, placed around its neck a cord that happened to be handy, then I rushed back in to turn the minds of the obstinate and ignorant ones around, shouting: "Long live Jesus! Long live the Church! Long live the King!"

Upon seeing this unexpected spectacle, the inflamed minds at once began shouting in one voice for God and the King. Then I approached those who had remained armed up to that time, and invited them by way of a persistent reproach to dare to try something. In fact, the ferocious animosities abated and, after a thunder of anger, there followed a shower of requests for pardon. Therefore, some fell on their knees [before the crucifix], others rushed in to embrace it, and to unroll the cord surrounding its neck, and others humbly begged for pardon. [They claimed that] they had not intended anything against God, the Church, or the King. They were ready to suffer any punishment, and even to repair the harm done with their own life. In the meantime, the doors of the church were opened, and I led the confused column into it. There, I threw myself before the venerable Sacrament, and with a loud voice, I exaggerated the crime committed, voicing aloud a request for penance. They flocked in again, and prostrated themselves on their knees. They prostrated themselves at my feet and begged for pardon, restraining my feet, pleading and shedding tears. The one who had led the faction even begged one of the Fathers, for himself, saying that in any case, he had not been part of the earlier trouble, but that he pleaded for the others, excusing their mistake and anger, and begging for forgiveness. The officer in charge of the soldiers and many others also claimed the same thing with one voice. As for myself, who had done nothing for my cause up to that point, I answered that no harm had been done to me, and if any harm had been done to me, I would willingly forgive; only the cause of God moved me, and I was saddened by harm done to Him. After more pleading, I said I would forgive and absolve them from the severe punishments, in the interest of public peace, and to placate their minds. That said, I had them repeat after me a prayer of contrition to the venerable Sacrament. Using this opportunity, Fr. Alonso Lopez exhorted everyone to peace and suggested to them that they should quiet down. So it was that a disturbance fraught with danger ended happily. The one who had broken the fetters agreed to have them put back on. The other, who had resisted being tied gave himself up. As for myself, in order not only to have peace but security in the future, I took care to have the feet of three others, who had publicly taken up arms, placed in irons at nightfall, after they had quieted down.

I have written the above to Y.R. to get this monkey off my back,<sup>1</sup> not so much to make a case for our patience, the hunger, the thirst, and the other bothers affecting us, because such things have been promised by God, thanks to our vocation. These things, and many more, I accept as part of what the gospel workers expect. Therefore, so that

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1 Ed. note: Literally "to declaw the lion."

we may bear them evenly, I implore Y.R. to get them from God for us in your prayers and holy sacrifices. This year I did not write to the very affectionate parents of Y.R. because I was busy writing to all those to whom I must on account of my position and I had no opportunity to do so. I beg Y.R. to greet everyone on my behalf, and to remember me in your pious prayers to God. Also please give my very best regards to all those in the Province known to me and to my old friends.

From the Mariana Islands, Residence of our holy Father St. Ignatius in the Island of San Juan, and the village of Agaña, 10 June 1674.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Coomans, S.J.

[Address:] To the Rev. Fr. Superior, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Brussels.

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## Document 1674I1

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### Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674—The original text in Latin

*Sources: (1) ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 111-118 (in Spanish); (2) AGR 2, fol. 262-276v (in Latin).*

*Notes: It is an obvious continuation of the previous composite report, Doc. 1673L above, which at the same time served as a postscript to that previous document. Cited in B&R Bibl., p. 308. Said erroneously by Sommervogel (vol. ii, col. 1406) to be dated 2 February 1674, but that is the date of Fr. Ezquerra's death. The Spanish copy in ARSI is dated 24 May 1674. The text of the two copies differ very slightly. The Latin text in AGR is transcribed below. It is strange that the Latin text ended up in Belgium, whereas the Spanish one went to Rome; I presume that another copy in Latin was sent to Rome but was lost.*

#### Report signed by Fr. Coomans and three companions

[fol. 262]

*Prosecutio narrationis Historiæ illorum quæ in Insulis Marianis a Patribus Societatis Jesu in fidei propagatione feliciter gesta, et constanter perpess. Complectitur Annum 1673 et initia Anni 74, una cum Martyrio Vis. Pis. Francisci Ezquerræ, missionis eiusdem superioris in odium fidei nostræ cum socijs 6 secularibus a barbaris harum incolarum [i.e. insularum] incolis crudeliter occisi 2d<sup>a</sup> febr. A<sup>o</sup> 1674.*

*Affert se nobis Annus a Christo nato 1673, sub cujus exordium una res ægre admodum Patres habebat, quod ad nitentibus strenue ad defensionem suam sociis alimenta non suppetent: circumcursantibus undique aut palam inimicis, aut prodicionem nobis inter amicos et insidias molientibus. Itaque ineunte anno decretum faciendam viam vi et extremo malo remedia ultima adhibenda. Duo e Patribus assumptis ad defensionem sociis quindecim in meridionalem insulæ partem egressi tentandæ potius Indorum fidei quam faciendæ expeditioni. Pacata omnia reperere. Nec tamen ultra unius diei iter progressi; sed lustratis ex itinere recens natis infantibus, cœmplis etiam, quibus hic vescimur, terræ radicibus, domum feliciter rediere. Inde post paulo alii duo, et rursus alii secuti. Nec tamen cœptum iter ille perfecere: admoniti nimirum ab Indis ipsis ne pergerent, nisi in paratam sibi vim et insidias a confederatis hostium meridiem inhabitantibus nobis præparata delabi imprudenter vellent: donec tandem erescentibus, ut fit, animis sub medium januarii restaurata expeditio est, et circiter tertia pars oræ maritimæ (nam mediterranea ob viarum asperitatem et montium angustos adytus plus periculi exhibebat) feliciter lustrata: adscriptis Christianorum albo parvulis plus quam 40 [262v] atque ita quasi post fœdam tempestatem exorto demum sole, læti omnes et alacres domum reversi. Ad notandus hic venit modus, qui deinceps in*

*circumcursanda hac insula ad obeunda Ministerii nostri munia observatus: immutabus hic quidem non-nihil et ab antiqua simplicitate et quasi Apostolica paupertate discrepans: verum conveniens apprime et conservandæ Christianæ rei unice necessarius. Ingressa fuerat hunc in campum Societas Jesu nuda prorsus ab humano omni præsidio, sine strepitu armorum, illius auxilio freta qui suis in hac palæstra desudantibus suam spem promisit.*

*Sed interim labente tempore usus docebat nudam barbarorum pellem lupinum rabiem tegere nec hierē(?) Ministris Evangelicis, si conservari vellent absque comitatu armato inter barbaros vivere. Itaque armati aliquot abtranseunte navi non gravate impetrati nec tamen illi excurrentibus ad sua ministeria Patribus socii adhibebantur Vis. Per. Didacus Aloysius de San Victores plus sibi in circumcursandis Indorum pagis et in exercendo ministerio obstaculi adferre sociorum arma quam ad defensionem momenti. Imo sibi ipsi profitebatur securiorem se inermem inter Indos versari quam si armis cingertur. Et verum] qui attentius rem adspiciet, facile considerabit quam difficile sit Apostolicum Ministerium a terra inculta et paupere et nostratibus fructibus destituta, inter gentem omnino nudam et libertatis suæ lege omnia metientem, cohortem ad corporis sui custodiam circumducere. Ut enim sileam illa quæ æquus rerum æstimator facile perspiceret, et sæculi nostri depravati mores manifesto loquuntur: an parum molestiæ creare quis putet tot optimis comitibus alimenta conquærerere, ubi vix suis cultoribus terra ipsa sufficiat? An satisfieri posse sociis fatigatis, qui voluntaria inedia corpus macerare et oblatrantem ventriculum patiendo sopire necdum plane didicerint? [263] Quid dicam rixas, contentiones, et similia inter se et cum barbaris ipsis, sæpe non sine periculo ipsius Ministri, semper cum dedecore aliquo ipsius quam prædicamus legis et scandalo pusillorum dissimulando, corrigendo, emendando? Illud certe nemo æquus negaverit nusquam melius legem pacis quam in pace ipsa, et quiete, et extra armorum strepitum promulgari? At vero ex tantillo præsidio jam viginti et ultra barbarorum telis occubuerant. Patres duo gloriosum sanguinem cum vita in eadem causa profuderant. Fraudulentis insidiis omnes oppetiti. Ubi dum arma armis et vim vi in bello nupero opponeremus, ne unus quidem e nostris, cui Dei est favor, cecidisset. Nec deerat jam aliud, nisi ut tenues reliquias, amisso capite, ad unum omnes cum fide conficerent. Itaque vel sæptis domesticis includendi omnes, vel alia via ineunda necessario erat. Nec tamen illud patiebatur tot parvulorum extrema necessitas. Ergo e duobus malis minus elegimus. Milites ad custodiam corporis circumtecti: selectis maxime illis qui mores tam pio operi aptos præ se ferrent. Ad illos in dies sua exhortatio habita, quo magis in officio continerentur. Ubi devotum erat in locum quo pernoctandum nostris esset, domum e majoribus aliquam designabamus, indis incolis ad vicinis suos dimissis. Hic distributi in suas vigiliis milites, diurnos labores nocturnis vigiliis cumulabant atque ita demum hoc anno obita indesinenter consueta ministeria. Prospectum saluti infantium præsertim nostra spe extreme indigentium, fides denique et Christianæ doctrinæ capita quoquo versum inculcata; nemine quidem e nostris adjuvantibus superis amisso. Inter hæc alia non minor cura animum subibat explorandæ scilicet navis, quæ sub anni principium, ab Nova Hispania solvens, per vernos menses insulam prætervehitur. A quo cum missionis nostræ salus unice dependeat, permittendum nullo modo erat ut incautis navis præterlaberetur. Et quidem hunc in finem excitata [263v] fuerat in meridionali insulæ plaga nova residentia, superiori anno a bono latrone Sto. Dimas nuncupata. Nam illæ naves dum occidentem petient, plerumque prætervehuntur. Sed cœgerat nuper armatus in nos undique Indorum furor et parata vis stationem vix bene inchoatam deserere. Nec repetere illam sinebat nimium locorum intervallum, quod cum plus quam unius diei iter complecteretur, fiebat ut nostris incerta domo inter Indos noctem agentibus non satis tutum hospitium esset. Nec poterant, si ultra unius diei iter socii abessent, aut juvari si vis ingrueret, aut fieri certiores, qui primariam sedem defendebant. Aptior locus videbatur ille ipse, ubi pernoctare nostri consueverant, dum præfatam modo stationem invisunt: tum quod, quæ memoravimus incommoda hic non occurrerent, tum vel maxime quod campum nobis aptum suppeditaret dilatandæ vel potius confirmandæ fidei Christianæ utpote propter pagos parum hinc inde distantes, inter frequentissimos Indos situs, et, quod nostri maxime intererat, ab Indis mediterranea insulæ incolentibus commercii causa plurimum frequentatus. Per quos aperienda nobis porta necessario erat ad interiora terræ secure penetrandi. Illud etiam commodis reliquis accedebat non minimum, quod omnem late meridionalem oram detegeret, adeoque ex illo, tanquam e speculo, invigilare transeunti navi liceret.*



*Pagus ab incolis Fuña dictus, fabulosis ipsorum monumentis celebris in paucis, nempe in quo rupem etiam nunc demonstrant, ex qua universum hominum genus traxisse originem aut fabulantur aut credunt. Huc ergo profecti Patres qui locum domicilio aptum designarent. Difficiles nonnihil Indos initio reperere veritos ne quod primariae residentiae pago accidisse jam viderant, per nostrorum praesentiam domus ipsorum destruerentur. Verum ubi edocti accurate sunt, munusculis etiam deliniti, nihil ipsis mali timendum a nostris, modo ipsi in fide et amicitia perseverarent, liberaliter [264] tandem quae rogabantur addixere: vient(?) Patres, perlustrarent omnia et quem locum aptiorem sibi ex omnibus judicabant illum deligerent. Excurrebat in occidentem isthmus quidam sane amoenus et fertilis, et vel ideo usibus nostris accomodus, quod affluente undique mari praeruptis rupibus asper ab una solum parte adeuntes admitteret: unde nobis, si forte vis ingrueret, non modicum levamen; quibus nempe paucis a tergo et lateribus securis, a fronte solum defensus incumberet. In illo itaque crucis tropaeum primo erectum, ipso Sti. Josephi pervigilio. Et postero die gloriosae Virginis sponso dicato locus incruento sacrificio expiatus: assumpto in ejus tutelarem Domini nutritio Sto. Josepho; nempe ut Insulis Marianis is secundus praesideret, cui post Virginem Matrem in familia mariana jus primum competeat. Primus labor fuit spissum nemus excidendi. Deinde comportata materia ac intra breve tempus stetit domus duorum Patrum, et sociorum duodecim commode in tabulato capax. Nam pars ejus inferior templo reservata, donec per majus otium liceret suam quoque Deo domum erigere. Hic ergo duo e Patribus, dum navim praestolantur, suam operam rei Christianae strenue impenderunt: repetitis per totam hanc maritimam oram excursionibus baptizatis parvulis, aegrotis ad pie moriendum confirmatis, obitus denique Apostolici officii ministeriis omnibus.*

*Quando decimo kalendas Junii navis adfuit, a Sto. Antonio dicta, a parte septentrionali faventibus auris leniter fretum illapsa, quod ab adversa nobis insula, a Sta. Anna nuncupata efficitur. Stetit illa non quidem in anchoris sed vento obversa, ex adverso Residentiae nostrae principalis, non exiguo tum Patrum tum sociorum solatio, quod invisere illam facillime, et si quid possent comparare omnibus liceret. Et quamquam illa nec navim hoc anno ab insulis Philippinis offenderat Acapulci nec classis ab Hispania advenerat instructissima, tamen erat iis omnibus quibus, ut maxime, indigebat missione nostra. Ita gratissima acciderunt. Adferebat itaque litteras Regiae munificentiae et liberalitatis [264v] plenas, quibus Regina gubernatrix Maria Anna Marianis suis materna sane cura et solitudine providebat, et primo quidem diplomate jubebat Ministris in hac sua sparta excolenda laborantibus ex aërio regio Mexicano alimenta suppeditari. In quo, regia profecto pietate et affectu, se ipsam superavit: nam voluit hos cultores pauperis horti assimilari illis, qui in septentrionali America Cinaloam [= Sinaloa] Provinciam, ubi rem divitis metalli venis excolendam, susceperunt.<sup>1</sup> Ut nempe vel sic evidenti testimonio comprobaret non divitias apud Indos, sed Indos Indorumque salutem ab Catholico Monarcha per divitias quaeri. Deinde ornamenta Altaribus et sacerdotibus omnemque reliquum apparatus sacrum exhiberi imperabat,<sup>2</sup> operarios] denique ab nova Hispania aliisque Provinciis quam plurimos submitti, qui pauperis hos, tanquam thesauros unice desideratos in caeleste aërium congregarent.<sup>3</sup> Nec his contenta mandabat insuper ab Insulis Philippinis ducentos Indos, Pampangos dictos, dimitti quod(?) armis suis tam pium opus promoverent, frenum barbaris, Patribus praesidium non minus quam auxilium.<sup>4</sup> Praetulerat hos felicis memoriae Vis. Pr. Didacus Aloysius de San Victores reliquis ab nova Hispania militibus, tum quod illis virtute militari, animisque succederent, tum vero quod laborum tolerantia, praestanti profundae fidei zelo et fa-*

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- 1 Ed. note: The ARSI text has in addition: "a los diez de Octubre 1671" [dated 10 October 1671]. See Doc. 1671I3.
  - 2 Ed. note: The ARSI text adds: "en otra de doze de Agosto de 1671" [in another dated 12 August 1671]. See Doc. 1671G.
  - 3 Ed. note: The ARSI text says: "en otra de 10 de Noviembre de 1671" [in another dated 10 November 1671]. See Doc. 1671L1.
  - 4 Ed. note: ARSI text: "16 Nov. 1671". See Doc. 1671L3.

*cili ad regendum ingenio reliquisque moribus longe alios superarent. Ad hæc, ne quid deesset tam pio operi, navem regiis sumptibus exædificandam curaverat,<sup>1</sup> aut in aliquo novæ Hispaniæ portu, aut, si ibi copia deesset in Peruviano aliquo, vel denique in insulis Philippinis quod ultimum Prorex Mexicanus<sup>2</sup> tanquam commodissimum approbavit: qua scilicet adjacentes meridiem versus et aquilonem insulas Missionarii recognoscerent, et illas Christianæ fidei radiis, nec minus Catholicæ Monarchiæ pietate quoquoersum illustrarent. Atque in his nec labori nec sumptibus parcere ministros regio voluit, hoc unice intuentes [265] (sic enim loquitur) quod in opus tam pium tamque ex Dei obsequio expensæ inevitabiles ceneantur. Sileat hic vel invidorum livor, vel hereticorum mordax audacia, dum soli maculam, id est hispanæ pietati attingere non erubescunt, quasi tot classibus, quo patet oceanus, aliud nihil agatur quam pretiosa terræ viscera aurum et argentum convehere. Verum hæc alii; nos ad propositum revertamur.*

*Hæc tam varia regiæ munificentiae argumenta partim executiem [sic] mandaverat eximius in nos favor Marchionis de Mancera, Mexicani Proregis, partim, uti res exigebant, Philippinarum Gubernatori exequenda commiserat: nec videbatur illa facilem exitum habitura, nisi e Patribus aliquis præsens assisteret, in dubiis oculatus testis, in difficilibus strenuus Procurator; nec deerant alia haud levioris momenti, quæ præsentiam ali-cujus Manilæ requirerent. Jam biennium effluxerat, ex quo ne litteræ quidem a Superioribus Soctis adveniant; unde, in tanta rerum mutatione, tanquam inopinata morte ipsorum Missionis columinum, necessarius videbatur aliquis, qui præsentem rerum statum coram explicaret. Cum primum ab transeunte navi milites impetrati, volverat Philippinarum Gubernator D. Emanuel de León ipsorum regimen penes Patres residere. Et vero initio paucos facile moderabantur Patres multorum annorum experientia et auctoritate insignes. At vero ubi et illi defecere, et numerus militum excrevit, non poterat militaris licentia paterna disciplina facile coerceri, adeo ut non raro vix minus negotii ipsi nostri, quam gentiles barbari nobis facerent. Illis ergo impetrandus dux aliquis necessario erat, qui militarem licentiam in brachio forti compesceret, et in faciendis expeditionibus bellica virtute animaret suos, atque dirigeret. Et hæc et alia id genus propendebant Patres jam dui, ut aliquis Manilam Missionis Procurator mitteretur, quibus cum quæ memoravi ab aula Madritensi negotia accederent, quamquam absentia unius et tam paucis operariis sendum haud modicum præberet, tamen confecta res est, et destinatus Manilam<sup>3</sup> Procurator P. Gerardus Bouwens, superiori anno [265v] ab Hispania in has oras delatus. His dum negotiis immoramur, jam vela nautæ laxaver- et illa faventes a puppi auræ implebant, ergo tertio quam appulerat die, cursum, ut optamus, felicem navis instituit: relictis nobis, tam ab urbe Mexico quam a propria liberalitate suppetiis non contemnendis. Inter reliquos singulari munificentia insignes enituit navis Generalis D. Durán de Montforte: qui non contentus a penu privato et publico liberaliter nobis prosexisse(?), donum insuper singulare addidit equum generosum, quem ab nova Hispania rarum in Insulis Philippinis munus advehebat. Nec facile dixerim quantos in animis barbarorum motus nova nunquam antea spectati animalis species excitarit. Nec mirabitur qui ad inusitatam elephantis molem, ad leonis aut tigridis famam totas sæpe effundi Europeas urbes spectarit: confluebant non tantum ex hac verum etiam ex aliis insulis curiosi spectatores. Formam, hinnitum, velocitatem, omnia admirabantur, tum præsertim cum in celebri supplicatione phaleratus apparuit, eique militum unus bombardis hinc inde et sclopetis armatus insedit, quem ut repetita tonitrua fulminantem videre longe fugientium tergis insistere, etiam in mare sese præcipitantes cursu per vada littoris invecto facillime assequi, tum demum incessit omnes consternatio: ac nunc denique appulisse suis oris domitorem hostium nostrorum omnes clamitabant, dentibus horribilem, velocitate tremendum, viribus singularem. Nam tres e nostris, aut quatuor commode patiebatur, et solita velocitate deferebat. Adeo ut pacis, ut infra memorabimus, ultro ab hostibus expetita et copiosi fructus ex baptizatis undequaque parvulis, solitisque ministeriis relati, quamquam divina benignitate hæc omnia procedebant, non leve fuerit hic noster bucephalus argumentum. Fuere qui munuscula illi sua, tanquam advecto ad se nobiliorum alicui referrent; alii, magnum illum apud exteros*

1 Ed. note: ARSI copy: "16 Nov. 1671". See Doc. 1671L2.

2 Ed. note: ARSI copy: "Marques de Mancera".

3 Ed. note: The ARSI text adds: "by the galleon San Antonio".

*principalem, aut quasi principe[m] appellabant, adeo ut recens natis infantibus non [266] aliud nomen quam domitoris equi nonnulli impenderent. Alii, thesauri instar, crines pauculos impetrabant, velocitatem sibi ad natam [adgnatum?], cum illos circumferrent, arbitantes. Illud ab nullius ore et animo recedebat, quod ferrum ore, et chalybem, manducaret, ita scilicet opinabantur quod frenum ore continuo masticaret. Interim in omnem occasionem intenti Patres illud animo versabant an bello peterentur rebelles fidei, nec hactenus armis domiti barbari, ab Septentrione nobis usque infensi. Suadebat recens illis ab conspectu navis metus incussus, et occupandus videbatur novibus advectorum militum fervor, omnia primis votis exanthlare pericula, omnes exhaurire labores cupientium: nam ad numerum socii circiter duum ab navi accesserant, commutatis etiam illis qui aut tædio tot laborum affecti, aut viribus impares recuperandæ valetudini causa, aut denique moribus parum accomodi, Manilam petebant. Verum decidens hac anni tempestate quotidiani imbres non sinebant hoc tempore arma aut nitratum pulverem circumferre, et vias quoquoversum impenetrabiles fecerant. Ergo rejecta in præsens hostium cura, qui metu territi longe in montes sese receperant. Ad redigendos in meliorem formam amicos Indos vires, et arma conversa. Nam etsi viciniore primariæ residentia Christiani dicerentur, et fidei nostræ mysteria percillerent satis commode, retinebant tamen haud parum antiquæ libertatis. Unde nec ad Missæ sacrificium statutis ab Ecclesia diebus accedebant nisi pene compulsi, nec solitos manuum labores festis domesticisque intermittebant.*

*Ad illos itaque milites circumducti, minis etiam additis, et pœna exhibita, nisi ultro ad stata officia convenirent, resque succedebat sub initium præclare: confluebant ad æris campani signum non vicini tantum, sed etiam remotiores, metu insolitis auribus insonante. Sed constantes esse non didicerant post menses aliquot itum in antiquam silvam exercerbari etiam magis quam flecti quibus modice pœnæ insolentes videbantur, arma, quin etiam et bellum renunciare aliqui alii, in montes sese et invia recipere donec, ne summa rei indiscrimen daretur, ad preces rursus et blandimenta reversum est. Alis nec levior litigatio erat cum illis, qui sub primum patrum adventum præcipuum quemdam fervorem præ se ferentes, juxta Concilii Tridentini [266v] legis solemniter fuerant Matrimonio conjuncti, et jam more barbaris usitato legitimos conjuges libere dimittebant, aliosque cum insigni indissolubilitatis nexus incuria, superinducebant. Cum his acriter res gesta, precibus blanditiis, minis. Nec intra minas stetere conatus. Omnes uni quæ apud illos summa ignominia est, ad exemplum rescissi, verum tanta etiam optimorum indignatione, ut præsentem incuriam armis ulturi viderentur. Quare, cum vires domi haud quaquam suppeterent, quibus incondita multitudini imperare liceret, temperandum animo fuit, et abstinendum potius ab Sacrosancto mysterio necdum satis constantibus impertiendo, ne panem canibus, margaritas porcis spargeremus. Usque adeo verum est illud ultro omnia in deterius labi, ad optima quæque magno semper labore, magnis animi conatibus enitendum. Felicitus res foris gesta: nam cum amplificandis sæptis domesticis et fabricandis domibus reliqui incumbunt, stationem Sti. Josephi duo Patres excoluere sane utiliter. Ab conquerenda annona initium sumptum ut enim pauper hic agellus septuaginta hominibus alimenta præberet, ad laborandum sane non mediocriter erat. Hanc ob rem cum mediterraneis Indis negotiatio inita sane utilis, verum longe utilior animarum. Per hanc occasionem penetrati difficiles montium adytus et interiora insulæ, unde jam pœne biennio ministri Evangelici injuria temporum exulaverant, feliciter lustrata. Ibant Patres stipati, ut dixi, militibus corporum custodibus, et, ne fuga claberentur, ante per fideiōres Indorum. Nomina recens natorum parvulorum, eorumque parentum scripto exceperant, et in pugillaribus referebant.*

*Illos inquirere, ubi primum in pagum aliquem devenerant, prima cura, latitantes investigare, fugientes per avia et invia assequi. Hoc munere perfuncti, instruendis adultis animum applicabant. Illud dolenter ingemiscebant, quod jactis quondam fidei christianæ seminibus, spinæ late et tribuli supercreverant: vix rastro hinc inde felicioris sementis apud raros apparente. Valuit tamen divina vis, qua piis Patrum conatibus efficacia accedebat. Itaque monendo, exhortando, inculcando tantum effecere ut nova rebus facies successisse iterum videretur. Plerisque præcipua fidei nostræ mysteria adjuvante cantu tam tenaciter inculcata, ut in loco profanarum suarum [267] fabularum (nam gens cantu ap[er]ime est dedita) Christiana carmina quoquoversum succederent.*

*Quatuor omnino menses tam pio in opere positi, Aliis subinde Patrum sese ordine succedentibus; quibus nec labores defuere pro Xro exantlandi; ut facile, ipsas rerum circumstantias consideranti patebit,*

*et alias in loco sæpius memoravibus, nec pericula nam quamquam Indole plerique haud iniquos se nobis in excursionibus præberent, tamen armis id potius debebamus quam ipsorum fidelitati. Itaque dum ex una insulæ parte perdurant infesti nobis Indi, et nos interiora penetramus, facile confederatio ipsorum viciniore facti, timore implebamus omnia. Unde alii fuga delabi et asperiora montium trepidi p̄terere; alii vim etiam pasase; et infestas hastas cum fremitu arripere. Fuit cum delati nostri in plagam insulæ orientalem pagum vicinum illi, in quo socios aliquot nostros per insidias a biennio occiderant, admonentur ab amicis Indorum principalioribus ne ulterius progerentur, aut etiam ne in loco subsisterent nisi arma armis repellere, et congregatos ad prælium hostes excipere velent. Quod cum tali re ac tempore minime opportunam videretur, recepere sese nostri per incognita viarum, Indo fideli viam demonstrante, et exacta sub dio noctis alique parte ad quietem necessaria, sub auroram ex adversa insulæ parte salvi omnes apparuere. Dum hæc foris geruntur, domi etiam divina clementia sua consolabatur. Singulare fuit, quod 14<sup>a</sup> Novembris, ipsa B[ea]t[us]i Stanislai Kostkæ festa luce, nihilo minus nobis opinantibus, pax ab Indis septentrionalibus ultro petita. Occasio, ut plane indifferens, ita Marianis his clientibus plane pia, hæc fuit: Indi liquod nobis amici rogaverant Principalem nobis vicinum, caput belli, ut possent succidere arborem aliquam naviculis suis necessariam ab Maria nominatam. Ille in montis asperiora profugus, nefas sibi ait de illa disponere, pergant ad patres, et per illos si laeat [licet?], pase quidem licere. Veniunt illi et a nobis, ut fit, per humaniter excepti accepti facile veniam impetrant. Hinc nato inter illos de patrum humanitate disuasus confidentiæ alicuius materiem præbuit. Nempe per arborem ab se dictam, pro Marianis suis Maria [267v] intercedebat. Eosdem illos pro pace oratores supplices promittunt. Res ancipitis curæ videbatur ne prætextu pacis nostri incautiores ab intentis in prodicionem aliquam jam bis rebellibus per insidias circumvenirentur. Verum apud Patres pia sententia valuit, quo scilicet consulere tur parvulis pluribus baptismali lavacro extreme indigentibus. Annonæ etiam difficultas ab hac parte plurimum levanda videbatur. Denique, quod plerumque accidit, pax vel ipso nomine grata omnibus accidebat, et ad plurima utilis futura putabatur.*

*Ergo, ut dixi, 14<sup>a</sup> Novembris primores primum aliquot ad colloquium admisi. Venera supplices, gemebundi, trementes, et tanto palam in luce, submissiores, quanto clam et inter abstrusas latebras ferociiores. Nec primo colloquio quidquam perfectum. Tempus illis et spatium ad deliberandum concessum. Despicerent primum si pacem quam peterent servare in posterum vellent experientia didicisse non sibi cum sui similibus rem esse. Pagos circum omnes cum suis habitatoribus, arbores, plantas, fruges, non universali ruina involuta, id sola Patrum misericordia tantum: quare si pacem cuperent, illam ipsi sanete servarent; Deum, quam prædicarent Patres, rite venerarentur, ipsiusque mandatis, ut fas est, obœdient. Sic dimissis quatrimum ad consultationem datum. Quo exacto adfuere cum suis muneribus frequentes, primum ex proximo nobis pago, deinde ex aliis etiam duobus quibus in finem denuo acceptis conditiones appositæ: homicidas nostrorum, si quos forte ad nos se dilabi contingeret, inter sese minime diversari paterentur, nec nobis ad conquirendos illos exeuntibus armis sese opponerent, parvulos omnes baptismi gratia in templum deducerent, ipsi statutis diebus ad Missæ Sacrificium, ceterasque Christianorum obligationes convenirent. Nec tamen cum reliquis hostium ultra quidquam tractare visum est: tum quod insolita pertinacia ferociiores persisterent, tum quod ad veniam impetrandam adytus tam vaciles non haberent: utpote apud quos neces nostrorum tam crudeliter perpetrata, in quas si nihil ipsi contulissent, saltem plures consenserant. [268] Ceterunt fructus pacis non inutiles fuere, vel illo saltem ex capite, quod innocentes parvuli a Patrum suorum culpis plane remoti, baptismalibus unitis circumquaque perfusi et iam paucis licet operariis angustus tamen insulæ ambitus videbatur.*

*Itaque expeditio etiam in tertiam ad boream insulam incolis **Tenian**, nobis Buena Vista Mariana nuncupatam adornata. Quæ quamquam successu casuit, ut infra narrabitur, fructus tamen labori uberrimus respondit. Nam dum commodiores ventos expectans qui missus fuerat Pater in pago itineribus illisve apto ad septentrionem subsistit, omnem illam oram feliciter lustravit, adscriptis Christianorum albo non minus quadraginta e quibus nonnulli ad felicitatis suæ æterna præmia continuo pervolarunt. Atque ita, si paucos hostiles pagos accipias, lustrata hoc anno universa hæc insula additis Christianorum numero para(?) lavacrum regenerationis non minus quadringentis: fructus nullo non labore nullis non periculis comparandum: post illum alii succedebant haud sane insuaves instructio præsertim parvulorum, sed etiam adultorum, qui omnes indefessa Patrum sollicitudine, et vigilantia cura profectus sui indicia non rara*

*præbuere. Volup erat intervallo omni, quot inter utramque domum interjacet, quod quinque circiter leucas complectitur, occurrere obviantibus, et salutantes audire, non iam modo suo usitato, et barbaro sed Christiano prorsus salutare illud, Laudetur Sanctissimum Sacramentum, ingeminantes. Hic resonabant iam littora piis caminibus et profani cantus exulabant nec opus iam erat solati indagine sed ad parvulorum baptizma, et infirmorum solatium ultro iam ipsi prætereuntes patres advocabant. Fuere qui in schola latrum articulos fidei et reliqua eiusdem capita edocti, in montis interiora negotiorum causa secederent, ibique ex discipulis facti Magistri; tuimas integras parvulorum iam probe instructas secum ad patres sedulitatis suæ testes adducerent. Fuere qui a veteribus Christianis sociis inquam nostris ad peccanimum invitati, generosa constantia resisterent, illud audacter ingeminantes: "Rararo si Dios," indignabitur Deus. Nec deerant igniculi pietatis qui in teneris adhuc animis tamquam a sole radii scintillabant. Itaque non ad consuetas iam preces, et doctrinæ Christianæ capita decantanda, sed ad persolvendam Div[ini] Rosarii coronam frequentes conveniebant, idque prostrati in genua, et choris alternis sese ad [268v] pietatem excitantes; huic contritionis consuetum carmen devote subiciebant, adeo ut vel ex ipso exteriori modo notum omnibus fieret, profundas jam tam piis in cordibus radices vernantem fidem egisse. Id ipsum demonstrabant non parvulorum tantum sed etiam adultorum frequentes confessiones: id ipsum imaginum crucium, numismatum, ceterorum que amuletorum pia veneratio. Inventus est, qui cum similia id genus a nobis demum abstulisset, et pie vereretur, ne dum illi diurnis laboribus foris distinctur, debita reverentia tam sacra pignora domestici non prosequerent[ur] interdiu decentibus involucris illa involveret, ac vesperi domum redux, dum solitæ venerationi illa exponit, universam familiam imo et viciniam convocaret, ac tum denique pie ingenua provolutus, conceptas preces reliquis præcineret. Usitatum jam erat crucis non domibus suis tantum præfigere, sed ipsarum fastigiis pro coronide imponere. Nempe experientia docebantur, non aliud infestis spiritibus, a quibus ut alias nemini imbelles hæ animæ miseræ divexantur, præsentius remedium. Et rarus inveniebatur, qui ab inimicis his improvise deprehensus, non ad Sacratissima Jesus et Mariæ nomina, tanquam ad sacram anchoram confugeret. Eandem hanc in suis navigationibus, si ventus validior, aut tempestas insurgeret adhibebant. Sacris his nominibus in suis infirmitatibus, subitisque casibus, et solabantur dolores, et corpori medebantur. Apparebat denique magno nostro solatio Dei legem paulatim radicari magis et plus quam humanæ fidei aliquid incussis hactenus pectoribus inhærere. Manifeste hoc patuit, dum aut vesperi decumbentes aut noctu confabulantes, aut mane surgentes certis de causis visitamus, ac tum quidem non inanes fabulas, ut solebant, sed præcepta decalogi, et articulos fidei penes sese repetentes, aut aliis inculcantes aut cantantes invenimus.*

*Atque hæc omnia, quamquam et alibi satis commode procedebant, tamen vel maxime duobus illis in locis, quibus, ut dixi, domicilium stabile vel quasi-stabile fixeramus. Nec silentio prætereundæ res nostræ domesticæ, in quibus illud hoc anno notatu dignum occurrit, quod sæpta domestica, crescente militum numero, non exiguo labore amplificata, defossis alte solo circumcirca arborum truncis qui ex derutis nupero bello Indorum domibus, et succisis arboribus suppetebant, quod genus [269] munitionis, hac in terra, ubi Indi nudi corpore non aliis armis quam hasta et funda instruuntur, instar fortissimi propugnaculi, timori hostibus erat et nobis defensionis. Appositæ utrimque portæ, et de nocte occlusæ, non tantum quod ab hostibus mali quidquam timeretur, quam ne socii ipsi nostri per cæcas noctis tenebras ad vicinos Indos delapsi, vix scio corpus an animam majori periculo exponerent. Domus etiam ædificatæ præter illas, quæ publicis usibus serviebant, omnino duodecim: sex majores et more in Philippinis insulis usitato contignationis elevatæ, in quarum aliquibus vigiliis nocturnas milites obiirent; sex iterum minores, in quas turmatim socii milites divisi. Auferebatur ansa rixis et contentionibus, et paci publicæ consulebatur. Inter illos ad formam aliquam militaris præsidii omnia redacta, frequentata armorum exercitia, et solemnes demonstrationes explodendo, ordinando, procedendo exhibitæ. Illud solum Patres ægre habebat, quod tam multis comitibus jam integro sexennio in defensionem suam excutantibus nihil hactenus subsidii a rege advenisset et quamquam illa quæ ad victum spectant utcumque suppeditarent, ter in die ad campanæ signum, portionem suam singulis distribuentis, et si hæc non sufficerent, supplerent defectum munusculis illis, quibus ipsi ab Indis necessaria compararent, tamen ut decenter utcumque vestirentur, quamquam nec vestuario ipsi susparcerent, non sufficiebant hæc tamen, et militare vitium et terminari vix poterat, ut quæ distributa jam semel fuerant, lusu illi et unico aleæ jactu non delapidarent.*

*Res ecclesiasticæ non justæ necessitatis trutina jam expendebantur, sed regia liberalitate ad splendorem jam et eximium decus excreverant, adeo ut suppellex sacra cum quacumque insularum Philippinarum missione comparari facile posset, et quamvis sub stramineo tecto, officia tamen sacra, et spiritualia exercitia, conciones, exhortationes, supplicationes, cum splendore et fructu continuo exercebantur. Sodalitium divæ consuetum cursum cum profectu congregatorum tenuit. Per quadragesimales ferias, disciplinæ et alia consueta officia frequentata omnia denique ad morem doctrinarum Provinciæ Philippinæ constanter reducta.<sup>1</sup>*

*Jamqueolvebatur **Annus 1674** missioni nostræ vel ipso suo exordio funestus dicam, an gloriosus funestus quidquidam multiplici funere cruentatus, gloriosus quia in ipsa morte martyres nobis insigni gloria donavit. Fluentibus ut dixi superiori anno ex voto rebus, convenerant Patres ut more in Philippinis insulis usitato, natalitus feriis [269v] animum spiritalibus præsertim alimentis reficerent, ac simul despicerent, quibus præcipue modis in aula Madritensi, in Nova Hispania, in insulis Philippinis stabilimentum ipsius et profectum in adventum navis procurarent. Dum hæc aguntur, et res occurrentibus negotiis trahuntur diutius, excursionem in Sti. Josephi instituerat, qui PPbus. Didaco Aloysio de San Victores et Francisco Solano in officio successerat, P. Francisco Ezquerria, ibique certior factus in mediterraneis insulæ recens natos infantes sua ope indigere, quamquam sociis sex tantum comitatus, penetraverat tamen omnesque ex voto, decem numero baptizaverat,<sup>2</sup> [200] ac successu lætus feliciter ad Patres soci[os] remearat. Dum hic subsistit, et adornatur major expeditio, in qua præter fructum animarum, regia etiam mandata executioni erant mandanda, de portibus explorandis, et metalli venis, si quæ forte indicia apparerent, ipse zelo inflammatus, et priori successu confidens, aliam excursionem in eundem locum suscipere decrevit, dum propter bacchanalium solemnia reliquis Patribus integrum non est ab residentia primaria recedere. Ergo iisdem sociis comitatus, inter quos duo etiam armis non satis instructi, domum Sti. Josephi denuo repetit, atque in montis interiora rursus delabatur. Triduum<sup>3</sup> in solitis exercitiis hæserat, instruendo rudes, consolando infirmos, parvulos baptizando: ex quibus tres vel quatuor supra viginti fidelis Pastor ad ovile Christi per fontem baptismatis aggregarat.<sup>4</sup> et jam quasi confecto negotio, relictis mediterraneis, in oram maritimam exaserat sumpta necessariæ quietis parte in pago **Ati** dicto. Tractus hic est ille ipse in quo substitit annis his aliquot navis ab nova Hispania Manilam præteriens, et portus ab Sto. Antonio dictus,<sup>5</sup> cujus incolæ quamquam hostile nihil admodum præ se ferrent, tamen singulari barbarie domesticari satis non poterant: adeo ut tanto jam annorum intervallo, remeantibus ultra citraque Patribus vix ullus inveniretur, qui ad conspectum nostrorum in montis asperiora sese non reciperet, quamvis singulari affectu propter locorum commoditatem in devinciendis sibi illorum animis Patres incumberent. Dies eluxerat **2<sup>a</sup> februarii**, purificatæ in templo Virgini sacra, sacra ipsi in paucis, nempe qua sese in singularem Virginis clientelam et servitulem, proprii etiam sanguinis syngrapha, ante annos aliquot devoverat, et paschalis hodie futura. Non attulerat secum, ut solebat, forte ne sociis et sibi in molesto itinere gravis existeret necessarium incruento sacrificio apparatus. Igitur, ne ipse et socii tam solemnem die unico suo tam desertis in oris solatio carerent, maturandum duxit, et solem horis aliquot præveniendum [270] ut in Sti. Josephi, unde tribus circiter leucis aberat sacris operaretur. Socii etiam, quo sacro sese æpulo reficerent Jejuni sequebantur, ignari in quam gratum denuo conspectui sacrificium omnes hodie destinarentur. Vix horam ambulando expleverant, quando sub ipsum diluculum Indi quatuor deferunt mulierem ex difficili partu jam dies aliquot laborantem, et omni humana ope destitutam. Hic sollicitus Pater inopinatam sibi prædam offerri gestien-- accurrit ilico, extreme periclitanti oviculæ remedium albaturum. Baptizatam jam diu narrabant bajuli, et ipsa confirmabat. Ergo cum aliud in tempore non occurreret, nam confessioni faciendæ instructionis defectu apta non erdebatur, extremæ unc-*

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- 1 Ed. note: From this point forward, the AGR text was copied by another person; the ink is different and the handwriting style much tighter.
  - 2 Ed. note: The ARSI text says "doscientos".
  - 3 Ed. note: The Spanish text in ARSI says "13 dias".
  - 4 Ed. note: The Spanish text in ARSI adds "ciento y cuatro" [104].
  - 5 Ed. note: The port of Umatac.

*tionis salutare remedium adhibere decrevit. Et erat salutiferæ medicinæ Pater singulariter devotus, adeo ut in quacumque necessitate, aut animi deliquio, sacrum oleum ipse primus ipse ultimus invocaret. Et sane visa fuit divina benignitas tam prius ejus affectum gloriosæ mortis argumento remunerari. Dum sese præparat, et necessaria administrando sacramento componit, reluctari barbari, qui et sacram unctionem, ut alias retuli, exosam habebant, et superstitionibus nescio quibus irretiti festinare decreverari. Contra Pater instare, et vel invitis pro munere suo velle consulere. Obniti illi et accedentem, repellere, quod scilicet indignatus, sociorum unus pro auctoritate ferocientes barbaros increpavit. At illi fræni omnis impatientes, efferari magis, et relictæ, quam portabant, muliere, arma obvia saxa arripere, et illa in nostros confuse detorquere. Facile erat primum impetum armis infringere; verum, ne ad armorum fragorem tumultus exoriretur, in subita turbatione consultius visum fuga sese subducere, præsertim quod duo sociorum armis maxime instructi, obtenta ad id bona Patris venia, nihil hostile subverentis, in pagum unde venerant retrogressi, defensionem omnem periniquam faciebant. Quod ubi animadvertere barbari, nostrorum fugam suam victoriam rati interpretati, confuso clamore, et ululatu omnia implere, arma, socios, hastas inclamare. Accurrunt undique ad notos clamores, belli tesseram inter illos, insolentes barbari, et hastas expediunt, ac una ilico omnibus voce, una sententia, occidere trepidantes. Duo natione Philippini, vix aut ne vix quidem armis instructi, longuis fugiendo reliquos antecesserant. Illorum unum, Sebastianum de Ribera nomine, evibrata de longe fatalis hasta assequitur, et fugientis tergum transverberat. Ille, vulneratum se sentiens, dat sese in mare præcipitem cogitans cruentas barbarorum manus natu effugere.*



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[270v] *Sed frustra, nam nudipelles hi fugientem facile assequuntur, et repetitis vulneribus conficiunt. Alter sociorum obsessum armatis littus conspiciens, dum hic turbatur, cursu montis interiora obtinuit, ibique inter vepreta et dumeta delituit. Confecto jam primo, ad hunc perqui rendum barbari inescati jam cruore convertuntur, perquirunt undique nec tamen inveniunt. Ergo ad artes conversi, omnem late agrum ad motis facibus incendient, quo latitantem excutiant. Interim respirandi aliquod spatium nactus pater, cum duobus sociis relicto littore, in altiora evaserat ibique sociorum alter, confertos barbaros reperiens, desperatare, defensionem omnem necessariam ratus, bombardam explodit, et uni Indorum suram transadigit. Quo viso, perterriti omnes fuga dilabuntur. Hac occasione usus, qui delituerat alter sociorum, primum manibus pedibusque prorepens, deinde in pedes etiam erectus, per avia et in via, salvus hactenus, et incolumis elabatur Patri nec tutum erat subsistere, nec fugere integrum: quippe qui a duobus sociis subsequentiibus, et auxilium exspectaret, et illis futurus auxilio esset. Dum itaque subsistit, usus oportunitate incensi ab Indisagri, sacrum oleum, ne ab efferatis barbaris profanaretur, et aliqua alia quae quae oneri magis futura erant quam auxilio, igne consumit. Nec dalriem(?) quin ad confirmandos in praesenti periculo animos, et capessendam secure viam aeternitatis, Sacramentali Confessione socios expiarit, et sese ad opetendam pro Christo generose mortem composuerit.*

*Nam quae deinde subsecuta sunt, ex Indorum relatione solum licuit asequi; qui cum de Sacrosanctis fidei nostrae mysteriis minime intelligant, ne verbo quidem similia attingunt. Tum, unico tantum socio comitatus, relicto altero quasi in specula ad barbaros arcendos, in littus denuo decendit, prospecturus num desiderati dudum socii adessent. Cum ecce resumtis animis frequentiores barbari cum fremitu advolant, et circumquaque hastis et lapidibus obsident. Socius qui aderat, in praesenti periculo percitus timore, obstaculo potius erat, quam auxilio: nam obfremetium barbarorum confuso ululatu, et observantis imagine mortis turbatus, nec potis erat arma expedire, nec valitura erant contra confertam barbarorum multitudinem. Pater, qui non in armis jam, sed in divino beneplacito spem omnem reposuerat, pacem continuo, pacem implorabat. Obsoduerant pietati animi pertinaces. Fremunt, frendent, hastas, lapides, tela, undique intorquent. Cadet ictus primo in pede, post variis corporis in partibus socius saecularis, nomine D. Ludovicus de [271] Vera y Picazzo, nobilis Mexicanus, qui domum suam Mexici in paucis honoratam non exigua ipse gloria cumulavit, constans integro biennio in exanthlandis missionis nostrae laboribus, et periculis non paucis. Huic dum confirmando in supremo agone Pater insistit, et ipse quoque in manu primo, et brachio graviter vulneratur, alii decunt hasta femur percussum, barbaro feroci e pluribus uno inflicto azinace sanguinem et vitam exigente. Dum corruit supinus, dum Jesus et Mariae sacra nomina implorat, aliud et aliud in vultu et capite vulnus immanis parricida infligit: defecit illicet semivivus animus, et fugiente sanguine diliquium passus, omnia mortus similis conquevit. Exspirasse rati nudipelle barbari, ad praedam convertuntur. Dum vestibus spoliant, castissimum corpus, revixit enimvero Angelicus pater, verecundia fugientem animum revocante, et sudarium aliquod tegendis partibus, quod in spoliis cesserat suppliciter postulavit, dicens hoc illis usui non magnoper fore alius hic singulare pietatis argumentum praeterire nefas. De collo gestabat affabre depictam Divae imaginem, unicum in laboribus levamen, in periculis refugium: dum ad auferendas vestes brachia elevant, admotam pectori et manu compressam venerandam effigiem invenerunt. Nempe Marianus martyr hanc in supremo agone cordi admoverat, cui cor suum et vitam jam diu consecraverat.*

*Inter haec adventabant qui dudum desiderabantur socii duo: qui tam inopinata rerum mutatione turbati, Patrem profuso late sanguine, prostratum et exanimi similem, socios in littore crudeliter interfectos, circumfremetibus undique barbaros, et in sese conversos conspicati: relicta spe defensionis iniquae, fugae consilium inivere. Aderat in littore navicula Indorum, debilis plane, et exigua; hanc in mare proturdunt. Remideerant, et ipsi in gubernando minime versati. Itaque ad undarum agitationem cymba evertitur, et ipsi in mare praecipites ruunt. Advolari scilicet imbelles barbari, quos armorum metus longe hactenus habuerat et fluctuantes miseros telis, hastis, lapidibus, cominus, eminus invadere. Cecidere victi*



numero dicam magis an undarum iniquitate et parato tumulo in mare sepulti. Alter dictus Petrus Alezo Angelopolitanus,<sup>1</sup> alter Mathias de Altamirano Guahacanus.<sup>2</sup> Utrique non virtus deerat quam variis occasionibus contra hostes probaverant, sed occasio. Hic arte chirurgus quo, biennio integro, sed magis ardenti charitate, indefessa vigilantia et plusquam religiosa sollicitudine omnibus ex aequo diu noctuque astiterat. Ille Patrum in excursionibus suis socius indefessus, quibus Christiana pietate non dispensator solum aderat, sed sedulus Procurator, adeo ut vestes ipse sibi non raro detraheret, quo alimenta Patribus sociisque, sed magis amorem barbarorum et benevolentiam compararet. Volutabatur interea in suo sanguine, necdum viribus plane destitutus Pater, et ardentibus suspiriis patriam suam, coelum continuo anhelabat. Intervenite residentia Sti. Josephi juvenis olim notus et in schola fidei Christianae ejusdem mysterii sufficienter instructus. Ad illum conversus, verus [271v] Pastor et sollicitus Pater, sui oblitus, de Deo et de Dei lege deligenter percunctari, quid Deus est, ubi, et quotuplex studiose perquirere, ac demum moerentem pie consolari, se quidem, dum vita sineret, Patrem eorum fuisse, nec destitutum esse post fata, et apud Deum pro ipsis pium intercessorem. Intervenit et alius ex amicis Indis Principalis, qui tam iniquam optimi Patris sortem miseratus: quid causae, ait mi Pater, tam crudeli te Janienae objecit. Cui ille: non alia nisi quod commisso mihi munere satisfaciens, vobis bene facere, parvulos baptizare, rudes instruere, infirmos consolari, omnibus coeli viam demonstrare non destitit motus oratione barbarus vix sese continuit, quin praesentem injuriam ultum cum suis continuo iret. Non valuit tantum naturalis affectus, sed verbis contentus, praeteriit scilicet, et inceptum iter peregit.

Hoc praetergresso, in novam rabiem conversi paricidae, dum ultimum e sociis adhuc sospitem insectantur, Patrem rursus adoriuntur, et repetitis vulneribus conficiunt, ac in mare proturbant. Qui supererat socius, dictus Marcus de Segura Angelopolitanus, singulari virtute inter coeteros praeditus, hostilem impetum hucusque sustinuerat, quamquam iniqua fortuna et ipse usus: nam usum armorum, aut defectu pulveris nitrici, aut extincto fomite amiserat. Nec ideo tamen animis cadens, in rupem mari imminentem et aquis undique cinctam, ab hollando naviclero ab iis barbaris occiso illic quondam sepulto celebrem, sese receperat, ibique, quando alia deerant, saxis sese, ut poterat, defendebat, jamque ultra meridiem pugnam produxerat cum tandem numero victus, viribusque deficiens, et ipse fortiter occubuit, et in mare, ab efferatis barbaris praecipitatus. Nec hic finem habuit cruenta tragedia. Effugerat, ut dixi, per ignota viarum, unus e sociis dictus Franciscus Gonsales, natrone Philippinus, et jam leucas circiter duas emensus, in Sti. Josephi residentiam nostram sese delatum exitimans, e montium latebris, per quas tutus incesserat, in oram maritimam descendit. Verum errore viarum in pagum alium Pupuro dictum delatus, hostilia omnia praeter opinionem invenit. Pervolaverat jam fama editae in nostros late cladis, et feroces animos barbarorum, siti Christiani sanguinis incenderat. Itaque primus Indorum, quem forte obviam habuit, percunctatur ubi sit Pater. Ille, percitus timore, nam armatum azinace videbat, regroundet pene subsequi et breve advuturum: si forte hac fraude paratum in se ferrum evaderet. Nil profuere tentamenta. Furit illic inflammatus barbarus, et trepidantem invadit. Primus ictus, cum extensa manu conaretur avertere, [272] nam inermis accesserat, in brachium incidit, in quo aliud et aliud, cum defensionem meditaretur, vulnus accepit. Tum irruit furore amens barbarus, et manu ejus apprehensa tam validum ictum occipite inflixit, ut ipsum cranium finderetur. Corruit enimvero adictum tam feracem pene exanimatus, et corruentem pede proculcavit barbarus, et ne parum certe occidisse videretur, cervici aliud et aliud mortale vulnus impegit. Caput abstulerat si e chalybe formatum azinacem haberet sed cum arma hucudant e qualibet ferramenti parte non potuit invalidum telum, quamvis valide impactum, conficere innocentem tum pede arreptum protrahit, et motis azinace labiis experitur num vita supersit. Retraxerat semivivum spiritum miser et omnia mortuo similis jacebat. Ne tamen quidquam ferociae deesset, rursus invadit, ac quasi defuncti manibus insultat, duplici vulnere in vultu et naribus ferociter inflicto, ac sic vestibus spoliatum, jam plusquam mortuum, ut rebatur, relinquit, et ad suos ferocia tumens tanquam victor revertitur. Vix abierat, cum quidquid animi et virium supererat colligit, et in pedes erectus, fuga montis interiora assequitur, atque ita per abtrusa viarum in Sti. Josephi Residentiam nostram delabitur,

1 Ed. note: From Puebla de los Angeles in Mexico.

2 Ed. note: From Oaxaca in Mexico.

*tabo undique perfusus, et spectro magis quam homini similis, ibique homines tandem humana viscera reperiens, humanissime a Principali excipitur, lavatur, ac cibo reficitur. Et ne alius forte male feriat barbarus in illum quid deterius auderet, ipse Principalis in pagum proximum sese comitem adjunxit ejusdemque Principali suo, et Patrum nomine commendavit. Ille cymbae impositum in pagum proximum deduxit, ejusdemque Principalis in proximum quasi de manu in manu tradidit, more in his terris inter incolas usitato, donec tandem sub seram vesperam ad nos non salvus quidem, sed vivus tamen pervenit, ubi qua par est charitate exceptus, alligatis vulneribus, brevi convaluit.*

*Credibile est, non absque singulari Virginis Patrocinio tam evidentibus periculis ereptum: ut esset qui de tam luctuoso casu nuncium perferret, et testis existeret. Interrogatus enim quid rerum ageret, quid cogitaret in tot circumquaque irruentibus periculis, respondit nihil sibi antiquius fuisse quam Virginis coronam continuo volvere, et illius opem semper et ubique invocare. Ita enim sibi a Patre injunctum, labores itineris hoc levamine solaretur, et praesentem piae Matris in omnibus opem exposceret.*

### [Eulogy of Fr. Ezquerra].

*Res hic monet ut angelico Patri, talis enim ausiit apud omnes dum vixit, et glorioso Martyri, si fas est dicere, elogium texamus. Natus erat Vis. Per. Franciscus Ezquerra Manilae insularum Philippinarum nobili emporio A[nn]o 1644 sub finem Septembris,<sup>1</sup> parentibus genere, divitiis et quod maximum virtute claris in paucis, ab illis in omni pietatis et [272v] virtutis genere a teneris enutribus, et quo magis pietas inhaeresceret, humilibus Sti. Francisci insignibus, cujus nomen gerebat, puer indignitus: forte ut esset, quem ad ultiori jam aetate sequeretur, nisi Deus missionis nostrae Apostolum designaret. Et ipse sortitus animam bonam, ubi primum rationis compos est factus, prout aut magis quam fert illa aetas adonine pietatis exercitium mirabiliter se date. In lucem deductus inter suos singulari observantis Magistros revereri. Argumento sit quod subnecto. Certam fenestram in schola discipulis Magister interdixerat poena proposito si quis legem violaret. Forte invitatus ab alio, Franciscus noster, sui immemor, curiositati indulserat et statim inopinanti poena adfuit. Postero die poenarum socius iterum invitat: sed surdo cecinit: Tu, inquit, tuo periculo quodvis facit ego tanti non emo poenitere, et malo suo observantiam didicit magis an docuit? Interim jam e ludo egressus et latinis litteris abunde instructus, Philosophiae curriculum ingressus est adolescens jam annorum 15, et ut magis a curis saecularibus animam avocaret, ingressus studiorum causa Regium Sti. Josephi Collegium, ubi angelicis moribus omnibus gratus et pacis Angelus non minus in coelesti Philosophia quam Aristotelica profecit, et inter speculanda naturae arcana mysteria gratiae assecutus. Illud subtilitatum omnium subtilissimam existimabat conscientiae suae latebras excutere, et illam frequentis Confessionis, etiam Generalis medela recreare, animum coelesti pane reficere, et solidarum virtutum ornamentis insignire, donec divinae vocationi oboediens in Societatem Jesu admitti petiit, et obtinuit scilicet haud difficulter, ob singularem non corporis minus quam animi facultates. Ingressus tyrocinium 1660 mense januarii.<sup>2</sup> Hic vero tanquam voti jam compos, inchoati stadii metas studiose circumspicere, in humilitate primas sibi deponere, in Charitate nemini concedere, comprimere passiones, pullulantes resecare, ad omnem denique perfectionem se fingere. Experimentum sumpturus tyronis veterani Novitiorum Magister jusserat in publicum prodire sporta onustum fractuum illa regione admodum communium, signato pretis quo venderet supra modum intense, et persolvendo certo nummularum genere non admodum currenti. Prodiit sui victor egregius, et civitatem omnem notus omnibus, et inter suos circumviviit: nec tamen carae mercis emptores invenit, donec obvium habuit ipsum civitatis Archiepiscopum,<sup>3</sup> qui juvenem tota civitate notissimum miseratus, et suspicatus id quod erat, rhedam qua vehebatur sisti jubet, et Franciscum nostrum advocans: heus, inquit, mi frater, quas merces tam serus*

- 1 Ed. note: The Spanish text in ARSI says, in addition, that he was baptized in the cathedral of Manila on 2 October 1644, and that his father was Juan de Ezquerra, and his mother Lucia Sarmiento.
- 2 Ed. note: The Spanish text says that it was in the middle of January 1660.
- 3 Ed. note: The Spanish text adds: "Miguel de Poblete?"

*circumducis, et quo pretio venales? Ille fractus [sic]<sup>1</sup> exhibet, et praetium explicat. Ne, inquiet fructuum suorum praetia mire intendisti, et statem assidentem jubet nummum argenteum exhibere. Ibi vero rubore perfusus humiliter excusat, sibi fas non esse [273] nummum hunc in praetium admittere, sed trivialibus nummulis deberi illud exhiberi. Quae tibi sunt, nec tamen ilico inventi. Itaque domum suam jubet secedere, ne plus obeundo vicos fatigaretur, et ibi praedictos nummulos diligenter inquiri, unde summam perficerent. Atque ita non sine admiratione ingenuae submissionis et singularis observantiae domum remisit. Aliud non absimile dimissae submissionis argumentum deduco: quamquam robustioris jam aetatis singulare indicium. Dum stadiis altioribus operam navat, scientiae inflantis testimonium publicum daturus, ab humilitatis fundamento placuit initium ducere. Itaque a Superioribus veniam impetrat liceret inter mendicos portionem sibi conquirere. Facta potestas et socius additus. Itaque scubella et mantica insignis progreditur, et turbae se immiscet ad porticum Sti. Francisci. Forte inter ultimos advenerat, et qui distribuendis reliquiis praeerat laicus nihil superesse satis crude respondit, et ille suppliciter instare ne gravaretur et suam sibi portuinsulam impertiri. Itaque reliquias aliquas nescio unde requirit, et utriusque obtrudit. Nauseabat scilicet socius inconcinnum obsonium. Ac Franciscus noster nauseam omnem in consuetudinem verterat. Dum turbae immixtus prandium suum cum gratiarum actione consumit, forte a graviorum aliquo e Patribus agnoscitur. Accurrit ilico et rusticitatem aut simplicitatem potius boni Laici excusat (nam erat Pris Francisci familia utpote divitiis et pietate magis affluens, huic religioso ordini singulariter veneranda) et ad commune triclinium humaniter invitat. Verum ille, sorte sua contentus, et gaudens, rejecta cum lepore excusatione, domum reversus est egregius sui victor. Imo eo usque profecerat, ut ingenue profiteretur in naturam jam sibi cessasse ejusmodi exercitia. Itaque quot hebdomadis ipse ad carcere detentos prandium humeris suis deferebat, illudque tanta suavitate, gratia et amore dividebat, ut non parum solatii, ab talis dispensatoris dexteritate accederet, cujus rationibus et exemplis ad patientiam coeterasque Christianas virtutes, sed vel maxime ad peccatorum suorum detestationem, et sacramentalem confessionem excitarentur. Ille in Nosocomio humilitatis et charitatis officia continuo obire, lectes sternere, vasa nundare, locum everrere, consolari denique et corporis morbos spiritali medicamine non raro linire. Nec studiorum fervor tam ardentis charitatis et pietatis igniculis quidquam officiebat. Nemo ille inter condiscipulos suavior, nemo pacis et charitatis amantior in fervore disputationum vincere et vinci eodem animo, id est pacato ferebat, nec insultare si cinveret, nec reluctari dum vinceretur. Condiscipulis, saecularibus praesertim dum lectiones cum illis et more repeteret, singulari modestia, et religiosis virtutibus prae lucebat, cum illis de litteris dumtaxat, aut si quid aliis vellent, de puritate conscientiae, de frequentandis rite sacramentis, et similibus tractabat. A studiis si quid temporis superesset, illud in proximorum salutem cum fervore impendebat. Itaque ad instruendos in compitis rudes festis ominicisque prodire, Aetiopes praesertim et mancipia, quibus se Ecclesiam perpetuum addi erat: raro enim vero charitatis exemplo, nam cum simile genus hominum hispana lingua perverse modum et distorte utantur, ipse ut omnibus omnia fieret ut quae volebat eorum animis facilius instillaret, omnes ipsorum phrases et loquendi modum tam perfecte didicerat, ut unum ex illis, si idioma spectes, existimares: similes namque amor aut facit aut invenit. Cum domesticis vero quanta ipsius charitas quantus affectus! Angelum ubique vel fratrem angelicum praedicabant, idque sive infirmis assisteret; quos singulari affectu consolabatur et recreabat, sive pedes domesticis ex usu provinciae quot mensibus ablueret, factus totus ad omne charitatis, omne humilitatis obsequium, nec rara patientiae ipsius documenta prae-buit horologium domesticum, cujus integro septennis curam sustinuit. Nam cum artificis vitio vetustatis, rotarum inter se concurrentium regimen facile turbaretur, requirebat assiduam moderatoris sui die nocteque vigilantiam, in quo quidem non parum Pis. Francisco elaborandum fuisse, qui illum noverit facile assequetur. Quamquam patientiam continuo ipse exercitabat. Lectus ipsi substrata storea ipsa humus, aut si, ut singularitatis notam effueret, ad stratum sese recipiebat, tum quidem nec vestibus sese spoliabat. Quaerentibus cur ne tantillam quidem commoditatem corpori indulgeret, praeludere se Apostolicis missionibus respondebat, osor nempe sui, sed et suorum. Itaque fratres, sorores ceteramque dignissimam parentelam, eo loco habebat ac si nunquam cognovisset. Occasio tulit ut paternam in domum, quam*

1 Ed. note: Should be "fructus".

*nunquam adibat, a Superioribus mitteretur. Occurrit ilico soror germana quam a triennio non viderat, exclamat, et sui immemor in amplexus ruit, continuuit enimvero sese religiosus animus et pro verbis colores dedit verecundiae testes, idque tanta austeritate, ut moderatio adhibenda a socio fuerit. Amorem omnem in Matrem suam Soctem Jesu converterat, cui non tantum sese sed et sua omnia liberaliter donavit.*

*Inter haec religiosae perfectionis tam singularia argumenta confecto studiorum curriculo sacerdatio initiatus A[nno] 1669, 15a die Junii,<sup>1</sup> anniversaria scilicet qua primum in has insulas fides invecta anno 1668, ut scires cui officio novus Mysta consecraretur Anno aetatis suae 25 et nova hac dignitate ad novos fervores inflammatus, quo arctius cum Deo conjunctum se videt, hoc ei firmius adhaerendum existimans, peractis summa teneritudine animi primitiis suis, totum se magis divino obsequio consecrare puritatem animi novis studiis quaerere, levissimos animo nevos, imo et ne nevos quidem quotidie per Sacramentorum frequentiam ab sese vindicare, denique [274] totum se animarum saluti, oboedientia duce, comite humilitate, devorere. Peracto tertiae probationis anno, primum ab oboedientia injunctum munus, summa animi sui quiete implevit, teneriorem aetatem, solitis Grammaticae praeceptis imbuiere,<sup>2</sup> quamquam singulari affectu Indos omnes eorumque conversionem complecteretur. Interim occasio se obtulit mittendi ad Missionem nostram novum par operariorum Apostolicorum. Hic scilicet quasi ad classici signum excitari pia vota Patris Francisci: aestuare interius, et ad novam expeditionem divinas inspirationes audire. Advenisse jam tempus adjungendi ad Ecclesiae gremium infinitudinem animarum, exhaustiendi pro Deo gloriosos labores, imo et fundendi forte si occasio posceret pro Christo sanguinis sui. Quanquam videbatur circa tam singulare beneficium plusquam humani aliquid praevidisse tam ardentibus votis in martyrium ferebatur adeo ut excitatori matutino illud unicum comentaret cum difficili somno gravaretur, ut non aliis vocibus salutaret quam: memento F[rat]er Francisce, fieri posse ut martyrio coroneris. Ad haec tanquam ad clarissimum solem fugiebant somnolentiae nubes et expectatus animus sese ad divinas laudes explicabat. Atque ita dum pia sua vota cum R[everend]o Ad[mod]um P[at]re N[ost]ro Generali communicat, ait se in Indiis natum, Indiarum vocatione interius aestuare, sibi hanc ubi natus sit Indiarum partem patriam suam Europam videri, ad Indos mitteret, id est arduas missiones, a parentum consortio, et omni commoditatum genere alienas. Eadem apud immediatos superiores, quamquam cum summa animi resignatione inculcabat in tantum ut obtenta jam venia scrupulus remorderet, si forte quaesitis rationibus superiorum voluntatem in suas partes traxisset. Hac ambigua dubitatione menti oborta, ad orationis azylum primo confugit: uti divina intus luce illustratus, obviandum hosti et omnes in futurum turbationum causas praescindendas. Itaque ad superiores litteras dat religiosas plenas, et quasi suorum, si fas est dicere, retractatorias. In his ipse cum animum suum tanquam in imagine expresserit, operae pretium judicavi aliqua earum fragmenta subjicere. Ait igitur: statutum sibi indubitabiliter esse ab Superioris beneplacite vel ad punctum recedere, esse hoc divinae voluntati aperte contraire: et velle superioris voluntatem ad suam subditum attrahere esse evidenter errare, et oboedientiae divinaeque voluntati adversari. His itaque positus, si profectio [2 words missing] in insulas Latronum in quovis puncto ab oboedientia deflectit, aut ego hoc Rae Vae beneplacitum quavis ratione ad meum attraxerim, per Jesu Christi viscera Ram Vam obtestor, dissolvat millies profectionem meam, nec cupio enim, nec desidero, nec appello ullo modo ab oboedientiae traite vel ad punctum deflectere. Vana sint itaque et oblivionidentur desideria mea praeterita, acsi nunquam ea communicassem, sed solum exhibuissem simplicem indifferentiam ad quodvis ab oboedientia imposit munus, atque ita remordere desinet anxius scrupulus, qui nonnunquam me fatigabat, si forte haec mea praetensio erronea existeret. Ibi itaque securissime quamcumque in partem ac regar ab oboedientia ac si cadaver essem, aut senis baculum nec quidquam de meo in utramvis partem apponam, nisi solam indifferentiam, et iterum indifferentiam. Tum insufficientiam suam mire exaggerat, ac demum concludit: si vires sibi a se ipso non suppetant, non posse illas aluende nisi ab oboedientia accedere. Itaque huic se totum committit, ad vile culinae ministerium*

1 Ed. note: The Spanish text in ARSI (fol. 115v) adds that he was ordered priest on that day, but also sub-deacon on 12 June and deacon on the 14th.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish text adds that this took place at the college of Manila.

*per totam vitam se offerens, potius quam ab illa vel ad hilum recedere. Ac proinde precatur ne publicitatem vel amicorum sumptus Superior curet: se enim paratum quamvis mortificationem subire, et amicis satisfacere, vel cum detrimento sui honoris, ut oboedientiae perfectae et Religiosae fructus [274v] in sese experiatur. Ac subdit si his consideratis Superiori videbitur iter suum non expedire, ne verbum quidem a se ulterius addendum illud solum omnibus diebus vitae suae infixum pectori vulnus habiturum quod iter suum solum sua peccata impediverint. Quibus hoc praeter reliqua etiam debebit quod divinae in se gratiae fructus impediverint, et aeternae forte salvationi quod Deus avertat, impedimentum apposuerint. Tam indifferenter scilicet animum divina Providentia securissime gubernabat. Itaque dum ipse obnitiatur, res demum perfecta est, et arduam expeditionem volentibus animis, quia oboedientia dirigente, suscipit, et conquisitis primo non paucis eleemosynis iter asperrimum pedes, eosque nudus, in portum Lampon dictum ingressus est.*

*Hic navi conscensa anno 1670 non admodum capaci, vastissimo mari se commisit, non leves tum corporis tum animi molestias tum ab inimico insolitas animi tristitiae nubes obducente, quam a molesta maris agitatione perpessus, invicta patientia omnia superavit. Itaque in navi continuis exhortationibus, et privato sermone ad optima quaequae omnes excitare, ad Sacramenta invitare omnibus exemplo, moribus, singulari suavitate sese insinuare, fructu minime contemnendo, quod reperitis confessionibus, et anteactae vitae emendatione plures comprobarunt. Hic humani generis hostis bellum sibi tam crudele indici indignatus, et vel hinc damna sibi in insulis Marianis inferenda existimans, arma et ipse movit ipso Sti. Ignatii festo die atram noctem inducens, ut scires in quos praecipue infernales minae desaevirent; et quamquam horribilem hanc a daemone excitatam tempestatem in loco commemo ravi, non omittam hic singulare illud attingere quod Pri. Francisco accidit. Commiscebantur diris undequaque typhonibus maria, et horrendis vorticibus navem susque deque agitabant: nec spes jam salutis ulla emicabat. Inter duos e Socfietate nostra patres convenerat, quamquam invictis animis vires corporis haud satis respondebant, non segniter et abjecte, sed in acie stantes dimicando fortiter animas perdere, vel potius saluti omnium devovere. Itaque vocatis in vota propitius superis, arma expediunt. Et Per. Franciscus quidem, quam de collo gestabat depictam Deiparae Matris effigiem manibus extulit, atque ita velut elato victoriae labaro animos omnibus addere, ad detestanda peccata sinceramque poenitentiam cunctos excitare, accedentibus pias aures praebere, a peccatorum nexibus volentes absolvere, denique pium Mariae nomen circumquaque ingeminare. Sensit enimvero infringi suas vires tabescens invidia tartarus et decumanum vorticem tam valide in ipsum patrem impegit, ut e manibus imaginem se jecerit, et ipsum cum navis Gubernatore, nam ad clavum Coeli Gubernatricem ingenti fiducia admoverat, undis pene sepeliverit. Sed nempe vix durant violenta. Cecidit ad talem impetum inimici fracta vis, mari reddita tranquillitas, et animus vectoribus, ut cursum quem tentare alii temeritate damnarent, ipsi incolumes perficerent. Ut portum tenuere persolutis tutelari Virgini superisque propitiis pie votis, actisque de more gratiis, Mexico versus iter instituere.*

*Hic vero P[at]er Franciscus religiosa morum suavitate, et angelica consuetudine quam cito animos omnium et corda rapuerit, non ego verbis [275] assequor, si velim. Mirabantur omnes verborum, gestuum actionum omnium supra humana omnia gratiam. Omnes Finam(?) hospitem, sic enim appellabant, tanquam coelo elapsam depraedicabant. Solus ipse, qui Marianas insulas corde solum et animo voluerit, nec capiebatur tam magnificae civitatis structura, nec perquirendis curiositatibus distinebatur. Sed, conquisitis apud pios necessariis eleemosynis, in portum Acapulci denuo reversus est; et ex illo 19<sup>a</sup> Martii 1671 in Marianas insulas solvit. Iter omne volutandis conscientiae casibus, et devorandis Mariana linguae elementis utiliter impendens, nec tamen consueta Apostolici Ministerii intermittebat, donec 11<sup>a</sup> Junii<sup>1</sup> optatum portum in insulis Marianis tenuit. Hic cum forte serius navis adventum Patres rescivissent, ipse solus aut uno tantum socio comitatus, egressus in terram in pago Ati dicto,<sup>2</sup> eodem ipso in*

1 Ed. note: The Spanish version says: 15th June.

2 Ed. note: Ati, or Haty, was located in Cetti Bay on the west coast of Guam.

quo, post annos circiter tres a barbaris est interfectus. Deducentibus Indis, terrestri itinere in primariam Residentiam devenit, nec pericula metuens, nec nudipellium horum, qui vel solo aspectu insultis metum incutiunt, consortium ex pavescens. Ibi a patribus ea humanitate qua par est credere exceptus, spiritum primo asceticis Sti. Ignatii exercitiis recreavit, quo purius scilicet ab hoc fonte Apostolici ministerii rivi immanarent. Tum a Venerabili P. San Victores, qui ardentem animi zelum, et religiosas virtutes jam ab ipso tyrocinio cognitatas habebat, in ultius ad Septentrionem insulas Apostolus designatur,<sup>1</sup> et in insulam a Sta. Anna, ab incolis Rota dictam, faventibus auris sub medium Julii deferetur. Hic primo barbarorum fides fefellit, qui devehendum illum na vigiis suis susceperant. Itaque mensem amplius substitit, aptos transmittendo in proximam insulam ventos expectans. Nec poenitenda Apostolico tyroni haec mora fuit: nam ardentibus votis aptam messem patientiae et charitatis subministravit. Itaque universam insulam praedicando circumire (nec elinguem charitatem quisquam existimet, ubi voces non suppetunt, signa, gestus, nutus loquuntur), recens natos parvulos undequaque inquirere catechizare rudes, visitare infirmos, omnibus denique optatam coeli tramitem demonstrare. Amabant ilico qui amabantur barbari et suavitate, blanditiis, mille amoris artibus deliniti, Patrem omnes dulcissimum depraedicabant. Ille innatam inobitamque barbariam lambendo quasi formabat, et infelicem sortem miserabatur, ferebat injurias, inurbanitatem excusabat. Magnam partem parvulorum et adultorum in duplici occasione quo hanc insulam adivit, Christianorum albo adscripsit. Nec minus patiebatur quam fortiter agebat. Cibus ordinarius cucurbitarum seu peponum folia et frutices, et raro admodum radices aliquae, idque tam exigua quantitate, ut vix fatigato corpori sufficerent. Paties sola aqua cubile dura humus quam tamen prodiliitiis storea his moris parabilis contegebat.

His occupatum cum in proximam insulam, **Tenian** dictam, facturus vela esset, oboedientia revocavit, propter bellorum tumultus, qui Patres in primaria Residentia anxios habebant. Rediit haud levibus terra marique periculis defunctus, sed nempe ad novam patientiae palestram, quam Mariano militi profana militia exhibuit. Itaque vigiliis ipse primas obire, [275v] stationes militares nocte frequentare, non exigua sane molestia quam somni difficultas procreabat, excitare torpentes, consolari moestos, metum ipse tam solícite dissimulare, ut aliis adimeret. Finito bello, et pace inter barbaros composita dividebant sese in missiones Apostolicas Patres. Obtigit ex voto Pri. Francisco plaga meridionalis, ad quam ab nova Hispania redux Philippinarum navis solita appellere. In illa pagum **Merico**<sup>2</sup> dictum elegit, et in illum cum sociis aliquot saecularibus profectus, intra paucos menses tantum effecit ut domus Deo, Patribus, sociisque satis commoda surgeret. A bono Latrone stationem appellari placuit. Jamque praeter tectum nihil desiderabatur, quando nova turbarum semina daemon prosemnavit. Facta infecta, et pacem viritam furentibus barbaris inclamans, adeo ut prodicione inita in ipsum Vem Pem San Victores furiose desaevientis, vitam ipsi et cum illo Missioni pene universae adesnerint. Paucis antequam haec fierent diebus, in primariam Residentiam nescio quas ob causas sese contulerat Pr. Franciscus ibique jusse subsistere singulari numinis providentia. Nam ad stationem reduci infelicia omnia barbari minabantur, qui in totales Christianitatis perniciem quaquaversum conspiraverant. Quantum autem in hac sua sparta excolenda laboraverit, quis facile assequatur? Tertiam omnino insulae partem curae suam commissam circumibat, tanta plerumque victus necessarii inopia ut vix necessariae virium restorationi, et exantlandis laboribus in longis et difficillimis itineribus sufficeret. Non raro accidit ut post diuturnum iter jejunos pagum ingrederetur, et jejunos discederet, inter haec omnia tam laetus et alacer, ut lauto convivio exceptum crederes. Nec leporibus abstinebat. Fuit cum eodem in pago in quo occisus est postea cibum emendicaret, nec obtineret, et ipse cum risu subjiceret: ea, sodes, prandium Episcopo tuo et pastori exhibito. Fuit cum deficienti in via e palma obvia nucem socius decerperet, et intervenientibus Indis illam ipse absconderet, ne turbationum materiem praeberet. Et tamen inter haec omnia teneriorem aetatem tam bello Christianae fidei elementis instruxerat, ut annos plures impendisse videretur. Pridie quam occideretur a barbaris Vis. Per. San Victores illum convenerat, atque illud solum deplorabat non licuisse sibi cum suo

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- 1 Ed. note: The Spanish text says: "por los de Gani" [the Gani Islands, as the Northern Northern Marianas were called].
  - 2 Ed. note: The Spanish text says: "Merizo".

*Patre ejusdem gloriae partem obtinere. Sed nempe in aliam occasionem solummodo reservabatur. Illa-  
to nuncio de nece Vis. Pis. San Victores in primaria Residentia substitit, non levibus argumentis virtu-  
tem exacuens, dum ad quotidiana funera, quae de interfectis sociis audiebantur, illud solum ingeminaret:  
fiat voluntas Domini; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est et deinceps fiet. Nam in momenta et horas  
nihil aliudquam totalem universae Christianitatis ruinam patres simul et socii expectabant, donec, propi-  
tus demum superis, quasi post atram nubem exorto demum sole, appulit navis a Sto. Didaco dicta,<sup>1</sup> non  
subsidia solum et annonam, sed recentes ab Hispania Apostolicos ministros vehens. Itaque composito  
nonnihil animo, et [276] pulsus timoribus respiravit. Verum novis laboribus sic demum iter praepraba-  
tur.*

*Fatis cesserat continuis laboribus fractus R. P. Franciscus Solano, in loco Vis. Pis. San Victores  
Missionis nostrae Superior. Ille paucis ante obitum diebus Pem. Franciscum reliquis patribus superiorem  
designaverat. Sed quo vere humilis Patris nimi sensu! quo dolore! Quantum ille precibus, rationibus, lac-  
rymis restitit, projectus in genua cum singultu et fletu illud unicum deprecabatur, tam efficaciter ut pene  
evinceret. Sed quis restitit ipsi et pacem habuit? Potuit Pr. Solano intentionem suam mutare sed Altissi-  
mi dispositionem mutare non potuit. Post mortem ipsius quamquam redintegratum est novum humili-  
tatis certamen, via tamen evadendi nulla aperiebatur. Ergo oneri successit eidem ferendo aptus vel exeo  
quod ineptum sese tam nervose peroraret. Et vero capacitatem suam continuo demonstravit, qui in eo  
regiminis suis apices reposcuerat infima omnia, dura, et aspera sibi deponere, si quid commoditatis ali-  
cunde affulgeret, id in alios derivare. Non permittunt angustiae temporis, et quaesita brevitatis in excel-  
lentes novi Superioris virtutes longius excurrere. Illud dixisse sufficiat prudentia aetatem, vigilantia  
naturam, consilio veteranos, humilitate et caritate se ipsum eximie et socios superasse. His adde quod  
singulari ejus efficaciae, et indefessae curae debeat Missio templum, et domum reliquaque aedificia quae  
diruta restauravit, et nova erexit in Residentia nostra Sti. Ignatii, praeter aliam domum quam in pago  
Fuña dicto, nobis sub Sti. Josephi patrocinio positam de novo aedificavit, et singulari studio et indus-  
tria promovit. Reliquas ejus plus quam religiosas virtutes prosequi non possum paucis et multis non licet,  
regularum omnium et disciplinae domesticae observans in paucis. Itaque prima haec fuit cura, ubi pri-  
mum domus religiosa stetit; ut illam in formam Collegii undequaque formaretur. Vestis ipsius vilis et de-  
trita, et variis partibus resarcitu. Abstinencia singularis, nam cum vix unquam tantum suppeteret, ut  
jejunii Ecclesiastici leges obligare censerentur, ipse tamen ejusdem servandi obligationum sibi jam severe  
indixerat, ut in aliquo Provinciae Collegio constitutus videretur. Numquam male de alio, bene semper  
auditus sermonem instituere et ubi opus non poterat intentionem excusabat. Denique quidquid ageret,  
id charita id humilitatis condimento miscebat. Unum hic singulare humilitatis argumentum non omit-  
tam. Negotiis Missionis videbatur Manilae necessarius Procurator, de illo mittendo Patres delibera-  
bant: et omnes in Pem. Franciscum convenerant: verum ipse proponendo, orando, discurrendo tantum  
evicit, ut votorum compos effectus in alium vota, animosque derivarit. Manebat illum scilicet laborum  
et patientiae corona in hac sua vinea excolenda strenuo sudantem. Oratio ipsius continua, et suavissimis  
ad Deum suspiriis continuo recreabatur. In Virginem Matrem singulari prorsus [276v] affectu ferebatur.  
Illi itaque sese totum, subjecta proprio sanguine syngrapha in perpetuam servitutem devovere, ad illam  
tanquam ad Matrem in necessitatibus recurrere, illam virginitatis suae et Angelicae castimoniae patro-  
nam perpetuam adhibere. Et ut de illo plura non loquar, in ea quam Angelicam S. P. N. Ignatius in suis  
requirit, vere Angelus meruit appellari. Nec tamen a continuis in corpusculum suum suppliciis abstine-  
bat. Oboedientiam cujus specimen dedimus supra, genuinus Soctis. filius unice amplectabatur. Denique  
qui finis Apostolici operarii est, salutem pauperum horum et parvulorum instructioni peculiari voto totum  
sese, corpus scilicet et animam devoverat. Quod egregie demonstravit cum eorum salutem ne sanguinem  
quidem denegavit. Sed jam decurrentis anni quae commemoranda restant, nos vocant.*

*Casus hic inopinatus singulariter afflixit omnes, qui in primaria Residentia remanserant Patres; ideo  
vel maxime, quod alter e Patribus qui in insulam Tenian profectionem adornarat, cum sex item sociis*

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1 Ed note: The 1672 galleon named San Diego, Captain Coello.

*adhuc in Insula subsisteret, ex adversa ejusdem parte commodam tempestatem operiens. Qui in apertum discrimen vocari videbatur, quod barbari superbia elati, et recenti victoria tumidi impetum in tennes copias facturi probabiliter essent. Itaque Indorum naviculae continuo submissae, quae incolumes omnes ad nos perduxerunt. Tum justa [de more]<sup>1</sup> defunctis ex more persoluta. Et quoniam hanc tam justam Missionis nostrae poenam, peccatis nostris acceptam, referebamus, per quadragesimales ferias in hoc praecipue inculpamus ut amoto peccatorum obice propitium nobis numen redderemus. Itaque, concionibus, exemplis, exhortationibus, disciplinis coeterisque consuetis exercitiis, ad sinceram poenitentiam, et scelerum detestationem conati omnes adducere, fructu haud sane poenitendo, quod ex Confessionibus generalibus, restitutione tam bonorum quam famae, sublatis odiis et rixis, Sacramentorum frequentatione, ac poenitentiis publicis abunde constitit: magno enim vero nostro solatio, quod dum foris excursionibus daemon impediret, non deesset domi copiosa exercendi zeli materia. Interim arma omnia renovata, et sub medium Aprilis, Missiones resumptae usque in Residentiam nostram Sti. Josephi.*

*Pedro Comano S.J. + Thomas Cardeñoso  
+ Antonio San Basilio + Alonso Lopez<sup>2</sup>*

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1 Ed. note: These two words are crossed out.

2 Ed. note: The letter is written in the same ink as the signature by Fr. Coomans. The other three signatures are in a stronger ink.



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## Document 1674I2

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# Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674—Synopsis in English

*Sources and notes: Same as for the previous chapter.*

## Long synopsis

**Continuation of the narrative of the History of the happy works and constant troubles suffered by the Jesuit Fathers of the Mariana Islands while propagating the faith. Covering the year 1673 and the beginning of 1674, including the martyrdom of the Venerable Father Francisco Ezquerro, the superior of that mission, on account of hate toward our faith, along with 6 secular companions, who met with a cruel death at the hands of some barbarian natives of those islands, on 2 February 1674.**

[The year 1673 began with the problem of the lack of food supplies for the Fathers. Two of the Fathers went to the south part of the island to fetch edible roots. A short time later, another two tried to do the same, but were warned by the inhabitants themselves that it might be unsafe, on account of ambushes laid by enemies. However, in mid-January, a full expedition was launched. The shores of the third part of the island were visited (for the interior trails were rough and narrow, and therefore dangerous). Over 40 children were baptized. After a terrible storm, they were happy to return home. The garrison was lacking soldiers and the protection necessary to give hope to those laboring in this mission field.]

[Meanwhile, they were teaching the barbarians to cover their bare skin with wild lupine.<sup>1</sup> Whenever the Fathers were making their rounds, they were accompanied by an armed escort. Some of the lay people were morally depraved and used objectionable

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Latin expression “lupinum rabiem” cannot be expected to be scientifically correct. What is meant is probably a plant like the one called “ti” in Polynesia.

means to get food for themselves. Their bodies were showing signs of food depravation, such as stomach troubles and lack of restful sleep. This led to fights among themselves and with the barbarians, often putting the missionaries at risk. Already, the spears of the barbarians had laid down to rest over 20 men from that little garrison, and two Fathers had spilled their noble blood. "All had suffered death in deceitful ambushes. When the battles had taken place with weapons against weapons and force against force, not one of our men, thank God, had been killed." Thought was given to pulling all the foreign residents into the enclosure, but so many children were in need. Therefore, the better of two bad alternatives was chosen. Soldiers would act as bodyguards for the missionaries. For this purpose, the most pious ones were chosen. At whatever night stop, one house was chosen, and the Indian inhabitants cleared from the surrounding houses. The soldiers would, in turn, do watch duty at night, in addition to their day-time routine. Special attention was given to teaching children the basics of the Christian faith. In the meantime, hopes were kept high that the ship that had left New Spain at the beginning of the year would arrive in the spring months. As the salvation of the mission depended on it, nothing was to be permitted that placed that ship at risk. Therefore, a new residence had been opened on the southern shore of the island (at Merizo), which was dedicated to the good thief Saint Dimas. "Because when those ships sail westward, many sail right through." Hardly had the station been established that the fury of the Indians wanted to destroy it. As it takes one day of travelling to cover the distance (from Agaña to Merizo), our people still preferred to spend the night in that unsafe house among Indians. It was not possible to determine, when companions had been on the way for longer than one day, if they were missing as a result of some mishap, or to get information from the main settlement. So, it was better to stay put and to maintain contacts with the inhabitants of the southern part of the island. "It was necessary for us to open the door to the secure penetration of the interior of the land." It was also important that the southern shore be defended, so that a vigil for passing ships could be maintained there.<sup>1</sup>

[“The village called **Fuñia** is famous among a few of them for a monument in the bush, which even now they point to as being **the place of origin of the whole human race**, so they say or believe. So, the Fathers were led to assign the spot as a place suitable for the residence.” At first, the Indians were none too happy about having this first residence in their village, but the matter was smoothed out. “There was a certain peninsula in the west truly pleasant and fertile, and rather ideal from our point of view, as it was beaten by the sea on all sides, with steep cliffs, and would admit entrance on only one (inland) side. If it were attacked by force, it would be not a small relief to know that the rear and sides would be secure, and only the front would have to be defended.” A cross was first erected on this site, which was placed under the protection of Saint Joseph. The first task was to clear the dense wood. Within a short time, a house was

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1 Ed. note: The Spanish troop built a watchtower southeast of Merizo at that time (see the map in Doc. 1679J).

erected, suitable for lodging two Fathers and 12 companions on the upper floor. The lower part was reserved for a church, until a more suitable place could be built for one. Two Fathers were assigned here, while waiting for the ship to arrive. They went up and down that shore, baptizing children, preparing the sick to die, etc.]

[On 10 June 1673,<sup>1</sup> the galleon **San Antonio** arrived from the northern side of the island, having passed between it and the Island called Santa Ana (Rota). It stood in and tacked before the main residence (of Agaña). The ship brought copies of royal decrees from the Queen Regent, Maria Ana favoring the Mission, e.g. making money available for food supplies from the royal treasury in Mexico, giving the same privileges as the Sinaloa Province in America, altar ornaments and priestly vestments, for more workers from New Spain and other Provinces, for the sponsored immigration of 200 Pampango families. They were in answer to the requests that the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Victores had made. Not the least of which was about a mission boat, to be built either in some port in New Spain, or in Peru, or even in the Philippines (as the last Viceroy of Mexico had approved), in order for the missionaries to explore the neighboring islands to the south and to the north. Those envious people, or heretics, who had been saying that Spain sent her fleets across the oceans only to find gold and silver, would be silenced by this, as this land had nothing of this sort.]

[The procurators would still have to work diligently to obtain what the decrees granted from both the Viceroy and the Governor of the Philippines. Two years had passed already without any letters from the Superiors of the Society. It was therefore considered necessary for someone to go and explain the changes that had taken place in the interim. Governor de León was due to go home to Spain at the end of his term. More soldiers were ready, but they also needed another commander, able to exercise a strong arm and lead war expeditions. Although the Fathers already had two procurators, one in Manila and one at court in Madrid, one of them might be absent. Therefore, Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, who had arrived from Spain the previous year, was sent to Manila as Procurator. After three days, the sailors raised the sails, and a favorable wind from the rear took the ship away.]

#### [The first horse in Guam]

[One of the best things received from Mexico was a gift horse from the General of the ship, Don Durán de Montfort; it was even a rare thing for a horse to be taken to the Philippines from New Spain. Needless to say, the spirits of the barbarians were much excited by the sight of it. The only thing that can be compared to it, is what the sight of an elephant, a lion or a tiger can do in Europe. "Curious spectators flocked from all over to see it, even from other islands. They admired its shape, neying, speed, everything, specially when it appeared decorated in full livery, and when a soldier armed with a musket mounted it, and fired a few shots, they insisted in fleeing for a long time,

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1 Ed. note: This must be an error. Fr. Bouwens, who went to Manila aboard this ship, says that the date was 23 May (see Doc. 1673J).

even throwing themselves into the sea where the horse would pursue them in the water along the shore. Everyone was struck with consternation. And after that they were all shouting that the tamer of our enemies had arrived at their shores, that it had horrible teeth, tremendous speed, and singular strength, for it suffered to carry three, even four, of our men, and with the usual speed.” Let us hope that many of the enemy’s children will be baptized as a result and that divine Providence will allow us to carry out our ministry, thanks to our Bucephalus.<sup>1</sup> “There were some of them who brought small gifts to the horse, the same as they give when they visit their own nobles; others, called it the chief of the foreigners, or almost a prince, to such a degree that they did not wish to give any other name to the newborn infants than that of the horse’s handler. Others even got a few hairs from its mane, as if they were treasures, thinking that it would give them speed, when they carried them around. He would always be chewing something in his mouth that looked like iron and steel, and they thought this to be his food—it was in fact the bit in his mouth.” Meanwhile the Fathers used every opportunity to venture into enemy territory to the northward. Soon, a certain slackness was observed in the attendance at mass, and the local people began to retreat to their old haunts and their old habits.]

[The soldiers were sent out to round the people up and to punish those who did not agree to attend church, whenever the bell would ring. But they simply moved further into the bush and reverted to their own ways. Many who had been joined in matrimony in accordance with the Council of Trent, were separating. Begging them and other blandishments had no effect; it was time to act, otherwise it was to waste one’s time, like throwing bread at dogs, or pearls at pigs. Two Fathers were looking after the station of Saint Joseph (i.e. Fuña). Feeding 70 men was no small thing. Peace was negotiated with the Indians living on the southern shore. This opened an opportunity to penetrate the interior of the island where an entrance had been made two years previously. The Fathers always went with a military escort, and preceded by friendly Indians. They wrote down the names of the newborn children, and acted as judges in disputes.]

[Next they instructed the adults, etc. They spent 4 whole months doing this kind of work. One part of the island remained hostile to us, and when we ventured into the interior, they would gather their confederates from the neighboring area. They would then either retreat to rougher hilly areas, or take up arms. This happened at a beach on the east side of the island, at a village<sup>2</sup> next to the one where they killed some of our companions in ambushes two years before. We had the opportunity to find this out when the regular trail was blocked; friendly Indians took our men by lesser-known trails through the night and all showed up safe the next morning on the opposite side of the island. A special incident took place on 14 November, on the day of the feast-day of Blessed Stanislas de Kostka; the Indians of the northern part came to sue for peace.

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1 Ed. note: Bucephalus was the name of the horse used by Alexander the Great.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Garcia says that it was Pago.

The main reason was that a rebel chief needed some wood called *maria* used in the construction of canoes.]

[The peace negotiations of 14 November 1673 are described in some detail. The Fathers took an active part in the negotiations.]

[An expedition to the third island to the north, **Tinian**, was also launched. Although it was not successful, other fruits were gathered. The Father ended up in a village in the northern side<sup>1</sup> and baptized no fewer than 40 babies, some of whom went on to their eternal reward. In the end, over the space of about 15 leagues, there could be heard a new salutation among them: "Praised be the most holy Sacrament." There were some who, after learning the basics in the school, would go inland on business and there become masters of the others. There were some (women) who, when solicited for sex, would respond: "*Rararo si Dios*," which means "God would be disgusted." They would often come to say the rosary, on their knees, alternating between themselves. Not only children but adults would come to confession frequently. They venerated the image of the cross, and wore medals as amulets in pious veneration. Upon returning home in the evening, they would gather their whole family and neighbors and teach prayers, etc. It had become a custom for them not so much to plant a cross near their house, but to place one at the crown of its roof, to keep evil spirits at bay. In their canoes, if the wind became fierce, or a storm approached, they invoked the names of Jesus and Mary. They also invoked them in their sicknesses and if they suffered any sudden pains. The old fables which they used to chant have been replaced by the ten commandments and the articles of the faith.]

[Those were the state of things, as I said, after the two Fathers had established their permanent, or semi-permanent, residence (in Fuña). At the main residence, the increase in the number of soldiers gave an opportunity to clear the trees that surrounded the camp and the enclosure reinforced for our defence. The gates which were open in the day-time, were closed at night, not so much to keep the enemies out, but to prevent our companions themselves from going out blindly in the dark to visit the neighboring Indians, thus placing their bodies and souls at risk. A total of 12 new houses were built for all kinds of public services. The six large ones were built with raised floors, Filipino-style; the soldiers would occupy some of these to perform their night watches. The six smaller ones were assigned to our companion soldiers, in squads; this led to disputes and disagreements, but peace was established after some public discussions. They are regulated among themselves by the written rules of the garrison, for instance, with frequent military exercises, solemn shooting practices, and parades. That only makes the Fathers sick; six full years have now been spent with so many soldiers for their defence and nothing so far has been received from the King as far as subsidy. Three times a day, a bell is rung and each soldier received a portion of food, which is often deficient. So is their clothing, dilapidated. The houses, for sacred or military use, have thatch roofs.]

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1 Ed. note: Ritidian, according to Fr. García.

**[The martyrdom of Fr. Ezquerria]**

[The year **1674** had hardly begun when a sad but glorious event occurred, that of a martyrdom. But first, let me mention that the holidays had been spent by the Fathers getting together, as is their customs in the Philippines. This is when they eat the special food brought in by the ships. Fr. Francisco Ezquerria, who had followed Fr. San Victores and Fr. Solano as Superior, had been busy baptizing children along the southern shore, accompanied by 6 companions. He had finished baptizing 10 of them,<sup>1</sup> and, happy with his success, was returning to his companion Fathers, when it happened. He stopped to baptize 23-24 more in the beach village of **Ati**.<sup>2</sup> This is the district where the port of San Antonio is located. On **2 February** [1674], the Father and his companions left this area before daybreak, intending to make it to the residence of San José (Fuña) by nightfall, a distance of 3 leagues. At daybreak, they met 4 natives who were carrying a pregnant woman who had difficulties in giving birth. The bearers told Fr. Ezquerria that she was already baptized; he confessed her and later applied extreme unction. Superstitions intervened and the bearers started criticizing the Father. One of the companions in turn intervened. The bearers put down the woman and took their slings, hitting the Father in the arm, etc. The companions fled for their own protection, and this was interpreted by the barbarians as a victory. They began to yell and fill the air with piercing shouts: "Weapons, companions, spears." More barbarians responded and attacked the (unarmed) companions with spears. Two of them, Filipinos, were killed. Sebastian de Ribera was hit by a spear in the back as he was fleeing; he threw himself into the sea, but was finished off by cruel hands.]

[The other companion fled inland into the bush, where he hid among the thorn bushes and brushes. The barbarians could not find him. So, they set fire to the bushes. On the sea-shore, the Father was still breathing and guarded by the companions. One of them who was armed fired and pierced the calf of the leg of one of the Indians. During this diversion, one of the companions escaped and made his way through track-less ways, intending to warn the Fathers. The other one took the holy oil and went to hide it, so that it would not be desecrated. Meanwhile, Fr. Ezquerria confessed his companions.]

[Much of what happened next has been told by the natives. The other companions were attacked along the shore with sling-stones and spears. Fr. Ezquerria kept calling for peace but to no avail. Luis de Vera y Picazzo, a noble Mexican, whose home was Mexico, died first. Before he died, he was lying down with many wounds, and calling the names of Jesus and Mary. While the Father was bleeding to death, the barbarians despoiled him of his clothes. He begged them to give him back his underwear. From his neck still hung the image of the Virgin Mary. In the meantime, the rest of the companions were trying to escape by sea aboard native canoes, which they could not control well and were soon overturned. They were attacked in the water, and their bodies

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1 Ed. note: The ARSI text says 200 instead.

2 Ed. note: The ARSI text says 104 instead.

buried at sea. One was named Pedro Alezo, from Puebla de los Angeles (in Mexico). Another was Mathias de Altamirano, a native of Oaxaca (in Mexico); he was a surgeon and had spent two years in the mission.]

[Another was Marcos de Segura, also from Puebla, was trying to go around a headland. As for the Filipino named Francisco Gonzalez, he who had escaped earlier, he had come within two leagues of the residence of San José (Fuña) when he came down to the shore too early, at the village of **Pupuro**. News of the massacre had spread. The first Indian who met him asked him jokingly where the Father was. This Indian was armed with a sword and he attacked the Filipino. The latter fended the blows with his arms. Finally, he was left for dead. He later dragged himself half-dead, away from the shore, his face a bloody mess and without his clothes. He was received by the chief of the next village, who treated his wounds before taking him by canoe to the next village, who did the same, until he reached his destination, not safe but alive. He recovered quickly.]

[There follows the eulogy of Fr. Ezquerria. He was born in Manila at the end of September 1644.<sup>1</sup> He began to study philosophy at the age of 15 in the (Jesuit) College of San José. He was admitted to the novitiate in January 1660. He was ordained priest on 15 June 1669 at the age of 25.<sup>2</sup> He taught grammar for a while. Then he wrote to the Jesuit General for assignment to a more difficult mission than his own birthplace. He had to travel to the port of Lampon to catch a galleon for Acapulco in 1670. He sailed from Acapulco on 19 March 1671 for the Marianas. During the voyage he was studying the Mariano language. The ship arrived on 11 June.<sup>3</sup> He landed at **Ati** with another companion,<sup>4</sup> the same place where he was to die three years later.<sup>5</sup> Fr. Ezquerria was first assigned to visit the Gani Islands, but the wind condition forced him to spend one month in **Rota**, which he evangelized, while he survived by eating the leaves of vegetables and some fruits, but rarely the edible roots that were in short supply.]

[He had no sooner reached **Tinian** that he was recalled to Guam to join the other Fathers at the main residence, on account of a war situation. At the end of the war, the Fathers were divided among various missions. Fr. Ezquerria was assigned his choice of the southern district of Guam. He chose the village of **Merizo** as the site of his new parish, which he dedicated to the Good Thief (St. Dimas). He had no sooner finished putting roofs on the buildings that new troubles started. So, he and his helpers had to return to the main residence for a few days. However, after Fr. San Victores was killed, the new mission had to be abandoned. The galleon named **San Diego** arrived, bringing the subsidy and new ministers from Spain.]<sup>6</sup>

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- 1 Ed. note: The ARSI text says that he was born in Manila on 2 October 1644. His father was Juan Ezquerria, his mother Lucia Sarmiento.
  - 2 Ed. note: The ARSI text adds that he was made sub-deacon on 12 June and deacon on 14 June.
  - 3 Ed. note: The ARSI version says 15 June.
  - 4 Ed. note: This corresponds to Cetti Bay.
  - 5 Ed. note: He died in sight of Cetti Bay, further up the coast, closer to Facpi Point.
  - 6 Ed. note: They were Fathers Bouwens, Coomans, and San Basilio.

[Fr. Solano, who had become superior after the death of Fr. San Victores, was broken by fatigue. A few days before he died, he appointed Fr. Ezquerro as third superior. He tried to have Fr. Solano change his mind about it, but try as he may, he could not change the intentions of the Almighty. So, he used his new position to place the most onerous duties upon himself. The church and house at the main residence of San Ignacio (Agaña) were renovated under his supervision. The house at **Fuñá** was rebuilt. His virtues were superior as well. He had a special devotion to the Holy Virgin. He had even used his own blood to write a vow of servitude to her.]

[Another expedition to the northern islands failed, the Father and his six companions having to return prematurely. By mid-April (1674) the former mission station of San José was re-occupied.]

[Report signed by Fr. Coomans, Fr. Cardeñoso, Fr. San Basilio, and Fr. Lopez.]<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The date is not mentioned, but it must have been on 10 May at the latest (see Doc. 1674D & E).



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## Document 1674J

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# Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 111-118 (in Latin: Relatio 1673-74); AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 7 (in Spanish), i.e. old number 68-1-40; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 79-102.*

*Notes: This report is sometimes erroneously attributed to Fr. Ezquerro; he died on 2 February 1674. The report was written entirely by either Fr. Cardeñoso or Fr. Lopez. It was taken to Manila by Fr. Coomans. The original date of this report is said to be either 2 March or 24 May 1674.*

## Original text in Spanish

*Relación de los sucesos de las islas Marianas desde el año de 1673, hasta Mayo de 1674 juntamente con el Martirio del muy fervoroso y Angelical Padre Francisco Esquerro, muerto por la predicacion del Santo Evangelio en el Pueblo de Ati, Puerto de S. Antonio de la Ysla de Guan, una de las Marianas á 2 de Febrero de 1674.*

*Dejamos la relacion del año pasado en la ereccion de la nueva iglesia de San José en el Pueblo de **Fuuña**, de que daremos en esta plena noticia. Entró el año de 1673, en que se padeció no pequeña falta de bastimentos que no se podian conducir, ni acudir como se deseaba al sustento de los pocos compañeros seculares que tenemos á nuestro cargo; y asi aunque embarazados los caminos ya de los Indios enemigos de Nuestra Santa Fé, que como gente de pocos cuidados todo lo andan; ya del temor de los amigos, y buenos cristianos que por que no nos maten nos persuadian que no saliesemos, se determinó empero, fiados en la Proteccion divina, hacer algunas salidas, y Misiones en que se bautizaron muchos parbulos, y se conduxo alguna provision; aunque poca de las raizes, que sirven para sustento, que con no poco trabajo se alcanzan.*

*La tranquilidad que mostraron de animo los Yndios, lo dió para alexarnos, y estendermos mas alla en nuestras Misiones, y correrias, como se determinó desde el Pueblo de Fuuña de donde salieron dos Padres con buena prevencion para asegurar mejor el fruto de estas Pobres almas que se pretendia hacer con las medras, que siempre con la gracia divina; apesar del demonio que pretendia lo contrario por medio de sus confidentes, de que nos dieron noticia algunos buenos amigos cristianos: que en algunos Pueblos habia poca fidelidad al nombre de Cristo, y deseaban oportuna ocasion para*

*quitarnos la vida: y en[comen]dando mas á Nuestro Señor; por medio de la Santísima Virgen, el buen suceso de la Mision, confiados de su paternal providencia, y valiendonos de los medios humanos que fueron posibles en tierras tan faltas de ellos, se bolvió á proseguir con las Misiones, y se visitó la tercera parte de los pueblos de la playa, en que fué grande el numero de los que alcanzaron con las aguas del Santo Bautismo la verdadera vida de la gracia, con cuya dicha dieron la buelta los Misioneros con el consuelo que se dexa entender, prometiendose colmados frutos en adelante.*

*Para mejor expediente de las Misiones se ha juzgado por muy combeniente, que los Ministros lleven consigo algunos mas compañeros seculares que hasta aqui; por que con el temor de verlos acompañados parece no se atreverian los enemigos de Nuestra Santa Fé, á impedir tan confiadamente la semilla del Santa Evangelio ni á ultrajar á sus Ministros é injuriar sus mismos naturales; porque reciben la fé Santa del Señor; y privando á los recién nacidos del beneficio del Santo Bautismo, y de los otros Sacramentos á otros muchos que tenian necesidad, y deseo de recibirlos. Estos que se oponen como se ha dho otras veces, son los inficionados del idolatra Choco: los cuales viendonos tan sin fuerzas y destituidos de resguardo alguno humano en estas Yslas, se han atrevido á hacer mofa, y risa de lo que predicamos de las verdades de nuestra Santa Fé, y del fin que nos ha traído á sus tierras; entraron en ellas los Ministros del Santo Evangelio sin armas destituidos de toda humana defensa, y resguardo de soldados; armados solamente de la confianza en el Señor de los exercitos, que sabe y puede sacar de los riesgos á los que por su amor se empeñan en los peligros; mas permitiendo su divina Magestad por sus altos juicios justificados en si mismos, los disturbios en los años pasados, nos enseñó con la experiencia, que para conservar nuestra Santa fé en estas Yslas, era necesario el resguardo de las armas, que por ser tan pocas al presente suelen ser de mas estorvo que seguridad, ni defensa, como lo juzgaba el Venerable Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores: y habremos de pasar asi hasta que la Castilla, y Real piedad del Rey N.S. disponga otra cosa. Agreganse á las incomodidades del dia las vigiliias de la noche contra las asechanzas de los Indios enemigos de nuestra Santa Fé.*

*En estas misiones y correrias nos exercitabamos cuando previniendonos el cuidado de aguardar la Nao, de cuya llegada á esta Ysla de S. Juan pende el bien de estos pobres; se determinó erigir nueva iglesia en el pueblo de Fuuña por estar muy distante, la que para este efecto se comenzó en el pueblo de **Meriso**, debajo del patrocinio de S. Dimas singular Patron del Angelical, y fervoroso Padre Francisco Esquerra que fué quien empleó su solicitud y trabajo en ella que nuestro Señor pagó con la dichosa muerte que diremos despues en los mismos pueblos de su visita que tantas veces habia andado, y procurado reducir con su apacible y angelical trato, y con un indecible amor, y cariño que tenia á estos pobres naturales entre los cuales son algo escabrosos y bien imprisionados de la voz del Choco estos que procuró reducir el fervoroso Padre Francisco.*

**[Site of church at Fuuña]**

*Viendo pues el peligro de la distancia para que fuese mas segura la comunicacion, y socorro en qualquier contingencia de las Naos, que pasan á Filipinas: y para ampliar ó confirmar en la recibida fé á proposito el de **Fuuña** muy frecuentado de los Indios y pueblos circunvecinos. Es el sitio no lejos de algunos puertos y bastantemente á proposito para el intento, y exercicios de nuestros ministerios, y poderse descubrir á buena distancia las Naos que pasan de Nueva España á Filipinas, en una punta que hace hacia Oes-Norueste levantada hasta seis y ocho brazas de la mar, que con sus aguas baña las tres partes del peñasco que por estas bien asegurado si acaso el comun enemigo intentase levantar algun tumulto. Por la parte que mira al Les-Sueste que es por donde se continua con la tierra se puede á poca diligencia resguardar es bastante capaz, ameno y fertil.*

**[The sacred stone of Fuuña]**

*El Pueblo de Fuuña es celebre entre estas gentes, por estar en el una piedra que hoy muestran de la cual creian tubieron principio los hombres. Llegaron pues dos de los Padres para el intento dicho á este Pueblo, cuyos habitadores se alegraron mucho de que se fundase alli Yglesia y Casa, para lo cual ayudaron en el trabajo de sus manos, complaciendose de nuestra cercania y comunicacion, acariciados y agasajados de todos siendo ahora mas frecuente, que antes este pueblo de los Indios de sus montañas, y otros mas distantes, atraidos de las ganancias espirituales, y aun temporales que con el trato tienen en quienes se logra admirablemente la palabra de Dios por su infinita bondad. Levantose delante de la nueva iglesia el estandarte Real de la Santa Cruz, para que con tan sagrada señal se acaben de deshacer totalmente los errores, que aun todavia algunos pertinaces en no asentir á los misterios de la ley divina tienen de la mentida **Madre de los hombres Fuuña** (que asi llaman á la piedra) y triunfo del Demonio [sobre] Nuestra Santa Fé Católica.*

*Por fundamental de nuestra nueva iglesia de madera se escogió el que mereció el nombre de Padre de Cristo, en cuya vispera se levantó el sagrado Trofeo de la Cruz, dandole al nuevo templo por patron y titular al glorioso San José para que en las Yslas ó tierras de Maria ó Marianas, obtubiese el segundo lugar, quien mereció en la familia de Maria Santisima por dichosa suerte el que tubo tan preminente. Fué el primero cuidado desembarazar el puesto de los arboles, y bosques, y á pocos meses se acabó una casa cuya principal parte servia de Yglesia, y lo restante de vivienda hasta que mas de proposito se pueda edificar á Dios como lo esperamos mas decentes templos. Asistian en esta residencia dos Padres, y algunos compañeros seglares, habiendo desde ella sus correrias y misiones, bautizando muchos niños de los pueblos de los montes é instruyendo á los demas en la Ley Santa de Dios y costumbres cristianas, cuando á **los 22 de Mayo de dho año de 73 traxo nuestro Señor la Nao S. Antonio**, que traia su derrota por entre esta Ysla de Guan, ya San Juan, y la de Santa Ana, antes Rota; y asi con lo bonancible pudo llegar á este pueblo de Agadña, donde se detubo, aunque sin hechar anclas, el tiempo suficiente para dexarnos el socorro que la Real piedad y liberali-*

*dad de la Reyna N.S. mandaba por sus Reales Cédulas que se sirvió expedir en favor de estos sus pobres Marianos y con bien particulares impulsos de Dios N.S. á lo que las circunstancias muestran, para el bien de esta Cristiandad, pues conuinadas las fechas con los sucesos de estas Islas, fué su despacho en los mismos días, y año, que ya casi destituidos de las vidas, vimos los ultimos esfuerzos, que instigados del Demonio hizieron los Aliados, y confidentes del Choco, con intento de destruir y acabar totalmente esta tierna Cristiandad: y en este mismo tiempo estaba nuestro buen Dios, y Señor con su altisima providencia proveyendo el remedio y cometiendo su execucion al Catolico, Piadosisimo y Real pecho de la Reyna N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup> que en una de sus Reales Cédulas expedidas á los 10 de Octubre de 1671 manda que á expensas de sus Reales haberes se socorran los Ministros evangélicos de estas sus Islas Marianas. Mandó asi mismo S.M. en otra de 19 [sic] de Agosto de dicho año de 1671 que se adornasen estas pobres iglesias con ornamentos sacando los gastos de su Real Caxa de Mexico; y que del Reyno de la Nueva España se embien obreros de socorro para esta su querida viña como lo ordena en otra de 16 de Noviembre del mismo año de 1671 y para mas fortaleza, y que se cojan los frutos, que su Real piedad, y católico zelo desea, mando en otra su fecha á los 16 de Noviembre de 1671, que se embien de las Yslas Filipinas, á estas Marianas doscientos Pampangos, que habia pedido á S.M. nuestro Venerable Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores.*

*Anteponiendo esta nacion á otras[,] no solo por ser en su militar esfuerzo, la mas cercana á la Española, sino tambien por ser ya probada, asi en el celo de la Santa Fé de Cristo, como en la magnanimidad en tolerar qualesquier trabajos, y docilidad de naturales. Expidió fuera de esto S.M. otra cédula fecha el mismo dia 16 de Noviembre, en que manda se despache á estas Yslas un navio traído del Perú, o Nueva España, ó de las Yslas Filipinas, á que obedeciendo el Exmo. Señor Marques de Mancera, Virey de Mexico, remitió de aquella Real Caxa, tres mil pesos á Manila para dho efecto. Ytem, manda S.M. que Dios guarde no se repare en gastos, ni dificultades en tan piadosa causa, y tan anexa á su Real Corona, encargando á sus Ministros miren, que en esta obra tan del servicio de Dios son qualesquier gastos inevitables, palabras con que se cierra la boca á la mentira pertinazia de los hereges, que quieren manchar la Catolica piedad de la Corona de España, publicando ser blanco de sus católicas empresas el interes que tan ageno está de ellas como se prueba claramente por la presente empresa Mariana, en que todos son gastos sin intereses humanos, mirando siempre solo á los Divinos en el bien de tantas almas.*

**[First horse in Guam, 1673]**

*Lo que de estas Reales Cédulas tocaba al Exmo. Señor Virey de la Nueva España, fué luego obedecido, y esperamos que en breve tiempo tendran el debido efecto, como lo manda S.M. y ojala sea con toda brevedad cuya execucion pende del Señor Gobernador de Filipinas, á quien para esto se remitieron tambien las mismas Reales cédulas, en dho Navio S. Antonio, que al tercer dia prosiguió su viage á las Filipinas, dexandonos con su piedad, y liberalidad el socorro que necesitabamos bien de el General D.*

*Juan Duran de Monfort, que entre otras fué un **caballo**, que de regalo llevaba, y fué á estas gentes no de pequeña admiracion ver á un bruto jamas de ellos conocido, y mas cuando miraban la velocidad de su correr, y lo fornido de su fuerzas, cuya fama esparcida por estas Islas les ha movido á hacerle varias visitas, y llevar de el por gran favor algunas crines, que en sus coquillos de cal se precian de traer: y los solteros en unos pequeños báculos que llaman **tunas**, curiosamente labrados y azafranados con el zumo de una raiz que llaman **mangú**, en cuya remate de arriba agujereado encajan, ó inyieren tres cintas de media vara de largo hechas de cortezas suaves de árboles con [h]ilos gruesos que sacan de los cocos, y los ponen en forma de borla; aunque sueltos y cortados curiosamente y del tamaño, que los de un pincel; pero los que ahora pueden alcanzar dhas crines en lugar de estos hilos, adornan con ellas en la forma dicha sus báculos, que es propia divisa con que los solteros se distinguen de los casados.*

*No les ha causado á algunos menos miedo el poderles dar alcance con la velocidad de tan ligero animal en las fugas, que en sus traiciones hazen, con que se arredran de cometerlas tan continuas, ni han faltado otros que le truxeron algunos presentes de cocos á personaje tan principal como ellos dicen, en estas tierras, y tan valeroso que le sirve el hierro de sustento, que por tal calificado el freno admirando la dureza de sus dientes, que no j--- han imaginado ser de azero; y muchos con la llegada de tan extraño y noble sugeto daban ya por rendidos á nuestros enemigos á los cuales les causaba bastante cuidado el verle en sus tierras y acrecentados sus temores con la llegada de la Nao, que entendian habia de castigar sus desmanes, se retiraron á pueblos mas distantes; pero no se combincieron á sujetarse viendo que la Nao no habia hecho caso de sus sacrilegios y delitos, ni hecho diligencia alguna en castigarlos, con que nos era forzoso buscar los medios de su reduccion; y asi se les amenazó serian castigados si no acudian á la iglesia á ser instruidos en los misterios de Nuestra Santa Fé, en que estaban tan rehacios. Con esta amenaza venian á los principios con mucha puntualidad; mas acostumbrados á la libertad, y nada á la constancia prosiguieron como antes retirados é impacientes de que si les castigaremos, no dudarian de apellidar su antigua libertad con sangrienta guerra. Y biendonos tan destituidos y con desiguales fuerzas, fué forzoso el disimular hasta que N.S. las aumente.*

*En los demas Pueblos eran mas prosperos los sucesos gracias al Señor, especialmente en los pueblos occidentales para donde se partieron dos Padres, que hizieron asiento en la Nueva Residencia de S. José de **Fuufña**, de donde se hacian continuas correrias, asi por los pueblos de la playa como por los del monte con el logro y fruto que se deseaba de los párbulos, y demas que carecian del fruto de la Sangre de Cristo por no estar bautizados. Juntose tambien buena provision de bastimentos, que eran bien necesarios para el sustento de nuestra gente; aunque fueron mayores los frutos que en lo espiritual se cogieron con las misiones continuas en que se agregaron al rebaño de Cristo mas de cuatrocientos niños, y de los adultos tambien muy crecido numero, instruyendose en la ley Santa del Señor, procurando los operarios del Evangelio arrancar las espinas, que en tan dilatada y bien labrada sementera, habian brotado por arte del Demonio que pretendia ahogar la semilla esparcida del Santo Evangelio. Pero otra vez*

*con la ayuda del Señor y de su Santísima Madre, y con la solicitud de los Misioneros, se veía convertida en hermoso y ameno jardín la que con los disturbios del Ynfierno parecía haberse buuelto selva inculta de malezas; y correspondiendo la Divina providencia y misericordia al celo y trabajo de sus obreros, y sembradores producía abundantes frutos para el cielo: oíanse por las playas y montes las voces de la Santa Doctrina que en lugar de sus profanas y antiguas canciones resonaban más dulcemente que las del mentiroso can cerbero; atrayendo con su melodía las voluntades de todos que daban gracias á Nuestro Señor de ver ya sus alabanzas en las bocas de los inocentes y demás juventud, que con sus felices memorias en brebe tiempo aprenden y comprenden las Oraciones y misterios de Nuestra Santa Fé repetiendolos muchas veces con sumo consuelo nuestro.*

*Duró la asistencia en dho pueblo de **Fuuña** quatro meses sucediendose unos á otros los religiosos en repetidas misiones; aunque bien atropellados peligros, tanto que habiendo llegado al Pueblo de **Pago**, visitada la mayor parte de esta Ysla de Guan por playas y montes, deseando los Misioneros proseguir su comenzada Mision, y visitar toda la Ysla; fueron avisados de los amigos y fieles cristianos, que los enemigos del nombre de Cristo tenían algunas emboscadas dispuestas en parajes bien peligrosos desde donde podían bien á su salvo hacernos el daño que deseaban, y así constreñidos de la necesidad por la desigualdad grande que para nuestra defensa teníamos, siendo nuestra gente poca, y sin armas y cansada de tan largos caminos a pie dieron la buelta al Pueblo de **Fuuña**, por bien asperas y poco trilladas sendas, siendoles forzoso dormir en el abierto campo á las inclemencias del cielo.*

*Concluida felizmente esta Mision, visitados y consolados los enfermos, socorridos los moribundos, y bautizados hasta 400 infantes; mientras por otros dilatados campos se empleaban también otros miembros en las nuevas siembras, y cosechas evangelicas instruyendo y bautizando muchos adultos con el jubilo que se puede pensar, en quienes veían bien logrados los trabajos; sin faltar la Divina providencia en consolar á los que quedaban en las casas de las Residencias exercitando sus muchos ministerios, esperando su turno; con las nuevas que tenían de lo que por diferentes partes obraba la mano poderosa del Señor por medio de sus compañeros para salir también á sus correrías, en que se experimentaban muchas misericordias y providencias de Dios y de su Santísima Madre, que entre otras fué muy grande, y tanto mayor, cuanto más se deseaba, y menos se esperaba. Y fué que á los **13 de Noviembre de 1673** día del glorioso natalicio del bienaventurado San Estanislao de Koska, ostentó el Señor su poder en rendir la porfida pertinacia de la mayor parte de los enemigos, que tantas veces se habían resistido á la ley de Dios, y paz evangelica, con la cual muchas veces les habíamos combidado y ellos burladose de ella; y ahora voluntariamente vinieron á ofrecerse á ella, y al bautismo, y los que le habían recibido á recibir los demás sacramentos para reconciliarse con Dios, y alcanzar la verdadera paz de sus almas, ofreciendo juntamente los muchos niños, que había entre ellos por bautizar, con que fueron admitidas las pazes tan deseadas de nuestra parte, y pedidas de ellos con instancia. Propusieronseles las condiciones para su estabilidad, de ser obedientes á los preceptos de Dios, traer los niños no bauti-*

*zados como ellos prometian á la Iglesia, y acudir á ella para hacerse capaces de sus misterios, que ellos aceptaron de muy buena voluntad, y nosotros con harto gusto, y asi quedaron ajustadas las paces con sumo consuelo de todos y bien de los que lograron el del sagrado baño del Santo Bautismo, con el cual y demas Santos Sacramentos que acostumbra Nuestra Santa Madre Yglesia, de que eran ya capaces algunos de ellos por haberse bautizado, fueron socorridos muchos extremadamente necesitados y moribundos, que lograron la vida eterna de sus almas.*

*No podian dexar de solicitar los Misioneros para comunicar estos dichos frutos y continuarlos en los que tan merecido tienen, por su fidelidad á Dios, el socorro como son los naturales de la Ysla de **Tinian** ó Buenavista Mariana, que desde que se les dió una reciada de nuestras armas de fuego el año de 1670, aviendo precedido las exortaciones á la paz y amenazas de que serian castigados, si intentasen lo contrario con la ocasion y circunstancias que ya se escribió aquel año, quedaron siempre muy obedientes y temerosos á los mandamientos de la ley de Dios, y con mucho respecto á los Españoles, y demas gente, que nos acompaña, y con el mismo respeto, y una sujecion, y obediencia singular á los ministros evangelicos.*

*Partiose pues para el socorro espiritual de los buenos naturales de dha Ysla uno de los Padres; aunque no tubo efecto su llegada á ella, como diremos, forzado de los tiempos, estuvo detenido un mes en el Pueblo de **Ritiyan**, de esta Ysla de S. Juan, y en otros pueblos que visitó en esta detencion, en los cuales se bautizaron mas de 50 parbulos, y fueron socorridos los enfermos y moribundos con los Santos Sacramentos y bautizados muchos adultos: con que sacando los pocos pueblos de los enemigos de Nuestra Santa Fé se ha visitado este año todo lo restante de esta Ysla, en que se han hecho varias doctrinas, y platicas á los nuevos Cristianos, y enseñado á los niños, y á la gente moza, y á todos los demas grandes y pequeños á clamar luego que encuentran á los n[uestros] y saludarlos diciendo: “alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento &c” palabras que enternecen las entrañas de quien mira á los que tan pocos años antes carecian del conocimiento de Dios y alabarle con repetidas, y reciprocas voces, y no han faltaado algunos, que pasando de discipulos á Maestros han industriado á los demas que por lo innato de su floxidad, y estar tocados de la ponzoña del Choco, no habian participado<sup>1</sup> evangelica, haciendoles capaces de los Sagrados Misterios de nuestra Santa Fé, con que pidieron el bautismo: ni es de menor admiracion haberse hallado entre tanta libertad algunas fervorosas mugeres cristianas nuevas, que han evadido los infernales ruegos de los que las solicitaban diciendo: **Dararo si Dios: enojarse Dios** dando por razon de su **no el enojo de Dios** contra tan fea y abominable culpa: y otras mugeres tambien Marianas, que acometidas con diabolica violencia, y desacato, no han dudado de dar voces para librarse, y acudir con sus quejas á los ministros del Evangelio para su remedio.*

*Tambien ha havido otras muchas señales del concepto grande que hacen de las cosas de Dios, ya erigiendo cruces, venerando imagenes de los Santos de el Cielo, y en espe-*

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1 Ed. note: A line may be missing here, or was not transcribed, by error of omission.

*cial las de Cristo nuestro Señor, y su Santísima Madre, invocando sus santísimos y dulcísimos nombres en mar y tierra para su remedio, y amparo contra el Aniti, repitiendo con exteriores demostraciones de devoción las Oraciones y Acto de contricción: acciones todas que muestran las raíces que en sus pechos ha hechado la Santa fé, y la ley de gracia, que los que las advierten son materia de gran consuelo, y alabanza á Dios N.S. Hanse continuado con toda solicitud por todos los Pueblos y Residencias los Santos ejercicios de sermones, pláticas instrucciones, y demas exortaciones santas viendose conocidas medras. Y las que se han sacado de la asistencia á las congregaciones de los buenos seculares, que nos acompañan en estas Yslas han sido bien notadas y de mucha edificación para estos nuevos cristianos.*

**[Death of Fr. Ezquerria and company]**

*Llegó entre estos ejercicios el año de 1674 funesto y triste desde sus principios á Nuestra Mision Mariana; aunque mejor le llamaremos glorioso; funesto por haberse ensangrentado con tantas muertes y glorioso por haber dado en las mismas muertes (á lo que los motivos de ellas nos enseñan) gloriosos martires á estas Yslas. Habianse juntado por las Pascuas los Religiosos, que asistian en las otras residencias, y pueblos á esta residencia de N.P.S. Ygnacio del pueblo de Agadña para determinar los negocios que se habian de proponer al Rey N.S. y á la Reyna N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup> y á sus ministros en Mexico, y Manila, y en otras partes las cosas tocantes á la estabilidad y aumento de esta Mision, y tomar en la renovacion, y ejercicios que acostumbra la Compañia, nuevos esfuerzos para el trabajo, y concluido todo esto, bolvió el Angelical Padre Francisco Esquerria, Superior de esta Mision, á hacer una salida á la Residencia de S. José de Fuuña, y de allí no sufriendo dilacion su mucha caridad, y zelo de salvar almas, subió á los Pueblos del monte; por que supo habia en ellos muchos párbulos, sin bautismo, y asi llegando á ellos bautizó unos doscientos niños, y alegre de tanta dha dió la vuelta á esta residencia, y a pocos dias bolvió otra vez al Pueblo de Fuuña, confiado del buen suceso antecedente, no dudó de exponerse á algun peligro, que le sobreviniese, y asi penetrando otros pueblos del monte gastó en ellos trece dias, instruyendo, y bautizando adultos, consolando los enfermos y bautizando los recién nacidos. Fueron mas de 104 los que este solícito y vigilante Pastor ganó en tan breve tiempo, y bolviendo alborotado de tan buena suerte encontró la suya muy gloriosa en premio de su gran caridad. Llegó al Pueblo de **Ati** en las riberas del mar, puerto de S. Antonio, en donde tres años antes se havia desembarcado, cuando vino á estas Yslas; en el hizo noche, y amaneció el día **dos de Febrero**, dedicado á la Purificación de Maria Santissima, a quien el fervoroso Padre Francisco años antes se habia ofrecido por esclavo, y escrito, firmado su esclavitud con su propia sangre en dos distintos papeles con bien tiernas, y cordiales palabras, deseando derramar por su honrra y por la gloria de su Santísimo hijo, toda la restante de su virginal cuerpo, que para este mismo dia admitió la Purísima Virgen.*

*No habia llevado en esta mision ó visita (como siempre lo acostumbraba) los sagrados ornamentos, por no ser molesto á los compañeros seculares, que llevaba, y por que no les impidiesen en lo aspero de los caminos de los montes, y asi por no quedarse sin*



*misa en este dia de su Madre tan amada, y por que sus buenos compañeros tubiesen el consuelo que deseaban de la sagrada comunion y Eucaristia previniendo la luz del Sol, salió de dho Pueblo para de oír misa y comulgarlos en el de Fuuñá; apenas habian caminado una hora cuando encontraron quatro Indios, que llevaban una muger, que habia días estaba en extremo peligro de un diñcil parto: imformado el Padre Francisco del caso y certificado por dicho de los que la llelaban, y de ella misma de su bautismo, quiso valerse para remedio de aquella alma de la Santa extremauncion, medicina á que era tan afecto el fervoroso Padre quien en qualesquier necesidad ó desfallecimiento de sentidos era el primero, y ultimo que la pedia. Y cierto parece que quiso la piedad divina remunerar su tan piadoso afecto con una gloriosa muerte por tan católica causa.*

*Disponiendose pues para administrar á la enferma este Santo Sacramento; lo repugnaron los Yndios, que engañados de la antigua y falsa voz del Choco, de que era causa de la muerte la uncion sagrada, la aborrecian en extremo, y asi quisieron proseguir su camino, sin rendirse á los ruegos y persuasiones del piadoso Padre Francisco que deseoso de lograr en lo que podia el bien de aquella alma insistió largo rato en su caritativa determinacion; mas estando pertinaces en la suya los bárbaros, dieron al humilde Padre un empellon; é indignados depusieron la carga que llevaban, y arrojaron contra el bendito Padre y sus compañeros las piedras, que encontraban, y apellidando guerra contra ellos; por que los querian matar con el azeite de Dios, que asi llaman á los sagrados olios, tubieron por mas acertado los nuestros de irse retirando los nuestros con disimulo, á que se llegaba otra razon de haber buuelto al Pueblo antecedente dos de los compañeros del Padre que en esta ocasion no cesaba de predicar á aquellos barbaros con un Santo Cristo en las manos, reprendiendoles las blasfemias que instigados del Demonio decian contra nuestro buen Dios y Señor.*

*Viendo los barbaros que los nuestros eran muy pocos tubieron por cierta su vitoria, y combocando compañeros, juntando armas y lanzas, les acometieron con barbara saña y furor sonando confusas voces de que muriesen todos: temerosos dos de los compañeros del Padre viendose sin arma alguna con que defenderse asi y al Padre que nada menos cuidaba que su defensa juzgaron librarse emprendiendo la huida; y fiando el Padre en la Providencia Divina, cobró grande esfuerzo; y animo, y sin temer la hostilidad de los enemigos de Cristo, perseveró constante hasta dar su vida en esta demanda predicandoles la ley de Dios, á quien tanto aborrecian.*

*Alcanzó al uno de los compañeros que procuraron salvar las vidas con la huida que emprendieron, una lanza, que le atravesó por la espalda, y arrojandose al agua para escapar á nado le siguieron, y acabaron á lanzadas: llamabase este --- **Sebastian de Ribera**, natural de la ciudad de Manila, y habiendo venido á estas Yslas el año de 73, sirvió á la Mision en todo lo que se ofrecia con suma presteza, alegria y buen agrado, por lo cual fué de todos muy amado y pretendido por compañero en las misiones, edificó no poco a todos con sus exemplos, que nuestro Señor pagó con tan dichosa muerte. Luego que le acabaron de matar los bárbaros fueron tras el otro compañero para executar en el lo mismo; pero el viendolos encarnizados, y divertidos en dar la muerte á su compañero Sebastian Ribera tubo lugar para entrarse por las espesuras del monte en donde*

*le buscaron un gran rato, y no hallandole pegaron fuego al monte por varias partes para descubrirle, y acabarle á fuego y sangre, tanta era su rabia y furor, pero le guardó y reservó el Señor para testigo de su maldad; por que mientras le buscaban se fué arastrando poco á poco á escondidas por debajo de las espesas arboledas, y yerbas hasta ponerse en buena distancia, con que no pudo ser hallado, ni emprendido del fuego, y asi combirtieron los furiosos barbaros toda su ira en los que quedaban.*

*Habia entretanto el buen Padre Francisco acogidose á un collado, con los dos compañeros, que le quedaban para valerse del fuego, que los mismos Indios habian encendido, para consumir en el los sagrados olios; por que no fuesen profanados, y ultrajados de aquellos barbaros. Y no podemos dudar que en tan manifiesto peligro se dispondria asi mismo con fervorosos actos de contriccion, y amor de Dios, esperando con generoso animo la penosa muerte, que le amenazaba; aunque siempre andaba dispuesto, y tan temeroso de Dios, y ajustado á su conciencia, que tenia horror aun á la sombra de el pecado; y tambien que administraria á los compañeros el Santo Sacramento de la penitencia, para purificarlos de sus culpas, si tenian algunas, que los Indios por no entender nuestra lengua, dicen que el Padre Francisco y sus compañeros se daban golpes en los pechos, y que el Padre les hechaba bendicion, de que inferimos que era la absolucion, que les daba, y los fervorosos actos de contriccion, y amor de Dios, que hacian.*

*No parecian los dos compañeros, que se esperaban, y quedando uno de los dos que estaban con el Padre en la eminencia del monte, bajo acompañado del otro con generoso denuedo por entre las piedras y lanzas que les arrojaban los barbaros para refrenar, y reprimir las blasfemias, que contra Dios decian, exortandolos en nombre de Cristo nuestro Señor que nunca cesó de predicarles, á que se convirtiesen, y reduxesen á tan buen Señor; pero ellos mas furiosos y con mayores impetus de diabolica ira les acometieron y cercaron por todas partes, vibrando sus lanzas, y repitiendo las piedras. El buen Padre Francisco que tenia puesta toda su esperanza solo en la Divina proteccion, mediante la paz, clamaba pidiendo la una y muchas veces en nombre de aquel Señor, que les predicaba, pero sordos á la piedad con la obstinacion de los animos y repetidas blasfemias contra Cristo N.S. respondian con piedras, y lanzas, de que herido en varias partes el compañero secular y ultimamente impedido el moverse con una lanzada en un pie cayó en tierra agonizando. Llamabase **D. Luis de Vera Picazo**, natural de la ciudad de Mexico de noble linage, que voluntariamente se quedó en estas Misiones, en donde ayudó y sirvió á Dios en continuos trabajos y peligros casi tres años, á quien pocos dias antes de su muerte, habia dispuesto la Divina providencia con una bien apretada enfermedad, de que sacó saludables desengaños, que manifestaba en sus obras los ultimos dias de su vida: fué compañero de N. V. Padre Luis de San Vitores en el pueblo de **Nisihan**, en donde estaba cuando le quitaron la vida á su amado Padre Diego á quien tiernamente amaba, y quedó por espacio de quince dias en manifiesto peligro de la vida, sin poder en tantas apreturas, como hubo en la ocasion venirse á esta residencia, por el embarazo de los cercados de enemigos y de riesgos, escondido entre peñas, y a cada paso con la muerte á los ojos, hasta que la mano del Omnipotente,*

*que le tenia guardado para mejor ocasion, le deparó el remedio en unos Indios amigos, que nos le truxeron con otro compañero.*

*Rendido pues á las repetidas lanzadas se le llegó la ultima hora á que le asistia el fervoroso Padre Francisco á quien ocupado en esta piadosa obra, le acometio uno de aquellos impios bárbaros muy feroz, dandole con una catana el primer golpe, y herido mortal en un brazo, y en la mano, que habia sido instrumento para sacar tantas almas del cautiverio, y dura servidumbre de Satanas, y repitiendo los golpes de su cruel hie-ro, cayó el Padre en tierra todo bañado en su sangre invocando los dulcisimos nombres de Jesus y Maria, y mientras los iba invocando; iban los crueles parricidas repitiendo mas y mas heridas en el rostro, y en la cabeza del inocente Padre mezcladas todas con muchas blasfemias que sus sacrilegas bocas juntamente arrojaban contra el que es Cabeza y Señor de Cielo y Tierra.*

*Con la abundancia de la sangre derramada que corria del brazo, cabeza y rostro heridos de nuestro angelical Padre Francisco quedó su animo en un deliquio tal que parecia un retrato de la misma muerte quedando sin sentido como un difunto; y acudiendo los parricidas al despojo, juzgando que ya habia expirado, comenzaron á quitar los vestidos á [a]quel castisimo cuerpo, que escitado de su virginal verguenza llamando a junta todos sus sentidos que con humildad clamaron luego á los barbaros, pidiendo para el decente abrigo un pañuelo, que le llebaban dandoles por razon que no podria serles de provecho aquel pequeño lienzo; parece que realmente revivió ó resucitó el Angelical Padre Francisco recobrando sus ultimos y perdidos alientos, estimulado de su virginal pureza en procurar la honestidad y decencia de su ya desnudo cuerpo, y en tener muy bien asido, y en sus manos un Santo Crucifixo y una imagen de Nuestra Señora que por mas que hizieron los barbaros no se las pudieron arrebatat, ni desasir de sus manos.*

*A esta sazón bolvian ya los dos compañeros, que habian quedado atras y turbados con tan inopinado suceso, viendo muerto al Padre y compañeros se contaban ya entre ellos, y así procuraron huir con disimulo para salvar sus vidas, ofrecioles ocasion una debil y pequeña embarcacion, que encontraron en la playa, y por mas seguros se embarcaron en ella; pero sin remos, sin vela, ni experiencia en el gobierno y manejo de ella: con que á poco rato bolcandose la embarcacion cayeron en el agua. Los barbaros al instante que los vieron dexaron al Padre Francisco en aquel estado, y acudieron atropados con sus piedras y lanzas con que los acabaron y dexaron sepultados en el mar sus cuerpos; mas no su memoria, digna de toda recomendacion por sus virtudes. Llamabase el uno **Pedro de Alexo**, natural de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueva España, á quien no le faltaba animo, y esfuerzo provado en varias ocasiones: pero mayor era su solicitud, y asistencia en las misiones, perpetuo compañero en ellas de los Padres que gustaban de su compañía, por lo fervoroso, apacible, caritativo, provechoso y exemplar de su asistencia, sirviendo á todos con un afecto, y modo inexplicable y agasajandolos con tan buena gracia que robaba las voluntades, no solo hacia oficio de dispensero y solícito procurador, sino de cocinero mientras los demas tomaban algun descanso, teniendole el el de servir á todos: no pocas veces dio sus vestidos á los naturales para que á los Religiosos y compañeros diesen algun sustento: era sufrido en las injurias bol-*

viendo bien por mal, y agasajando mas al que mas le exercitaba en la paciencia y pagaba mal sus agasajos: virtudes con que mereció la suerte referida, despues de haber servido con ellas casi dos años en esta Mision, en que le imitó el otro compañero que murio con el llamado **Matias de Altamirano**, natural de la Ciudad de Guaxaca: era desesísimo de las misiones, en que prevenio ordinariamente el cuidado de los Padres, preguntando á los Yndios, luego que llegaba á los pueblos: “quantos Dioses hay, quantas personas &c” en el oficio de **cirujano**, que sabia tan caritativo, y vigilante, que por espacio de dos años, que estuvo en estas Yslas fué el refugio de todos, y les acudia con padiosas entrañas, perdiendo no pocos ratos de su descanso por dar á los enfermos, y asi mereció el eterno que esperamos de Dios N.S.

Entretanto se estaba dando bueltos en su inocente sangre el paciente y dichoso Padre Francisco Esquerro, que aun todavia le habian quedado algunos alientos de vida que gastó en este rato hablando con su dulce Jesus crucifixo, y con su Santisima Madre, haciendo fervorosos actos de amor de su divina Majestad, por cuya causa moria desnudo en el duro suelo y con ardientes suspiros puestos los labios en las llagas de Cristo, que tiernamente besaba desnudo en la cruz, solamente anhelaba á su feliz, y eterna bienaventurada Patria del Cielo: llegando á el, casi difunto, un mancebo de la residencia de S. José de Fuuña pasaba por alli, á quien el bendito Padre habia instruido muchas veces en la Fé Santa de Cristo, y mirandole con tiernos ojos, le repitió la ultima leccion, haciendole algunas preguntas de la Santa Doctrina, que le habia enseñado; y olvidado de si mismo consolaba la pena, y ternura; que aquel buen hijo mostraba de su muerte: **“Mientras yo vivia (dixo el angelical, y amoroso Padre Francisco) fui vuestro Padre; y aunque ahora muero soy tambien vuestro Padre y lo seré.”** Estas palabras que su caridad fervorosa, é indecible amor á los Pobres le dictaban repitio muchas veces, preciandose de ser padre amoroso de los mismos que le quitaban la vida tan inhumanamente.

Otro Indio cristiano, que tambien pasaba por alli á este mismo tiempo, le dixo con ternura: **“¿Qual es la causa Padre mio, de tu muerte? No otra** respondió el animoso Padre **sino querer yo haceros bien, bautizar vuestros niños, socorrer los enfermos, y enseñar á todos el camino del Cielo:”** razones, con que indignado este buen Cristiano dio muestras de querer vengar la injuria hecha al padre el cual le aquierto, y sosegó persuadiendole que no hiziese tal cosa, y que se fuese por que no viniesen los matadores, y le hiziesen algun daño: con esto se quedó el paciente padre Francisco como antes, solo, desnudo de sus vestidos, y padeciendo en la abrasada arena de la playa los ardores del Sol, que por aquel tiempo son excesivos en estas tierras hasta que luego que acabaron de dar la muerte á los dos compañeros referidos, volvieron otra vez, y le acometieron de nuevo aquellos furiosos y blasfemos bárbaros con repetidas heridas, con que lo acabaron de matar, y entregó su dichoso espiritu en manos del Señor, que le crió, y conservó toda su vida con una pureza de Angel, como verdadero hijo de su Compañia, y del Apostólico espiritu, que bebió de nuestro amado y venerable Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, de quien fué amartelado discipulo, y compañero.

*Quedaba todavía vivo uno de los compañeros del dichoso Padre Francisco que se habia retirado, como diximos sobre un montecillo, y furiosos con las cinco muertes, que acababan de hacer los bárbaros le acometieron, y con gran violencia á lanzadas le quitaron la vida. Llamabase **Marcos de Segura**, natural de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, vino á esta mision el año de 72 y la servió, y ayudó con sus trabajos y exemplos siendo notablemente pacifico, y obediente, de todos amado, por la gracia, con que trataba con todos, nada inquieto, y en todo rendido á los Religiosos. Todos ellos finalmente medidos, y ajuntados al amable y apacible trato, y condicion angelical del humildisimo, y muy fervoroso Padre Francisco Esquerra á quien con todos estos sus dichosos compañeros dieron los crueles bárbaros sepulcro en las profundas aguas del mar; por que sepultados en la tierra como ellos dicen, no la inficionasen con el venenoso azeite de Dios que traian para matarlos.*

*No tubo fin con esto la bárbara crueldad de estos ynfieles enemigos de Cristo. Avia se escapado de sus manos, como ya diximos uno de los compañeros del Padre Esquerra, llamado **Francisco Gonzalez**, natural de Filipinas que habiendo escapado y caminado casi dos leguas por las espesuras del monte para el pueblo de Fuuña, juzgandose ya en el, bajo hacia las riberas del mar, y llegó á las sementeras de un Pueblo llamado **Papuro**, en donde encontró los enemigos de quienes huia, de los cuales el primero que le vió le preguntó por el Padre Francisco haciendo burla de la tragedia referida, á que para disimular y que le dexasen pasar libre, respondió que atras quedaba; mas no le aprovechó el disimulo; porque viendole el barbaro sin armas, le acometió descargando el primer golpe de su impio alfange, que recibio en el brazo, con quien quiso repararle; por que le tiraba á la cabeza; descargó segunda y tercera vez su furia, y en el mismo brazo recibió las heridas, hasta que impaciente el Yndio, de que reparase tantos golpes con el brazo, le cogió de el para quitar el estorvo, que le impedia acabarle, y con mayor furia descargó otros en la cabeza, y cerebro, con que le postró á sus pies: llevole arrastrando por entre las yerbas juzgandole ya por muerto, y con el golpe del cerebro le hubiera quitado la cabeza, si la arma tubiera tan buenos azeros y filos como el que la jugaba: con ella le dió otras heridas en el rostro, y le tocaba los labios para ver si daba algunas muestras de vida, y no hallandolas, por que del recio golpe, ó de industria tenia comprimida la respiracion, le dexó y se bolvió alegre á los suyos.*

*Apenas se habia ido el bárbaro, cuando cobrando alientos el semidifunto, viendose solo, se encomendó muy de veras á Dios N.S. levantose como pudo del suelo, y se bolvió á acoger á los montes por donde prosiguió su camino; aunque con harto trabajo, y fatigas, por el desfallecimiento de las heridas, que iban derramando mucha sangre; llegó en fin con la ayuda del Señor hasta el deseado Pueblo de **Fuuña**, en donde fué bien recibido y agasajado de todos los de aquel Pueblo, y en especial del Indio principal de el; labaronle y curandole sus heridas con mucho amor y compasion de sus dolores, derramando muchas lagrimas estos piadosos naturales y buenos Cristianos por que les habian muerto á su amado padre Francisco, que habia tomado á su cargo el administrar como solícito Padre á su Pueblo de Fuuña, y á todos los de su contorno. Confortaron al herido lo mejor que pudieron con algunos de sus usuales alimentos; ayudaronle en*

*todo lo que les fué posible para su alivio, y consuelo: embarcole el mismo principal en su compañía, hasta el Pueblo de Agofan, en donde lo entregó á otro buen principal, que hizo lo mismo hasta otro Pueblo, y de esta suerte vino de uno en otro á los manos de nuestro fiel Acates, varias veces nombrado D. Antonio Ayihi, que nos le truxo á casa, en donde á pocos dias bien contra lo que prometian las heridas, con especial favor de Dios N.S. convalació perfectamente, y refirió la causa de la dichosa muerte del angelical Padre Francisco Esquerro, y sus compañeros como queda referido. Cuya exemplar vida no se pone aqui por la falta de tiempo, pero va en pliego para el Señor D. Geronimo S. Victores.*

## Translation

**Narrative of the events of the Mariana Islands from the year 1673, until May 1674, including the Martyrdom of the very zealous and angelical Father Francisco Esquerro, killed for preaching the Holy Gospel in the Town of Ati, Port of San Antonio in the Island of Guan, one of the Marianas on 2 February 1674.<sup>1</sup>**

We closed the account of last year with the erection of the new church of San José in the town of **Fuuña**, about which we will give full notice in this report. The year 1673 began with a serious lack of food supplies with which to maintain ourselves and attend as much as we wished to the sustenance of the few secular companions whom we have in our care. So, although the roads were obstructed [to us], either by Indians, enemical to our Holy Faith, and who walk among them as carefree people, or because our friends and good Christians feared that the others would kill us and advised us not to go out, nevertheless, trusting in divine protection, it was decided to make a few sorties, and mission tours in order to baptize many children, and to bring back some provisions; although few of these provisions were root vegetables that serve as food, as they can be gotten only with hard work.

The peaceful spirit shown by the Indians caused us to decide to go further afield, and to extend our mission outings. Two Fathers left the town of **Fuuña** well prepared to secure better the fruit of these poor souls which they sought with the prosperity expected from banking on divine favor, in spite of the devil who pretended otherwise through his confidants, something we were warned about by some of our good Christian friends, that is, that in some villages there was little faithfulness to the name of Christ, and they hoped to find an opportunity to kill us. We commended the good success of the mission tour more in Our Lord, through the Most Holy Virgin, trusting in His paternal providence, and availing ourselves of as many human means as possible in lands so short of them, we proceeded with the mission tours, and a third of the coastal villages

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1 Ed. note: As mentioned below, Ati was his departure point. The place where he was killed was on the coast near **Facpi Point**.

were visited. Many were those who acquired the true life of grace with the waters of Holy Baptism. With this success, the Missionaries returned with the consolation that can be imagined, promising themselves plentiful fruits in future.

For better despatch of the mission tours, it was judged more convenient to have the Ministers take along with them a few more secular companions than heretofore, because with the fear of seeing them escorted, it seems that the enemies of our Holy Faith would not dare to prevent so confidently the seed of the holy Gospel, nor insult its Ministers, or harm other natives because they welcome the holy Faith of the Lord, or deprive the newborns of the benefit of Holy Baptism, and many others of the other sacraments which they need, or of the desire to receive them. As has been said many times before, those who oppose us have been infected by Choco, the idol-worshipper. When they see us without forces and deprived of some human protection in these Islands, they have dared to jeer us, and laugh at the truths of our Holy Faith that we preach, and of the purpose which brought us to their lands.<sup>1</sup> When the Ministers of the Holy Gospel made their entry, they were unarmed and destitute of all human defence, and of the protection of soldiers; they were armed only with their trust in the Lord of the armies, who knows of, and can take out of risky situations those who labor for His love amid dangers. However, His divine Majesty, through the high judgments justified only by Himself, has permitted the troubles of the past years, and taught us through experience that in order to preserve our Holy Faith in these Islands, the protection of weapons was necessary; the Venerable Father Diego Luis San Vitores was of the opinion that the weapons we have at present are so few that they are more of a hindrance than security, or defence. We will have to go on like this until Spain, and the Royal piety of the King our Lord, arrange something else. To the daytime discomforts must be added the nighttime watches against the traps set by Indians who are enemical to our Holy Faith.

We are keeping busy in these missions and sorties whenever we are on the lookout for the arrival of the galleon, upon whose coming to this Island of San Juan depends the good of these poor people. It was decided that a new church be built in the town of Fuaña, as it is very far from the one we began building for that purpose in the town of **Meriso**, under the patronage of San Dimas, special Patron of the angelical and zealous Father Francisco Esquerra who was the one who employed himself and his labor there, that our Lord paid for with the lucky death that we will describe later on, in the same villages belonging to his district, which he has visited so many times, and tried to reduce with his peaceful and angelical dealings, and with an unspeakable love, and affection he had for these poor natives, among whom are some who are somewhat rough and hang on stubbornly to Choco's rumor; these are the ones whom the zealous Father Francisco tried to reduce.

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1 Ed. note: Choco had told them that the Jesuits (in black robes) had been exiled to the Marianas, for failing to measure up elsewhere. As a Chinese-Filipino mestizo, he was familiar with the Dominicans (in white robes) ministering to the Chinese in the Parian of Manila, etc.

**[Site of church at Fuuña]**

Well then, to eliminate any risk of missing contact with the passing galleons on their way to the Philippines, and the succor they bring, and to expand or more easily confirm in the faith the people in and around **Fuuña**, often visited by the Indians of the neighboring villages, this site was chosen. It is not far from some ports and quite suitable for the purpose, and the exercise of our ministries. From a point of land that extends WNW can be spotted at a good distance the galleons that travel between New Spain and the Philippines. It is raised 6-8 fathoms above the sea, whose water bathes the crag on three sides; on these sides it is well secure, in case the common enemy might try to raise some disturbance. On the ESE side, which is where it is attached to the mainland, it can be defended with little effort; it is spacious enough, pleasant and fertile.<sup>1</sup>

**[The sacred stone of Fuuña]**

The town of Fuuña is famous among these peoples, for being the site of a stone that they still point at, from which they believed that mankind had its beginning. Well then, two of the Fathers came to this town, for the above-mentioned purpose. The inhabitants were very happy that a church and residence would be founded there. So, they helped with the manual work, getting pleasure at being near us and in contact with us, being caressed and made welcome by everyone. This town was becoming more frequented than before by Indians from the nearby mountains, and others from more distant places, attracted to the spiritual gains, and even material ones, they can derive; in such dealings, the word of God can be wonderfully transmitted, thanks to His infinite kindness. The Royal standard of the Holy Cross was raised in front of the new church, so that by this sacred symbol a beginning can be made in erasing completely the errors which even now a few stubborn ones persist in, and resisting the mysteries of divine law, by believing in the misleading **Fuuña, Mother of mankind** (which is the name they give to the stone) and triumph of the Devil over our Holy Catholic Faith.

As patron saint, and foundation upon which to rest our new wooden church, the name of the Father of Christ was selected. On the eve [i.e. 18 March 1673] of his feast-day, the sacred Trophy of the Cross was raised, and the new temple was given the glorious St. Joseph as its patron and titular saint, so that in the Islands or lands of Mary, that is, the Marianas, he might stand in second place, he who figured so prominently and had the good luck of being part of the family of the Most Blessed Mary. Our first care was to clear the site of trees, and bushes, and within a few months a building was finished, whose main area served as a church, and the remainder as a lodging, until we can build more decent temples to God, as we hope. Two Fathers were assigned to this residence, with a few secular companions, and from this base they made their sorties

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1 Ed. note: With this important clue, we can safely determine that the site of the ancient town of Fuña, or Fuuña, was next to what is now called Apaga, or Apaca, Point. A monument should be built on this site, as it is the exact site of the sacred stone marking the spot where man was created, according to a legend of the Chamorro people.



and missions, baptizing many children of the villages in the hilly interior and teaching the holy Law of God and Christian customs to the others.

Then, **on 22 May of the said year 1673 our Lord brought the galleon San Antonio**, which came in between this Island of Guan, now San Juan, and that of Santa Ana, previously Rota. So, the wind being favorable, she was able to arrive at this town of Agaña, where she stopped, although without anchoring, long enough to leave us the succor sent by the Royal piety and liberality of the Queen our Lady through her Royal Decrees, which she deigned to issue in favor of these her poor Marianos and under very special impulses from God as circumstances show, for the good of this Christian community; in fact, there is a correspondence between the dates of their despatch and the same days and months of events in these Islands, during which we were almost deprived of our lives, and we saw the last efforts made by the Devil to have his Allies, the adepts of Choco, attempt the complete destruction of this tender Christian community. At that same time, our good God, and Lord, in His highest providence, was providing the remedy and entrusting the Catholic, very pious and Royal bosom of the Queen our Lady with its execution, that is, in one of her Royal Decrees issued on 10 October 1671, she orders that these her Mariana Islands be succored with Gospel ministers at the expense of her Royal treasury.<sup>1</sup> Her Majesty also ordered, in another decree dated 19 [rather 12] August of said year of 1671, that these poor churches be adorned with ornaments, with the costs to be paid by her Royal accounts in Mexico,<sup>2</sup> and that from the Kingdom of New Spain some relief workers be sent to her dear vineyard, as she orders in another decree dated 16 November of the same year 1671,<sup>3</sup> and for greater effect, and so that the fruits that her Royal piety and Catholic zeal wished be gathered, she ordered in another decree dated 16 November 1671, that 200 Pampangos be sent from the Philippine Islands to these Marianas,<sup>4</sup> as our Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores had requested of Her Majesty.

This [Pampango] nation is preferred to the others, not only because it is closest to the Spanish nation in things military, but also because it has already been proven in its zeal of the Holy Faith of Christ, and also its natives display courage, tolerance, and docility, under duress. In addition to the above, Her Majesty issued another decree on the same date, 16 November 1671, in which she orders that a ship, obtained in Peru, in New Spain, or in the Philippines, be sent to these Islands.<sup>5</sup> To comply, the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of Mexico, has remitted 3,000 pesos to Manila from that Royal Treasury for said purpose. Furthermore, Her Majesty orders her royal officials not to spare expenses, God watching, and not to raise difficulties against such a pious cause, one so near to her royal heart, entrusting them to take note that in this project, so much for the service of God, expenses are inevitable—words that ought to clasp the mouths of

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671H3.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671F8.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671K3.

4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671K4-K5.

5 Ed. note: Doc. 1671K6-K7.

the lying and stubborn heretics, who want to stain the Catholic piety of the Spanish Crown, by publishing that the target of its Catholic enterprises is self-interest, when such a thing is absent from them, as is clearly proven by the present Mariana enterprise, in which all expenses are made without human interests, looking only to divine ones for the good of so many souls.

**[First horse in Guam, 1673]**

What concerned His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain in these royal decrees was later obeyed, and we hope that they will soon have their proper effect, as Her Majesty orders and let us hope that it will be soonest, given that their execution depends upon the Governor of the Philippines, to whom the same royal decrees were remitted aboard the said ship **San Antonio**, which pursued her voyage to the Philippines on the third day. Her general, Don Juan Durán de Montfort, left us the succor with his piety and liberality, among which was a **horse** which he had received as a gift. It was no small marvel to these people to see an animal they had never known, specially when they saw how fast it could run and the huskiness of its strength. Its fame spread throughout these Islands and they were moved to make many visits to it, and to think it was a great favor to get a few hairs from its mane, which they prided themselves to carry on their small shell containers for lime.<sup>1</sup> The bachelors use them on some small [love] sticks, called **tunas**, that are curiously worked and given a saffron color with the juice of a root called **mangú** [=turmeric?]; at the top end of it they tie, or insert three ribbons half a yard in length, made of the soft bark of trees, with thick threads gotten from coconuts [i.e. sinnet], and they place those in the shape of a tassel, although loose and curiously trimmed like a paint brush. However, those who now can obtain said hairs instead of these threads, adorn sticks with them in the said shape. Such sticks are the real badge by which the bachelors can be distinguished from the married men.

Some of them have been impressed with some fear at the fact that the speed of such a light animal means that they can be caught up when they flee, after their hit-and-run misdeeds; so, they will fear to commit such acts as often [as before]. There is no lack of others who have brought some presents in the way of coconuts to such a leading personality, as they say in these lands, and so brave that its food is iron, pointing at the bridle bit, and admiring the hardness of its teeth, which they have imagined to be made of steel. With the arrival of such a strange and noble individual, many thought that our enemies were already beaten. The latter were rather put on their guard at seeing it in their lands and their fears were increased with the arrival of the galleon, which they understood had to punish their misdeeds, and they retired to their most distant villages. However, they did not decide to submit themselves, seeing that the galleon had not paid attention to their sacrileges and crimes, and done not the least effort to punish them.

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1 Ed. note: Coconut shell containing slaked lime for betel-nut chewing. Its cover was another piece from a larger shell, like a lid, sliding up and down along strings, which in this case were made of braided horse-hair.

That is why we were forced to seek the means of their reduction; so, we threatened them with punishment if they did not attend church to be instructed in the mysteries of our Holy Faith, toward which they were so obstinate. With this threat, they came quite regularly at the beginning, but being accustomed to freedom and not at all to constancy, they went back to their hideouts, with an impatient attitude: if we had punished them, they would most certainly have proclaimed their former liberty with a bloody war. Since we saw ourselves so deprived and with unequal forces, we had to bide our time, until the Lord might increase them.

In the rest of the villages, thank God, the events were more prosperous, specially in the villages to the west [coast]. Two Fathers went overthere and made their base at the new Residence of San José of **Fuufña**, from where they make continuous sorties, not only through the coastal villages but also through the inland villages, with the desired success and fruit in the form of children, and others who lack the fruit of the blood of Christ, since they were not baptized. A good provision of food supplies was also assembled—they were much needed to feed our men—although the spiritual fruits gathered during the continuous missions were much greater; in them over 400 children joined the flock of Christ, in addition to a very large number of adults who were instructed in the holy Law of the Lord. The Gospel workers tried to pull out the thorns that had sprouted throughout this vast and well ploughed plantation, thanks to the artful Demon who was pretending to choke the seed sown by the Holy Gospel. However, once more with the help of the Lord, and of His most holy Mother, and with the efforts made by the Missionaries, what seemed to have turned back into a thicket-filled jungle was re-appearing converted into a beautiful and pleasant garden; divine Providence and mercy responded to the zeal and labor of its workers, and sowers, by producing abundant fruits for Heaven. There could be heard along the beaches and in the hills voices chanting the Holy Doctrine instead of their profane and old songs; this sound was sweeter than that of the songs of the deceiving Cerberus dog, and attracting with its melody the good-wills of everyone. All were giving thanks to our Lord for seeing His praise now coming out of the mouths of the innocent and other youth, who, with their excellent memories could quickly learn and understand the prayers and mysteries of our Holy Faith, repeating them frequently, much to our great consolation.

The presence in said town of **Fuufña** lasted four months, with the religious taking turns in repeating missions, though disregarding many dangers. For example, upon arriving at the town of **Pago**, after having visited the greater part of this Island of Guan, along the coasts and inland, the Missionaries wished to proceed with the Mission they had undertaken and visit the whole Island. They were warned by Christian friends and faithful, that the enemies of the name of Christ had set up some ambushes in some very dangerous areas, from which they could safely do us as much harm as they wished; so, constrained by need, on account of the great disproportion that we had in the forces for our defence, given that we had so few men, without weapons, and tired after walking on foot along such long roads, they turned around and went back to the town of

**Fuüña**, by way of very rough and little-used trails, and they were forced to sleep in an open field without shelter from the weather.<sup>1</sup>

This Mission was thus happily concluded, the sick having been visited and consoled, the dying succored, and up to 400 infants baptized. In the meantime, throughout other vast fields other members were also busy in the newly-planted Gospel fields, and harvests, instructing and baptizing many adults with the jubilation that one can imagine, as they could very well see the results of their labors. Divine providence did not fail to console those who stayed in the houses of the Residences, where they were busy with many ministries while awaiting their turn to go out on their own sorties, with the news they were receiving of what the powerful hand of the Lord was operating in various parts through their companions. Many favors and providences of God and His most holy Mother were experienced during these tours; success was greatest and most appreciated whenever it was most desired, and least expected. For instance, on **13 November 1673**, the feast-day of the glorious birth of the fortunate St. Stanilas de Kostka, the Lord showed His power in defeating the stubbornness of most of the enemies, who had so many times resisted the law of God, and Gospel peace to which we had many times invited them and they had jeered at it. Now they came voluntarily to embrace it, and to be baptized, and, for those who had received it already, to receive the other sacraments in order to reconcile themselves with God, and achieve the true peace in their souls, offering as well the many children who remained to be baptized among them. Hence, peace, so sought after by our side and so earnestly requested by them, was accepted. On our part, we proposed to them the following conditions: to obey the precepts of God, bring the unbaptized children to the church, as they promised, and attend church to learn the mysteries. They accepted very willingly, and we with much pleasure, and thus peace was concluded at the great consolation of everyone, and the good of those who received it through the sacred ablution of holy baptism. Many who were in extreme need and dying, achieve the eternal life of their souls, thanks to baptism, and the other holy sacraments that are customary of our holy Mother the Church, as some of them, already baptized, were then able to receive.

The natives of the Island of **Tinian**, or Buenavista Marianas, could not but solicit missionaries to communicate the said fruits to them and to further them in those who have so aptly deserved this succor, through their faithfulness to God. Since the time they got such a stiff lesson from our firearms in 1670, following exhortations to peace on our part and threats that they would be punished, if they attempted otherwise, upon the occasion and according to the circumstances that were narrated that year, they have always remained very obedient and fearful of the commandments of the law of God, and with much respect for the Spanish, and the other men who accompany us, and with the same respect, and a particular subjection and obedience to the Gospel ministers.

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1 Ed. note: Therefore, they crossed the center of the island from east to west, probably up the Ilig River valley, but it seems they did not reach Mapupun on the first day out, then down to old Agat, i.e. Fuña, the next day.

So, one of the Fathers left to go and give spiritual succor to the good natives of the said Island, although he could not make it there, as we shall say, as he was forced back by bad weather and was detained for one month at the village of **Ritiyan**, in this Island of San Juan, and in other villages that he visited during his detention, in which he baptized over 50 children, and the sick and dying were succored with the holy sacraments and many adults baptized. Hence, except for the few villages of the enemies of our Holy Faith, the whole remainder of this Island was visited this year, and various catechism lessons and sermons were given to the new Christians. The children, the teenagers too, and all the rest, big and small, were taught to cry out, whenever they meet with our people, and to salute them, by saying: "Praise be to the most holy Sacrament, etc.," words that do indeed warm the heart of those who consider that not too many years ago they lacked the knowledge of God and how to praise Him repeatedly and reciprocally. Some of them were found who made the grade from disciples to teachers, and they have urged those who had not participated in the Gospel endeavor, to get rid of either their natural laziness, or their fascination for Choco's ideas, thus making them capable to receive the sacred mysteries of our Holy Faith; so, they asked for baptism. It is no little wonder that, amid so much freedom, a few women, newly-made Christians, were found to avoid the infernal requests of those who were soliciting them, by saying: **Dararo si Dios: God will be angry,**<sup>1</sup> thus giving as a reason for their "no" that "God would be annoyed" at such an ugly and abominable sin. Other women, Marianas also, who had met with diabolical violence, and contempt, have decidedly spoken up in order to free themselves [from public houses], and have come up to the Gospel ministers with their complaints, seeking a remedy.

There have also been many other signs of the great concept they have of God's business, either erecting crosses, venerating the images of the Saints from Heaven, and specially those of Christ our Lord, and His Blessed Mother, invoking her most holy and sweetest names at sea and ashore for their remedy, and protection from the **Aniti**, repeating with external proofs of devotion the prayers and the Act of contrition. All these actions reveal the roots that Holy Faith, and the law of grace, have fostered in their heart. Those who heed them are a source of great consolation, and praise to God our Lord. Much care has been taken to continue the holy exercises of the sermons, practical instructions, and other holy exhortations through all the villages and residences, with obvious results. And those that have been obtained from the attendance at the socialities of the good civilians who accompany us in these Islands have been well noted and of much edification for these new Christians.

#### [Death of Fr. Ezquerro and company]

These exercises were going on when the year 1674 arrived, ill-fated and sad from its beginning for our Mariana Mission, although we will call it glorious; it was ill-fated on account of the blood of so many deaths, and glorious because these deaths (as far as

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps this should be transcribed as: Rararo si Dios.

the causes teach us) have given these Islands glorious martyrs. The Religious in charge of the other residences and villages had come together at this residence of our Father St. Ignatius in the town of Agadña for the Christmas holiday, to determine the business that should be proposed to the King our Lord and the Queen our Lady and to their ministers in Mexico and in Manila, and also to discuss the affairs regarding the stability and progress of this Mission, and to renew our vigor for the work through the customary exercises of the Society. When all of this was over, the angelic Father Francisco Ezquerro, Superior of this Mission, went back to the Residence of San José of **Fuuña** to make a sortie. As his great charity and zeal for the salvation of souls would not tolerate any delay, he left Fuuña to go up to the inland villages, because he learned that there were there many unbaptized children. So, upon arriving there, he baptized about 200 children and, happy with so much good luck, went back to this residence. A few days later, he returned once more to the town of Fuuña, encouraged by the previous success, he did not hesitate to expose himself to any danger that might occur to him, and thus penetrating other inland villages, he spent 13 days in them, giving instructions, and baptizing adults, consoling the sick and baptizing the newborn. A total of 104 were won over by this solicitous and vigilant Pastor during this brief period. Excited by such good luck, he was returning when he met with his own glorious end, as a reward for his great charity. He came to the village of **Ati**<sup>1</sup> on the sea-coast, and port of San Antonio, where he had stepped ashore for the first time three years before upon arriving at these Islands. He spent the night there and, the next morning was the **2nd of February**, dedicated to the Purification of the B.V.M., to whom the zealous Father Francisco had years before offered himself as a slave, and had written, then signed this [declaration of] slavery with his own blood on two separate pieces of paper with very tender and heart-felt words; he wished to spill the rest of it from his virgin body for her honor and for the glory of her most Holy Son, whom the most pure Virgin had herself admitted in hers on that same day.

On this mission tour, or visit, he had not taken along (as he always used to) the sacred ornaments, in order not to be bothersome to his secular companions, and so as not to impede them along the rough trails in the hills of the interior. So, in order not to miss saying mass on this day of his beloved Mother, and to impart the consolation that his good companions wished through sacred communion and the Eucharist, before sunrise, he left the said town, intending to make it to **Fuuña** to say mass and give them communion. They had hardly walked for one hour, when they met four Indians who were carrying a woman who was near death after being in labor for days. Father Francisco was informed of this case. He found out from the mouth of those who were carrying her, and from the woman herself, that she was baptized. He then tried to apply the holy Extreme Unction for the remedy of that soul, a remedy so beloved by the zealous Father that it was the first, and last, thing that he applied in any necessity, or loss

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1 Ed. note: The town of Ati, or Hati, was located in what is now called Cetti Bay.

of senses. Surely, it seems as if Divine piety wished to reward him for such a pious affection with a glorious death for such a Catholic cause.

Well then, as he was getting ready to administer this holy Sacrament to the sick woman, the Indians objected to it, tricked as they were by the old and false rumor from Choco, to the effect that the sacred oil was causing death. That is why they hated it in the extreme, and so, they wanted to keep going, and not to listen to the prayers and persuasive talk of the pious Father Francisco who, wishing to achieve within his powers the good of that soul, insisted for a long time in his charitable determination. However, the barbarians were stubborn in theirs and they gave the humble Father a shove, and indignant, they put down the load they were carrying and threw the stones they could find at the blessed Father and his companions, and proclaimed war against them, because they wanted to kill them with the oil of God—that is how they call the sacred oils. Our people thought it better to bide their time and withdraw, but there was another reason for this withdrawal; two of the Father's companions had gone back to the previous village and on this occasion they did not stop preaching those barbarians with a Crucifix in the hands, reproaching them for the blasphemies they uttered against our good God and Lord, at the instigation of the Devil.

Upon seeing that our men were very few, the barbarians thought that their victory was assured. Calling for companions, gathering weapons and lances, they attacked them with barbarous rage and fury, shouting confused words, such as "Death to you all." Two of the Father's companions became scared, as they were without any weapon whatever with which to defend themselves, and the Father too, who did not care to defend himself; so, they thought that their only defence left was to take flight. Trusting in Divine Providence, the Father summoned his courage and, without fear of the hostility of the enemies of Christ, persevered steadily in this demand until giving his life, preaching to them the law of God, whom they hated so much.

One spear made a mark on one of the companions who tried to save their lives by running off; it pierced him through a shoulder. He threw himself into the water to escape by swimming. They followed him and finished him off with spears. This [companion] was named **Sebastian de Rivera**. He was born in the city of Manila, and having come to these Islands in 1673, served the Mission in any task that came up with great readiness, happiness and good will; that is why he was much loved by all and sought after as a companion in the mission tours. He edified everyone not a little by his examples, which our Lord repaid with such a lucky death. After the barbarians had finished killing him, they went after the other companion to do the same to him; however, he, upon seeing them bloodied with the death of his companion Sebastian Ribera, had time to go into the deep forest inland, where they looked for him for a long time, but not finding him, they set fire to the bush at various places in order to find him, and finish him off with fire and blood, as they were so enraged. However, the Lord kept him safe, and preserved him as an eyewitness of their wickedness. Indeed, while they were looking for him, he dragged himself little by little under the cover of heavy thickets, and

grasses, until he was a good distance away; that is why he could not be found, nor caught by the fire. So, the furious barbarians turned all their anger against those who were left.

In the meantime, the good Father Francisco had sought refuge up a hill with the two companions who were left, to get closer to the fire that the Indians had started, in order to burn the holy oils in it, so that they would not be profanated and outraged by those barbarians. We cannot doubt that, under such obviously-dangerous circumstance, he would have disposed them with zealous acts of contrition, and love of God, while waiting with a generous spirit for the painful death that threatened them, although he was always ready, and so fearful of God, and with a clear conscience that he had a horror of being even in the shadow of sin. Also, he would have administered the holy Sacrament of penance to his companions, to purify them of their sins, if they had any. The Indians, who did not understand our language, say that Father Francisco and his companions were hitting themselves on the chest, and that the Father was blessing them, by which we can infer that it was absolution that he was giving them, and the zealous acts of contrition, and love of God that they were saying.

The two companions who were expected were not showing up. So, one of the two who were with the Father remained on top of the hill and he went down in the company of the other, to courageously face the stones and spears that the barbarians were throwing at them, in order to restrain them and prevent them from blaspheming against God. He exhorted them in the name of Christ our Lord, whom he never ceased to preach to them, to convert themselves and be reduced to such a good Lord. However, they became more furious and, moved by an even greater energy fed by diabolical anger, they attacked them and surrounded them completely, hurling their spears, and throwing stones anew. The good Father Francisco who had placed his entire faith in divine protection, through peace, kept on shouting and asking for peace for the love of that Lord, whom he was preaching to them, but they were remaining deaf to this piety and with obstinate minds kept on repeating blasphemies against Christ our Lord, answering him with stones and spears. The secular companion was wounded in various places and finally became unable to move on account of a spear wound in a foot; he fell upon the ground, dying. His name was **Don Luis de Vera Picazo**, born in the city of Mexico from noble lineage. He had volunteered to remain in these Missions, where he helped, and served God in continuous labors and dangers for almost three years. A few days before his death, Divine providence had arranged for him to get a timely illness, from which he derived salutary disillusionments, that he made manifest by his works during the last days of his life. He had been the companion of our Ven. Father Luis de San Vitores in the village of **Nisihan**, where he was when they killed his beloved Father Diego, whom he loved dearly, and he remained there for fifteen days, with the obvious risk of his life, being unable under such bad circumstances to make his way to this residence, because he was encircled by enemies and dangers, hidden among rock outcrops, and confronted with death on all sides, until the hand of the Almighty, who was keeping him alive for a better occasion, sent him a remedy by way of some friendly Indians, who brought him to us, along with another companion.



So, as he had been brought to his last hour by repeated spear throws, he was being assisted by the zealous Father Francisco who was busy at this pious task when one of those impious barbarians hit him most savagely with a machete, wounding him mortally in the arm at the first blow, and in the hand, which had been instrumental in extricating so many souls from the grasp and harsh service of Satan. After repeated blows from the cruel blade, the Father fell down upon the ground, completely bathed in his own blood, but invoking the sweetest names of Jesus and Mary. While he kept on invoking them, the cruel patricides kept on giving him more and more wounds in the face, and on the head of the innocent Father, along with many blasphemies that their sacrilegious mouths threw against the one who is Head and Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Given the abundance of blood flowing from the wounded arm, head and face of our angelic Father Francisco, his spirit went into such a trance that he looked like the portrait of death itself, remaining unconscious like a dead man. The patricides came up to despoil him, thinking that he had already expired. They began to remove the clothes from the most chaste body but, animated by his virginal shame, he called upon all his feelings (as the barbarians humbly claimed later on), begging to be left with a handkerchief they were taking away, giving them to understand that such a small piece of cloth would be of no use to them. It appears that the angelic Father Francisco did revive, or resuscitate, recovering his last and lost breaths, stimulated by his virginal purity in obtaining something with which to recover the decency of his already naked body, and in keeping a good grasp on a holy Crucifix and an image of Our Lady which the barbarians could not pry from his hands, no matter how they tried.

At this juncture, the two companions who had stayed behind came up upon the scene and, troubled by such an unexpected turn of events, finding the Father and company dead, they sensed that they too would join them, unless they tried to flee with as much dissembling as possible, to save their lives. They spotted a weak and small canoe along the beach and they embarked aboard it, to seek safety, but it was without paddles, or a sail, and they lacked experience in steering and handling it; hence, within a short time the canoe capsized and they fell overboard. As soon as they saw them, the barbarians left Father Francisco in that state and ran up to throw their stones and spears at them, until they finished them off. Their bodies were left buried at sea, but not so their memory, worthy of complete recommendation on account of their virtues. One of them was named **Pedro de Alexo**, a native of Puebla de los Angeles in New Spain. He did not lack spirit, and had proved his energy on various occasions; however, he has proved himself by his attention and assistance in the missions in which he was a perpetual companions of the Fathers, who enjoyed his company, because he was zealous, peaceful, loving, useful and exemplary in his assistance, serving everyone with an affectionate and inexplicable manner and making a fuss over them with such good graces that he stole their hearts. Not only did he fill the post of steward and solicitous procurator, but also that of cook, while the others took some rest, and his work consisted in serving everyone. Not a few times he gave away his clothes to the natives, in order for them to give some food to the Religious and companions. He would suffer insults without re-

taliating, and he made more of a fuss over someone who would exercise his patience and show less appreciation of his efforts. Such virtues won him the above-mentioned outcome, after he had served this Mission with them for almost two years.

He was imitated by the other companion who died with him, whose name was **Mattias de Altamirano**, a native of the City of Guaxaca [i.e. Oaxaca, in Mexico]. He was most fond of the missions, in which he usually attended to the care of the Fathers, by asking the Indians, upon arriving at the villages: "How many Gods are there? How many persons? etc." He filled the post of **surgeon**, which he carried out so carefully, and earnestly, that for the space of two years that he was in these Islands, he was the refuge of everyone, and he took care of them with a compassionate disposition, and sacrificing many periods of sleep in order to look after the sick. So, we hope that God our Lord will repay him with the eternal rest.

In the meantime, the patient and lucky Father Francisco Esquerro was wallowing in his innocent blood; he still had a few breaths of life left, and he spent them talking with his sweet Jesus on the cross, and with His holy Mother, making zealous acts of love toward his divine Majesty, for whose cause he was dying, naked upon the hard ground, and with passionate sighs, his lips glued to the wounds of Christ, naked upon the cross, which he warmly kissed. He longed only for his happy and eternal Fatherland in Heaven.

A lad from the residence of San José of Fuuña chanced to pass by him, then almost dead; the blessed Father had given him instructions in the holy Faith of Christ many times before. He looked at him with tender eyes, and repeated his last lesson, questioning him as to the holy Doctrine, that he had taught him. Forgetting himself, he consoled that good son who showed himself to be sorry and much affected by his death: "**When I was alive** (said the angelic and loving Father Francisco) **I was your Father, and although I am dying now, I am still your Father and will remain so.**" These words, which his zealous charity and unspeakable love for the poor dictated to him, he repeated many times, and he took pride in being a loving father even to those who were taking away his life so inhumanely.

Another Christian Indian, who also passed by there at the same time, told him with tenderness: "**What is the cause, dear Father, of your death?**" Excited, the Father answered: "**No other cause than to want to do you good, to baptize your children, to help the sick, and to teach to everyone the way to Heaven.**" These were reasons enough for this good but indignant Christian to show signs that he wanted to avenge the harm done to the Father, but the Father calmed him down, convincing him not to do such a thing, and to go away lest the killers returned, and did him some harm. With this, the patient Father Francisco remained as before, alone, deprived of his clothes, suffering in the burning sands of the beach from the ardors of the sun, which can be excessively hot in that season in those countries, until those furious and blasphemous barbarians had finished giving death to the two above-mentioned companions, and they returned to hit him once again with repeated wounds. That is how they finished killing him, and he delivered his lucky spirit into the hands of the Lord, who had

raised him, and preserved him during his whole life with the purity of an Angel, as a true son of his Society, and with the apostolic spirit which he had inherited from our beloved and venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, of whom he had been a much-loved disciple, and companion.

There still remained one of the companions of the lucky Father Francisco, who had retreated, as we have said, to a small hill. The barbarians, made furious with the five killings that they had just committed, attacked him and, with a great shower of spears, took his life. His name was **Marcos de Segura**, and he came from the City of Puebla de los Angeles. He had come to this mission in 1672 and served it and helped with his good works and examples, being as he was, peaceful, obedient, loved by all, for the pleasantness with which he treated everyone; he was contrary in nothing, and in everything he deferred to the Religious. Finally, all of the companions of the very humble and very zealous Father Francisco Esquerria were put to the test by his loving and peaceful demeanor, and his angelic condition. These lucky companions all joined him in the deep waters of the sea, where the cruel barbarians buried them, because, as they said, if they had been buried ashore, they would have infected it with the poisonous oil of God which they carried in order to kill them.

That was not the end of the barbaric cruelty of these unfaithful enemies of Christ. One of the companions of Father Esquerria, named **Francisco Gonzalez**, a native of the Philippines, had escaped from their hands. He had been making his way toward the town of Fuaña, covering almost two leagues through the thick bushes inland. When he thought that he had gone far enough, he came down to the sea shore, and came upon the plantations belonging to the village of **Papuro**<sup>1</sup> where he met the enemies from whom he was fleeing. The first enemy who saw him asked him “where is Father Francisco?” thus making a joke of the above-mentioned tragedy, to which he answered, in order to dissemble and to convince them to let him pass, that “he was behind.” However, the dissembling did not work, because, when the barbarian saw that he was unarmed, he attacked him with his pitiless cutlass, whose first blow he received upon the arm, as he tried to fend it off, since the intended mark had been the head. He applied his fury a second and third time, and he received the wounds on the same arm, until the Indian got tired of seeing so many blows fended off by the arm. He then grabbed the arm in question to remove the obstacle that impeded him from finishing him off, and with greater fury struck other blows to the head, and brain, with which he collapsed at his feet. He then dragged him into the grasses and left him for dead. With the blow to the brain, he would have cut off the head, if the weapon had been made of steel as good and as sharp as the man wielding it. With the blade he inflicted other wounds in the face, and poked him on the lips to see if he gave some signs of life. When he did not

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1 Ed. note: Hence, it can be deduced that **the place where Father Esquerria was killed was in sight of Facpi Point**. One hour’s walk north of Cetti Bay, and 2 leagues, i.e. less than 9 km, south of Apaca Point, or Fuña, places one at Facpi Point. However, the surviving missionaries placed the site as near Sagua, or Sogua (Doc. 1685B), which is just north of said point. Papuro, or Pupuro, was located on the beach facing the islet of Anae.

find any, because he [i.e. the victim] kept his breathing under control, either from the violent blow, or through sheer will power, he then left him and went happily to rejoin his people.

The barbarian had no sooner gone that the half-dead recovered his breathing. Upon seeing himself alone, he earnestly commended himself to God our Lord, got up from the ground as best he could and went back into the bushy hills through which he pursued his journey, although it was at the cost of much hardship and fatigues, on account of the weakness caused by the wounds that were losing much blood. With the help of the Lord he finally made it to his destination, the town of **Fuuña**, where he was well received and taken care of by all the people of that town, specially its Indian chief. They washed him and cured his wounds with much love and compassion for his pains. These pious natives and good Christians shed many tears, because they had killed their beloved Father Francisco who, as a solicitous father, had taken over the administration of their town of **Fuuña** and all those in its vicinity. They comforted the wounded man as best they could with some of their usual food; they helped him to alleviate his suffering and console him as much as possible. The chief himself carried him by canoe as far as the town of **Agofan**,<sup>1</sup> where he delivered him to another good chief, who did the same thing as far as another town, and in this manner he passed from the hands of one to those of another, until he came into the hands of our faithful Acates, the oftentimes mentioned **Don Antonio Ayihi**, who brought him home. In spite of his life-threatening wounds, he recovered perfectly within a few days, thanks to God our Lord, and was able to report on the cause of the lucky deaths of the angelic Father Francisco Esquerra, and of his companions, as narrated above. A copy of his biography is not given here, for lack of time, but it is sent under separate cover, care of Don Geronimo San Vitores.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Rather Agosan. The wounded man was probably carried across the neck of the Orote Peninsula, to Apra, then by canoe to Agosan. From there, other canoes took him to Tepungan, Asan, and then Anigua, where Ayihi lived at that time.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, a separate report on the death of Fr. Esquerra, or eulogy, was sent to Madrid, care of Fr. Sanvitores' father. A copy of it may be the 5-page manuscript now in the Schwartz Collection of the Georgetown University Library, in Washington, D.C., entitled: "Mors R.P. Francisci Esquerra..."

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## Document 1674K

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# Report from the Mariana Island missionaries to the Queen, undated [May or June 1674]

*Source: NLA ms. 1420a, item 44 in Lietz' Calendar.*

*Note: This is a copy of the original made in the handwriting of Fr. Rodriguez. Fr. Coomans signed on behalf of all missionaries, obviously before he was carried off to Manila in June 1674.*

## Acknowledging receipt of the Queen's decrees of 1671

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señora*

*Los religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs ministros del Santo Evangelio en estas Islas Marianas obediendo a las reales zedulas y ordenes de V.M. despachadas a favor desta mision Mariana en orden a su adelantamiento y conservacion que V.M. se sirvieron proveer a los 12 de Agosto, 10 de Octubre, y 16 de Noviembre de 1671 y recibimos en 23 de mayo de 1673 en que nos manda V.M. informar del estado desta mision:*

*Decimos que aviendo venido a ellas el Ven. Pe. Diego Luis de Sanbitores [sic] de la Compañia de Jhs por expreso mandato del Rey nuestro Señor Phelipe Quarto que Dios tiene, que executo el piadoso zelo de vuestro Governador de Philipinas que entonces era el Me. de Campo D. Diego Salçedo se desembarco en estas Islas a los 15 de Junio del año de 1668 con otro cinco Religiosos de la misma Compañia, y fue recibido de los naturales dellas con gran paz, y muchas de agasajo, y asi sin presidio ni escolta de armas emprendio su conversion bautizando el primer año mas de trece mill dellos sin notable oposicion a sus piadosos intentos aunque desde entonces no dexo de reconocer los peligros y la voz que el Sangley idolatra comenzo a sembrar contra el Santo Bautismo y assi lo comunico con vuestro Me. de Campo D. Manuel de Leon que el año de 1669 passaba por Governador a las Islas Philipinas a quien pidio informase sobre esto a V.M. como lo hizo para ocurrir [rather obviar] al daño que podia resultar de no estar amparados los ministros misioneros, y los nuevos christianos de las Reales armas de V.M.*

*. Prosig[ujio dho Ven. Pe. su empresa hasta el año de 1670 [de bautizar?] mas de treinta mill[,] discurriendo [rather recorriendo] con sus compañeros en las debiles embarcaciones desta tierra amarradas con bien delgados cordeles[,] expuestos a continuos naufragios y trece diversas Islas hacia el norte desde esta primera de S. Juan (antes Guan) que esta en 13 grados de altura hasta la ultima que se llama de S. Lorenzo (y antes Maug) que esta en 22 grados, exponiendo sus personas a innumerables peligros por el logro de tantas almas, y que no quedasen frustrados los catolicos deseos y Reales ordenes de V.M. aunque fuesse a costa de sus propias vidas, como la han perdido en esta gloriosa demanda vuestros vassallos derramando su sangre a manos de los crueles enemigos de nuestra Santa fee: de los quales fue el primero el Ven. Pe. Luis de Medina, a quien juntamente con otro compañero seglar dieron la muerte a lanzadas, en la Isla de S. Joseph (antes Saypan) por la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos contra los quales ha el demonio armado todas sus huestes y en otras ocasiones fueron muertos otros quatro compañeros seculares[.] hirieron tambien otros dos religiosos de la Compañia oponiendose el comun enemigo a la predicacion del Santo Evangelio por medio del Sangley Choco, y sus confidentes que re[h]usaban el suave yugo de la Ley de Christo desmandandose en tanto extremo el año de 1671 que menospreciando el valor de algunos compañeros seglares, que avian quedado en nuestra defensa, encendio los animos de algunos pueblos desta Isla de San Juan, para que moviesen guerra contra esta nueva christiandad, y lo que merece reparo particular, en este mismo tiempo estava la piedad catholica de V.M. despachando sus reales zedulas, en orden del socorro de limosna[.] gente y armas para la conservacion y defensa de nuestra christiandad Mariana.*

*Y aunque entonzes no pudo nada el demonio por medio de la confusa barbaria contra el esfuerzo de los vassallos de V.M. que nos asistian aunque en muy corto numero quedaron muy alborotados los animos, y aunque ejecutaron paces, fue un mero disimulo, y verdadero deseo de acabarnos a todos con traiziones como lo intentaron comenzando por el querra [=que era] la caveza y Superior desta mision dandole una cruel muerte en el Pueblo de Tumhon desta Isla de San Juan por odio de nuestra santa fee al Ven. Pe. Diego Luis de S. bitores [sic] Padre y fundador desta mision Mariana a los 2 de Abril de 1672 y con el poco antes y despues a otros ocho compañeros y así el mismo año de 672 se quedaron en esta Islas algunos soldados de los que pasaban a Philipinas en el navio S. Diego, por acompañador de la justificacion de la causa fueron hasta el Pueblo de Tumhon y quemaron en el las casas de los Parricidas, y de otros culpados, aunque no sin resistencia porque juntandose algunos pueblos enemigos de los christianos con traiciones les quisieron matar, y hirieron a quatro hombres de los nuestros tres de los quales murieron quedando con esto los enemigos del nombre de Christo con nuebos brios y esperanzas de acabar con todos los religiosos y compañeros seculares que por ser corto el numero que nos asistia reconocieron la desigualdad de las fuerzas y poder y juzgaron las suias muy superiores a las nuestras, y que nuestra gente por ser pocos no los podria sugetar ni reprimir.*

*Y conociendo ellos esta falta de gente y que por ella no podian los christianos proseguir con sus intentos y sujerarlos a todos, se bolvieron a sus traiziones en que nos mataron tres compañeros a quienes encontraron solos y sin defensa alguna de armas pero con el temor que avian concebido no se arrojaron tan descubiertamente contentandose con [im]pedirnos los passos y caminos de nuestras misiones con sus ponzonosas puas, sin podernos mover y la banda del norte desta Isla a socorrer a los Pobres enfermos y niños recién nacidos y así compadeciendonos de la multitud de tantos Pobres desamparados que por la vanda del sur padecian las muchas nezesidades de los Santos Sacramentos nos determinamos aunque a costa de muchos riesgos a salir en busca dellos con tan buena suerte que el año de 72 se bautizo en la tercera parte desta Isla mui crecido numero de niños y adultos con el espiritual socorro de enfermos y el año siguiente de 73 se bautizo muy maior numero de parvulos y adultos, hasta que alterandose tres Pueblos desta parte quitaron la vida por esta causa al Ven. Pe. Francisco Esquerria natural de Manila y Superior desta mision a 2 de febrero de 1674 y a otros cinco compañeros seglares que iban sin armas para defenderse o para ofender, o aterrorizar por lo menos a los enemigos.*

*Algunos pocos compañeros seglares nos asisten como hemos dho; pero como es corto numero, hemos pedido a Vuestro Virrey de la nueva España, que en cumplimiento de las reales zedulas de V.M. nos embie el numero de quarenta, o cinquenta soldados, y se les de el sueldo que en la mesma forma se les da a los soldados de la Provincia de Cinaloa, puesto que V.M. tiene ordenado se de a los misiones desta mision la limosna en la mesma forma que a los de Cinaloa, y que se entregue a nuestro Procurador que asiste en Mexico para que en los generos y armas de que necesitan los soldados en estas Islas, y se le embia cada año lista de dhos generos, y por la falta de sueldo estos años passados no se han querido quedar soldados en estas Islas de los que iban a las Philipinas.*

*De diez sacerdotes y dos hermanos legos que se empleavan en la conversion destas Islas, los tres han muerto violenta y cruelmente a manos de infieles y apostatas, dos acabaron con muerte natural al peso de los muchos trabajos en tierras tan faltas de todo alivio pero en su lugar quedaron otros tantos de los que vinieron de España y Manila el año de 72 y esperamos de la piedad de vuestra Mgd. ha de socorrer esta mision con nuebos operarios de la Compañia.*

#### **[The Tinian war of 1669]**

*Y teniendo aqui el numero de soldados que hemos pedido y con las armas de fuego quedaran sin duda todas estas Islas con mucha paz y del todo rendidas a nuestra Santa fe; y a los ministros que ay al presente, y en adelante hubiere en ellas, como sucedio en la Isla de Tinian, (que ya se llama Buena vista Mariana por las vezes que se ha aparecido en ella la Santisima Virgen á algunos destos Marianos) cuios naturales eran los mas reveldes, e indomitos al yugo del Santo Evangelio y los que hizieron no pequeña contradicion al principio, tanto que reconociendo esta su reveldia los compañeros seglares, que teniamos y hallandose con una pieza pequeña de artilleria en varias ocasiones qui-*

*sieron valerse della para rendir a los enemigos por que es tanto el temor que tienen a estas armas de fuego que disparando dha pieza una vez para limpiarla[,] del susto y temor se quedaron muertos dos de los Indios enemigos y el Ven. Pe. Diego Luis de S. bitores estorbo el mal que se les podia hazer por el que se avia de seguir de la perdicion de sus almas.*

*Pero estando los compañeros seculares a vista de los enemigos muy descuidados por que parece avian dado treguas en sus contrarios designios se hallava el Ven. Pe. S. bitores solo y fatigado de un recio tabardillo en un pueblo que distava casi un dia de camino del parage donde estaban nuestros compañeros seglares y los enemigos dhos escribio un papel el Ven. Pe. de su letra al Capitan D. Juan de Santa Cruz, en que le dava cuenta de todas las traiciones que tenian prevenidas los enemigos para coger de repente los nuestros y quitar las armas y acabar con todos[,] ato al cuello este papel a un perrillo y le mando lo llevase al Capitan por no aver persona que lo pudiera llevar[,] al punto se puso en camino el mensajero obediente al precepto del Ven. Pe. y llevo el papel con tanta puntualidad que llegando al puesto donde estava la Infanteria Mariana, derecho se fue a la presencia del Capitan, y advirtiendo este que llevaba un papel quiso reconocer lo que era y abriendolo tubo el aviso de las traiciones que maquinavan los enemigos, el qual sin duda se lo dio el Cielo al Ven. Pe. por que en lo [h]umano no hubo modo, ni camino para que tubiese noticia del[,] con este aviso dispuso el Capitan toda su gente de guerra, que serian ocho soldados, y los enemigos mas de dos mill, que acercandose a nuestras trincheras con intento de quitar las bocas de fuego y con ellas las vidas a nuestros soldados, les dieron estos, como les avia amenazado una roziada de nuestras armas aunque bien ligera, por que mas se pretendia espantarlos que matarlos con lo qual quedaron los enemigos postrados y faltos de aliento sin poderse valer ni de sus manos para pelear, ni de sus pies para huir atemorizados del estruendo de nuestras armas de tal suerte que hasta oy no se an atrevido a continuar mas sus hostilidades.*

*Del efecto dho se reconocio aver sido del Cielo el aviso, y tambien por que viniendo uno de los nuestros a ver a dho Ven. Pe. Diego Luis de S. bitores que por su achaque que ya le tenia postrado estava recostado en una esterilla y esa la mas regalada cama que usava y con dha estera estava levantado en el aire y lleno de tanto resplandor y luz que atemorizado no tubo animo de hablarle y saliendo fuera del aposentillo donde estava el Pe. aguardo largo tiempo a que bolviessse en si para poderle hablar y despues bolvio a entrar y hallandole accesible por estar la esterilla y el en tierra y sin las luzes que antes le trato de las traiciones de los enemigos, cuia noticia avian dado a dho compañero mui en secreto los de un pueblo de donde benia a darsele al Pe. pensando que no lo savia, en aquel tiempo ya avria llegado el Perrillo con la carta al Capitan y el Ven. Pe. le dixo que no tubiese cuidado; por que los nuestros avian ya venzido en la guerra.*

### **[The local food products]**

*Los frutos de la tierra son arroz y otro que llaman **dago**, y es una raiz muy buena y de mucho sustento, y con ella no se echa menos el arroz y asido sirve de sustento la maior parte del año, y puede servir de matalotaje en las naos que se conserva un año y*



*sirve de pan cozida o asada: y lo que sin mas cultivo que el del Cielo, de la divina providencia en los arboles que llaman **rimay** y sirve de pan quatro meses al año y para que dure mas la ponen a el sol y queda como vizcocho y tambien cocos[,] platanos[,] cañas dulzes, y otras raizes de buen sabor y sustento puedese tambien cojer maiz y las semillas que producen tierras calientes.*

**[The anchorages]**

*De los Puertos y surgideros que se hallan en estas Islas para las Naos que de Philipinas ban a la nueva España o vienen de ella lo que se a podido averiguar con las tenues embarcaciones de la tierra hizo con todo cuidado el Ven. Pe. S. bitores una lista consulta de personas practicas con todas sus señales[,] abrigo de vientos[,] rios & a la qual repartimos entre los Pilotos y remitimos a Manila para que en adelante se sirvan de ella y sepan donde puedan seguir las Naos que ban á la nueva España sin los daños de las arribadas y ba tambien con este Informe.*

**[The bronze cannon]**

*Azerca de la artilleria de bronze que V.M. manda se saque no ay dificultad en aviendo embarcacion bastante para ello por que esta a la vista y mui cerca de la Plaia no mas que en nueve brazas de agua y se quentan hasta el numero de veinte piezas en la Isla de S. Joseph cosa de legua y media de un puerto desta Isla que esta en la ensenada de un pueblo que llaman Raurauf[,] en frente de otro pueblo llamado Aguinguan, fuera de otras piezas que se ven en la Isla de Santa Ana y estan cerca de un pueblo que llaman Sosanrago ya S. Pedro y parece son de la Nao **Margarita** que antiguamente se perdio en esta Isla.*

**[The mineral products]**

*Tambien manda V.M. se reconozca si ay minerales en estas Islas lo qual no se ha podido executar parte por falta de tiempo en los bautismos y estar aora impedidos los caminos de los enemigos, y por falta de gente y armas para poder penetrar los passos mas dificultosos para examinar los collados y cuevas asperas, y parte por no tener personas que entiendan de minerales aunque con algunos que parecian tener alguna inteligencia no se ha dejado tal vez de hazer alguna diligencia de passo sacando algunas piedras que parecian tener señales y dieron despues de averlas molido[,] labado y provado con algun azogue todas las señales de plata verdadera lo qual parece verosimil por ser estas Islas de la misma cordillera que las de Japon en donde se saca este metal y del mucha plata.*

*Y aunque en estas Islas no se hallasen metales juzgamos por conveniente que se nos embie alguna o algunas personas entendidas en esta materia; por que a la vanda del sur a donde no podemos llegar con las pequeñas embarcaciones desta tierra ay otras Islas mui grandes, y no lejos desta de S. Juan segun las noticias que tenemos del Ven. Pe. Diego Luis de S. bitores que avia estudiado los derroteros y solia dezir que a tres dias de viage al sur desde esta Isla, avia una de quinientas leguas de box y con muchisima*

*gente y abundante de frutas y riquezas y otras muchas tierras iguales en magnitud, como consta de la lista que ba con esta en la qual estan puestos los nombres destas Islas con los grados de longitud y latitud en que se hallan. Esta lista hallamos entre los papeles antiguos de nuestra mision Mariana y este año de 1674 el mismo mes de febrero, en que mataron al Ven. Pe. Francisco Esquerra ha avido en esta hisla señales evidentes de otra muy cercana tierra; por que en el Pueblo de Pignug que mira al sur, y los demas cercanos a este desta Isla de San Juan an llegado varios troncos de arboles no conocidos y grande cantidad de un genero de arena muy esponjosa sobre las aguas tanto que ofendia la vista de los que salian al mar a sus pescas y con sus embarcaciones la cortavan[.] firmo en nombre de todos.*

*Pedro Comano*

**[Postscript]**

*Despues de escrita esta se añadió este parrafo sacado de algunos papeles que se han allado aqui en la mision.*

*Y en un Memorial que presento a su Mgd. el Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros el año de 1610 sobre la poblacion de las Islas que se ban continuando en las Marianas en que da razon por extenso de su gran riqueza que segun dize en dho memorial el mismo y un Capitan compañero suio vieron plata, oro, perlas, nuez de especie, pimientos, gengibre, y que avia noticia de canela, clavo, y otros generos preciosos, todo lo qual se facilitaria en descubrirlo si V.M. hiziere merced del Gobierno de Philipinas a persona christiana temerosa de Dios y que no mirare a intereses propios y codicia de riquezas temporales quanto a la utilidad de las almas y nueva conversion de los innumerables que pueden ganarse para Dios en esta cordillera al servicio de V.M. solicitandole las conveniencias y riqueza que tiene Dios ocultas en todas estas Islas; que no dudo se conseguiran con la dilatacion de la monarquia Española en premio del zelo santo de V.M. Catholica en la reducion de tantos gentiles a la religion christiana y conocimiento de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo que sin duda se asegurara el feliz suceso desta empresa si el...*

**Translation.**

Madam:

The Religious of the Society of Jesus, ministers of the Holy Gospel in these Mariana Islands, in obedience to the royal decrees and orders of Y.M. despatched in favor of this Mariana Mission in order to foster its progress and preservation, which Y.M. was pleased to provide on 12 August, 10 October, and 16 November 1671, and which we received on 23 May 1673, in which Y.M. ordered us to inform you on the state of this mission:

We declare that, as soon as the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus came to them by express mandate of the King our Lord, Don Felipe the Fourth (may he rest in peace), he carried out the pious zeal of your Governor of the Philipines, who was then Master-of-camp Don Diego Salcedo, and disembarked at these Islands on 15 June 1668 with five other Religious of the same Society, and was received

by their natives in great peace, and great shows of welcome. And so, without a garrison or armed escort, he began converting them, baptizing the first year over 13,000 of them, without noteworthy opposition to his pious attempts, although he did recognize then the dangers connected with the rumor which the idol-worshipper, Choco the Chinaman, began to spread against the Holy Baptism. So, he communicated this concern to your Master-of-camp Don Manuel de León who in 1669 passed here on the way to become Governor of the Philippine Islands. He begged him to please advise Y.M. about this, which he did, in order to obviate the harm that could result from the missionary ministers being without protection.

The Ven. Father proceeded with his enterprise until the year 1670 with [baptizing?] over 30,000 [sic], travelling all over with his companions aboard the weak local craft which are tied together with very slim cords, continually exposed to shipwrecks, and throughout 13 various islands located north of this first one of San Juan (formerly Guan) which is in 13 degrees of latitude, as far as the last one which is called San Lorenzo (formerly Maug) which is in 22 degrees, exposing their persons to numberless dangers in order to gain so many souls, and in order not to frustrate the Catholic desires and Royal orders of Y.M., though it might be at the cost of their own lives. Your vassals have indeed lost their lives in this glorious pursuit, spilling their blood at the hands of the cruel enemies of our Holy Faith. The first one was the Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina, whom they killed with spears, along with a secular companion, in the Island of San José (formerly Saypan) for administering the Holy Sacraments, against which the devil had armed all his cohorts. On other occasions, four other secular companions were killed. They also wounded two other religious of the Society, as the common enemy was opposing the preaching of the Holy Gospel, by means of Choco the Chinaman, and his adepts who refused the sweet yoke of the Law of Christ. In the year 1671, they misbehaved to such an extent that, underestimating the valor of a few secular companions who had remained to defend us, he stirred the minds of a few villages of this Island of San Juan, so that they would declare war against this new Christian community. What is worth a special mention is that, at that very moment, the Catholic piety of Y.M. was despatching your royal decrees, with regards to the succor, with alms, men and weapons for the preservation and defence of our Christian community in the Marianas.

And although the devil could do nothing then by means of the confused barbarity against the effort of Y.M.'s vassals who were assisting us, though their number was very small, the minds remained very rebellious, and although they concluded peace treaties, it was a mere dissembling. Their real intent was to finish off all of us with treacheries. This they did, beginning with the one who was the head and Superior of this mission, giving a cruel death in the town of Tumhon in this Island of San Juan, in hate for our holy faith, to the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the father and founder of this Mariana Mission, on 2 April 1672. Shortly before and after, they also killed 8 other companions. So, that same year of 1672, a few soldiers stayed behind from those on the way to the Philippines aboard the ship **San Diego**. While providing escort duty during the investigation process, they went as far as the town of Tumhon and they burned

there the houses of the patricides, and of other culprits, although not without resistance, because some of the villages that were the enemies of the Christians came together and tried to kill them in ambushes. They wounded four of our men, three of whom died. The result was that the enemies of the name of Christ were left with new encouragement and the hope they could finish off all the religious and our secular companions whose number they recognized as being small and unequal in strength and power, judging their own as much superior to ours, and that our men were too few to be able to subdue or repress them.

And, as they know about this lack of [armed] men and that on account of it the Christians cannot pursue their intentions and subdue them all, they went back to their treacheries in which they killed three of our companions whom they found alone and completely unarmed, but because of the fear that they had conceived, they did not rush forward so openly, contenting themselves with blocking our passage and paths during the mission tours with their poisonous barbs,<sup>1</sup> thus preventing us from moving freely throughout the northern end of this Island to succor the poor sick people and the recently-born children. So, sympathizing with so many poor abandoned ones on the southern end who were suffering many necessities of the Holy Sacraments, we decided that, though it be at the cost of many risks, to go out in search of them, with such good luck that during 1672 there were baptized in the third part of this Island a very large number of children and adults with spiritual succor given to the sick, and during the following year of 1673, an even greater number of children and adults were baptized, until three villages in that part became rebellious and for that reason took the life of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerra, a native of Manila and Superior of this mission, on 2 February 1674 and that of five others, his secular companions, who went without weapons to defend themselves with, or to offend or terrorize the enemies at least.

We have a few secular companions assisting us, as we have said, but as they are few in number, we have requested your Viceroy in New Spain to send us some 40 or 50 soldiers, in compliance with the royal decrees of Y.M., and that they be paid the same salaries given to the soldiers serving in the Province of Sinaloa, since Y.M. has ordered that the missions of this Mission be given the same alms as those in Sinaloa, and that they be delivered to our Procurator present in Mexico City, to look after the goods and weapons required by the soldiers in these Islands, and that a list of said goods be sent to him every year. It was for the lack of salaries that no soldier on the way to the Philippines has cared to stay here these past years.

Out of 10 priests and 2 lay brothers who were employed in the conversion of these Islands, three of them have suffered a violent and cruel death at the hands of the heathens and apostates; two died of a natural death after so many hardships in lands so devoid of every relief, but as many coming from Spain and Manila have stayed to replace them in 1672 and we hope that the piety of Your Majesty will succor this mission with new workers of the Society.

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1 Ed. note: That is, in some hidden pits, at the bottom of which were planted some pointed sticks.

**[The Tinian war of 1669]**

If only we had the number of soldiers that we have requested and with firearms, these Islands would no doubt remain very peaceful and completely reduced to our Holy Faith, and to the ministers who are here now, and would be in future, witness what happened in the Island of Tinian (which is now called Buenavista Mariana on account of the times that the Blessed Virgin Mary has appeared there to some of these Marianos) whose natives were the most rebellious, and reluctant to take on the yoke of the Holy Gospel and were those who presented no small opposition at the beginning, so much so that when the secular companions we had then recognized this as a rebellion, and finding themselves with a small piece of artillery on various occasions, they wished to make use of it to subdue the enemies because they had so much fear of these firearms that, once that they shot said piece to clean it out, two among the Indian enemies died from the shock and fear, and the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores stopped the harm that could result, given that the outcome would be the loss of their souls.

However, when the secular companions were in sight of the enemies, they were not on their guard, as it appears that they had given truces to hide their contrary designs. The Ven. Fr. Sanvitores was then alone and tired after a bout with fever in a village distant almost a day's walk from the area where our secular companions and said enemies were. The Ven. Father wrote a letter with his own hand to Captain Don Juan de Santa Cruz, in which he reported the treacheries that the enemies were preparing to catch our men unaware, to take away their weapons and to finish them all. He tied this paper to the collar of a small dog and ordered it to take it to the Captain, as he had no person who could take it. The messenger hit the road immediately in obedience with the order given by the Ven. Father and it carried the paper with such accuracy that, upon arriving at the post where the Mariana infantry was located, it went straight to the presence of the Captain. He noticed the paper and wished to find out what it was. He opened it and received the notice of the treacheries that the enemies were plotting. Such a method was no doubt suggested to the Ven. Father by Heaven, as there was no human way by which he could have warned them otherwise. With this notice, the Captain placed all his men in readiness; there were about 8 soldiers in all to face over 2,000 enemies. As the latter advanced toward our trenches, intending to take away the firearms and also the lives of our soldiers, they in turn gave them a volley from our weapons, as they had threatened to do, though it was a light one, because the idea was more to scare them off than kill them. The enemies were left prostrated as a result, and so choked up that they could not even make use of their hands to fight, nor their feet to flee, so terrified they were of the thunder of our weapons, so that until now they have not dared renew their hostilities.

From the said result, it was recognized that the notice had been from Heaven. Another sign was given when one of our people went to see the said Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores who, on account of the attack which had kept him prostrated, was lying down upon a small mat (this was the most welcome bed which he used), and with said mat he was raised up in the air and full of so much splendor and light that, terrified, he

was unable to speak to him and, stepping out of the small cell where the Father was, waited for a long time for him to regain his senses in order to speak to him. Afterward, he went back in and, finding him accessible as the mat and his person were upon the ground and without the previous lights, he talked to him about the treacheries of the enemies, news of which had been given to said companion in secret by those of a village, and he had come to report it to the Father, thinking that he did not know. At that moment, the small dog would have reached the Captain with the letter, and the Ven. Father told him not to worry, because our people had already won the war.

#### **[The local food products]**

The local products are rice and another they call **dago**, which is a root, very good and a solid food. Rice is not wanting, so long as one has this root. When cooked, it provides sustenance for the greater part of the year, and can be used as food supplies at sea, as it lasts for one year and replaces bread, when it is either cooked or roasted. There is another that does not require cultivation other than what is given it by divine providence from Heaven, that is found in trees they call **rimay**, which serves as bread during four months of the year and, to make it last longer, they place it in the sun and it becomes like biscuit. There are also coconuts, bananas, sugarcane, and other tasty and substantial roots. Indian corn can also be harvested, along with seeds native to tropical countries.

#### **[The anchorages]**

Regarding the ports and anchorages that are found in these Islands for the galleons that go from the Philippines to New Spain, or come from it, what could be found out in spite of the weak local craft, a list thereof has been carefully drawn up by the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores from coastal pilots, with all their characteristics, such as shelter from winds, rivers, etc. This list has been distributed among the pilots and we remitted it to Manila<sup>1</sup> so that in future they could use it and know where the galleons that go to New Spain could go, without the damages caused by returns in distress. A copy is also enclosed with this Report.

#### **[The bronze cannon]**

Regarding the bronze cannon which Y.M. orders be recovered, there would be no difficulty if an adequate boat were available for that, because they are in sight and very close to the beach, in water no more than nine fathoms in depth. One can count up to 20 pieces at the Island of San José, at a place about a league and a half from a port of this Island which is in the bay of a village called Raurau; it is in front of another village called Aguinguan. Besides, there are other pieces that can be seen at the Island of Santa Ana and they are near a village called Sosanrago, now San Pedro, and it appears that

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1 Ed. note: Some copies are extant. For instance, see Doc. 1670G.

they came from the galleon [Santa] **Margarita** that was lost in this Island a long time ago.

**[The mineral products]**

Y.M. also orders that a survey be made of potential mineral products in these Islands. It has not been possible to carry this out, partly for lack of time away from the baptisms and now on account of road travel being blocked by enemies, and for lack of armed men to visit the more difficult passes, in order to examine the hills and rough cuts, and partly for not having persons knowledgeable about minerals, although advantage was taken of a few who appeared to have some knowledge for collecting samples in passing and a few stones that seemed to hold some signs. After they were ground up, washed and tested with some quicksilver, they all gave signs of holding true silver. This seems likely because these Islands belong to the same range as those of Japan where this metal is mined, and from it much silver [is extracted].

Even though metals were not found in these Islands, we think it appropriate that one or more persons expert in this matter be sent, because toward the south, where we cannot go with small local craft, there are other very big Islands, and not far from this Island of San Juan, according to the notices that we have from the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores who had studied the logbooks and used to say that at three days' sailing toward the south from this Island, there was one with 500 leagues in circumference and with very many people, an abundance of fruits and wealth, and many other lands of equal magnitude, as one can see from the enclosed list, in which are given the names of these Islands with their positions in degrees of longitude and latitude.<sup>1</sup> We found this list among the old papers of our Mariana Mission. Another thing is that this year, during the same month of February in which they killed the Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerra, there were obvious signs found at this Island of the existence of another land very close to this Island of San Juan. Various tree trunks of unknown type have arrived and a large quantity of a type of sand, very spongy, that floats upon the water [i.e. pumice]; there was so much of it that it attracted the sight of anyone going to the high sea to fish, and they would cut it with their canoes.

I sign on behalf of all of us.

Pedro Comano.

**[Postscript]**

After this letter was written, the following paragraph was added; it is copied from some papers that were found at the mission here.

In a Memorial presented to Your Majesty by Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1610 regarding the population of the Islands that are a continuation of the Marianas, in which he gives an extensive list of their great wealth—according to said memorial, the Captain and another captain in his company, saw silver, gold, pearls, nutmeg,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This list was annexed, but only part of the postscript is extant (see below).

pepper, ginger, and that they had noticed some cinnamon, clove, and other precious goods—all of which could be discovered more easily if Y.M. would grant the government of the Philippines to a Christian person fearful of God and not looking to pursue his own interests and not seeking material wealth but the benefit of souls and new conversions of those numberless souls that may be gained for God in this chain of islands for the greater service of Y.M., instructing him to look for the advantages and wealth that God keeps hidden in all of these Islands. I have no doubt that this will be achieved with the expansion of the Spanish monarchy, if only to reward the holy zeal of Your Catholic Majesty in reducing so many gentiles to the Christian religion and the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no doubt the success of this enterprise will be assured if the...<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The rest is missing, but it could not have been anything other than a closing sentence, because it is said that only one paragraph was being added as a postscript.



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## Document 1674L

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# Letter from the Queen to Governor de León, dated Madrid 25 July 1674

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 87-88, pp. 197-199; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14.*

*Note: She answers his letter of 22 June 1672 (Doc. 1672J2) which gave news about the condition of the Mariana Island Mission and the martyrdom of Fr. Sanvitores.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Reyna Gobernadora.*

*Respuesta a una carta del Governador de Filipinas en que dio quenta del estado de la mission de las Islas de los Ladrones y del martirio que padezio Diego Luis de San Victores.*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, y Presidente de la Audiencia de ellas.*

*En carta que me escrivisteis en veinte y dos de Junio del año pasado de mill y seis-sientos y setenta y dos, dais quenta de las noticias que os llevo el patache **San Diego** (que de vuelta de Nueva España estuvo en una de las Islas de los Ladrones) que se rreduzian a que amotinados la mayor parte de los naturales de la de Guan, contra los ministros evangelicos, dieron muerte a Diego Luis de San Victores de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, el qual a flechazos logro dichoso martirio, siguiendo los pasos de otro compañero suyo que pocos meses antes le havia conseguido y que los demas religiosos y la Infanteria que vos dejasteis quando pasasteis por alli, y otros ocho soldados que les dexo el General del Galeon **Buen Socorro**, se hallavan acosados y retirados hasta que llegando alli el patache salieron y partiçiparon lo rreferido y pidieron al cavo les diese refuerzo, como lo hizo de quinze soldados, y de los vastimientos que le permitio el tiempo con cuyo socorro y tambien con tres religiosos de la Compañia que yban destinados para la reduzion[.] havian quedado muy gustosos, y con seguras esperanzas de conseguirla y que se yban logrando copiosos frutos, y se sebiesen [=si se viesen] los naturales de aquellas Islas sin el meziço Sangley que motivo el dho alvorroto, abrazarian generalmente la doctrina, por ser los Indios de buen natural y no tener adorazion ni secta particular, y concluir diziendo que los cavos de las naos que salen del puerto de Cavite para la N<sup>a</sup> España, llevan orden de dexarlos à la buelta el socorro porporzionado a su nezesidad.*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, ha parecido deziros que se que da con esta noticia para dar graçias a Dios el fruto espiritual que consiguio Diego Luis de San Victores en la conbercion de los Indios de las Islas de los Ladrones, hasta perder la vida y para que se pueda continuar aquella mision, os mando pongais muy particular cuydado en dar las asistencias y socorros nezesarios a los Religiones y soldados que asisten en aquella reduzion por ser la obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y de que va resultando la propagaçion de la religion catholica, que es mi prinzipal obligaçion, y asi os encargo cumplais con ello, con el zelo que se fia de vuestra atenzion.*

*Fha en Madrid a veinte y çinco de Julio de mil y seissientos y setenta y quatro años.  
Yo la Reyna.*

*Por mandado de su Mgd., Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The Queen Regent.

Answer to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines in which he reported on the state of the mission in the Islands of the Ladrones and on the martyrdom that Diego Luis de San Victores suffered.

Master-of-camp Don Manuel de León, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine islands, and President of the Audiencia there.

In a letter that you wrote to me on 22 June of the past year of 1672, you reported the news brought to you by the patache **San Diego** (which visited one of the Islands of the Ladrones on the return voyage from New Spain), the essential points of which were that the majority of the natives of the Island of Guan had rebelled against the Gospel ministers and given death with darts [sic] to Diego Luis de San Victores of the Society of Jesus, who thus achieved a lucky martyrdom. Before him, another companion of his had achieved it a few months before. The rest of the religious and the infantry that you had left when you passed by there, and eight more soldiers left there by the General of the galleon **Buen Socorro**, were then harrassed and cooped up until the arrival there of the patache, when they went out and reported these events, and they begged the commander to give them reinforcements, as he did, giving 15 soldiers, and as many supplies as the weather allowed. With this succor and also with three religious of the Society who came assigned to the reduction, they had remained quite happy, and with assured hopes of achieving it [i.e. the reduction]. [You also reported] that copious fruits were being gathered, and if the natives of those Islands found themselves without the Chinese half-breed who instigated said rebellion, they would generally embrace the doctrine, as the Indians are good-natured and do not worship in any particular sect. You conclude by saying that the commanders of the galleons that leave the port of Cavite for New Spain carry orders to leave a succor commensurate with their needs upon the return voyage.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper to tell you that the news in question is reason enough to give thanks to God for the spiritual fruit

achieved by Diego Luis de San Victores in the conversion of the Indians of the Islands of the Ladrones, until he lost his life, and to keep that mission going. I order you to take special care in giving all the assistances and succors required by the Religious and soldiers who assist in that reduction, since it is a worthwhile project for the service of God our Lord, one that will result in the propagation of the Catholic religion, which is my main obligation, and so, I entrust you to comply with this, with the zeal that I trust you will apply.

Made at Madrid on 25 July 1674.

I, the Queen.

By order of Her Majesty, Don Francisco Fernandez de Madrigal.

Countersigned by the Council.

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## Documents 1674M

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# Posthumous gift of 10,000 pesos to the Mariana Mission by ex-Governor Diego Salcedo, a cause of dispute among Jesuits in Mexico

*Sources: For M1, RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 22; for M2-M4, AHH Mexico, Misiones de Filipinas, Temporalidades, Leg. 326-2, pp. 1683-1696, and AGN Varios ramos—Selecciones 1.*

## M1. Letter from Br. Manuel Duarte to Fr. Cobián, dated Mexico 22 February 1672

### Original text in Spanish.

*Mi Padre Provincial Andres de Cobian.*

*El Hermano Manuel Duarte Procurador de su Provincia de Philipinas: Por todas sus cassas, colegios; y sugetos de ella, como pareçe del Poder que demuestro; y asimismo con Poder espeçial del P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Superior de la mission de las Marianas: sugetos de mi Provincia que es el ultimo que ay de dicho Padre y prefiere a otro que quiera que aya suyo:—*

*Digo que con ocasion de aver llegado en este aviso de España despachos a favor de dicha Mision que el uno me lo embio el Señor Don Geronimo de San Vitores; y el otro me avissa viene de oficio a su Ex<sup>a</sup> para que el Procurador de Philipinas use del: para lo qual es neçesario dar medios y poner en cobro lo que su Magestad mandare se de en esta Caxa Real para aquellos misioneros; y dar la forma para en lo de adelante; que a de quedar estilado; y a de ser la norma; y modelo para los demas años; Para lo qual me pareçe muy neçesario y preçisso usar del Poder general que tengo de la Provincia; y no de aquel espeçial del Padre San Vitores: Lo primero porque el de la Provincia es el mas propio, y prinçipal pues comprehende a todos los colegios, cassas, sugetos, y misiones de la Provincia de Philipinas donde son los misioneros de las Marianas: y en uzar de aquel espeçial poder del P. S. Vitores, ay un incombeniente muy grande para lo venide-*

*ro; y tan grande que çessara qualquiera cobranza y no se hara: Porque el Poder de dicho Padre en quanto Suppor.[=Superior] es instantaneo; y no tiene firmessa: porque oy es Suppor. y mañana no: o se morira, con que çesa dicho poder; y en començando a cobrar en la Caja Real con Poder espeçial oy, le pedirán el año que viene; y siempre; y no hallandose aqui tal poder, forcosamente cesara la otra porque faltara parte legitima y de las Marianas, es importante que se embian, que alli no ay escrivano; y quando la hubiera, era absumpto grande, que siendo aquella mission de la misma Provincia se aya de introducir nuevo modo de gobierno e independençia; y lo que se estila en esta Provincia para cobrar de la Caxa Real la limosna de los misioneros de Sinaloa, no es debajo de poder espeçial de ellos, sino del general que da el Padre Provincial de toda la Provincia.*

*El P. Ministro, Joseph Vidal, dice que yo no tengo que ver, ni que entremeterme, con cossas que toquen al Padre S. Vitores, y su mission, porque a su Reverencia es quien le toca: que aquellos Padres no son de la Provincia de Philipinas, que la dicha Provincia no les a dado nada: que tiene poder del P. S. Vitores: a los quales puntos por Razon de mi ofiçio y la obligacion que me corre satisfare brevemente, en nombre de mi Provincia.*

*Digo à lo primero que son sugetos de la Provincia de Philipinas los Padres que oi se hallan en las Marianas; y sino lo son, ruego a V.R<sup>a</sup> lo declare assi: Porque en tal casso, cessara este litigio; Y no hablaremos palabra en ello: Porque es constante à dicho Padre S. Vitores, y su compañero el Padre Thomas Càrdeñoso, vinieron de la Provincia de Philipinas y el Padre Luis de Medina que esta en el çielo, P. Casanoba, P. Morales, H<sup>o</sup> Bustillos [sic], se quedaron alli, de la mission que yba a Philipinas: de donde vinieron el año passado a mudar los dos ultimos Padres los Padres Solano; y Ezquerra; y de la mission del Padre Ledesma, se quedaron alli los Padres Noriega y Lopes; y de la mission que va navegado se quedan alli los quatro Padres que V.R<sup>a</sup> nombro, con que son diez los Padres que ay alli.—*

*A lo segundo no respondo[,] que dice que la Provincia de Philipinas no les a dado nada, no respondo porque ella lo hara a su tiempo; lo que yo sé es, que todos los diez sugetos, los a costeadado, y traído de España a su costa y mençion; y que se el año passado me escrivio el Padre Provincial de Philipinas que no diese nada al P. Solano, fue porque la Provincia se lo avia dado alla; y no obstante el Padre Rector, P[edr]o de Valencia que era Provincial me mando diese 100 pesos a dicho Padre y se los di; y en Acapulco se le havian dado antes aqui estubo, y el Padre Ezquerra; y le di una sotana sin otros gastos que he hecho por la dicha mission: Y al mismo P. S. Vitores ayude en que pude quando aqui estubo; y en Acapulco; y antes que en esta casa se le diera lo que despues le dieron, le preste muy gruesas cantidades de pesos con que compro quanto llevo de Mexico: y el gasto que an hecho estos quatro Padres ultimos, es muy grande, como por de las quantas de los Padres Procuradores de Madrid; y Sevilla; y no ha dejado la Provincia de acudirles este a<sup>o</sup> con lo que a podido, pues les embio con el qual Don Joan de Ochoa un caxon; y un fardillo y para que se vea con lo que le socorrio el año de 670; y lo que le embio, hago demostracion de la lista de ello, que me embia el Padre Procu-*

*rador General que es considerable; y no a dejado desde que estan alli, de embiarles, lo que a podido; y fuera infrutuosso el socorrerles desde Manila; con bastimientos, pues es notorio que desde que estan alli los Padres ninguna nao, a la venida de Philipinas a llegado alli. Y querer que viniesen y volbiesen por via de Acapulco fuera perderlo todo; y conociendo esta impossibilidad: se a hecho instancia a nuestro Padre y solicitado al Procurador de Madrid; y al Señor San Vitores para que buscasen los medios; y forma para que en esta caça se les de competente limosna, para que con ello, se le embie lo neçesario en las cossas y generos que dichos Padres pidieren; y Nuestro Padre general es testigo desta verdad a quien lo escreve luego al prinçipio, para que asi lo ordenase al Padre Procurador general de Madrid; a quien lo escrivi varias vezes, como por desurresptos [=de respuestas?] y al Señor Don Geronimo; y al mismo P. Joseph Vidal; yo soi quien primero le advirtio de ello; y en ello no alego servicio porque era obligacion; y los primeros despachos que el Padre S. Vitores embio al consejo para yr a las Marianas; y las respuestas; y despachos favorables corrieron por mi mano; y en Manila, no le ayude poco con la pluma, trasladando, buscando, y sacando varias noticias de aquellas yslas que yo savia de que se aprovecho.*

*A lo 3º que diçe el P. Joseph Vidal, que porque tiene poder del P. S. Vitores a de correr con lo que toca a la mision de las Marianas; y no otro alguno, a lo qual satisfago, con deçir que quando no me asistira la razon que tengo, apoyada en el Poder general que tengo de toda la Provincia que lo abarca todo; y no havia menester mas: me quiero valer del mismo instrumento de que se vale el Padre Ministro, que es el Poder del P. Diego Luis de San Vitores. Porque yo le tengo posterior al suyo que es sustituydo; y no rreboca al mio.—Si ya no es que por algun horden, o disposicion de nuestro general (que yo no se) aquellos Padres esten mandados separar de la Provincia de Philipinas, o ya que el dicho P. S. Vitores, jusgandolo assi lo aya pedido, que en este casso, yo no tengo que alegar sino pedir a V.Rª en nombre de mi Provincia y de nuestro P. general a quien he de embiar copia deste mi escripto, que V.Rª me lo declare.*

*Y con esto no niego, antes bien lo rreconosco, y agradezco y como tal lo escrevi a N.P. General para que por ello le de las graçias; y al P. S. Vitores lo escrivi tambien y al Padre Provincial de Philipinas que es mucho; y mui de agradecer con espeçiales agradeçimientos lo que el P. Joseph Vidal con tanta caridad, conato, y empeño ha hecho por la mission de las Marianas, ayudandoles con tan grandes limosnas que a juntado, como todos sabemos; y que tiene grave y cabida con los que gobiernan, para que con sus suaves medios y buen modo alcance lo que pidiere: medios, modos, y cossas de que me hallo desvalido y que protexto no impedir las, sino antes cooperar a ellas, para que en todo redunden en mayor aumento y gloria del Señor, bien de aquella nueva conbercion y pro [sic] y util de aquella mission: Lo que quiero dezir es, que en llegando el casso de Hazer cobrança de la Caja Real, o, otra qualquiera deligencia sea; y se haga en virtud del Poder general de toda la Provincia por obviar el inconbeniente que llevo dicho. Porque mi intento. Porque declaro delante del Señor no tener de nadie horden[;] de lo contrario, que con lo que se cobrare acudir a dichos Padres como, y de la manera que*

*ellos lo pidieren y quisieren por sus cartas, y memorias y que se les embie quenta y razon de ello, y que para ello abra libro separado.*

*Esto es lo que se me a ofrecido representar a V.R<sup>a</sup> en nombre de mi Provincia para que mirandolo delante de Dios, haga lo que jugare mas asertado segun razon.*

*M. Duarte.*

*Padres consultores: P. Provincial, P. Preposito Francisco Ximenez, P. Rector Pedro de Valencia, P. Francisco Carbonel, P. Diego de Monrroy, P. Manuel de Artiaga, P. Diego de Medina.*

*Mexico 5 de Marzo de 1672: Decision aserca de lo aqui contenido:*

*No se innove nada por aora hasta informar a nuestro Padre General[.] en el interin cobre el Padre Joseph Vidal y disponga: esto me dijo el Padre Provincial: y en fee de ello lo firmo de mi nombre en Mexico.*

*M. Duarte.*

### **Translation.**

My dear Father Provincial, Andrés de Cobián.

I, Brother Manuel, Procurator of my Province of the Philippines: For all its houses, colleges, and subjects therein, as stated in the Power of attorney which I exhibit; and in addition holding a special Power of attorney from Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, Superior of the Mariana Mission, all subjects of my Province, which is the last one issued by said Father and the one to be preferred over any other whatever by his hand:—

Do declare that, on the occasion of some despatches having arrived by mail ship from Spain in favor of said Mission; one despatch was sent to me by Don Geronimo de San Vitores, and he tells me that another is sent to me care of His Excellency [the Viceroy] so that the Procurator of the Philippines may make use of it. To this effect, it is necessary to find means to collect and put in a safe place what Her Majesty has ordered be given out from this Royal Treasury for those missionaries; and to determine the procedure to be used from now on; to do so in a proper style, one that would serve as the norm and remain a model for future years. To this effect, it seems to me to be very necessary and compulsory to make use of the general Power of attorney that I hold from the Province, and not that special one from Father San Vitores: firstly, because the one from the Province is the more appropriate and important one, given that it comprises all the colleges, houses, subjects, and missions of the Province of the Philippines where the missionaries of the Marianas are located; and in using that special power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores, there is a very great disadvantage for the future, one that is so great that any collection could cease and stop, because the power from the said Father is valid only as long as he remains Superior and is not permanent, since he is Superior today and may not be tomorrow: or else he may die, thus said power of attorney would cease.<sup>1</sup> So, if one begins to collect from the Royal Treasury with the special power today, next year they will ask for it again, and always so; thus, not finding such

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In retrospect, Brother Duarte was right, as Fr. Sanvitores did die 2 months later.

power of attorney in hand, the other aspect will forcibly fail, because the legal portion would be lacking. Also, it would require that such be sent from the Marianas, and overthere there is no notary. Now, even if there were, it would still be an important matter, since that mission belongs to the same Province, to decide to introduce a new method of administration and independence. The procedures used in this Province to collect from the Royal Treasury the alms for the missionaries in Sinaloa is not under a special power of attorney from them, but under a general one issued by the Father Provincial of the whole Province.

The Father Minister, José Vidal, says that it is not my business, and that I should not intervene in things that concern Father San Vitores and his mission, because that is the business of His Reverence; that those Fathers do not belong to the Province of the Philippines, that said Province has not given them anything; that he holds a power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores. It is my job and duty to respond to those points, which I will endeavor to do briefly, on behalf of my Province.

Firstly, I declare that the Fathers who are today in the Marianas are subjects of the Province of the Philippines—and if they are not, I beg Your Reverence to declare it to be so, because in such a case, the dispute would cease, and we would no longer discuss it—because it is patent that said Father San Vitores and his companion, Father Tomás Cardeñoso, came from the Province of the Philippines, and Father Luis de Medina who is in Heaven, Fr. Casanova, Fr. Morales, and Br. Bustillos [sic] stayed there, from the mission that went to the Philippines, the latter two being replaced last year by Fathers Solano and Ezquerria; and from the mission led by Father Ledesma, Fathers Noriega and Lopez stayed there; and from the mission which is presently sailing overthere, four Fathers named by Y.R. will remain there, making a total of 10 Fathers overthere now.

I do not answer his second point, when he says that the Province of the Philippines gave them nothing. I do not answer, because it will answer to it in due course. What I know is, that for all the 10 subjects, the Province has borne the full costs of their transfer from Spain. When the Father Provincial of the Philippines wrote to me last year not to give anything to Fr. Solano, it was because the Province had given it to him overthere; nevertheless, Father Rector Pedro de Valencia, who was then Provincial, ordered me to give 100 pesos to said Father and I gave them; and in Acapulco, he had been given them before he was here; as for Father Ezquerria, I gave him a cassock without any other expenditures made by me for the said mission. In addition, I assisted Fr. San Vitores as best I could when he was here, and in Acapulco, and at this house, before he was given what they got later, I loaned him very large sums of pesos with which he bought everything he took from Mexico. Also, the expenditures made by the last four Fathers is very great, as can be seen from the accounts from the Fathers Procurators in Madrid, and Seville. Still, the Province did not stop assisting them this year as much as it could, witness the crate sent to them care of Don Juan de Ochoa, plus a small bundle. And if anyone wants to see what was sent as succor in 1670, I exhibit the list in question, as sent to me by Father Procurator General, which is considerable. It has not ceased to send to them, what it could send, from the time they arrived there. Further-



more, it would be fruitless to succor them from Manila with supplies, given that it is manifest that, from the beginning of that mission, no galleon coming from the Philippines has stopped there; to try and send it [from Manila] by way of Acapulco would be to put everything at risk. Knowing of this impossibility, a request has been presented to our Father [General], another to the Procurator in Madrid, and another to Don San Vitores, for them to seek a solution, and a procedure, so that an adequate subsidy may be paid out from this treasury, and so that necessary things and goods requested by said Fathers be sent to them. Our Father General is witness to this truth; I did write to him at the beginning, for him to order the Father Procurator General in Madrid to do it that way. I did write to the latter on various occasions, as can be seen from his answers(?), and to Don Geronimo. I did so too with Fr. José Vidal himself. I am the one who first warned him about this, and I did so, not to render him a service, but as part of my duty. And the first despatches that Father San Vitores sent to the Council to go to the Marianas, and the answers, and the favorable decrees, all passed through my hands. Also, in Manila, I did what I could to help him with my pen, researching, and transcribing various notices of those islands that I knew of, and he did make use of them.

To the third point mentioned by Fr. José Vidal, that is, because he holds a power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores, it has to take effect in matters concerning the Mariana Mission, and no other whatever, suffice for me to say that my argument will not help him at all, as it is supported by the general Power of attorney that I hold from the whole Province that comprises it all, and there is no need for more. I wish to make use of the same instrument that the Father Minister pretends to use, which is the Power of attorney from Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, because I do hold one which is posterior to his, and supersedes his, and it does not revoke mine.—Unless, of course, there exist some order, or disposition, from our General (unknown to me) ordering those Fathers to be separated from the Province of the Philippines, or that said Fr. San Vitores, judging it to be so, has applied for it. Then, in such a case, I do not have to make allegations; rather, I beg Y.R. on behalf of my Province and our Fr. General (to whom I must send a copy of this my rescript) to please tell me so.

This said, I do not deny, rather I do recognize it well, and I appreciate—and I have already so stated to our Fr. General so that he may in turn thank him, and to Fr. San Vitores I also wrote about it, and to Fr. Provincial of the Philippines at some length—that what Fr. José Vidal has done is considerable, and very worthy of praise with special thanks. His charity, dedication, and efforts toward the Mariana Mission are great. He has helped them with large alms he has collected, as we all know. And he has access to and influence upon those who govern, so that by his suave methods and good manners he can get what he wants; such methods, manners, and qualities I do not possess and I beg to say I do not impede. Rather, I cooperate with them, so that in everything they may redound to an increase in the glory of the Lord, in the good of that new conversion and advantage of that mission. What I wish to say is, that, once the money has been collected from the Royal Treasury, or whatever procedure was followed, by vir-

tue of the general power of attorney of the whole Province, in order to obviate the above-mentioned disadvantage. Because this is my intent. Because I declare before the Lord that I do not have any order from anyone, to the contrary, that I will use the money to be collected for said Fathers as, and in the manner, dictated by them and expressed in their letters, and memorials and that I will send them an account and list of it, and that a separate account book will be used for that purpose.

That is what I wanted to tell Y.R. on behalf of my Province so that, after placing the matter before God, you may make a more decisive and logical decision.

M. Duarte.

Fathers consulted: Fr. Provincial, Fr. Substitute Francisco Ximenez, Fr. Rector Pedro de Valencia, Fr. Francisco Carbonel, Fr. Diego de Monroy, Fr. Manuel de Arteaga, Fr. Diego de Medina.<sup>1</sup>

Mexico, 5 March 1672.

Decision regarding the above-mentioned matter:

Do not make any change for now, until our Father General has been informed. In the meantime, Father José Vidal is to collect the money and make arrangements. This is what Father Provincial told me, and in faith whereof I have signed my name in Mexico.

M. Duarte.

## **M2. Letter from Fr. Xavier Riquelme to Fr. Prov. Francisco Ximenez, dated Manila 10 June 1677**

*Summary note: Fr. Riquelme reports to Fr. Ximenez that Br. Manuel Duarte is gravely ill and he begs that Fr. Joseph Vidal should liquidate and adjust the accounts of the Marianas with Duarte before the latter dies. Enclosed is a letter where Duarte explains that ex-Governor Diego Salcedo left 10,000 pesos for the Marianas.*

Father Provincial Francisco Ximenez,  
Peace of Christ.

The bearer of this letter is Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla who will explain to Y.R. with words better than I can by letter how pleased this province would be if Y.R.'s health is good and that the number of the faithful of that holy province has increased and which we recognize as a mother province on account of its many kindnesses toward us, since we continuously receive so many gifts from it. We hope that Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla will receive no less, and the same for his companion, Brother Francisco Obando. Thus I look to them to have me excused for not having sent a Father to that kingdom, the one referred to in my letter of last year 1676, with the letter from Fr. Pedro de Espinar, Procurator General, written from Acapulco, in which he narrates how incapaci-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Those who had already been Provincial before Fr. Cobián were: Fr. Carbonel, 1665-68; and Fr. Valencia, 1668-71. Those who followed him in the post were: Fr. Arteaga, 1673-74, and Fr. Jiménez, 1674-77.

tated is Br. Manuel Duarte for that job, that he is gravely ill, and that he would most likely die soon, and his death could result in some confusions in the information concerning the dependencies that this province is in charge of.

Fr. Pedro de Espinar told me as well how the income received by the College and Sacristy of Manila and other houses that are used for the divine service and sustenance of our people was earmarked, for reasons given by Fr. Joseph Vidal, for the apostolic Mariana Missions, he being their procurator. As the business is of such importance, following a provincial meeting, and the opinions given out by the Fathers consulted, I determined to send Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, so that he would deal in person, he having shown marks of virtue, intelligence, and business practice, as Y.R. would find out, in order for him to discover fully the circumstances surrounding the account of Br. Manuel Duarte, and so that, with his prudence and seriousness, he may on my behalf liquidate and adjust with Fr. Joseph Vidal the Mariana accounts.

In fact, two letters from our Provincial dated April 74 and one from the Fr. Assistant written that same year 74, His Paternity orders Fr. Joseph Vidal to provide the accounts to the Provincial of the Philippines. This will be accomplished in complete peace, charity and to the satisfaction that this province can expect from Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla and the deep fervor of Fr. Joseph Vidal. This province wishes and, through me, they all beg Y.R. to use your authority and zeal to intercede as a last resort in order for the matter to be resolved to the satisfaction of what reason and charity expect, as well as the College and Sacristy of Manila and the other houses, that they may not suffer the harm done to them by denying them what they should have received every year.

I beg Y.R.'s pardon for not enclosing the annual report from the islands, since Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla will carry a letter giving ample information.

I pray God to keep Y.R. with zeal and I beg you to remember me in your holy sacrifices and prayers,

Manila, 10 June 1677.

Y.R.'s servant,

Xavier Riquelme.

### **M3. Letter from Br. Duarte to his Provincial, dated Mexico March 1675**

Fr. Provincial Francisco Ximenez,

Fr. Vice-Provincial Diego de Monroy has read to me two paragraphs from a letter from our Fr. General, dated 8 January and 18 August 1674, in which he orders that the 10,000 pesos bequeathed by Don Diego de Salcedo (or whatever sum to be found) are be delivered to Fr. Joseph Vidal. Through the said Vice-Provincial, I was to give my reply to Y.R. in writing. I was about to obey then but fell under my present predicament; and then the said Vice-Provincial, during a provincial council meeting, read to me another letter from Y.R. dated 3rd of this month that contains the above-mentioned two paragraphs from our Fr. General. He then added the order for me to deliver to Fr.

Joseph Vidal the 10,000 pesos that Y.R. says that Don Diego de Salcedo ordered me in many messages to give to the Mariana Mission, as it appears and is declared within his testament.

And, the said Fr. Vice-Provincial having read to me the letter from Y.R., ordered me, regardless of what I had said in the first letter, to give a reply to the present one. In obedience, I give the same reply (which now Y.R. should compare with that given to our Fr. General): I once again say that, on behalf of my Provincial and of our Rev. Fr. General, you will be pleased to order the Fr. Secretary to read to me a complete account of what it is that Y.R. wished me to do in this matter, jointly with the reply which I gave and the papers that I presented to Y.R., and which I need in order to inform our Rev. Fr. General and my province, in order to satisfy them and to report to them what I have been ordered to do and how I obeyed it; also a copy of the pertinent clauses from the testament that Y.R. mentioned in the order he gave me. His Reverend Paternity and Y.R. will understand that this sum which he writes is earmarked for the Marianas, was assigned to the province and would have been lost, had it not been for my care and caution. I wished it were much more; it would have been used in one province as well as the other; and in all of this I stand ready to answer Y.R. as well as anyone else besides God.

Mexico, [blank] March 1675.

Manuel Duarte.<sup>1</sup>

#### **M4. Letter from Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, dated Mexico 30 April 1675**

I, Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, have arrived in New Spain [from Manila] this year 1675, to go on to the Marianas. I declare that I have been surprised at seeing the difficulties and blockages that Br. Manuel Duarte employs in the delivery of the 10,000 pesos that Don Diego Salcedo left for the Mariana Islands; to wit, in the three years that I have been with the Philippine Province, I have always heard the Father Provincial and all the Fathers of that province about the certainty of those 10,000 pesos, already assigned to the Mariana Mission. I have never heard in the Philippines of the possibility of there being two separate deeds and I have heard that only here from Br. Manuel Duarte, and that all those in that province said that it was the deed made in the year 1668 by Don Diego Salcedo of 10,000 pesos, and of the clause of his testament is unique, and only mentions the Mariana Islands. And I have heard from the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines that Br. Francisco Vello had given a receipt for the said 10,000 pesos to Br. Manuel Duarte, and many times Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, Provincial of that province, told Fr. Gerard Bouwens and myself that the province did not give us

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In another note, similarly convoluted, and dated Mexico 6 March 1675, he mentioned that the smaller sum of 1,021 pesos that existed in the account was all that was left after the testament was executed.

provisions to go [back] to the Marianas, because in Mexico the said Mariana Mission had 10,000 pesos that Don Diego Salcedo had left for them and that Br. Manuel Duarte would no doubt hold the current interest money, because from the Philippines he had been ordered to invest them on behalf of the house of San Pedro, in order to assist the Mariana Mission with the revenue income.

In faith whereof, I sign this in Mexico on 10 April 1675.  
Lorenzo Bustillo.

*Item.* I declare that the two paragraphs reproduced below are exact copies of the originals that the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines wrote to Br. Manuel Duarte. The first says the following:

*Out of the endowment of 10,000 pesos from Hari (this name is used to mean the Governor, in the language of those islands)<sup>1</sup> as I wrote last year, what could be recovered should be invested to the credit of the house of San Pedro in order to have them held in trust for the Islands of the Ladrones (that is how they called the Marianas before the faith reached there).*

And in a letter dated 8 December 1671, part of a paragraph says the following:

*That the sum of 10,000 pesos, unless order to the contrary from the Fr. Provincial of these Islands, be invested for the benefit of the house of San Pedro with a declaration that it belongs to the Mission in the Ladrones, and now as present Provincial I order the same and that it be executed.*

Lorenzo Bustillo.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: "Hari" means king in Tagalog.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679B, C, & D for follow-up story.

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## Document 1674N

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# Plan for building a small ship for regular service between the Philippines and the Marianas

*Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 at 10 pounds sterling (Cat. N° 442, n° 1823). Title in Spanish: "Medios de fabricar sin gasto de la Real Hacienda el vagel que ha de hacer comerciables las Islas Philipinas con Marianas" (Manila, 1674).*

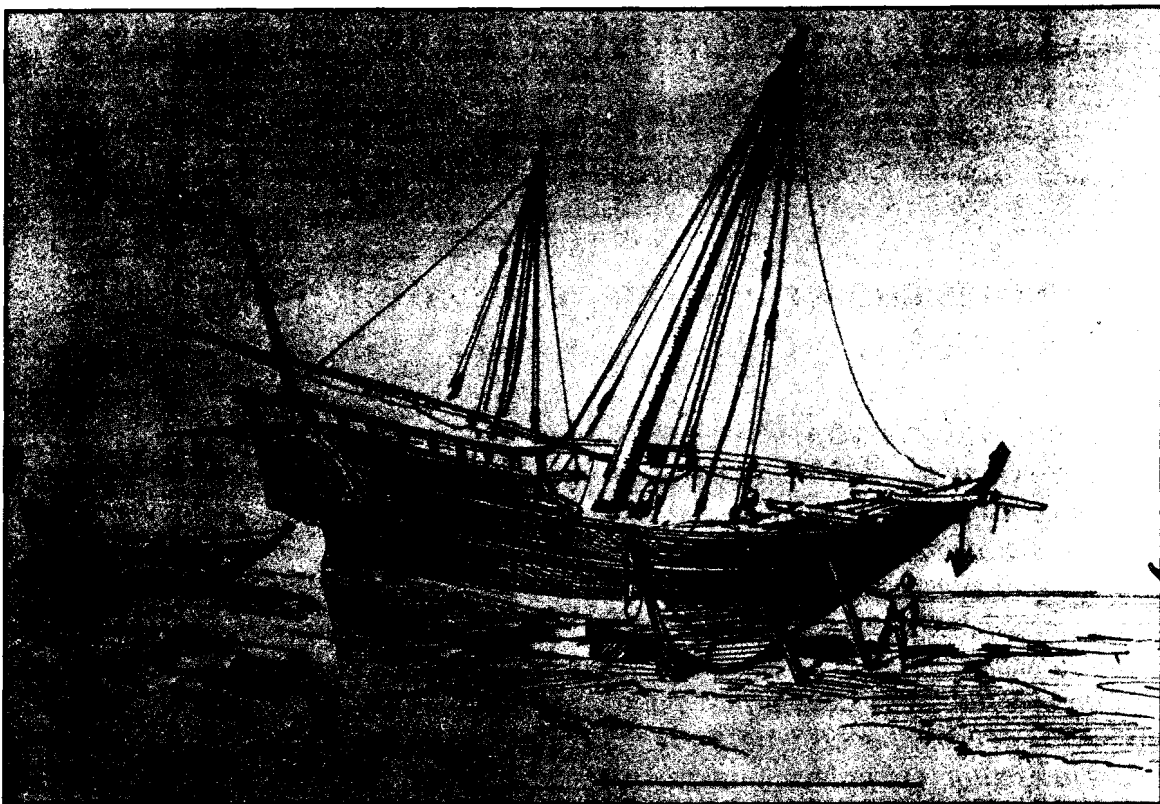
## Means to build a vessel at no cost to the Royal Treasury

...  
The keel should be 10 fathoms [about 60 feet] long, which is equivalent to 30 cubits in length; the proportionate size of the bows being 10 cubits, and the stanchion 12 spans; an enclosed quarter-deck reaching to the main mast, and from the dimensions of the principal timber parts, the others may be calculated, without the need of further minute instructions... In short, this vessel should be suitable for navigating the courses between these Islands... and, loaded with its full complement of supplies and equipment, should be able to cruise in shallow water, about a fathom and a half [about 9 feet], and in that way it might take refuge in any sort of river against the raging of the storm.

For the building of this vessel, His Majesty has in the port of Cavite, 500 carpenters and porters drawing regular pay, of whom some 90 may be diverted from the arsenal without being missed, for the purpose of constructing the vessel, and they could make use of all the necessary machinery and timber left over from the building on that bank of other ships of greater and lesser size, for the service of that coast and the transport to distant parts of produce, such as coconut oil, etc.

January, February and March is the period between monsoons, while towards April the direction of the winds becomes southeasterly and the sun warms those places and tempers the breezes that come from the south, which is therefore the most appropriate time to set sail for this voyage before the winds turn again and gather force; and as they bear round to the east and approach the Marianas, they will find the force of the wind

subsiding; and should this be only a southeasterly wind, they could reach the Island of Saypan by the north coast of the Island of San Juan, at a latitude of 14 degrees; and the said Island (San Juan) by the channel of San Juanico<sup>1</sup> to the northeast. Having gained the Marianas, they will find that on the south coast of the Island of San Juan there is a river with a depth of 2 fathoms, sounded by my own hand, where vessels from this port can enter with impunity, and can remain there until the middle of September, which is then the most appropriate time for the return voyage to Manila.



**A typical Spanish patache of the 17th century. It is built along similar lines as the one planned for the Manila-Guam run, but smaller in size. Drawing by Rafael Monleón, 1890 (Courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid).**

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The San Juanico Channel is defined as the strait between Samar and Leyte Islands in the Philippines (B&R 49:32). I think it corresponds to what is called the Samar Sea today.

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## Documents 1675A

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. General, dated Manila 10 May 1675

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 119-120v, 217-218.*

*Note: The two documents are separated in the file, but internal evidence links them together.*

## A1. Notes concerning the preservation of the Mariana Mission<sup>1</sup>

### Original text in Latin.

*Petrus Comano Professus Societatis Jesu, attenta extrema necessitate, in que versatur Missio insularum Marianarum, quam ex mandato Regio antes octenium feliciter inchoavit piæ memoriæ Vis. Pr. Didacus Aloysius de San Vitores, et felicius propagaverat, donec illam glorioso Sanguine rigaret, in que ante, et post cuis mortem Provinciæ nostræ Operarij egrægie desudarunt, Adeo ut animas ponere pro ovibus suis non dubitarent, iudicans sibi incumbero obligationem, ob munus rejendæ Missionis, morte Prædecessorum, in se devolutum, a quo illum non sua voluntas, s[e]d aliter disponentis Dei Providentia avulsit ad quærenda remedia extremæ necessitati oportuna, non aliud præsentius existimavit, quam ad præsentem Congregationem recurrere; a que cum omni submissione suppliciter postulat, ut sequentia pauca punta considerare in Domino nepravetur.*

*Et 1º quidem electo Procuratori Romam profecturo Marianam Missionem unice commendet est enim, vel ipso teste Rdo. Adm. Pe. Nº Generali, ut in suis Litteris manu propria adscribit, Corona nostræ Societatis, et Missionis negotia ipsi tractanda solícite committat. Mexici primum ut executioni mandentur, quæ in Regijs diplomatibus effectum sortita hactenus non sunt, inter quæ non minimi momenti est, illud ut viginti milites, qui iussu regio in Marianas insulas detinabantur, mittant[ur] ilico, si missi non sint, eisque ex erario Mexicano annua stipendia prompte exhibeantur: in reliquijs vero*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This title is taken from the words used by Fr. Coomans to refer to this paper in A2 below.



*si quid desiderari conspexerit, illud executioni mandare sedulo curet ad quod invabit diplomatum omnium copias hinc secum deferre. Deinde cum Padre Josepho Vidal Missionis nostræ Mexici Procuratore illud agat pro viribus, ut omnis elef[e]mosyna a Rege operarijs Marianis destinata in subsidia annua Mexici non expendantur, vitentur superflua, et [fol. 217v] et necessaria mittantur, ita ut media dictæ eleemosynæ pars in Provinciam mitti possit, cum locus proprius sublevandi missionem sit in insulis Philipinis.*

*In Hispania vèro nomine Provinciæ, et Missionis Regi nostro, et nominatim Regi-næ Matri pro munifica, et Vere Catholica liberalitate, et cura gratias agat, eisque in grati animi pignus, preces, et sacrificia, et primitias messis Trium Martyrum sanguinem offerat, et Missionem nostram Catholico eo num zelo commendet.*

*Tum 2<sup>o</sup> a Rege, et Consilio Indico suppliciter poscat, ut diplomata, quæ in insulis Philipinis executioni mandanda sunt ad ipsarum Gubernatorem imposterum dirigant, imo illa ipsa, quæ in Mexicum destinata sunt reiterare ne graventur, eique de pecunijs cæterisque necessarijs provideant ad expediendum navigium, coercendis Barbaris, et detegendis meridionalibus insulis oportunum.*

*Ut Romæ ab Rdo. Adm. Pe. N<sup>o</sup> Generali exposcat pro Rege nostro, et Regina Matre suffragia per universam Societatem tanquam pro fundatoribus plus quem unius Colegij in insulis Marianis, et ab eodem exquirat num a sua Santitate peti possit cultus Martyribus nostris ad excitandam fidelium pietatem, operarios strenuos procuret et etc<sup>a</sup>*

*At quoniam in moro periculum est, et extrema missionis necessitas præsentem spem exposcit, illud considerandum proponit, ut quoniam ex insulis Pictorum in Marianas facilis est navigatio, si seligat[ur] comodo anni tempestas, et in distis insulis magna commoditas invenitur edificandi navigium sine magnis expensis, illud quamprimum executioni mandetur: et conquirentur in illum finem mille regalos, Pesos dicti, aut in societate, aut extra illam mutuo sumantur, refundendi ilico ex stipendijs Missionis electo Padri Procuratori, ubi Mexicum appulerit: [fol. 218] et si hæc summa forte, quod tamen non putatur, operi perficiendo non sufficet, supleatur ex pecunijs, quas in adventum navi jussus est remittere Procurator Misionis Mexici deges: aut certe ex eleemosynis aliunde con qui sitis et sic cum paucis Hispanis, et reliquis indigeni, navigatio instituat. Et si forte in his aut labori aliquid, aut periculi inveniatur, ipse se adiutorem omnibus, et comitem offert, quamquam incapacitatem suam iure merito agnoscens aptiorem se ducem openi, et itineri humiliter postulat, cui se comitem, si ita videbitur libentissime adiunget.*

### **Loose translation.**

Peter Coomans, a professed member of the Society of Jesus, given the extreme need in which the Mariana Island Mission finds itself, having been happily begun eight years ago with a royal mandate by the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, of pious memory, one that would have progressed even more happily, had he not shed his glorious blood, and where, before and after his death, workers from our Province have together labored, in order to look after the souls of their flock, looking upon it as a duty, on ac-

count of the burden placed upon the Mission by the death of predecessors, and assumed by them, as something not under their control, but rather a disposition of divine Providence. This leads me to request a timely remedy to this extreme need, and I think it is befitting to present this problem to the Council. That is why, with complete submission, I beg it to consider in the Lord the few points that follow.

Firstly, it is a fact that an elected procurator to Rome to look after the Mariana Mission would be exceptionally desirable, or else he could be chosen by our Most Rev. Fr. General himself, as appears in a letter written by his own hand, with the seal of our Society, and would be entrusted with dealing carefully with the business of the Mission. First, he would see to it that the royal decrees that have not yet been carried out in Mexico be obeyed, not the least of which is, that the 20 soldiers that were destined to the Marianas by royal order, be sent right away, if they have not already been sent, and that money for their annual salaries be promptly drawn from the Royal Treasury in Mexico. Indeed, he would look after what needs to be done in everything else, taking care to have the decrees carried out and the ordered supplies all brought here along with him. Therefore, with Father José Vidal, our Mission Procurator in Mexico, he would act with vigor so that all the royal alms on behalf of the Mariana workers, which are part of the annual subsidy from Mexico, not be spent in superfluous things, but that necessities be sent, so that half of said alms could be sent to the Province, with the mission supplied locally from the Philippine Islands.

Indeed, in Spain, in the name of the Province and the Mission, thanks to our King, namely the Queen Mother, and their generous and truly Catholic liberality, and concern, their minds have corresponded to the prayers, sacrifices, and prime harvests that resulted from the blood of the three martyrdoms, and their Catholic zeal have benefited our Mission.

Then, secondly, he could ask the King and the Council of the Indies to issue decrees so that what has been ordered be done in the Philippine Islands be carried out by the Governor in future, for instance, to repeat orders for him not to prevent shipments to Mexico, and that other moneys be provided to expedite the boat, to restrain the barbarians, and to achieve the timely exploration of the islands to the south.

So that in Rome it be proposed by our Most Rev. Fr. General to our King, and Queen Mother, on behalf of the universal Society, to get foundations for more than one College in the Mariana Islands, and it would be appropriate then to approach His Holiness and ask him to allow the cult of our Martyrs in order to incite piety in the faithful, to procure hardy workers, etc.

However, there is danger in delaying, and the extreme need of the mission was exposed in the present hope that what was proposed will be considered, so that the navigation from the Visayas to the Mariana Islands will be easy, if one chooses a convenient storm-free time of year, and trips to distant islands made comfortable by building a boat without great expense, and that, as soon as the order is given to do so. And a thousand blessings would be gained in that purpose, said Pesos, either from within the Society, or obtained from outside it, to be immediately refunded from the stipends of the

Mission by the Father Procurator-elect, upon arriving at Mexico. And there are perhaps important things, which are yet to be resolved, for instance, not enough workers to perform the task, not enough money which the Procurator of the Mission in Mexico is ordered to remit whenever a ship arrives; certainly, it must be gotten somewhere from alms and thus the voyage is to be undertaken with a few Spaniards, and the rest Indians. And if perchance there should occur some hardship, or danger, when everyone helps himself, that a companion be offered, though he may not be knowledgeable or skilled to act as leader, and he humbly begs that a companion be attached to him for the duration of the voyage, even if it be only a volunteer.

## A2. The letter proper

### Original text in Latin.

*R[everen]do Ad[modu]m in Christo Pater Noster*

*Missionis Marianæ extrema necessitas, et meus in illam amor, et obligatio me cogunt, ut nihil paciar Pem. Vam. ignorare, quod ad illius conservationem ullo modo pertinere existimo.*

*A<sup>o</sup> itaque 1674 post biennium exactum in illa missione tuenda, et conservanda, cum devolutum esset in me onus resenæ Missionis, ob præmaturam mortem, aut Martyrium potius Rdi. Pis. Francisci Exquerræ, appulia navi, ad illas perrexi, ad educendum subsidium annuum, et reliqua ad conservationem, et augmentum Missioni, necessaria pertractanda. Prohibuerat Philipinarum Guvernator navim anchoras iacere ergo dum omni meliori modo subsidium, milites, Patres subsidiarios nostræ Societatis naviculis patrijs educimus, dies elabitur, exat hæc Junij 13<sup>a</sup>, et ego solus in navi permaneo cum duobus socijs Coadiutoribus temporalibus, et uno Phylosophiæ studioso ab Hispania appulsis, jussis Patribus quamplurimas naviculas nocte, si fieri possit, aut saltem primo mane ad nos destinare. Iam inceperat ventus é[sse] nobis adversus, et nocte ætus maris vehementior navim occidentem versus longissime avexit; adeo, ut sub auroram vix in conspectu insula esset, et iam spes nulla affulgeret obtinendæ naviculæ. Et quidem usque ad decimam fere matutinam, obversis velis spes inanes fovimus: verum cum nec vestigium quidem illius naviculæ appareret, sublatum velis cursum Manilam intendimus, dolentes exeptam nobis, e manibus nobilem Spartam. Sed Divinæ Providentiæ committenda sunt, quæ in illius manu sunt posita, præsentim si culpa nulla intercessit. Ego inopinatum casum consolabar spe proxima adiuvandi toties orphanam oblissionem in insulis Philipinis; Accessit fortuitus in navi casus, in quo brachium mihi, ubi humero coniungitur, luxatum est; quod cum initio chirurgus ignoraret, in se jussum est, ut applicatis contrarijs remedijs, luxatum os restitui deinde non posset. Verum placuit Divinæ bonitati usum illius sufficientem mihi relinquere, imo vires, animos addere, quibus capessendæ rursus Missioni haud ineptus inveniar. Itaque ubi primum licuit, nihil potius habui, quam afflitæ Missioni remedia undequaque procurare adiutus instructione Pis. Gerardi Bouvens, qui Pem. Vam. de omnibus iam fecerit cerciorem. Tractavi tum amicis tam nostræ Societatis, quam secularibus, cum ipso etiam Insularum*

*Gubernatore, et modos omnes perquisivi adornandi navigium aliquod, quo ex his insulis ad Marianas recta cursus institueretur, in hoc enim cardine versatur tota spes conservandæ missionis; et res est probata, et facilis, nisi illam distracto indidivisa, et turbato animo plerique considerarent. Res passa est easdem difficultates, quas anno superiore, imo etiam maiores. Excusabat insularum Gubernator defectum pecuniæ, quæ hisce in partibus unica moderatrix est rerum; Diplomata Regia Mexicum destinata; ad illius Reyni Pro-regem eam curam spectare: re vera præ omni ratione sola voluntas obstabat, et nescio undeque, credo ex suggestionem diabolica, excitatus rumor, Missionem hanc nostram bono publico ob futuram, dirivanda in Philipinas mitti solita, hære ad illas insulas reducem a nova Hispania navim cum detrimento, et periculo Mercatorum, et alia id genus: Super omnia vero iactura sumptuum in illam rem faciendorum cum sola spe spiritualis imolumentum: quibus factum est; ut non solum de sublevanda missione non cojitarent, sed positive resisterent, repetitis mandatis, ut navis ad has insulas non modo non appeleret, id ad illarum conspectum cursum alio dirigeret: quasi aperte iuverent intentos tam pio operi Patres, et Milites omni humana spe destituendos, et barbarorum hastis, aut ferociori telo, fami obijciendos.*

*Inter hæc advenerat tempus habendæ congregationis ad eligendum Procuratorem: quod ego tractando negotio oportunitate ratus, ex [fol. 119v] consilio amicorum puncta aliqua adnotavi, quæ conservationi Missionis nostræ, quam aptissima iudicabam, et illa deputatis ad negotia tradidi Patribus. Verum quoniam reiecta ab illis sunt, illa ad Pem. Vam. cum hisce remitto. Postea tamen institere amicorum aliqui Missioni nostræ haud parum addicti, repeterem hispano idiomate, quæ rejecta jam fuerant. Selegi ex omnibus punctum ultimum, quod ego iudicabam magis necessarium, et præsentis necessitati oportunitate et ne videres proprio sensu nimium intrærere naucleros consolvi(?) peritiores, et illorum sententiam in scriptis exhibui, quam etiam adiunctam his habet Pas. Va: sed tamen frustra omnia fuere, reiectum denuo a Patribus deputatis novum postulatum: fuere Pr. Andreas de Ledesma, et Pr. Franciscus Mesina, qui cum Padre Provinciali Ludovico Pimentel Missioni nostræ parum afficiebatur. Donec institere tandem plures é Patribus congregatis appellarem in concessu congregationis, exquirens num placeret legi reiectum postulatum quo facto lectum tandem est. Et quidem non paucorum votis approbata sunt omnia, inter quos fere præcipui Pr. Nicholaus Cani, Pr. Ignatius de Montes, P. Franciscus Salgado, Pr. Tiburtius de Cifuentes, Pr. Gerardus Vas, Pr. Balthasar de Mansilla, Pr. Isidorus Clarete, qui sunt præcipui Missionis nostræ in has provincia Patroni, s[e]d omnes sine viribus, cum milla regendæ, aut dirigendæ Provinciæ pars apud illos resideat: alij, inter quos Præcipue Patres ex insulis Pictorum solum advertabant pecuniæ difficultatem, et illarum exhibe. darum onus sibi imponendum verentes, rem omnem a suis humeris rejciebant: alij Vº aperte adversabantur [sic]: rem esse omni ex parte impossibilem, sumptus immensos, soli Regi hoc onus incumbere, si nobis audentibus succedat negotium, tum omnem illius curam in nos in posterum rejciendam, et alia in hanc finem multa. Imo prior a Provincia Philipinarum omnino rescinderetur in Provincia Mexicana hære pecunias, et in hac ne vel obulum expectandum, donec ex illa ad nos remittantur, verbo absolvam, filij matris*

*meum pugnauerunt contra me. Et constans est non meum solum, sed patrium plurimum sensus, non stare penes sæculares, quo minus navigium in illas insulas ex his missum iam sit, s[e]d penes ipsam Societatem. Adeo, ut gloriosam Missionem non solum non faveant aliqui, s[e]d inter tractandum cum sæcularibus, imo et ipso Gubernatore positive pessudent. Nec tamen existimo plures illorum, qui nobis adversanti, Missioni ipsi adversari, s[e]d insistentes placitis aliorum judicare media; aut nimium difficilia, aut omnino impossibilia: Cum tamen, ut ex adiunctis patet, quibus in hac materia fides habenda facillima sint: alij diversis Missionibus suis obstare non ferunt: alios etiam non-nihil videt mordere Vis. Pis. San Victores sensum suæ sententiæ in Hispaniam prælatum, unde fit, ut exorta quacumque difficultate in illum culpam rejiciant, adferendum subsidium nemo expergiscatur.*

*Accedit ad Pem. Vam. ex Provincia Procurator Pr. Petrus Espinar, vir ante hac Missioni nostræ haud parum adversus;<sup>1</sup> ne dicam infensus. Ille iam meliora omnia promissit, et actu præstitit; s[e]d i timio ne missione nostra tamquam prætextu viatur, ne vera conatum omnem, et vires in restitutionem Samboangani Præsidiij collolet. Quod utrum expediat cum detrimenta Missionis nostræ expendet Pas. V<sup>a</sup>. Illud ego ex gravioribus Patribus accepi, fructum spiritualementem ex illo Præsidio esse admodum exiguum; utpote cuius accolæ Mahometanismo infecti, tantillo tempore advenitum reversi, a fide fedissime apostatarint: et certum et rem illam a nobis tentari non sine censura Sæcularum dicentium palam, in illa Missionem non nobis animarum Lucrum, s[e]d proprium emolumentum cordiese(?) habet etiam in mandatis, ut [fol. 120] a V<sup>a</sup> P[aternalitate] obtineat, ut removeatur ab officio, Procurator vis Pater José Vidal. Id ego Pem. Vam. unice rogo, ut si illud propter rationes concedendum judicaverit, virum optimo de Missionem nostram meritum suis consolari, eique gratias agere ne gravetur. Nunc restat ut Pem. Vam. enixe obtester, curam Missionis nostræ, sicut hactenus fecit, genere porro persat, non solum excitando superiores ad illam adjuvandam, s[e]d etiam inperando: vix enim scio, an facile sit huic malo remedium invenire, nisi Pas. Va. gravioribus verbis, aut etiam minis, et præceptis utatur: Iam proclives sunt plerique adgerendas excurationes in re omnino facili, et tam apostolicæ pietatis. Nec solum juveat V<sup>a</sup> Pas. ut Missionem nostram applicatis medijs adjuvent, s[e]d foveant sermone apud Sæculares, et severe prohibeat, ne quis ei contradicere apud illos audeat, hoc enim fit non absque schandalo, et detrimento Societatis: Ex duobus enim ultimis Provincialibus alter Pr. Andreas de Ledesma adduci nunquam potuit ut vel verbo Gubernatorem de Missionem nostram interpelleret; alter Pr. Ludovicus Pimentel etiam positive non semel contradixit. Unde fit ut securi Gubernatores de ipsorum querelis in Hispania deponendis, sibi non metuant, et negotium hoc in postremis habeant. Deinde illud etiam humiliter præcor, ut me, et Sotios ad illam destinatos Missioni restituere ne gravetur, idque verbis efficacibus: illi enim vitam, et sanguinem jam dudum ego devori, nec alios Sinas, aut Japones mihi ipse præfixi, quam pauperibus his Evangelizare. Gratias item infinitas habeo Pti. Væ pro*

1 Ed. note: The word "affectus" [= friendly to], first written out, was scratched out in favor of "adversus" [= contrary to].

*quatuor votorum professione ad me immerentem transmissa, quam indignus emisi 2da feb. 1675 Manilæ in manibus Rdi. Pis. Provincialis Ludovici Pimentel, et rogo omnipotentem, ut vinculo tam solenni me in dies digniorem efficiat. Et me SSmis. Pis. Væ Sacrificijs, et Præcibus ex animo commendo.*

*Manilæ 10<sup>a</sup> Maij, 1675.*

[fol. 120v, Address:] *Rdo. Adm. in Christo Patri Nostro Pi. Joanni Paulo Olivæ Societis. Jesu Præposito Generali. 2da. via. Romæ.*

### **Loose translation.**

**To our Most Rev. Father in Christ.**

**The extreme need of the Mariana Mission, and my own love for it, and duty, have obliged me to forget nothing in informing Your Paternity of all the things which I think necessary for its preservation.**

So, in 1674, after exactly two years spent in that mission, and endeavoring to preserve it, the task of leading said Mission fell upon me, on account of the premature death, or martyrdom, of the previous [superior], Rev. Fr. Francisco Ezquerria. I had gone out to meet the ship, to retrieve the annual subsidy, and the other things necessary to the preservation and increase of the Mission. The [new] Governor of the Philippines had forbidden the ship to anchor. Therefore, while we were transporting as best we could aboard local canoes the subsidy, soldiers and additional Fathers of our Society, the day elapsed. This occurred on 13 June, and I was left alone with two lay Brothers as companions, and one studying Philosophy, who had come from Spain. By orders of the Fathers, more than enough canoes were to come and get us, at night if it were possible, otherwise as early as possible the next morning. The wind had already turned contrary to us, and at night the currents became stronger and took the ship further westward, so much so that by morning we could hardly see the island, and already the hope of getting canoes had evaporated. In any case, we retained the vain hope until 10 o'clock, with the sails stalled; when it truly seemed that no signs of canoes could be detected, the sails were raised and we proceeded to Manila, and I was sorry to see my noble Sparta slip from my grasp. But Divine Providence controls it all, and everything is placed in its hand, specially if no fault intervenes. I was consoled by the hope that I might help that oftentimes orphaned mission in the Philippine Islands. There happened a fortuitous event, when I broke one of my arms, at the joint it makes with the shoulder. This was ignored at the beginning by the surgeon, who took it upon himself to apply the wrong remedy, and it could not be reset later on. Truly, it pleased Divine kindness to let me keep the use of it, rather its strength, and added to my resolve to be able to fulfil my duty, by no means ineptly, once I get back to the Mission. Therefore, whenever possible, nothing could prevent me from trying to find remedies for my afflicted Mission, aided as I was by the instruction of Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, whom Your Paternity would already have heard about. Then I dealt with our friends, from within our Society as well as civilians, even with the Governor of the Islands, and I sought all methods by which a boat could be made ready, with which a direct course could be sailed to

the Marianas, as this was the crucial point and in it lay the total hope of preserving the mission; what can be proven, and easily, unless various other things come to distract attention from it, is how often the spirit can be disturbed. The business encountered the same difficulties as the previous year; rather, they were greater. The Governor of the Islands found excuses, such as: the lack of money, which in these parts is the regulator of everything; the royal decrees had been addressed to Mexico, it is up to the Viceroy of that Kingdom to take care of it. The business is devoid of all reason and good will lacking. And I don't know from where—I believe it was suggested by the devil—a rumor arose to the effect that our Mission will be cut off from the Philippines in future, for the public good, that the ship returning from New Spain stopped at those islands at the detriment and risk to the merchants, and things of that sort. Above all, it is conjectured that the business is too costly and should be done on spiritual hope only; the issue is raised, not only so that they will not have to think of the mission, but so that they will be able to resist positively, with repeated orders, for the ship not to stop in any way at the islands, but direct its course away from them. With such pious work, they would almost openly help to strip all human hope from the Fathers, and soldiers, and to have them die by starvation, or as victims of the spears of the barbarians, or their more ferocious projectile [i.e. stones from slings].

In the meantime, the time came to have a council to elect a Procurator. I saw it as a timely opportunity for me to do business. At the advice of some friends, I wrote a few points regarding the preservation of our Mission, which I judged more appropriate, and this I presented as business to be discussed by the deputy Fathers, but it is true that they were rejected by them. I enclose these notes for the attention of Your Paternity.<sup>1</sup> However, after they were translated into the Spanish language by some friends of our Mission, by no means few in number, I was to repeat those that had already been rejected. From among all the points, I chose the last one, which I judged to be more necessary, and timely given the present need, and so as not to be seen too much out of proper sense I consulted some experts, and exhibited the phrase written by them, which I also enclose for Your Paternity. However, everything was in vain, and was once again rejected by the deputy Fathers, with the exception of Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, and Fr. Francisco Messina who, along with Father Provincial Luis Pimentel, are among the few affectionate toward our Mission. While they were assembled, I finally called upon many of the Father delegates, to explain to them the need to please let the points be read. In any case, not a few would have voted for everything, among whom can be noted: Fr. Nicolás Cani, Fr. Ignatius de Montes, Fr. Francisco Salgado, Fr. Tibertius de Cifuentes, Fr. Gerardo Vas, Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, Fr. Isidro Clarete, who are the main advocates of our Mission in this province, but all are powerless, with a thousand demands, and directives from the parts of the Province where they themselves reside. Others, among whom can be noted Fathers from the Visayas, only mentioned the difficulty of finding the funds, and, fearing that heavy burdens might be imposed

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1 Ed. note: The notes are reproduced as A1 above.

upon their shoulders, opposed the whole thing. Others were truly and openly against and opposed it, reflecting that the whole business was impossible, the costs huge, such as only the King could bear them; if we dared to make the project happen, then all its care would fall upon us in future, and we would be charged with other things for that purpose. Rather, some time before, there was money in the Mexican Province not at all spent by the Philippine Province, but they were not expecting a gift, as long as the moneys remained overthere. I will ask the sons of the mother to absolve me, for they have turned against me. I am not to be counted alone, however, but many Fathers sense that it is a pity to abandon the secular personnel, as long as no ship is sent to those islands, but it is more of a pity for the Society itself, when those who do not favor the glorious Mission are those who treat with the civilians, even positively affecting the Governor himself. Nevertheless, I think many of them, who are opposed to us, are opposed to the Mission itself, but they insist upon placating others to judge the methods, as either too difficult, or completely impossible. Although it is nevertheless not easy to have faith in things being easy in such matters, as can be seen from the enclosed. Others have not objected to the various other missions. It is not impossible to think that some still resent the direct intervention of the Ven. Fr. Sanvitores in Spain, and whenever there are difficulties they attribute them to him, nobody is to be exempted from bringing the subsidy.

Fr. Pedro Espinar was elected as Procurator for the Province at Your Paternity's side. This man is by no means a small adversary to our Mission, not to say inimical to it. He has already promised to improve things, and he has begun acting, but I fear that it is only a pretext on his part as long as our mission is concerned, that he will do every effort, or employ his powers to get the restitution of the garrison at Zamboanga. This will be seen by Your Paternity as something detrimental to our Mission. I accepted that [idea] from the more serious Fathers, given that the spiritual fruit to be derived from that garrison is very narrow, given that its vicinity is infested with adepts of Mohamedanism, and even if they return to the faith for a short time, they would apostatize readily. And it is certain that this will be attempted not without censure from civilians who openly say that we are not interested in that mission for the sake of souls, but for our own gain, even going against orders issued by Your Paternity, the better to remove Father José Vidal from the post of Procurator by force. I only beg one thing from Your Paternity, and it is that, if you see fit to agree with that reasoning, you will reward the merit of this excellent man and thank him so as not to offend him. Now, there remains for me to earnestly beg Your Paternity, to please take care of our Mission, as you have done up to now, whenever possible, not only by urging the superiors to help it, but also by ordering [them to do so], for I hardly know whether it be easier to find a remedy, unless Your Paternity, using serious words, or even less serious ones, and making use of precepts. Already many are inclined to call on cures that are not at all easy to take, in the name of apostolic piety. Not only could Your Paternity help our Mission by applying methods, but the sermon would affect the civilians, and prevent those against it from contradicting it, thus creating a scandal, to the detriment of the Society. For out



the last two Provincials, one, that is Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, was never able to get a word in with the Governor regarding our Mission; the other, Fr. Luis Pimentel, even positively contradicted him and not just once either.<sup>1</sup> From which it follows that the Governors have been able to take advantage of these quarrels to postpone action, without fear of Spain, and they have given the business low priority. Therefore, I humbly beg also that I and my associates not be prevented from reintegrating our assigned Mission, and I use efficient words, for I have no doubt that I have devoted my life, and blood, to it, and not to other missions in China, or Japan, where I am to evangelize its poor people. I also give infinite thanks to Your Paternity for the fourth vow of my profession which you have sent to my undeserving self, and which I, unworthy one, received in Manila on 2 February 1675 from the hands of Rev. Fr. Provincial Luis Pimentel. I pray the Almighty to make me more worthy of such a solemn link in future. And I earnestly entrust myself to the very holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Paternity.

Manila, 10 May 1675.

[Address:] To the Most Rev. Father in Christ, Fr. Juan Pablo Oliva, General of the Society of Jesus, in Rome, via the second route.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fr. Pimentel was just an interim replacement for Fr. Ledesma. A new Provincial was appointed that year, 1675. He was Fr. Xavier Riquelme.

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## Documents 1675B

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# Fr. Bouwens' eastward voyage from Manila to Mexico in 1674

## B1. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. de Pape, dated Mexico 28 February 1675

*Source: AGR Jesuits vol. 1, folios 38-38v.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

*P. E.*

*Unas 21 Martii 1674 R. V<sup>a</sup> Bruxellis Manilam dedicata P[at]rem Petrum, has ego ex insulis nostris Marianis per Philippinas Mexicum redux ibidem accepi anno deinde sequenti 1675 8 February. Vix lectas communicavi cum Mexicanis nostris; hi mecum indolere tam cruentæ Martis færocientis tragædiæ, cæterum exitum expectamus. Faxit is, qui facit uterque unum, ut fœdere inviolabiliter inito gaudium afferant universo mundo Principes Christiani, ut res nos libere respiremus in extremo hoc orbis angulo, unde post arma iterum iterumque non tam a barbaris, quam ab inferis ipsis missioni nostræ fideique vix bene radicatæ illata; post repetitor unius et alterius pro fide triumpho meas ego atque imbellis extrahor in publicum. fateor exilium hoc peccatis meis debitum; sed solatio est, Deo conatus meos bene dirigente non fore perpetuum: Etenim a charissimis mihi Neophytis Marianis non mea me voluntas abstraxit; sed ex obedientia, cui citra peccatum refragari non licuit, Manilam coactus Manilam petii de confirmanda inter Marianos fide dilatandaque cum D. Philippinarum Gubernatore nostrisque ibidem Superioribus transacturus. Regina Gubernatrix mirum in modum Marianis affinitur: Si tam Catholico Majestatis suæ zelo respondisset affectus Ministrorum in reducem me haberent Marianæ ad quas, quantum vis id inter alia urgebam pro viribus, aditum recta ex Philippinis aperire non potui:*

*Post annum itaque moram, quam partim Manilæ, partim in vicinis Manilæ pagis ut recuperarem desperatam valedutinem, trahere coactus sum, iter iterum et quidem maritimum arripui 5<sup>a</sup> Julij navi in Portu Cavitensi conscensâ. Navigatio perquam fuit pro-*

*lixa non maris tractu dumtaxat, sed et de cursu temporis: nam duo leucarum nostratum millia et amplius, quæ intra semestre plerumque conficiunt nos non nisi 7 omnino mensibus cum dimidio absolvimus laboribus incommodisque maritimis immortui sunt non plures quindecim, quibus omnibus ego adstiti decumbente eo cui id muneris incumberebat ex justitia. Explicatio catechismi, concioque hebdomadaria una cum administratione sacramenti Pœnitentiæ exercitium mihi fuere charitatis non sine admirabilis omnium benevolentia reconciliatione. Et Deus quidem pium conatum visus fuit remunerari etiam non merenti: Nam reliquis variorum ordinum Religiosis ob maris incommoda certo partim affixis, partim tardio diuturnæ incommodæque navigationis male languentibus, ego cum socio, quæ Dei fuit benignitas citra anno(?) incommodum incolumes portum tenuimus Americarum, Acapulco eum nuncupant mappæ geographicæ: Hic eum alterum divinæ Providentiæ argumentum, a Domino Portus Castrique ibidem Regii Governatore tam munifice benevolenterque sumus excepti Religiosis aliisque me invitatis quidem, ut non meminerim amores in Socte. me uspiam majorem experiri: domo suo propriâque mensa per octo continuos dies exceptos, honorificentissimeque publice privatimque habitos non nisi ad repetitas instancias proprius equis datoque in eleemosynam viatico Mexicum dimisit ad negotia missionis mihi commissæ transigenda cum Excelentissimo D<sup>o</sup> Pro Rege, qui simul est Illustrissimus Archiepiscopus Mexicanus D. Fr. Pajus de Rivera ex præclara D. Augustina familia alter, citra adulationem id dico, D. Thomas de Villanova.*

*Manum ei osculatus 1 februarij altero die ex quo Mexicum adveneram una cum **duobus Marianarum indigenis** quos pedibus Excellentia suæ advolutos eidem oblatis primitias novæ istius vinæ iam trium gloriosissimorum Martyrum profuso sanguine. Ut de reliquorum laboribus nihil dicam feliciter irregatæ. Dicit vix potest quo me fuerit affectu complexus Excellentissimus Pro Rex idemque Religiōssimus Antistes oblato munificentissimo in Missionis nostræ incrementum omni favore atque subsidio; et quidquid ultra possit conducere ad solatium meum particularer. Deinde ad Marianos converso sermone ex paterno plane amore excepit cum insolita benevolentia significatione. Eundem animum eundemque favorem expertus sum in reliquis Ministris Regiis, qui certatim obtulere sæpe ad Missionis totius solatium: Dictisque facta respondere, nam ultra quam ausus fueram sperare pro pessissima voluntate præstiterunt tam hi quam ser(?).*

*Secunda februarii festum mihi fuit nuptiale ob solemnem, quam in Mexici feci in domo nostra Professa quatuor votorum professionem. De illa suo tempore facienda litteras ad R. P. Provinciam Provincie Mexicanæ Romam dederat 2 Septembris 1672 R. P. N.; verum, Mexico profectum in Insulas Marianas, ac deinde hinc has Philippinas, tum demum ex Philippinis iterum in Ameri[c]am delatum prius assequi non potuere. In itinerem meorum rationem perquam succintam; prolixiorē dabo. Si quidem id liceat per occupationes, nam sub finem hujus, vel sequentis Martii initium portum repeto, et ex portu iterum Marianas per alia duo milliarum millia.*

*Sanctis suis sacrificiis prosequi ne graventur RR. VVæ donec in portum alternæ salutis devecti occurramus invicem non amplius divellendi. Commendo me SS. R. V. sacrificiis.*

*Mexici 28 Februarij 1675.*

*R. Væ Servus in Chro.*

*Gerardus Bouwens.*

[P.S.] *Salutem cum obsequio o[mn]i]bus et singulis totus Collegii nominatim vero R. P. Rectori, P. Ministro, P. Brandtsone, P. Coukerken, etc.*

### **Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

A letter dated Brussels 21 March 1674, addressed to Fr. Petrus [Coomans] in Manila, I received the year that followed, on 8 February, when I returned to Mexico, after leaving our Marianas by way of the Philippines. As soon as I had read it, I contacted our Mexicans; they sympathized with me about such bloody tragedies of Mars the violent; we are awaiting the outcome of the others. May He favor both of them, and be pleased to have the Christian Princes of the whole world bring satisfaction inviolably to the new alliance, so that we may breathe freely in this corner of the world, where, after weapons are [taken up] again and again, not so much by barbarians as by the inferiors of our mission themselves and of the faith [which is] not so well rooted; after one claimant after another for the triumph of the faith, I am forced to be peaceful in public. I admit that my exile is due to my sins, but my consolation is, with God directing my efforts well, that it will not be permanent. The fact is that it was not my wish to be separated from my very dear Mariano Neophytes, but out of obedience, to which it was not permissible to be opposed save by sinning. So, forced to go to Manila, I tried to obtain things from Manila for the consolidation and the propagation of the faith among barbarians by dealing with the Governor of the Philippines and our Superiors as well. The wife of the Governor was surprisingly fond of the Marianas. If only he would respond in kind to the so Catholic zeal of His Majesty, the Marianas might have me back in my ministry, among other things, with as many forces as I was urging were necessary, [but] I was unable to have a direct route from the Philippines be opened.

Therefore, after a delay of one year, spent partly in Manila, partly in the villages in the vicinity of Manila, in order to recover my desperate health, I was forced to make another sea voyage. In any case, on 5 July [1674] I seized the opportunity to board a ship leaving the port of Cavite.<sup>1</sup> The navigation was a long one, not only the stretch at sea, but in the course of time, for there are two thousand or more leagues of ours, that required more than a semester for us to cover; for not less than 7 whole months we suffered hardships and lack of comfort, with no more than 15 people who died, all of whom I attended, out of fairness, as it was part of my duties: the explanation of the catech-

1 Ed. note: This was the galleon San Telmo.

ism, and one weekly sermon with the exercise of the administration of the sacrament of penance were acts of charity on my part, not without the admirable reconciliation of total devotion. In any case, God saw fit to reward this pious effort, even of the undeserving ones, for the rest of the various religious orders, on account of the discomfort of the sea, were partly attentive certainly, partly slowed down by the daily languishing movements of the navigation. I, with a [Jesuit] companion,<sup>1</sup> who were kept safe from the above-mentioned discomfort through God's kindness, made it to the American port, Acapulco as it is called on geographic maps. Here we received another proof of divine Providence: the Commander of the port and fort for the King welcomed all the other Religious and me in such a generous and benevolent manner that I never did experience a greater love of the Society anywhere. We were received in his own house and at his table for eight whole days. He had very honorable habits, both in public and in private, and it was not until he insisted that I accepted as an alms the loan of his own horse to make the trip to Mexico on mission business, where I dealt with His Excellency the Viceroy, who is also the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Mexico, Don Fray Payo de Rivera, another one from the famous Augustinian family, thanks to the affection of the above [commander] whose name I now give, Don Tomás de Villanueva.

I kissed his [i.e. the Viceroy's] hand on 1 February [1675], two days after I had arrived at Mexico with **two natives of the Marianas**<sup>2</sup> who prostrated themselves at the feet of His Excellency, offering to him the first fruits of this new vineyard, already profusely irrigated with the blood of very glorious martyrs, so that I need say nothing about the hardships of the others. I hardly need saying that His Excellency the Viceroy looked favorably upon me and my most religious Superiors, by granting a very generous increment for our Mission as well as the subsidy; this could only have led to my singular consolation. Then, he addressed the Marianos with words plainly coming from paternal love, and having unusual significance of goodwill. I experienced the same spirit and the same favor in the other royal ministers, who certainly offered everything to the complete consolation of the Mission. They responded with words and deeds, beyond what I had dared to hope, instead of the very bad will they showed so often before(?).

The 2nd of February was for me the solemn nuptial feast-day, as I made my fourth vow in our Profess House in Mexico. Our Rev. Fr. [General] had sent a letter about it, dated Rome 2 September 1672, to the Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Province of Mexico. Indeed, in the meantime, I had travelled to the Mariana Islands, and from there to the Philippines, before returning to America, and they had not been able to follow up on it beforehand. The account of my voyage is indeed short; I will give a longer one, if only I can find the time amid my occupations, for I am due to go back to port at the end of

1 Ed. note: This companion was Fr. Bustillo.

2 Ed. note: They were Ignacio Osi and Mathias Yay. It is strange that Fr. Bouwens does not mention a third boy, Pedro Guirán, who died before arrival at Acapulco. One of the two survivors was destined to become a traitor, by becoming one of the leaders of the revolution of 1684 and attempting to kill Governor Esplana.

this month, or the beginning of March, and to make another voyage of 2,000 miles from the port to the Marianas.

Counting on the holy sacrifices of Your Reverences, until I reach the alternative haven [i.e. Heaven], where we shall suffer separation no more. I commend myself to the holy sacrifices of Y.R.

Mexico, 28 February 1675.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,  
Gerardus Bouwens.

[P.S.] Sincere greetings to one and all in the whole College, specifically Rev. Fr. Rector, Fr. Minister, Fr. Brandtsons, Fr. Coukerken, etc.

## **B2. Letter from Fr. John de Haynin to Fr. General, dated Macao 24 February 1675**

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 117-118.*

### **Original text in Latin.**

*Rde. in Chro. Pater*

*P. E.*

*Mense Augusto anni 1674 accepi litteras V. Ræ, unas datas ad Patrem Maldonatum 12 Martii 1670, alteras 23 Januarii 1672, utrasque via Goana.*

...  
[117v] *Duo Patres Flandro-Belga fuerunt relictii in Insulis Marianis vel insulis Latronum [in 1672], ut istam missionem bene stabiliant, inde venit Manilam P. Gerardus Bouwens legatus pro sua missione [1673], obtinuit a Gubernatore Philippinarum quæ soluit subsidia ad continendum barbaros 200 milites, tria millia pataconum pro emenda navi [one word undecipherable]. Iam perrexit in Americam idem acturus eoram Pro Rege Mexicano. P. Franciscus Messina qui Manila ut venit illius zelum et prudentiam mihi laudavit. Duo Gallo-belga Maximilianus a Lapide et P. Stapleaux graviter laborant in missionibus Philippinarum, quæ omnia Assistentiam Germanicam multum commendant.*

...  
*R. V. SS. SS. [= Sacrificiis Suis] humiliter et amanter me commendo.*

*Macai in China 24 Februarii 1675 — via Batavia.*

*R. V. Servus in X<sup>o</sup> obstrictissimus*

*Joannes de Hajnin*

**Loose translation.**

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

During August 1674 I received a letter from Y.R., one dated 12 March 1670 for Fr. Maldonado, another 23 January 1672, and others, via Goa.

...

Two Flandro-Belgian Fathers were left at the Mariana or Ladrone Islands [in 1672], to augment the stability of this mission. Then Fr. Gerardus Bouwens came to Manila as an envoy for his mission [1673]; he obtained from the Governor of the Philipines that a subsidy be paid for 200 soldiers to contain the barbarians, and 3,000 pesos to repair a ship [one word undecipherable]. Already he has proceeded to America to discuss same with the Mexican Viceroy. Fr. Francisco Messina who is in Manila was praising his zeal and prudence to me. Two Gallo-Belgians, [Fr.] Maximilian Lapede [sic] and Fr. Stapleaux,<sup>1</sup> are seriously busy in the missions of the Philippines, which they recommend strongly to all those belonging to the Assistance of Germany.

...

I humbly and lovingly commend myself to the holy sacrifices of Y.R.  
Macau in China, 24 February 1675—via Batavia.  
Y.R.'s most faithful servant in Christ,  
John de Haynin

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1 Ed. note: They are the same Fathers vander Steyn and Stapleaux mentioned by Fr. Bouwens in 1673, as working in Samar, Philippines (see Doc. 1673J).

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## Document 1675C

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Manila 9 May 1675

*Source: AGR 2: 226-227 & 229-230.*

*Note: A copy of this letter was also sent to Fr. van Coukerken, but dated 19 May. Differences appear in square brackets.*

### Original text in Latin

*Reverende in Christo Pater,*

*P. E.*

*Trimestre circiter effluxit, ex quo ad Ram Vam litteras dedi, nactus oportunitatem viæ Batavicæ, sed quia incerta hæc est, nunc pensum annuum via ordinaria exolvo. Nec sum adeo in ære alieno quam R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> existimet, sed propter immensa intervallo et difficultatem viarum litteræ retardantur. Binas anno Superiore accepi a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, binas item a P[atr]e Norberto [Liberto], plenas novis quidem curiosis, sed infaustis Belgio, et male ominatis [infaustis, et Belgio nostro male ominatis]. Faxit Deus ut meliora hoc anno, et faustiora accipiamus. Ego hac vice de Marianis Insulis pauca habeo, nam quæ habebam via Mexicana per Patrem Gerardum et aliud exemplum Bativica transmisi.*

*Ab eo tempore quo me ex Marianis meis avulsit Divina Providentia, hic est cursus rerum mearum. Egressus ab Insulis ad transeuntem navim, ut ab illa subsidium annuum educerem, cum primo die rem absolvere non possem, noctem illam in navi permansi, sperans die proximo id posse perficere, quando æstus maris vehementior, et venti contrarii navim, quæ anchoras non jecerat, et me abripiunt in Insulas Philipinas invitum et dolentem e manibus erip[er]ji tam nobilem Spartam. Eandem mecum fortunam passitres e Societate ad Missionem nostram destinati, et subsidii magna pars: reliqui octo socii, ab Hispania advecti naviculis patriis in terram expositi. Nec incommitata veniunt mala dum ingruunt: vix paucos dies navegaveram, quando ex fortuito casu brachium mihi, ubi humero jungitur luxatur. Et remedium erat facile, si malum chirurgus non ignoraret: qui cum assereret os nullum luxatum remedia contraria applicuit, adeo ut postea nulla arte aut vi restitui suo loco potuerit. Convalui tamen post dolores gravissimos, et quamquam ex pristina fortitudine, et usu solito in illo membro multa amisi, illud*



*tamen sufficienter retinui ut ad officia sacerdotalia, et munus Apostolicum haud ineptus inveniar. Ubi primum appuli Manilam, prima fuit cura Missionem nostram omni ope[re] adjuvare. In eadem causa laboraverat ante me annum integrum P. Gerardus, sed sine fructu. Nec melius mihi successit negotium. Res tota in eo est, ut in his Insulis navigium adornetur, quod inchoatæ Missioni subsidium ferat: in illud cum necessario faciendi sint sumptus, res patitur contradictionem: nec hactenus Diplomata sufficientia a Rege advenerunt, quibus hæ difficultates complanentur. Ego itaque expectare sum jussus in Provincia si forte in proxime adfutura navi pecuniæ, et jussa regia adveniant, ut sit qui opus illud promoveat, et ad effectum perducatur.*

*Interim non defuit occasio hoc anno Socti Nrae non inutilem operam præstandi. Apulit ad has Insulas mense Octobri 1674 unus ex vicariis Apostolicis gallis D. Franciscus Pallu, Episcopus Leopoltanus, qui omnes per universam Indiam Orientalem Lusitanis, sed præsertim nostræ Societati haud parum negotii dederunt. Res hæc judicata hic fuit plena suspicionibus, plena periculi, et Gallorum nomen, his in locis antea inauditum, propter vicinitatem metum incussit. Præsertim quod jam præcessisset alter Gallus Sacerdos, quondam in Belgio equitum ductor, qui sub prætextu inquirendi in mores Soctis Nostræ, ita enim loquebatur, explorator accesserat. Itaque jussus est detineri Episcopus, et Collegium Soctis ei in custodiam assignatum, appositâ lege, ut nullus ei exterorum, ne quidem Religiosorum, nisi in præsentia alicujus e Societate loqueretur. Socii ipsius Galli, et unus Anglus religione Sec[re]tarius in arcem inclusi, ubi etiamnum detinentur, et porro detinendi sunt donec ab Hispania responsum adferatur. Episcopi litteræ omnes, et chartæ diligenter excussæ, et ego propter peritiam linguæ gallicæ jussus sum omnia in Hispanum idioma traducere. Detectæ calumniæ contra Soctem nostram enormes, quibus gravissimi Provinciæ Japonicæ Patres pro Hereticis, Sacrilegis, Schismaticis, alia verecundia prohibet hisce committere, aperte proscindebantur. Universa Lusitana natio tam hæretica erat ut nihil magis, et alia hujus farinae plura. Præcipuum caput hujus dissimulati itineris erat, ex Insulis Philippinis educere quamplurimos operarios e familia Sti. Dominici volentes, et in illud jam ante confæderatos, et illos missionibus suis in India Orientali imponere, ejectis longe lateque Soctis nostræ Missionariis, et sic demum in Sinas ipsas et circumjectas regiones, si superis visum, penetrare. [226v] Turbo hic impendens capiti nostro, divina sic disponente Providentia, dissipatus est. Nam postquam in lucem protuli litteras authenticas, quibus tota hæc moles continebatur tum vero et merito indignari Insularum Gubernator, et justissime conqueri suppetias Gallo ferri, ab Hispano Regi subditis Religiosis quos ille suis expensis aluisset hactenus, et alere pergeret, quod enim sub hoc propagandæ fidei prætextu, quæritur, nihil aliud esse, quam universo Indiarum Orientalium commercio velle gallum potiri. Itaque remissa in Hispaniam lite, Gallo Episcopo optio data est, an vellet hic responsum præstolari, an causam suam in Hispaniam prosequi, elegit ipse iter Hispanicum, et jam profectioni necessaria comparat. Deus ipsius iter fortunet, et ad majorem sui gloriam cuncta disponat.*

*Ex India orientali nova accepimus Sinarum Procuratorem P[at]rjem Intorcetta, Europeos socios pæne omnes in itinere amisisse, et cum uno solo Goam appulisse magno*

*sane Missionis illius detrimento, quam Deus benignis oculis dignetur aspicere: nescimus an obijerint inter illos par nobile Belgarum. In Provinciali Congregatione hujus Provinciae, cui ego junior Professorum cum suffragio interfui (nam Professionem emisi 2da feb. 1675 Manilæ) tractatum est de mittendis suppetiis huic Missioni, et placuit circa illud mentem Rdi Adm Pis Nri exquirere, nam de Regia jam constat ex diplomate quo sex e nostra Societate facultas conceditur in Sinarum Regnum transmittendi.*

*Electus Romam Procurator Pr. Petrus Espinar Toletanus, vir gravis, et in tractandis negotiis strenuus. Voveo ut si incolumis pervenerit, Belgium Catholicum præsens invisat. Si hoc assequi per negotia non poterit R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> ad illum suas destinabit. Et si forte nancisci detur Quatuor Mundi Partes ex typographia Blau, aut librum aliquem Pris Taquet, qui prodiit in lucem nobis Lovanii præsentibus, faciet in eo rem omni ex parte gratissimam. Nec miretur quod vicem ipse prior non rependam: nam cum ex Insulis Marianis me casus abstulerit, omni me etiam priorum scriptorum solatio privavit.*

*Gratulor amplissimo Parenti munus meritissimum, imo potius universo Belgis dignissimum Præsidentem. Faxit Deus ut cedant arma togæ, et fugato Marte, sub tanto Præsidente pax tecta revisat. Colendissimæ familiæ fausta omnia ex animo precor.*

[In Spanish:] Y juzgo que ha de aver lugar para quatro palabras si quiera al Sor. Licenciado D. Pedro: a quien V. R<sup>a</sup> de mi parte mis amantissimos reca[u]dos.

*Vale mi Pater: et me ut facis in SSmis Sacrificiis et Precibus Deo commenda.*

*Manilæ 9<sup>a</sup> Maij 1675.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Christo,*

*Petrus Comano [sic] SJ*

[227 blank]

[227v, Address:] *Rdo in Christo P. Patri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu Sacerdoti. Bruxellis.*

*Note: A postscript is added to the letter to Fr. van Coukerken, as follows:*

*[De motibus sinicis scripseram via Batavica: si forte hæ interierint, eadem paucis sic habe. Imperium Tartaro-sinicum jam diu exosum multis dicebatur. Accessit ad causas turbationum quod præcipuus quidam Mandarinus in suspicionem vocatus apud Imperatorem, et sibi male metuens occasionem arripuit turbandi omnia. Habebat hic penes se, et secretissime alebat filium aut nepotem ultimi Sinæ Imperatoris, sub quo Monarchia ad Tartarum devoluta. Itaque nactus male affectam Provinciam, qui gubernandæ ipse erat præpositus, occasionem arripuit et rebellare volentibus legitimum principem exhibuit: pro quo ilico arma sumpserunt: adjunxis packroni [sic] vicinis Provinciis Maritimis præsertim, et formato exercitu Nanquinum usque penetrarunt. Suppetias venit cum suis ex insula Formosa nobis vicina Tyrannus Si Puan. Rumor etiam percrebuerat ereptum Lusitanis insulam Macao ab Sinarum gubernatoribus, et Lusitanos omnes ferro flamaque consumptos: sed rumoris inconstantia fabulæ suspicionem nobis præbuit. Alia in præsentia non occurrunt.]*

## Loose translation

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

About three months had gone by, since I sent Y.R. a letter, when the opportunity came up to send mail via Batavia, but because it is unreliable,<sup>1</sup> I now acquit my yearly obligation by the ordinary mail route [via Acapulco]. I am not in so strange an environment as Y.R. may think, but letters are being delayed on account of the huge space [between us] and the difficulty of the routes. Last year I received two from Y.R., two from Fr. Norbertus [Libertus],<sup>2</sup> in any case full of curious news, but sinister and ominous for [our] Belgium. May God be pleased to have us receive better, and more auspicious news this year. I have few things to say by way of news from the Mariana Islands, as those I had I sent by way of Mexico through Fr. Gerardus<sup>3</sup> and another copy by way of Batavia.

As of the time that Divine Providence took me away from my Marianas, here is the course of my affairs. I had gone out to meet the passing ship, to get the subsidy from it, when I could not finish the business the first day and spent that night aboard ship, hoping the next day to be able to finish it, when stronger currents and contrary winds [pushed] the ship, which had not anchored, and dragged me to the Philippine Islands, unwillingly and sorry to see my noble Sparta slipping from my hands. By the same [mis]fortune, three [members] of our Society who were destined to our Mission bypassed it, with the greater part of the subsidy. The other eight members from Spain were sent ashore aboard native canoes.<sup>4</sup> Bad things came in company, until they attacked: hardly had I sailed for a few days, when I dislocated my arm by accident, where it joins the shoulder. The remedy would have been easy, had not the bad surgeon been ignorant of it; when he might have ascertained if any bone was dislocated and applied the proper remedy, to such a degree that later on it would not have been impossible to use either

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- 1 Ed. note: He was probably right; there is no copy of the said letter in the AGR archives.
  - 2 Ed. note: The words in brackets are those substituted in the copy sent to Fr. Norbertus van Coukerken.
  - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens, who had left Guam in 1673, left Manila in 1674, taking along the 1674 correspondence.
  - 4 Ed. note: The 8 in question were: Fathers Gayoso, Monroy, and Montenegro, then-Brother Ahumada, and Brothers Díaz, García, Pavón, and Salazar. The three who bypassed the Marianas, and went to Manila with Fr. Coomans, were Brothers Martín, Correchano, and Gomez (see Doc. 1675G).

science or force to put it back in its place. Finally, I got better after very serious suffering, and although I miss much of the former strength and ordinary use of this limb, I have finally retained enough of it to manage my priestly duties and apostolic function by no means awkwardly. When I first arrived at Manila, my first care was to help out our Mission with all my efforts. Before I did, Fr. Gerardus had been working at it for one whole year, but without success. The business did not succeed any better with me. The whole idea consists in making ready a ship in these Islands, which would take the subsidy to the unfinished Mission. The business [of getting] the necessary expenditures to carry this out has suffered setbacks. So far, the sufficient royal decree has not come that might have smoothed such difficulties. Therefore, I have been ordered to wait in the Province, in case the next ship to come brings money, and royal orders, to hopefully promote this project, and see it through.

Meanwhile, the opportunity was not missing for our Society to do something useful this year. During the month of October 1674, there arrived at these Islands one of the French vicars apostolic, Msgr. François Pallu, Bishop of Leopolis,<sup>1</sup> to oversee the whole of the Portuguese East Indies, but they [i.e. the Frenchmen] would by no means have delivered any business, specially to our Society. The affair was judged to be full of suspicions here, full of risks, and the name of Frenchmen, never heard of before in this place, incited fear on account of their vicinity. Specially, after what had already happened with another French priest, once a cavalry officer in Belgium; under the pretext of inquiring into the morals of our Society, so it was said, he gained access as a spy. Therefore, the bishop was ordered arrested, and placed under house arrest in the College of the Society, by a law stipulating that no-one from outside it, not even Religious, could talk with him, unless it were in the presence of someone from the Society. Even his French companions, and one Englishman, his religious secretary, were placed in the fortress, where they are even now, and will remain so until an answer is received from Spain. All the Bishop's papers and letters were carefully inspected, and I, on account of my fluency in the French language,<sup>2</sup> was ordered to translate everything into Spanish. I detected huge calumnies against our Society, the most serious of which were about the Fathers of the Province of Japan, for their [so-called] heresies, sacrileges, schisms,

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- 1 Ed. note: Written either Palu or Pallu. Not Leopolis, but Titular Bishop of Heliopolis. The Portuguese Jesuits saw China and the East Indies as being under their spiritual jurisdiction. He and his retinue had been going from Malacca to China when their ship was diverted by a storm. The authorities at Manila considered the China missions as an extension of the Philippines, a royal patronage recognized by Pope Alexander VI, but Msgr. Pallu had been sent by Pope Alexander VII. So, the bishop was detained, lodged temporarily in the Jesuit College (with Fathers Bouwens and Coomans), then sent back to Europe by way of the Acapulco galleon. For further details, see B&R 42: 136 et seq.
  - 2 Ed. note: Both Fathers Bouwens and Coomans were fluent in Dutch, French, Latin, Spanish, and Chamorro; they may have learned some Tagalog and Pampango as well. Not only that, while at Madrid, they had started to learn some Chinese expressions, not to forget their study of classical Greek either. In conclusion, the naked natives of the Marianas had the best teachers that the world could have provided at that time...

and other shameful diffamations that cannot be repeated here. The whole Portuguese nation was [said to be] more heretical than any other, and many other things of this sort. The hidden purpose of his special voyage was to get as many volunteer workers from the Dominican family from the Philippine Islands, and to impose these, and his confederates already there, in the East Indies, to eject from all places the missionaries from our Society, not just in China itself and neighboring regions, and to penetrate, if they could. This whirlwind, hanging over our head, has been dissipated, thanks to the ever-disposing Divine Providence. For, after I brought to light the authentic letters, containing such serious charges, the Governor of the Islands became quite rightly indignant, and very justifiably complaining about the official support brought by the Frenchman, [versus] the Religious subjects that the King had fed at his expenses up to now, and continue to feed, why would he try [to do that], under the pretext of the propagation of the faith here, if not to try and turn over the whole trade of the East Indies to the French? Therefore, he remitted the dispute to Spain, in accordance with the wish of the French Bishop himself, but, instead of waiting for an answer here, while his case was being dealt with in Spain, he himself chose to travel to Spain; he has already made the preparations for his departure. May God give him a good voyage, and dispose everything for His gladder glory.

From East India we have received news from Fr. Intorcetta, the Procurator of China. Most of his European companions were lost during the voyage, and he arrived at Goa with only one, much to the detriment of that Mission, of course. May God look with benevolent eyes upon it. We do not know if a couple of noble Belgians died among them. In the provincial chapter meeting of this Province, of which I was the junior professor with the right to vote (for I made my Profession on 2 February 1675 in Manila)<sup>1</sup> the matter of sending assistance to this Mission was discussed, and about this it may please the mind of our Very Rev. Fr. [General] to find out that a decree has already been approved by the King, to send six members of our Society to China.

Fr. Pedro Espinar has been elected Procurator to Rome. He is a serious man, and persistant in transacting business. I wish that, if he gets there safe, he may visit

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens also became a professed member on the same date, but in Mexico City (see Doc. 1675B & G).

Catholic Belgium in person. If my wish comes true, could Y.R. make his business your own and forward [the following] to him? And if perchance I were to get *The Four Parts of the World* printed by Blau [sic],<sup>1</sup> or some other book by Fr. Taquet, who was familiar to us at Louvain, I would be most grateful about it all.<sup>2</sup> I do not know even how I might be able to repay you for all that you have done for me before, for when I was accidentally carried off from the Mariana Islands, I was even deprived of the consolation of my own authors.

I congratulate His Excellency your Father for the post that he deserved so well, rather so worthily as that of President of the whole of Belgium. May God “make weapons yield to togas”<sup>3</sup> and, Mars having taken flight, make peace return to be protected by so great a President. I pray from the heart for complete success for this most cultured family.

[In Spanish:] *And I think it appropriate for me to say a few words to Mr. Peter [de Pape] the lawyer. Please Y.R. give him my warmest regards on my behalf.*

Good health to you, my Father, and recommend me to God in your holy sacrifices and prayers.

Manila, 9 May 1675.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Comano S.J.

[Address:] To the Rev. Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus. Brussels.

*A postscript is added to the letter to Fr. van Coukerken, as follows:*

[Regarding the Chinese developments, I wrote by way of Batavia. In case the letter disappears, here is a summary. Many say that the Tartaro-Chinese Empire is already hated. It appears that the disturbance was caused by a certain Mandarin under suspicion when he was called by the Emperor, and fearing the worst for himself, seized the opportunity to start a revolution. He was in possession of himself here, and he very secretly fed the son or grandson of the last Emperor of China, upon whom the Kingdom

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- 1 Ed. note: Johannes Blaeu, Dutch publisher, 1596-1673. His Latin name was Cæsius, which means blue-green. Fr. Coomans is probably referring to his famous *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, printed in 6 volumes in Amsterdam in 1646-55, or a later edition. His great Atlas was published in 1663.
  - 2 Ed. note: Fr. André Tacquet was a Jesuit mathematician, born at Antwerp in 1612, according to the Belgian National Biography collection (Brussels, 1926-29) in which Volume 24 devotes 14 columns to his works. He was professor of mathematics at the college of Louvain for one year, 1644, and continued teaching the same subject for 4 years at Antwerp, before returning to Louvain in 1648. In 1654, Tacquet published the first edition of his *Geometry* which had a successful run. Similarly, in 1656, he published the first edition of his *Arithmetics* textbook. During the winter of 1660, a bad cold turned to a phtysy and he died in his hometown of Antwerp. In the copy of this letter sent to Fr. van Coukerken, the name of Fr. Tacquet is not specifically mentioned.
  - 3 Ed. note: “Cedant arma togæ” a phrase lifted from Cicero, in *M. Antonium orationes Philippicæ* 2, 20.

of Tartary fell. Therefore, having found that the Province, which he had been assigned to govern, was badly affected, he welcomed the opportunity to rebel by exhibiting the legitimate prince to the volunteers. That is why he took up arms right away. He sent special negotiators to the neighboring maritime provinces. Having formed an army, they penetrated as far as Nanking. Our neighboring tyrant, Si Puan, went to his assistance with his men from the Island of Formosa. The rumor is also being spread that the Portuguese island of Macau has been taken by the governors of China, and that all the Portuguese have perished by the sword and by fire, but the inconsistency of the rumor was regarded with suspicion as a fable by us. There are no other news at present.]

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## Document 1675D

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. van Schoonen, dated Manila 20 May 1675

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 213 & 214v. Note: Folios 213v-214 are blank.*

### Original text in Latin

*Rde in Christo Pr. Provincialis*

*Superiori Anno 1674 binas a R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> accepi in Insulis Marianis quæ mihi fuere solatio singulari: ego tum quidem meas dedi ad Ram Vam, quam certiore feci de novis quæ fertilis hæc messis cultoribus suis Apostolicis suppeditabat. Respondere tamen ob temporis angustias non licuit: itaque id feci ante trimestre aut amplius oblata occasione viæ Batavicæ, et nunc iterum via ordinaria solitum gratitudinis pensum exhibeo, fretus id Ræ Væ non ingratum ex tam longinquis oris futurum et quamquam de Marianis insulis novi nihil occurrat, quia necdum advenit navis ex nova Hispania redux, de me tamen pauca sic habe.*

*Elapso anno 1674 interfecto a Barbaris Rdo P. Francisco Ezquerra Missionis nostræ Superiore, in me devolutum est onus regendæ missionis. Egressus itaque ad appulsam navim ad educendum subsidium annuum, et negotia pertractanda. Prohibita erat ab Insularum Gubernatore navis anchoras jacere. Itaque dum naviculis patriis socios nostræ Soctis ab Hispania advectos, subsidium, milites educimus, dies elabitur, et ego noctem illam ad sarcinas hæreo in navi. Jussis Patribus quamplurimas naviculas illa nocte, aut saltem primo mane submittere. Jam inceperat ventus esse nobis adversus, et nocte superveniens æstus maris vehementior, navim longissime occidentem versus avexit, adeo ut sub auroram vix in conspectu insula esset, nec spes ulla appareret obtinendi naviculam: atque ita cum sociis tribus qui ab Hispania advenerant coactus sum in Philipinas Insulas vela facere invitus, et dolens e manibus eripi nobilem spartam. In itinere aliud malum afflicto supervenit intempesta nocte ex tabulato navis in ima decidens brachium mihi ubi humero jungitur luxatum est, et factum est imperitia chirurgi, qui malum ignorabat, ut applicatis contrariis remediis aditus obstruerentur, quo minus deinde òs suo loco restitui posset. Atque ita ex antiquo robore et usu in sinistro*



*brachio multum amisi, quamquam Ministeriis Apostolicis et functionibus pristinis non sum factus inhabilis.*

*Ubi Manilam appuli nihil potius habui quam afflictam Marianam Missionem omni conatu adjuvare, et redditum meum procurare. Res successu caruit, propter infinitas contradictiones, quas tam a sæcularibus, quam a nostris Missio hæc patitur. Itaque expectare jussus sum donec proxima ab nova Hispania navis adveniat: in qua si pecuniæ ad nos Mexico trasmittantur, spes est in his Insulis adornandi navigium, quo rectâ in Marianas navigatio instituat. Id si assequi potuerimus, tum demum missionem nostram omni periculo liberaverimus: sin minus timeo ut rigata Martyrum sanguine Apostolorum laborum fertilis regio, excolferji a nobis diutius possit.*

*Atque hæc sunt quæ de me hoc anno disposuit divina Providentia, reliqua ejusdem regimini lubens committo. Illud solum restat ut in SSmis Sacrificiis et precibus R<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> mei apud Deum non obliviscatur, ne in tam remotis oris vocationi meæ respondere desistam.*

*Manilæ 20 Maij 1675.*

*Ræ Væ Servus in Christo,*

*Petrus Comano S.J.*

[Address:] *Rdo in Christo Pi Pri Laurentio van Schoonen Soctis Jesu in Provincia Flandro-belgica Præposito Provinciali, aut ejus in officio successoris. Bruxellis.*

## Loose translation

Reverend Fr. Provincial in Christ,

Last year 1674 I received two letters from Y.R. in the Mariana Islands, which gave me a particular consolation. As for me, I sent one to Y.R., in which I informed you of the news about the fertile harvest amply provided by their apostolic reapers. However, it was not possible to answer yours on account of the shortage of time; therefore, I did so within three months or more, when an opportunity of sending mail via Batavia presented itself,<sup>1</sup> and now I do so again by the ordinary mail route [via Acapulco] to carry out my usual task of gratitude, persuaded as I am that Y.R. will be pleased to receive a letter from such a faraway shore, although there are no fresh news from the Mariana Islands, because the ship has not yet returned from New Spain, but here are some news from me.

This past year of 1674, Rev. Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, Superior of our Mission, was killed by barbarians, and the responsibility of running the mission fell upon me. So, at the arrival of the ship, I had gone out to collect the annual subsidy and to carry out business. The Governor of the [Philippine] Islands had forbidden the ship to anchor. Therefore, when native canoes came alongside we despatched the companions of our Society from Spain, the subsidy, and soldiers. At the end of the day, I was left stranded aboard ship that night with the personal effects of the soldiers. The Fathers would have

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1 Ed. note: It was probably lost, as it is not found in AGR.

ordered any number of canoes to go out that night, or at least they planned to send them out by first light. Already the wind was beginning to be contrary to us, and as night was approaching the currents became stronger; the ship went further out westward, to such a degree that by dawn the island could hardly be seen. It did not look as if any canoe would make it either. So, I was forced to sail to the Philippine Islands unwillingly, with three companions who had come from Spain, and I was sorry to see my noble Sparta slip from my hands. During that voyage a bad thing happened to me from a shock during a stormy night, when I fell from the deck of the ship to the bottom and I dislocated my arm, where it joins the shoulder. The surgeon did not know how to treat this ailment, being ignorant of it, so that the possibility of the proper remedies being applied was blocked; he could not even reset the bone. So it is that I have lost much of the old strength and use of my left arm, although I am still able to perform my apostolic ministries and former functions.

When I arrived at Manila, I did nothing else but help the afflicted Mariana Mission with every effort, and to try and effect my return. The business did not succeed, on account of the infinite contradictions that I suffered, as much from civilians as from our Mission here. Consequently, I was ordered to wait for the next ship to arrive from New Spain. If money has been sent from Mexico to us in it, there is hope that a ship may be made ready in these Islands, and that a direct navigation route might be instituted with the Marianas. If we can achieve this, only then will we liberate our mission from every danger, not the least of which I fear is that it may no longer be possible for us to cultivate this region, made fertile by apostolic labors and watered by the blood of martyrs.

These are the things that divine Providence has laid out for me this year. I willingly place anything else within its control. There is nothing left for me to do than to beg Y.R. not to forget me in your most holy sacrifices and prayers, so that I will not desist from responding to my vocation in such a remote shore.

Manila, 20 May 1675.

Y.R.'s servant in Christ,

Petrus Comano S.J.

[Address:] To the Reverend Fr. Superior in Christ, Fr. Lawrence van Schoonen, of the Society of Jesus, Provincial in charge of the Flandro-Belgian Province, or anyone else filling this post. Brussels.

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## Document 1675E

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# Jesuit annual report for 1674-1675, by Fr. Lopez

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 121-128; AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 8, part 2; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 172-191; cited in Astráin VI, p. 823.*

*Note: The original copy of this report, found in ARSI, is signed by Fr. Alonso Lopez, on behalf of the Italian Fr. San Basilio, who was nominally Superior during the year in question.*

### Original text in Spanish

#### ***Relacion de las Yslas Marianas desde el mes de Junio de 74, hasta Junio de 75.***

*No menos esperanzada por los deseos de tan necesitados Minioneros que desesperada por la poca acostumbrada tardanza, llegó á dar vista á esta Ysla de S. Juan la nave N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup> del Buen Socorro, á 16 de Junio del año pasado de 74. Quiso afrontar al Pueblo de S. Ygnacio de Agaña para que con mas facilidad se desembarcase el socorro, pero aunque el General y Piloto hizieron con piedad Cristiana todo cuanto pudieron, mas rechazado el Navio de contrario viento, se fue apartando de tierra sin poder desembarcarse mas que una lanchada con algunos bastimentos y gente. Entre el pequeño numero de la gente militar se nos quedó el Capitan D. Damian de Esplana con particular disposicion de Dios para que nos ayudase y alibiase el desconuelo, que nos causaba ver apartarse la Nao, no solo sin dexarnos socorro sino juntamente llevandonos al Padre Superior de la Mision, que no fué posible desembarcarse por mas que lo desearon los Cabos de la Nao; aunque estos otros principios parecian cometas de infelizes anuncios en el progreso de este año, no fueron sino presagios dichosos de los sucesos propicios, y adelantamientos de nuestra Santa Fé en esta Compañia de tanta bárbara gentilidad esmerandose mas nuestro Señor siempre Clementisimo en asistirnos propicio con divinos socorros al paso que estabamos mas distituidos de los humanos, pues se halla hoy esta Cristiandad tan adelantada, que parece un Paraiso de dulzuras, rendiendo á Dios continuas alabanzas sus moradores convertidos de veras á su Dios por los esfuerzos, con que procura adelantar su Santo nombre[.]*

*Nuestro Capitan, á quien conocidas sus prendas, y experiencias por la facultad omnimoda Comision de los Señores Gobernadores de Filipinas, D. Diego Salcedo, y D. Manuel de Leon, protectores de esta Mision, que encomendaron su gobierno al V. Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, y sus subcesores, y juntamente por el permiso de Su Magestad que dirige sus despachos al Superior de estas Misiones, se le dió titulo de Sargento Mayor, cometiendole el cuidado de las armas y milicia para podernos emplear con menos embarazo en el cultivo de esta Cristiandad que era bien necesario; por que aunque andabamos en misiones era preciso salir con escolta de armas por el mucho riesgo que habia y asi nos veiamos constreñidos á no alargarnos mucho, y á estar como encerrados sin poder avivar las primitivas y algo amortiguadas centellas de la fé, que antes se habian emprendido: mas ya por la infinita misericordia de Dios nos alzamos en nuestra antigua libertad, como se vera adelante, con muy crecidas mejoras asentada la Cristiandad.*

**[The battles of Chuchugu]**

*Desde luego comenzó el nuevo Sargento Mayor para exercitar los soldados, y advirtiendole como experimentado ser el enemigo que mas guerra hace al buen Capitan es el Ocio de sus soldados, los ocupó en devastar gran parte de selva, que tenia el presidio: rendido el ocio con el trabajo no dudó haver guerra á los enemigos, que tantas veces la hizieron de cobardes á los que en el valor les hacen conocidas ventajas atreviendose á quitar la vida á los Ministros de el Evangelio, juzgando pues que el buen progreso de la Cristiandad pendia de un exemplar castigo, determinó dar primero á el por uno de los mas valerosos Pueblos que hay en esta Ysla de S. Juan llamado **Chuchugu**, embio primero muchas embaxadas, p<sup>a</sup> que cumpliesen las obligaciones de Cristianos, y no embarazen el paso á los Misioneros, mas juzgando los Indios que era cobardia nuestra, y que eran incontrastables, no quisieron rendirse[.] antes impedian el progreso de la Cristiandad y deseaban arrancarla de el todo[.] viendo su rebeldia determino buscarlos en una poblacion no lexos de su antiguo Pueblo donde se sospechaba estarian los mas culpados. Hizose antes de la acometida especialisima oracion á N.S. por el buen suceso de ella, y se dixeran siete misas al glorioso S. José, implorando juntamente el auxilio del Soberano Arcangel S. Miguel, patron de las armas; y asi por que dependia la felicidad toda del primer lance como por que con dificultad habian de admitir los Indios la batalla en la forma que entre politicas naciones se acostumbra[.] salió de noche con treinta hombres, fiando mas en el socorro divino que en el humano.*

*Viernes 13 de Julio de 74 despues de largo trecho hizo alto, y mandó al Sargento D. José de Tapia de nacion Pampango (mozo de singular esfuerzo bien conocido en otras ocasiones de quien adelante se dará mas noticia) que cogiendo la vanguardia acometiese á las ultimas casas al mismo tiempo que el con los demas acometia á las otras quitando la vida á los que encontró y teniendo cuidado, no quitasen la vida á los infantes, aun con las mugeres, tenia especial cuidado, pero embueltas con la obscuridad de la noche murieron algunas con no poco sentimiento suyo: con tan feliz suceso dio la vuelta á las diez de la noche, sin daño de los suyos dandole todas las devidas gracias al Señor.*

*El cual misericordioso entresaco un tierno infante, a quien en medio del ardor de los golpes sin conocerle ni verle le dieron dos heridas entre los brazos de su difunta madre, á quien acudió el Padre Alonso Lopez para remediar su alma la halló yerta abrazada con el infante, al cual cogio luego por preciso despojo de la vitoria. Bautizole al punto sanando la mortal herida de la original culpa con la med[i]c[i]na de el Santo Bautismo, pusole por nombre Miguel Maria Bentura, por ser este glorioso Arcangel patron de aquella empresa, Maria por la Sagrada Virgen Patrona de estas Yslas, y Ventura asi por la que tubo, como por ser vispera de este Santo Doctor; curamosle lo mejor que se pudo y se cria entre nosotros con particular asistencia y consuelo nuestro, pues siendo de tan pequeña edad que no llega á dos años, se muestra de mayor en la enseñanza de nuestra Santa Fé, señalando con el dedo al Cielo cuando se le pregunta donde esta Dios, dandose golpes de pechos, cuando se le dicen palabras del Acto de Contriccion, besando las Sagradas Imagenes y las manos á los Padres apartando las de los que no lo son, persignandose y cruzando los brazos cuando se lo mandan, y otras cosas á este modo, con que concebimos esperanza de su futura Cristiandad.*

*No se dieron por vencidos los rebeldes, y asi dispuso la gente el Sargento Mayor, para acometer el Pueblo viejo de **Chuchugu**, para donde partio á 26 de Julio, y vencidas las dificultades que se ofrecieron en el camino llegaron á un estrecho paso, que está á la entrada de el Pueblo. Luego que los naturales sintieron nuestra gente, ocuparon tres eminentes puestos, el uno hazia frente de una encañada, por donde pasaba el camino y los otros dos á los lados de el; comenzó á subir la vanguardia que llevaba el Sargento D. José de Tapia, y comenzó tambien el enemigo á dar señas de su prevencion tocando alarma, con una lanza, que por uno de los lados disparo al Puesto donde se hallaba nuestro Sargento Mayor con el Padre Alonso Lopez, que tambien en esta faccion le acompañó, por capellan de la gente, dió la lanza muy cerca de el Padre, y no es dudable que superior fuerza la desvió para que á ninguna de estas dos personas hiziese lesion alguna, cuyo daño nos fuera á todos de gran sentimiento por lo mucho que interesa á esta Cristiandad en la vida y salud de entrambos, á esta lanza se siguieron tan gran tempestad de otras muchas que impidió á la vanguardia el paso obligando al Sargento (mayor) D. José á que abroquelado de su coraza, inmoble se parase haciendo frente á tantas muertes, como en cada venenoso tiro de lanza comtemplava, y apostando su gallarde resistencia, estabilidades con un arbol, que entonces acaso ó por particular providencia divina le guardaba las espaldas, imploraban armas de fuego al batallon por no haber dado lugar lo estrecho del camino á que pasen algunos.*

*A estas voces respondió el enemigo con otra carga de lanzas en tanto número que formaban en nuestra gente varios circulos. A esta sazón advirtiendo el peligro el Padre Alonso Lopez, que tenia en las manos el estandarte del Arcangel S. Miguel, le imbocó con tan manifiesta clemencia de su patrocinio que al punto escalaron la dificultad de los montes los soldados que no moverse hasta que resonó la voz y nombre de S. Miguel con que desamparando los enemigos el puesto, y arrojandose por los montes se apoderó nuestra gente de el Pueblo, al cual pusieron fuego luego, quebrando juntamente gran cantidad de lanzas.*

*Esto hecho se retiró victorioso sin daño alguno mas que una ligera herida de un soldado, de que combaleció brebe. El daño de los enemigos tan poco fue grave, pues solo murió uno entonces el cual por la diligencia del Padre Alonso Lopez, se le administró el Santo Sacramento del Bautismo. Despues murió otro de un balazo que en esta ocasion recibió, por que ni aguardaron á que se les hiziese agravio de consideracion, asegurandose con la huida, ni la benigna providencia de Dios nuestro permitió muriesen mas, por que no experimentasen los eternos rigores de su justicia y pudiesen despues lograr los favores de su infinita misericordia, que ya comienzan á gozar, como adelante se dirá.*

*Grande era nuestro sobresalto en el Presidio mientras duraba la pelea, y le aumentaban no poco el continuo estruendo de la mosqueteria, que a menudo percibiamos y era perpetuo despertador que mas y mas nos exercitaba para apretar favorosos con el Señor Sacramentado que patente teniamos por el buen suceso de la empresa, sin que en todo tiempo de las refriegas faltasen misas, hasta que bolvieron, por que aunque la falta de cera era grande por faltar el socorro de la Nave que arriba se dixo no reparabamos en lances de tantos riesgos en la considerable penuria que despues se nos siguió, celebrando raras veces. Premionos la divina Magestad la perseverancia en suplicarle, con la nueva que presto tubimos, volviendo victoriosa nuestra gente al presidio, donde dimos juntos las devidas gracias al Señor por tan singular beneficio, que fué como fecunda raiz de donde nacieron otros muchos. No fue poco lo que el Sargento Mayor padeció en la retirada por que cortando para mayor brevedad por caminos desusados dieron en un pantano, donde se atascó el caballo de suerte que fué necesario ayudarle para alibiar á tan generoso bruto con su propia incomodidad, caminando gran trecho cargado de armas, coletos y botas, soterrandose hasta medio pie, trabajo mas sensible en el sugeto por tener una pierna lisiada de una herida antigua que años antes recibió en el servicio de la Católica Magestad.*

**[The construction of two colleges, a new wooden stockade and a boat]**

*En este tiempo fabricamos dos Colegios dentro de el presidio, uno de niños, dedicandole al Santo Angel de la Guarda, y otro de niñas que se consagró á la gloriosa Santa Rosa, para que entre la admirable fragancia de sus exemplos, lleven estas tiernas plantas fecundos frutos de virtudes, por que nos persuadimos podriamos sustentarlos, con el poco socorro, que nos quedó pero fué necesario que aunque el sustento para nosotros acudir á la piedad de nuestro Cabo, que se encargó de ello costandole no pequeño trabajo p<sup>a</sup> lo cual se vió obligado á solicitar entre los Indios, ayudasen con el pobre sustento de la tierra: á un mismo tiempo emprendió la actividad de este Caballero, muchas y muy importantes obras.*

*Cercó de nuevo todo el Presidio, formando en el dos puntas de Diamante, mudando á otro sitio el castillo, dando á esta misma sazon mucho fuego [i.e. prisa] á una embarcacion, que acabó en brebe tiempo. No es facil ponderar con palabras cuanto trabaxó en estas obras este insigne soldado estando continuamente sobre todos los que trabajaban cogiendo el mismo el martillo para el trabajo, por no tener oficiales para la*

*herreria, sudando con tal copia que salia todo su vestido bañado en agua, haciendo por su propia mano clavos para la embarcacion, herraduras para el caballo, y aderezando las herramientas sin que esto le embarazase para asistir á los que hacian la estacada, ayudando el mismo á enterrar los pesados árboles, que es el materia de la obra, ocupado en tantas obras con todo no estaba satisfecho.*

**[Foray as far as Pupuro on the SW coast]**

*Con que dispuso á fin de reconocer la Ysla, llegar al Pueblo de Tuuña [rather **Fuuña**] de donde se partió á los diez de Setiembre, para el de **Pupuro**, complice en la muerte del Ven. Padre Francisco Esquerro, puso en huida á los Indios, quemoles las casas, y dexando para mejor ocasion el castigo de los demas culpados, volvió al tercer dia con no poca fatiga, asi de cuatro religiosos, que le acompañaban como suya, y de los soldados, por ser necesario romper nuevos y agrios caminos.*

**[Two churches built at Ritidian and Tarague on the north coast]**

*En este tiempo se abrasaban entre si en vivas guerras los Pueblos de el Norte, y cada una de las partes contrarias procuraba traer a si al Sargento Mayor, para cuyo intento embiaron varias embaxadas aunque á ninguna se inclinaba, por ser todos amigos nuestros. Alegramonos de tan buena ocasion para hacer algunos bautismos en sus Pueblos, y refrescarles las noticias de nuestra Santa Fé, de que suelen facilmente olvidarse por su poca firmeza, y asi ofreciendo los Yndios al Sargento Mayor la seguridad de los Padres se embarcaron luego el Padre V. Ror. Antonio de S. Basilio, y el Padre Alonso Lopez, **sine baculo et pera, etc.**, sin gente alguna para su resguardo por parecer que no era necesario mas escolta, que el temor que los Indios habian concebido, por lo que ya la fama habia esparcido de las sobre dhas empresas.] luego que los Padres se vieron en sus tierras trabajaron mucho en ajustar las pazes subiendo para este fin uno al monte á hablarlos, no sin poco riesgo de la vida y sin notable cansancio por haberse de andar el camino mas con las manos que con los pies, por la suma espesura de sus cuevas, en el interin acabaron los Padres una iglesia en el Pueblo de **Ritidian**, despues de hechos algunos bautismos, dedicose á nuestro glorioso Apostol de las Yndias, S. Francisco Xavier, y desde luego comenzo á ajustar la gente para ser instruida en los misterios de nuestra Santa fé.*

*A cuya imitacion los naturales de **Tarragi** se dejaron persuadir para que en su pueblo fundasen los Padres otra iglesia que consagraron al celestial archangel S. Miguel, concluidas las pazes y levantadas las iglesias comenzaron á prorrumpir los represados deseos de los Padres asistiendo con infatigable cuidado á la enseñanza de los Indios particularmente de los niños en quienes como en mas blanda materia se imprimen mas facilmente los divinos caracteres de nuestra Santa ley, con estos solian gastar gran parte de la noche cantando agradables maytines al Señor en manifestacion de su Santisimo nombre, y para que no faltasen himnos en sus gustosas laudes se pusieron en verso algunos de los principales misterios de nuestra Santa fé, particularmente el del Santo Nacimiento de nuestro redentor, sacrificando al infante Dios sus blandas y suaves voces*

*la tierna inocencia de estos niños[,] cosa que aprendian con gran gusto y facilidad. Estas coplas cantan por los caminos de dia, y por la playa y en sus casas de noche resonando en todas partes el dulcísimo nombre de Jesus y de Maria ignorado por tantos siglos y antes. Es cosa cierta y tiernísima, y que llama á su aplauso las lagrimas, ver la facilidad con que estos niños se adelantan, pues en menos de dos meses sabian y las oraciones de la Iglesia, con otras copiosas noticias, de los divinos misterios en prosa y en verso. Esta misma enseñanza va tambien insensiblemente cundiendo en los adultos á largos pasos de suerte que estan hoy notablemente aprovechados, y gustan no poco de aprender las canciones en que se les declaran los sagrados misterios, precisandose los de unos Pueblos ser mas adelantados que los otros, de donde nacen Santas contiendas desafiandose entre si, a quienes mejor saben la doctrina, á cuyas disputas acuden los Padres de suerte que cuando va un Pueblo á otro el desafio, va tambien el Padre de aquella residencia, y pone en ordenada procesion los niños y niñas cada sexo en distinta hileras: lleva su estandarte y los niños con palmas, y coronas y sus vestidos blancos que son los premios que dan los Padres á los que mas saben aunque no alcanzan á todos los que lo merecen (por falta de ropa) con tanta compostura y cristiana devocion que á todos nos la causa su vista, y al entonar las canciones sagradas parecen otros tantos Angeles humanados por que de suyo tienen los niños muy sonoras voces[.] despues de estos se siguen los grandes con el mejor orden que se puede y á esta proporcion, hace su recibimiento el Padre de la residencia, donde se hace el certamen el qual acabado se entretienen en licitos juegos, y despues se vuelven gustosos á sus casas, en compañía de su Padre[.] de estas Santas invenciones, nos valemos para mas facilitar la enseñanza de estas pobres almas.*

#### [The second battle of Tumhon, 1674]

*Para que á todos estendiese esta dha solicitaba con muchas veras el Sargento Mayor inclinar á la paz á los pueblos enemigos, particularmente al de **Tumhon** á donde sucedió la muerte del V.P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, deseando conseguir por blandura, mas que por rigor su reduccion, juzgando ser mas gloriosas las vitorias, cuando en ellas no concurren los sangrientes matices de la guerra, pero salieron frustrados y sus intentos, y asi incitado de su pertinacia partió al Pueblo de **Tumhon** á los 14 de Noviembre[.] llegó á el en donde no hallo gente, por que recelosos se habian retirado, acometió á una embarcacion que estaba en la mar, siguiola gran trecho con el caballo que faltandole fondo se arrojó á nado hasta darle alcance, y levantada una **media luna** que en la mano llevaba dió un golpe al que gobernaba y repitiendo otros le acabó[.] sacaronle á la playa donde le mando hacer cuartos y poner entre dos palos para el escarmiento, lo cual fué parte para que se rindiesen otras personas que desamparando la embarcacion intentaban librarse á nado las hizo prisioneras, y por ser muger la una no la quitó la vida, por que siempre procuró dexar libres á las mugeres cuando se conocian, era esta muger del difunto, el cual años antes havia dado cruel muerte á un soldado **Damian Bernal**, permitiendo el Señor que en esta ocasion vengase un Damian la injuriosa muerte de el otro. Mandó poner fuego á todo el Pueblo, y hecho esto dió la buelta á el presidio.*



*Con tan buenos sucesos quiso hacer viage á las otras Yslas del Norte y castigar algunos delincuentes, pero divirtió esta determinacion el aviso que tubo de que los Indios del monte aliados con los [de] **Chuchugu** y sus confederados intentaban dar la muerte á los que en esta Isla quedasemos. Crecieron estos rumores con la violenta muerte que le dieron á un Yndio amigo, sintiola por extremo el piadoso Sargento Mayor, y asi irritado salió á 17 de Diciembre contra los obstinados de **Chuchugu** y **Onapaz** [rather **Mapaz**] juzgando eran las principales causas de la muerte, llevo de repente, y acometió á unos ranchos que dentro de el monte habian levantado por que ya no se atrevian á habitar en sus antiguos Pueblos, y alcanzando á uno de los enemigos el siempre valeroso D. José de Tapia, le dió tan fiero golpe con un campilan ó alfange, que le rindió muerto á sus pies, y siguiendo á otros no pudo darles alcanze, pesaroso de no poder emplear sus generosos alientos, que aqui tambien fué muerto otro Indio, y se traxo prisionera una muger y dos niños, para que fuese medio de inclinarlos á la paz.] quiso castigar otros Pueblos, pero por ruegos de los Indios los dejo, por que es de su natural muy compasivo, y solamente obligado de la pertinazia de ellos les acometia.*

*Bautizó el Padre Tomas Cardeñoso que iba por Capellan algunos niños. A tanta tempestad de guerra se siguió la deseada paz, la cual vinieron á ofrecer los rebeldes pueblos de **Chuchugu** y **Mapaz**, asentose con ellos, bolbieron muy gustosos, y viviendo ya en quietud muy contentos de nuestro trato, y agasajo del Sargento Mayor los hizo mostrandose de los mas leales en las ocasiones y prontos á cuanto se les manda; ayuda mucho á estas pazes un Indio principal de el Pueblo de S. Ygnacio de Agadña, llamado D. **Diego Aguarin**, á quien ganó con su agrado y buen trato nuestro Cabo; el mismo hablo á los demas pueblos, poniendoles por delante los peligros que les amenazaban sino se reducian, y la quietud que tendrian rindiendose, oyeron todos sus Consejos, y dieron la deseada paz.*

*Edificose en este tiempo un templo en el Pueblo de **Tupungan** que se dedicó á la gloriosa Santa Rosa, á quien es singularmente deboto este Cristiano soldado, y por cuya intercesion recibió particulares beneficios de Dios en estas Yslas: pasan de trescientas personas las que acuden á esta nueva iglesia con notable aprovechamiento en la Santa Doctrina; con esta obra se cerró el año de 74, que aunque infausto en sus principios, lo fué muy feliz en sus fines.*

#### **[The campaign of 1675]**

*Deseoso de ver por sus ojos lo que la fama publicaba, de la florida Cristiandad, que á costa de infatigables desvelos, cultivaban los Padres en los Pueblos de S. Miguel de **Tarragi**, y S. Francisco de **Ritidyán**, se partió para ellos á los principios de el año de 75 por que deseaba tambien enseñar a los Indios la reverencia que se debia tener á los ministros: llegado á S. Xavier de **Ridityán** [sic], hizo una accion muy digna de su Cristiano celo, por que quanto mas numero de Indios habia les hizo un grave razonamiento, exortandolos a la obediencia y respeto para con los Padres Misioneros, y añadió advertir: “Que los Padres cuando fueredes malos, os pueden castigar, y mandar azo-*

*tar, y os habeis de sugetar al castigo, por que yo con ser Capitan me sugeto y si yo fuera malo me dexo tambien castigar de los Padres:" razones que les hizieron notable impresion y provecho.*

*Nunca pudo conseguir viniesen los del Pueblo de **Sidia** y sus aliados á dar la paz, y asi luego que bolvió del viage arriba dho, se partió para el Pueblo de Sidia, á los 30 de Enero de 75, llegó á el con no poco trabajo, puso en huida á los Indios, abrasoles el pueblo y prosiguió aquella misma tarde en busca de el Pueblo de **Aty**, y hecho de un alto cerro á unos Indios que intentaban impedirles el paso, convertido en cenizas el dho Pueblo, se retiró al mismo puesto donde tenia antes el enemigo sus centinelas; á la mañana siguiente le dieron alcance algunos pueblos amigos, entre los cuales venia el siempre fino y leal D. Antonio de Ayhy [or Ayihij], el cual despues de haber quemado el Pueblo de **Sagua**, cómplice en la muerte del V.P. Francisco Esquerria, llegó con los demas adonde estaban los nuestros diciendo "un capitan esta arriva, y otro abaxo, que soy yo," y añadieron todos "Capitan donde murieres tu hemos de morir tambien nosotros, con esta determinacion te seguimos;" pasaron todos adelante agasajó los pueblos siguientes y llegando al de **Paa**, rescató en el el Santo Crucifixo, con que murio abrazado el V. Padre S. Vitores, y recibiole á son de clarines y dandole al Padre Tomas Cardenoso que en la faccion le acompañaba, hizo que todos le adorasen siendo el primero: acabado acto de tanta piedad le enarbolo delante de todos, diciendo con devotas palabras á los Indios, acompañadas de tiernas lagrimas, que aquel Señor crucifixado era el verdadero Dios y Señor nuestro causando en todos singular ternura, tan cristiano fervor.*

*El mismo dia pasando al Pueblo de Hadian [rather **Habadian**], rescató en la sotána con que murió el dho martir Padre Francisco Esquerria. El siguiente dia Domingo 3 de Febrero subió al monte en busca de dos pueblos enemigos llamados **Nagan** y **Hinca**, complicés en la muerte de dho Padre.] quemose sin resistencia el primero y pasando al segundo descubrio nuestra gente una tropa de Indios enemigos á quienes acometio y puso en huida. Entretenida en esto nuestra gente iba siguiendo el Sargento Mayor otros Indios que huian con alguna industria, y siguieronle dos Indios amigos y un muchacho á quien hemos criado llamado **Ambrosio Lopez Agman**, que asi en esta como en otras ocasiones ha mostrado bien su lealdad y fineza, y algunos que estaban en emboscada pusieron fuego á un carrizal que está en el paso en donde dexaron inclinadas algunas lanzas con tal disposicion que no pudiese pasar sin grave daño suyo ó del cavallo mas cerrando los ojos á tanto humo y fuego como en tan breve se habia emprendido acometió por medio de las llamas deseoso de darles alcance, persiguiolos hasta entrarlos en el Pueblo de donde los bolbió á sacar, hasta obligarlos á guarnecerse de la espesura del monte: aguardó á la gente, y habiendo llegado reconoció que una de las lanzas, puestas en el carrizal, habia atravesado el cuello al caballo, que le sacaron con arto trabajo. No desmayó nada con esto, antes prosiguió con mas brio abrasando el Pueblo, y corriendo todos los de la playa y monte encontró rios muy dificultosos de badear, pero halló ayuda en la lealtad de los Indios amigos, pues por que no se pasmase la herida le pasaron a nado sobre sus hombros.*

*Durmió aquella noche en Nuninia, á donde viendo que el caballo con los dolores de la herida y del cansancio no podía comer, tomando en sus manos la Sotana del V.P. Francisco Esquerra dixo: “Santo Padre, bien veis que la causa de estar el caballo herido es vengar vuestra sangre, y sujetar á estos barbaros, para que sean buenos, vien veis tambien cuan necesaria es su vida por ser unico en estas Islas, vuestra Sotana lo pongo e dadle salud:” prodigio raro[,] apenas cubrio el cavallo con la sotana cuando comenzó á comer el caballo con lindo aliento, (como lo testifica el mismo Sargento Mayor) y estubo á la mañana con tantas fuerzas que pudo llegar al presidio[,] distancia toda de diez leguas, y en muy breve tiempo estubo del todo bueno.*

*No fué este prodigio solo, con que Dios N.S. se ha dignado faborecer esta empresa, por que estando un soldado en los extremos de la vida, por una pua de hueso, que en esta faccion se le entró por un pie, sin esperanza de el remedio, por no haber podido descubrirse aunque le abrieron la herida; acogiese el piadoso Sargento Mayor, á su devota Santa Rosa, y comenzandose la misa de la gloriosa Santa que á su peticion se decia por el remedio y bolbiendose á abrir la herida por su mandato, sin mas diligencia que apretarle la parte superior, le saltó luego la venenosa pua, de suerte que antes de llegar á la Epistola, estaba ya el soldado sin riesgo.*

*No eran menos los favores que de nuestro gran Dios recibamos en los crecidos aumentos de la Cristiandad acudiendo los Indios á Misa, y hacer catequizados en tanto numero, que en el Pueblo de S. Ygnacio de Agadña, pasan de quinientos, en el de Santa Rosa de **Tupungan**, son mas de trescientos, al de S. Xavier de **Riditian** [sic], acuden cerca de quatrocientos, al de S. José de Utoti [rather **Upi**], casi setecientos, en S. Miguel de **Tarragi**, pasan de quinientos en tanto grado que nos hemos visto obligados los Ministros á demoler las iglesias para hacerlas mas grandes y capaces[,] con tan buena disposicion se determinó el Padre de S. Xavier de Riditian, á fabricar un colegio de niños, acudiendo á rezar todas las oraciones dos veces al dia (dedicado al glorioso Arcangel S. Gabriel en donde asisten veinte y dos niños) fuera de las que rezan cuando se acuestan y levantan de tal suerte que se halla dho Pueblo tan adelantado, como si hubiese mucho tiempo la cuida de su enseñanza pues aunque los adultos gente de suyo mas dificil de aprender, tiene ya no solamente las bastantes noticias p<sup>a</sup> salvarse sino que se halla ya con muchas mas de lo que se pudiese esperar en tan breve tiempo con los niños, antes de estar en su colegio, sucedió algunas veces que diciendoles el Padre de parte de noche que el dia siguiente les habia de enseñar nuevas cosas, se levantaban antes de el dia habiendo estado rezando hasta la media noche, y le despertaban diciendo “enseñanos Padre que aqui estamos todos.”*

*En otras partes aconteció que durmiendo de noche se les oia decir entre sueños: “alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento,” y otras palabras de la Doctrina, la debocion de estos niños, no se puede facilmente declarar con palabras mostrandola en todas ocasiones á las cosas sagradas como se ve en la adoracion á las Santas Cruces, hincandose de rodillas, cuando encuentran alguna, y diciendo algunas oraciones de las que saben, lo mismo hacen cuando encuentran algun Padre que va ó viene de camino, acompañandole hasta la iglesia cantando asi mismo dulces alabanzas al Señor, lo mismo se les*

*ha visto hacer viniendo de las sementeras cargados de raizes (su ordinario sustento) por que antes de irse á sus casas van primero á la iglesia y despues de haber alabado al Señor cogen su carga y se van.*

*Cuan aceptable sea al Señor la debota fé de estas sus criaturas se digna su Magestad mostrarnos en algunos casos particulares que ahora se refiriran el primero sucedió en el Pueblo de S. Miguel de **Tarragi**, estaba ya para anegarse una embarcacion de Indios, por estar ya llena de agua, y combatida muy de recias olas, advirtiendolo los niños, se hincaron de rodillas rogando á N.S. librase á [a]quellos pobres de tan manifiesto riesgo, oyó su divina Magestad sus inocentes suplicas librando á la embarcacion, y á los que la gobernaban de tan conocido peligro.*

*En otra ocasion manifestó tambien sus celestiales favores con los niños de el colegio de S. Gabriel de **Ridityan**, por que saliendo á pescar á falta de los adultos, que á la sazón estaban pocos en el Pueblo y cogiendo antes estos de ordinario poco pescado, rompiendoles casi siempre sus redes los tiburones, fue muy grande la abundancia que el Señor les dió, sin lesion alguna de las redes, y preguntandoles despues el Padre cual era la causa de estof,] respondieron muy contentos, que Dios N.S. al cual habian orado, cuando pescaban diciendo: "rogamoste Dios nuestro que nos embies mucho pescado, y nos avientes los tiburones," y no solo entonces premió su divina Magestad su inocente fé, y tierna súplica, sino que continuo con ellos su benigna clemencia otras muchas veces.*

*Otros muchos favores hizo Dios en estas partes en crédito de su Santa fé que por no alargar esta relacion, y por otras razones no se dicen, bastará referir la singular misericordia de Dios con una India del Pueblo de **Upi** á la cual visitandola un Padre varias veces por estar enferma, instruyendola en los principales Misterios de nuestra Santa fé, pero sin bautizarla por parecerle no estaba de peligro. El Señor cuyos juicios exceden infinitamente á los nuestros, ordenó una tarde la bolviese á visitar el Padre y le administrase el Santo Bautismo (aunque no parecia ser agravante su peligro) conoscióse haber sido inspiracion de Dios que tenia predestinada esta alma, por que al otro dia amaneció muerta, la que antes se juzgaba sin riesgo de mortal.*

*A tan felices progresos de nuestra Santa fé, intentaba oponerse invidioso el comun enemigo, valiendose por esto de varios modos, uno de los cuales fue aterrorizar á estos pobres naturales, tomando diversas y muy horribles formas particularmente á los niños de San Miguel de **Tarragi**, á los cuales se les solia aparecer á modo de espantosa sombra, pero advertido los niños le mostraban la Santa Cruz, con que al punto se desvanecia aquella infernal figura, lo mismo sucedió á algunos adultos pero de diversa forma dandoles diversos y horribles gritos que les causaba notable miedo, obligandoles á pedirnos cruces par librarse de tan fiero enemigo.*

*No fué este el medio mas fuerte, que tomó este cruel tirano para apartar estas pobres almas del camino del Cielo, de otro mas eficaz se valió, y fué á incitar a los Pueblos del occidente, contra nuestros valerosos soldados y asi llegando al Pueblo de **Tachuc** en donde era principal un Indio muy reboltoso, que en varias ocasiones combocó los Pueblos para destruirnos, y maquinó la muerte á los Misioneros con muestras*

*de paz, quisieron dar á todos la muerte para lo cual estaban prevenidos. Conocido el intento procuró el Sargento Mayor, reducirlo con buen modo y agasajo disimulo cuanto pudo, y pasó á dormir al Pueblo de **Hahayadian**, que tambien estaba inficionado.] de alli despues de la media noche enderezando el camino para el monte para el evidente peligro de emboscadas, que habia, ya en la Playa encontraron ya la gente prevenida que les salió á irritar para la pelea: hizo el Sargento Mayor del disimulo hasta que los cogió en campo mas descubierto, y arrendando el caballo contra el principal caudillo le dió alcance y una cuchillada con que amayno los brios, que le acabó de quitar el ya nombrado y siempre valeroso Alférez D. José de Tapia, cuyo valor y ligereza en todas ocasiones ha hecho raya y causado temor en estas Yslas: á esta sazón se embarazó el cavallo en un pantano con que tubieron lugar los Indios de huir. Dio buelta nuestra gente á la playa y conociendo el Sargento Mayor los graves delitos del dho Indio principal llamado **Torrahi** y la poca seguridad que nos podriamos prometer de su mal corazon, procuró haberlo á las manos, y para escarmiento de los demas le mando arcabucear con lo cual quedá toda la Ysla temerosa y escarmentados todos de tal suerte que hoy corremos esta Isla los Misioneros sin escolta de armas, bien recibidos en los Pueblos y con mucho provecho de estos pobres con que queda esta Cristiandad, por la misericordia de Dios en el mejor estado que jamas ha tenido deseando todos tener iglesias, viendo el castigo que se hizo en el dho Indio, á cuyo Pueblo fué nuestra gente, y dexando las demas casas intactas dieron fuego á la de dho Indio, lo cual ayudo para que conociesen que solo los culpados eran los que se castigaban, lo cual confiesan ser justicia y bien hecho.*

*Esto es el estado en que se halló esta Cristiandad por este mes de Junio de 75 que cotejado con el del año pasado le haze grandes ventajas, y a quien lo mira le causa no poca ternura por que es cierto quiere Dios N.S. mucho estas Islas, por que son Islas de Maria su Madre que está en el Cielo intercediendo por ellas y asi pedimos á sus devotos el socorro de sus oraciones p<sup>a</sup> que no descuerezcamos [sic=descrezcamos] sus oraciones y patrocinio, sino que crezcamos [sic] la exaltacion de la Santa fé, como lo esperamos, se continuará con el socorro que nos ha venido, especialmente de un caballo que el Señor General, D. Tomas de Andaya, nos dexó de limosna, por que es animal á quien los Indios temen mucho.*

*Ysla de San Juan y Junio a 6 de 1675.*

*Alonso Lopez*

## Translation

### **Account of the Mariana Islands from the month of June 1674 to June 1675.**

The ship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro**, which came into sight of this Island of San Juan on the 16th of June of last year 1674 had not been awaited any less than the others, on account of the wishes of the needy Missionaries who were despairing, as a result of her unusual lateness.<sup>1</sup> She tried to come directly before the town of San Ignacio de Agaña in order to unload the succor more easily, but, although the General and Pilot tried with Christian piety as much as they could, the ship was pushed off by a contrary wind and was blown off the land. It was not possible to unload more than a boatful with a few supplies and people. Among the small number of military people, there remained with us Captain Don Damian de Esplana, thanks to a special arrangement from God, so that he might help us and relieve the disconsolateness caused by our seeing the galleon slip away, not only without leaving us the succor but also taking away the Father Superior of the Mission.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the efforts made by the officers of the galleon, it was not possible to put him ashore. Although such new beginnings seemed like unlucky forerunners of the progress made this year, they were only lucky signs of propitious events to come, and of the progress made by our Holy Faith among such barbarous heathens, as our ever-merciful Lord did His best to assist us propitiously with divine succors, at the time we were all the more destitute of human succors. Indeed, this Christian community is found to be so advanced today that it seems to be a Paradise of sweetness, as its residents render continuous praise to God, having truly been converted to their God through the efforts made to try and promote His Holy Name.

As for our Captain, once his qualities and experiences became known, on account of the all-inclusive authority [given by] the Commission of the Gentlemen Governors of the Philippines, Don Diego Salcedo and Don Manuel de León, protectors of this Mission, who entrusted its administration to Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, and his successors, and jointly with the permission from Her Majesty who addresses her despatches to the Superior of these Missions, he was given the title of Sergeant Major,<sup>3</sup> and he was entrusted with the care of the arms and the militia, so that we could turn

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1 Ed. note: The galleon was not one week behind the normal arrival date.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans, who was the fourth superior of the Mission, for the 4 months that followed the death of Fr. Esquerra.

3 Ed. note: In modern parlance, this would be shortened to Major. It was used then to designate either a rank or a position. In this case, since Esplana was the top-ranking officer, or officer-in-charge, he became Acting Major, while his substantive rank remained that of an army Captain. This man was, however, in the habit of claiming the higher rank as his only rank. Later on, when he was appointed to the position of Governor of the Marianas (and acting as lieutenant of captain-general, for the Marianas), he claimed that he was only second in rank to the Governor of the Philippines. Some future Spanish governors of the Marianas, remained Captains of artillery, etc. for the purpose of basic pay, but were acting Colonels (and wore the braids for it) while residing in Guam, thus getting supplementary pay. Such field promotions became effective only when approved by Madrid.

our attention with fewer headaches toward the cultivation of this Christian community. This was very necessary, because, although we went around on mission tours, it was necessary to go out with an armed escort, on account of the great risk involved, and so, we saw ourselves forced not to wander very far, and to remain cooped up, unable to revive the initial sparks of the Faith that became somewhat dulled, once they had been quenched. However, thanks to God's infinite mercy we have already regained our former freedom, as will be mentioned below, with very definite progress made in the Christian community.

### [The battles of Chuchugu]

The new Sergeant Major began at once to exercise the soldiers, and his experience taught him that a good captain has no greater enemy to fight than the idleness of his soldiers; he kept them busy with the clearing of a great part of the woods that were within the stockade. Once idleness had been conquered with work, he did not doubt that he could make war upon the enemies, who had so often made war in a cowardly way to those who surpassed them in valor, by daring to kill the Gospel Ministers. Therefore, judging that the good progress of the Christian community depended upon an exemplary punishment, he decided to punish first one of the bravest villages in this Island of San Juan, called **Chuchugu**. But first he sent many embassies, asking them to fulfil the duties of Christians, and not to block the path of the Missionaries, but the Indians, judging that it was cowardice on our part, and that they were invincible, refused to submit. Rather, they impeded the progress of Christianity and wished to abolish it all. Seeing their defiance, he decided to look for them in a settlement not far from their old village site, where it was suspected that the most guilty ones would be. Before the attack, a very special prayer to our Lord was recited for its success, and masses were said to the glorious St. Joseph, beseeching him jointly with the sovereign Archangel St. Michael, patron of the army, and so, because success was totally dependent upon the first strike, as one could not depend on the Indians behaving like civilized nations in battle, he went out at night with 30 men, trusting more on divine help than on human help.

On Friday, 13 July 1674, after a long stretch, he halted, and ordered Sergeant Don José de Tapia (a Pampango lad of unusual energy, well known on other occasions, and about whom more notice will be given below) to take the vanguard and attack the last houses while he and the rest would at the same time attack the other houses, killing those he met with, and being careful not to kill the infants. Even though he also tried to spare the women, in the darkness of the night he could not help killing a few, very much to his sorrow. With such a lucky outcome, he returned at about 10 at night, with no injury to any of his men, and giving all due thanks to the Lord who, in His mercy, spared the life of a tender infant who, unseen and unsuspectedly had received two wounds during the heat of the battle, as he was held up in the arms of his deceased mother. Father Alonso Lopez ran up to her in order to remedy her soul but he found her body rigid, and still holding on to the infant. He then picked up the child, considering it a precious booty from the victory. He was baptized immediately and cured of

the mortal wound of the original sin with the medicine of Holy Baptism. He gave him the name of Miguel Maria Ventura, as this glorious Archangel was patron of that enterprise, Maria for the Blessed Virgin patron of these Islands, and Ventura, not just on account of the good luck it had, but also in honor of the saintly Doctor of that name. We treated him as best we could and he is being raised among us with special care and much to our consolation. Indeed, although he is so young and not over 2 years old, he seems much older when the teaching of our Holy Faith is concerned, pointing up at the sky when being asked where is God, hitting himself on the chest when one recites to him the words of the Act of Contrition, kissing the sacred images and the hands of the Fathers, differentiating between those who are and those who are not [priests], signing himself with the sign of the cross when being asked, and other things of this kind; so, we feel that he will make a good Christian.

The rebels did not give themselves up, and so, the Sergeant Major made ready his men to attack the old town of **Chuchugu**. He headed there on 26 July, and after overcoming the difficulties that came up along the way, they arrived at a narrow pass, which is at the entrance of the village. As soon as the natives realized the presence of our men, they occupied three eminent posts: one overlooked the ravine, through which passed the trail and the other two were located on both sides of it. The vanguard, led by Sergeant Don José de Tapia, began going up, and the enemy began also to give signs of their readiness, by giving a warning, with a spear, thrown by one of the sides and directed at the place occupied by our Sergeant Major, and Father Alonso Lopez who accompanied him in this battle also, as chaplain for the men. The spear hit very close to the Father, and it cannot be doubted that a superior force deviated it so that it would not wound either of these two in any way; any injury to them would have caused great sorrow among everyone, on account of the great importance of the life and health of both of them for this Christian community. This spear was followed by a great shower of many other spears that impeded the passage of the vanguard and obliged Sergeant Don José, protected by his armor, to stop and face so many deadly missiles, as every spear could be the poisonous, i.e. lethal, kind, putting up a valiant defence, his rear being protected by a tree that was found right there when needed, or more probably provided by divine providence. He shouted for firearms from the battalion, as the narrowness of the path had prevented some to go forward earlier.

The enemy responded to these shouts with another shower of spears, in such numbers that they formed various circles among our men.<sup>1</sup> At this moment, Father Alonso Lopez, who was holding the standard of the Archangel St. Michael, noticed the danger and called to him for his sponsorship with such an obvious clemency that immediately the soldiers overcame the difficulty presented by the hills. They had not moved until they heard the name of St. Michael. In so doing, they dislodged the enemies

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1 Ed. note: This is the only clue anywhere about this aspect of Chamorro warfare; it appears that many small dart-like spears were bundled up and thrown together.



and, charging up the hills our men captured the village, to which they thereafter set fire, as well as breaking a large quantity of spears.

This feat was pulled off without any injury done to the victorious side, except for a soldier who received a light wound, which soon healed. The harm done to the enemies was no more serious, since only one man died, but not before Father Alonso Lopez had administered the Holy Sacrament of Baptism to him—afterward, another died of a bullet wound that he had received upon this occasion—because, for one thing, they made sure that we would not do them any serious harm by fleeing into hiding, and for another, the benign providence of our God did not allow more deaths, so that they would not experience the eternal rigors of His justice and could afterwards benefit from the favors of His infinite mercy, which is beginning to be felt, as will be mentioned below.

While the fight was going on, we in the garrison were greatly scared, and our nervousness increased every time the sound of the continuous volleys from the muskets was heard. It was like a perpetual wake up call, that urged us more and more to seek favors with the sacramental Lord whom we held responsible for the success of the enterprise. The whole time that the scuffles lasted, until they returned, there was no lack of masses being said, because, although the lack of wax created by the failure of the above-said galleon to leave the succor was great, we did not spare it under such dangerous circumstances and, later on, we suffered such a considerable shortage that we rarely celebrated mass. His divine Majesty rewarded us for our persistent prayers with the news that we soon received when our men returned to the garrison, where we all joined in giving thanks to the Lord for such a special benefit, which became like a fertile root from which grew many other roots. The Sergeant Major suffered not a little discomfort during the retreat, because to save time he cut across little-used paths and they came across a swamp, where the horse got bogged down, and it became necessary to lighten the burden of such a generous beast. So, at the cost of his own discomfort, he had to carry over a great stretch weapons, jackets and boots, sinking by as much as half a foot; this trouble was the more worrisome for this individual because he has an injured leg, the result of an old wound received years ago in the service of his Catholic Majesty.

#### **[The construction of two colleges, a new wooden stockade and a boat]**

During this period we built two Colleges within the garrison, one for boys, dedicating it to the holy Guardian Angel, and another for girls that was consecrated to the glorious Saint Rose,<sup>1</sup> so that they might be inspired by her wonderful examples and that such tender plants might produce these fertile fruits of virtues. We took a chance on being able to sustain them with the little succor left to us, but it became necessary, besides, to rely on the piety of our Commander, who took charge of it and suffered not a little as a result of this decision, as he saw himself forced to solicit some local food

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1 Ed. note: Saint Rose, who had been a nun in Lima, Peru, was Esplana's favorite saint (see below), as he was himself born in Lima. Her feast-day is 30 August.

products from the Indians. During the same period the activity of this Gentleman was such that he undertook many and very important works.

He enclosed the whole garrison once again, shaping two corners in diamond-shape, moving the fort to another site, at the same time as he was rushing to build a boat, which he completed in a short time. It is not easy to describe with words the great labor that this famous soldier expended in these works, in continuously providing close supervision of all workers involved, going as far as picking up the hammer himself, as there were no master blacksmiths, sweating so profusely that his clothes became all wet, while he made with his own hands nails for the boat, shoes for the horse and, without being embarrassed by it all, repairing the tools used by those who were making the stockade, and lending a hand when they were burying the heavy tree trunks, that constitute the material used for the works. He was busy at so many works, yet never completely satisfied.

**[Foray as far as Pupuro on the SW coast]**

In order to reconnoiter the Island, he decided to go to the town of **Fuufña**, which he left on 2 September, headed for the village of **Pupuro**, accomplice in the death of the Ven. Father Francisco Esquerro. He put the Indians to flight, burned their houses and, postponing the punishment of the more guilty ones for a later occasion, returned on the third day at the cost of much fatigue, for him, the soldiers, and also four religious accompanying them, as it was necessary to break new and tough trails.

**[Two churches built at Ritidian and Tarague on the north coast]**

At this time the villages in the north became embroiled in a series of wars. Each one of the opposite parties tried to attract the Sergeant Major to their side, and to this effect sent various embassies, although he did not lean toward either side, since they were all old friends of ours. We rejoiced at such a good opportunity to make a few baptisms in their villages, and to refresh the news of our Holy Faith, as they have the habit of forgetting it easily, on account of their little constancy. So, the Sergeant Major offered the Indians the guarantee of safety presented by the Fathers. Then, he embarked with the Vice-Rector, Fr. Antonio de San Basilio, and Father Alonso Lopez, *sine baculo et pera, etc.*<sup>1</sup> and with no armed man for an escort, as it seemed as if there was no need for any other escort than the fear of him that the Indians had conceived as a result of the fame acquired by him in the above-mentioned enterprises. As soon as the Fathers saw themselves in their lands, they worked much at negotiating peace; to this effect, one of them went up the hill to speak with them, not without some risk to his life and some noteworthy fatigue, as he had to make his way up more on his hands than on his feet, on account of the extreme thickness of their cliffs. In the meantime, the Fathers gave a start to the construction of a church in the town of **Ritidian**. After making a

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "With neither a walking stick nor a bag, etc.," a classic reference to Cynic philosophers who had both.

few baptisms, it was dedicated to our glorious Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, and at once the people began to receive instructions in the mysteries of our Holy Faith.

The natives of **Tarragi** imitated them and let themselves be persuaded to have the Fathers found another church in their town, which they consecrated to the heavenly archangel St. Michael. Once peace was established and the churches completed, the repressed desires of the Fathers began to burst out, and they attended with untiring care to the indoctrination of the Indians, specially the children into whom the divine characters of our Holy Faith can be more easily impressed, as they are a blander material. They used to spend a large part of the night with them, singing agreeable matins to the Lord, the better to manifest his most holy name, and, so that they would not lack hymns with which to praise Him, a few of the main mysteries of our Holy Faith were set into verses, specially that of the Holy Birth of our Redeemer, their bland and sweet voices sacrificing thus to the infant God the tender innocence of these children. This was something that they learned willingly and easily. They sing such verses along the roads by day, and on the beach and in their houses at night. The sweet names of Jesus and Mary, previously unknown for so many centuries now resonate everywhere. It is something certain and very tender, something that brings tears out and makes it commendable, to see the ease with which these children make progress; indeed, in less than two months they learned the prayers of the Church, as well as the other copious notices of the divine mysteries, in prose and in verse. The same kind of teaching is slowly making inroads among the adults, by leaps and bounds, so that today they have made notable progress; they too relish learning the songs that explain the sacred mysteries, with those of some villages priding themselves for being more knowledgeable than those of other villages. Hence are born holy contests, in which they defy one another, as to which knows the doctrine better. The Fathers attend these contests, so that when one village goes to another to take up the challenge, the Father assigned to that Residency accompanies them. He organizes the boys and girls in a procession. Each sex has its own file and carries its own standard. The children carry palm branches, and wear wreaths, and white clothes, which are the rewards given by the Fathers to those who excel in learning, although there are not enough for all those who deserve them (for lack of cloth), with such a composure and Christian devotion that the sight of them is enough to create devotion in all of us. Upon intoning the sacred songs, they seem like so many angels turned humans, because the children are naturally endowed with very resounding voices. After them come the tall ones, maintaining as much order as possible. Upon this occasion they are received in kind by the Father of the residency where the contest takes place. Once it is over, they entertain themselves in lawful games, and after them they go home happy, in the company of their Father. We avail ourselves of such holy inventions to further the teaching of these poor souls.

**[The second battle of Tumhon, 1674]**

In order to extend such luck to all, the Sergeant Major eagerly sought permission to bend the enemy towns toward peace, specially that of **Tumhon** where occurred the

death of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, wishing to achieve its reduction more by peaceful negotiations than by force, judging that the victories are more glorious when the bloody hues of war do not intervene, but the talks and good intentions failed. So, urged on by their obstinacy, he left for the town of **Tumhon** on 14 November. He arrived there and found no people, because fearful they had retired. He attacked a boat that was at sea; he pursued it for a long time with the horse, even after it became too deep for the horse, he threw himself into the water, swimming until he caught up with it and, raising a **half-moon** that he carried in the hand and gave a blow to the man at the rudder, finishing him off with other blows.<sup>1</sup> The body was brought ashore, where he had it quartered and placed between two posts as a lesson. This was enough for other persons, who had abandoned the boat and tried to gain their freedom by swimming, to give themselves up and they were made prisoners. The life of one of them was saved, for she was a woman, and he always endeavored to let women go free when they were recognized as such. This woman was the wife of the deceased, and he had years before given a cruel death to a soldier named **Damian Bernal**. Thus, the Lord allowed on this occasion that a Damian would avenge the insulting death of another Damian. He ordered that the whole town be set ablaze. This done, he returned to the garrison.

After such successes he wanted to sail to the other Islands in the north and punish some delinquents, but he was diverted from this decision by the notice he received that the Indians of the interior allied with those of **Chuchugu** and their confederates intended to kill those of us who would have remained in this Island. These rumors increased following the violent death they gave to a friendly Indian. The pious Sergeant Major was extremely afflicted by this death. Thus irritated, he went out on 17 December against the obstinate people of **Chuchugu** and **Mapaz**, judging them to be those mainly responsible for the death. He came upon them unexpectedly and attacked them in some *ranchos* [camp houses] they had built within the bush, because they no longer dared to live in their old towns. The ever-valorous Don José de Tapia caught up with one of the enemies and gave him such a tremendous blow with a *campilan*, or cutlass, that the man fell dead at his feet. After pursuing others and not being able to catch them, he was sorry that he could not display his generous courage. Another Indian was also killed here and one woman and two children were brought as prisoners, for use as hostages to convince them to sue for peace. He wanted to punish other towns, but he was begged by the Indians to forget it, because he is by nature very compassionate, and attacked them only if he was forced to by their obstinacy.

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1 Ed. note: The type of weapon called "media luna" in Spanish is not explained in dictionaries. It must not be confused with a percussion instrument, also called "media luna" and used by Chamorros a decade later. I have finally solved this puzzle beyond any doubt, when I studied colonial weaponry in the Army Museum in Madrid. They were Chinese halberds, bought in Manila, of which there were two main types: 1) with the blade (in the shape of a half-moon) with the horns pointing upward; and 2) with the horns down. There was also a third type, similar to the second, but with the tips of the horns upturned, in wave-like fashion.

Father Tomás Cardeñoso, who went as Chaplain, baptized a few children. Such a storm of war was followed by the desired peace, which the rebel towns of **Chuchugu** and **Mapaz** came to offer. It was concluded with them, and they returned very happy. They are now living quietly and are very contented with their contact with us, and with the welcome extended to them by the Sergeant Major. As a result, they are showing themselves among the most loyal ones and readily respond when they are ordered to do something. In negotiating such peace treaties, much help is given by an Indian chief from the town of San Ignacio de Agaña, named **Don Diego Aguarin**, who has been won over by the good treatment and gratitude of our Commander. He himself talked with the other towns, explaining to them the dangers that threatened them if they did not submit, and the quiet life they would have if they did; they all listened to his advice and gave the desired peace.

At this time a church was built in the town of **Tupungan** which was dedicated to the glorious Saint Rose, toward whom this Christian soldier is specially devoted, and through whose intervention he received special benefits from God in these Islands. Over 300 persons attend this new church with a noteworthy advantage being taken of the Holy Doctrine. This work was the last one of 1674, a year that had begun unluckily, but one that ended happily.

#### [The campaign of 1675]

Desirous of seeing with his own eyes what was being said publicly about the flourishing Christian community which the Fathers cultivated in the towns of San Miguel de **Tarragi** and of San Francisco [Xavier] de **Ritidyan** at the cost of untiring concerns, he went off to visit them at the beginning of 1675, because he wished also to teach the Indians the reverence that was due to the ministers. Upon arriving at San [Francisco] Xavier de **Ridityan** [sic], he did something very worthy of his Christian zeal, because, when the largest number of Indians had gathered, he addressed them very seriously, exhorting them to obey and respect the Missionary Fathers, and he added the following **warning**: “When you are bad, the Fathers can punish you, and have you whipped, and you have to submit to the punishment, because even I, who is Captain, submit myself, and if I were bad, I would also let the Fathers punish me.” Such reasoning made a deep impression on them and was beneficial.

He was never able to succeed in getting the people of the town of **Sidia**<sup>1</sup> and their allies to give peace. So, after he returned from the above-mentioned voyage, he left for the town of Sidia, on 30 January 1675. He got there with no little work, caused the Indians to flee, burned their town, and proceeded that afternoon in the direction of the town of **Aty**. He dislodged from a high hill some Indians who tried to prevent him from going through and, after converting said town to ashes, withdrew to the same post where the enemy had maintained sentinels. The following morning, he was joined by [men from] a few friendly villages, among whom was the ever kind and loyal Don Antonio

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1 Ed. note: Now spelled Sella, inside a cove on the west coast of Guam.

Ayih. Said Ayih had burned the town of **Sagua** along the way, as it had been accomplice in the death of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerro. Upon arriving with the others where our men were, he said: "A captain is above, and another below, and that is I." And all the others added: "Captain, wherever you die, we too must die. With this decision, we follow you." They all went forward, and were made welcome by the following villages.<sup>1</sup> Upon arriving at **Paa**,<sup>2</sup> where they ransomed the Holy Crucifix which the Ven. Fr. San Vitores was holding when he died. It was received at the sound of trumpets and turned over to Father Tomás Cardeñoso who was accompanying him in this campaign. He had everyone worship it, he being the first to do so. Once this pious act was over, he raised it up before everyone, saying with devout words to the Indians, accompanied with tender tears, that such a crucified Lord was the true God and our Lord, causing in everyone a special warmth, and a very Christian fervor.

That same day, passing to the town of Hadian [rather **Habadian**], he ransomed the cassock that had been worn by the said martyr, Father Francisco Esquerro when he died. The next day, Sunday 3 February, he went up into the bush in search of two enemy villages called **Nagan** and **Hinca**, accomplices in the death of said Father.<sup>3</sup> He burned the first one, without meeting any resistance, and while passing to the second one, our men spotted a band of enemy Indians whom he attacked and set to flight. While our men were busy with this, the Sergeant Major went in pursuit of other Indians who were fleeing with some success. Two friendly Indians followed him, one of them being a boy whom we have raised, by the name of **Ambrosio Lopez Agman**.<sup>4</sup> That is how this boy was showing his loyalty and affection in this and on other occasions. A few who were lying in ambush set fire to a field of reeds that was on the way, where they had planted some spears at an angle in such a way that he could not pass without serious harm to himself or the horse, but closing his eyes to offset the thick smoke from the fire that had been set so quickly, he charged amid the flames, wishing to catch up with them. He pursued them as far as the entrance of the town, he forced them out of it and forced them to seek shelter in the thickness of the forest. He waited for his men, and after their arrival he noticed that one of the spears placed in the reed field had pierced the neck of the horse; they took it out with much labor. This did not discourage him; rather, he proceeded with more spirit, burning the town, and covering all those along the beach and inland. He met with rivers that were difficult to wade across, but he found help in

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1 Ed. note: That is, Umatac and Merizo.

2 Ed. note: Or Faa, the place of residence of Choco the Chinaman.

3 Ed. note: Nagan and Hinca were inland villages located due east of Merizo.

4 Ed. note: Captain Esplana was on horseback, the Indians on foot. The boy's last name of Agman, or Hagman, means Moray eel.

the loyalty of the friendly Indians. Indeed, so that the wound would not get benumbed, they carried him across upon their shoulders while swimming.<sup>1</sup>

He slept that night in **Nuninia**,<sup>2</sup> where he noticed that the horse could not eat, from the pain from the wound and the fatigue. He took in his hands the cassock of the Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerra and said: "Saintly Father, you can see very well that this horse was wounded while avenging your blood, and subduing these barbarians, to make them good. You see very well also how necessary it is for it to be alive, as it is the only horse in these Islands. I will put your cassock upon it. Make it healthy." A strange thing happened. No sooner had he covered the horse with the cassock that it began to eat with a fair appetite (as the Sergeant Major himself has testified) and by morning it had regained so much strength that it was able to get to the garrison, a total distance of ten leagues, and within a very short time, it had recovered completely.

This was not the only marvel with which God our Lord was pleased to favor this enterprise. In fact, a soldier came close to dying, on account of a barb from a bone that pierced him in the foot during the campaign; his case was hopeless, since the barb had not been found, although they had opened the wound. The pious Sergeant Major resorted to his devoted St. Rose, and upon beginning the mass to the glorious Saint which he had requested as a remedy, he ordered the wound to be re-opened, and as soon as the top layer was squeezed, the poisonous barb then came up suddenly, so that the soldier was already out of danger even before the epistle was read.

The favors that we received from our great God were no fewer when it came to the progress of Christianity, with the Indians attending mass and being catechized in such numbers that in the town of San Ignacio de Agaña they pass 500, in that of Santa Rosa de **Tupungan** there are more than 300, in that of San Xavier de **Ritidian** about 400 attend, almost 700 attend that of San José de Utoti [rather **Upi**], and in San Miguel de **Tarragi** they pass 500, such large numbers that we, the Ministers, have been forced to demolish the churches in order to make them bigger and more spacious. The Father in charge of San Xavier de Ritidian was so well disposed that he undertook to build a college for children (dedicated to the glorious Archangel St. Gabriel) where twice a day 22 children meet to recite prayers, not counting those who pray when they go to bed and get up, so that said town has already made much progress, as if its education had started much earlier. Indeed, although the adults generally have a harder time to learn, they have already gained, not only sufficient knowledge for their salvation but also much more than what could have been hoped in such a short time with the children. As for the latter, before they lived in their college, it happened sometimes that the Father told them before parting at night that he would teach them something new the next day;

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- 1 Ed. note: Confused passage. This cannot be a reference to the horse with the wounded neck, but to Esplana's lame leg.
  - 2 Ed. note: I have not run across this place name anywhere else. Like Nagan and Hinca, it too was located inland, somewhere east of Merizo, north of Habadian and west of Inarajan. Since the route followed back to Agaña is not given, this point may remain a mystery.

after having prayed until midnight, they would get up before daybreak to wake up the Father, saying: "Father, teach us. We are all here."

In other parts, it is reported that some talked in their sleep, repeating: "Praise be to the most Holy Sacrament," and other words from the Doctrine. The devotion of these children cannot be easily described with words. They show it at every opportunity toward sacred things, as can be seen when they worship the holy Crosses, by going down on their knees when they come by one, and saying some prayers that they have learned. They do the same thing when they meet a Father along the way, and accompanying him as far as the church, while they sing some sweet praises to the Lord. They have been seen to do the same when returning from the plantations loaded with roots (their ordinary food) because, before they go home, they first go to the church and, after they have praised the Lord, they pick up their load and go.

How acceptable to the Lord the devout faith of these his creatures can be was revealed to us by His Majesty in a few special cases that will now be referred to. The first instance took place in the town of San Miguel de **Tarragi**. A canoe full of Indians was about to founder and was already full of water and beaten harshly by stiff waves when the children chanced to spot it; they went down on their knees, praying our Lord to deliver those poor people from such an obvious danger. His divine Majesty heard his innocent ones, delivering the canoe and those aboard it from such a known danger.

On another occasion, He also showed His heavenly favors with the children of the college of San Gabriel in **Ritidian**, because, when they went out fishing, for lack of adults in the town at that time, although they would normally catch few fishes because the sharks would almost always break their nets, the Lord gave them a great abundance of fish, without any damage done to the nets. Later on, when the Father asked them how this happened, they most happily answered that it was due to the Lord our God, to whom they had prayed while fishing: "We beg you, o Lord, to send us many fishes and to drive away the sharks." His divine Majesty not only rewarded right then their innocent faith and tender bequest, but His benign mercy continued with them at many other times.

Many other favors were made by God in these parts to add credit to His Holy Faith, but, so as not to lengthen this narrative, and for other reasons, they are not stated. Suffice to mention the special mercy of God with an Indian woman in the town of **Upi** who was visited many times by a Father, as she was sick. He was instructing her in the main Mysteries of our Holy Faith, but not baptizing her, since she did not appear to be at risk. The Lord, whose judgments infinitely exceed ours, ordered the Father one afternoon to visit her again and to administer Holy Baptism to her, although she did not appear to be in worse shape. It was recognized that this had been inspired by God, who held this soul to have been predestined, because the following morning they found her dead, she who had been thought out of danger of dying before.

The common enemy was envious of the happy progress made by our Holy Faith, and he tried to oppose it, making use of various methods, one of which was to terrorize the poor natives by assuming various and very horrible shapes, specially to the child-



ren of San Miguel of **Tarragi**, to whom he used to appear as a terrifying shadow, but the children had been taught to show him the holy Cross, and that infernal figure would disappear at once. The same thing happened to a few adults, but under another shape which would make various and horrible sounds to them that would cause them noteworthy fear, obliging them to ask us for crosses in order to free themselves from such a wild enemy.

This was not the most forceful method used by this cruel tyrant to make these poor souls stray from the path to Heaven. He made use of another more efficient means, and that was to incite the towns west of us [i.e. at Agaña] against our valorous soldiers. Thus, when they got to the town of **Tachuc**,<sup>1</sup> where there lived a very rebellious Indian chief, who had on various occasions appealed to villages to join in our destruction, and plotted the death of the Missionaries; under the guise of making peace, they were ready to kill all of us. Warned of the plot, the Sergeant Major tried to reduce them with good manners and kindness. Dissembling as best he could, he went on to sleep in the town of **Hahayadian**, which was also in the plot. After midnight, he left this place, making his way through the bush, to avoid the obvious danger of ambush, already present on the beach. They found the people already warned and waiting to come out and fight the battle. The Sergeant Major made it appear as if he was procrastinating until he had them in a more open field. He then spurred the horse toward the main war chief; upon reaching him, he gave him a sword wound, which dampened their courage, and he was finished off by the already-mentioned and ever-brave Lieutenant Don José de Tapia,<sup>2</sup> whose valor and speed in all occasions have made him famous and caused fear in these Islands. At this time, the horse became bogged down in a swamp, which gave the opportunity for the Indians to flee. Our men returned to the beach. As the Sergeant Major knew about the serious crimes committed by said Indian chief, whose name was **Tor-rahi**, and the little safety we would thereafter enjoy, thanks to his bad heart, he managed to get hold of him and, to provide a lesson to the rest, had him shot by musket fire. Henceforth, the whole Island remains in fear and forewarned, so that today all of us missionaries crisscross this Island without an armed escort and are well received in the towns, much to the benefit of these poor ones. So, thanks to God's mercy, this Island is now found in the best state that it has ever been. Every village wants a church, now that they have seen the punishment given to said Indian; in fact, our men went to his town and, leaving intact the houses of the others, they set fire to the house of said Indian. This helped to make it known that only the guilty ones are those being punished; this they admit is proper justice and well done.

This is the state of this Christian community as of this month of June 1675. Compared with that of last year, it shows great improvements. Whoever looks at it cannot

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1 Ed. note: This town was located immediately south of Merizo, as I have learned from a later document (Doc. 1689B1); its inlet became the port of San Francisco Xavier. It is mentioned in connection with the town called Hahayadian, which is another form of Habadian, or Hahayan.

2 Ed. note: Pampang soldier, just promoted from the rank of Sergeant to that of (Second) Lieutenant.

help but be warmly affected by it, because it is certain that God our Lord loves these Islands very much, given that they are the Islands of Mary, His Mother, who is in Heaven interceding for them. So, we beg those who are devoted to her to give us the succor of their prayers, and not to lessen their prayers and patronage, rather to increase them so that the Holy Faith may be exalted, as we hope will happen with the succor that has reached us, specially that of a horse that his Lordship, General Don Tomás de Andaya, has left us as a gift, because it is an animal that the Indians fear much.<sup>1</sup>

Island of San Juan, 6 June 1675.

Alonso Lopez.

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1 Ed. note: This was the second horse brought to Guam, in 1675. I imagine that it was winched overboard the galleon, and swam to shore, as even the launch would not have been able to handle this task. The same with the cows, but the calves, the pigs and smaller animals must have been ferried ashore.

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## Documents 1675F

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# The Muñoz reports about the Solomon and Mariana Islands, 1674 & 1675

## F1. Main report by Fr. Ignacio Muñoz, O.P., dated Valverde 2 October 1675

*Sources: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 14, decree 209; also in AGI Fil. 82-2-36 (ex-68-1-40); also BM London Eg. 1816 (Navarrete's Viages), fol. 296 et seq.; transcript of the earlier draft report in Colección Pastells, Fil. 17, fol. 172 et seq.*

*Notes: This is the final report; the first draft of this official copy was earlier and dated Valverde 15 April 1674.*

*According to B&R 25: 259, this Dominican Father arrived at the Philippines while still young in 1635, but left afterward to return to Spain, summoned by the King to take charge of the chair of mathematics at the court, with a stipend of 1,000 ducats per year.*

### **Report concerning the preservation and expansion of the Faith in the Marianas and neighboring island chains and the discovery and conquest of the Austral Islands of Solomon.**

...  
**Presenting the great difficulties which exist in making a voyage from Acapulco to the Solomon Islands with the Philippine galleon.**

Supposing that the situation of the Solomon Islands, and the distances involved from there to the recently-discovered islands, relative to Peru, and New Guinea, and the Philippines, as were discussed earlier, the decision to make the voyage from the port of Acapulco with the Philippine galleon, diverted for that purpose, as the said Don Andrés de Medina was proposing, would include very serious disadvantages.

The **first** disadvantage of this route, which would be repeated in time, are its costs, compared with one [directly] from Peru, because the port of Acapulco is not in 16 degrees of latitude north, as some would have it, but in 17 degrees, as I found out through various observations that I made in this port in the year 1666, in line with those that other pilots of the Philippine run had made at other times, and the port of Callao of Lima is in 12 degrees and 34 minutes of latitude south, more or less, so that between

these two ports there is a difference of almost 30 degrees, and that is the distance that one would have to cover if he came down to reach the said islands from Acapulco. Another point is that when the Philippine galleons arrive at the said port of Acapulco in the middle of January, the vessels arrive so weather beaten and with so few sailors, on account of the ordinary mortality during of seven and a half months of the voyage from illnesses such as beri-beri or Loanda disease, arriving so tired and exhausted, and the port of Acapulco is so destitute of master craftsmen, wood or naval supplies, that it is impossible to arrange and make the vessels ready for a voyage to Peru for many more months, and this [time] would be necessary to man-handle the rigging, cables and sailors, overland 160 leagues and over bad roads, from the port of Veracruz, at considerable expenses to His Majesty, as has been the case a few times [simply] to return to the Philippines. Besides, the duties that His Majesty get from from these galleons is not enough to cover these costs, on account of the reduction of the Chinese trade with those Islands since the conquest [of China] by the Tartars [i.e. Mongols], as I have observed and noted in all the ports in those parts.

The **second** disadvantage is the very serious detriment that His Majesty's service would suffer, as well as his Spanish vassals, and the tributary Indians of the Philippines, by the diversion of any one of their vessels for the stated purpose, because the number of galleons belonging to His Majesty in those Islands does not exceed three, some years, and regularly there are two, either because the costs regarding their construction are increasing and the royal subsidies from New Spain are short, or because the forests near the construction sites are running out of the appropriate kinds of wood for the purpose, or because the Indians, who cut the wood, and drag it from the forests, are extremely tired, very much oppressed, and badly paid for their work on such continuous labors. These reasons have obliged some governors of those islands to solicit, and carry out these constructions in the foreign Kingdoms of Cambodia, and Siam, its neighbor. Since there are two, or three such galleons, it can be clearly seen that this is the precise and necessary number, in order to have one coming from these Islands, and another going to New Spain, with some allowance for the usual turning back to the Philippines, and that priority must be given to the conveyance of the royal subsidy, soldiers, and sailors required for the management and preservation of the large number of Christian communities and garrisons in the numerous islands that form the Philippines. This is a sufficient reason not to divert any of these vessels for anything other than the voyage to these islands.

The **third** disadvantage, which renders impossible the voyage to the Solomon Islands with the Philippine galleons, is because the common construction of any one of these vessels involve 800, and at times 1,000 tons, so wide, yet so narrow when it comes to the load capacity, and the supplies, that are embarked for one year, and the storminess of that long sea voyage, non-stop all the way to Acapulco, that they need a minimum water depth of seven fathoms when they are loaded; for instance, said Master [i.e. the author] saw one of these galleons touch bottom in six fathoms at the port of Cavite in said Philippine Islands. So, in order to explore coasts not well known, such as those

of the Solomon Islands, what is necessary are ships, or frigates, of from 150 to 200 tons, that draw little water, in order to go in, and easily come out, when the bottom is not deep, with shoaly waters, as was done during the exploration of our Indies, and of the Strait of Le Mayre, and in those explorations by our Spanish, and by foreigners in the Solomon Islands themselves, as we have seen, in what I have mentioned earlier.

To conclude, said Master has examined the proposal of, and the means suggested by, said Don Andrés de Medina, and his other papers on this subject, in detail; experienced in practical navigation to the Philippines as he is, due attention being given to his status as a Religious, and a priest, his age, and naval experience, in the service of both Majesties, and declares: that said Don Andrés de Medina, in writing what he did (with very significant errors concerning hydrography) for one of our authors he used more verbosity than intelligence and practical knowledge of navigation, as matters of such difficulty require; he expressed himself in such a way as to dissimulate his own convenience under the guise of disinterestedness and of the many advantages that would accrue to the service of his Majesty in matters spiritual and temporal, in order to introduce himself for a few years as General of the galleons of the Philippine Islands.<sup>1</sup>

**Discourse on the navigation from Peru to the Solomon Islands.**

Supposing that the serious disadvantages of making this navigation from Acapulco with Philippine galleons are known, it seems that there is no recourse other than to make this navigation from Peru...

...  
**There is proposed the most convenient means to preserve and expand the faith in the Mariana Islands, in New Guinea, and lands in their vicinity.**

The Islands called Marianas are in the vicinity of New Guinea, ever since the year 1668, when the zealous Father Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus introduced the faith in eleven islands there, with four other subjects of the same religion with the assistance of a very considerable sum from His Majesty. They were called the Islands of the Ladrones before then, and among them the main ones is the Island of Guan, and Sarpana, with a strait in between, in a latitude of 13 degrees and a half, through which the Philippine galleons enter regularly, when they go from New Spain with the assistance and subsidy of His Majesty to Manila. In fact, there are 330 leagues from said strait to the entrance of the Philippines, which they call the Embocadero of San Bernardino, and from here to Manila, the trade mart of those Islands, there are 100 leagues through many islands and channels, as shown by personal experience and observations.

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1 Ed. note: This Medina had arrived in Mexico in 1662 with a royal commission to go and explore the Solomon Islands. Since there were no ships for him, the Viceroy appointed him General of the galleon San José in 1663, displacing its lawful commander, Francisco García del Fresno. The new Governor of the Philippines, Diego Salcedo, was aboard. He was so upset that, as soon as he found an excuse for it, he re-instated the former commander. Medina went into seclusion, and did not emerge until the ship reached Cavite. He subsequently chartered a ship and reached the coast of Cochinchina [Vietnam] where he was murdered by pirates. Some of Medina's instruments were later offered for sale to some Portuguese (ref. B&R 37: 227-234).

In addition, from said strait of Sarpana to the north coast of New Guinea, there are 250 leagues due south, and in-between there are 9 islands not very distant from one another, since these Mariana Islands are lined up in a range along the same meridian that runs from the equatorial line close to New Guinea all the way up to 31 degrees of latitude north ending up at the Islands of Japan, which is a total of 542 leagues.

Since the faith has been introduced so happily in those Mariana Islands, and the friendliness of their natives has been recognized, obligation dictates that their cultivation by ministers of the sacred gospel should continue. The subjects have to come from Spain, and their conveyance from Acapulco aboard the Philippine galleons take place with the Missionaries destined to these [Philippine] Islands, and, upon passing by whatever strait in the Marianas (as is necessary) to leave there those destined for those new Christian communities. Their continuation, protection and the exploration of the neighboring islands, and of New Guinea, would be done more quickly and easily if done from the Philippines, given that the distance is moderate and the benefit of these Islands not small, because, if ports or good anchorages are surveyed in the Marianas, the Philippine galleons could resort there when they go to New Spain, and should they find rigorous storms in these confines (as often happens) without the necessity of turning back to Manila in distress, and to lose the voyage that year, and the Philippines to lose their necessary and yearly assistance. Indeed, if these galleons had the refuge provided by the anchorages in the Marianas, under whatever condition of the monsoon winds, they would be able to successfully pursue their voyage to New Spain.

The surveying of the ports and anchorages of the Mariana Islands, of New Guinea, and adjacent lands, requires small ships, and a careful and circumspect pilot to observe latitudes, sound the rivers, anchorages, and ports, to make notes about the tides, and everything else of that sort in order to write his routers, descriptions, make maps and hydrographical charts, whose original copies would always be preserved in the royal accountant's office at Manila, with authentic copies remitted by alternate routes to the Royal Council of the Indies.

There is no frigates in the Philippines to carry out said project, but there are capable craft, called Champans, although they are of Spanish make, that can carry up to four small pieces of artillery, a few heavy muskets, and as many as 30 soldiers. They are of shallow draft, need few sailors, and they sail (as they say) with their beak in the wind. From four to six such champans would be sufficient for this project, because it is to take place among Indians, and negroes, who do not have firearms. If the pilot Antonio de Azevedo is still alive in Manila (he would be about 45 years old, and was the first who took the said ministers to the Mariana islands), he could be assisted with moderate sums to cover the costs, and offered some honorific title; he could carry out this survey and description with energetic execution and curiosity, because I have found out that he was the only one who knew how to do it among all the coastal pilots of that run.

It would not be convenient to launch this project from the Island of Mindanao, as Fr. San Vitores had proposed, either because it is somewhat remote from Manila, and

although one of its capes, the Cape of San Agustin, is closer to New Guinea, it is very distant from the said Mariana Islands, or because this cape is part of lands belonging to our enemies, the Mindanao moors, who, with craft called Caracoas, and the firearms which they use, might rout the said Champans, or prevent them from making their voyage. The most convenient site from which to launch this project is the port of Boronga in the Island of Samal at the entrance to the Philippines, whose administration is solely in the hands of the Fathers of the Society, who will naturally help the enterprise as they are directly concerned, and the Champans would be at a convenient location in the said port to take advantage of whatever wind condition to make a shorter crossing, more quickly, to the Mariana Islands, which are due east from there.

### **Conclusion of the report.**

What had been said can be summarized as follows. The Solomon Islands do not form a range of islands stretching from Peru to the Mariana Islands, as the proposal said, because by [the word] range is meant a series of islands along a route, or course, with little distance from one to another, as the Marianas are in connection with Japan, and New Guinea. Such characteristics do not exist with regard to the Solomon Islands, because the easternmost islands are very distant from the coast of Peru, and from others in that group, and spread out through this Austral sea in different directions, as was the experience of the five voyages mentioned. Their latitudes, distances, directions, winds, and months of navigation have been discussed in this paper, so that the royal Council may be informed quite correctly, and able to exclude self-serving reports, whenever a project regarding these Islands comes up.

It is proposed that Christianity in the Mariana Islands and neighboring islands be preserved, maintained, and expanded. To propose special voyages, and ships, for voyages from Peru to the Solomon Islands, is not to have a [proper] understanding of their situation, the long crossings, and the stated disadvantages that are involved; it is to set out on very long voyages without the experience of the return route to Peru, at the risk of immense sums from the royal treasury, for no specific necessities, nor spiritual benefit, nor even sufficient temporal gain. On the other hand, the main objective, as proposed, concerning the Mariana Islands, and their adjacent islands, can be achieved with such ease from New Spain, and the Philippines, with their vessels, and the galleons in the manner described.

Once expert notices and other opinions have been added to what said Master has expressed in this report, the Royal Council of the Indies will be in a better position to decide what is best for the service of His Majesty.

Given at the Convent of Our Lady of Valverde,<sup>1</sup> and signed on 2 October 1675.

Fray Ignacio Muñoz,  
Master of Theology.

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1 Ed. note: Valverde is located SE of Alcalá de Henares.

## F2. Sailing directions for a voyage from Peru to the Philippines, copied in 1670

*Source: BNM ms. 7119 (Derrotas del Mar), fol. 308-308v.*

*Notes: In the same source, fol. 157, 159-159v (new numeration), is a brief by the same author, addressed to the Council of the Indies, about reaching New Guinea from the Marianas, dated 1674.*

### Sailing directions to go from the Port of Callao of Lima on the coast of Peru to the Philippine Islands.

Going out of the Port of Callao in search of the Ladrones which are east of the Philippine Islands about 330 leagues, you should steer W 1/4 NW [i.e. W by N] until you pass the equatorial line, should proceed along the same heading until you place yourself at the latitude of 9 degrees 1/2 on the north side. From that neighborhood and latitude, you should turn west and be on the lookout for the shoals of **Barbuda** [sic], and also those called **Mira como vas**, or **Abre los ojos**, because all of these shoals are very bad, made up of reefs and lagoons, and much roughness.<sup>1</sup> As you are at a latitude of 9 degrees 1/2 north, stay clear of them with caution.

When it seems clear to you that you have left these shoals to windward, you should order the course to be changed to NW 1/4 W [NW by W] until placing yourself at a latitude of 13 degrees north, and from this latitude you should order to steer due west in search of the island of **Guan**, which is the main island in the islands of the Ladrones; it is in the said latitude and that is where our galleons make their stopover, to take on water and wood. The watering place is on the southern side. It is flat land<sup>2</sup> and is aligned north-south.

The better-known islands of the Ladrones are 9 in number, aligned north-south, and among them there are a few rocks. Beginning with the northernmost ones, their names are as follows: **Hana** [Urac]; the next one south of it is called **Mao** [Maug]; the next **Gregua** [Agrigan]; the next **Pagara** [Pagan]; the next **Greguan** [Guguan]; next **Her-gua** [Sarigan]; next **Maban** [Anatahan]. The next one is **Çarpana**, and the last one, which is the southernmost one, where our galleons arrive, and those coming from Acapulco, is called **Guan**, and that is where water and wood are taken on board.<sup>3</sup>

After leaving the island of Guan bound for the Cape of Espiritu Santo you should steer due west. The signs for this Cape are, that there is headland, and from the said Cape to the headland, there is an anchorage of about 1 league in width, and at the entrance to this anchorage there is a rocky islet. When you are headed for it, you shall see the water breaking all along it, but if you wish to go in, you should leave the islet to starboard; when you get a little beyond being abreast of the islet, you will find bottom

1 Ed. note: It is obvious that Fr. Muñoz had only an old chart to refer to.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Muñoz did not remember Guam too well.

3 Ed. note: It is not possible to say what old chart the author was using, but his eye must have skipped from Çarpana grande [Saipan] to Çarpana [Rota] without his realizing it, because he forgot to mention Saipan, Tinian, and Aguijan.



at 8 fathoms, and you can anchor there, if you wish. The Cape of Espiritu Santo is part of the Island of Tandaya, the first island of the Embocadero, or Channel, and it is in 11 degrees and a half of north latitude. I point out that the old Spaniards named the island Tandaya, with the name of the principal Indian who was then the most powerful one there, because the island is properly called, then and now, Ibabao, or Samar.

This book of sailing directions has other routers for Acapulco to the Philippines, and from them to Acapulco, which are not important as they are unclear and not detailed enough, as required in matters of such importance...

The end. I finished copying this on 12 October 1670 in Madrid.

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**Document 1675G**

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**Fr. Vidal's report on the Mariana  
Island missionaries, 1668-1675**

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 132-132v.*

**Mexico, 1675—Catalog of the subjects who have  
gone to the Mariana Islands, those dead and those  
living.**

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IHS

**Memorandum of the subjects who have passed to the Mariana  
Islands since the year of 1668 when the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis San  
Vitores went on that enterprise**

[1.] **Ven. Fr. Diego Luis S. Vitores, who came the said year of '68 from the  
Philippines with**

[2.] **Fr. Thomas Cardeñoso** to go to that Mariana mission. From among the sub-  
jects who came that year from Spain, those who also remained in the Marianas are

[3.] **Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina**

[4.] **Fr. Pedro de Casanova**

[5.] **Fr. Luis de Morales**

[6.] **Br. Lorenzo Bustillo, student.**

In the year of 1672 [rather 1671] there came from the Philippines for the Marianas:

[7.] **Fr. Francisco Solano**

[8.] **Fr. Francisco Esquerria.**

With them there went from this Province of New Spain for the said islands:

[9.] **Fr. Alonso Lopez,**

and from among the subjects brought from Spain by Fr. Ledesma, there remained in the Marianas:

[10.] **Fr. Diego de Noriega**

In the year of '72, out of the eight Fathers who came from Europe for the Province of the Philippines, there remained in the Mission:

[11.] **Fr. Gerardo Bouwens**

[12.] **Fr. Pedro Comano [i.e. Coomans]**

[13.] **Fr. Antonio Maria S. Basilio**

In the year of '74, there went the 10 subjects who came from Spain for that Mission:

[14.] **Fr. Sebastian de Monrroy, novice,**

[15.] **Br. Juan de Ahumada, novice,**

[16.] **Fr. Francisco Gayoso, 2nd year theology student,**

[17.] **Fr. Jacinto de Montenegro, 2nd year theology student,<sup>1</sup>**

[18.] **Br. Pedro Martin, philosophy student, [see below]**

[19.] **Br. Agustin Garcia, novice,<sup>2</sup>**

[20.] **Br. Pedro Diaz, novice,**

[21.] **Br. Juan Correchano, coadjutor, [see below]**

[22.] **Br. Thomas Pavon, coadjutor novice,**

[23.] **Br. Bernabe Gomez, coadjutor novice, [see below]**

[24.] **Br. Josseph de Salazar, coadjutor novice; he was substituted here in Mexico for one who missed coming from Spain, out of 11 who had been ordered to come by His Majesty. All of those who have gone to the Marianas total 24.**

Out of this number are glorious martyrs for Christ:

—**Ven. Fr. Luis de Medina, on 29 January 1670,**

—**Ven. and Apostolic Fr. Diego Luis S. Vitores, on 2 April 1672,**

—**Ven. Fr. Francisco Esquerria, on 2 February 1674.**

**Those who died a natural death:**

—**Fr. Francisco Solano, on 13 June 1672**

—**Fr. Diego de Noriega, on [blank]<sup>3</sup>**

**Those who went to Manila in 1671:**

—**Fr. Pedro de Casanova**

—**Fr. Luis de Morales**

—**Br. Lorenzo Bustillo, who all passed to Manila to study. The two Fathers stayed [there], but Br. Bustillo came here [i.e. to Mexico] in order to be ordained, and to return to the Mariana Mission with Fr. Gerardo Bouwens who had gone to Manila on**

1 Ed. note: There is no further record of this man having been in the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: There is no further record of this man either.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Noriega died on 13 January 1672.

mission business. Fr. Gerardo went back but Br. Bustillo stayed here until next year, Fr. Gerardo made his profession here on 2 February of this year of '75.

The year of '74, those who passed through to Manila were:<sup>1</sup>

—**Fr. Pedro Comano**

—Br. Pedro Martin

—Br. Juan Correchano

—Br. Bernabe Gomez.

All of those who are there and belong to the Marianas are Angels, and desirous to suffer many hardships for the love of God.

+ Joseph Vidal +

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1 Ed. note: The galleon could not anchor at Guam and was swept away by strong currents, taking Fr. Coomans against his will and the three brothers who had not yet disembarked.

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## Documents 1675H

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# Notes concerning the boat and the navigation for the Mariana Islands, ca. 1675

## H1. Anonymous, undated and unsigned note regarding the mission boat

*Source: Phil. mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University (1 folio): "Carta para que se disponga un bajel para las Marianas [17th-century]"*.

*Notes: The date of this note is after June 1674, because it refers to Blessed Fr. Sanvitores (the news of his death reached Madrid only in 1674), and before 1676 (the 1674 letter of Gov. de León, Doc. 1674F, would have arrived at Madrid by then). In AGI, I have found the document whose draft this is (see Doc. 1679H2). The authorship is clearly that of Fr. Espinar. He passed it to Fr. Pantoja in 1677, and the latter officially presented it to the Council only in 1679.*

The Blessed missionary Fr. Luis de Sanvitores having founded the Mariana Mission for the glory of God, a credit to his faith, and in discharge of the obligation that our Catholic Monarch has to propagate it in the Indies, having already fertilized it with his blood and those of his priestly and lay companions, giving to Heaven the copious product of souls as it is known and which continues and will continue in the future, it would be something very painful and sad if all would be lost for lack of zeal and for not applying appropriate means to its development, and more so if we lose the expenses already made and the hardships already suffered in founding it, in converting souls and the hopes of converting even more in this Mission and in the island of Japan which adjoins it.

Until now this Mission has been developed and assisted by the Philippine galleons that make the voyage to New Spain and on the return voyage leave it [i.e. the relief] at the island of Guan [sic], alias San Juan, ministers, people, provisions and other necessities, but these galleons normally make fortuitous voyages and are exposed to putting back in distress, overshooting, being lost and to other fortuitous and unforeseen accidents at sea, it has been recognized that this means is not secure enough to develop and assist this Mission which, without assistance, would find itself at risk and

exposed to the accidents that can happen to it as a result of the changeability in the regularity of the galleons, and in order to get it [i.e. the assistance] every year for sure, the most appropriate means is a boat of as many as 100 tons to come in May or June from the Philippines to the Marianas, a distance of 300 leagues, and bring to this Mission what is necessary to found it and to establish it well, and on the return voyage to reconnoiter and discover if there are other islands in between, where with smaller boats they could sail from one another as far as the Philippines, a step which until now has not been taken nor can it be taken with a boat other than the above-mentioned one, because those that sail to New Spain are very large and are not for inter-island travel and when they lose sight of the Philippine Islands they then try and gain latitude in order to catch winds that are generally favorable to their voyage and during which it often happens that they do not sight the Marianas or pass between them, on account of contrary winds.

However, although this means is necessary and safe, it is unfeasible because of present necessities and because the Royal Treasury is not in a position of being able to build and to provision a boat for this purpose at its expense; rather it is feasible if it be done at someone else's expense and at no cost to the King, which can be done if the Governor of the Philippines (who is at the center of this, as well as of other matters) applies himself with zeal to the service of God and the King in undertaking it because he can in the name of His Majesty give a permit to one or more Manila residents who wish to make a voyage to the Province of Canton, or to another province that would suit them better, so that they do so with the duty to also make another [voyage] at their expense to the Marianas bringing news to those who are there without any obligation to feed the ministers or other passengers who would feed and supply themselves.

He can also arrange the purchase of a boat for this purpose, by giving them a permit to buy in Manila some of those that come there for trade and commerce and, if there is a lack of them, by giving them permission to build them at Cavite or at one of the islands where more convenient, offering them [ship-] masters and officers at their normal rate of pay, forgiving them the taxes and license fees that can be granted and that are granted to others as dictated by His Majesty that are convenient to them and can also be to those who make the said voyage to the Marianas.

In order to make this more feasible, the 3,000 pesos that His Majesty has already made available,<sup>1</sup> if it has not yet been built, and if it has, they can be given it along with the duty to make the said voyage, and a few sailors for their outfitting, given that all those in the Philippines draw their wages from His Majesty, and they get them whether they sail or not, offering them convenient jobs in the ships that make the voyage to New Spain, given that in the voyage to the Marianas at present they can only serve God and the King.

Finally, the Governor of the Philippines can, if he wishes to take these matters with the necessary zeal, decide to build this boat himself with the above-mentioned 3,000

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673D3.

pesos in Cavite which is 3 leagues from Manila because out of the construction of the big ones that are built there for the voyage to New Spain there usually is left a little lumber that can be used for this boat and, once made, he can give it to the residents who want to make the voyage to the Marianas in the above-mentioned manner. If the Governor does not consider this and other means mentioned here in order to make this boat and the voyage to the Marianas possible, not one of the residents will come out and do it, even if he likes to do so and finds it convenient to do so, or wishes to do this service to God and the King for the maintenance of the Mariana Mission, because, as that country is so far and everyone so dependent upon the Governor who is the one, in government and church matters, who does, and can do, favors, nobody will want to displease him by doing something other than what he would normally be inclined to do and, although His Majesty by his decrees orders him to make a boat available for the Marianas in the aforesaid manner, unless it suits him, they would not be obeyed any more than others that are despatched and have been despatched for the benefit of the Mariana Mission.

## H2. Discussion on the best way to despatch the relief patache to the Marianas

*Source: RAH Fil. 9/2268, doc. n° 55.*

### Two expert opinions.

[1.] Captain Antonio de Azevedo, Pilot Major aboard the galleons on the regular run between the Philippine and New Spain, when asked if from the Islands of the Pintados [i.e. Visayas], it is possible to make the voyage to the Marianas, declared that it is possible and was easy if done at the beginning of May when the tradewinds slacken and the SW and SE winds take over, and they last that whole month and that of June and are called the inter-monsoon and the monsoon.

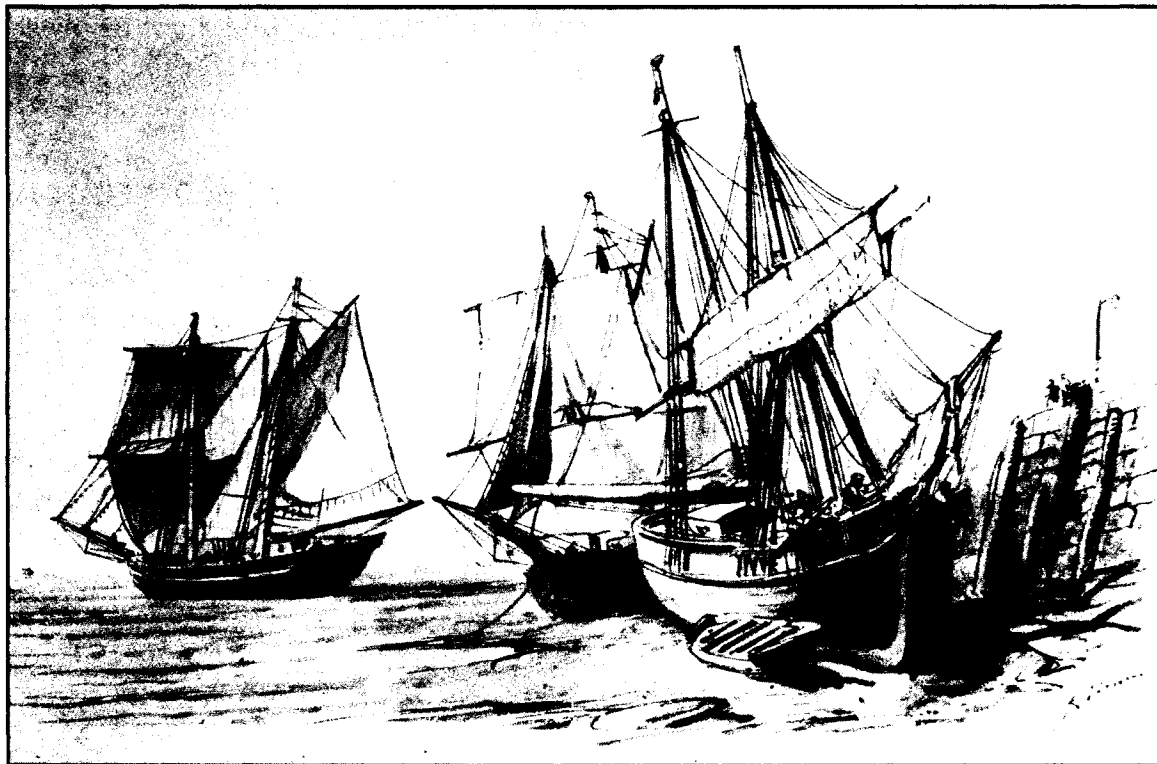
If there were a light patache that was a good sailer on the coast of Boronga, or better, at or near the Cape of San Agustín, it could, with the first favorable winds, make progress eastward until placing itself at the islands that are in 11 degrees, about 100 leagues from the Philippines, with the precaution that, upon reaching that distance, they would keep a good watch and at night sail with minimum canvas, and that would be sufficient, given that the area is not known and that in case the wind would fail or shift, they could find shelter in the said islands [i.e. Palau] and anchor until the return of a favorable wind. Then it would pursue its voyage until reaching Guan which is in 13 degrees and a half of latitude. For this, one good sun man [i.e. navigator] and 2 or 4 Spanish seamen and the rest native would suffice. That all this could [also] be done with a **sampan** but on the condition that it be strong and with good futtock-timbers, and it would carry the spare sails and masts that could be found, and then a few Chinese half-breeds, skilled in the navigation of such vessels, would be necessary.

This is my opinion and I sign it in this city of Manila on 10 May 1675.

Antonio de Azevedo...<sup>1</sup>

[2.] Jacome Juan, Pilot's Mate, who is going this year aboard the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** to the port of Acapulco in New Spain, when asked if from the Islands of the Pintados could be made the voyage to the Marianas, declared that this was possible and was easy if done at the beginning of May when the tradewinds are replaced by SW and SE winds that last the whole of this month [i.e. May] and that of June, and are called inter-monsoon and monsoon, etc....<sup>2</sup>

Manila, 23 May 1675



**Champan and pataches, types built in Manila before 1700. Vessels of the type used by the Spanish for trade voyages among the Philippine Islands, to Macau, China and as far as the Marianas. Drawing by Rafael Monleón, 1890 (Courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid).**

1 Ed. note: Captain Acevedo gave a different opinion in 1679 (see Doc. 1679H2).

2 Ed. note: The rest of his opinion is basically the same as that of Azevedo.



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## Document 1675I

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# Fr. Villabona applies for permission to send 5 more missionaries to the Marianas

*Sources: AGI ex-67-6-5; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 17, fol. 188-188v.*

### Original text in Spanish

***Manuel de Villabona de la Compañía de Jesus à S.M. Pide licencia y el aviamiento necesario para pasar à las Yslas Marianas cinco Religiosos misioneros que en conformidad de lo que S.M. tiene mandado se disponen yr à ellas à emplearse en la conversion de aquellos naturales.***

*Señor.*

*Manuel de Villabona de la Compañía de Jhs Procurador General de las Provincias de Indias en esta corte:*

*Dice, que por tener noticia V.Mgd. por varios ynformes que han venido al Consejo de la muchedumbre de los ynfieles que se han descubierto en las Yslas Marianas que estan dispuestos a recibir el santo Evangelio y que por los pocos sacerdotes que havia de la Compañía de Jhs en aquellas Yslas no podian acudir à tantas como ay descubiertas por cuya causa se estaban en su gentilidad y para que hubiese operarios que los catequizasen y enseñasen la doctrina Christiana fue V.Mgd. servida dispusiesen inviar à aquellas Yslas el mayor numero de Religiosos que pudiesen y en virtud de esta orden se juntaron nueve que se embarcaron en la flota que partio a Nueva España el año pasado de 673 aunque hera poco numero para el grande [numero] que en ellas ay de infieles por la brevedad con que se dispuso no se pudieron enviar mas y de presente ay cinco que tienen vocacion de pasar a dichas Yslas à predicar el santo evangelio dandoles V.Mgd. licencia y el avio necesario por persistir la mesma necesidad que entonces mayormente despues de la dichosa muerte que en ellas padecio Diego Luis de San Vitores Religioso de la Compañía de Jhs Superior de aquellas Reduciones y para que puedan envarcarse en esta presente flota Suplica a V.Mgd. se sirva de mandar dar licencia para que vayan y los despachos necesarios para llevar estos cinco Religiosos de su*

*orden que se han juntado en virtud del orden de V.Mgd. para dichas Yslas Marianas y el aviamiento necesario que se acostumbra dar a los Religiosos Misioneros que se envian a las Provincias de Yndias, en que recibira merced.*

*Consejo a 25 de Mayo 1675.*

*Hagase como lo pide.*

*Fecho.*

*Para el Aviamiento, Matalotage y Vestuario de los cinco Religiosos que por decreto del Consejo de 25 de este se han concedido a Manuel de Villabona de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus Procurador general de las Yndias en esta Corte para imbiar a las misiones de las Yslas Marianas, son necesarios siento y sesenta y ocho mill y veinte maravedis de Vellon en que ban ynclusos los diez ducados que se dan de mas a cada religioso de los que van por la Nueva España esto sin el gasto que han de hazer desde los Conventos de donde salieren hasta llegar a Sevilla que se les ha de contar a razon de siete Reales por cada Religioso y ocho leguas por dia de que ha de constar por certificacion de los Superiores de los dichos Conventos de donde salieren y mas dos reales al dia a cada uno de los dichos religiosos de los que se detuvieren en Sevilla aguardando embarcacion.*

*Madrid y Mayo veinte y ocho de 1675 años.*

## Translation

**Manuel de Villabona of the Society of Jesus to Y.M. He asks for a licence and the necessary outfits for five Religious missionaries to pass to the Mariana Islands, in conformity with what Y.M. has ordered to go there to be employed in the conversion of those natives.**

Sire:

Manuel de Villabona of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies at this court:

Declares: that, given that Your Majesty has heard through various reports that have come to the Council about the crowd of heathens who have been discovered in the Mariana Islands, who are disposed to receive the holy Gospel, and that, on account of the few priests whom the Society has in those Islands, they are unable to attend to so many as have been discovered, for which reason they remain gentiles. And in order to have workers to catechize them and teach them the Christian doctrine, Your Majesty was pleased to arrange to send to those Islands as large a number of Religious as possible, and by virtue of this order, nine of them were [previously] assembled and they sailed aboard the fleet that left for New Spain in the year 1673, although that was a small number, considering the great number of heathens overthere. Due to a shortage of time to arrange otherwise, no more than that were able to go, but at present there are five who are earmarked to pass to said Islands to preach the holy Gospel, if Your Majesty gives them permission and the necessary outfit, given that the same need persists (and is greater now, following the lucky death suffered there by Diego Luis de San Vitores,

Religious of the Society of Jesus and Superior of those reductions) and, in order for them to embark with the present fleet:

He begs Your Majesty to please order that a license be given for the five Religious of his Order who have been assembled to go to said Mariana Islands and for the necessary despatches for them to carry, by virtue of the order of Your Majesty, and the necessary outfits that are usually provided to Religious Missionaries sent to the Provinces of the Indies—for which he will be thankful.

The Council, 25 May 1675.

Let us do as he asks.

Done.

For the outfitting, sea supplies and vestments of the five Religious whom, as decreed by the Council on the 25th of this month, granted to Manuel de Villabona of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Indies at this Court to send to the Mariana Island missions, there is a need for 168,020 maravedis of bullion gold, including the 10 ducats that are given as a supplement to those going via New Spain, but excluding the expenses that they have to make to get from their convents to Seville, which must be calculated at the rate of 7 reals per Religious and at 8 leagues per day, for which a certificate must be received from the Superiors of said convents at the point of departure, plus 2 reals per day to every one of said Religious while detained in Seville and waiting for an opportunity to embark.

Madrid, 28 May 1675.

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## Documents 1675J

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# Letters from the Audiencia of Manila to the King, in support of the Jesuits

*Source: RAH 9/2668, doc. 54.*

## J1. Letter regarding the necessity of keeping the 4 Jesuits residing at the College of San Ignacio

### Original text in Spanish.

*Cartas de la Real Audiencia de Manila sobre los 4 ministros necesarios para Manila y como necesita de 40 para Marianas, Siao &c.*

*Señor*

*El Colegio de San Ignacio de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs desta ciudad de Manila presento peticion en este Real acuerdo diciendo, que en el tenia quatro ministros para confessar los naturales, y demas gente de ella, y de sus contornos para sus Alimentos les tiene de V.Mgd. situados cient pesos. Y cien cavan es de Arros a cada uno al año, que por ser por tiempo limitado y para sacar prorrogazion informase a V.Mgd. lo que açen dichos operarios en dicho colegio y haziendo lo dice, que en todas las ocasiones, que a ydo a el la haudiencia, y cada oydor en particular a visto, y es publico y notorio, que no solo asisten los dichos quatro ministros a los confessionarios y administracion de los sacramentos sino todos los saçerdotes, que ay en el, y aun los que asisten en el de San Joseph, en especial en las quaresmas y festibidades grandes por acudir a dicho Colegio de San Ignacio la mayor parte de la gente desta ciudad y todos los moradores de los Pueblos circunbezinos, que son en mucho numero, y de diversas nazioni y assi halla ser mui necessaria la conservacion destes 4 ministros operarios para el servicio de ambas Magestades, y bien de las almas. V.Mgd. mandara lo combeniente la divina guarde la Catholica Real persona de V.Mgd. los muchos años que la christiandad a menester en acresentamiento de mayores Reynos y señorios.*

*Manila y Maio 24 de 1675.*

*Don Manuel de Leon*

*Don Francisco Coloma*

*Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mancilla*  
*Dr. Don Fernando de Escaño*  
*Dr. Don Melchor Calderon y Serrano*

### **Translation.**

Letters from the Royal Audiencia of Manila regarding the 4 ministers for Manila and the need for 40 for the Marianas, Siao, etc.

Sire:

The College of San Ignacio of the Society of Jesus of this city of Manila has presented a petition in this Royal Tribunal, saying that there reside four ministers to confess the natives and other people in Manila, and its vicinity, and that a subsidy of 100 pesos is received from Your Majesty for their food, plus 100 *cabans* [approx. 10 Kg] of rice each per year, but since this [subsidy] is for a limited time and in order to get a renewal, they ask that Your Majesty be informed about the work of said workers in said college.

After due consideration, the Audiencia declares that, in all occasions that they have visited it, each and every member has seen for himself, and it is public and common knowledge, that the said four ministers not only are attending to the confessionals and to the administration of the sacraments but all the priests residing there, even those who work in the College of San José, specially during Lent and major holidays, when there flock to the College of San Ignacio the majority of the people living in this city and all the residents of the neighboring towns who are in larger numbers and of various nationalities. So, it is found that the preservation of these 4 priestly workers is very necessary for the service of both Majesties, and the good of souls.

Your Majesty will order as you please. May the divine Majesty keep the Catholic Royal person of Your Majesty for as many years as Christendom needs, with an increase in Kingdoms and dominions.

Manila, 24 May 1675.

Don Manuel de León

Don Francisco Coloma

Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mancilla

Dr. Don Fernando de Escaño

Dr. Don Melchor Calderón y Serrano

## **J2. Special need of the missions**

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

*Carta de la Real Audiencia de Manila sobre la necesidad que ay de sujetos para las doctrinas y misiones de las Provincias.*

*Señor*

*La religion de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs represento en este Real Acuerdo la necesidad de sujetos con que se alla en las misiones, que tiene en estas Yslas, las de Marianas, Siao, y otras partes; y que infamasse a V.Mgd. se sirva de concederle los nesessarios para poder*

*acudir a los ministerios de su cargo, y emplearse mejor en el servicio de ambas Magestades, y vien de los fieles y haciendolo le parece neçesita por aora de mas de 40 sugetos, y por ser como son muchos los ministerios, que tiene los mas arresgados y mui distantes unos de otros que siendo V.Mgd. servido le podra conçeder porque realmente en todas partes se aventajan estos Padres en la enseñaça y amparo de los Pobres yndios, y de las demas naciones que tienen a su cargo; y con el buen exemplo que con su honestidad, y vida exemplar conçervan con tanta edificazion de las Almas mucho el fruto que açen V.Mgd. mandara lo mas combeniente la divina Guarde la Catholica y Real perssona de V.Mgd. los muchos años [que] la Christiandad a menester en acreçentamiento de maiores reynos y señorios.*

*Manila y mayo 24 de 1675.*

*Don Manuel de Leon*

*Don Francisco Coloma*

*Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mançilla*

*Dr. Don Fernando de Escaño*

*Dr. Don Melchor Calderon y Serrano.*

### **Translation.**

Letter from the Royal Audiencia of Manila regarding the need for subjects for missionary work in the Provinces.

Sire:

The religious order of the Society of Jesus has represented in this Royal Tribunal the need of the subjects who work in the missions it has in these Islands, those of the Marianas, Siao, and elsewhere, and that Your Majesty be informed and be pleased to grant the necessities for them to attend to the ministries in their care, and in so doing, better serve both Majesties and the good of souls.

After due consideration, the Audiencia thinks that the need for now is for more than 40 subjects and, given that the ministries they have are many and among the most dangerous ones and distant from one another, that Your Majesty will please grant it, because in reality these Fathers excel everywhere in the teaching and protection of the poor Indians, and of the other nations that are in their care, and in the good example they set with their honesty and exemplary life, much to the edification of souls, and the fruit they gather is important.

Your Majesty will order as you please. May the divine Majesty keep the Catholic Royal person of Your Majesty for as many years as Christendom needs, with an increase in Kingdoms and dominions.

Manila, 24 May 1675.

Don Manuel de León

Don Francisco Coloma

Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mancilla

Dr. Don Fernando de Escaño

Dr. Don Melchor Calderón y Serrano.

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## Documents 1676A

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# Composite reports for 1674-76

## A1. Short report

*Source: RAH 9/2677.*

*Note: This document is partly mutilated; the first 4 pages are 1/3 missing. My educated guess is that Fr. Gayoso was the editor of this short report (see footnote below) which covers the 2-year period of his stay in the Islands.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Relacion de lo sucedido en las Islas de los Ladrones ya Marianas desde Junio de 74 hasta Mayo de 76.***

*Por el mes de Junio de 1674 llego a las Islas Marianas la Nao que de Mexico pasava a Filipinas, y se llevò muy acaso, y sin poder nadie estorvarlo al P. Pedro Comano, que era entonces superior de la Mission. Por falta suya eligieron por superior los nuestros con mucha conformidad al Padre Antonio de S. Basilio, y se prosiguió con toda edificacion y exemplo en nuestros ministerios; pero luego el Demonio procurò de muchas maneras impedirlos. Primeramente con las disensiones que causo entre los Padres y el Capitan Esplana que era el cabo de la milicia, sobre si le tocava a el, o a los Padres el gobierno della[.] los Padres por papeles de España, y razones que tenian para ello decian, que el que era superior de la mission lo era tambien de los soldados, y el Capitan al contrario pretendia a los Padres solo tocava atender a la doctrina, y enseñanza espiritual de la[s] Islas, y a el [el] gobierno de las armas. Estas alteraciones fueron frequentes, y causa de muchos disgustos, y de que el Capitan se desmandase en palabras contra los Padres y mientras duraron se adelantò muy poco, o por mejor decir se atrasò muchissimo el fruto de la Mission, pues en todo aquel año no pasieron de siete los bautismos de adultos.*

*En medio destes desabrimientos, quiso cierto dia castigar a un [hole] sospechas que tuvo de haver el tal peccado con una muchacha de la [hole] -ra quitarselo con violencia [hole] -van semejantes castigos y [hole] salieron casi todos los Padres [hole] -ro con modestia al Capitan [hole] se encendieron tantos los [hole] -nados de su pasion, zelo, [hole] -nestas voces. Viva la Iglesia [hole] Capitan y sus Soldados, y segun [hole] Viva el Rey. Con que se ve bien [hole] viendo esto el Padre Alonso [hole] -tamenes del Capi-*

*tan para [hole] -do en la mano una forma [hole] Cardeñoso, que con no tener [hole] se aportado con mas cordu- [hole] de masiada, e imprudente [hole] -endole el brazo, reducirle [hole] en la mano, hizo el Padre [hole] -presente de los demasias del Capitan &<sup>a</sup> y concluyó descomulgandose a el, y a los que le siguiese. En esto sa[ca]ron los Padres un papel que decian ser Cedula de Su Magestad en que el Padre que fuese superior de la Mission encomendava tambien el cuidado de las armas, y bolviendo el sanctissimo a la Iglesia se puso Junto a el este papel, como para mayor testimonio de la verdad. Mientras duro la platica del Padre estuvieron todos de rodillas delante del Sanctissimo, y el Capitan tambien sin hablar palabras, que no fue poco para su fogoso, y colerico natural, y ma[s] oyendo las cosas que el Padre decia contra el, pero buuelto ya el sanctissimo en su lugar se salio de la cerca con sus soldados, y alli desfogo su represada colera, diciendo a voces contra los Padres lo que le dicto su passion, y sentimiento.*

*El Padre S. Basilio despues que solo juzgó sacaria el Padre un Santo Cristo mas el Padre Alonzo, dize que lo que su Reverencia lo dijo, fue que sacase el sanctissimo. Lo cierto es que hallandose el superior presente a todo lo que dijo, y hizo el Padre no se le opuso, ni contradijo en nada. Despues de sucedido el caso se dudo entre los Padres si seria bien, ò no, proseguir con la discomunion, y fixarla en las puertas de la Iglesia, en la qual hubo varios pareceres, pero lo que se executo fue que de alli a uno, o dos dias lo absolvieron.*

*Viendo los Padres por experiencias que desta suerte se atrasava la Mission y que no podia Dios servirse de semejantes disenciones, procuraron con todas veras, la paz y union con el Capitan y para que la huviese le dejaron que absolutamente gobiernase el las armas, atendiendo sus Reverencias a la salud espiritual, asi de los soldados Españoles, como de los Indios Marianos.*

*Al principio del año insto el Capitan Esplana en que se executase el orden de la Reyna nuestra señora, en que manda que se hiciese dos Collegios uno de niños, y otro de niñas: edificaronse entrambos, a [hole] de las niñas con alguna resistencia de los Padres porque rezelavan en ello algu [hole] y el efecto mostro no ser vanos sus temores pues se hallo que algu- [hole] entravan de noche en dicho Colegio, con ofensa, y poco temor de- [hole] con su trabajo, y de doctrina avian obrado los Padres en aquellas [hole] inconveniente se --- un medio dictado mas del zelo, [hole] de la casa, o colegio de las mu- [hole] en las mugeres estaban [hole] tenia de noche para partes sien- [hole] ocasion para die- [hole] -ha en la buena fama [hole] Dios no hubo caida alguna [hole] -ado a ellas: o por lo menos [hole] como los Padres las presumi- [hole] de los soldados Españoles, [hole] -emos Indios Marianos quando [hole] que como lo reprehén- [hole] se las llevavan a los Cole- [hole] por ser varon Angelical [hole] de lo qual que disminuye la [hole] -silece el co[n]cepto de nuestra [hole] -acion; y por otra parte no fue medio bastante para el efecto que se pretendia, porque no obstante este cuidado, como la fabrica deste Colegio, no es mas que de unos palos y ojas de palma, entraron de noche muchas vezes los soldados a ofender a Dios, y a mas desto obligava el Capitan a las muchachas a que entre dia fuesen a servirle a su casa, quedandose a comer con el muchas vezes. Todo lo qual tenia sus inconvenientes y fue causa de algunos ruidos entre los Padres y el Capitan.*



*Despues que cesaron estos disgustos trato con mas veras el Capitan de pacificar la Isla, y para este efecto hizo repetidas correrias por ella en que quemo algunas casas de los que hallo mas culpados, quito la vida a otros, que entre todos llegaron a veinte. Dio garrote a un Indio, y a otro que se ahorcò desesperado, atado a la cola de un Toro lo hizo arrastrar por el Pueblo para comun escarmiento de las demas. Dispuso ir a la Isla de Rota, y enfermado el en el camino, embio alla algunos soldados, los quales quemando dos pueblos que tuvieron mas parte en los alborotos pasados la dejaron en paz con los Españoles. Con esto le cobraron miedo los naturales, y dieron lugar para que los Padres pudiesen exercitar con ellos sus ministerios, como lo hizieron. Edificaronse quatro Iglesias, y los Domingos acudian a ella a ir Missa, cosa de ducientos, y a vezes tres cientos Indios, aunque se reconocia en los mas que venian mas por terror, que por amor de Dios, y de sus almas. Antes de la Misa cantavan la doctrina Christiana, y luego se las explicava el Padre. Deciaseles la Misa, y despues della se les hazia una platica acomodada a la capacidad, y necesidad de los oyentes. En este tiempo como estava ya todo mas pacifico, salieron a hacer Mission por toda la Isla un Padre y un Hermano sin escolta de soldados, acompañados de solos dos Indizuelos de la tierra y hicieron desta suerte notable fruto porque como no ivan con ello [hole] que amedrentasen a los Indios, admitian, o oyan de mejor gana [hole] -provechavan mas de su doctrina.*

*Con tan continuos pleito[s] como este año h- [hole] tiempo havia que el P. Alonso [hole] deseo de dejarlas, y bolver [hole] De alli a algunos m- [hole] -estad embiar a [hole] les parecio que era [hole] les las instancias, sup- [hole] S. Basilio con parecer de [hole] que resistirle. A mas de [hole] -nes antiguas, y el Capitan [hole] la Isla, pudo el Padre San Basilio [hole] el bien, y adelantamiento [hole] perficionar lo que [hole] -tros años proseguia [hole] -tos a los Padres. por [hole] fruto de la Mision [hole] un Padre a Manila [hole] -lucion, y viendo por otra parte que el P. Alonso Lopez estava determinado a dejar la Mission de Marianas, le parecio que seria mejor señalarle, como por Procurador, pues embiando a su Rev<sup>a</sup> se deshacia la Mission de un sugeto que aunque no lo embiase le havia de perder; y si acaso en Manila juzgasen los superiores no convenir que Padre ninguno de Ladrones pasase a España, ni al Padre se le hacia mala obra, ni la Mission perdía en ello nada. Assi se hizo; mas llegado el Padre Alonso a Manila, tuvieron por mejor los Superiores que no fuera a España sino que prosiguiera alli sus estudios. Al Padre S. Basilio como a superior que era de las Marianas tocava escribir, y dar parte al Padre Provincial de Philipinas desta determinacion; sugentandola a su R<sup>a</sup> como a su inmediato superior, y no se que pudiera tener razon bastante para no hacerlo, porque el aver dado palabra al Capitan de Ladrones de no escribir cosa contra el, no es suficiente, ni se ponía con dar parte a su Superior de la venida del Padre Alonso, y mas no teniendo los Padres de Marianas authoridad para embiar por sí Procurador o embajador a España. Los demas que estavamos en Ladrones, siempre juzgamos que el Padre S. Basilio siempre le diera a V.R. cuenta de la venida del dicho Padre Alonso, fin, y causas de ella, y asi me admire yo mucho quando supe que no havia hecho.*

*Embarcose dicho Padre Alonso para Filipinas por el mes de Junio de 75 en el Galeon S. Telmo que a dicho mes dio fondo en la Isla de S. Juan una de las Marianas, en*

donde desembarco a ese mismo tiempo el Padre Gerardo Bouwens que en la misma nao venia por superior de la Mision, y con su Rev<sup>a</sup> se quedaron entonces veinte hombres, y lo demas que traia de socorros, y limosnas para dichas Islas.

Con esta ayuda de costo comenzaron a tener mejor forma à cosas de la Mission. Levaron [hole] las Islas Colegios para niños, y niñas, y seran cerca de qua[troc]jien- [hole] en el los debajo de nuestra enseña con singular fruto y apro- [hole] Juventud, y para cuidar los daños que en estos colegios havia los [hole] una excomunion, para que no saliesen de noche [hole] no admitiesen mugeres en sus [hole] despues se experimento [hole] entonces inaudita en estas [hole] del Padre S. Basilio, pues sien- [hole] -aria para que se diese [hole] Religiosos, le dejo totalmente [hole] Reve<sup>a</sup> y los demas Padres sola- [hole] con que se tuvo mas intencion [hole] pues pudiendo, y diviendo [hole] exercitando muy bien a- [hole] Mas con todo esto, [hole] sabian ya muchos [hole] letanias de Nuestra Señora [hole] -to se les enseñava [hole] como tambien a sem- [hole] -tidos, mostrando para todo muy buena habilidad. Algunos viendo ayunar, y hacer otras penitencias a los Padres ayunan tambien, y se retiran a tomar diciplina y no falto quien se pusiese un bien aspero silicio.

Viendo los Padres el fruto que se hacia, mayormente en la juventud llevados de su fervoroso zelo, salian algunos de noche a buscar muchachos, quitandoselos de sus casas a sus mismos padres por traerlos a los Colegios, para que fuesen bien doctrinados en las cosas de nuestra santa fee. Pero este medio era violento, y con el por el demasiado zelo de algunos se experimentaron tambien sus inconvenientes, llevando mal, y con razon los Indios que los Padres entrasen de noche en sus casas, y les sacase con violencia de su mismo lado, y camas a sus hijos, y hijas, y por esto los Indios de cierto pueblo vinieron a dar al Padre Gerardo sentidas quejas; por lo qual el Padre se desengaño, y mando a los Padres no saliesen de noche para este efecto, y que recoger muchachos se tuviese mas moderacion, y prudencia. Hanse casado algunos soldados españoles con Indios de la tierra, y por este camino se a de ir arraigando en ella nuestra Santa fee, y a su exemplo se an celebrado ya entre los Indios algunos casamientos *in facie ecclesiæ* conforme al Concilio Tridentino, que no a sido poco segun las dificultades que an tenido siempre en esta materia. Dos veces fueron el Padre Gerardo, y el Padre S. Basilio a hacer Mission a la Isla de Rota, distante doze leguas de la de Guahan, en donde se an estado los Padres todo lo demas del año. Regalo a este tiempo la Virgen Sanctissima su Mission Mariana obrando singulares prodigios con el aziete de una lampara que delante de una Imagen suya arde en el pueblo de **Airan**, de suerte que es el dicho aziete universal medicina en tierra tan destituida dellas; pues asi con Indios, como con Españoles, ha hecho esta Señora por su medio muchas curas bien prodigiosas, y repen- [hole] frecuencia que ya los Indios en hallandose con alguna dolencia [hole] al Padre que alli reside, y le dicen: Padre, haz que me cure Santa Mar- [hole] bien la fee que tienen con este --- Y sucede, a veces [hole] de los niños del Colegio, y decir [hole] a este enfermo, y dile a la [hole] alcanzar el doliente prodigio [hole] -se a la Iglesia y decirle que [hole] Maria. Voy a pesc- [hole] buena fee, dandoles [hole].

**[Short biography of Brother Diaz]**

*Este año [hole] conservaba en medio de ellos. Haviendosele a un cavallero por desgracia, y sin querer caido un mosquete le dio el cañon del en la caveza al Hermano Pedro Dias, haciendole una buena herida, y no se les oyeron mas palabras que estas: Sea Dios eternamente bendito. Sea a mayor honrra, y gloria vuestra Dios mio. En el viaje de Madrid a Sevilla levanto el Demonio una noche una furiosa tempestad de truenos, y rayos, y atravesandose entre los pies de la mula en que iba una negra sombra hecho al Hermano en tierra en donde le hallaron tan sereno, como si nada le huviera sucedido, con el nombre de Jesus en la boca, ofreciendo al Señor para mayores trabajos. Esta misma conformidad mostro en una penosa enfermedad que padecio en la mar en todos los trabajos que en la navegacion y viage a las Indias se le ofrecieron el voto de castidad que hizo siendo niño, cumplio el resto de su vida perfectisimamente ayudandose para ello de la mortificacion de sus sentidos y pasiones, y singularmente de tal gravedad, compostura, y circunspeccion religiosa en sus palabras, y acciones que se conciliara no se que especial veneracion, y respecto en quantos le tratavan; tanto que fue una de las singulares prendas que tubo.—*

*El zelo de la salvacion de las almas fue ardentisimo: este le saco del noviciado de su patria y Provincia para las Islas Marianas, abrazando con mucho gusto tan trabajosa empresa, y por no perder ocasion de aprovechar a sus proximos en la misma nao enseñava repetidas veces la doctrina Christiana, y platicava con mucho espiritu a los negros, y gente humilde de ellas. En las Marianas no perdonava a trabajo alguno su ensendido celo: fueron muchas las hambres que padecio, sustentandose dias enteros con algunas raices silvestres bien desabridas, y si tal vez hallava algun pescado lo tenia por gran regalo. Varias vezes por andar descalzo cuestras muy asperas llenas de arrecifes se le abrian los pies como se los huvieran sajado, y con los ardores del sol se le ensendian las piernas de tal suerte que no se le mitigava el encendimiento en espacio de treinta oras siendo tan intentos los dolores que les sobrevenian que decia el mismo se lo representavan vivamente en ellos los que se padecen en el Purgatorio. A esto se llegavan repetidas ingratitudes de aquellos barbaros pagandole no pocas vezes tan crecido afecto con oprobrios[as] pedradas, e intentar darle la muerte, llevando lo todo el Hermano con notable consuelo, a trueque de hacer algun fruto en sus almas. Pero consolavale el Señor interiormente y muchas vezes en lo de afuera. Pareçe que echava se bendicion en la casa que hospedava al Hermano cosa que observaron algunos de los mismos Indios, y en una ocasion uno dellos aviendo cogido cantidad de pescado quando apenas avian cogio cosa todos los demas del pueblo le dijo: porque tu estas en casa, y la palabra de Dios esta contigo e cogido oy tanto pescado. Estando en otra ocasion el Hermano en el pueblo de **Merizo** oyendo llorar a unos niños, se fue a ellos, y preguntandoles la causa le respondieron que su madre se havia entrado en el monte con un lanza en la mano con resolucion de ahorcarse. Atrafese [atraveso?] el corazon la perdicion de aquella alma, y se fue al monte en su busca; mas no pudiendo con diligencia alguna encontrarla se bolvio muy desconsolado a casa, y acudio a su ordinario remedio*

*que era la oracion la qual oyo nuestro Señor pues la muger desistio de su desesperado intento a lo que se cree por las oraciones del Hermano.*

*Avia por este tiempo el Hermano hecho pedazos una calavera, en que suele esta nacion dar algun genero de reverencia al Demonio y una noche desperto a los descompasados gritos de un Indio que dava apressuradas carreras diciendo en su lengua: Las calaveras son malas[.] acercose a el, y cogiendole su misma mano le hizo señal de la Cruz, con que se sosego, y preguntando de la causa, respondió que el alma de aquella calavera era la que con amenazas, y amigos le obligava a hacer aquellos extremos, pero que con sola la señal de la cruz desaparecio, y quedo sosegado. Estando en la misma Residencia vispera de la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora que es la advocacion de la Iglesia, que en reverencia] suya edifico con harto trabajo el Hermano Dias, vieron muchas personas bajar de arriba un globo de luz sobre el templo, aviendo primero tocado la cumbre de nuestra casa, y que despues se fue subiendo poco a poco hacia el cielo hasta perderse la vista, mostrando en esto a lo que parece nuestra Señora que se agradava del servicio, que en ofrecerle aquella Iglesia le avia hecho su siervo.*

*Parece que quiero el Señor dar alguna noticia desta muerte del Hermano Dias, y de la del Padre S. Basilio, que fue poco despues, a un Indio, que estando en dicha Residencia de **Retidian** guardando la Iglesia, vio en sueños que estaban en ella dos de la Compañia uno diciendo Missa, y otro oyendola, entrambos coronados de grandes resplandores, y el templo todo lleno de llamas de fuego.*

*En el mismo pueblo sucedio otro caso singular a un Indio llamado Apuro, a quien el Hermano Pedro Diaz, y otro de los nuestros, hallaron una noche en su casa lleno de notable horror, y espanto, y casi sin aliento. Luego que bio a los Padres les rogo que le favoreciesen, porque veia dos esquadras de Demonio, la una en figura de Españoles, y la otra como Indios de la tierra hechando de si mucho fuego negro, y hediendo que querian quitarle la vida, porque cantava sus antiguas poesias, y añadió que solo le servian de consuelo tres personajes que veia vestidos de la Compañia con sobrepellices y estolos encarnadas cruzadas a los pechos llenos de admirables resplandores. Aplicosele una reliquia de nuestro Padre S. Ignacio, y dijo que havia sentido con ella grande esfuerzo, y que aquellos tres personajes se havian puesto de rodillas, y rogavan a Dios por el para que los espíritus infernales no lo hiciesen daño. Y ultimamente que al partirse de su pressencia el Hermano Diaz con el otro Padre se les juntaron aquellas tres personajes, y si fueron con ellos en conversacion, aunque los nuestros no vieron nada. El efecto desta vicion fue tal mudanza en el Indio que desde entonces no enseña ya sus canciones antiguas, muestra singular amor a los Padres y a las cosas de nuestra Santa fe con otras prendas de mucha Christiandad.*

#### **[Short biography of Fr. San Basilio]**

*De alli a pocos mas de un mes de la muerte del Hermano Dias sucedio la que violentamente dieron dos barbaros del pueblo de **Upi** al Padre Antonio de S. Basilio superior que fue desta Mision el año antecedente. Haviales dicho Padre comprado cantidad de **Nica** (que es el sustento mas ordinario de la tierra) para socorrer con ella las gran-*

*des necesidades que padecia nuestra gente en el presidio; y quando los Indios se la entregavan, habiendo visto que era muy mala, y quejadoseles con toda mansedumbres de que le faltavan al concierto se abajo para contarla, y luego le dieron los barbaros tan fiero golpe en la caveza que cayo con el en el suelo, y a palos le acabaron de quitar la vida, a 27 de Henero de 1676. Los Indios de Tarragui, en donde residia, y tenia el Padre su Iglesia sintieron tanto esta muerte que capitaniados de un mozo Bisaya llamado Masongsong fueron en busca de los matadores y no pudiendo cogerlos por haver huidos a lo mas retirado de la Isla, les quemaron su pueblo[.] los que les movio a estos barbaros a dar la muerte al Padre S. Basilio al parecer fue que pocos dias antes havia el Capitan quitado la vida a dos Indios vecinos, o como dicen otros emparentados con gente del pueblo de Upi, y quisieron vengar la muerte de sus parientes en el Padre S. Basilio, aunque estava inocente della.*

*La heroicas virtudes; y Santa Vida del Padre Antonio Maria de S. Basilio pedian mas dilatada relacion; pero aunque breve no se puede dejar de dar alguna noticia. Fue el Padre S. Basilio Siciliano de nacion. Nacio en la ciudad de Catania el año de 1638 de muy noble sangre, aunque por su humildad lo encubrio toda su vida. Entro en la Comp<sup>a</sup> el de cinquenta y nueve, y todo el tiempo que vivio en ella fue un perfectissimo dechado de todas virtudes, de trato familiarissimo con Dios nuestro Señor, que conservò no solo en el noviçiado, sino todo el tiempo de sus estudios, en que con la viveza de ingenio, y exelente capacidad de que Dios le doto, hizo señalados progresos hermanando admirablemente la virtud con las letras de donde le nacia una singular modestia, compostura, y apacibilidad en su trato, con que robava los afectos de quantos le comunicavan, rebozando por el rostro la paz, y alegria interior de su espiritu, tanto que aseguran muchos que hallandose con grandes melancolias, y aflicciones interiores de su alma, solo con miralle al rostro se serenavan del todo, como suelen los nublados deshazerse con los rayos del sol. Desde que se ordenò de sacerdote exercito en grado superior todas las virtudes, y comenzando por la **charidad** reyna de las demas, fue en ella tan singular que no cometia de exercitar assi para con Dios, como para con su pro. Esta virtud la saco de su patria, y trabajo a tan remotas tierras que peregrinaciones, y viajes llenos de innumerables afanes, y excesivos trabajos en que mostro aun en lo exterior, no solo paciencia, sino muy particular alegria. En las navegaciones, y caminos el primer cuidado era acomodar a los demas habiendo las camas, labando los pies a sus compañeros, visitando y consolando a los emfermos, habiendole su mucha caridad medico, cirujano, y emfermero de qualquiera doliente, como si cada uno fuera no solo su hermano, sino el mismo Christo, y limpio con su misma lengua bien asquerosas llagas. Y en esta Ysla de S. Juan a cierto Indio; que ademas de asmateco tenia una pierna y muslo consumido de cancer, le cargo el mismo a una choza que para el efecto le avia levantado, y en ella le servia y curaba, con notable cariño, dandole de comer por sus manos, haciendole en todo, como pudiera el mas humilde esclavo. Y siendo tanto el cuidado de cuerpo, lo fue mayor el de la salud de su alma, instruyendole, y disponiendole para una buena muerte tan acertadamente que nos dejo en ella muchas prendas de la salvacion de su alma. Este mismo celo mostro tambien con otro semejante al pasado en el viage*

*de Mexico a Acapulco. Su ordinario modo de curar era con la oracion de S. Francisco Xavier, de quien fue devotissimo, y se vieron admirables efectos de su devocion en la salud repentina que el Señor se digno de comunicar a muchos por las oraciones y charidad de su siervo. Desta misma caridad le nacia el deseo de que todos tubiesen paz, sin perdonar a travajo alguno para conseguirle, como se vio en las Marianas en donde para apasiguar dos pueblos que tenian guerras entre si, se expuso a manifiesto riesgos de la vida, e incomodidades grandes, andando muchos veces, y casi siempre descalzo por caminos tan asperos, que se le rasgavan los pies derramando por las heridas mucha sangre, sin que todo esto le retardara de procurar siempre el bien de sus proximos. Yendo una vez en Mision, bautizando parbulos, y catequizando adultos acometio una cuesta tan agria, que para pasarla era necessario valerse de las manos no menos que de los pies agarrandose de las yervas tan asperas que le dejavan manos y pies derramando sangre, como si con navajas se los huvieran tajado, y no baliendole el agarrase por estar a la orilla del mar la cuesta, vino una furiosa ola, que lo arrebató, y llevo buen trecho la mar adentro: pero encomendandose el Padre a Dios le arrojó de repente afuera otra ola con grande admiracion de los que [le] acompañavan.*

*Su **paciencia** tranquilidad de animo serenidad de semblante, y conformidad con la voluntad de Dios en estos, y otros mas sensibles trabajos fue bien rara; singularmente el año en que fue superior desta Mision en varios disturbios que el Demonio levanto contra su persona, y fama por medio de cierto secular que le dio bastante materia a su **paciencia**.*

*Su **humildad** fue tambien muy aventajada, juzgandose, y mostrandose en todo muy inferior a todos, y mucho mas el tiempo que fue superior (aunque con notable repugnancia suya, porque la parecia que no era para aquel oficio) ya aun en el mismo modo de hablar mandar era muy humilde. El era el que hacia las camas, y procuraba agasajar a sus subditos quando venian de fuera. No menos mostro su humildad con un niño que en una faccion le trageron los soldados a quien curaba las heridas; hacia la cama, limpiava, y dava de comer como lo pudiera hacer una muy amorosa madre; enseñandole juntamente toda devocion con notable fruto y esperanzas grandes que al presente de mucha christiandad para en adelante.*

*La **penitencia** que a los trabajos e incomodades desta Mision añadia este siervo de Dios no fue bulgar. Solia traer pegadas a sus carnes una cruz de penetrantes puas, usava assi mismo de otros generos de silicios, y despues de muerto se hallaron tres distintos arraygados con arto rigor a sus carnes. Las diciplinas eran muy recias, y solian ser tres al dia. Su cama era una dura tabla. Su comida ordinaria, unas bien desabridas raices, y por gran regalo, pero raras vezes un poco de arroz, y tal vez, algun pescado. De andar las mas vezes descalzo se le ensendian con los ardores del sol tan intentamente las piernas que parecian un fuego. Desta mortificacion le nacia una celestial, y Angelical **pureza** que dava singular fragancia a quantos le comunicavan no contentandose con ser puro en si, sino haziendo grandes diligencias para evitar quanto le era posible ofenzas de Dios en esta materia. Padezio el ultimo año un penoso corrimiento de ojos y solia*

*decir que deseaba no tener vista, por no ver objetos que le pudiera hazer guerra a su pureza.*

*Su **obediencia** fue en todo exactissima, bastandole la menor insinuacion del superior y si tal vez le cogia lejos algun orden del superior, para que viniese a la cavezera, solia decir con singular afecto. O Señor y quien tubiera alas para volar, y poner execucion lo que me ordenarias.*

*Su **pobreza** fue estremada sin tener en su poder, ni en el de otro cosa de estimacion, escogiendo siempre para si lo mas desechado. Su Breviario era el mas pobre, y su ordinario sombrero era de palma. Embiaron en una ocasion para su R<sup>a</sup> una casulla, y frontal algo lustroso, y no lo quiso admitir, diciendo que tenia demasiado lustre, y valor queriendo hasta en esto mostrar el espiritu de su pobreza.*

*Tubo ternisimo devocion a Maria Sanctissima el cuidado que ponía en que todos la sirviesen, y se be bien quan ardiente era su afecto, y quanta la confianza en su patrocinio en una carta que escrivio a esta soberana Señora y se hallo despues entre sus papeles. Pagole esta Señora su tierna devocion con algunas favoras. Singular fue el que en esto presidio le hizo; y fue que velando una noche el Padre a un enfermo llamado **D. Luis de Vera** uno de los compañeros que despues con el Padre Francisco Ezquerria dio la vida por la fee, le vio el dicho D. Luis puesto de rodillas, y que una Señora de vencible aspecto le estava alumbrado con una candela. El efecto desta oracion, y soberana vision fue, que estando el enfermo de mucho riesgo estuvo dentro de breve espacio bueno, y sano sin aver tenido mas medicina que la oracion del siervo de Dios, a cuya eficacia atribuyo siempre D. Luis su repentina salud.*

*Otras cosas maravillosas obro el Señor por el Padre S. Basilio, dando salud a muchos solo con asistirles el Padre y decirles la oracion, y fue que andando el Padre en la Mision con diez compañeros seculares; llego a un pueblo bien fatigado del camino, y del hambre; pero mas sentido del trabajo, y necesidad de sus compañeros llego a pedir limosna a un Indio el qual le dio tres raices de la tierra llamada **Suni**, que todas tres nos bastaran para una persona, quanto mas para onze: tomolas el Padre limpiola con un cuchillo, y haviendole hechado su bendicion llamo a sus compañeros y les dijo que comiesen, aunque no fuesen mas de un bocado. Caso raro! Comieron todos y el Padre con ellos, quedaron muy satisfechos, y sobro cantidad de comida con notable admiracion de todos.—*

## **Translation.**

**Narrative of what happened in the Islands of the Ladrões (now Marianas) from June 1674 until May 1676.**

During the month of June 1674, there arrived at the Mariana Islands the galleon that was going from Mexico to the Philippines, and it took away Fr. Pedro Comano, who was then superior of the Mission, quite by accident, and nobody could have prevented it. In his absence, our people elected a new superior by consensus, in the person of Father Antonio de San Basilio, and they carried on our ministries with complete edification and example. However, later on the Devil tried to impede them in many ways.

Firstly, with the disagreements that he caused between the Fathers and Captain Esplana who was the commander of the militia, as to whether its control belonged to him or to the Fathers. The Fathers, through papers from Spain, and reasons which they had for it, would say that whoever was superior of the mission was also superior of the soldiers; on the other hand, the Captain pretended that the Fathers' business was limited to the doctrine, and the spiritual leadership of the Islands, and he was in charge of the arms. These altercations were frequent, and the cause of much annoyance, when the Captain misbehaved in words against the Fathers. While they lasted, the fruit of the Mission made little progress, or, better said, it was slowed down very considerably; indeed, during the whole of that year, the number of adults baptized did not go beyond seven.

In the middle of these unsavory incidents, ...[hole] tried to punish a ...[hole] who was suspected of having had an affair with a girl of the ... and to take him forcibly from the ... to apply similar punishments and .. almost all the Fathers came out and ... with modesty asked the Captain ... The ... became so excited by his passion, zeal ... voices: "Long live the Church ..." while the Captain and his soldiers [would shout:] "Long live the King." One can see very well that ... When Father Alonso [Lopez] saw this happen, he ... of the Captain in order to ... in the hand a sort of ... Cardeñoso who, as he did not hold ... behaved more responsibly ... too much, and imprudently ... took him by the arm, to reduce him ... in the hand, the Father pointed out the insolence of the Captain, etc. and concluded by excommunicating him, and those who would follow him. In this, the Fathers took out a paper which they said was a Decree from His Majesty, saying that he entrusted the care of arms also in whomever would then be superior of the Mission. When the holy sacrament was returned to the church, this paper was placed next to it, the better to affirm the truth of it. While the sermon of the Father lasted, they were all on their knees before the holy Sacrament, and the Captain as well, who was keeping quiet, not a little thing for someone with his fiery and choleric character, specially when he was hearing the things said against him by the Father. After the holy Sacrament was put back in its place, he went outside the fence with his soldiers and there his repressed anger blew up; he loudly said against the Fathers what his passing and resentment dictated to him.

Father San Basilio afterwards [said that he] thought that the Father would have taken out only a crucifix, but Father Alonso says what His Reverence had told him was that he was to bring out the holy Sacrament. What is certain is that the superior [i.e. Fr. San Basilio] was present when everything was said, and done by the Father, and he did nothing to oppose him, and said nothing about anything. After the case had happened, there was some doubt among the Fathers as to whether the excommunication should proceed or not, whether it should be posted on the doors of the church or not;



there were various opinions expressed about it, but the outcome of it all was that, one or two days later, they absolved him.<sup>1</sup>

When the Fathers saw through such experiences that the Mission was not making any progress, and that God could not benefit from similar dissensions, they truly tried to make peace and unity with the Captain. In order to achieve it, they left the absolute control of the arms to him, and their Reverences took care of the spiritual health of the soldiers, as well as that of the Mariano Indians.

At the beginning of the year, Captain Esplana urged that the order of the Queen our Lady, regarding the establishment of two Colleges, one for boys and one for girls, be carried out. They built both, that of the girls ... with some resistance on the part of the Fathers, because they feared that some ... would take place there. In effect, their fears were not futile, because it was found that some ... would go into the said College at night, committing offence, with little fear of ... with their work, and the doctrine which the Fathers had accomplished in those ... disadvantage that ... a means dictated more by their zeal ... of the house, or college for girls ... in the women were ... had at night for parties being ... occasion for ... in the good name ... God, there was no ... in them, or at least ... as the Fathers presumed them ... of the Spanish soldiers, ... Mariano Indians when ... that as ... reprehended ... they were being taken to the Colleges ... as he was an angelic man... thus diminishing the ... the concept of our [determin-]ation. On the other hand, this means was not enough to accomplish what was intended, because, in spite of this precaution, like the building of this College, it is only made up of a few posts and palm leaves; the soldiers went in at night many times to offend God, and furthermore, the Captain obliged the girls to go and act as his servants in his house by day, and they remained to eat with him many times. All of which had its disadvantages and was the cause of many rumors between the Fathers and the Captain.

Once this unpleasantness was over, the Captain put more efforts into pacifying the Island, and to this effect he made repeated sorties in it, in which he burned a few houses belonging to the most guilty ones, killed some others, perhaps up to 20 in all. He applied the choking collar to one Indian, and another hanged himself in despair; he ordered that the body of the latter be tied to the tail of a bull and had it dragged through the town as a common warning to the others. He decided to go to the Island of Rota, but upon becoming sick along the way, he sent a few soldiers there, who burned down two villages that had taken a more active part in past rebellions; they left the Island at peace with the Spanish. Henceforth, the natives acquired fear of him, and accepted that the Fathers could exercise their ministries, which they did. Four churches were built, and on Sundays they came to hear mass, about 200 of them, and sometimes as many as 300 Indians, although it was recognized that most of them were coming more out of fear than out of love for God, and their own souls. Before mass, the Christian doctrine

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1 Ed. note: It is clear from the context that the foreign-born Jesuits did not want to interfere in what was in fact a hot-blooded argument among Spaniards, two "peninsular" ones (Lopez and Cardeñoso) and a "criollo" born in the colonies (Esplana).

was sung, and then the Father would explain it. Then mass was said to them, and after that, a sermon adjusted to the capacity and need of those present was preached to them. At this time, as everything was already more peaceful, one Father and one Brother went out on a mission tour of the whole Island without an escort of soldiers, but accompanied by only two young natives; in this way, they accomplished much fruit, because they did not take along ... [hole] who might scare the Indians, they admitted, or heard more willingly ... and took more advantage of their doctrine.

With so many continuous disputes such as ... [hole] this year, it was natural for Fr. Alonso to wish to leave, and return ... After a few months ... to send to ..., it appeared to them that it was ... the requests. Fr. San Basilio ... with the opinion that ... to resist him. Unless the old ..., and the Captain ... the Island, Father San Basilio was able to ... the good, and progress ... to perfect what ... other years he continued ... to the Fathers, for ... fruit of the Mission ... one Father to Manila ..., and on the other hand, seeing that Fr. Alonso Lopez was determined to leave the Mariana Mission, it seemed to him that it would be better to appoint him Procurator, given that by sending his Reverence away, the Mission was getting rid of an individual it would lose, no matter what. If perchance in Manila the superiors thought that it was not convenient to send any Father from the Ladrones to Spain, neither would the Father in question be done any harm, and the Mission would lose nothing by it either. So it was done, but when Fr. Alonso arrived at Manila, the superiors thought it better not to send him to Spain, but decided to have him pursue his studies there. It was Fr. San Basilio's duty, as superior of the Marianas, to write to the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines regarding this decision, and to submit it to his Reverence as his immediate superior. I do not know which excuse he had not to do so, perhaps because he had given his word to the Captain of the Ladrones not to write anything against him, but this is not a sufficient reason not to report to his superior on the coming of Father Alonso, specially when the Fathers of the Marianas had no authority to send anyone as Procurator or envoy to Spain. Those of us who were in the Ladrones, did always think that Father San Basilio should always have given Your Reverence a report on the coming of said Father Alonso, e.g. the purpose, and reasons for it, and so, I was very surprised when I learned that he had not done so.<sup>1</sup>

Said Father Alonso [Lopez] embarked for the Philippines during the month of June 1675 aboard the galleon **San Telmo** which during said month anchored at the Island of San Juan, one of the Marianas. At the same time, Father Gerardo Bouwens disembarked; he had come aboard the same galleon as superior of the Mission, and with His Reverence there remained then 20 men, and everything else he brought by way of succor, and alms for said Islands.

With this subsidy the affairs of the Mission began to take a better shape. They raised ... the Islands Colleges for boys, and for girls, and the number being educated by us in them rose to about 400(?) ... with special fruit and advantage being taken of it by the

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1 Ed. note: This remark points to Fr. Gayoso as the possible author of this report. He was in Guam from 1674, until he drifted to the Philippines by accident in 1676.

... youth, and in order to prevent the harm done to those colleges by the ... an excommunication was ..., so that they would not go out at night ... and not to admit women in their ... [barracks?]. There was then experienced ... then unheard of in these ... [Islands] from Father San Basilio; indeed, being ... necessary(?) for the Religious to give ..., His Reverence left him totally ... and the other Fathers ..., and so, more intention was ..., given that having to ... by exercising very well ... However, with all of this, ... knew already many ... litanies of Our Lady ... which they were taught to ... as well as ..., and they were showing a very good ability to learn everything. Some of them, upon seeing the Fathers fasting and doing other penance, also did fast, and would withdraw to take the discipline, and there were even some who put on a very rough hair shirt.

When the Fathers saw the fruit made, specially in the youth, they were carried by their fervent zeal and went out at night to look for boys and girls, even taking them from the houses of their parents to bring them to the Colleges, so that they would be well trained in the things concerning our holy faith. However, this method was violent, and with it, on account of the excess of zeal by a few, its disadvantages were also felt. The Indians took it badly, that the Fathers would enter their houses at night and take away their sons, and daughters, forcibly from their very sides, and beds. That is why the Indians from a certain town came and complained bitterly to Father Gerardo. Therefore, the Father became undeceived, and he ordered the Fathers not to go out at night for that purpose, and to apply more moderation and prudence in the recruitment of boys and girls. Some Spanish soldiers have married local Indians, and that is the way to follow, to strengthen our Holy faith there. Following their example some of the Indian couples have had their marriage recognized *in facie Ecclesiae* in conformity with the Council of Trent, but this was not a simple matter, given that they have always resisted it. Father Gerardo and Father San Basilio went twice on a mission tour of the Island of Rota, distant 12 leagues from that of Guahan, where they stayed for the remainder of that year. At this time the B.V.M. rewarded her Mariana Mission with particular miracles, with the oil from a lamp which burns before an Image of hers in the town of **Airan**, so that said oil became a universal remedy in a country so destitute of remedies. Indeed, this Lady has worked many and very special cures by means of it, in Indians as well as with Spaniards; there have been many instances in which the Indians, upon finding themselves with some ailment ... to the Father who resides there, and told him: "Father, please see to it that Holy Mary cures me." [This illustrates] well the faith they have in this [oil]... And it happens at times that ... from the children in the College, and say ... to this sick person, and to give it to the ... for the sufferer to obtain ... to the church and tell him that ... Mary. I am going fish[-ing]... good faith, giving them ...

#### [Short biography of Brother Diaz]<sup>1</sup>

This year ... preserved in the middle of them. A mishap occurred to Brother Pedro Diaz; a gentleman dropped his musket upon his head and he received a serious wound,

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1 Ed. note: The first part of this biography, relating his martyrdom, is missing.

but he was heard to say no other words than the following: "May God be eternally blessed! May this be for your greater honor, and glory, o God!" During the voyage from Madrid to Seville, the Devil one night raised such a furious storm, with thunder and lightning; when in the dark a Negro woman crossed in-between the legs of the mule which he was riding, it threw the Brother upon the ground, where they found him so serene that he acted as if nothing had happened, with only the name of Jesus in his mouth, offering himself to the Lord for greater hardships. He showed the same attitude during a painful sickness he suffered at sea amid all the hardships of the crossing and voyage to the Indies. He was offered the vow of chastity, which he had made when still a child, and which he kept perfectly for the rest of his life. In this, he was helped along by the mortification of his senses and passions. His seriousness, demeanor, and religious circumspection in his words, and deeds, were such that he managed to achieve some kind of special veneration, and respect, in whomever came in contact with him; so much so, in fact, that it was one of his best qualities.—

His zeal for the salvation of souls was very intense; this is what took him out of the novitiate in his home country and province and brought him to the Mariana Islands. He embraced such a laborious enterprise with much pleasure, and in order not to lose any opportunity to help his neighbors aboard the same galleon, he taught the Christian doctrine on many occasions, and he preached with much spirit to the negroes, and humble persons among them. In the Marianas, his fiery zeal did not excuse him from any hardship. He suffered from hunger on many occasions, as he sustained himself for days on end with a few wild and tasteless roots. Whenever he found some fish, he found it to be a great treat. Many times, because he walked barefoot up and down very steep hills made up of reefs, he came out with his feet cut as if they had been chopped, and with the sun beaming down, his legs burned so much so that he could feel them burning for the space of 30 hours; the pain was so intense that he would himself imagine and compare it to what one would suffer in Purgatory. The repeated lack of gratitude of those barbarians came close to this; not a few times they paid him back for his heightened affection with opprobrious stonings, and attempted murder. The Brother would bear it all with noticeable consolation, [considering it] as a fair trade if he could do some good for their souls. However, the Lord consoled him inside, and many times showed external signs also. It seems that He would bless the house that gave shelter to the Brother, something that some of the Indians observed on their own. On one occasion, one of them, having caught a quantity of fish when all the others from the town had caught hardly any, told him: "Because you are in my house, and the word of God is with you, I have caught many fish today." On another occasion when the Brother was in **Merizo**, he heard some children crying and went to them and asked them for the reason. They answered that their mother had gone into the bush with a spear in the hand and the intention of hanging herself. The [potential] loss of that soul pierced his heart, and he went into the bush to look for her, but, being unable to find her, no matter how he tried, he returned home very disconsolate, and resorted to his ordinary remedy,

which was prayer. Our Lord must have heard it because the woman desisted from her desperate intention; it is believed that she did so, as a result of the prayers of the Brother.

At about this time, the Brother had broken into pieces a skull, used by this nation to pay some respect to the Devil. One night, he was awakened by the extreme shouts of an Indian who was running back and forth, saying in his language: "The skulls are bad." He went to him and, taking his hand, he guided it into making the sign of the Cross, and this calmed him down. When he questioned him as to the reason, he answered that the soul of that skull was the one that made him do those extreme things, by threatening and cajoling him. However, with only the sign of the cross, it disappeared, and he remained calm. As he was at the same Residence on the eve of the Assumption of Our Lady<sup>1</sup> which is the titular saint of the church that Brother Diaz built in her honor with much labor, many persons saw a globe of light that came down upon the temple, after it had first touched the roof of our house, and then it rose little by little until it was lost to sight, thus showing that perhaps our Lady was pleased with the service that her servant had done to her by dedicating that church to her.

It appears that the Lord wished to give some notice of this death of Brother Diaz, and that of Father San Basilio, that followed soon after, to an Indian who was in said Residence of **Retidian** watching over the church; he saw in a dream that two members of the Society were in it, one saying mass and the other hearing it, both of them being crowned with great splendors, and the temple full of fiery flames.

In the same town, there occurred another singular case to an Indian named Apuro, whom had been found at home one night by Brother Pedro Diaz and another one of our people; he was then full of noticeable horror, and fright, and almost out of breath. As soon as he saw the Fathers, he begged them to help him, because the Devil made him see two squadrons, one that looked like Spaniards and the other like local Indians, and emitting much black smoke, and pestering him and trying to kill him, because he was singing their old verses. He added that he was consoled by three persons, whom he could see were wearing the clothes of our Society with surplices and red stoles crossed over their chests, full of wonderful splendors. A relic of our Father St. Ignatius was applied, and he said that he had felt that it had a great influence, and that the three persons in question had gone down on their knees and were praying God for him, so that the infernal spirits would not harm him. Finally, he reported that, when Brother Diaz and the other Father had left his presence, those three persons joined them and they all seemed to be involved in conversation, although our people saw nothing. The effect of this vision was that such a change came over the Indian that from then on he no longer teaches their old chants, shows particular love toward the Fathers and to the things of our Holy Faith with other Christian virtues.

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1 Ed. note: The date was therefore 14 August 1675.

**[Short biography of Fr. San Basilio]**

A little over one month after the death of Brother Diaz, there occurred that of Father Antonio de San Basilio, who had been superior of this mission the year before; it was given to him by two barbarians from the town of **Upi**. Said Father had bought a quantity of *nica* (which is the most ordinary local food) from them in order to relieve with it the great necessities that our people in the garrison were suffering under. When the Indians were delivering it to him, having seen that it was very bad, and complaining about it in all gentleness that some was missing, he chanced to bend over to count it; the barbarians then gave him a violent blow on the head which made him fall down, and with more blows they took away his life, on 27 January 1676. The Indians of **Tarragui**, where the Father resided, and had his church, felt so moved by this death that, under the leadership of a Visayan lad named **Masongsong**, they went in search of the killers. Not being able to catch them, as they had fled to a remote part of the Island, they burned their town. What had incited these barbarians to kill Father San Basilio, it seems, was that a few days before the Captain had killed two Indians in the vicinity, or as others have it, they had been relatives of some people in the town of Upi, and they wished to avenge the death of their relatives upon Father San Basilio, although he was innocent of it.

The heroic virtues, and saintly life of Father Antonio Maria de San Basilio demand a more extensive account, but, though briefly, one should not omit giving some notice of it. Father San Basilio was Sicilian by birth. He was born in the city of Catania in the year 1638 and was of very noble blood, although his humility made him hide this fact during his whole life. He joined the Society in 1659, and during the whole time that he lived in it he was a very perfect model of all virtues, in very regular contact with God our Lord, which he continued, not only during the novitiate, but also the whole time he was studying, so that, with the liveliness of his wit, and the excellent capacity granted to him by God, he made significant progress, matching wonderfully virtue with knowledge, the result being a singular modesty, composure, and peacefulness in his contacts. Thus, he stole the affection of whomever came in contact with him. His face overtly reflected the peace and internal happiness of his spirit, so much so that many affirm that, finding themselves with great melancholy, and internal afflictions in their soul, they would become serene only by looking at his face, the same way that the sun rays usually ban the clouds. From the time he was ordained as a priest he exercised all virtues in a superior manner. Beginning with **charity**, queen of them all, he was so particular with it that he did not only employ it for the love of God, but also for the love of his neighbors. This virtue is what took him away from his country, to labor in such remote countries; what travels, and voyages full of numberless worries and excessive hardships in which he showed, even externally, not only patience, but very particular happiness. During the navigations, and road travel, his first care was to accommodate the others, by making the beds, washing the feet of his companions, visiting and consoling the sick, since his great charity made him [act as] a physician, a surgeon, and a male nurse to any ailing person, as if everyone were not only his brother, but Christ himself. He went so

far as to lick with his own tongue some very rough sores. In this Island of San Juan he attended a certain Indian who, besides being asthmatic, had a leg and thigh eaten by cancer; he transported him himself to a hut which he had built for the purpose, and there he would serve and cure him, with notable affection, giving him to eat with his own hands, and acting in every way as if he was the humblest of servants. He not only took care of the man's body but took greater care of the health of his soul, instructing him and disposing him for a good death, one that was so positive that it left us convinced of the salvation of his soul. He showed the same zeal also with a similar case that occurred during the voyage from Mexico City to Acapulco. His ordinary method of curing was with the prayer to St. Francisco Xavier, to whom he was very devoted; some wonderful effects of this devotion were seen in the sudden cure that the Lord was pleased to give to many through the prayers and charity of his servant. It was this same charity that gave him the desire to see everyone live in peace, without paying attention to any hardship that was necessary to obtain it, as was seen in the Marianas where, in order to pacify two towns that were fighting among themselves, he exposed himself to manifest dangers to his life, and great discomforts, by walking many times, and almost always barefoot through trails so rough that his feet became torn and he shed much blood from the wounds, without this delaying him in any way in always trying to do good for his neighbors. Once he was on a mission tour, to baptize children and catechize adults; he attacked a cliff that was so rough that, in order to climb it, it was necessary for him to make use of his hands, not just his feet, by grabbing grasses so rough that they left his hands and feet as bloody as if they had been cut with razors. However, this additional precaution was not sufficient, as the cliff was located along the sea-shore; there came a furious wave that carried him away and took him a fair distance at sea, but, the Father recommended himself to God, and another wave threw him back suddenly, at the great admiration of those who were in his company.

His **patience**, tranquillity of spirit, serenity of countenance, and conformity with the will of God in these, and other more appreciable, works were very unusual, specially during the year that he was superior of this Mission, in various disturbances that the Devil raised against his person, and fame, through a certain civilian who gave him enough material for his patience.<sup>1</sup>

His **humility** was also very advantageous, as he judged and showed himself very inferior in everything to everyone, and more so when he was superior (although with notable repugnance of his, because he thought that he was not up to that post); even in his way of speaking he was very humble. He was the one who made the beds, and tried to make his subjects welcome when they came from outside. He also showed his humility with a child whom the soldiers brought home from a battle; he cured his wounds, made his bed, washed him, and gave him to eat, as a very loving mother would have done, and all the while he was teaching him some devotions, with a notable fruit and great hope at present for a larger Christian community in future.

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1 Ed. note: A reference to Captain Esplana.

The **penance** that this servant of God added to the hardships and discomforts of this Mission was not common. He used to wear next to his skin a cross made of penetrating barbs; in addition, he made use of other kinds of hair shirts, and after his death there were found three different kinds stuck to his flesh—quite some rigor. His disciplines were very stiff, and they used to be three times a day. His bed was a hard board. His ordinary food was a few unsavory roots, and as a great treat, but rarely, a little rice, and sometimes, some fish. As he walked most of the time barefoot, the sun would burn his legs so harshly that they looked on fire. From this mortification was born a heavenly and angelic **purity** which gave a special fragrance to whomever came in contact with him; he was not content with being pure as such, but he made great efforts to avoid as much as possible offences to God in this matter. During his last year he suffered from painful running eyes and he used to say that he wished that he were blind, so that no objects could make war on his purity.

His **obedience** was in everything very exact, and the slightest insinuation from the superior was enough. If perhaps some order from the superior got to him when he was far away, to have him come to the capital, he used to say with special affection: “O Lord, if only I had wings to fly, and carry out your orders.”

His **poverty** was pushed to the extreme, as he had nothing in his possession, nothing that was a valuable, always choosing for himself what was most discardable. His breviary was the poorest, and his ordinary hat was one made of palm. On one occasion they sent to His Reverence a chasuble, with a somewhat lustrous front piece; he refused to accept it, saying that it was too lustrous, and too expensive, thus showing the spirit of his poverty even in this.

He held a very tender devotion toward the Blessed Virgin Mary and took care to have everyone serve her. A letter that he wrote to this Sovereign Lady and that was found among his papers after his death shows how burning was his affection and how great his trust in her patronage. This Lady paid him back for his devotion with a few favors. One that took place within this garrison was a singular one; it happened one night when the Father was watching over a sick man, named **Don Luis de Vera**, one of the companions who was to give his life for the faith later on with Father Francisco Ezquerro. Said Don Luis saw him kneeling, and a Lady with a victorious look was holding a candle over him. The effect of this prayer, and sovereign vision was that, although the sick one was at much risk, he became well within a short time, without recourse to any medicine, besides the prayer of the servant of God; Don Luis always attributed his sudden recovery to its efficiency.

The Lord worked other marvellous things through Father San Basilio, giving health to many people, when the Father had simply attended them and said prayers with them. Once that the Father was walking on a mission tour with ten secular companions, he came to a town very tired from the journey and from hunger, but, being more sorry for the hardship and necessity of his companions, he was led to ask an Indian for some alm. Said Indian brought him three local roots, called **Suni**. All three of them was not even sufficient for one person, much less for eleven. The Father took them, cleaned them



with a knife, and having blessed them, called on his companions to come and he told them to eat, though it were but a mouthful. Something strange happened. They all ate, and the Father too, and they were left very satisfied, and some food was left over, much to the admiration of everyone.—

## A2. Long report

*Sources: RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 8 (total of 60 folios), with a copy in 9/2677; ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 141-144 & 195-200.*

*Note: This long report included the 1664 report by Fr. Miedes on the paper discovery of the Carolines (see Doc. 1664D). The full title is as follows: “[Anon.] Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde el año de 1668 [sic] en que se introdujó la fé en ellas por los Jesuitas. Manila, 24 de mayo de 1676.” See note by Fr. Jacobs in AHSI 49 (1980): 400.*

[It is too long and repetitive to reproduce here. It will be considered for inclusion later on in the supplementary volume.]

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## Documents 1676B

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# Jesuit annual reports for 1675-1676

## B1. Short report, attributed to Fr. Cardeñoso

*Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 74-74v.*

*Note: This report is undated and unsigned.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Relacion breve del estado, en que se halla la Nueva Christiandad, y Mission de las Islas Marianas.***

*Despues que dieron algunos barbaros muerte violenta a Nuestro querido Padre el Venerable Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores, los Isleños Marianos quedaron tristes, y desconsolados, y muchos preguntaban: si el Padre del Gran Padre (que assi llamaban al Venerable Padre S. Vitores como se ha dicho varias veces) estaria muy triste; porque fue muerto su hijo. Y respondiendo les, que sí; decian: **Hogan goay, sa samay rahiña, goshinarom! Aroman! Erri si Matapan ngataotao, sa nga pono saynata: esto es: dicen bien, y con mucha razon; porque era lindo hijo, de buena condicion! Que lastima! Perverso y muy mal hombre es Matapan; porque mato a Nuestro Padre.** Recogieronse todos los Padres Missioneros a la Isla y Residencia de S. Juan, que tiene 180 pueblos y mas de cinquenta mil almas, que esta Isla es bastante mies, y una nueva conversion, en que pueden trabajar gloriosamente muchos Ministros Evangelicos, donde administraban los Santos Sacramentos los Padres, que eran diez. Pero luego que llegó [in 1672] a aquella Isla el Galeon **S. Diego**, que llebó a Marianas al V.P. S. Vitores, y pasaba entonces a Philipinas: el Almirante Leandro Coello nos dexo algunos soldados, y prevencion para resguardo de los Ministros Evangelicos, con que con libertad; aunque con riesgo, y rezelo se continuaron las correrias y Misiones, que Nuestro Venerable Padre avia entablado. Uno, u otro de los barbaros, a quienes avia hecho fuerza la persuasion del Choco, que se morian con el bautismo, los que lo recibian han hecho contradiccion, y se han opuesto a la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos: y estos quitaron la vida a 2 de Febrero el año de 74 al Angelical P. Francisco Esquerra que se encontró con ellos, y aunque llebaba en su compañia quatro soldados, iban estos sin armas de fuego, polvora, ni municion para poderse defender; pero como son pocos*

*es facil de quietarlos, teniendo ellos algun miedo al castigo, reconociendo, que ha de aver persona, que reprima sus arrojos.*

*Las platicas, y sermones son ordinarios, y es innumerable el concurso de los naturales a ellos. Tienen sus fiestas entre año, y procession muy solemne de la fiesta del Corpus: salen los mas dellos festejando aquel dia con varias danzas, y muestras de alegria, y esto no solo en la Isla de S. Juan; sino tambien en todas las trece Islas. Celebran la Semana Santa, tienen sus processiones de Sangre, y es mucho el numero de diciplinantes, que salen cubiertos los rostros, y en traje de penitentes. Jueves Santo se ponen monumentos, y en cada uno dellos se encienden unas doce candelas, y asisten todos ellos estos dias en las Iglesias con singular devocion haciendo guarda en los monumentos algunos de los Soldados y con ellos parte de los Marianos en pie y con sus mismas lanzas en las manos, y preguntados de otros, que llegaban de nuevo: que que hacian asi: respondian: **Hem pupuran matoata nga si Jesu Christo, nga guaivi ia harum: estamos guardando a Nuestro Señor, que es Jesu Christo, y esta alli dentro.***

*Estos ultimos años, fuera de los niños, que se han bautizado, han pedido el bautismo muchos viejos, y algunos pasan de setenta años, y dellos han muerto, poco despues del bautismo. Los niños ellos mesmos se vienen à aprender la doctrina: y en una ocasion vino uno de otra Isla a quejarse: que porque a el no le avian de enseñar la doctrina, y en una tarde aprendió a persignarse, y el Padre Nuestro, y a la mañana siguiente decia todo el Credo sin embarazo. La Fe se ba introduciendo con mucha facilidad por los niños, i niñas y tienen tanto amor a las cosas de Dios, que ellos mismos enseñan a sus Padres como le han de invocar, como sucedio en una ocasion (entre otras muchas) un caso de harto exemplo, y es: que estando un niño pescando con su Padre en medio del Mar: llebado este del mal habito, y costumbre de invocar [fol. 74v] a los Anitis en sus pescas; los llamaba para pescar un pez grande; oyendolo el niño lleno de seriedad, y con enfado, dixo a su mesmo Padre: **No llames a esos; llama a Dios y a Santa Maria como nos han enseñado los Padres,** y reconociendo su Padre el yerro, recibiendo bien la admonestacion, y reprehension de su hijo, le dixo: **Así dices bien, no me acordaba,** y corrigiendose el mismo invocó los dulcissimos nombres de **Jesus y Maria,** y al punto cayó en el anzuelo el pescado, que deseaba muy regalado, y tendria de largo tres varas, y salvando en tierra con notable gusto, y alegria alabando a Dios, y a la Santissima Virgen, decia a voces que no avia otra cosa mejor que Dios y su Madre Santa Maria, y refirio a los Padres, delante de mucho numero de Isleños Marianos lo que le avia sucedido, y todos admirados del suceso miraban y cogian entre dos hombres el pescado, que de otra suerte no lo podian llebar, para que los otros lo viesen por aquellos pueblos diciendo a voces: **Fai iro si Dios, ian Santa Maria, sa sia nga na manaraf yo ngu anay guatafe nga rodo: No ay otra cosa como Dios, y Santa Maria; porque ellos hicieron que sea yo pescador deste gran guatafe (que asi llaman a este pescado).***

*Y tan firmes han estado los Angelicos niños en la fe, que recibieron en el bautismo, que no dudaban de ser contrarios a sus mismos Padres naturales; por mostrarse fieles a Dios, como se experimentó en el motin pasado, pues los niños daban quenta a los*

*Ministros Evangelicos de los designios de sus Padres, y decian, hablando de ellos: muera el perro, que es contra Dios. Y quando los Nuestros estaban sitiados en la Iglesia, salian los niños a informarse de las traiciones de sus padres, y bolbian a dar quenta, y traer algunos regalillos de los que podian alcanzar para los Nuestros. Los que se crian en los Seminarios, que su Magestad ha fundado, aprenden a leer, escribir, y canto: ellos offician las Missas de Nuestra Señora los Sabados, y las que se cantan en las fiestas solemnes. Tienen sus tiempos para los entretenimientos pueriles y juegos, que usan los niños en Philipinas, y Nueva España. Y se crian con tanto amor a la Religion Catholica, y frecuencia de Sacramentos; que todos los Sabados confiesan, y con muchas instancias piden la comunion; aunque; porque conciban mas veneracion a este divino Sacramento se les suelen dilatar sus buenos deseos; mas viendo uno, que le negaban la comunion, o se la diferian para otro dia, despues de averse confesado, se puso a disputar con el Padre, y a inquirir la causa; porque se la negaba, diciendo: que si era necesario para comulgar, saber toda la doctrina Christiana, y saber: que Christo esta en la Ostia, y en el Caliz, y en el Cielo: y en quanto Dios, en todo lugar, que el diria toda la doctrina christiana, y que asi le avia de dar la comunion. Convenció al Padre con sus razones, y mucho mas con su devocion, que le hubo de dar la Comunion. El medio unico óy, para no solo conservar; sino adelantar mucho aquella christiandad, es en el presidio de soldados, y que a los veinte soldados, que su Excellencia el Señor Arcobispo Virrey embio el año pasado, se añadan veinte, o treinta, y que el presidio sea de cinquenta soldados con su Capitan, o Cabo, que los gobierne, que con esto se asegurara la Fe, y Christiandad de aquellas Islas, en el interim que Su Magestad dispone otra cosa acerca de los doscientos Pampangos, que tiene mandado por sus Reales Zedulas, bayan de Philipinas a las Islas Marianas.*

[Endorsements:] *Philippinas. Estado de las Marianas. Relacion de la christiandad de las Islas Marianas. 28 Jul. 1676.*

## Translation.

### **Brief account of the state of the new Christian community and Mission in the Mariana Islands.**

After a few barbarians gave a violent death to our dear Father, the Venerable Father Diego Luis San Vitores, the Mariano islanders were saddened, and disconsolate, and many asked if the father of the Great Father (which is how they called the Venerable Father San Vitores, as was said at various times) would be very sad, because his son had been killed. And, when they were told that he would be, they would say: ***Hogan goay, sa samay rahiña, goshinarom! Aroman! Erri si Matapan ngataotao, sa nga pono saynata.*** "This means: "They say well, and with much reason, because he was a nice son, in good condition! What a pity! Matapan is a perserve, a very bad man, because he killed Our Father." All the missionary Fathers have gathered in the Island and

Residence of San Juan, which has 180 villages and over 50,000 souls,<sup>1</sup> as this Island provides great enough a harvest, and a new conversion, in which many Gospel ministers can work gloriously. The ten Fathers who were here were administering the Holy Sacraments. However, after the galleon **San Diego**, that had brought the Ven. Fr. San Vitores to the Marianas, arrived at that Island [in 1672], on the way to the Philippines with Admiral Leandro Coello on board, he left us a few soldiers, as a protection for the Gospel ministers. So, freely, though riskily and carefully, the mission tours that our Venerable Father had established continued. Some barbarian or other, who had been convinced by Choco that those receiving baptism would die, put up some objection, to prevent the administration of the Holy Sacraments; on 2 February 1674, they took the life of the Angelic Fr. Francisco Esquerro who came across them, and although he had taken four soldiers in his company, they were without firearms, powder, or ammunition to defend themselves; however, as there are few of them, it is easy to calm them down, as they have some fear of punishment, recognizing that there will be someone who will repress their rashness.

Exhortations and sermons are given regularly and the number of natives in attendance is very large. They have their mid-year holidays, and a very solemn procession at Corpus [Christi]; most of them come out on that day with various dances and shows of happiness, and this not only in the Island of San Juan, but also in all the 13 Islands.<sup>2</sup> They celebrate Holy Week, hold their bloody processions in which the number of those flagelating themselves is large; their faces are covered and they wear penitents' clothes. On Maundy Thursday some monuments are built, and about a dozen candles are set to burn in each one. On all those days, they attend the churches with special devotion, some of the soldiers doing guard duty at the monuments and some Marianos join them, standing and holding their own spears in their hands. When other Indians come up and ask them what it is that they are doing, they would say as follows: *Hem pupuran ma-toata nga si Jesu Christo, nga guaivi ia harum*, which means: "we are guarding Our Lord, who is Jesus Christ, and he is there inside."

These last few years, besides the children who have been baptized, many old people have asked for baptism, and a few of them are over 70 years old, and some of those have died, soon after baptism. The children come on their own to learn the doctrine. On one occasion, a child came from another Island to complain, as to why he should not also be taught the doctrine; in one afternoon he learned to make the sign of the Cross and the Our Father, and the next morning he could recite the whole Creed without difficulty. The Faith is being introduced very easily through the boys and girls, who are so devout for God's business that they themselves teach their parents as they must invoke Him, as happened on one occasion (among many) in an extraordinary example, as follows: a child was fishing with his father in the high sea, and when his father got

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1 Ed. note: Some missionaries still clung to these discredited statistics, even after Fr. Coomans saw how wrong they were.

2 Ed. note: One can detect another exaggeration here.

carried away by the bad habit and custom of theirs, of invoking the *Anitis* during their fishing expeditions, upon seeing a large fish, his son heard him and, full of seriousness, and with some annoyance, told his own father: "Do not call on those. Call on God and the Holy Virgin, as the Fathers have taught us to do." Recognizing his mistake, his father received the admonishment and reproach of his son very well, and told him: "You are right, I had forgotten," and, correcting himself, he invoked the most sweet names of Jesus and Mary. At once, the fish he hoped to catch bit the fishhook. It was about 3 yards in length. He very happily brought it ashore, praising God and the Blessed Virgin, shouting that there was nothing better than God and His Mother Mary, and he proceeded to retell, before the Fathers and a large number of Mariano islanders, what had happened. They were all impressed by the outcome, looking at the fish which could not be carried except by at least two men. They took the fish to show it around those villages, shouting: *Fai iro si Dios, ian Santa Maria, sa sia nga na manaraf yo ngu anay guatafe nga rodo*: "There is nothing [better] than God and Saint Mary, because they arranged for me to be fisher of this great *guatafe*" (which is the name given to this fish).<sup>1</sup>

The angelic children have been so firm in the faith received in baptism that they did not hesitate to oppose their very own natural parents, in order to show themselves faithful to God, as was experienced during the last mutiny. Indeed, the children were reporting to the Gospel ministers on the plans of their parents, and would say, while talking about them: "Let the dog die, as it is against God." When our people were under siege inside the church, the children would go out to get information about the treacheries of their parents, and would return to report, and bring a few small gifts, as many as they could find, for our people. Those who are being raised in the Seminaries, funded by His Majesty, learn to read, write, and sing; they officiate at the masses in honor of our Lady on Saturdays, and at the high masses on solemn holidays. They have periods for childish entertainments and games, such as those used by children in the Philippines and New Spain. They are being raised with so much love for the Catholic Religion, and for the reception of the Sacraments, that they go to confession every Saturday, and many times they request communion, although, because they think of this divine Sacrament with more veneration, they usually delay their good desires. However, when one saw that he was being denied communion, or that he was told to wait until the next day, after he had gone to confession, he began to discuss the matter with the Father, and to ask for the reason why it was being denied to him, saying: that if it was necessary in order to receive communion to know the whole Christian doctrine, and to know that Christ is in the host, and in the chalice, and in Heaven, and as far as God is concerned, He was everywhere, then he was going to say the whole Christian doctrine, and so he would have to give him communion. He convinced the Father so well by his reasoning, and more so by his devotion, that he had to give him communion. The only

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1 Ed. note: Amesbury & Myers (The Fishes) do not list the Chamorro name "guatafe". It was the local name given to the sword-fish, probably the blue marlin.

means today, not only to preserve, but to develop more that Christian community, is in the soldiers' garrison, that to the 20 soldiers, whom His Excellency the Lord Archbishop Viceroy sent last year, be added 20, or 30 more, and that the garrison be made up of 50 soldiers with their Captain, or Commander, to govern them; that is the way to make the Faith, and Christianity in those Islands, more secure, until such time as His Majesty arranges something else regarding the 200 Pampangos whom he has ordered by his royal decrees to be brought from the Philippines to the Mariana Islands.

[Endorsements:] Philippines. Status of the Marianas. Report on the Christian community of the Mariana Islands. 28 July 1676.<sup>1</sup>

## B2. Long report

*Sources: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 207-216; RAH 9/2677.*

*Note: The RAH copy is incomplete; only the first 4 pages remain. However, the story is essentially the same as Doc. 1676A2.*

[This document may be reproduced later in the supplementary volume]

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1 Ed. note: This is probably the date of reception of the letter, in Manila

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## Documents 1676C

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# Obituaries of Br. Díaz and Fr. Monroy

## C1. Obituary of Br. Díaz, by Fr. Bouwens

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 129-131.*

**Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. General, undated (but sent from Guam in 1676).**

### Original in Spanish.

*Mui Reverendo Padre Nuestro en Xptto. Juan Paulo Oliva.*

*Pax Xptti etc<sup>a</sup>*

*A nuebe de Diziembre del año passado de 75 fue N.S. servido de Premiar (como piadosamente podemos creer de su infinita liberalidad) con una feliz muerte la mucha Religion y çelo del hermano Pedro Diaz estudiante a quien quitaron violentamente la vida por defender el honor y gloria de nuestro Gran Dios y señor como abaxo dire Dando a V.P. primero Breve noticia de su Religiosa Vida y birtudes: medios por donde se dispusso para lograr fin tan Gloriosso.*

*Naçio este dichosso hermano en Talavera Villa de la Estremadura de honrrados P[adre]s, y mui themerosos de Dios que le criaron en xptianas costumbres particularmente su madre la qual a menudo solia exortar al themor santto de Dios diçiendo le que quisiese mas sea muertto que ofender a la Divina Magestad traspasando su sancta ley[.] estudio latinidad y filosofia en nuestro colegio de Oropessa de donde saliendo aventtjado filosofo passo a estudiar leyes a la Universidad de Salamanca donde mereçio por su rrecogimiento y cristiano proçeder ser llamado del señor a su comp<sup>a</sup> con singulares impulsos: fueron muchos los impedimienttos que el demonio proçuro ponerle pero ttodos los vençio con Baleroso esfuerço Renovando el votto de castidad que años antes siendo de bien tierna edad avia echo a la soberana Reina de los Angeles, Alemtosse tam bien mucha para poner en execuçion sus Santtos proposittos con los sermones de mission que en aquella çiudad oyo a los Padres Thirssso Gonçalez y Gabriel Guillen con quien hiço confession general de ttoda su Bida: Premiole el señor tan Santtos exerçios façilitandole su entrada en la compaña a que fue Reçivido en el Colegio de Oro-*



*pessa por 24 de abril de 73 de donde fue a tener su noviçiado a la cassa de Provaçion de Madrid[.] Aqui fueron mui Grandes los exemplos que de ttodas virttudes Dio a sus connoviçios tomando ttan a pechos el exerçiço de la mortificaçion que tal vez le suçedio prorumpia en llantto por la grande fuerça que se hiço en Vençer la repugnantia extraña que sentia en besar los pies a los pobres fue tan exçato en la obediencia que ordenandole el superior en ocasion de partirse para estas islas que Visitasse a Don Geronimo de Sanvittores tan insigne benefactor desta mission y diciendole su comp<sup>a</sup> despues de aver cumplido con la Visita, que no seria malo ni contra obediencia Ver algunas cosas de las muchas que ai que ber en aquella cortte: Respondio con mucha umilidad: [“]En esso puede haçer mi hermano lo que quisiere que yo le obedere por ser mas antiguo y como Superior mio pero si toma parecer de mi digo que nos bolvamos a cassa pues el Padre Rector no nos ordeno Viesemos esas cosas, y en berlas nos ba poco, pues se an de acabar ttodas mas en haçer la ovediencia nos ba mucho casso que explica vasttamente quanto en breve tiempo[”.] pues, no llegava a tres meses de comp<sup>a</sup> avia aprovechado en espiritu y rreligion:*

*Quantto desagrado p<sup>a</sup> al comun enemigo ttan Religioso proçeder y loables intentos le mostro una noche en el camino de Sevilla quando venia a embarcarsse en la qual se movio tan reça tempestad de truenos y relampagos que parecian rasgarse los çielos y atravesandose entre los pies de la mula una sombra dio con nuestro hermano en tierra, [fol. 129v] Quedando el tan en ssí que sin mostrar el menor movimientto de alteraçion pronunçio el Dulçissimo nombre de Jhs, ofreçiendo aquella Vission y quedo sosegado:*

*Mas singular y misterioso fue el casso (aunque por enttonçes poco entendido) que le suçedio por Agosto esttando en la misma Residencia aunque algo aparttado del Pueblo por andar en mission Visitando la comarca. Y fue que la noche de la Vispera de la Asumpçion de N.S. a quien esta dedicada la yglessia de aquella Residencia[.] Vieron de diversas Partttes Varias perssonas que bajo desde lo altto un globo de luz sobre el templo aviendo primero [fol. 130v] Tocado la cumbre de nuestra cassa y que despues se fue suviendo poco a poco assi al [=hacia el] çielo hastta perdersse de visita mosttrando aquella celestial señora (a mi Pareçer) quantto se agradava de la Yglessia que este su siervo le avia con ttantto trabajo dedicado a su glorioso triunfo y que de ciertta manera festejava su decoraçion con celestiales fuegos supliendo en esto los ardientes deseos que de festtexan a Reina tan soberana ttenia este su fiel y devotto vasallo, aunque enttonçes impossiblittados [sic].*

*No fue menos prodigosso aunque diversso lo que en la Residencia de S. Xavier de Rittian [sic] donde suçedio su dichosa muertte le aconteçiò passando de noche por el mismo pueblo acompañado de otro Hermano de la mission y fue que llegando a la cassa de un indio Prinçipal llamado Apuro el qual aviendo enseñado (como otras veçez solia) a algunos dicipulos suos çiertas poesias en las quales acostumbran semejantes poetas mesclar mill pattrañas aserca de sus Primeros Padres, que ellos llaman criadores del çielo, tierra mar, etc<sup>a</sup> le hallo sumamente asustado lleno de pavor y espantto preguntole la caussa: Y respondio que dos escoadras de malignos Espiritus le avian*

*querido quittaa la Vida Y que invocando a Dios avian desistido pero que aun no se havian ido y que le caussaban horrendo themor: Aplicosele una reliquia de nuesttro Padre San Ignacio. y confesso el indio hallarse mas fortalecido y con notable compacto(?): despediose de el, el Hermano y su companero y certifico al otro dia el mismo Yndio que aquellos malignos Espiritus quando le acomettieron para mattarle Ynvocando el nombre de Dios Vio bajar por el aire tres perssonages Vestidos de blanco y cruçadas por el pecho de cada uno una como esttola o çintta encarnada y que poniendose uno dellos de rodillas hiço oraçion a Dios para que le librasse de aquellos infernales enemigos y que echo estto al partirse el Hermano y su companero se fueron ellos tan vien en su compañia[.] que personajes fuesen estos no se pudo saver discurriese despues aca si serian los Angeles de los tres marianos que en aquella Ressidencia deramaron su sangre quince dias despues como ya dire uno de los quales fue nuesttro V.Hº y que aquellas estolas o çintas encarnadas heran como hergolifico [sic] del martirio que despues suçedio a los nuebe de Dziembre imfra octava de San Francisco Xavier a cuió sagrado amparo estava dedicada aquella Ressidencia e Yglessia y fue desta manera:*

*Avia en el pueblo de **Rittian** y residencia de S. Françisco Xavier una cassa o colegio dedicado a la Gloriosa S. Savina en donde se recojian para ser enseñadas en los misterios de nuestra santta fee y en costumbres Politicos las niñas de aquella Residencia de que por su natural Barvaria estan vien agenos ttodos los de esta naçion[.] llevaba el comun enemigo muy pesadamente obra ttan del serviçio de Dios y ya que por si mismo no pudo impedirlo como Varias Veçez le intentto apareçiendose por juntto a dicha cassa en horribles formas assi a los niños como a las niñas procuro recavarlo por sus ministros que en esta ttierra son los mas aproposito para sus perversos imtentos los que llaman **Urritaos** que son los moços libres y de ordinario entregados en su modo grado al desenfrenado apetito de la carne[.] tres destes Vençidos deste bruttal viçio se arrojaron la noche antes de la muertte del V. Hermano a la cassa de las niñas tubo notiçia deste atrevimiento nuestro seloço Hº y saliendo al otro dia nuebe de Dziembre a rreprehenderlos de tan atrevido arrojio proponiendoles delante de los ojos la maldad que contra Dios havian echo quan gran castigo les amenaçava, de parte de su divina justicia, y significandoles no se libran tan poco del que en la ttierra les esperaba del parte del Capitan del presidio[.] se alteraron de modo yntteriormente sin poderlo adverttir el Hº que arrojandose a un mismo [fol. 131] tiempo ttodos que heran de crecido numero Dieron sobre el V. Hº con Raviossa furia y contra su companero secular el Alferoz **Don Ysidro de Leon** y descargandole al hermano un fiero Golpe en la caveça se la partieron caiendo en tierra muerto su V. cuerpo aunque Viva su dichossa Alma para Reinan con Xp̄tto en el çielo: pagandole el Señor con tan dichosa muertte en defensa de la casttidad aquel heroico Votto que aun siendo de ttierno edad hiço de Goardar perpetuamente estta Virtud tan agradable a los Divinos ojos[.] Cassi al mismo tiempo acomettieron al Alferoz Don Ysidro y parte con palos parte con machettes le acabaron premiandole Dios nuestro S. con ttan Gloriosso fin los fervoro[so]s alienttos y generossa Resoluçion con que de ayudar a augmenttar su santta fee se quedo en estas yslas.*

*Animados con tan horrendos delittos se arrojaron estos infernales ministros a nuevas maldades y sacrilegios: Entraron en nuestra cassa y encontrando en ella vien ygnorante de lo suçedido otro español nattural de la ciudad de Mexico llamado **Nicolas Espinosa** le quitaron tambien la vida haçiendole padaços el rrostro. No pararon aqui sin que con sacrilega ossadia no hallando la en quien vengarsse se fueron a la yglesia hiçieron Padaços algunas sagradas imajenes y se llevaron los ornamentos y quanto avía in cassa y no contentandose con estto pusieron al otro dia fuego a la casa, a la yglesia y al colegio de Santta Savina sin que fuesen bastantes a detenerlos las muchas lagrimas que derramaban los mas de los prinçipales del Pueblo y gente cassada: por que como estos moços libres tienen mui poca obediencia o ninguna a sus maiores es por conseguente poco o ninguno el rrespectto que en semejantes lançes les tienen: y como los prinçipales no tienen siempre la fuerça neçessaria para reprimirlos de aqui es se salen con lo que ynttentan[.] cinco o seis Dias despues destas muerttes se vieron sobre el sitio de la yglessia quemada tres Resplandecientes estrellas mui junttas de ttierra quando por esttar mui obscura la noche y nublado el çielo no se beian las demas queriendo mostrar a mi ver q[ue] Dios N.S. son la luçientes astros en el cielo los que ilustraron con su exemplos y palabras a muchos en la ttierra. Pero aunque la vida de nuestro V. H<sup>o</sup> haçiendo siempre tan Religioosa y su muerte al paraçer tan feliz doy a V.P. este aviso por cumplir con mi obligaçion y para que en esa Sancta Provincia le haga V.P. hacer los sufragios acostumbradas no olvidandose de los que aca quedamos para que el Señor nos comunique su Santto Espiritu que sea en el alma de V.P. por toda esta Peregrinaçion[.] Ysla de San Joan.*

*Siervo de V<sup>a</sup> P[aternida]d muy Rda en Christo y el menor y mas indigno hijo voluntariamente desterrado por el Sr. entre estos M[ise]r[able]s Marianos,  
Gerardo Bouwens*

### Translation.

Most Reverend Father of ours in Christ, Juan Paulo Oliva.

Peace of Christ, etc.

On 9 December of last year 1675, Our Lord was pleased to reward (as we can piously expect from His infinite liberality) with a lucky death the sincere religion and zeal of Brother Pedro Diaz, student, whose life was taken away violently for defending the honor and glory of our Great God and Lord, as I will describe below.

Firstly, I will give Y.P. a brief notice of his religious life and virtues, the means he used to prepare himself for such a glorious end.

This lucky brother was born in Talavera, a town in Extremadura, from honorable parents, who feared God and who raised him in Christian customs, specially his mother who often used to stimulate him to have a holy fear of God, telling him that she would prefer to see him dead than to offend the Divine Majesty by transgressing His holy law. He studied Latin and philosophy in our college at Oropesa, graduating as an accomplished philosopher, and went on to study law at the University of Salamanca where he earned the privilege, on account of his self-communion and Christian way of life, to

be called by the Lord to His Society with singular attraction. The devil put up many impediments in his way, but he overcame them all with a valorous effort, by renewing the vow of chastity which he had made years before to the sovereign Queen of the Angels when he was still of tender years. He was also much encouraged in his holy plan by the missionary sermons that he heard preached in that city by Father Thirso Gonzalez and Father Gabriel Guillén, with whom he made a general confession of his whole life. The Lord rewarded such holy exercises by making it easier for him to join the Society, into which he was admitted at the College of Oropesa on 24 April 1673, from which he went to spend his novitiate in the Probation House in Madrid. Here the examples of all virtues which he gave to his co-novices were very great, by taking to heart the exercise of mortification, to such a degree that sometimes he would burst out in tears while overcoming the strange repugnance that he felt in kissing the feet of the poor. He would adhere strictly to obedience; when the Superior, on the occasion of his leaving for these Islands, ordered him to pay a visit to Don Geronimo de Sanvitores, such a renowned benefactor of this mission, when, after the visit was over, someone in his company suggested that it would not be a bad idea nor against obedience to see a few things among the many that can be seen in that court, he answered with humility: "In this, Brother, you can do all you want, and I will obey you as you are senior to me and my Superior, but if you are asking me for my opinion, I say that we go back to the house, since Father Rector did not order us to see those things, and so what if we do not see them, since in the end we are to do what obedience orders us to see, and we will be ordered to see so many things soon." So, he had not yet been three months in the Society and had already made such progress in spirit and religion.

How disagreeable for the common enemy must have been such a religious conduct and praiseworthy intentions was demonstrated one night on the road to Seville when he was going to embark. Such a severe storm arose, with thunder and lightning, that the sky appeared to be torn asunder; when a shadow passed between the legs of the mule, it threw down our brother, but he retained control of himself so well that he simply pronounced the sweet name of Jesus, by offering that vision, and he remained unperturbed.

Much more singular and mysterious was the case (although at that time it was little understood) that happened during August [1675] when he was living at the same Residence [of Merizo], although he happened to be in a nearby town, since he was on a mission tour visiting the district. It happened on the night of the eve of the Assumption of Our Lady, to whom the church of that residence is dedicated. Many persons at different locations saw a ball of fire come down from above to the temple, after having first touched the roof of our house, and then it rose little by little toward the sky, until it was lost to sight. In my opinion, that heavenly Lady was showing how much she was pleased with the church that her servant had dedicated after so much work to her glorious triumph, and in a certain way she was celebrating her decoration with heavenly fireworks, thus realizing the ardent desires that her loyal and devoted vassal had of honoring such a sovereign Queen, though he was then unable to do so.

What happened to him at the Residence of San [Francisco] Xavier of **Rittian** [sic] where his lucky death occurred was no less prodigious, though differently. He was passing once night through that town, accompanied by another Brother belonging to the Mission, and when he arrived at the house of an Indian Chief named **Apuro**, who had just taught to a few disciples of his (as he used to sometimes) certain poems in which such poets are used to mix in a thousand humbug stories regarding their First Parents, whom they call creators of the heaven, earth and the sea, etc. He found him in extreme shock, full of terror, and frightened. He asked him for the reason. He answered that two squadrons of malignant spirits had tried to kill him, and that when he invoked God they had desisted, but they had not yet left and they were causing him a horrendous fear. A relic of our Father St. Ignatius was applied to him. The Indian confessed that he found himself more fortified and notably comforted(?). The brother and his companion said goodbye to him. The next day, the same Indian certified that when those malignant spirits attacked him to kill him, and he invoked the name of God, he saw three persons come down through the air, clothed in white and with a sort of cross on their chest, something like a red stole or belt, and that one of them went down on his knees, praying to God that he would be freed from those infernal enemies and, once this was done, when the Brother and his companion left him, the others also went away with them. Who were those persons? This could not be determined when it was discussed afterwards. Perhaps they were the Angels of the three Marianos who were to spill their blood in that Residence fifteen days later, as I will relate, one of them being our Ven. Brother, and that those red stoles or belts were like a hieroglyph [i.e. symbol] of the martyrdom that happened later on the 9th of December, during the octave of the feast-day of St. Francis Xavier, to whose sacred protection was dedicated that Residence and church. It happened this way.—

There was in the town of **Rittian** and residence of St. Francis Xavier a house or college dedicated to the glorious St. Sabina<sup>1</sup> where the girls of that residence were collected for their education into the mysteries of our holy faith and in civilized customs which are quite foreign to all those of this nation, on account of their natural barbarity. The common enemy looked askance at a pious work that was so much for the service of God, and given that by himself he could not prevent it, as he had tried to do many times before, by appearing right next to the said house in horrible forms, to the boys as well as to the girls, he tried to achieve it through his ministers, who in this land are the most appropriate ones for his perverse intentions, those they call **Urritaos**, who are the free lads, who usually give themselves freely to an unrestrained appetite for sex. Three of those, addicted to this brutal vice, rushed the girls' residence the night before the death of the Ven. Brother. Our zealous Brother heard about this impudence. The next day, 9 December, he went out to reproach them for such a daring rashness, propounding before their eyes the evil that they had committed against God, how great was the pun-

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1 Ed. note: Saint Sabina was the titular saint of a church on the Aventine Hill in Rome. Nothing reliable is known about her life. Her feast is celebrated on 29 August.

ishment they could expect from His divine Majesty, and he intimidated to them that they would not be able to free themselves so easily from the punishment they could expect in this world from the Captain of the garrison. They became somewhat disturbed in their inner self, without the Brother being able to notice it. All at once, the larger number of them that had gathered, jumped upon the Ven. Brother in a furious rage, and upon his secular companion, **Lieutenant Don Isidro de León**. They discharged a wild blow upon the head of the Brother. It split open and his venerable body fell down, although his lucky soul lives to reign with Christ in Heaven. The Lord rewarded him with such a lucky death in defence of chastity for that heroic vow that he had made while still of a tender age to keep in perpetuity this virtue that is so agreeable to the Divine eyes. Almost at the same time they attacked Lieutenant Don Isidro and, partly with sticks and partly with machetes, they finished him off. Thus God our Lord rewarded him with such a glorious end for his zealous spirit and the generous decision he had made, to help the extension of His holy faith, by staying in these Islands.

Excited by their horrendous crimes, these infernal ministers rushed to commit new evils and sacrileges. They went into our house and they met there another Spaniard, born in Mexico City and named **Nicolas Espinosa**, who was very unaware of what had happened. They killed him too, and mutilated him in the face. They did not stop there. Not finding anyone else upon which to avenge themselves, with a sacrilegious impudence they went to the church, where they broke into pieces some sacred images and they carried off the ornaments and whatever was in the house. Not contented with this, the next day they set fire to the house, to the church and to the College of Saint Sabina, simply ignoring the many tears shed by most of the leading citizens and married people in the town in order to stop them, because, as these free lads pay little or no heed to their seniors, the respect they have for them under such circumstances is therefore little or inexistent; the chiefs simply do not have the force necessary to repress them. So, the result is that they get their own way. Five or six days after these deaths, there appeared over the site of the burned-out church three brilliant stars very close to the ground, when other stars could not be seen on account of the night being very dark. In my opinion, God our Lord wished to show that the shining stars in the sky represented those whose examples and words shone upon many while they were on earth. However, although the life of our Ven. Brother has always been so religious and his death it seems so lucky, I give Y.P. this notice, to comply with my duty and so that in that holy Province Y.P. might have the customary prayers said, not forgetting those of us who remain here, so that the Lord might communicate to us the holy spirit that lies in the soul of Y.P., to last us for the whole of our pilgrimage [here on this Earth].

Island of San Juan.

From the least servant and most unworthy son of Your most Reverend Paternity in Christ, who has voluntarily exiled himself for the Lord among these miserable Marianos.

Gerardo Bouwens.

## C2. Obituary of Fr. Monroy, by Fr. Bouwens

*Sources: There are two Spanish versions of this letter in RAH 9/2677; one was printed at Granada in 1677, and reprinted in part, in Fr. García's biography of Fr. Sanvitores (1683), pp. 535-542, translated as follows by Margaret M. Higgins, in Guam Recorder of January & February 1939.*

*Note: There is also a more official version, in Latin, entitled: "Epistola P. Gerardi Bouwens S.J. Superioris Missionis in Insulis Marianis, ad PP. Superiores ejusdem Societatis in Philippinensi Provincia, de morte et virtutibus P. Sebastiani de Monroy"; 6 folios, bound with other manuscripts in a volume entitled: "Relationes P.P. Missionariorum Societatis Jesu in America Septemtrionali et in China 1676-1682" in the Special Collections of the Lauinger Library (formerly in the Riggs Library) of Georgetown University in Washington, under number Schwartz Coll. Bundle 1, Folder 1.*

A short time after this battle [June 1676] there were several weddings, certain Spaniards as well as [Filipino] Indians, with girls of the Marianas who had been educated in the Girls' School. One which took place in the village of Orote, was especially notable. A native girl, following the example of one of her friends, resolved to be married in the church.

Realizing that if her parents knew of her plan they would not give their consent, because they wished to sell or rent her to the *Urritaos*, she went secretly to the Missionary and confided her secret to him. The village Father at that time was Father Sebastián de Monroy. He offered the suggestion that if it were necessary she might even leave her parents and her village in order to live according to the law of God.

Father Monroy, believing that he saw in her more determination than is usually observed among these natives, confirmed her in her resolution, and with all solemnity set the date of the wedding for a feast-day, in order that the other Indians might be impressed by the sacred ceremony and note its difference from their own barbarous rites, and the worthlessness of their marriages which do not even merit the name, for their lack of perpetuity.

Just as the marriage ceremony was finished and while the people were still inside the church, the girl's father arrived to avenge the wrong which Father Monroy had done him in marrying his daughter to a Spaniard.

The missionary knew that the father's anger was in reality caused by the fact that he wanted to rent the girl to the *Urritaos*, according to the local custom, which was the best source of income that parents could have. The priest told him he would lose nothing by the marriage, for he himself would pay more than the father could get from the *Urritaos*.

The native, however, was by no means appeased, but tried to kill the Father and his companions, most of all the man who had married his daughter. To this end he gathered many natives from the surrounding villages, with their spears and machetes. Then, feigning friendship, he approached our people, and was at the point of striking the bridegroom with his machete when the Father saw his intention and prevented the knife from reaching its mark. Father Monroy, realizing the grave danger that confronted them, sent the newly-married couple to the residence of Agadña for safety.

On their arrival there they told the Governor of the uprising in Orote, and he set out at noon for that village to take matters in his own hands. He lost one soldier on the way. The man, who had become separated from the others, met an Indian who with friendly overtures, took him to his own village.<sup>1</sup> When he had succeeded in getting the Spaniard far away from all help he struck him a blow on the head which rendered him unconscious, later killing the victim with his own weapons.

As soon as the Governor arrived at Orote, the riot was put down and the two guiltiest natives were brought as prisoners to Agaña. One was the father of the bride, who after a brief trial was hanged in Agaña. The other was set free.

The people of all nearby villages were made to assemble to witness the execution. They were told of the charges against the prisoner, for he was involved in many things, among which was his complicity in the death of Father Francisco Ezquerria.

Some of the priests who were most adept in the native language were charged with the duty of preparing him for a Christian death, but he was so stubborn that he refused baptism although all means were employed to persuade him to accept it.

The native children, angered with him for refusing baptism attacked his dead body, pelting it with stones and sticks. They dragged the body to the beach, shouting as they went: "Let the dog die who has not wanted to become a Christian."

### **Part XXVII—29 August to 6 September 1676.**

[A new conspiracy arose, led by a chief from Agaña, named Aguarín. The revolt went into full swing in August 1676. The rebels burned the church at Ayraan, and intended to attack the troops upon the occasion of some church celebrations set for the village of Tepungan. The Governor arrived and the native rebels settled down.]

The only decision they [i.e. the Governor and the Fathers] made was that Father Sebastián de Monroy should not return to his mission at Orote until all danger had passed.

When news of this decision reached the natives they began their pretenses again, saying that if Father Sebastián did not return with them to their village, it was only because he believed them to be enemies, which, in turn, would give them reason to fear the Governor. They refused to go without the Father who, as they said, taught them the Christian doctrine.

The Fathers were moved by the pleas of the barbarians, and wishing not to fail in any duty that might bring about peace, they decided that Father Sebastián should return to Orote, and the Governor assigned 8 soldiers to him as bodyguards, among whom were the Lieutenant Governor, Nicolás Rodríguez, who had orders to return at once to the residence of Agaña at the first sign of trouble among the Indians, disregarding all pleas, and paying no attention to any attempt to feign fear [of the Governor].

An adequate guard was left at the residence of Tupuñgan, while the remaining ministers and soldiers retired to Agaña with the Governor.

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<sup>1</sup> His own village—this was Asan.



The barbarians kept their plans hidden for 8 days longer, hoping the delay would further their ultimate success, and that they would be able to kill all the Spaniards in Orote. For this purpose, they sent out word to all the allied settlements to gather on the morning of 6 September, which was Sunday, and they determined to stab the Father that day while he was saying mass.

But as our men were alert, always fearing a revolt, Father Monroy, by order of the Superior, said mass very early that morning, after which the soldiers, armed and in readiness, awaited the arrival of the Indians at the hour when they customarily arrived for mass and doctrine.

Many more came that morning than the number that usually attended or who belonged to that residence, and came armed with spears and machetes, but they had not the courage to declare their intentions at once, for they found the soldiers awaiting them. They went into the church and prayed as if they had nothing else in prospect and afterwards retired, some to the woods where they hid, others to their homes. Some who had children in the school sent them to ask the Father to give them permission to go to the beach, as they did frequently. The Father granted their request and both boys and girls went out to amuse themselves, whereupon the Indians who were hidden in the wood seized them and took them to another village.

When Father Monroy learned of this he was disturbed, and complained to the natives about the removal of the children, telling them that if they did not bring the children back promptly he and all his escort would leave the village of Orote never to return.

A chief whose name was Cheref, and whom the Father trusted, although he later proved to be a traitor, contrived to delay action by telling Father Monroy that he would arrange for the return of the children. In reality, the delay was intended to permit the natives of a certain village, called Toretanos,<sup>1</sup> to arrive and join with those of Orote whereupon the combined force would fall upon the small group of Spaniards.

But Father Monroy, in obedience to orders from his Superior, set out for Agadña with the soldiers, of whom there were eight. Cheref followed, begging them not to go. They arrived at Sumay where the Father hoped to embark for Agadña, but could find neither boat nor boatman, for all the natives of that village were in the conspiracy.

Very soon they saw a great number of natives approaching, screaming and shouting in a barbarous manner as was their custom in war, and this time they were shouting in glee for they knew that the Spaniards were in their clutches at last and that there would be no means of escape.

Realizing their immediate danger, the soldiers prepared themselves for battle with the enemies of Christ, but only after the Father had given them absolution and prepared them for the death which seemed inevitable. One soldier, with a small native child, was sent to Agadña to carry word of what was taking place, in order that assistance might be sent.

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1 This term is applied to the residents of Orote who lived in the surrounding hills and not in the village of Orote itself.

He had no more than made his escape when the barbarians attacked our seven soldiers who, in good order, began to discharge their guns, and resisting a multitude of the enemy. The latter, seeing some of their people wounded, did not dare throw themselves into closer combat with our men, but instead made use of a stratagem planned by the traitor Cheref.

Cheref appeared among the natives and began to berate them for all that they had done against the Fathers and Spaniards, who were friends of the natives. He even threw spears at them, saying that if they did not moderate their attitude he, Cheref, would be their enemy. Going at once to Father Monroy, he promised to give him a boat in which to go to Agadña, saying that he himself would conduct him thither.

Father Monroy trusted Cheref, who dissimulated so well that the missionary accepted his offer of a boat. He got into the small craft with his seven soldiers and with Cheref at the helm. But Cheref, as soon as he was well away from the shore, capsized the boat, a thing which these natives do very cleverly.

The eight men fell into the water which reached to their necks, wetting their powder and guns, the only things of which the barbarians were afraid. The latter, seeing this, plunged into the water, for they were nude and were excellent swimmers, and killed all the eight with stones, spears and clubs, the traitor Cheref using a piece of a broken arquebus which one of our soldiers had lost. The slaughter, however, was not accomplished without a struggle, for our soldiers, having lost their firearms, fought with machetes and sabres.

The last man to die was Father Monroy, who with a small shield, but without a weapon, defended himself against many stones and spears while exhorting his companions to die for Christ as they had fought for Him. At last a stone which struck his arm caused him to drop the shield, whereupon an Indian struck him in the neck with a spear. The Father asked him: "Why do you kill me?" and without awaiting a reply thanked the barbarian for the benefit he was conferring upon him, saying in the native language: "*Si Dios maasi*," which means: "God will repay you," and "May God have mercy on you." Then they killed him with their machetes and spears.

A truly apostolic man, Father Monroy was ever zealous for the glory of God and the welfare of souls. He was a man of great humility, charity and mortification, of such a blameless life that he merited the fortunate death that was his through the barbarians' hatred of the faith and especially of the sacrament of matrimony by means of which he had tried to banish the licentious custom of concubinage, wherein lay the disgraceful interests of the barbarians.

The Indians, having won this victory, returned to Orote, where they burned the church, residence and colleges.

On receipt of Father Monroy's message in Agadña, the Governor embarked in great haste for Sumay with his men, arriving on the shore there at midnight, and he could hear the shouts of the Indians who had taken possession of the settlement, and were celebrating their victory over the graves of their dead. The Spaniards thought best not to disembark until daylight, for fear of natives who might be lying in ambush.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the Spaniards in Agaña were in grave danger because the garrison was left almost unmanned, by reason of the fact that all available men were sent out to quell the revolt at Sumay. The natives of *Katan*, which is in the center of the Island [of Guam] and faces the east, joined with those of other settlements near Agaña and retired into the forest, pretending to believe that they would receive the blame for past uprisings, which of course they deserved, for they were confederates of Aguarín. They fell upon the town at midnight, meaning to burn the houses of the religious and seculars, and thought that during the confusion of the fire they would be able also to kill the Spaniards. But they were overheard and a few shots were fired in their direction with an arquebus, which caused them to retreat in haste, discouraged with their plan which would have been easily carried out, had not God confounded the designs of the barbarians in order to aid the Spaniards.

At dawn, 7 September 1676, the Governor landed on the beach at Sumay and soon cleared the surrounding country of Indians.

The soldiers came upon two graves which they uncovered and found that one body was that of the Lieutenant Governor. It was carried to the church of Tepuñgan for burial. **The body of Father Sebastián de Monroy was never found.**

Knowing now the treachery of the Indians and realizing that their intention was to put an end to Christianity, the Governor ordered all the Fathers in Tepuñgan to return to Agaña until such time as conditions might be improved.

At one o'clock that day, when the Fathers and soldiers in Agaña were beginning to suspect that some disaster had overtaken the Governor because of his delay in returning with his men from Sumay, they saw approaching from the direction of *Katan* [east], a multitude of natives armed with spears and machetes and carrying fish to offer to the Fathers. It was their plan, if the fish were accepted, to enter the stockade, and behead them all, Fathers and soldiers alike. But their intention was suspected and they were thrown back without even a shot being fired, merely by the courage which the missionaries and soldiers displayed, or perhaps by the removal, by God, of their own valor.

When the enemy retired the Spaniards saw the Governor coming with his men and also the Fathers from Tupuñgan, who had suffered many dangers, although fewer than those of Agaña, whose church and house of the Society God had many times protected by a miraculous providence, through the intercession of the Virgin and of Father Sanvitores and other martyrs of the Marianas, in order that the fountain head of Christianity might not be destroyed.

At the time of his death Father Sebastián Monroy was 28 years old. He had experienced 4 years of the religious life, 2 of which were spent in the Marianas.

Father Gerardo Bouvens, Superior of the Mission in the Marianas, in a letter which he writes about the death of Father Sebastián, says that the latter was born in Arahaal, in Andalusia. He entered the Society on 23 June 1672, at the age of 24, being then a sub-deacon.

He arrived in the Marianas on 16 June 1674, on board the ship **Buen Socorro** and on 24 June made the three vows of the religion in the residence of San Ignacio of Agaña.

He was soon given charge of the residence of Orote which was already begun and which it was hoped he would complete and improve by his labor and diligence in things both spiritual and material.

It is hardly possibly to realize what he suffered, for the natives of that village are the most uncouth in the whole Island. But he, with his mind and peaceable treatment, tamed those barbarians and completed a very pretty church which was dedicated to the Spouse of the Virgin.

Moreover, he built two schools, one for boys and another for girls, where the pupils were well cared for and carefully instructed. And it is a fact that his parishioners were the best instructed in matters of the faith in all the Marianas. And in several contests which were held, the children of his residence carried off the prizes for their understanding of the Christian doctrine.

In his residence he continued to labor until his death, performing heroic deeds and exercising all the virtues. On a certain occasion he said to his Superior that he was inclined to make a vow to serve all his life as a slave to the Indians of the Marianas, if it would be permitted. It does not appear that he ever received much permission but without the vow he nevertheless served the natives as if he were their slave.

Foreseeing the needs of both the companions and the natives, he prepared with his own hands the ground where the roots were grown on which they subsisted. He sewed and mended the clothing of the children, and taught them to sew, read, speak Spanish, and to do many other useful things, serving them as nurse, teacher, father and mother. His clothing was of the poorest, but was clean and decent. Being very economical in matters pertaining to himself and liberal with the boys and girls whom he had in his care, he took great pains to see that they were provided with every needful thing, and even at the cost of his own work and sweat he kept them well and decently dressed. The lack of water caused them much suffering, for it was necessary to go outside the village to get it; but a worse difficulty was the intolerable plague of mosquitos in Orote. This was a great source of discomfort to the soldiers who felt that they were being punished when they were sent to this village. Father Sebastián appeared not to be aware of the mosquitos, nor did he feel their bites. And if the soldiers asked him: "Father, how is it that you do not feel the mosquitos?" he answered: "They do me no harm, for they know me."

He brought up the girls in the school with the strictest modesty, and when soldiers came to the residence, all the time they were there he passed every night watching by the door of the school, by which means he watched over the safety of the girls and avoided scandal.

He had his two schools full of boys and girls, and when he had not the means to feed them, he trusted in divine providence, and with the keen desire that above all they be well instructed, he sought out even more children in the hills, where their parents

reared them like wild animals, but he, with kind words and presents, obtained them from their families and carried them on his shoulders to his schools.

Many times, on those hunts, he was insulted and badly treated, but he enjoyed being reviled for Christ and for the welfare of souls. At other times the barbarians, wild and angry, came to kill him, but finding him so serene and peaceful and being well received by him, as if they were his beloved children, their indignation was soon calmed and they went back to their homes, astonished at such strength and holiness.

Because of the sanctity of his life, the Lord wished to reward him with a happy death, which was accorded him by those barbarians, through hate of holy matrimony, and a liking for the waywardness of their daughters, which brought them an income.

It would not be just to fail to mention the names of the companions of the Venerable Father Sebastián de Monroy, who wrote their names on the soil of Guam in their own blood, defending the faith with their arms and their lives. They were called Nicolás Rodríguez de Carvajal, Juan de los Reyes, Alonso de Aguilar, Antonio Perea, José Lopez, Antonio de Vera, and Santiago de Rutía.

**Nicolás Rodríguez de Carvajal**, who was from Asturias, arrived at these Islands in this same year, 10 June 1676, on board the galleon **San Antonio**, only three months before his death; he was left here by General Don Antonio Nieto in the office of Lieutenant Governor, because of his bravery and other qualifications. He had served the King in Puerto Rico for 10 years, and was going to the Philippines as a Sergeant, but was called by God to serve in this Mission and to die in it for the faith, on 6 September 1676. His Captain and other friends were unable to persuade him not to remain in these Islands, although they tried with many arguments; but God wanted him here for the good fortune that awaited him, and which he earned by his good life, for he was a good man, truthful and candid, a true Christian and of great purity of conscience.

**Juan de los Reyes**, a Pampango, came to this Mission with Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores on board the galleon **San Diego**, and was his companion in the missions. From the beginning the Venerable Father trusted in his gentleness and manner of proceeding, and gave him the title of Lieutenant [sic].<sup>1</sup> He valued his help in the conversion of the Indians as much as if he were a religious of the Society. He was an example to others, charitable and thoughtful of the other soldiers.

**Alonso de Aguilar**, creole from Puebla de los Angeles in New Spain, served 4 years in this Mission, having arrived on the **San Diego** on 2 May 1672, one month after the death of Father Sanvitores, accompanying the Fathers with great zeal. He was modest and of good habits and a brave man who made himself feared by the natives. Being with Father Sebastián de Monroy, he said many times to the Superior of the Mission when he gave him clothing and other things: "Father, all this is for the Indians, for they are going to kill me very soon." And it seems that God gave him that idea in order to prepare him; and he was never unmindful, but frequented the sacraments of confession and communion, doing all he could for his salvation.

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1 Ed. note: He called him, not *Alférez*, but *Aguacil*, i.e. constable, in Doc. 1669J.

**José Lopez**, a creole from Queretaro in New Spain, served 2 years in this Mission.<sup>1</sup> He was a man of good disposition, an enemy of quarrels or dissensions among his companions.

**Antonio Perea**, creole from Cuernavaca in New Spain, served 2 years in this Mission. He had arrived at the Mission with José Lopez in 1674. He was a good *practicante* [physician] and a *sangrador* [phlebotomist]. He visited the sick with punctuality and charity, and lived free of all criticism.

**Antonio de Vera**, a native of Cholula in New Spain, served this Mission for 2 years. He arrived at the same time as the two others previously mentioned. He was a good Christian who feared God; and when he went to Orote he prepared himself by making a confession, although he desired to live to serve God and the King in these Islands.

**Santiago de Rutía**, a native of Mexico City, he arrived 3 months before, in the galleon **San Telmo**, 4 June 1676. He was a lad of 22 years who gave hope of great usefulness in this Mission. He was the joy of the other soldiers, with no prejudice toward anyone, of good habits, which were brought to an untimely end.

### C3. Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Mr. Bartolomé de Monroy, dated Agaña 1 June 1677

*Source: In Fr. Aranda's Vida (see next chapter), pp. 402-404.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor mío.*

*La de V. M[ercede]d día del Señor S. Juan Baptista en Junio de 1675 recivi, causandome me no menos sentimiento, el que a V. Md. y toda su familia ha ocasionado la falta de las cartas de su muy dichoso hijo el V. P. y martir ya de Christo, Apostolico, y zeloso Obrero de la Santa Iglesia, incansable en la conversión, y salvación de las almas, incansable Missionero del Santo Evangelio. No ha sido esta falta de el dichoso P. Sebastian, pues en México dexó cartas para V. Md. que si no llegaron en aquella Flota, no dudo las avrá recibido V. Md. en el Aviso, ó Flota del año de 1677, y la carta de V. Md. a que yo respondo, le causó gran novedad, por aver escrito, y dexado las cartas en poder de nuestro Procurador Mariano en Mexico, y averme escrito este las avía despachado, y encaminado para que llegassen a manos de V. Md. por medio de algunos amigos de la Flota; y si Dios no lo huviera dispuesto mejor, con esta fueran cartas suyas, porque nunca pretendió nuestro servidoros, y dichoso martir dar disgusto a quien sabía muy bien tenía obligación de agradar por tantos títulos, y razones Divinas, y humanas.*

*Más (ó Señor mío D. Bartolomé!) para que me detengo en dar a V. Md. satisfacción por parte de su dichoso hijo, que assi ha sabido, y merecido ilustrar sus padres, casa, y linage con una firma, que hizo con su sangre en defensa de nuestra Santa Fè Catolica, y porque muchas almas se salvassen? Dichoso mil vezes V. Md. a quien doy otros tan-*

<sup>1</sup> He came to the Marianas 16 June 1674, on board the ship Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro.

*tos plazemes de su feliz suerte en la de su dichoso hijo, que tan en breve tiempo supo crecer, y adelantarse tanto en perfecciones, dexandonos atrás a otros muchos, que mereció ser contado en el numero de los Santos martires: y hablo de esta suerte sujetando la declaración de esto mismo al juicio de la Santa Madre Iglesia; porque segun prudentes diligencias hechas por nosotros, y averiguadas muy bien de los mismos Indios, es verdadero martir de Christo, como lo verá V. Md. más claramente en la **inclusa Relación**, que escribo a toda la Compañia de su martirio, para que le conozcan por hijo legitimo de mi Padre S. Ignacio, y varón, que le dió lustre con sus exemplos, y con su sangre derramada liberalissimamente por tantas bocas, quantas piedras, y lançadas sufrió hasta morir por Christo.*

*Y assi no quisiera dilatarme, sino suplicar a V. Md. por la sangre de su dichoso hijo sean mis albricias por esta noticia, el encomendarme a Dios muy de veras, para que ya que me hizo compañero, y Superior (aunque indigno) suyo, me dé la gracia de imitarle en tan feliz, y dichosa muerte, para acompañarle para siempre en el Cielo. Yo, y todos los Padres desta Mission Apostolica, no podemos olvidar la obligación, que nos corre de pedir a su Magestad guarde, y prospere la vida de V. Md. y de toda su familia con muchos aumentos espirituales, y temporales, como todos sus Capellanes, y servidores desseamos.*

*De esta Residencia, y Pueblo de Ag[a]ña en las Islas Marianas a 1 de Junio de 1677.*

*B. L. M. de V. Md. quien más le estima su menor siervo, y Capellan.*

*Gerardo Bofu]vens.*

*[A] Señor D. Bartolomé de Monroy y Silva, muy Señor mío.*

### **Translation.**

My dear Sir:

I have received the letter of Your Grace on St. John the Baptist Day in June 1675. It caused me no less sorrow than that caused to Your Grace and to all your family [to learn] about the lack of letters from your very fortunate son, the Ven. Fr., and now martyr of Christ, the Apostolic and zealous Worker of the Holy Church, untiring in the conversion and salvation of souls, untiring Missionary of the Holy Gospel. This has not been the fault of the fortunate Fr. Sebastian, since in Mexico he had left letters for Your Grace and, if they did not arrive by that fleet [of 1674], I have no doubt that Your Grace would have received them in the advice boat, or fleet of the year 1677. The letter from Your Grace, to which I answer, caused him much surprise, since he had written and left the letter in the hands of our Procurator of the Marianas in Mexico, and the latter had written to me that he had despatched them and sent them on their way, so that they would reach the hands of Your Grace through some friends aboard the fleet. If God had not disposed otherwise, with the present would go letters from him, because our most serviceable and fortunate martyr never pretended to give displeasure to one whom he knew very well that he had an obligation to please, for so many reasons, divine and human.

But (my dear Sir, Don Bartolome!) [did not this happen] so that I may take this opportunity to give satisfaction to Your Grace on behalf of your fortunate son, who in this way has been able, and merited, to illustrate his parents, house, and lineage with the signature which he made with his blood in defence of our Holy Catholic Faith, and for many souls to be saved? Fortunate a thousand times Your Grace, to whom I give as many congratulations for your happy lot concerning that of your fortunate son, who learned in such a brief period to grow, and advanced so much in perfection, leaving many others among us behind, that he deserved to be counted among the number of the holy martyrs. I speak of this luck, subject to the [official] declaration of same by the Holy Mother Church, because according to prudent investigations made by our people, and confirmed very well by the Indians themselves, he is a true martyr of Christ, as Your Grace will see more clearly by the **enclosed narrative**<sup>1</sup> which I write to the whole Society about his martyrdom, so that it may recognize him as a legitimate son of my Father St. Ignatius, and noble man, who honored it by his examples, and with his blood very liberally shed by so many wounds, so many blows from stones and spears, that he suffered until dying for Christ.

So, I do not wish to be wordy, except to beg Your Grace through the blood of your fortunate son, as my reward for having brought you this good news, to commend me to God very truly, so that now that He has made me his companion, and his Superior (albeit undeserving) He may give me the grace of imitating him in such a happy and fortunate death, in order to keep him company in Heaven forever. I, and all the Fathers of this apostolic Mission, cannot forget the obligation that we have to beg His [divine] Majesty to preserve and prolong the life of Your Grace and that of your whole family with many spiritual and temporal advances, as we all, your chaplains and servants, desire.

From this residence and town of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 1 June 1677.

One who kisses the hands of Your Grace, whom he esteems more,

Your minor servant, and chaplain,

Gerard Bouwens.

[To] My dear Sir, Mister Bartolome de Monroy y Silva.

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1 Ed. note: See next section of this chapter, the Relation of Fr. Ahumada. Fr. Ahumada was probably the one who wrote the present covering letter which Fr. Bouwens, the superior, signed.



## C4. Obituary of Fr. Monroy, by Fr. Ahumada

*Sources: (1) RAH 9/2677 (in Spanish); (2) "Brevis relatio gloriosæ mortis Venerabilis P. Sebastian de Monroy S.J. excerpta ex litteris P. Joannis de Ahumada, transmissa ad D. Melistioem de Melo, Conde de León, 6 [sic] May Anno 1677 ex Insulis quas Marianas nome vocant, alias De los Ladrones;" 4 folios, also found in the same manuscript volume (Schwartz n° 1-1) at Georgetown University.*

*Note: Source n° 2 above is a Latin translation of part of Fr. Ahumada's letter in Spanish, dated Island of San Juan 9 May 1677.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Breve Relacion de la gloriosa muerte del V.P. Sebastian de Monroi S.J. sacada de las cartas del P. Juan Ahumada; embiadas à Don Melchor de Melo, Conde de Leon, à [9?] de Mayo y año 1677 de las Islas Marianas.***

*Empieso à dar cuenta de lo sucedido este año de 77. Vino el navio de Filipinas con la mission de Castilla que fue para todos de mucha cantidad y letras, pero fue Dios nuestro Señor servido que se nos mesclasse este contento con una muy buena mortificacion con que el Señor nos quiso probar como lo à hecho su Magestad otras vezes en todo se haya su santissima voluntad. El caso fue, que llegando la nao frontero de el Presidio, no pudo dar fondo por el mucho viento, y assi se vio el piloto obligado à dexarse ir haziendo su viage, y se nos passo el sustento tan desseado que venia assi para nosotros, como para estos pobres soldados. Por cuya causa avemos padecido grandes necessidades, en tiempo de tantas guerras, como dirè.*

*Tenia un Indio principal de este pueblo de Agaña llamado **Aguarin**: el qual avia recebido de Nosotros muchos agasajos, convocados muchos pueblos tan secretamente, que no avimos sabido cosa alguna porque estos naturales guardan tal secreto entre si en sus picardias, que se dexan matar antes que descubrir cosa, que pueda ser a los suyos de algun daño, para quitarnos por traicion à todos la vida: pero el Señor, que quiere que esto se conserve, y que se no pierdan tantas almas, como ay, que an venido al conocimiento de Nuestro Criador, por medio de el mucho trabajo, y desvalo de Nosotros, no permitio que este malvado executasse su depravada intencion en todo. Pues vispera de S. Rosa en la noche à los diez ó onze le pegaron fuego à la Residencia de **Airan** estando un Padre que entonces estava solo porque el compañero avia venido à la fiesta, que se celebrava en otra Residencia à la Santa, a quien estava dedicada la Iglesia, dormiendo, despertò à las llamas, que salian de la casa, y Iglesia, y Collegio de las Niñas, que estavan en el durmiendo, que todo se abraze junto con el Colegio de los Niños dando voces, acudieron los Indios de el pueblo al socorrer al Padre, como lo hizieron con mucha caridad, y presteza, porque ellos no fueron los que pusieron el fuego à la Iglesia y demas casas de la faccion de el dicho Aguarin, antes se han monstrado muy finos los vezinos de dicho pueblo de Airan, y merecen ser muy premiados, como lo seran por su bien proceder. En fin el dicho Padre y los Indios sacaron todo lo que avia, sin que se perdiessse cosa alguna, à aquella hora escriviò el Padre à la luz que salia de el incendio un papel, que despacho con uno de los muchachos que assistian, el qual vino con mucha presteza à dar el aviso al presidio, y luego acudio el virtuoso Cavalle-*

*ro que está por cabof,] natural de Navarra con mucha presteza à socorrer al dicho Padre por mar en unas ambarcacioncillas pequeñas de la tierra con harto riesgo de su vida, y perdida de esta Christiandad, por no saber, como he dicho lo que el maldito Indio arriva dicho tenia trazado. En fin trajo el Padre, y a los Niños, y Niñas, para que assistessen con los que estan en el presidio, para que no se perdiase lo mucho que los Padres avian trabajado.*

*El dia de S. Rosa se juntaron muchos Indios donde se celebraron la fiesta con intension de acabar à los que asistian à ella, que eran los Padres y algunos de los soldados cogiendolos descuidados, y luego dar con los que estavan en el presidio, y con los que avian ido à socorrer al Padre, y lo uvieran executado, si el Señor les diesse licencia: pero N. Señor nos favoreció como siempre ha hecho, y mas en esta ocasion, porque reparando uno de los Padres en que los Indios venian muy armados, presumiendo la mala intencion, que daban à entender aviso a los pocos soldados, que avia que eran unos seis y se pusieron in armas, y los malditos Indios viendo la prevencion no se atrevieron à envestir, aunque era el numero tan crecido, en esto llegó el Governador, con cuya llegada todo se sosego, y se bolvieron los Padres al presidio con los soldados, menos el V.P. Sebastian de Monroy que se bolvio à su Residencia con ocho compañeros con los quales le pareció que estava seguro contra el parecer de todos y de. mismo Governador; pero fueron tantas las instancias, que hizo que le quisieron dar gusto, asegurando el V.P. que no corria riesgo con ocho compañeros, porque era tanto el valor, que Dios le avia dado, que no hallava riesgo, aun en los mayores peligros. Era grandissimo zelo que tenia de la gloria de Dios, y salvacion de las almas, como quien sabia el valor de ellas, pues fueron conpradas por la sangre de N. Sr. J.C. por cuya causa se puso muchas vezes a peligro de perder la vida por sacar los de pecado, y su Magestad le guardò de muchos riesgos hasta que lo hallo sazonado para que coxiesse el fruto de sus muchos trabajos, que fueron innumerables los que padeció en esta mission con gran consuelo pareciendole todo poco por amor de Dios: querer referir sus virtudes fuera alargarme mas de lo que el tiempo me permite. Solo dirè que era muy siervo de Dios, muy humilde y obediente, muy casto, muy pobre de espiritu, y assi de las demas virtudes, assi nos ha dexado con gran sentimiento: pero nos consuela por otra parte considar se le llevo el Señor para darle el lugar merecido.*

***Murio Domingo por la tarde à seis de Setiembre à manos de los Indios, los quales le quitaron la vida en odio de la Santa Fee, padeciendo illustre martyrio por la confession de la misma fee de aquellos que avian recebido de el grandes beneficios, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal, porque quando obrava, iba lleno de caridad, en que se abrasava. Murieron tambien siete compañeros; y es cierto, que si no los cojeran à traicion, no los mataran, assi por la buena disposicion, y prudencia del V.P. como por el mucho valor de los soldados. Luego pegaron fuego à la Iglesia, y à la Casa, y Collegios de Niños llevandose quanto avia. No a parecido el cuerpo de el V.P. que fue grande la perdida en lo espiritual porque tenia el V.P. dos Collegios,] de Niños uno, y de Niñas otro tambien instruidos en las cosas de la fee que no les hazian ventaja los hijos de Padres muy Catholicos, porque sabian toda la doctrina Christiana con***

*eminencia, y se confessavan con tanta discrecion, como en España los Niños. En esto, y demas de esso, que ellos son capacissimos para aprehender, quanto les enseñan, cosa que nos causa gran consuelo por una parte, aunque por otra parte mucho pesar por tal perdida. El Señor sea bendito, por todo pues lo permite, assi debe de convenir.*

*Luego que el zeloso Cavallero, que esta por cabo, supo el riesgo por uno de los compañeros de el V.P. a quien despacho à dar aviso al presidio porque no aprendiò tanto riesgo y juzgò remediar el daño que amenazava a la perdida de los Niños que se avian de esparcir, pero los malditos Indios, mientras el aviso llegava al presidio engañaron el Padre que para picardias son muy sabios, diziendole algunos de los principales que se aquietasse, y que se no fuesse, que lo intentò, y aun salia fuera de la Residencia por dexar à los malvados Indios inquietos, pero ellos considerando que no se les lograva su intento, sino avian una traicion, porque son tan cobardos, que siendo ellos muchos, que por lo menos avia mas de quinientos, y los nostros siete no se atrevieron à cara descubierta à investir, fingieron, que tenian mucho miedo, que harian todo lo que les mandare: y el buen Padre se creiò de ellos, y les mataron à todos, sin que pudiesen jugar las armas, que todas las desgracias han sido de esta suerte como dixe. Luego, que supo el cabo el riesgo, en que el Padre quedava, acudio luego al socorro, pero no podia tan presto, como la necesidad pedia prestar bien distante de el presidio, y en fin quando llegaron ya estaban muertos.*

*Fiamos en Dios, estan en la gloria, pues murieron en buena demanda. Retirose el cabo traiendo consigo dos de los defuntos, que los demas no parecieron sin poder castigar los malhechores, porque se hujeron, como siempre lo han hecho. Enterraron los muertos en la Residencia de Tupungan, que era la mas cercana, y se vinieron al presidio traiendo consigo à los Padres y niños de dicha Iglesia de Tupungan, y juntamente las niñas porque assiento hiziessen con los de el presidio, como los de Airan, los quales assisten aqui, y se han sustentado hasta oy con mucho cuydado, porque como hemos venido à buscar las almas, y no oro, ni plata, nos lo hemos quitado de la boca para dar lo à ellos.*

*La noche que se siguiò à la salida del cabo a la defensa del Padre, nos acometieron otros de los aliados de el maldito Aguarin, para quemar nos las casas, pero fueron sentidos, y rechazados de los Nuestrs, aunque eran pocos: pues nos obligo la necesidad a tomar las armas para defender nos, porque aunque es bueno morir derramando la sangre por la fee, es mas agradable à Dios conservar la vida defendiendose, quando la necesidad lo pide, para llevar muchas almas al cielo, que es el fin principal, que nos ha traído à estas Islas. El dia siguiente, antes que llegasse el Cabo al presidio, vino gran cantidad ó numero de Indios con intencion de acabar à los que estavamos en el presidio con la acostumbrada traicion. Traian un poco de pescado, diciendo, que tenian mucho miedo, y que traian aquella para agasajarnos, pero lo cierto fue, que querian matarlos à todos; porque como he dicho, eran muchos, y venian armados: violes un Padre, que estava de centinela, dio aviso, y al instante salimos los Padres con las armas en las manos, y algunos de los soldados, que avia como eran de los, que solo sirven de hazer bulto, y fue tal el miedo, que concibieron, que algunos se quedaron como [h]ela-*

*dos sin dar paro à uno, ni otra parte, no les hizimos mal, aunque pudieramos, por parecer nos, no era conveniente, quando soltava para nuestra defensa ver nos con las armas en las manos. En fin ellos se bolvieron sin saverlo, que les avia sucedido, y nos valio la diligencia, para que no nos acabassen à todos. Llego despues el Governador con tanto sentimiento de lo sucedido, y nos tuvimos el que se puede considerar en perdida de un tan Apostolico Missionero, que cierto era un S. Francisco Xavier, y siete compañeros.*

*Pocos dias antes de la muerte de el V.P. estando yo por su indigno Compañero, nos quisieron matar en el pueblo de Rote [=Orote], donde estava la Residencia, que tantos trabajos conto al dicho V.P. hasta dar la vida, juntaron se un dia de fiesta muchos Indios con intencion de matar nos, yo conoci la mala intencion estando el S. Padre diziendo missa, avisè à los Compañeros, que eran tres, para que estuviessen con cuydado, acabò su missa el Padre, dixeles, que me parecia por las malas señales, que vi en ellos, pero el se nos persuadia à tal cosa, hasta que el suceso lo desengaño, y fue el caso, que estando uno de los Compañeros disponiendo la comida se entrò un Indio, en la casa, llevando otros tras si para abrazarse con el, y luego llegar los demas, y matarlo à el, y à todos por consiguiente, porque se temian mucho los Indios à este mozo, y con razon, porque era hombre de muchos brios. Quiso Dios, que el tal mozo conociò la mala intencion, y lo echò fuera, aunque el todavia resistio, diole en la cabeza con un machete de llavo [llano?], con que saliò à pesar suyo sin hazer su hecho. En fin, pusimos nos à comer, y estando en este avisonos uno de los niños, como nos querian matar, porque este maldito Indio, por no poder hazerlo, que llevaba traçado, fue se dissimuladamente à matar à otro de los Compañeros, y lo hiziera, pero lo librò Dios por medio de otro Indio, que se lo estorvò; con esto se alborotaron los Indios, que hasta entonces estuviereon dissimulando muy secretamente, y Nosotros nos pusimos al remedio, quietaron se algo, pero yo todavia me no quietava. Avisó el Padre aquel dia al Governador, y el aviso llegò à las dos de la madrugada, y aquella hora se puso en camino: aquella (hora) noche la passamos en vela aguardando, quando nos avian de dar al assalto, porque ellos andavan muy cerca dando voces, en fin no nos envistieron, y el dia siguiente nos partimos de la Residencia, para el presidio, por considerar el mucho riesgo, que teniamos, encontramos el dicho Governador en el camino, y orden de el P. Rector, para que nos fuessemos. En fin el Governador paso à la Residencia, para componer aquello, y castigar los malhechores, llevo se consigo al Padre para quitar el miedo a los Indios, porque siempre han hallado en nosotros mucho amparo, y assi lo conocen mucho. En fin conociendo, que los de el pueblo no avian sido culpados, los dio por libres, prendiò dos de otro pueblo, que dixeron ser los culpados, y dentro de pocos dias dio garrote à uno dando libre à otro, por no hallarle culpado.*

*El V.P. se quedo en la Residencia, con sus Compañeros, y yo me vine al presidio, y aunque despues quise bolber, para acompañarle como antes, me lo prohibio el P. Rector.*

*En este tiempo despues de la muerte del V.P. y sus compañeros, saco la cara este maldito Indio Aguarin, que avia estado ocultamente fabricando nos la muerte sin tener*

*noticia nosotros de su depravada intencion. Empeço à toda prisa à llamar los Indios, que tenia prevenidos contra nosotros, pareciendole, era muy facil destruirnos; enves-tieron nos gran multitud de Indios el dia de S. Theresa de Jesus, con cuyo patricinio sa-lieron nuestros à recibirlos con muy buena orden, mas todo el orgullo, que traian en un instante se convirtio en huída sin poder los nuestros hazerles daño, porque no aguar-daron. El dia siguiente bolvieron, y fueron rechazados con mucho valor de los Nues-tros; en efecto en seis meses nos acometieron muchas vezes, que en este tiempo tuvimos una guerra continuada, viendo nos los Religiosos obligados à hazer centinela de noche, por el mucho riesgo, en que estuvo de acabarse esto; fueron muchos los muertos y heri-dos de parte de los Indios, sin que algunos de los Nuestros sacasse una pequeña heri-da. Bendito sea Dios que nos librò de tantos riesgos entre tantos enemigos, siendo los Nuestros apenas quarenta, y de estos habia hasta una doçena que tengan algun valor, y asseguro, que todas las vezes, que nos acometian, eran tantos, que no era possible numerarles, señal por cierto, que Dios N. Señor quiere, se conserva esto; oy està esto quieto, han venido muchos Indios à pedir pazes, y los ha admitido el Governador. Hemos padecido muchas necessitades, y en particular en tiempo de la guerra, sin tener en mucho tiempo otra cosa que comer, sino verdolagas cozidas con un pico de agua sin mas azeite, ni vinagre. El Señor sea bendito. Llegò à tanta nuestra necessidad, que nos hemos visto los Religiosos obligados à labrar la tierra con muchas manos consagradas con açadones para sembrar una sementera de maiz para sustentarnos. Sin faltar por esso à las obligaciones, pagando à Dios lo que devemos y con mucho consuelo de nues-tras almas con las manos llenas de vejigas y callos, considerando, que otros grandes santos han ganado la comida con el sudor de su frente como un S. Pablo, y otros gran-des Santos, y Siervos de el Señor de mi sagrada religion, y assi lo hemos tenido por muy gran favor de Dios, que nos aya dado ocasion, que podamos ofrecerle alguno servi-cio, qual sea grato à su Magestad: Amor. Pues asseguro, que no pueden otros tener mayor consuelo en sus prosperidades, que Nosotros con estos trabajillos passados, por su amor. Y nos pagò Dios el trabajo dando nos una buena cosecha, con que tendremos algunos dias que comer. **Emos hecho este año una Iglesia de piedra, que hasta aora han sido de madera**, y el techo de palma de los cocos, y assi mismo las casas espues-tas al fuego. Hanse hecho algunas casas, y todos procuran haber las de piedra, y noso-tros estamos haziendo la nuestra, hasta aora estava esto muy ariesgado, aora se va poniendo en forma, traça, que nos ha enseñando la necessidad, y como hemos sido la-bradores de la tierra, assi nos somos maestros de Albanil: por mucha fortuna tuviera-mos, poder alcançar un albanil, aunque fuera de à costa de mucho dinero. Tal maestro mucho hemos menester para la seguridad de esta mission, pues lo que se ha hecho este año, y se va haziendo ha puesto mucho miedo à los Indios. Han se casado muchos sol-dados con criollas de la tierra, y se hallan muy contentos, y nosotros mucho mas, por-que importan mucho estos casamientos para establecer esta Christiandad, y ponerla en pie, etc.*

*De Isla de S. Juan Mayo 9, 1677.*

*Juan de Ahumada*

### Translation.

**Brief account of the glorious death of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monrroy, S.J., taken from the letter that Fr. Juan Ahumada sent to Don Melchor de Melo, Count of León, in May 1677 from the Mariana Islands.**

I begin by reporting what happened this year 1677. The ship from the Philippines brought the mission from Spain, which was both numerous and learned, but God our Lord was pleased to mix in with this contentment a very good mortification with which to test us, as His Majesty has done on other occasions—may His most holy will be done. The case was as follows: when the galleon came in front of the garrison, it could not drop anchor, on account of the strong wind. So, the pilot saw himself obliged to let her go and to pursue the voyage, and they carried off the so desired food supplies that came aboard her, not just for ourselves but also for these poor soldiers. Therefore, we have been suffering great necessities, during a time of so many wars, as I will narrate.

In this town of Agaña there lived a chief named **Aguarín** who had received many favors from our people. He convoked many towns, so secretly that we had not learned anything, because these natives keep such mischiefs among themselves secret, and they would let themselves be killed rather than reveal anything that might harm their people; [the purpose of the convention was] to kill all of us through treacheries. However, the Lord who wishes to preserve it, and to save so many souls, as there are, who have come to know our Creator, through the intense labor, and efforts made by our people, did not permit this evil-doer to carry out his depraved intention in everything. Well then, on the eve of St. Rose Day at night at about 10 or 11 p.m., they set fire to the Residence at **Airan**. One Father, who was alone there because his companion had come to the feast that was being celebrated in honor of the Saint at another Residence where the church was dedicated to her, awoke to discover that flames were coming out of the house, the church, and the college for girls, who happened to be sleeping inside; everything was in flames, including the college for boys. He shouted for help. The Indians from the town ran up to help him, which they did with much charity and rapidity, because they were not the ones who had set fire to the church and other houses [but those] belonging to the party of the said Aguarin. Rather, the residents of said town of Airan showed themselves to be very fine, and they deserve to be well rewarded, as they will be, on account of their good behavior. Finally, said Father and the Indians took out everything that was there, without anything [precious] being lost. Within the hour the Father wrote a note by the light of the fire, and he despatched it care of one of the boys who were assisting him. This boy came very quickly to give notice to the garrison. Then the virtuous gentleman who acts as commander, a native of Navarra,<sup>1</sup> went very quickly to the succor of said Father by sea aboard some of the small local canoes, at great risk to his life, and loss for this Christian community, since the plans of the damned Indian mentioned above were unknown. Finally, he brought in the Father, with the boys

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1 Ed. note: This was army Captain Irisarri, who replaced Esplana in 1676, and acted as Governor for the next 2 years.

and girls, so that they join those already in the garrison, so that the progress made as a result of the hard work of the Fathers would not be lost.

On St. Rose's Day, many Indians gathered at the site of the feast with the intention of finishing off those in attendance there, who were the Fathers and some of the soldiers, by catching them off their guard, then attacking those who were inside the garrison, and then those who had gone to help the Father. They would have carried out this plot, if the Lord had allowed them, but our Lord favored us, as He has always done, the more so on this occasion, because one of the Fathers noticed that the Indians were coming heavily armed. He guessed their bad intentions and went on to warn the few soldiers on site; there were about six of them. They picked up their weapons, and the damned Indians, upon seeing them forewarned, did not dare attack them, although their own number was so high. At this moment, the Governor arrived, and with his arrival everything became calm. The Fathers returned to the garrison with the soldiers, minus the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy who returned to his Residence [of Orote] with 8 companions, with whom he claimed he would be safe, against the opinion of everyone [else], including the opinion of the Governor himself, but the Ven. Father insisted so much that the others finally give in to his argument that he did not run a risk with 8 companions, because the courage God had given him was so great that he did not see a risk, even in the middle of great dangers. His zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls was very great, as he did know their worth; indeed, they were redeemed by the blood of Our Lord J.C., for whose cause he placed his life at risk many times in order to take them away from sin, and His Majesty kept him out of many risks, until He found him seasoned enough to receive the prize for his many labors. The hardships he suffered with great consolation in this mission were innumerable; they all seemed to be so little for the sake of God. To try and describe his virtues would take me too much time. Suffice for me to say that he was a servant of God, very humble and obedient, very chaste, very poor in spirit, and so on with the other virtues. So it is that he left us with a great sorrow; however, on the other hand, it consoles us to think that the Lord has taken him away to give him the place he deserved.

**He died on Sunday afternoon, 6 September, at the hands of the Indians, who took his life in hate for the Holy Faith.** He suffered an illustrious martyrdom for the confession of this same faith, from those very people who had received from him great benefits, not only spiritual ones, but also material ones. Indeed, when he worked, he was moved by the charity that burned inside him. Seven companions also died along with him. It is certain that, if they had not been tricked, they would not have been killed, not just on account of the good decision-making and prudence on the part of the Ven. Father, but also on account of the great courage of the soldiers. Then they set fire to the church, to the house and to the colleges for boys and girls, taking away whatever was in them. The body of the Ven. Father was not found. The spiritual loss was great, because the Ven. Father had two colleges, one for boys and one for girls, all of whom were so well instructed in the things of the faith that the children of very Catholic parents would not have bettered them, because they knew the whole Christian doctrine

very well, and they were confessing themselves with as much discretion as children in Spain. In this, and much more than that, they are most able to learn whatever is taught them, and this is something that causes great consolation, although, on the other hand, the loss in question is very painful. May the Lord be praised, for everything He allows, such as we must accept.

After the zealous gentleman, who acts as commander, learned of the danger, through one of the companions of the Ven. Father whom he had despatched to warn the garrison, because he did not think that the risk was so great and thought that he could remedy the damage that threatened the loss of the children who might otherwise become dispersed, but the damned Indians, while the advice was being carried to the garrison, tricked the Father—for they are very astute when it comes to mischief. Some of the chiefs told him not to worry, and not to go, but he tried to, and had even gone away from the Residence, in order to make the evil Indians worried, but they in turn, considering that their plan was not succeeding, tried a treachery instead, because they are such cowards. Although there were many of them—there were at least 500 of them, and our men were only 7—they did not dare attack them face to face. Rather, they pretended that they were afraid, that they would do everything they were ordered to do, and the good Father believed them. They killed them all, without them being able to use their weapons; all the misfortunes have been of this sort, as I have said. As soon as the commander learned about the danger in which the Father was, he then ran to his succor, but could not do it as quickly as needed, given the great distance from the garrison; in the end, when he got there, they were already dead.

We trust in God that they may be in glory, since they died for a good cause. The commander withdrew, bringing along only two of the bodies of the deceased, as the others could not be found, without punishing the evil-doers, because they fled, as they always do. The dead were buried at the Residence of Tupungan, which was the nearest one, and they came back to the garrison, bringing along the Fathers and the boys of the said church of Tupungan, and the girls too, so that they would join the roll of the children of the garrison, like those from Airan, who are also based here, and they have been fed until now with much care, because, as we have come to look for souls, and not gold, nor silver, we have taken food from our own mouth to give it to them.

On the night that followed the sortie of the commander in defence of the Father, other allies of the damned Aguarin attacked us, to burn us inside our houses, but they were detected, and repelled by our people, though they were few. Indeed, necessity forced us to take up arms to defend ourselves, because, although it is good to die spilling one's blood for the faith, it is more agreeable to God to stay alive by defending oneself, when necessary, in order to bring many souls to Heaven, which is the main purpose that has brought us to these Islands. The next day, before the Commander returned to the garrison, a large quantity of Indians came again to finish those of us who remained inside the garrison, with the usual trickery; they brought a little fish, saying, that they were much afraid, and that they were bringing that as a present to us, but what was certain was that they wished to kill us all, because, as I have said, there were many of them,



and they came armed. They were spotted by a Father, who was acting as a sentinel; he gave a warning, and at once we Fathers went out with some firearms in our hands, with a few of the soldiers present, though they were of the kind that is recruited just to fill vacancies. The sudden fear that was created in them [i.e. the enemy] was so great that a few simply froze on the spot, unable to move in any direction. We did not do them any harm, although we could have, because it did not seem to us to be convenient, given that it was enough for our defence that they saw us with firearms in our hands. Finally, they turned back, before they realized what had happened to them, and the effort was good enough to prevent our total destruction. The Governor arrived later and he was sorry to learn of the incident. We were even more sorry to learn of the loss of such an apostolic missionary—he sure was a St. Francis Xavier—and his seven companions.

A few days before the death of the Ven. Father, while I served as his unworthy companion, at the site of the Residence of **Orote**, which cost so many hardships to said Ven. Father, the people there had tried to kill us. On a feast-day, many Indians got together, intending to kill us. I was the one who learned of their evil intention, as the saintly Father was saying mass. I warned our companions—there were three of them—to be on their guard. Once the Father had finished saying mass, I warned him that, in my opinion, I could see bad signs of their intentions, but he convinced us otherwise, until something happened to undeceive him. The case happened this way: one of our companions was preparing our meal when an Indian came into the house, with others following behind, intending to embrace him, thus giving time to the rest to come in and kill him, and kill the rest of us afterwards, because the Indians feared this lad very much, and with reason, because he was a man of great courage. God willed that said lad realized their bad intention, and threw him out, though he resisted; so, he gave him a blow with the flat side of a machete, with which he came out worse for it, without having done his deed. Finally, we began to eat. While we were thus busy, one of the children warned us that they had indeed tried to kill us, but this damned Indian, after failing to do what he had planned, went on underhandedly to kill another of the companions, and he would have done so, had not God saved him through another Indian, who stopped the first one. After this, the Indians began the rebellion that they had planned very secretly, and we applied the remedy. They became calm somewhat, but I, for one, was still worried. On that day, the Father sent a note to the Governor, and the advice arrived at 2 in the morning, and within the hour he had set out. We spent the whole of that night on our guard, expecting them to attack, because they were walking around us, very close, and shouting. In the end, they did not attack, and the next day, we left the Residence, to go to the garrison, as we considered the risk too high for us. We met with said Governor along the way, and he had an order from the Fr. Rector, for us to return. Finally, the Governor went on to the Residence, to pacify the town and punish the evil-doers. He took along the Father, to remove fear from the Indians, because they have always looked to us a lot for protection, and also because they knew him well. In the end, having learned that the local people were not guilty, he let them go. He seized two from another town, whom they had said were the guilty ones, and within a few

days, he gave the choking collar to one, and released the other one, as he did not find him guilty.

The Ven. Father remained at the Residence, with his companions, and I went back to the garrison, and although afterwards I wanted to go back, to be his companion as before, Fr. Rector forbid me.

During this period, after the death of the Ven. Father and his companions, this damned Indian Aguarin showed his face, he who had been secretly plotting our death, without our having suspected his evil intention. He very quickly called the Indians who had agreed to join him against us, as it seemed to him that it would be easy to destroy us. A great multitude of Indians attacked us on the feast-day of St. Theresa of Jesus,<sup>1</sup> but with her patronage our men sallied forth in very good order to meet them. However, the full pride they had come with turned instantly into a flight, and our men could not do them any harm, because they did not wait for it. On the next day, they returned, and were repulsed with much valor by our men. In fact, during a period of six months they attacked us so many times that there was a continuous war going on. We religious saw ourselves obliged to do guard duty at night, on account of the great risk in which everything might be over. There were many dead and wounded on the side of the Indians, but not one of our men suffered the least wound. Praise be to God for delivering us from so many risks amid so many enemies. Our men were hardly 40 in number, but among them there were perhaps a dozen men who had some courage. I assure you that every time they attacked us, they were so numerous that it was not possible to count them—a sure sign that God our Lord wishes to preserve this. Today, things are quiet. Many Indians have come to sue for peace, and the Governor has granted it to them. We have suffered great necessities, specially during the war period, when we had but cooked vegetables to eat, with a little water, but no oil, or vinegar. Praise to the Lord! Our need became so intense that we Religious saw ourselves forced to work the soil, with our consecrated hands on the hoes, to sow a corn plantation in order to feed ourselves. In spite of this, we did not fail in our duties, rendering to God what we owe Him, much to the consolation of our souls, but with blistered and callous hands, as we considered that many great saints have earned a living with the sweat of their forehead, for instance, St. Paul, and other great Saints, and Servants of the Lord, from my own sacred Order, and so, we held it to have been a great favor from God to have given us an opportunity to be in a position to offer some service that would be acceptable to His Majesty: Love. Indeed, I assure you that no-one else could find as much consolation in their prosperities as we did in our little tasks in the past, for His love. God repaid us by giving us a good harvest, that will provide us with something to eat for a few days. **We have rebuilt this year with stone a church that had until now been of wood**, with a roof of coconut palm. We did the same for the houses that were exposed to fire. A few houses have been built, and everyone tries to make them with stone. We ourselves are [re-]building ours. All of this had been very risky up to now, but now it is all being

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1 Ed. note: St. Theresa of Avila. The date of this battle was therefore 15 October 1676.

well planned and executed in accordance with what necessity had taught us. As we have been gardeners, so are we now master carpenters; if only we had the good fortune to get our hands on a carpenter, though it be at the cost of much money. We have a great need of such a master carpenter, for the security of this mission; indeed, what has been done this year, and continues to be built, has caused much fear in the Indians. Many soldiers have married some local Creole women, and they are very happy, and we are happier, because such marriages are very important for the establishment of this Christian community, to place it on a good footing, etc.

From the Island of San Juan, 9 May 1677.

Juan de Ahumada.



**Frontispiece to the Biography of Fr. Monroy by Fr. Aranda. The book was dedicated to Queen Mariana de Austria, the patroness of the Mariana Mission.**

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## Document 1676D1

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### Biography of Fr. Monroy—Spanish version

*Source: Gabriel de Aranda, S. J. "Vida, y gloriosa muerte del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesús, Que murió dilatando la Fè alanceado de los barbaros en las Islas Marianas..." (Sevilla, 1690).*

**The life and glorious death of the Venerable Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, religious of the Society of Jesus. He died propagating the faith, speared by the barbarians of the Mariana Islands.**

**Extracts from this book, in the original Spanish.**

*Indice de los Capítulos, que se contiennan en este Libro.*

*Cap. I. De la Patria del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy.<sup>1</sup>*

*Cap. II. De los padres del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy, Nobleza de su Linage, y nacimiento.*

*Cap. III. En que se prosigue la misma materia, de otras virtudes de Doña Ana de Perea, y de su exemplar, y dichosa muerte.*

*Cap. IV. Quan niño comenzó nuestro D. Sebastian a professar la virtud.*

*Cap. V. Del fervor con que confesó, y comulgó la primera vez, y de la penitencia, que hazia siendo de siete años.*

*Cap. VI. De lo que se adelantó en la virtud nuestro D. Sebastian desde los nueve a los treze años.*

*Cap. VII. Informa Doña Ana de Perea al Confessor de D. Sebastian de las penitencias, que hazia su hijo, y lo que el Confessor le respondió.*

*Cap. VIII. Como sus padres pusieron a D. Sebastian al estudio de la Grammatica, y quan bien supo hermanear las letras con la virtud.*

*Cap. IX. De lo que procuró D. Sebastian adelantar en virtud con sus exhortaciones a sus condiscipulos.*

*Cap. X. Como D. Sebastian se aplicó a estudiar Artes, y los exemplos con que manifestó su gran caridad con los pobres en este tiempo.*

*Cap. XI. De otras cosas, que le sucedieron a D. Sebastian el tiempo, que estuvo en la Villa del Arahal, hasta que se trató de que fuesse a vivir a Mairena.*

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1 Ed. note: Only the chapters whose heading is printed in bold letters are here transcribed, and translated in the next chapter.

*Cap. XII. Vá por Corregidor a Mairena Don Juan Ramirez de Cartagena, cuñado de D. Sebastian, y consigue de sus padres llevarle a vivir consigo.*

*Cap. XIII. Como Don Sebastian fue tentado acerca de su honestidad, y quan gloriosamente venció la tentación.*

*Cap. XIV. De las cosas de virtud, que procuró entablar D. Sebastian en la Villa de Mairena.*

*Cap. XV. Como entabló en Mairena la estación de la Via Sacra, y de vn caso muy singular con que acreditó N. Señor su devocion.*

*Cap. XVI. De la gran devocion con que assistia a Christo Sacramentado, y de vna extraordinaria penitencia, que hizo vn Jueves Santo.*

*Cap. XVII. De lo que se empleaba D. Sebastian en obras de caridad con el proximo, assi espirituales, como temporales*

*. Cap. XVIII. De la gran penitencia, que hazia D. Sebastian por este tiempo, y del alto grado de contemplacion a que le levantó Dios.*

*Cap. XIX. Llegan dos Padres de la Compañia de Jesus a hazer Mission en la Villa del Arahall, y muevese en su predicacion a dexar el mundo D. Sebastian.*

*Cap. XX. Da cuenta D. Sebastian a los Padres Misioneros de los desseos, que tenia de hazerse Religioso, y ponese en sus manos para seguir en todo su direccion.*

*Cap. XXI. Responde el Padre Juan Gabriel Guillen a D. Sebastian acerca de elegir estado, y propone la Mission de las Marianas, que abraza con gran fervor.*

*Cap. XXII. Passa D. Sebastian con los Padres Misioneros a Mairena, y assisteles en la Mission con gran fervor.*

*Cap. XXIII. Presentase al Ilustrissimo señor Arçobispo de Sevilla para ordenarse, y de las informaciones, que se hizieron de su vida, y costumbres, queda acreditada su virtud en la opinion de su Prelado.*

*Cap. XXIV. Vida, que entabla mas penitente D. Sebastian para disponerse a las Ordenes, y como por la Quaresma se ordenó de Subdiacono.*

*Cap. XXV. Buelve D. Sebastian al Arahall despues de ordenarse, y retirase a Mairena, de donde dispone su entrada en la Compañia.*

*Cap. XXVI. Huyese D. Sebastian de Mairena, y viene a Sevilla para entrar en la Compañia.*

*Cap. XXVII. Es recibido en la Compañia D. Sebastian, de que da cuenta a su padre por escrito con toda su mission.*

*Cap. XXVIII. Viene su padre a Sevilla con intento de persuadir al Hermano Sebastian a que dexasse la sotana de la Compañia; pero despues de averlo oido queda muy consolado del estado, que avia escogido.*

*Cap. XXIX. Viene aquella noche D. Bartolomé de Monroy a Mairena; pero con noticia, que alli tuvo de aver entrado su hijo en la Compañia con animo de passar a las Indias, buelve a Sevilla el dia siguiente a verse con él.*

*Cap. XXX. Entabla su Noviciado el Hermano Sevastian con gran fervor.*

*Cap. XXXI. Viene el Ilustrissimo señor D. Ambrosio Ignacio Spinola y Guzman, Arçobispo de Sevilla a hazer exercicios al Noviciado, y reconoce al Hermano Sebastian, cuya virtud acredita por la estimacion, que hazia del.*

*Cap. XXXII. De la devocion, que tenia el Hermano Sebastian con la Santissima Virgen siendo Novicio: y como desde el Noviciado procuraba, que la que él avia dexado entablada en su casa con esta Señora, por su ausencia no saltasse.*

*Cap. XXXIII. Disponen los Superiores, que el Hermano Sebastian se ordene de Evangelio, por aver de passar a Indias.*

*Cap. XXXIV. Ordenase de Missa el Hermano Sebastian, y el dia de S. Juan Baptista la canta en el Noviciado.*

*Cap. XXXV. Parte D. Bartolomé de Monroy a Cadiz; y aunque propone razones fuertes a su hijo para que no passe a Indias, su hijo le reduce a que le dé licencia para partir.*

*Cap. XXXVI. De dos cosas, que le pidió Don Bartolomé a su hijo para su consuelo, y el Padre Sebastian vino en concederselas entrambas.*

*Cap. XXXVII. Buelve D. Bartolomé al Arahá, y de algunas cosas, que le passaron con su hijo el Padre Sebastian antes de navegar.*

*Cap. XXXVIII. Como se embarcó el Padre Sebastian de Monroy, y de los exercicios de virtud en que se empleó en la navegacion.*

*Cap. XXXIX. Llega a la Vera-Cruz el V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy, y parte a Mexico: y de las virtudes, que manifestó el tiempo, que se detuvo en aquella Ciudad.*

*Cap. XXXX. En que se da noticia de las Islas Marianas, de su situación, y del genio, y costumbres de sus naturales.*

*Cap. XXXXI. Como se introduxo entre gente tan barbara nuestra Santa Fè, y de los primeros principios que tuvo.*

*Cap. XXXXII. Consigue el V. Padre Sanvitores del Rey nuestro señor Felipe IV licencia para passar a esta Mission, y de lo que sucedió hassta llegar a entrar en estas Islas.*

*Cap. XXXXIII. Entra el V. Padre Sanvitores en las Islas de los Ladrones, y como santificó aquellas Islas, y plantó la Fè en aquellos infieles.*

*Cap. XXXXIV. Sale el V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy de Mexico para Acapulco, donde se embarcó para las Islas Marianas.*

*Cap. XXXXV. Llega el V. Padre a dar vista a las Islas Marianas, y entra en ellas con gran peligro de anegarse.*

*Cap. XXXXVI. Haze el V. Padre los votos de los dos años en el Colegio de N. P. S. Ignacio de Agfajña, y detienese en él mientras las cosas toman mejor forma.*

*Cap. XXXXVII. Procura el Governador Don Damian de Esplana el sossiego de los pueblos mas vezinos al Presidio, para que los Padres pudiesen sin riesgo salir a hazer algunas correrias.*

*Cap. XXXXVIII. Muestras, que dió el nuevo Governador no menos de su valor, que de su gran piedad, y sucessos con que la premiò el Cielo.*

*Cap. XXXXIX. Sale el V. Padre Monroy a exercitar su zelo en la conversion de las almas: y de los grandes trabajos, que en esta empresa padeciò.*

*Cap. L. Buelve a Agfajña el V. Padre a dar cuenta de la Mission de Orote, y señalanle los Superiores aquel partido para que cuyde del.*

*Cap. LI. Instruye el V. Padre a los Indios en el conocimiento del verdadero Dios, y venida de Christo al mundo para remedio de el hombre.*

*Cap. LII. Prosigue el siervo de Dios en enseñar a sus feligreses nuestra Santa Ley, y explica[r]les los Mandamientos exhortandoles a la observancia dellos.*

*Cap. LIII. Da principio a los Bautismos de los adultos el V. Padre: exercitase en la enseñanza del Catecismo con gran fervor, y procura promover la virtud en los recién bautizados.*

*Cap. LIV. Funda el V. Padre dos Colegios de niñas, y niños en su Residencia a exemplo de los que avia en Agfajña.*

*Cap. LV. Del gran zelo, y fervor con que se aplicó el V. Padre a la enseñanza de los niños: y de lo mucho, que en poco tiempo aprovecharon.*

*Cap. LVI. Alborotanse las cosas de la Christiandad con ocasion de aver muerto los Vrritaos a vn Hermano de nuestra Compañia, y a dos Soldados Españoles.*

*Cap. LVII. Recibe aquella nueva Christiandad grandes favores de la Reyna de los Angeles, y afervorizanse mas en el culto del verdadero Dios.*

*Cap. LVIII. Dase cuenta de las virtudes, que observaron los nuestros en el V. Padre Monroy el tiempo que estuvo en las Islas Marianas.*

*Cap. LIX. Principios del alboroto de Orote, y origen que tuvo la traycion, que vsaron los Indios contra el V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy.*

*Cap. LX. Vn Indio llamado Aguarin amotina a los Indios de aquel partido, y persuadeles a que acaben con todos los Españoles.*

*Cap. LXI. Intentan los Indios rebelados quitar la vida a los Españoles el dia 30 de Agosto, en que se avian de juntar en Tupungan a celebrar la fiesta de Santa Rosa.*

*Cap. LXII. Determina el Governador, que el V. Padre Monroy no buelva a su Residencia; pero los ruegos de los suyos, y sentimiento del V. Padre en dexarles, le obliga a conceder en que buelva, de donde se originó el quitar la vida los barbaros al siervo de Dios.*

*Cap. LXIII. Buelve el Padre Sebastian de Monroy a su Residencia de Orote, y los de Orote a su antigua rebelion.*

*Cap. LXIV. Retiran los Indios a los niños a otro pueblo: pide el V. Padre se los buelvan, y no lo consigue, por lo qual se despide de los de Orote para irse con los Soldados al Presidio.*

*Cap. LXV. Buelve Cheref al medio dia a Orote sin los niños, y el V. Padre con los siete Soldados se sale del lugar para irse al Presidio, aunque no logra el embarcarse.*

*Cap. LXVI. Descubre Cheref su traycion volcando la Canoa en la mar, seña[] que tenia concertada con los Indios, para que arrojandose al agua matassen al Padre Monroy, y a sus compañeros, como lo executaron con barbara crueldad.*

*Cap. LXVII. En que se prueba quan gloriosa aya sido la causa por que el V. Padre murió, por lo que los Indios obraron despues contra lo Sagrado.*

*Cap. LXVIII. Del castigo, que dió Dios en esta vida a los homicidas del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy.*

*Cap. Vltimo. De la solemnidad con que se celebró en la Villa del Arahall la gloriosa muerte del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy.*

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### *Capitulo XXXX. En que se da noticia de las Islas Marianas, de su situacion, y del genio, y costumbres de sus naturales.*

*Las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, han dado poca materia a los Historiadores antiguos; porque no hallandose en ellas frutos en que tenga empleo la avaricia de los hombres, nunca les dió mucho cuydado el buscarlas, ni comerciar en ellas, y assi siempre las miraron de lexos, y solo dizen ser tantas, que casi se continuan con cortissima distancia de vnas a otras de Norte a Sur, lo que ay desde el Perú al Japon. Las que sirven al fin de nuestra Historia, son las que yendo desde Nueva España a Filipinas se encuentran 300 leguas antes de llegar a Manila: estas podemos dezir, que son las que el zelo de los Missioneros de nuestra Compañia han descubierto, sin que la codicia de los hombres les abriese camino, y assi son mas fatiga del zelo de la Religion, que humanas conveniencias, por ser tan pocas las que en ellas se hallan, que solo el desseo de padecer puede llevar a los hombres a vivir allí: apoyo el mas seguro de que solo el desseo de la conversion de las almas saca de sus tierras a nuestros Missioneros, no sin alguno humano de los que la malicia, y emulacion puede fingir.*

*Las Islas, que nuestros Missioneros han descubierto hasta aora, son treze no mas; pero algunas de 30, y otras de a 50 leguas de box. Llamanse Guam, Zarpana, Aquiguan, Tinian, Saipian [sic], Anatajan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagon, Agrigan, Asoncon, y Maug. El temple es saludable, y benigno, si bien las vltimas algo mas frias; pero ni el frio, ni el calor es con exceso. No padecen los terremotos, que otras Islas del Archipelago suelen padecer: la tierra es montuosa, y pantanosa mas que lo ordinario en los llanos, y donde de ordinario se cria vna yerva llena de espinas: no faltan arboles; pero ninguno de los de Europa, y assi no se halla en ellos vtilidad alguna: solo vn arbol, que en su lengua llaman Maria, les sirve para hazer dél sus casas; que bastaba tener tal nombre, para que en él hallassen aquellos miserables abrigo.*

*Tiene muchos rios caudalosos esta tierra, y de agua bastatemente dulce, pues solo en la Isla de Guan passan de treinta los rios: no se hallan en ellos Caymanes, Culebras, ni animales ponçoñosos, plaga ordinaria de los rios de las Indias: dan bastante sustento a sus moradores los rios con la pesca, en especial de Anguillas, que ay muchas; pero que por supersticion no las cogen los naturales. No se hallan en aquella tierra animales, y se hallan hombres, que es cosa bien singular, que lo que no es para brutos sea para hombres. Algunos Gatos, y Perros ay, que se cree aver quedado de vna Nave (de que despues hablaremos) que el año de 1638 en aquellas costas naufragó. En el ayre no se vé otro genero de aves, que vnas*



a manera de Tortolas, que no las cogen los Isleños para comer, mas solo las enxaulan [=enjualan], y las enseñan a hablar. No se ha descubierto en aquellas tierras hasta aora mina alguna de oro, plata, ni algun metal, que sea de precio, ni de algun servicio: solo ay conchas de Tortuga con que suelen los naturales cambiar con las Naos que passan algun hierro, y esto de poco tiempo a esta parte: causa de que nadie busque estas Islas, pues nada ay en ellas, que pueda ser de alguna conveniencia.

Esta es la tierra, los habitadores della son vnos hombres de color amulatado, si bien mas claro, que el de los Filipinos, y su estatura mayor: son tan llanos de carnes, que parecen estar hinchados. Las mugeres son al mismo modo en el color, y las fayciones bien proporcionadas; y no fueran feas, si no se pusieran con baños, que se dan, los cabellos blancos, y tiñeran los dientes de negro, y esto por parecer mejor, que hasta en los barbaros es natural el adornarse las mugeres, no pareciendoles estar hermosas, si no desfiguran el natural con aseytes: tienen entre ellos mas estimacion, que los hombres, pues de ordinario ellas, y no los maridos mandan en la casa; y aun en sus matrimonios (que mas son amancebamientos por falta de perpetuidad) si el marido dexa a la muger, pierde el marido la hazienda, y los hijos: las mugeres aunque los dexen, no pierden nada, y lo vsan muy frecuentemente por zelos, que tienen de ellos, y en tal caso suelen vnas vezes, quando la muger se halla ofendida del marido, convocar a las otras de su pueblo, y tomando todas sombreros, y lanças van a la casa del adultero, y si tiene alguna sementera se la arrancan, y destruyen, y luego hazen el ademán de quererle alañear, y vltimamente le echan de su casa; otras, la ofendida sin hazer otra demonstracion se aparta dél, y le dexa, y esso basta para que los parientes de la muger vayan todos a casa del marido, y le saquen quanta hazienda tiene sin dexarle ni la lança, ni vn petate en que duerma, solamente el casco de la casa, y a vezes suelen destrozarla, y derribarla. Si ofende la muger al marido, puede este quitar la vida al adultero; pero la adultera queda sin alguna pena.

Su trage es desnudez total en los hombres, las mugeres solo cubren lo que ofende la modestia con vnos paños cortos: su comida en quatro meses suele ser pesca, y frutos de la tierra, como son cocos, de que ay abundancia, platanos, y cañas dulces: lo restante del año se sustentan de vnas raizes a modo de batatas; y aunque cogen algun arroz, lo guardan para sus festines. Su bebida es agua, y assi mueren de hidropicos, porque ni vino, ni licor, que embriague, no lo tienen. Su ocupacion suele ser cuydar de sus cocales, platanares, y sementeras, y pescar en el mar en vnas embarcaciones, que hazen muy ligeras, y como desde niños andan en esto, son tan diestros, y agiles en el nadar, como si fueran pezes. Su lengua es muy semejante a la Tagala, y Bisaya, y assi los que saben estas lenguas aprenden la suya facilmente. Ciencias, ni Artes no tienen, los que son tan ignorantes, que no sabian huviessse fuego hasta el año de 1638 en que los Españoles, que naufragaron, lo encendieron a su vista, de que quedaron atonitos.

De donde viniessen estos hombres a poblar estas Islas esta en opinion: Gomara quiere viniessen de los Egipcios, como si estuvieran muy cerca; otros, de otras partes, con bien leves fundamentos: y assi juzgo por lo mas cierto el sentir del Padre Colini [sic] en su India Sacra, que afirma aver venido del Japon, en donde rematan estas Islas: y el hallarse en ellos la vanidad, que en los Japones, como estimarse tanto, que juzgan ser las demás naciones barbaros respecto de ellos: hazer gran distincion de los Nobles a los plebeyos, y tanta, que estos, ni a las casas de los Nobles se atreven a acercar, andando todos desnudos, hallandose en ellos lo que abomina el Espiritu Santo en el pobre, que es la soberbia: pero como esta se engendra de la vana presuncion, basta el tenerla, aunque se carezca de bienes de fortuna para ensobrevecerse, vicios todos los dichos, que reynan en los Japones, muestra el descender del Japon estos Isleños. Su Religion es ninguna, porque solo reverencian las calaveras de algunos de sus difuntos, para pedirles lo que han menester; y quando no necessitan de acudir a ellas, suelen las calaveras andar rodando por el suelo. Solo tuvieron Religion quando se les publicó nuestra Santa Fè, que desde entonces saben, que ay Dios, que ay premio, y castigo en la otra vida por las buenas, y por las malas obras; porque aunque creían la inmortalidad del alma, el castigo le daban al que moria muerte desgraciada, y violenta, y al que moria quietamente le daban premio, aunque huviessse sido en el obrar vn facineroso.

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### *Capitvlo XXXXIV. Sale el V. P. Sebastian de Monroy de Mexico para Acapulco, donde se embarcó para las Islas Marianas.*

*Avnque parece, que con la noticia, que ha dado de las Islas Marianas en los capitulos antecedentes, avia interrumpido la narracion principal de los hechos del V. Padre Sebastian, fue necessario el darla por la claridad de la Historia, juntando todas las noticias de aquella Christiandad, las quales no podia lograr el Padre Monroy enteramente hasta aver llegado a Mexico no la supo; pero despues desta noticia, cada día de los que alli se detenia se le hazia vn siglo.*

*Llegó en fin el día 10 de Março del año de 1674 en que la Obediencia le ordenó partir con los demás al Puerto de Acapulco, haziendo el viage por tierra, y tomando por feliz anuncio el celebrar la Iglesia aquel día el triunfo de los quarenta Martires, a quienes suplicó le encaminassen para que llegasse a imitarlos en su martirio. Y parece, que los Santos oyeron sus ruegos, pues como ellos padecieron en las aguas de la Laguna, el V. Padre padeció la muerte con los otros sus compañeros volcado en la playa del mar, come dirémos. El camino le hizo con la incommodidad, que le dictaba su mortificacion, ingeniosa siempre en discurrir modos por donde maltratarse. Dabanle a escoger Mula, y siempre parece, que acertaba con la de peor passo; y si compadecidos los compañeros querian que la trocasse, dezia, que ya se avia hecho a aquel passo el cuerpo, y que estrañaria otro modo de andar. Si llegaba a la posada buscaba cama solo para los otros, y como la tuviessen, de la suya no cuydaba, diziendo, que en qualquier parte dormia bien; y assi solia embuelto en su manteo escoger por cama vn banco.*

*En la comida no ponía mas cuydado, pues repartiendo a todos no hazia plato para si, con que si algo comia, era de lo que sobraba a los demás. Iban por aquel camino todos plagados de Mosquitos, molestia inevitable en aquel parage, y que obliga llevar en la mano alguna rama con que poder ahuyentarlos; pero nunca el mortificado Padre se ocupó en esto, pues deponen los que le trataron, que jamás se le vió apartar de su rostro Mosquito alguno de los que se arrojaban a picarle. El Sol, que fatiga no poco en aquel clima, le sufría con tanta paciencia, que causaba lastima a los demás el verle quan abochornado iba, y quan bañado de sudor: y como por causa desto le mandasse el Superior tomar el quita Sol, él le ponía siempre al lado contrario de donde el Sol venia; con que en vez de servirle de resguardo, le servia el quita Sol de embarazo solamente. El que caminaba con tanto padecer bien se veia, que caminaba para martir.*

*De esta suerte llegó al Puerto de Acapulco el V. Padre, camino que hizo en diez días, pues entró en el día 19 del mismo mes de Março, día del glorioso S. Joseph, que desde entonces le tomó debaxo de su amparo, pues sobre aver sido antes muy devoto suyo; la Iglesia, que en las Marianas tenia a su cargo quando murió, y en la que convirtió tantos Gentiles, estava dedicada al glorioso S. Joseph. Detuvose alli pocos días, pues el día 25 de Março, día de la Encarnacion del Verbo Eterno en las entrañas de Maria, de quien esperaban les avia de conducir con felicidad a las Islas Marianas, partieron para hazer a aquellas tierras possession digna de Maria por medio de la predicacion. Y bien se echa de ver la felicidad, que iba a aquellas Islas, pues la Nave misma, que se llamaba El Buen Socorro, en que el Padre, y sus compañeros se embarcaron, daba a entender en su mismo nombre el gran socorro de Obreros, que la Reyna del Cielo remitía a aquella nueva Christiandad.*

*No hubo exercicio de virtud, que no executasse en aquella navegacion el fervoroso Missionero, assi en las penitencias que hazia, como en lo que trabajaba con los que iban en el Navio. Dormía de ordinario vestido, y sobre las tablas: comía tan poco, que parecia su comida vn continuado ayuno, pues la que le daban, casi toda la repartía entre los pobres. de quienes cuydaba tanto, que si alguno padecia necesidad, no duraba mas en ella, que lo que tardaba en saberla el V. Padre: en especial los enfermos, raro hubo en el Navio a quien no aliviasse en su mal, buscando de limosna entre los sanos los regalos, y dulces de que los enfermos necesitaban: él les guisaba la comida, él se la llevaba; y la madre mas cariñosa con su hijo, no pudiera hazerle mas caricias para que comiesse, que las que vsaba él con los enfermos, que estavan desganados.*

*Esto en quanto a la salud del cuerpo, que en quanto a la de sus almas, era tanto mayor su desvelo, quanto la salud del alma es mas importante. No se apartaba del enfermo en viendole continuar la calentura hasta conseguir dél se confessasse: y como su agrado era mucho, los mas querian confessarse con*

*él, passando muchas vezes toda vna noche de claro en claro confessando a vn Grumete; y el que todo el día no sabia otra cosa, que trabajo, apenas podía muchas noches lograr vn rato de descanso.*

*No era inferior su zelo a los empleos de su caridad, pues el fervor con que desseaba el que Dios no fuesse ofendido, le abrasaba de suerte, que era sobrada causa para sacarle de su retiro el oír algun voto, ó juramento, y salía tan assustado házia donde avia oído votar, que parecia a qualquiera, que le atendiesse al rostro, que traía vn pesar grande. Ll[e]gabase al que avia votado, y le pedía con grande humildad el que no se impacientasse, ni vltrajasse el nombre de Dios tan digno de ser venerado; y si veía, que el juramento, ó voto nacia de alguna pendencia, procuraba luego sossegarla.*

*Nunca permitió las palabras libres, ni los cantares deshonestos, que la cusma del Navio suele estilar, pues fuera de la verguença de su rostro con que bastantemente la reprehendía, y afeaba, solía dezirles con blandura: Esto se ha de oír de la boca de un Christiano? Que mas pudiera dezir un Moro criado entre las costumbres de su secta abominable? Con esto, y otros avisos procuró desterrar de modo las palabras indecentes, que si alguno se descuydaba en vsarlas alguna vez, oía de los demás: Guardate de que te oiga el Padre Sebastian. En los otros exercicios de virtud, como oír Missa, rezar el Rosario, dezir la Doctrina, frequentar los Sacramentos, fue el zelo del siervo de Dios aun mucho mayor en esta segunda navegacion, de lo que dexamos dicho quando se embarcó en España.*

### **Capitvlo XXXXV. Llega el V. P. a dar vista a las Islas Marianas, y entra en ellas con gran peligro de anegarse.**

*En la forma, que hemos referido, continuó el V. P. Monroy su viage en busca de la Islas Marianas: empresa, que le sacó del siglo, y le sacó de España su patria, y que le costaba ya tres viages de tierra, y dos navegaciones tan dilatadas, en especial esta vltima en que contaba ya 80 dias de navegacion sin que las Marianas se descubriessen, hasta que quiso Dios, que le dia 15 de Junio, día tambien de los Santos martires Victo, Modesto, y Crecencia, y día en que el V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores las descubrió, avisó un Marinero estar ya a vista de las Islas, que buscaban.*

*Nueva, que fue de tanto regozijo para el Padre Monroy, que sin poder irse a la mano publicó el gran gozo de su alma con entonar en voz alta el Te Deum laudamus en accion de gracias. El día 16 se puso la Nave en parage de la Isla de Guan, ó S. Juan, para que los Padres Missioneros de las Marianas pudiesen acudir en alguna embarcacion de las que vsan aquellos Isleños a ver los de la Nave; y assi aquel mismo día el Padre Pedro Comano, que se hallaba Superior entonces de los de la Compañía en la Mission Mariana, se embarcó en vna Canoa, assi para visitar a los Padres de la Compañía, que iban a Filipinas, como para recibir a los que se avian de quedar en Marianas, y recoger la ropa, que traxessen para la Mission.*

*Llegó el Padre Comano a la Nave, reconoció los compañeros, recibió las alhajas, y al punto hizo, que algunas se passassen a la Canoa para transportarlas al Colegio de Agfaña, reservando para la vltima barcada el venirse con los sujetos; y aunque era esta su determinacion, fueron tales las instancias, que el Padre Monroy hizo por embarcarse en la primera lanchanda, que hubo el Padre Superior de condescender con él, para que con el Padre Pedro de Casanova, que desseaba tambien acompañarle, se embarcassen con alguna ropa, a quienes quiso acompañar vn gran Soldado, que passaba a Filipinas, llamado D. Damian de Esplana.*

*Avia desde la Nave al desembarcadero tres leguas de mar, que aunque al apartarse del Navio estava navegable, soplando de repente vno de aquellos curiosos vientos, que se suelen padecer en aquel parage, ni la Nave podía detenerse, y la Canoa fue milagro el que no zozobrase. Y assi llegados los de la Canoa al Colegio, no hallaron forma de poder bolver a la Nao; conque la Nave aviendo esperado vn poco, y viendo, que el detenerse mas era summamente arriesgado, se retiró de las costas, y prosiguió su derrota a Filipinas, llevandole al Superior de las Marianas consigo, y la ropa, y bastimentos, que en aquella Isla avia de dexar: conque si el Padre Monroy con el desseo grande, que tenia de ver sus queridas Marianas, no se huviera arrojado el primero, pudiera ser, que no entrara en ellas por algunos años.*

**[Letter from Fr. Monroy to the Dominican Nuns in Arahah, dated Guam 1675]**

*Pero del riesgo grande en que estuvo de perderse, de lo desacomodado, que quedó por averse llevado la Nao el bagage, nadie lo podrá dezir mejor, que él mismo, como consta de vn parrafo de carta suya, escrita al muy Religioso Convento de las Madres Dominicicas del Arahah, a quienes dando cuenta en carta, que escribió el año siguiente de 75 acerca de su llegada, cuenta el successo de averse ido la Nave en la forma siguiente.*

El caso fue, que el Navio, que hazia viage a Filipinas, no pudo dar fondo por aver de doblar una punta para cuya execucion se hallaba impossibilitado de los vientos. Mandó el Padre Superior (Padre Pedro Comano, que avia passado a visitar la Nave) desembarcassemos algunos en una embarcacion pequena, que llaman Canoa, que por lo muy pequena esta dispuesta a mucho riesgo, y mas con la inquietud de las furiosas olas del mar, que lo mismo era embarcarse en ella, que entrarse por las puertas de la muerte. Entramos dos compañeros fiados en Dios N. Señor, que nos avia de sacar en paz, y a salvamento, por avernos entregado por su amor, y obediencia a las aguas. Yo por mi parte tuve tragada la muerte, porque la embarcacion en que veniamos se llenó de agua por el peso de dos tinajas pequenas, de tal manera, que si los Indios tan expertos, y la providencia de N. Señor no tuviera determinado el que dexassemos otras dos tinajas, que nos querian dar, infaliblemente perecieramos, porque la embarcacion traeria ya veinte arrobas de agua.

Llegamos en fin a tierra, aunque con mucho trabajo por estar distante la Nao mas de tres leguas, perdiendo las esperanças de bolver a ver a nuestro Superior el Padre Pedro Comano, y a los otros compañeros con quienes aviamos caminado tantas leguas, quantas ay de aqui a España. Como de hecho sucedió, porque no pudiendo bolver la Canoa, por la summa distancia, y mar brava, se hizieron a la vela los de la Nao, dexandonos sin Superior, y todo lo demás, que nos ha causado grande sentimiento, y necesidades, assi por falta de sustento, como por la ropa, andando como N. Señor sabe en quanto a vestido, y sin zapatos, de lo qual resulta estar muchas vezes impedidos por las heridas, que nos damos en los pies, causa de usar de ciertas suelas, que los Indios haze de las hojas de un arbol llamado **Aga**, liadas con unas tomizas, que hazen de las cortezas de los cocos, calçado penoso, porque pesa mucho, y dura poco; con que tenemos por mejor andar descalços, en que se padece, si bien con mucho gusto, por Dios N. Señor, y su Divina Magestad nos dá fuerças, y valor para trabajar mucho en su santissimo servicio, y provecho de las almas, &c.

*Successo bien singular, y que declara quanto se agradaba Dios de ver padecer a este su siervo, pues tanto le llenó de penalidades a la primera entrada: pues quando la tierra en que iba a vivir, era tan llena de trabajos por su naturaleza, que las mayores assistencias con que de España se les puede aliviar, aun no la dexan tolerable; quitarselas tan del todo al llegarla a pisar, como refiere en su carta, qué otra cosa puede ser, sino sembrarsela Dios toda de espinas, y abroxos, como lo hizo con su Padre, y Apostol Xavier en la entrada de la China por llenar los desseos, que le avia dado de padecer, y disponerle sin duda para el martirio, que avia de padecer dentro de dos años.*

**Capitulo XXXXVI. Haze el V. Padre los votos de los dos años en el Colegio de Nl. P. S. Ignacio de Agfajña, y detienese en el mientras la cosas toman mejor forma.**

*Con las incommodidades, que hemos visto, entró el V. Padre en las Islas Marianas sin ropa que vestir, ni sustento para passar, con que luego hubo de hazerse al sustento de la tierra, que para quien no estava hecho a comer raizes, y la carne de los cocos, era bastante mortificacion aver luego de alimentarse de lo que no avia comido en su vida; pero su mortificacion le hizo acomodarse a lo que aun los que avia años, que alli estaban, apenas podian tolerar. Consolóse mucho de ver la pobreza con que alli se passaba, pues la cama, las alhajas, la vivienda, era de la calidad, que el vestido, y la comida; y admirabase, y con razon, que las Indias, que enriquezen a tantos, empobreciessen de modo aquellos siervos de Dios, que huviessen alli encontrado los tesoros de la santa Pobreza, mas seguros que en la Europa; conque en vez de afligirse estava tan contento, como quien toda su vida avia desseado el padecer pobreza, hambre, y desnudez, por imitar en lo que pudiesse las fatigas, y trabajos de su Redentor.*

Llegado a Agfaña informó a los Superiores como todavía se hallaba en el estado de Novicio, si bien los dos años de probacion los avia cumplido en el viage el día 12 de aquel mes, que era el Junio de 1674, pues avia sido recibido en la Compañía en el Noviciado de Sevilla el día 12 de Junio del año de 1672. Por lo qual le concidió el Superior, que hiziesse los votos del Noviciado luego que quisiesse; pero como el ofrecer a Dios Pobreza, Castidad, y Obediencia, le pareciesse era vn sacrificio, que debía hazer con todo el fervor de su corazon, no quiso hazer su profession sin tener primero ocho días los exercicios de nuestro glorioso Padre San Ignacio, en donde se afervorizasse de modo, que no solo ofreciesse el sacrificarse en el espíritu; pero el sacrificarse del todo, aunque fuesse perder la vida del cuerpo, porque aquellos pobres Gentiles conociesen a Dios, y alcançassen su salvacion.

Y assi aviendose retirado del trato de sus compañeros, y atendiendo solo aquellos ocho días a tratar con Dios, alimentado su espíritu de la Oracion, y su cuerpo solo de los manjares groseros, que hemos dicho, cargado de cilicios siempre, y disciplinandose tres vezes al día, se dispuso para hazer los votos el día de S. Juan Baptista a 24 de aquel mez, día en que el año antes avia cantado en el Noviciado de Sevilla su primera Missa, ofreciendo entonces a Dios el Sacrificio de su Santissimo Hijo, y ofreciendose en el año siguiente a sí mismo en sacrificio. Lo qual hecho quisiera salir al punto por aquellos montes a buscar almas para Dios, y emplearse en la conversion de aquellos Gentiles; pero le fue forçoso el reprimir su fervor, assi por no saber con la soltura, que era necessario, la lengua de aquellas Islas, como porque los mas de los pueblos estaban tan alborotados, que todos los Missioneros se avian recogido a aquel Colegio, mientras Dios con la pacificacion de aquellos pueblos no les abria camino.

Abrióle la Divina providencia por donde menos se pensaba; porque aviendose partido la Nave a Filipinas con la priessa, que vimos, dexó en las Islas a vn valeroso Soldado, que passaba a Filipinas, que aviendo passado en la primera lanchada a ver aquella tierra, quando pasó el V. Padre, no pudo por la borrasca, que se levantó, bolver a la Nave. Era este D. Damian de Esplana, Capitan de mucho nombre, y el que aquellas Islas avian menester entonces para su gobierno: y assi los Padres con la facultad, que tenían de poder nombrar Governador, le pidieron acetasse el cargo, pues nunca mas que entonces necesitaba la Christiandad de vn hombre de valor, que governasse las armas, reprimiesse la osadia de aquellos pueblos, y asegurasse a los Missioneros en sus correrias; los quales, como veía, estaban reducidos, y casi sitiados, sin salir de vn pueblo, con tanto daño de los infantes, que morian sin Bautismo, y de los otros Christianos, que carecian de la enseñanza de los Padres, y estaban como ovejas sin Pastor.

Admitió D. Damian el cargo de Governador, y procuró luego poner el mejor cobro, que pudo, en aquella Milicia tan corta en numero, que apenas llegaba a sesenta hombres, que a no ser Españoles, no tuvieran animo para estar entre millares de infieles, y a no favorecerlos Dios, no pudieran vencer a tanta inmensidad de barbaros, como vencieron muchas vezes; pero Dios, que los avia tomado por instrumento para conservar con ellos la Fè entre aquellos Isleños, daba a los pocos el valor de muchos, è infundia en los muchos el miedo, que debieran tener, si fueran pocos.

Y assi con este corto esquadron determinó el Governador ir a castigar el pueblo de Chuchugu de la Isla de S. Juan, donde se alvergaba los mas inquietos: y sabiendo estaban no en aquel pueblo, pero en otro alli cercano, dispuso el acometerles la noche treze de Julio, vispera de S. Buenaventura, y dividiendo los Soldados, que llevaba, en dos esquadrones pequeños, dió orden al Alferes D. Joseph de Tapia, que acometiesse con algunos Soldados por vn lado, mientras él entraba con el resto por el lugar, y a todos los Soldados mandó, que reservassen a las mugeres, y niños, sin hazerles el menor agravio, y solo acometiesse a los hombres: y aunque se tuvo esse cuydado, como era de noche, parece, que en la refriega murió vna muger, a quien alcançaron algunas lanças, teniendo vn niño en los brazos, que participó de dos heridas; pero hallandole vivo los Soldados se le entregaron al Padre Alonso Lopez, que iba por Capellan del esquadron, el qual luego le bautizó, y puso por nombre Miguel Maria Ventura, y trayendole al lugar le curaron, y criaron como reservado de la Divina providencia para ser vn gran Christiano, de que luego el niño dió muestras, manifestando en su buena inclinacion a las cosas de devocion muy singular piedad.

Y aunque desta salida no se logró otro fruto, que hazer huir los enemigos, que se avian atrevido a poner en defensa, sirvió de ponerles gran miedo para en adelante: y assi saliendo el Governador el día 26 del mismo mes en busca de los inquietos, que ya avian buuelto al pueblo de Chuchugu, logró el quemar el lugar, y ahuyentarlos, conque dieron lugar a que algunos Padres, y entre ellos el Padre Sebastian

de Monroy, pudiesen salir por aquellos parages mas cercanos al Colegio de Agfajña a buscar por los montes niños, que bautizar, los quales daban las madres con facilidad a los nuestros, porque desamparadas de sus maridos, estorvassen a los Soldados el que no las hiziesen algun mal: otras por algunos donecillos, que los Missioneros les daban, venian con facilidad en que bautizassen sus hijos. Este era solo el fruto, que los Ministros Evangelicos podian lograr en la inquietud de la guerra, necessaria para reprimir a vnos barbaros, que poco, ó nada obran por bien, antes creen ser falta de valor el procurar conservarse con ellos en paz.

### *Capitulo XXXXVII. Procura el Governador D. Damian de Esplana el sossiego de los pueblos mas vezinos al Presidio, para que los Padres pudiesen sin riesgo salir a hazer algunas correrias.*

Atemorizados vn poco los Indios con el castigo del pueblo referido, se detuvieron en inquietar a los Españoles con nuevos alborotos, de que se aprovechó el Governador para hazer en el pueblo de S. Ignacio vna Fortaleza, que pudiesse assegurar a los Soldados para en adelante, porque la que avia era mas para resguardo en tiempo de paz, que para defensa en la guerra. Cercó todo el Presidio con vn baluarte, que remataba en dos puntas de diamante; y assi para conducir los materiales, como para tener embarcacion segura con que hazer la visita de las Islas, fabricó vn navichuelo con no poca fatiga, por ser forçoso deshazer el hierro en la fragua para forjar la clavazon, siendo el mismo Governador el artifice, porque apenas se hallaba entre los Soldados otro, que lo supiesse hazer.

Dispuestas estas importantes obras, y viendo, que de las correrias, que hazian los Padres para recoger niños, que bautizar, avia en Agfajña a muchos, dispuso, que en el Presidio se fabricassen dos Casas, ó Colegios en que doctrinarlos; vno de niños, dedicado al Angel de la Guarda; otro de niñas, dedicado a Santa Rosa, de que cuydaban los Padres, y el Governador atendia a proveerles del sustento necessario; pero como el numero creciesse, y la Nao, que se esperaba de bastimentos faltasse, negoció con los Indios amigos el que contribuyessen a tan buena obra, pues los mas tenian allí sus hijos, ó parientes: y quanto importaron estos Colegios para arraygar la Fè de aquellos Isleños, lo manifestaba tanto la piedad de los que en ellos se avian criado, que apenas se sabe de alguno faltasse adelante en la Fè debida a Dios, ni menos en el afecto, que con el trato avian cobrado a los Españoles.

Estos dos Colegios fiaron los Superiores de el Zelo del V. Padre Monroy, que como incansable en todo, pudo aplicarse al cuydado dellos con tanto afán, que no contento con ocupar lo mas del dia en su enseñanza, siempre que se temia algun alboroto, era él la centinela, que los guardaba, passeandose lo mas de la noche por delante de las puertas, para oponerse el primero a qualquier peligro, que les amenazasse, pero de lo que se empleó en doctrinar a los niños, y lo bien instruidos, que salieron de su mano, lo veremos mas dilatadamente, quando llegemos a tratar de otros dos Colegios de niños, y niñas, que fundó en la residencia de S. Joseph, que fue la que tuvo a su cargo el tiempo, que vivió en las Marianas.

De estas obras, que se hazian en el pueblo de Agfajña, se aficionaron a hazer otras en sus pueblos los Christianos de otros lugares: y assi en *Ritidyan* se fabricó una Iglesia capaz, que se dedicó a S. Francisco Xavier: en *Taragui* se hizo Templo al glorioso S. Miguel: en *Tupungan* se fabricó tambien Iglesia a Santa Rosa, devocion del Governador, que se confesaba singularmente favorecido de la gloriosa Santa. Y sea por lo obligados, que se hallaron los Santos en patrocinar sus Iglesias, que en tiempo de guerras son las que primero padecen; ó porque con la frecuencia de venir a ellas los Indios se domestican los mas barbaros, sin derramamiento de sangre se concluyó vna gran paz, y dió lugar a los Ministros Evangelicos a dividir entre si los parages, y salir de aquel encerramiento de Agfajña, donde estaban como criados.

Todo esto (despues de Dios) se debió al valor, y vigilante zelo del Sargento Mayor Don Damian, que hizo el oficio de Governador con tanta prudencia, que en cosa de seis meses pacificó aquellas Islas, de que avia tomado possession el Evangelio: y quando la Nave, que se remontó a Filipinas, no huviera dexado en las Islas mas socorro, que a D. Damian, huviera dexado mejor escolta, que el numero de Soldados, que pensaba dexar. Desto dá cuenta el V. Padre en carta, que escribe a España, dando noticia de su llegada a las Religiosas de Santo Domingo del Arahai, que por ceder en tanta estimacion del Governador,

*dor, el que tan insigne varon acredite sus empresas, pondré a la letra sus palabras. Dize pues assi el V. Padre:*

Quando llegamos a estas Islas las hallamos faltas de gobierno, y gente de guerra, pero el Señor, que siempre es propicio en la mayor necesidad, nos socorrió con el Cabo<sup>1</sup> hombre de tanto valor, que en menos de seis meses ha sujetado, y aquietado toda esta tierra; con que con mucha quietud andamos nuestras correrias sin la escolta de armas, que estos años passados andaban nuestros Hermanos metidos entre Soldados, los quales con su mal exemplo mas sirven de atrassar la Christiandad, que de adelantarla, por ser al fin hombres, y andar entre la desnudez destas Indias, ocasion tan proxima de pecado, que nosotros para librarnos no tenemos otro recurso, que la santa Oracion y disciplinas, sin apartarnos un instante de la mortificacion.

*En pocas palabras dize el V. Padre el gran bien, que recibió la Christiandad por el valor, y aplicacion del nuevo Governador: y como quien tanto zelaba las ofensas de Dios, pondera por gran beneficio el aver pacificado la tierra de modo el Governador, que pudiesen los Misioneros salir por aquellos montes en busca de niños sin Soldados, que los acompañassen, no tanto por la seguridad de las vidas de los Padres, pero sin riesgo de las almas de los Soldados, que entre la desnudez de aquellas mugeres avian de peligrar como hombres: razon tan poderosa, para que el zelo de los que gobiernan procurasse bestir aquella gente desnuda, siquiera con vn poco de lienço, ó xerga, quando tanto cuydado ponen en que las paredes de sus antesalas esten cubiertas de ricas tapizarias; que es dolor, que los que ván en busca de almas ajenas para enseñarles la pureza de costrumbres, arriesguen la pureza de sus conciencias en tan peligrosas, como indecentes vistas.*

### *Capitulo XXXXVIII. Muestras que dió el nuevo Governador no menos de su valor, que de su gran piedad: y sucessos con que la premió el Cielo.*

*Sossegada del todo la Isla de S. Juan por fines del año de 1674 no solo los Padres Misioneros pudieron salir ya a reducir a nuestra Santa Fè a los Indios, que habitaban en los montes, y a bautizar los niños recién nacidos; pero a el zelo del Governador le pareció no estar ocioso en el Presidio, mas visitar los pueblos donde se avian edificado nuevas Iglesias, como la de S. Miguel en Taragui, y la de S. Francisco Xavier en Ritidyan, y agradecer a los Indios el cuydado de asistir a ellas Iglesias, y a la Doctrina Christiana, que los Padres les enseñaban; siendo él el primero a quien avian los Padres de preguntar, y levantandose en pie con el sombrero en la mano, respondia a las preguntas con toda humildad.*

*Vn dia en, que por vna gran fiesta se juntaron en la Iglesia de S. Francisco Xavier los Indios Christianos de la comarca, poniendose sobre vn tronco, que servia como de [a]poyo para assentarse, habló a los Indios en esta forma:*

Hijos mios, los beneficios, que de continuo recibis de los Padres en el cuydado, que sin perdonar a trabajo, ni fatiga ponen en doctrinaros, os obliga a ley de agradecidos a estimarlos tantos, y servirlos en todo, que no era menester, que yo os lo encargasse; pero por lo que yo les debo en el cuydado, que tienen de mi alma, debo deziros, que no aveis de querer mas a los padres, que dieron ser a vuestros cuerpos, que a estos Padres, que tanto cuydan de vuestras almas: estavais en la ceguedad, en que vivieron, y murieron vuestros antepassados; y ellos dexando sus patrias os vinieron a buscar para alumbraros, y sacaros de las tinieblas en que viviais, y por hazeros tanto bien escogieron vivir entre tantas descomodidades, que si vosotros no las sentis, porque nacisteis en ellas, y no pensais, que ay mas conveniencias, que vuestra pesca, y raizes, de que os sustentais; los Padres criados en España saben, que aun allá los brutos se alimentan mejor, que los hombres en estas tierras, y solo por enseñaros el camino del Cielo passan vida tan miserable entre vosotros.

Esto ha de servir, para que quando os llamen a la Iglesia acudais con puntualidad; que quando enseñaren la Doctrina, la oigais con grande atencion, que quando os persuadieren lo bueno, lo executeis;

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1 Este era D. Damian.



que quando os persuadieren lo bueno, lo executeis; que quando os advirtieren lo malo, lo huigais: y si para vuestra enmienda os quisieren castigar, os aveis de sujetar al castigo: si os mandaren azotar, aveis de sufrir los azotes; porque yo os digo, que con ser Capitan, si acaso hiziere alguna cosa mal hecha, por la qual merezca ser azotado, me sujetaré al castigo, y me dexaré azotar, porque esso está bien a mi alma, y es penitencia, que nos ponen en nombre de Dios como Ministros suyos, y Sacerdotes del Altissimo, a quien debemos respetar de manera, que tengamos por grande dicha, el que nos quiera dar la mano para que se la llegemos a besar.

*Y baxandose de donde estava se hincó de rodillas, y vno a vno fue besando la mano a todos los Padres: accion con que les grangeó grande estimacion entre aquellos nuevos Christianos, que por el gran valor del Sargento le tenían gran respecto, y se admiraban de verle tan rendido, y humilde delante de los Padres. Piedad que favoreció. el Cielo con casos bien particulares; pues queriendo en mejor coyuntura castigar el Governador a los matadores del Padre Esquerra, assi por su delito, como por que alborotaban a los Indios de paz, partió a treinta de Enero [1675], acompañado de algunos Indios, y Soldados Españoles, en su cavallo hacia los pueblos **Nagan**, y **Hinca**, a donde llegó el día tres de Febrero de dicho año: quemó sin resistencia el primero, por no averse atrevido a esperar los Indios; y aunque llegando al segundo pueblo halló alguna resistencia, acometiendo animoso puso a los defensores en huida, si bien a no poco peligro su persona; porque empeñado en seguirlos a cavallo, dió en vn carrizal, en donde avian dexado los enemigos puesto fuego, y vnas lanças atravesadas, para que los que passassen huyendo del fuego, se clavassen en ellas, como sucedió; porque despreciando el Governador el fuego, atravesó por medio de las llamas del carrizal, y su cavallo al passar se clavó vna lança en el cuello sin repararlo el Governador, que empeñado en seguir el alcance, no advirtió el peligro oculto, que la astucia de los enemigos le avia dispuesto.*

*Pero advirtiendolo los Soldados sacaron al cavallo la lança, y procuraron curarle; pero ó sea de la herida, ó de lo mucho, que el cavallo avia aquel día trabajado, a la noche no quiso comer, y dba muestras de estar bien malo. Afligióse mucho el Governador con este nuevo accidente, temiendo, que si el cavallo se moria le avia de hazer muy gran falta, y assi tomando con gran fé la sotana del Padre Esquerra, que avia rescatado el día antes, dixo: "Santo Padre, bien veis, que la causa de estar assi el cavallo ha sido vengar vuestra sangre, y sujetar a estos barbaros para que sean buenos: bien sabeis tambien quan necesaria es su vida, por ser unico en estas Islas: vuestra sotana le aplico, dadle salud."*

*Cubrió el cuello del cavallo con la sotana, y luego (como lo testificó el mismo Sargento) comenzó a comer con mucho aliento, y amaneció con tantas fuerças, que pudo llegar al Presidio el día siguiente caminando diez leguas, y a poco tiempo sanó de la herida perfectamente.*

*Otra cosa no menos maravillosa le sucedió al Sargento en este viage, y es, que aviendosele entrado a vn Soldado vna pua de hueso por vn pie, y aunque luego que llegaron al Presidio procuraron abrirle el pie para sacarle la pua, no fue posible descubrirla, y el Soldado moria sin remedio: de que conolido el Sargento acudió luego a implorar el auxilio de su Patrona Santa Rosa, haziendo, que vn Padre de los nuestros saliesse luego a dezir vna Missa a la Santa. Apenas se comenzó a dezir, quando bolviendole el Cirujano a apretar el pie al enfermo le saltó la pua, y quedó el Soldado libre del riesgo, y en breve sanó con singular consuelo de todos, que por la falta, que qualquier Soldado haze en aquella tierra, estaban muy afligidos.*

### ***Capitvlo XXXXIX. Sale el V. Padre Monroy a exercitar su zelo en la conversion de las almas: y de los grandes trabajos, que en esta empresa padeció.***

*Aunque el V. Padre no estava ocioso el tiempo, que estuvo en Agfajña, pues se empleaba de orden de los Superiores en cuydar de los dos Colegios de niños, y niñas, que por devocion del Governador, y zelo de los Padres se edificaron por fines del año de 1674 dedicado el de niños al Angel de la Guarda, y a Santa Rosa el de niñas, como diximos en el cap. 47 el zelo, que de la salvacion de las almas le avia sacado de España, y llevado a Indias atravesando mares, y padeciendo no menos peligros en la inconstancia de los Marianos en sus tierras, que avia padecido riesgos en la mar; le apretaba tanto a pedir a los Su-*



*periores, le permitiessen entrarse por aquellos montes a domesticar, si pudiesse, las fieras del gentilismo, y hazerlas se agregassen al rebaño del Señor, que por condescender con él huvieron de encargar a otro el cuydado de los Colegios, y darle permiso para que acompañado de algunos Indios fieles pudiesse entrar a hazer Mission por aquellos montes, y a combidar con la libertad de hijos de Dios a los que toda su vida avian vivido esclavos del demonio.*

*Avia házia el pueblo de Oróte desseadose mucho tener vna residencia, por ser parage donde podia no solo conservarse bien vna feligresia, pero aumentarse mucho la Christiandad: y aunque házia allí avian hecho los nuestros algunas correrias, poco avian conseguido de los naturales, por ser los Indios mas agrestes de toda la Isla; la tierra montuosa guarida mas de fieras, que de hombres, tan pobre de frutos, como rica de trabajos: causa de que los mismos, que iban a la Mission, padeciessen tantas descomodidades, que no pudiendo continuar en aquella tierra mucho tiempo, se bolviessen desanimados, y fuesse aquella Mission horrorosa ya para los Ministros Evangelicos. Con esta empresa se abrazó nuestro Apostolico Misionero, y pidió a los Superiores el que le permitiessen ir a ella; los quales aunque sentian el arriesgarle, assi en la salud por lo poco favorable del sitio, como en la seguridad de su persona por la fiereza de aquellos barbaros, considerando, que solo su Angelical natural podria domesticarlos, huvieron de venir en que fuesse a persuadirles dexassen los montes, y se viniessen a vivir en lo llano, para poder oír lo que desseaba enseñarles en orden al bien de sus almas.*

*Avida la licencia de los Superiores, y aviendose prevenido con los exercicios de nuestro Padre S. Ignacio, sin mas alhajas, que el Breviario, y vn libro espiritual, y algunas cuentecillas de vidrio, que dar a las Indias; sin mas defensa de las inclemencias del tiempo, que su pobre vestido, y tan pobre, que ni medias, ni zapatos tenia, descalço de pie, y pierna, a imitacion del Apostol S. Francisco Xavier quando entró en el Japon, iba el V. Padre pisando la aspereza de los montes, hiriendose de ordinario los pies, ya en la yerva, que como diximos toda nace con espinas; ya en los pedernales, que aun el calçado, que a veces vsan los Indios, le rompe con facilidad por lo agudo de sus filos; sin otro arrimo, que vn baculo, que remataban en vna Cruz, y sin mas prevencion de comida, que la que el campo le ofreciessa ya en frutos, ya en raizes, ardiendo en amor de Dios, y fervorosos desseos de aumentar el patrimonio de Jesu Christo, partió házia la tierra de Oróte a reducir aquellos montarazes Indios.*

*Admiraronse de verle subir a los sitios, que ellos tenian por inaccesibles a qualquiera, que no se huviesse criado como ellos en aquellas asperezas; y la novedad de verle penetrar házia sus ranchos, en donde estaban como fieras en las cuevas metidos, sacó algunos a la entrada del monte a preguntarle en su lengua, qué era el fin de su venida; porque si buscaba que comer, mejor lo hallaria en los llanos, que en los montes: si pretendia sacarlos de allí, y que viniessen a sujetarse a los Españoles, en vano lo pretendia, pues solo por huir dellos se avian remontado entre aquellas espesuras.*

*A esto respondia el Padre con apacibilidad summa: No os inquieteis hijos, ni os dé cuydado mi venida, que ni pretendo el que me deis de comer, quando ni para vosotros lo teneis, ni trato de conquistaros para que vivais vassallos de los Españoles, si para que vivais como hombres, y no como fieras emboscadas en los montes con tanta descomodidad, como vivis, Bien veis quanto mejor lo passan vuestros vezinos, que se han reducido a vivir en los llanos, cultivando las tierras, aprovechandose del pescado, que para su sustento les ofrecen los rios: venid conmigo, y vereis quan en breve favricais vuestras casas, pues los Indios vezinos of ayudarán a ello, y yo en todo lo que pudiere: entonces os diré a lo que vengo, que es a enseñaros el camino del Cielo, y aora solo os digo, que solo vengo a buscaros para vuestro bien; y sacando algunas cuentecillas de vidrio (que estiman mucho las mugeres) se las daba el Padre a las Indias, y ellas con el dominio grande, que tienen sobre los maridos, les persuadian se fuesen con aquel Padre, que parecia bueno, y que no les haria ningun mal.*

*Desta suerte visitó algunos de aquellos parages; y viendo los Indios, que algunos le seguian, poco a poco iban baxando los demás, y a pocos dias, que estubo en aquel parage, reduco a mas de cincuenta familias a baxar al llano. Con esto negoció con los Indios conocidos, que les prestassen instrumentos con que cortar arboles, y les ayudassen a fabricar las casas, que como las mas son de corta armazon de palos*

*cubiertos con esteras de palma, en breve se fabrican: y assi en poco tiempo se hizo en el partido de Oróte vn pueblo, que se llamó Tuña,<sup>1</sup> y logró el Padre el poderlos juntar, y dezirles lo que les importaba para su salvacion dexar las supersticiones antiguas, y reduciere a recibir el Bautismo, que sin él no podía ir al Cielo, y que en prendas de que avian de hazerse Christianos luego que él bolviere de Agfajña, a donde le era fuerça el ir, le diessen sus hijos para bautizarlos: y dióle Dios tan buena gracia con los Indios, que los mas vinieron en que bautizasse sus hijos, que passaron de mas de ciento, fruto de aquella Mission tan trabajosa. Y porque en ella se conozca lo mucho, que el siervo de Dios padeció en esta espiritual conquista de mal passar, y otros trabajos, pondré lo que escribe a las Religiosas de Santo Domingo del Arahá en la carta, que ya he citado. Dize pues el V. Padre:*

Hemos padecido muchas necesidades, tanto, que hemos andado muchas vezes mendigando el sustento de la pobreza destes Indios, por no tener con que comprarlo por la razon, que dixere de averse ido nuestras provisiones en el Navio; y como estos Isleños es gente de tan poca caridad, por no tener pleno conocimiento de Dios, y de su Santa Fè, aunque los Padres trabajamos mucho, se tardan en aprender no solo los Misterios de nuestra Santa Fè, mas las costumbres Christianas, tanto, que llegando uno de nosotros a pedirles limosna, sobre darle las sobras de lo que comen, le dán la refaccion de oprobrios.

*Hasta aqui el V. Padre, donde muestra bien lo que padecería, siendo tan pobre, en donde no era conocida la caridad, ni se sabia ser virtud el hazer bien a otros: y quando su grande humildad, é inclinacion singular al desprecio, advertia estos oprobrios, serian muchas las afrentas, y muy pesadas las razones, que le dirian los Indios, quando llegaba a pedirles limosna.*

### *Capitulo L. Bvelbe a Agfajña el V. Padre a dar cuenta de la Mission de Oróte, y señalanle los Superiores aquel partido para que cuyde del.*

*Aviendo logrado el V. Padre el reducir a vivir en poblado aquellos Indios montarazes, bolvio al Colegio de S. Ignacio de Agfajña a dar cuenta a los Padres del fruto de su Mission: refirioles lo contentos que quedaban los Indios de ver su nuevo pueblo: lo alegres que estavan los otros pueblos vezinos de que aquellos Indios, que los temian por valientes, se les huviessen agregado, y hecho aparcería con ellos: lo bien dispuestos, que estavan para abrazar la Fè, y bautizarse: y que solo temian a los Españoles mas por el horror, que otros les avian puesto, que por que dellos huviessen recibido el menor daño, y que assi mas necesitaban de Padres, que les instruyessen, que de Soldados, que les amedrentassen: que Dios les avia reducido, y assi que su Magestad los conservaria obedientes a los Padres, sin que fuesse menester escolta de Soldados, la qual él era de opinion, que no se avia de poner en los pueblos sin mucha causa, pues de ordinario las costumbres de los Soldados no son nada a proposito para la honestidad de costumbres, que se deben desde luego introducir con grande empeño en los recién convertidos.*

*Alegraronse mucho los Padres de oír al siervo de Dios, y admiraban el poder de su brazo, que por medio de vn hombre solo, y desarmado huviere rendido a tantos atrincherados en sus montes, que ni todo el Presidio fuera bastante a desarmarlos: y aunque la propuesta de que los Ministros, que avian de cuydar dellos, fuesen sin escolta, tenia para el progreso del Evangelio muchas vtilidades, y la razon, que el V. Padre alegaba era manifiesta; era grande el peligro de los que allá fuesen sin llevar algun resguardo, pues la inconstancia de los Indios era tal, que sin darles otra causa mas, que obligar a vivir con razon a los que siempre avian vivido agenos della, bastaba para sacudir el suave yugo del Evangelio, y acabar con los Ministros del, ó quemando las casas, é Iglesias, ó quitando las vidas alevosamente; lo qual muchas vezes no se atrevian a hazer por el miedo de los Soldados, a quienes tenian gran temor: y obligar los Padres a los Missioneros a que fuesen sin alguna defensa, era obligarlos a mucho.*

*Lo qual como el V. Padre reconociese, el mismo se ofreció a ir caso que la Obediencia le juzgasse a proposito: añadiendo, que si reconociese ser necessario el que huviere algunos Soldados para la seguridad, él mismo los pediría; pero que como sin ellos avia penetrado los montes para reducirlos a que baxassen a lo llano con la ayuda de Dios, fiaba de su Magestad, que le ayudaria a vivir seguro entre ellos,*

1 Ed. note: A transcription error for "Fuña".

*aunque viviese solo: y que lo que pedía era algunos Indios de los mas bien doctrinados, que le acompañassen para catequizar a los que estaban casi reducidos a bautizarse, y algunos de los niños de los Colegios, con quienes pensaba fundar algun Colegio para doctrinar a los niños ya bautizados, que algunos avia, que tenian edad bastante para vivir sin sus padres.*

*Propuesta, que consoló mucho a los Superiores, por juzgar quan a proposito era la blandura de su natural para amansar aquellos Indios, que eran tenidos de todos por los mas fieros, y serviria de exemplar para facilitar la reduccion de otros menos agrestes, el ver a los de Oróte reducidos a ser Christianos. Y assi dandole a escoger entre los Indios los mas devotos, y entre los niños los mas adiestrados, embiaron los Superiores al V. Padre con gran satisfacion suya, y esperanças seguras de los aumentos de aquella Christiandad, ofreciendole con singular afecto el encomendarle a Dios en sus Santos Sacrificios, y Oraciones: socorro, que estimo mas que la assistencia, que le podian dar de Soldados, que le sirvieran de cuidado mas, que de alivio en aquella Mission.*

*A ella bolvió poco antes de Quaresma con gran gusto de los Indios, que se esperaban, y que quizás si no huviera buuelto tan presto, con su ordinaria inconstancia se huvieran buuelto a los montes. Viendolos ya acomodados a los mas, y que cada vno le ofrecia su casa por alvergue, tomó vna de prestado para sí, y sus compañeros, mientras estos edificaban vna casa (mas bien dixera vna pobre choza) en que pudiessen estar en compañía del V. Padre; pero como lo que mas importasse fuesse el tener Iglesia, pidió a todos ayudassen a su fabrica, diziendoles, que no era razon tuviessen ellos casas en que vivir, y Dios no tuviessen Templo en que morar: y assi en breve se edificó vna Iglesia capaz para mas de quinientas personas, la qual dedicó al glorioso Patriarca S. Joseph, antiguo devoto suyo, debaxo de cuya proteccion ponía aquella nueva Christiandad.*

*Viendolos ya reducidos a vivir en vn pueblo, negoció con ellos eligiessen entre si vno a quien obedeciessen, y a quien en sus diferencias pudiessen acudir para que los compusiesse: pues como para la guerra siempre buscaban Caudillo, y aunque fuesse para arriesgar sus vidas le obedecian; para conservarse en paz debían tener vno, que a todos les mandasse, y a quien ninguno dexasse de obedecer, pues lo demás estaba expuesto a muchos desordenes. Hizoles escoger parages en que cada familia pusiesse su labor para poder mantenerse, y evitar el ocio, causa de tantos males. Todo lo consiguí de ellos, porque por la blandura con que les hablaba, nadie se atrevía a resistirle; conque asentada la vida política, pasó a disponerlos para que professassen la vida Christiana. Los mas estaban ya inclinados a hazerse Christianos; pero como era necessario desarrraygar dellos primero los vicios para plantar la virtud, desterrar la vana supersticion para establecer en sus corazones la Religion verdadera, alabóles los buenos desseos, que tenian de ser Christianos; pero templóselos diziendo, no podia admitirlos al Bautismo sin informarles primero de la Ley, que avian de professar, y que assi a la entrada de la Iglesia le avian de oír primero algunas platicas en que les declararia los misterios de la Ley Santa, que les venia a enseñar, por las quales conocerian la desventura en que avian vivido hasta allí, y la gran felicidad, que se les entraba por las puertas con averles embiado Dios sus Sacerdotes, y Ministros, que les enseñassen la verdadera Religion, con la qual le sirviessen en esta vida, y lograsen despues della el gozar de la compañía de Dios en el Cielo.*

...

### ***Capitvlo LVI. Alborotanse las cosas de la Christiandad con ocasion de aver muerto los Vrritaos a un Hermano de nuestra Compañia, y a dos Soldados Españoles.***

*Con la felicidad, que hemos visto, que en la Residencia de S. Joseph caminaban las cosas de la Christiandad, caminaban tambien en las otras Residencias; pues si el zelo del V. Padre Monroy era como hemos referido, no era menor el de los otros Ministros, que cuidaban de doctrinarles, pues reynando en todos vn mismo espiritu, avian de ser los progressos de su Apostolico obrar muy semejantes: antes creo, que vnos a vista de otros se afervorizaban no menos, que los Serafines, que vió Isaías junto al trono de Dios, que alternando alabanças Divinas se encendian vno a otro en Divino amor. Pero embidioso el Infierno de ver hecho vn Paraiso de Dios, lo que antes era possession suya, y tierra de abominacion, levantó vna persecucion a toda la Christiandad con el arrojo de vnos mozos livianos, que se atrevieron en vna*

*Residencia a profanar vno de los Colegios de niñas, assy lo de la pureza, y sagrado de la Castidad: successo, que por aver acaecido en tiempo del Padre Monroy, no debo omitir, y contaré con brevedad.*

*El caso fue, que vn Hermano de nuestra Compañia, llamado Pedro Diaz, recien salido del Noviciado, y que avria vn año, que avia llegado a estas Islas, cuydaba de dos Colegios de niños, y niñas en la Residencia de Ritidyan: aviasele fiado este cuydado, por ser la modestia misma, y gran zelador de la Castidad. Este sabiendo la perdicion de vna muger peor, que la Samaritana, pues a vn mismo tiempo daba entrada en su casa a doze mozos lascivos de los que llaman Vrritaos; no es dezible las diligencias, que hizo por quitar de su pueblo tan grave escandalo: y aunque muger tan perdida parecia caso impossible el ganarla, despues de averlo el buen Hermano encomendado muy de veras a Dios, y hecho muchas penitencias, se resolvió a hablarla, y declararla el peligro en que estava de condenarse, mientras no dexaba aquella vida tan escandalosa, e infame: y Dios, que queria apiadarse de la perdida muger, y satisfacer a los fervorosos ruegos del zeloso Hermano, dió tanta eficacia a sus palabras, que la muger corrida ya de su desembuelto obrar, se arrepintió de su mala vida, y pidió al Hermano la retirasse donde los Vrritaos no la pudiesen inquietar.*

*Con esto el Hermano Pedro Diaz la recogió en el Colegio de las niñas: lo qual assi que lo supieron los Vrritaos, aunque todos lo sintieron por el divertimento que perdian, tres de ellos mas aficionados se determinaron vna noche de assaltar el Colegio de las niñas; ó ya para robarla, si ella quisiesse venirse con ellos; ó para profanar a las demás. Creo, que por la virtud, que en aquella Casa avia introducido el casto Hermano, no pudieron lograr en nada sus depravados intentos; pero solo el averlo intentado era enorme delito, y de infame exemplo para los demás recogimientos. Y assi apenas al amanecer supo el caso el Hermano, quando se fue en busca de los delinquentes sin mas armas, que las de su zelo, ni mas guarda, que la del Alférez del Presidio **Don Isidro de Leon**, natural de nuestra Sevilla, y hombre de gran valor, que quizo acompañarle.*

*Y como los encontrasse, ardiendo en zelo de la honra de Dios, reprehendió su osadia poniendoles delante de los ojos la enorme maldad, que avian cometido contra Dios, la qual no dexaria sin castigo la justicia Divina, y tambien la humana les daria la pena, que su delito merecia. A estas palabras los agresores, que estavan presentes, y acompañados de otros mozos libres, como eran otros Vrritaos, ofendidos de la reprehension, aunque tan merecida por su delito, acometieron a dicho Hermano, y al Alférez, y con los machetes, que traian, los hizieron pedazos, sin que los Indios mas ancianos de el pueblo, que acudieron a impedirlo, pudiessem estorvarlo: antes desaforrados ya en su maldad los Vrritaos, fueron a la casa de los Padres, y a vn mozo Español, que estava en ella, llamado **Nicolás de Espinosa**, natural de Mexico, sin averles dado otra causa, que el ser Christiano, le quitaron la vida con no menor atrocidad. Passaron a saquear la Iglesia, llevandose todo lo que avia de precio en ella hasta el Caliz, el qual aviendole tomado vno de los agresores en la mano, le pareció aver tomado vna barra de hierro encendido segun se abrasaba, y assi le soltó, reconociendo la mano sacrilega hinchada, y salpicada de sangre. Recogió otro Indio el Caliz con gran veneracion para restituírle (como hizo despues) a los Padres, y no sintió el fuego, que avia sentido el sacrilego.*

*Con todo no bastó esta singular maravilla para reprimir el furor de estos Indios tan arrestados; pues además del saco, y destrozo, que avian hecho en la Iglesia, la pegaron fuego, arrojando entre las llamas el cadaver del buen Nicolás de Espinosa, que mezcló sus cenizas con las del Templo, y Casa de Dios, como que todo era efecto de vna misma causa, pues el odio, que tenian a la Religion Christiana hazia, que destruyessen no solo el Templo material de Dios, mas los Templos vivos de los Catolicos, y verdaderos Christianos, en cuyos corazones mora Dios. Quemaron la casa de los Padres, los Colegios de niños, y niñas, porque no quedasse en aquel pueblo rastro alguno de piedad; la qual los impios ministros del demonio desseaban desterrar de sus tierras, y restituír las a la maldad, que avia reynado en ellas por tantos años.*

*Del Hermano Pedro Diaz debiera hazer honorífica mencion, assi por la ilustre muerte, que padeció, como por sus singulares virtudes; pero no siendo sujeto principal desta Historia, remito al lector a la vida del V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, que escribió el Padre Francisco Garcia, de nuestra Compañia, donde hallará cumplidas noticias del desengaño con que dexó el mundo, del fervor con que procedió en la Religion, del zelo de la salvacion de las almas, y otras muchas virtudes dignas de coronarse con tan ilustre*

muerte, perdiendo la vida como el Baptista, por defensa de la Castidad el día 9 de Diciembre del año de 1675.

*Y assi passo a dezir lo mucho, que turbó la Christiandad de las Marianas este suceso, pues no avia Residencia ninguna de las que tenian Colegios de niñas, que no rezelasse otro assalto. Los Indios Christianos temian tambien el que estos malhechores por librarse del castigo avian de commover otros pueblos de Gentiles, para que viniessen a dar sobre las Iglesias, y quemarlas. Todo era miedo, pues ni el Governador con los pocos Españoles, que avia, era poderoso a impedir el mal, que amenazaba: dexarlos sin castigo, era dexarlos mas insolentes; y assi despues de averlo encomendado a Dios los Padres, y hecho grandes, y fervorosas rogativas en sus Iglesias, determinaron el que los pueblos Christianos se pusiessen en defensa, y que renovassen la amistad, que tenian con otros pueblos vezinos, pidiendoles no admitiesen a los malhechores en sus tierras, que con esso ellos mismos se desterrarian buscando los pueblos mas lexos donde ocultarse, y que por entonces no convenia, que el Governador hiziesse mas diligencia: y fue medio muy acertado, porque viendo los pueblos amigos, que solo le pretendia castigar a los malhechores, y con los que no lo eran conservarse en paz, no quisieron amparar a los culpados, por no ofender a los Españoles, que no dudaban quan injustamente avian sido agraviados.*

### **Capitvlo LVII. Recibe aquella nueva Christiandad grandes favores de la Reyna de los Angeles, y afervorizanse mas en el culto del verdadero Dios.**

*No sé si obligada la Sacratissima Virgen del trabajo, y desvelo con que los pueblos Christianos avian solicitado apagar el fuego, que como ya vimos avia el Infierno encendido en Ritidyan, quiso premiar su zelo con innumerables favores, que les hizo por vna Imagen suya, que con nombre de N. Señora de Guadalupe era venerada de los fieles en la Iglesia del pueblo de Ayrán. Ardía ante la Sagrada Imagen vna lampara de madera, que no llevaba materia mas preciosa la pobreza de aquellos tiempos: el azeyte de la lampara aplicado a qualquier enfermo, era para qualquier dolencia medicina vniversal; y assi solo con llegar el Padre, que cuydaba de aquella Residencia, a vngir con el azeyte al enfermo, al punto quedaba sano: conque no es dezible lo frequentada, que era esta Iglesia de aquellos nuevos Christianos.*

*Mas como el Padre por sus precissas ocupaciones no pudiesse acudir a la cura de tantos, solía las mas vezes dezir a alguno de los niños, que allí se hallaban: Ve, niño, con este enfermo, y untale con el azeyte de la lampara, y dile a la Virgen, que le sane. Hazialo el niño assi, y la Virgen atendiendo a la fê con que esperaban el remedio, y a la sinceridad con que los niños le pedian la salud, al punto los sanaba, y los dolientes bolvian al Padre, diziendole, que **Santa Maria** los avia sanado. Esto era tan ordinario ya, que no causaba novedad; pero consolaba mucho a los Indios Christianos el saber, que tenian remedio tan seguro para todos sus males.*

*De aqui passó la confianza a esperar, que esta Señora les avia de favorecer en los lances, que iban a echar, ya en los rios, ya en la mar para su pesca: y assi cargados con las redes (que al entrar en la Iglesia dexaban) entraban a hazer Oracion a la Sagrada Imagen, para que en aquel exercicio les favoreciesse, y la Oracion, que de ordinario hazian, era dezir: Señora Madre a pescar voy, dadme pescado. Con esto salian de la Iglesia, y lograban tan buena suerte en sus lances, que parece, que los pezes a porfia se les entraban en las redes, y bolvian cargados de pescado a sus casas. Con estos buenos sucessos se animaban a valerse de fâvor tan poderoso para otros buenos sucessos, que en conveniencias temporales des-seaban tener, de que lograban muchos, y yo pudiera dezir a no temer dilatarme.*

*Y mas quando me llama la mudança de Governador, puesto que dexó en el año de 1676 D. Damian de Esplana, que avia tenido el cargo dos años, y manexadole con el valor, que vimos en sus principios; pero ya las continuas fatigas de andar siempre con rezelos, y ver que los Indios le avian perdido ya el miedo, como mostraba el atrevimiento de Ritidyan, que acabamos de referir, y aver poco despues atrevidose dos Indios solos a matar al Padre Antonio Maria de S. Basilio, solo por vna reprehension bien leve, que les avia dado, sujeto de mucha estima para aquella Christiandad, y no hallarse con todas las fuerças, que eran menester para castigar los culpados, le movió a dexar el cargo, y passarse a Filipinas en la Nave, que por el mes de Junio se estava esperando.*

Llegó esta a diez de Junio del año en que vamos de 76 y por General della Antonio Nieto, singular bienhechor de estas Misiones, el qual dexó de socorro en ellas cinco sujetos de la Compañia, quatro Sacerdotes, y vn Hermano Coadjutor, que fue gran socorro para lo espiritual: y para recluta de la Milicia catorze Soldados, y además de esto dos familias, que importaron mucho para exemplar de la vida política, que tanto se desseaba entablar entre aquella gente barbara. Valióse desta ocasion D. Damian para salir de Marianas, y assi renunció el cargo de Sargento Mayor, que tenia en estas Islas, en el General de la Nao. Hallóse este no poco confuso, por no hallar persona a proposito a quien fiar el gobierno: con todo le pareció, que como lo quisiese acetar, era muy a proposito vn Capitan, que venia con él para passar a Filipinas, llamado D. Francisco Irisarri y Vivar: a este le habló el General pidiendole, que por servir a Dios, y al Rey admitiesse el cargo de Governador; y aunque D. Francisco estaba tan ageno de esso, que al Sargento Nicolás Rodriguez, que venia en la Nao con animo de quedarse en las Marianas, le avia apartado de esto, y reducido a que passasse a Filipinas: Dios, que con ojos de misericordia miraba aquella Christiandad, le mudó tan de repente el corazon, que la respuesta, que dió al General Nieto, fue acetar el cargo, el qual el General se le dió con titulo de Governador de las Marianas, titulo que ninguno de los Cabos antecedentes le avian tenido hasta el.

Partióse la Nave a Filipinas, y en ella D. Damian de Esplana. Entró en Marianas el nuevo Governador, y con su venida tanto temor en los Indios, que todos con embaxadas solicitaban su amistad, dando palabra al Governador de acudir todos los Christianos a oír Missa los días de fiesta, a la explicacion del Catecismo, a bautizar los hijos recién nacidos, y a embiar a los de mayor edad a que aprendiessen algunos oficios concernientes a la vida política, y a dar de buen gana a los hijos, y hijas, que escogiessen los Padres para criarlos en los Colegios. Repartió los Padres, que avian venido de nuevo, por las Doctrinas, para que estando con los Misioneros antiguos, los nuevos se adiestrassen: y con gran felicidad començó su gobierno, haziendose la causa de Dios en todas partes con gran sossiego, y paz.

Viendo tan buena coyuntura, se resolvieron los Padres a celebrar por Agosto la fiesta del Corpus con toda solemnidad, que por las turbulencias passadas avian dilatado para mejor ocasion: y assi dispusieron el avisar en todas las Residencias, que para el primer Domingo de Agosto concurriessen todos los pueblos con los Colegios de niños, y niñas, que en ellos huviessen, a la Casa de N. P. S. Ignacio de Agfajña, donde la fiesta se avia de celebrar; la qual para que fuesse mas lucida, se previno vn Coloquio del Misterio en lengua Española, que representassen los niños Marianos. Encargóse esto al Padre Monroy, porque por el trabajo, que avia puesto en enseñar a los niños de sus Colegios a hablar Español, eran los que mejor le podrian representar; de que el siervo de Dios se encargó, y lo dispuso tan bien, que fue lo que hubo en la fiesta de mas divertimento.

Con este aviso concurrieron el día señalado a Agfajña los pueblos Christianos, que venian de sus lugares con sus estandartes en Procession devota cantando la Doctrina Christiana, a quienes recibian como iban llegando, y acompañaban hasta dexarlos en la Iglesia los dos numerosos Colegios, que de niños, y de niñas avia en Agfajña: y assi que llegaron todos, se començó la Missa, y se precedió del Misterio con gran consuelo de los oyentes. Ordenóse la Procession por las calles, adornadas con la tapizarias, que llevaba la tierra, de ramas de arboles entretexidas con palmas. Daban principio a ella los estandartes de las Residencias, y despues en dos hileras, vna de niños, y otra de niñas, todos los niños de los Seminarios: luego por su orden los Indios mas principales de los lugares, y a los vltimo el Governador, que llevaba vn rico estandarte, a quien se seguian los Padres Misioneros cantando el *Pange lingua*, y en medio dellos el Preste, que llevaba la Custodia del Santissimo en las manos, rematando la Procession la Milicia con el mayor adorno, que les era possible en aquellas tierras, disparando de quando en quando las armas de fuego al ayre los Soldados: accion, que ponía medroso respeto a los Gentiles, que hincandose de rodillas al passar la Custodia, se daban golpes de pechos, como si fuessen Christianos.

No se concluyó la fiesta con sola la Procession, porque despues de aver comido todos los forasteros, repartidos entre los vezinos de Agfajña, a la tarde se celebró el Coloquio, entrometiendo en él varios bayles de los niños Marianos, como la Pavana, Canario, y Tocotin (que equivale a los Torneos de Española) en que lucieron mucho los niños del Colegio de Agfajña, como los mas antiguos, y mas exercitados en estas habilidades: si bien la relacion, que he visto, dá a entender, que los de Oróte por representar en Español, fueron los que mas admiraron, no cabiendo de gozo sus padres de ver a sus hijos hablar tan

bien el Español, y no acabando de dar al Padre Monroy las gracias de lo mucho, que avia trabajado en enseñarles. He referido estas menudencias, no porque para los Europeos sean dignas de contarse; pero para que sirva de exemplar de lo mucho, que los de la Compañía trabajarían en reducir a acciones políticas, y de razon a vna gente, que no avia doze años, que eran la misma barbaria.

### *Capitulo LVIII. Dase cuenta de las virtudes, que observaron los nuestros en el V. P. Monroy el tiempo, que estuvo en las Islas Marianas.*

Aunque del contesto de la Historia puede el que la leyere conocer las muchas, y grandes virtudes, que se hallan en el Padre Monroy; pues si mira a la niñez, hallará en él un Angel: si a la juventud, vn varon lleno de mortificacion, y desprecio de si mismo; si a la entrada en la Religion, vn puro desengaño; si al tiempo de Novicio, vna idéa de perfeccion Religiosa; si al partirse a Indias, y viages de su peregrinacion, creerá, que el Apostol de la India S. Francisco Xavier avia depositado en el, como Elias en su discipulo Eliseo, su gran zelo, y espiritu: todavia porque en las Marianas fue donde mereció la Corona de su buen obrar, perdiendo la vida a manos de los enemigos de la Fè, convendrá referir los passos, que observaron sus compañeros, por los quales subió a lograr tan estimable triunfo.

Y porque quanto mas alto subiere el edificio de las virtudes, debe ahondar mas en la **humildad**, propondré las muestras, que dió de tan segura virtud. Nunca se le oyó cosa, que pudiesse ceder en alabanza propia; si muchas de su desprecio, como el que no avia estudiado, y que por hazer algo en la Compañía se avia aplicado a passar a aquellas Misiones, donde ninguno ay, que por poco que sepa, no pueda ser de algun provecho. Jamás se le vió porfiar, mas en diziendo su parecer (que solo le dezia quando era preguntado) se quietaba sin hazer caudal de que se hiziesse, ó dexasse de hazer lo que él dezia; antes bien fiaba tan poco de su parecer, que en las cosas, que pedían algun consejo, le tomaba de los mismos niños, a quienes consultaba; y Dios agrado de su humildad, solía por medio de los niños gobernarle en cosas de mucho acierto.

Su **pobreza** no se vió igual en alguno de los Misioneros, pues además de andar descalço de pie, y pierna pisando espinas, que nacen con la misma yerva, y rompiendose los pies en lo agudo de los pederiales a las subidas, y baxadas de los montes, ni silla, ni mesa, ni cama tenia en su pobre alvergue: y quando le era fuerça tomar algun sustento, no tenia mas mesa, que el suelo, de que hazia tanto aprecio por lo que estimaba la pobreza, que deponen el Padre Antonio Xaramillo, de nuestra Compañía, contemporaneo suyo entonces, y despues Visitador de aquellas Islas, que poco antes de su muerte, combidando a los Padres Misioneros vezinos a su Residencia, y entre ellos a dicho Padre, la mesa fue el suelo, los manteles vnas hojas, los platos cortezas de arboles, y la comida vn bien ligero sustento. Esta fue la ostentacion del conbite; qual seria su passar ordinario, y quan pobre, bien se dexa entender.

Su **penitencia** era tal, que como si no bastaran los trabajos del mal passar, la desnudez, el dormir vestido, la inclemencia de los temporales, que hazian libremente la suerte, que querian en él, porque jamás vsó de alguna defensa contra ellos; andaba agarrotado su cuerpo con cilicios de hierro; se disciplinaba todos los dias, y algunos repetidas vezes; ayunaba tan de continuo, que era mas facil observar el dia, que comia, que no los dias, que ayunaba; estaba de rodillas lo mas del tiempo, porque no sabia tener otro trato, que con Dios: y en fin era de modo su penitencia, que pudiera ser en aquella soledad exemplar de penitencia al Anacoreta mas austero.

Al passo de su penitencia era su mortificacion, pues nada, que le pudiesse ser de molestia, le apartó de si: causa de que siendo en Oróte la plaga de Mosquitos tan intole-rable, que los Soldados, que allí van, tienen por gran Purgatorio el aver de experimentarlos, y lo ordinario es andar con vn ramo de hojas apartandolos de si; el V. Padre se dexaba plagar dellos, sin levantar jamás la mano para ahuyentarlos, diziendo a los que admiraban en esto tan estraño sufrimiento, que ya los Mosquitos le conocian, y no le hazian mal: no porque no le molestassen su cuerpo, mas por el bien grande, que hazian a su espiritu, y lo que llenaban los desseos, que tenia de padecer. No tenian mas alivio los otros sentidos, pues al gusto le mortificaba con comer el pescado crudo, y el coco podrido las mas vezes, que sobre causar grande aseo, mortificaba el olfato con lo ofensivo de su mal olor. Los ojos no miraban mas, que la tierra por donde avia de andar, pues la desnudez de aquella gente le tenia vedado el mirarles ni aun los rostros, y assi solo los



conocia por el habla. El oído le mortificaba en pasar por los gritos con que de ordinario suelen hablar, sin quezarse del ruido con que muchas veces le inquietaban, y estorbaban el descansar.

Su **devocion** la manifestaba en las muchas obras, que gastaba en la Oracion; en lo mucho, que se detenía en la Missa, y dar gracias, en rezar el Oficio Divino de Rodillas; en el gran fervor, y ternura con que rezaba el Rosario, y exortaba a los fieles a tan saludable devocion y en fin en quanto hablaba, y hazia mostraba siempre la devocion de su corazón. Pero en lo que mas resplandecía el amor, que tenía a Dios era en el zelo con que se empleaba en la conversion de las almas, que era el gentilismo corta esfera para su fuego, y quisiera reducir a todos los infieles al conocimiento del verdadero Dios, sin que ni los riesgos de la vida, ni los trabajos tan grandes, que estan vinculados a tan ardua empresa, le pusiessen la menor dificultad para no aplicarse con todo esfuerzo a procurar la salvacion de las almas redimidas con la Sangre de su Redentor.

Estas fueron algunas de las virtudes, que por no poderlas ocultar su humildad, advirtieron sus compañeros en el siervo de Dios; a quien por ellas dispuso su Magestad para la gloriosa muerte. que (como veremos) dentro de poco padeció. Porque como la guerra, que hazia al Infierno, fuesse tan sensible para el demonio, quando mas en paz parecia estar las cosas, levanto vna persecucion contra la Christiandad, que toda ella paró en quitar la vida a este valeroso Soldado, como de quien mas se temia el demonio. Lo qual por aver tenido bien singulares lances, nos servirá de materia para los capitulos siguientes, concluyendo este con dezir, que de las extraordinarias penitencias, que por este tiempo hazia, de lo mucho que se daba a la Oracion, del gran fervor con que salía de día, y de noche por aquellos montes a buscar niños que bautizar; confirmados sus compañeros con el sucesso de aver muerto pocos dias despues, no dudan afirmar tuvo revelacion del poco tiempo, que le quedaba para trabajar, y assi daba priessa a merecer.

### *Capitulo LIX. Principios del Alboroto de Oróte, y origen que tuvo la traycion, que usaron los Indios contra el V. P. Sebastian de Monroy.*

Con la felicidad, que hemos visto, proseguia la Christiandad de Oróte favorecida de Dios, y asistida del V. Padre, quando el enemigo comun ofendido por verse despojado de tantas almas, en quienes avia dominado por tantos siglos, levantó vna persecucion tal, que lograsse acabar con la Christiandad, no solo de aquel partido, pero en que estuvo bien a pique de arruinar casi del todo la Fè, y Religion Christiana, que con tan inmensos trabajos avian plantado los nuestros en aquellas Islas.

El motivo fue el casamiento de vna niña, natural de aquellas Islas, a quien por la buena criança, que avia tenido en el Seminario, de que cuydaba en Oróte el Padre Monroy, la pidió vno de los Soldados Españoles por muger: comunicólo el Soldado con el V. Padre, y este tomó por su cuenta el proponerle a ella, y explorar su voluntad: y como a ella le pareciesse bien la propuesta, le comunicó si convendria dar cuenta dello a sus padres, pareciendole al V. Padre, tendrian por bien el que su hija se casasse con vn Español; pero la hija, que conocia muy bien el genio de su padre. que por ser Gentil aun llevaba mal el que ella fuesse Christiana, le dixo, que antes convenia hazer el casamiento con tal secreto, que primero estuviesse hecho, que pudiesse llegar a noticia de sus padres, que tal cosa se trataba, porque sabia muy bien, que antes de tomar estado la avia su padre de vender a alguno de los Vrritaos, para que con su torpe trato le acaudalasse alguna ganancia; y si como estaba en el Seminario, estuviera en poder de su padre, ya la huviera puesto en el exercicio infame: que lo que ella desseaba era vivir conforme a la Ley de Dios, y tomar estado como Christiana, segun otras compañeras suyas avian hecho, y vivian muy contentas en gracia de Dios: y que si para esso fuesse menester dexar su patria, y parientes, estava pronta a vivir donde al Padre le pareciesse mejor.

No ignoraba el V. Padre, que de hazer este casamiento a disgusto de los padres de la donzella, se avia de seguir alguna inquietud, y motivar algun alboroto; pero el librar a aquella donzella del peligro, que temia, de que llegando a noticia de su padre, la sacasse violentamente del Seminario, y la entregasse a alguno de los Vrritaos, le pareció era mejor asegurarla dandole marido Christiano, y que como Soldado, y Español la pudiesse defender de qualquiera violencia de las que su padre, y parientes pudiesen intentar contra ella. Y assi teniendo la materia dispuesta con todo secreto, el primer día festivo, en que con-



currieron a la Iglesia muchos Christianos, los casó a vista del pueblo con todas las ceremonias Ecclesiasticas, para que viessen el exceso de la Ley Christiana a sus barbaros ritos, y hiziessen concepto del Sacramento del Matrimonio, que con esta ocasion les explicó, y de la perpetuidad dél, tan agena de sus casamientos, que solo duran lo que tardan el marido, ó la muger en reñir.

No avia acabado de celebrar el Matrimonio, quando llegó a noticia del padre de la desposada, el qual vino al punto a la Iglesia de San Joseph, donde todavia estaba el Padre Monroy, a quien dió con gran sentimiento las quejas de el agravio, que le avia hecho en casar a su hija con vn Español. El V. Padre, que conocia quanto interesaba la donzella en que vn Español la huviesse escogido por muger; y viendo que la queja del padre se fundaba en la pérdida del interes, que podia lograr de su hija vendiendola a la torpeza de algun Vrritao, le dixo con gran sosiego: Que no se inquietasse, que ni su hija avia perdido nada en casar con un Español, ni él tampoco perderia, porque el mismo Padre se obligaba a darle a él mas, porque viniese en el casamiento, que lo que por su hija le podia dar qualquiera de los Vrritaos.

Palabras, que en vez de sossegar al barbaro padre le irritaron de modo, que saliendose de la Iglesia furioso, fue a convocar otros Indios de los pueblos comarcanos, y armados todos con sus lanças bolvieron a la tarde a Oróte a tomar vengança del agravio. Salió el V. Padre a sossegarlos, y todos los del pueblo de Oróte a la defensa del siervo de Dios: con que viendolos puestos en arma se reprimieron vn poco los amotinados, contentandose el padre de la desposada con intentar matar al Español, que se avia casado con su hija, y assi llegandose con dissimulo hazia el, levantó vn machete para partirle la cabeza; lo qual huviera executado a no advertirlo el Padre Monroy, que asiendo al Español de vn brazo le apartó del peligro con no poco riesgo suyo, pues fue milagro el que el Indio irritado no descargasse el golpe sobre el V. Padre.

El qual por assegurar a los desposados los embió luego a Ag[a]ña, donde estarian seguros amparados del Governador, que sabido el caso, y viendo el riesgo en que quedaba el Padre Monroy, vino luego a Oróte acompañado de algunos Soldados, con los quales prendió al Indio descomedido: y averiguando aver sido vno de los matadores del Padre Francisco Esquerra le sentenció a ahorcar, juzgando, que si no hazia justicia del, no podria reprimirle el alboroto, que él avia ocasionado; y aunque el Padre Monroy intercedió por él, el Governador estuvo fixo en que le avia de ahorcar.

Le qual visto por el Padre, sintiendo el que muriesse Gentil, intentó con él, que se hiziesse Christiano, y ya que no podia librarse de la muerte temporal, librasse de la muerte eterna a su alma: para lo qual consiguió del Governador dos dias de plazo, para ver si en esse tiempo, assi él, como otros Padres de los Missioneros, que allí concurrieron, podian reducirle, y en orden a esso hiziesse el Padre todo lo possible; mas como la sangre, que tan iniquamente avia derramado de varon tan Apostolico, y tan Angelical, clamasse al Cielo para que recibiesse el castigo correspondiente a tan gran delito, permitió Dios muriesse en su obtinacion, sin querer atender a los consejos del V. Padre, que con lagrimas le rogaba mirasse por su alma, y no quisiesse morir Gentil, y condenarse para siempre.

Pero como a todas las razones del V. Padre cerrasse los oidos el miserable, viendo el Governador era tiempo perdido el esperarle mas, y que era peligroso el no castigarle luego, por no dar lugar a que sus parientes convocassen mas gente para librarle, cumplido el plazo le hizo ahorcar publicamente para escarmiento de los demas: a que se llegó el escarnio, que los niños Christianos del Seminario del V. Padre hizieron con el cuerpo del ajusticiado, pues quitandole de la horca le llevaron arrastrando por la playa a echarle en el mar, tirandole muchas piedras, y diciendo todos a vna: Muera, muera a el perro, que no ha querido ser Christiano: tanto avia arraigado la Fè en aquellas nuevas plantas, y tanta la estima, que hazian de la Ley de Jesu Christo, que el V. Padre les avia enseñado.

### *Capitvlo LX. Vn Indio llamado Agvarin amotina a los Indios de aquel partido, y persuadeles a que acaben con todos los Españoles.*

Avnque con el castigo hecho se amedrentaron algo los Indios, pero luego que pensaron en lo sucedido les pareció, que en aver admitido en sus tierras a los Españoles avian echado sobre si vn pesado yugo: y aunque si atendieran a la razon les avia de parecer bien el que huviesse castigo para los malos, pues

*con esso se aseguran los buenos; como la libertad en los vicios les estan connatural, que en ella nacen, en ella se crian, y en ella viven, y mueren, no tenian por conveniente el que huviessse castigo para refrenar sus vicios: y assi ofendidos del castigo, que el Governador avia hecho en aquel delinquente Gentil, les pareció dar traza como acabar de vna vez con los Españoles, y restituirse, como ellos dezian, a su natural libertad.*

*Tomó la mano para esto vn Indio de Agfa]ña, llamado Aguarin, tuerto, y gran ministro de Satanás: el qual saliendo dissimulado començo a divulgar quexas de los Españoles en los pueblos mas remotos del Presidio, como fueron los de Tarisay, Oróte, Sumay ó Agofan, en los quales como mas distantes avia menos miedo, y podía la mentira durar mas tiempo; porque no tratando a los Españoles, no tenian ocasion de conocer la falsedad, y calumnia, que el embustero Aguarin imponia, y assi le dieron tanto credito, que no dudaron convenir con él en lo que les quisiesse persuadir.*

*El qual viendo lo bien, que entraban en el motin contra los Españoles, les habló, aunque barbaro, con bastante discurso a persuadirles su depravado intento, diziendoles: En doze años en que por la demasiada bondad de los de Agfa]ña se dió entrada a los Españoles en nuestras Islas, no me direis, qué conveniencias se han experimentado de su trato en nuestras tierras? Somos mas ricos por su venida de lo que antes eramos? No; porque tan desnudos estamos aora, como lo estavamos quando entraron: antes si algunos por servirles han adquirido algunos vestidos, esso sirve de afrentarnos a los demás, pues aora ya causa verguença nuestra desnudez, quando por comun a todos no era reparable. Los frutos son casi los mismos aora, que siempre, menos que para su gasto nos hazen trabajar, y se sirven de nosotros en sus labores, ó de valde, ó por bien baxo precio.*

*Este ha sido el vtil de su entrada; pero los daños, que de vivir con ellos se nos siguen, bien manifiestos son, pues con el Bautismo, que ellos llaman agua de Dios, nos quitan las vidas a nuestros hijos, y con vn azeyte, que llaman Santa vncion, abrevian la vida a los enfermos, de modo, que a raro le dá al vncion, que quede con vida. Hazennos ir a rezar a sus Iglesias todo el dia, y si no aprendemos las Oraciones, ó nos riñen, ó nos castigan. A nuestros hijos los enseñan a su modo, de manera, que primero faltará a lo que les dezimos sus padres, que a lo que sus Maestros les dizen: y poco ha, que estos muchachos arrastraron a vn pariente nuestro, porque quitandole la vida no quiso bolverse Christiano; y esto por dar gusto a sus Maestros. Estos son de los Españoles los mejores, que dizen, que solo vienen a nuestras tierras por enseñarnos el camino del Cielo, como si todos nuestros antepassados no le huvieran descubierto, y que solo ellos lo saben, como si ellos fueran mas sabios, que nosotros, para saber lo que nuestro antepassados ignoraron. Y sea lo que fuere esso, lo que vemos es, que estamos sin libertad, sin poder darnos a los plazer, que nuestros antepassados tuvieron: y hasta en el casarnos nos quieren poner leyes, que aya de ser con vna muger, y no mas, y que essa la ayamos de sufrir hasta que ella se muera. El dia de fiesta quieren, que lo gastemos todo en la Iglesia, y que no trabajemos para adelantar nuestras haciendas, y otras cosas bien molestas, que nos mandan, bastantes para procurar echar de entre nosotros tanta pesadumbre, y acabar de vna vez con ellos.*

*Pero lo que aveis de considerar, como cosa aun mas dañosa, son los Soldados, que tren consigo, los quales si mas duran en esta tierra, en breve quedará despoblada de los naturales segun los muchos, que matan con las armas, que traen de fuego, con las quales ni pueden nada nuestras lanças, ni menos nuestras piedras, que no alcançan a la mitad de lo que alcançan sus arcabuzes, y primero somos desbaratados por el estrago, que en nosotros hazen sus balas, que los lleguemos a descubrir para tirarles lanças, ni herirlos con piedras. Ni basta el retiro de nuestros montes para librarnos de que nos busquen, y el huir dellos lo hazen delito para hazernos guerra como a enemigos: y si ellos solo fueran los que nos persiguen, fuera consuelo; pero nuestros naturales mismos, ó sea por el miedo, que les tienen, ó por la ssobervia, que su amistad les infunde, nos hazen tan cruda guerra, porque no les rendimos la obediencia, como pudieran si se hallaran de nosotros muy ofendidos. Y el quitarnos nuestros hijos, y hijas a titulo de quererlos criar bien, puede ser cosa mas insufrible? Siendo assi, que con esso nos privan de que los hijos nos sirvan, y de que las hijas no nos puedan dar la ganancia, que es estilo en nuestra tierra, quando los mozos las quieren para vivir con ellas, que nos lo pagan muy bien, porque se las demos: y lo que hazen de los hijos es servirse dellos, y a las hijas las casan con los Soldados Españoles, como poco ha sucedió [sic] a Oróte, y porque quiso el padre tomar vengança del Español, que se avia casado con su hija, el Govern-*

ador le prendió, y le ahorcó, causa bastante para que nosotros rebolviésemos sobre ellos por esta injusticia.

Y porque no reparéis en como os aveis de vengar de los Soldados Españoles, y vencer sus armas de fuego, os digo, que son pocos, y nosotros tantos en numero, que si todos los pueblos nos juntamos, avrá mil de nosotros para cada vno de ellos. Pues como tantos hemos de temer a tan pocos? quando a pedradas solo podemos enterrarlos en piedras. Fuera de que estos hombres no viven por nosotros? Los bastimentos, que les damos, no es lo que les sustenta? Si nosotros los cercamos el passo, para que ninguno pueda venderles los frutos, de que necessitan para mantenerse, serán menester mas armas para acabar con ellos? Claro está, que la hambre misma los ha de consumir, y acabar: y assi vivid confiados con que en breve, como vosotros me ayudeis, hemos de dar cabo dellos. Solo lo que mas importa es el guardar el secreto, no tan solamente con ellos para cogerlos desprevenidos; pero con todos los demás pueblos, que tienen amistad con ellos: los mas de temer son los cercanos al Presidio, como Ayrán, y Tupungan, por tener Iglesias en ellos; pero cogiendolos de repente, mal podrán resistir a tanto poder como el de quatro, ó seis pueblos.

*Con estas persuasiones levantó el Aguarin los pueblos dichos contra los Españoles, y quedó de acuerdo con los Indios rebelados de avisarles el día en que avian de executar la faccion, que dilataron por algun tiempo hasta poderla lograr a su salvo, como verémos.*

### *Capitulo LXI. Intentan los Indios rebelados quitar la vida a los Españoles el día 30 de Agosto, en que se avian de juntar en Tupungan a celebrar la fiesta de Santa Rosa.*

*Tuvieron tan oculta la traycion los pueblos de Tarisay, Oróte, Fuuña, Sumay, y Agofan, que deseando por instantes beber a los Españoles la sangre, se portaron con tanto dissimulo, que en las ocasiones en que se ofrecia hablar de la justicia, que avia hecho el Governador en Oróte de aquel Indio a quien mandó ahorcar, engrandecian la justicia, y razon con que el Governador procedia en todo. Dezian, que con esso se aseguraban las vidas de todos, quando sabian los que se desmandassen avian de pagar con la vida propia el daño, que hiziesen en las agenas: que aquél hombre estava bien castigado, por aver quitado la vida a vn hombre tan santo como el Padre Francisco Esquerra: y que merecia muy bien la muerte, por aver querido matar al Español, que se avia casado con su hija, quando podia estimar el que el Español se la pidiese, pues con esse parentesco le perdonarian el primer delito de aver muerto al Padre, pues el Español huviera intercedido por él con el Governador, y tambien el Padre Monroy, que avia hecho el casamiento. Que se podia tener a gran dicha, que los Españoles, gente tan valerosa, quisiessen emparentar con ellos: que bien se echaba de ver lo que los Padres cuydaban de sus hijas, pues despues de averlas criado con tan buenas costumbres, las daban estado tan honrado, como que casassen con los Españoles: que los Padres les hazian mas bien, que pudieran recibir de sus padres naturales, pues los enseñaban a vivir como hombres, a cultivar los campos, y a adquirir hacienda: que si se alborotaban vnos pueblos con otros, ellos los sossegaban, y estorbaban el que no sucediessen mil muertes. Fuera de esso (dezian) visten a muchos, y si algo nos piden de nuestros frutos, es dandonos tabaco, y hierro, y otras cosas, que no tenemos: tambien dizen, que solo dessean, que seamos Christianos para llevarnos al Cielo. Pues gente tan buena por qué se ha de huir della? sino antes buscar su amistad, y mas quando nos buscan con ella.*

*Estas voces esparcian entre los Indios amigos de los Españoles, para que llegando a su noticia no se rezelassen dellos, ni los tuviessen por enemigos, y assi los dexassen entrar, y salir en los pueblos Christianos a ver las fiestas, que se hazian en las Iglesias, las quales ellos celebraban con juegos, y alababan mucho, dando a entender trataban de llevar Padres, que los doctrinassen a sus pueblos. Con tan maliciosa cautela ocultaban los traydores sus perversos designios, esperando hallar ocasion en que coger a los Españoles descuidados, y quitarles las vidas: y siendo tantos los que en esta conjuracion intervenian, la tuvieron tan oculta, que en mas de vn mes, que pasó hasta ponerla en execucion, ninguno faltó al secreto, ni al trato, que avian hecho con Aguarin.*

*A este le pareció buena coyuntura para hazer su hecho el día treinta de Agosto, en que por estar la Iglesia de Tupungan dedicada a Santa Rosa, devocion del Governador (como dexamos dicho) era fuerza, que concurriessen los Padres todos de la Residencia, y los Soldados del Presidio a celebrar la fiesta de la Santa. Para este día citó el Aguarin a los de Tarisay, y los de otros pueblos amotinados, que como que venian a ver la fiesta, viniessen bien armados de lanças, y piedras, y algunas armas de hierro, que avian quitado a los Españoles en algunas refriegas: y porque todo el golpe de los Soldados no cargasse a Tupungan, dispusieron, que el día antes se pegasse fuego a la Iglesia, y casa, que tenían los Padres en Ayrán, para que acudiendo allá el Governador con parte del Presidio, dividiessen los Soldados, y pudiesen con menos resistencia acabar con los de Tupungan, y rebolver despues sobre los demás, que en Ayrán, y en el Presidio estaban repartidos.*

*Como lo dispuso el Aguarin lo executaron los Indios, pues la vispera de Santa Rosa antes de amanecer comenzó a arder la Iglesia de Ayrán, la casa de los Padres, los dos Seminarios de niños, y niñas con tanta presteza, que apenas dió lugar el fuego a que vn Padre Missionero pudiesse (no sin gran peligro) sacar las Imagenes, y Oleos Sagrados, que estaban en la Iglesia, y dar aviso al Governador de lo sucedido. El qual assi que lo supo partió con alguna gente a Ayrán a librar aquel Padre, y ver si en lo demás podia poner algun remedio; pero como hallasse la Iglesia, casa, y Seminarios hechos ceniza, y que no parecia quien pudiesse aver pegado el fuego, llevandose al Padre Missionero consigo partió a Tupungan, donde le parecia convenia assistir, por ser muchos los Indios, que con ocasion de la fiesta avian allí de concurrir, y las visperas del incendio de Ayrán, no prometian buena fiesta en Tupungan.*

*Lo qual se vió fue discurso gobernado de Dios; porque al mismo tiempo, que llegó el Governador a Tupungan, estaban los pocos Soldados, que avia, retirados a la casa de los Padres para defenderse del assalto, que los muchos Indios, que se iban juntando, les podian dar: los quales assi que vieron al Governador procuraron dissimular el mal intento, que tenían, diciendo, que ellos solo avian venido a ver la fiesta, y no tenían otro fin: y preguntados del incendio de Ayrán, dezian, que no tenían de el la menor noticia. Bien conocia el Governador su fingimiento; pero juzgaba no hallarse en tiempo para romper con ellos, siendo tantos en numero: y supuesto, que ellos dissimulaban por miedo, contentarse él con averlos reprimido, y puestoles algun freno con su presencia. Hizoles algunas preguntas para ver si en ellas descubrian su traycion; pero respondian con tanto dissimulo, que llegaban a persuadirse los Padres era peor apretarles, porque desconfiando dellos les ponian en lance de declararse por enemigos: y assi suspendió por entonces la averiguacion, hizo dexar la fiesta, para que con esso se fuessen, y tomar tiempo para conferir con los Padres, y los Soldados lo que se debía hazer.*

### ***Capitulo LXII. Determina el Governador, que el V. P. Monroy no buelva a su Residencia; pero los ruegos de los syuyos, y sentimiento del V. Padre en dexarles, le obliga a condescender en que buelva, de donde se originó el quitar la vida los barbaros al siervo de Dios.***

*En gran confusion se hallaban el Governador, y los Padres acerca de la resolucion, que avian de tomar; porque tener por amigos a los que dissimulaban el ser enemigos, era declaradamente ponerse en manos de sus enemigos: guardarse de ellos (a que obligaba la sospecha, que de ellos avia) era obligarles a que ellos se declarassen por enemigos, è intentassen la maldad, que no executaban, por parecerles no estava conocida: y assi despues de aver discurrido en la materia lo que vnos, y otros avian pensado, pareció, que los Padres se bolviessen a sus Residencias con los mismos pueblos, que les avian acompañado; menos el Padre Monroy, que cuydaba de la Residencia de S. Joseph en Oróte; assi porque allí avia comenzado el motin de los Indios, como porque desde que hizo el casamiento de la donzella Mariana con el Español, no le miraban con buenos ojos los Indios.*

*Y assi el Governador D. Francisco Vivar salió a hablarles, porque los mas dellos, aunque se avia dexado la fiesta, perseveraban sin querer irse, y para sossegarles les habló en la forma siguiente: Muy mal pagais, hijos, a los Padres Missioneros lo que trabajan por vuestro bien, assi en doctrinaros a vosotros, como en el cuydado, que ponen en la criança de vuestros hijos; pues quando a costa de su sudor, y tra-*

bajo fabrican Iglesias en que doctrinarlos, y casas en que se crien, algunos de vosotros mostrandose ingratos a tantos beneficios, les quemais las Iglesias, y los Colegios mismos en que viven vuestros hijos. Dexo lo que en años passados aveis hecho, quando el fuego, que ayer pusisteis a la Iglesia, y Seminario de Ayrán, esta aun oy publicando con la lengua de sus llamas vuestra ingratitude: en ninguno de vosotros se halla el autor deste hecho, mas todos os dais por amigos; y no sé, que se pueda creer amistad el quemarle a vno la casa en que vive, muestra bastante del mal animo con que mirais a los Padres, a los quales estava resuelto de llevar conmigo al Presidio, y que totalmente os dexassen; pero porque no es razon, que tantos paguen la culpa de solo algunos, los Padres se bolverán a sus Residencias en señal de que os tengo por amigos.

Pero atendiendo a que el pueblo de Oróte, de quien cuyda el Padre Sebastian de Monroy, ha sido desde que entré en este gobierno el que mas me ha dado que hazer, assi por ser los naturales dél los mas faciles de inquietar, como por la vezindad de los Indios Toretanos, que son los que de ordinario aborrecen la paz, y no saben vivir de otra manera, que puestos en arma siempre, y por averse fraguado en Oróte el último alboroto, me llevaré conmigo al Padre Sebastian, y mientras los de Oróte no se quietaren, avrán de passar sin él; porque fuera de que la Ley de Dios me obliga a defender al inocente, el Rey me ha puesto aqui por Gobernador para assegurar a los Padres las vidas, que no solo peligran entre vuestras violencias de ordinario, mas que tantos las han perdido a manos de vuestra atrocidad; y yo primero he de perder la mia, y arriesgar a todos los Soldados, que me acompañan, que dar lugar a que ninguno de los Padres padezca el menor riesgo de su vida.

*Esto dixo el Gobernador; pero la respuesta de los de Oróte fue, que ellos no se avian de ir sin el Padre, pues esso era declararlos por enemigos: porque qué mayor muestra podía dar el señor Gobernador (dezian) de que los de Oróte estavan confederados con los pueblos enemigos, que no quererles fiar a su Padre, y Maestro, que los avia enseñado, y a quien por su grande apacibilidad amaban tanto, que desde que avia entrado en su pueblo no avian tenido con él el menor disgusto? Y aunque el señor Gobernador los tenia por peores, que a los de las otras Residencias, ningunos avia en ellas, que mas obedientes huviesen estado al Padre, que los cuydaba, que lo que ellos avian estado al Padre Monroy: y de ser esto assi no alegaban mas testigos en su abono, que al mismo Padre, que lo podría dezir: que era grande afrenta para ellos, que bolviendose los otros pueblos con sus Padres, y Maestros, ellos solos se bolviessen sin su Padre, y que assi esso no avia de ser.*

*Llegabase a esto el llanto de los niños, y niñas, porque veian, que el Padre no iba con ellos, y asiendole de la sotana le dezian: Ven Padre, no te quieras quedar, que nosotros no podemos ir sin ti, pues no tendremos quien allá nos cuyde, y nos enseñe: y nuestros padres (dezian las niñas) que quieren servirse de nosotras para malas cosas, nos sacarán del Colegio, y nos entregarán a quien nos haga ser malas, y ofender a Dios, con que todo lo bueno, que nos has enseñado, se perderá: no temas Padre a los Toretanos, pues bien sabes, que muchas vezes han baxado a nuestro pueblo con animo de hazerte daño, y en viendote se sossiegan, conociendo el bien, que a todos hazes, y que a nadie has agraviado jamás: y en caso, que quieran ofenderte en algo; nosotras, aunque no tenemos armas para defenderte, con lagrimas les pedirémos, que te dexen, y no te hagan mal.*

*A las voces de aquellas inocentes almas se enterneció el V. Padre, que casi no le dexaban las lagrimas responder, y assi para sossegarles les dixo: No os aflixais hijos, que yo no me quedaré. Y bolviendose al Gobernador le habló en esta forma: Bien reconozco, señor Capitan, que el desseo, que teneis de assegurarame la vida, os haze detenerme para que no buelva a mi Residencia; pero bien se reconoce quan dificultoso sea el que yo desampare a estos corderos, que he reducido con tanto trabajo al rebaño de el Señor, y mas quando el peligro se teme, y no se vé claramente. Como puedo yo faltar a mis feligreses, siendo el que cuydo de sus almas? y almas tan arriesgadas, que lo mismo será dexarlas yo, que hazer suerte en ellas los que aun assistiendolas yo, quisieran sacarlas de mi poder, como lo han intentado varias vezes. Yo no tengo animo para dexarlas, y assi dad providencia, señor, como yo buelva con los míos; porque mayor muerte será para mi el desamparar a estas criaturas, que el vivir con ellas, aunque arriesgue vna, y muchas vezes mi vida.*

*Esto dixo con tanto fervor el V. Padre, que assi los Padres, como el Gobernador, mudaron de parecer; y apartandose vn poco, como que querian conferir sobre aquel negocio, se pusieron a consultar entre si*

*el medio, que se avia de elegir, para que el Padre Monroy en caso que fuesse, bolviesse con alguna seguridad.*

*Y despues de averlo conferido con los Padres pareció, que como los de Oróte jurassen asistir en todo al Padre, y en caso que los otros Indios quisiessen hazer bolver a su Residencia al Padre Monroy; para cuya guarda señaló el Governador a su Teniente el Capitan Nicolás Rodriguez, y otros siete Soldados, hombres todos de mucho valor, encargandoles no solo la defensa del Padre Monroy; pero con expreso orden, que a la menor señal, que reconociesen de alboroto en los Indios, se retirassen con el Padre al Presidio, sin atender a ruegos, ni reparar en la nota de miedo, que suele hazer a los Soldados obrar temerariamente en muchas ocasiones: y con esto vino en que se bolviesse con los de su pueblo el Padre Monroy, y dexando competente guarnicion en Tupungan, se retiró con el resto de los Soldados a su Presidio de Ag[aj]ña el Governador.*

### *Capitulo LXIII. Buelve el Padre Sebastian de Monroy a su Residencia de Oróte, y los de Oróte a su antigua rebelion.*

*Partió el V. Padre a su Residencia de San Joseph, y partieron con él los Indios con designio bien diferente; porque aunque estos avian dado palabra al Governador de ser fieles al Padre, y a los Españoles, sin cooperar al mal intento de los otros pueblos enemigos, mas avia sido ficcion por miedo, que tenian al Governador, y traza para aver a sus manos al Padre Monroy, en quien desseaban vengar la justicia, que el Governador avia hecho con el matador del Padre Esquerria en Oróte, que reconciliacion verdadera: y assi iban por el camino meditando en su traycion, que quizás la huvieran executado aun antes de llegar a su pueblo, si no temieran a los Soldados, que llevaba el Padre en su resguardo.*

*Muy de otro color iba el animo del buen Padre, ageno totalmente de la traycion, que se fragaba contra él: iba el cordero en poder de lobos, y pensaba le acompañaban corderos: iba alegre, porque bolvia a cuidar de sus hijos, y no advertia el que iba a entregarse a sus enemigos, y assi les ponderaba a sus feligreses el susto, que avia tenido de no bolverlos a ver, quando oyó, que el Governador le queria llevar consigo al Presidio: preguntaba la Doctrina a los niños, y por aliviar el cansancio del camino contaba exemplos devotos con que alentar a los mayores a que de veras se diessen a la virtud, y valiendose del sucesso pasado les dezia: Mirad hijos la pena, que tendrán los que se atrevieron a quemar la Iglesia, y casa de Ayrán, pues es fuerça, que el Governador lo averigue; y por ocultamente que lo ayan hecho, siempre se vendrá a saber quienes fueron los que hizieron tan gran maldad, como quemarle a Dios su Templo, el qual para el escarmiento de los demás dispondrá el que sean castigados en esta vida con pena de muerte: gran pena tuviera de que alguno de los de Oróte se huviesse hallado en este incendio, y no me lo puedo persuadir, por que creo, que ningun Christiano intervendria en tan gran maldad: algunos de los pueblos, que no han recibido la Fè, serian los autores del fuego; y assi lo que a vosotros os conviene, es no tratar de ninguna manera con los Gentiles, ni con los pueblos enemigos, porque no os achauen el delito: acudid a vuestras labores para emplear el tiempo, que os sobrare de asistir a la Iglesia, en que mas aora, que nunca, os conviene asistir, pues con esso ganareis con el señor Governador buen credito, y perderá el mal concepto, que hasta aqui tenia de vosotros.*

*Estos consejos tan buenos iba dando a los de Oróte el V. Padre; pero como ellos huviesse sido los principales en el alboroto, y aun algunos dellos se huviesse hallado en el incendio de Ayrán, estaban tan lexos de sonarles bien los consejos del Padre, que antes los irritaban mas, y disponian por lebrarse del castigo del Governador, continuar en el rebellion, que tenian trazado, y acabar de vna vez con todos los Españoles: y al passo que a estos los veian tan sospechosos ya que ponian guarnicion de Soodados en los pueblos, y en especial en el de Oróte, a donde avia embiado a su Teniente el Governador, no dar lugar a que sospechassen dellos mas, ni los declarassen culpados en virtud de las averiguaciones, que el Governador avia de hazer: y assi apenas llegaron a Oróte, quando despacharon avisos de secreto a los pueblos confederados por medio de Aguarin, para que el dia seis de Setiembre, que era Domingo, dia en que todos los vezinos concurrían a la Iglesia a oír Missa, cargassen todos, y mientras el Padre la dezia, le matassen a él, y a los Españoles, para lo qual convenia el que viniessen bien prevenidos de armas.*

*Este aviso fue tan secreto, que en ocho dias, que passaron desde el rebellion, que se avia descubierto en Tupungan, y seis que avia estado en Oróte el V. Padre Monroy acompañado de los ocho Soldados, que le dió el Governador, no pudo aver noticia de la traycion, que fraguaban: tal era el dissimulo de los de Oróte, los quales acudian al pueblo, trataban con los Españoles obedecian al Padre Monroy, nunca con mas puntualidad en todo lo que les mandaba, que en este tiempo, con que ni el menor indicio se pudo descubrir del rebellion. Con todo el Domingo, ó sea que el corazon le avisaba de la desgracia, que a lo humano avia de padecer perdiendo la vida; ó lo mas cierto, que Dios le dió a entender en la Oracion el riesgo, que a si, y a sus compañeros amenazaba, se levantó muy temprano, y llamó a los Soldados, para que oyessen la Missa, que les avia de dezir, diziendoles convenia dezirla temprano aquel dia por lo que podía suceder.*

*Obedecieron los Soldados, assistieron a la Missa, y despues le pidieron al Padre los confessasse. Hizolo assi, y ellos mientras el siervo de Dios daba gracias, en que solia gastar mucho tiempo, previnieron sus armas por lo que pudiesse suceder. Era aquel dia el primero de fiesta, a que avian de concurrir los Indios de la Residencia a la Iglesia para oír Missa: y como con ocasion de oirla podía ser, que concurrissen Indios de otros pueblos vezinos, no sabiendo si entre ellos se mezclarian algunos Indios enemigos, juzgaron por diligencia acercada estar prevenidos, y cargados los arcabuzes por lo que se pudiesse ofrecer.*

*Fue tan vtil diligencia, como mostró el successo, pues llegada la hora en que los Indios solian venir a oír Missa, fue notable la multitud dellos, que concurrió aquel dia, los quales venian armados de lanças, machetes, y otras armas, como quien venia a dar la batalla. Hallaron a los Soldados levantados los arcabuzes, y en forma de defensa entre la casa, y la Iglesia: y sabiendo, que ya se avia dicho la Missa, se turbaron tanto, temiendo ser notorio a los Españoles su mal intento, que no solo no se atrevieron a acometer a los Españoles, mas valiendose de todo arte para mostrar mas dissimulo, se entraron en la Iglesia a hazer Oracion ya que no avia Missa, y saliendose poco a poco, como que se bolvian a sus lugares, se quedaron escondidos los mas dellos junto a Oróte: de allí embiaron a los padres de los niños, y niñas del Seminario, para que consiguessen licencia del Padre, ya que era dia de fiesta, para que los niños saliessen a espaciarse por la playa, y ver a sus conocidos: licencia, que solian obtener del Padre en semejantes dias, y en este se la concedió por no reconocer en esto inconveniente alguno; que como siempre vivió por su Angelical natural con el corazon en las manos, no creyó huviesse engaño en pedirle esta licencia, y assi con ella se salieron del lugar a espaciarse en la playa los niños.*

#### ***Capitulo LXIV. Retiran los Indios a los niños a otro pueblo: pide el V. Padre se los buelvan, y no lo consigue, por lo qual se despide de los de Oróte para irse con los Soldados al Presidio.***

*Apenas avian salido los niños, y niñas a espaciarse a la playa, quando saliendo vna tropa de Indios, que estavan emboscados, parte con halagos, y lo mas con amenazas, los hizieron caminar házia vn pueblo distante de Oróte dos leguas, y allí los entregaron dando orden para que en ninguna forma los dexassen salir, aunque de Oróte los fuessen a buscar, claro indicio de querer pegar fuego al lugar, en donde no querian tener prendas propias, que les obligassen a vsar de piedad.*

*Esto lo executaron con tanto secreto, que a no averlos visto robar vn Indio fiel, que dió al V. Padre el aviso de que los llevaban, no lo huviera sabido en todo aquel dia; pero assi que supo el V. Padre Monroy del robo, que le avian hecho en las prendas mas de su cariño, no es decible lo que se afligió: Ay niños míos (dezia) en poder de infieles! que si por el aborrecimiento, que tienen a la Ley de Christo, no os quitaran la vida del cuerpo, como dessean a todos los Christianos, os quitarán a Dios de vuestras almas, habiendo, que professéis sus infames vicios, y como plantas tiernas, que apenas aveis arraigado en la Fè, os han de arrancar del campo de la Iglesia, y resplantar en el gentilismo. El conservaros en la Fè me hizo volver con vosotros arriesgando mi vida; y aora para qué quiero yo la vida, si con ella no puedo ayudaros a que conserveis la Fè? Esto dezia el fervoroso Padre tan sentido, y lloroso, que no sabian los Soldados como le podrian consolar.*



*Y assi para que no se fatigasse, el Teniente de Governador Nicolas Rodriguez le ofreció de ir luego con quatro Soldados a traerlos, que lo que importaba era tomar lengua del pueblo donde estaban los niños, porque aun de esso no tenia noticia. Mucho ofrecia el Teniente, y assi al Padre le pareció, que no era facil recobrar los niños por violencia, si los mismos, que los avian llevado, no los querian bolver: y assi juzgó era mejor valerse de algun Indio de suposicion, que fuesse a negociar con los Indios, que se restituyessen los niños. Para [eso] tenia por hombre de bien a su parecer, llamado Cheref, a quien rogó tomasse a su cuidado el que los niños bolviessen.*

*Era este Cheref vn hombre muy dissimulado, y que podía engañar a qualquiera, pues nunca se le oyó en las dissenciones, que huvo, quejarse de los Padres, ni de los Españoles; antes varias vezes les avisaba de las inquietudes, que avia, vendiendose por fiel: pero era tan gran traydor, que al mismo tiempo, que parecia estar de parte de los Españoles, era el que mas fuego metia en los Indios para amotinarlos contra ellos; pero con rostro apacible, con palabras halagueñas engañaba a los Españoles, y tenia tan engañado al Padre Monroy, que hasta que vió, que el mismo le quitó la vida (como dirémos) siempre tuvo buen concepto del.*

*Y llevado del buen concepto, que del tenia, le explicó su sentimiento con toda confianza de que él le avia de consolar: Bien sabes amigo Cheref (le dixo el buen Padre) la gran pesadumbre, que me han dado los de Oróte en retirar de los Seminarios los niños, quando no pueden ignorar, que el afecto, que les tengo por averlos criado, fue causa de bolver a Oróte solo por no desampararlos: no ignoraba el peligro en que me metia, ni que bolvia al poder de los que me aborrecen, y que han intentado varias vezes el quitarme la vida; pero todo lo aventuraba por conservar a estos niños en la Fè, y adelantarlos en las santas, y loables costumbres en que se crian, mas robados ya no tengo porque estar en Oróte, donde tanta mala correspondencia he experimentado de sus moradores, y estoy con resolucion de irme, si los niños no buelven: y assi si quieres, amigo Cheref, conservarme en Oróte, toma a tu cuenta el que buelvan los niños: bien sé, que aunque los han retirado no están lexos, y assi espero de tu diligencia, que me los han de traer al medio dia: no te detengas, mas ve luego a negociar el que buelvan, que yo procuraré mientras tanto negociar con ruegos, y humildes suplicas de Dios nuestro Señor, el buen successo del negocio que llevas.*

*A estas palabras el fingido Cheref continuando su dissimulo le dixo: No te vayas Padre, ni nos dexes, que si solo te obliga a esso el averte llevado los niños, no dudes, que bolverán: yo sé muy bien el pueblo en donde estan retirados, tengo en él muchos amigos, y no dudo, que al punto que vean, que voy por ellos, me los ayan de entregar. Con esto se despidió del Padre, y en lugar de ir por los niños, se fue a vn lugar de los proximos a Oróte, para despachar de alli algunos Indios, que fuessen a dar noticia a los Indios mas valientes de los montes, que llaman Toretanos, de que convenia viniessen luego; porque les hazia saber, que los Padres, y los Españoles trataban de irse a Ag[aj]ña, y assi que viniessen presto a executar su hecho, porque si no se les avian de escapar. Y mientras llegaban estas noticias a los Indios Toretanos, baxó a Sumay, y otros pueblos de la playa a prevenir el que recogiesen las embarcaciones todas, que avia en la ribera, para que aunque el Padre Monroy, y los Españoles quisiessen embarcarse para el Presidio, no hallassen en que poder navegar. Assi disponia este nuevo Judas el entregar su Padre, y Maestro a sus enemigos.*

*Mientras el traydor Cheref estava disponiendo la ruina del V. Padre Monroy, y de aquellos pocos Españoles, que le acompañaban, le pareció al V. Padre convenia dar aviso al Governador de la novedad, que avia en Oróte, y del riesgo, que todos tenian, para que viniesse quanto antes a favorecerle: para lo qual despachó a vn Soldado, a quien rogó llevase a vn niño de los Marianos, que por el amor, que tenia al Padre, nunca se apartaba del, y assi no avia querido salir a pasearse a la playa con los otros: este niño le pareció remitirle al Presidio para asegurarle, pues en qualquier alboroto siempre corria riesgo, ó de que le matassen, ó a lo menos le robassen, como avian hecho con los demás. Escribió al Governador vna carta dandole noticia del estado en que se hallaba, en la forma siguiente.*

Señor Governador,

El estado en que nos hallamos me obliga a dar a V. Md. cuenta de lo que passa, para que segun su mucho zelo, y valor disponga el favorecernos. Los de Oróte, aunque me vieron bolver con ellos, no se han quietado; antes oy Domingo vinieron a la Missa en mayor numero, que nunca, y muy armados: su designio no parecia muy bueno, y creo, que si no me huviera prevenido a dezirla temprano, assi que me



vieran en el Altar dizendola, y oyendola a los Soldados, avian de cargar sobre nosotros, y quitarnos las vidas; pues, por mas que quisieron dissimular entrando a rezar en la Iglesia, la traycion se les leía en los semblantes. Rogaron, como otras vezes, diesse licencia a los niños de los Colegios para salir a la playa: yo (aunque con algun rezelo) juzgué no debía negarsela, por no declararlos sospechosos; pero apenas salieron quando los robaron, llevandolos a un pueblo, donde me dizen los tienen retirados. Esse niño, que ha sido el que de todos es el unico, que me ha quedado, no es razon peligre en la invasion, que por horas tememos; y assi por assegurarle le remito al Presidio en compañía de el portador desta. Hanme ofrecido, que oy al medio dia me traerán los niños, de lo qual dudo, pues aun el lugar donde los han puesto no me le quieren dezir: esperaré hasta este plazo, por ver si buelven; pero si no, procuraré el partirme luego al Presidio con los Soldados, si es que nos dexan ir, pues el no bolver los niños será indicio manifiesto de que han de venir a martarnos.

Dios nos favorezca, y assista; y a V. Md. me guarde, como desseo.

Oróte seis de Setiembre de 1676.

Humilde siervo, y menor Capellan de V. Md.

Sebastian de Monroy.

*Con esta carta despachó el V. Padre al Soldado, y al niño Mariano aquella mañana, con lo qual pudo llegar aviso al Governador de lo que en Oróte passaba; porque como Cheref avia ido primero a convocar a los Indios Toretanos, pudieron en esse tiempo hallar en Sumay embarcacion para partir al Presidio, antes que Cheref baxasse a Sumay, y a los otros lugares de la playa a prevenir el que retirassen las embarcaciones, para que el Padre, ni los Españoles hallasen en que embarcarse, como les sucedió.*

### *Capitvlo LXV. Buelve Cheref al medio dia a Oróte sin los niños: y el V. Padre con los siete Soldados se sale del lugar para irse al Presidio, aunque no logra el embarcarse.*

*Despachado el aviso al Governador, estava el V. Padre esperando con ansias el plazo del medio dia, por ver si bolvia Cheref con los niños, como le avia dado palabra: quando viendo, que era passado el medio dia, y que Cheref no parecia, determinó cumplir el orden, que tenia de bolverse con los Soldados al Presidio, y assi recogiendo lo que les pareció preciso llevar, como fueron los Santos Oleos, ornamentos, y vasos Sagrados, partió con los Soldados al pueblo de Sumay con resolucion de embarcarse. Procuraban los de Oróte detenerle, fingiendo sentian mucho el que los dexasse; pero el Padre les respondia, que aviendole llevado los niños, y no querinedolos bolver, no tenia por que detenerse, pues era prueba de lo poco, que le estimaban: y assi sin atender a sus ruegos proseguia su camino.*

*Mas a poco, que avian andado, les alcanzó Cheref, diciendo al Padre Monroy, que no se fuesse, que los niños vendrian, que por averlos mudado a otro lugar mas lexos, no los avia podido traer como avia dado palabra al medio dia; pero que por cumplir con la suya avia venido al plazo, que avia ofrecido, a dar razon de lo que passaba: que lo que le rogaba era se bolviesse a Oróte, que quizas hallaria alli a los niños segun la palabra, que de bolverlos le avian dado. Todo esto era querer detener al buen Padre, y a sus compañeros, mientras llegaban los Indios Toretanos, a quienes estava encargado el rompimiento, por no ser conocidos del Padre, ofreciendose los de Oróte el ayudar; pero rezelandose de ser los primeros en acometer, porque tantos beneficios como avian recibido del siervo de Dios, les tenian atadas las manos para no atreverse a ensangrentarlas en quien avia hecho siempre con ellos el oficio de Padre, y de Maestro.*

*Pero como el siervo de Dios reconociesse el gran peligro, que se seguia a sus compañeros en bolver a Oróte, de donde tenian casi a milagro el aver podido salir, le pareció no detenerse, mas proseguir el camino, que llevaban a Sumay para embarcarse, y retirarse al Presidio. Confirmaronse mas en esta resolucion reconociendo el que Cheref, que iba con ellos, se avia quedado atrás, y se les avia desaparecido, y temian los Soldados si acaso iba a buscar gente para detenerlos: aunque el Padre, que no avia perdido el buen concepto, que tenia de Cheref, procuraba desvelarles de su sospecha; pero viendolos muy turbados, como los que tenian tan cercana la muerte, se valió de ello para reconciliarlos, y disponerlos para morir en*

*caso, que los Indios les acometiessen: diligencia muy conveniente, pues era el peligro de perecer tan manifiesto.*

*Llegaron a Sumay, y por bueltas que dieron a la playa, no hallaron en que embarcarse, y reconocieron entonces el que tambien los de aquel pueblo les eran contrarios. Pero pareciendole al Teniente, que las Canoas, que no parecian en la playa, estarian escondidas en las casas del pueblo, mandó a quatro Soldados se entrassen por el lugar, y la primera Canoa, que encontrassen, la traxessen a la playa; mas advirtiendoles, que si hallaban resistencia en esso, se bolviessen al mismo sitio a juntarse con él; ó que si acaso oyessen disparar algun arcabuz, les sirviessen de señal para dexarlo todo, y venir al sitio, en que con el Padre Monroy, y los otros Soldados les aguardaba.*

*En execucion deste orden partieron los quatro Soldados, y entrando por el lugar le hallaron muy en silencio, porque los hombres se avian salido del, y las mugeres estavan retiradas en sus casas. Llegaron a algunas, y no encontrando lo que buscaban en los primeros ranchos, no se atrevieron a empeñarse en entrar muy adentro, rezelosos de alguna emboscada, y pusieronse a conferir entre si, si seria mejor bolverse a donde avian dexado al Teniente; quando en esto oyeron dos arcabuzos, y reconocieron por ellos la señ[al], que se les avia dado de bolver a juntarse con los demas, y assi lo hizieron.*

*Pero quando llegaron a donde el Padre Monroy, y el Teniente estavan, hallaron con las armas en las manos a los Soldados para resistir a vna gran tropa de Indios, que tirando lanças les venian a acometer. Puestos todos en buen orden, començaron a disparar las armas de fuego con tan buena dicha, que no se perdía bala, viendo ellos caer no pocos de los Indios, que se avian adelantado a los demás: causa de que se detuviessen sin arrojar las lanças, que al principio. En esto vieron salir de entre ellos a Cheref, el qual con diabolico dissimulo se bolvió contra los mismos Indios, y en alta voz les dixo:*

*No sé por qué causa os mostrais tan crueles contra gente tan buena como son los Españoles, que nunca hizieron mal a nadie, que no les huviessen agraviado primero; y aun despues de aver recibido agravios de muchos de los nuestros, siempre que hemos querido reconciliarnos con ellos, nos han admitido a su amistad, la qual jamás ha faltado por ellos, y si algunas guerras han tenido con nosotros, han sido muy provocados: fuera de que, qué valentia vuestra es querer tantos pelear con tan pocos? y mas quando se retiran con los suyos, y os dexan por dueños de la tierra. Y en vna palabra os empeñais en perseguir aquellos, que ván huyendo: esto ni es valentia, ni es mas que hazeros odiosos con los demás, que estan en el Presidio, é irritar mas al Governador.*

*Y quando estos Españoles os huviessen ofendido en algo, basta para que los perdonassedes, y dexassis ir libres, el ir en compañía del Padre Monroy, de quien avemos todos los de Oróte recibido tantos beneficios, que ningunos podrán contar tan buenas obras de los Padres, que los cuydan, como las que todos los de Oróte pueden referir. Retiraos, que basta, que vayan con él, para que vayan libres; porque si no lo hazeis, yo mismo seré el que me ponga de su parte, y pelee contra vosotros: y porque lo veais, desde luego os desafio; y cogiendo dos, ó tres lanças, que traia debaxo del brazo, vna tras de otra se las tiró: demonstracion con que se detuvieron, y retiraron vn poco los Indios, como quien desistia de la empresa.*

*Con esto el Cheref se llegó al Padre Monroy, y le dixo: No temas Padre mio, que a tu lado estoy, y porque te asegures, yo mismo iré a buscar embarcacion en que puedas navegar a Ag[a]ña, ó donde tu quisieres; y llamando a vnos Indios, que al ruido de la batalla avian salido de Sumay, les dixo, que al punto le traxessen la mejor Canoa, que huviessen para llevar al Padre, y los Españoles, que yo los he de llevar sin fiar de otro el passage. Traxeron luego la Canoa los Indios, y él mismo combidió al Padre Monroy, y a los Soldados a que se embarcassen: partido, que huvieron de acetar, porque ya estavan en tanto aprieto, que no les quedaba mas remedio, que hazerse a la mar, y mas quando Cheref se avia puesto de su parte, y se obligaba él mismo a llevarlos, y assi se embarcaron con él.*

*Capitulo LXVI. Descvbre Cheref su traycion volcando la Canoa en la mar: seña, que tenia concertada con los Indios, para que arrojandose al agua matassen al Padre Monroy, y a sus compañeros, como lo executaron con barbara crueldad.*

*Quien pensara haber en vn barbaro tanta malicia? ni de todas las demonstraciones de amistad de que avia vsado Cheref, eran capa con que queria ocultar tan enorme traycion? Quien viendole apartaba de tierra a aquellos pobres forasteros cercados de enemigos, no creyera, que los libraba de la muerte, y los embarcaba para alexarlos del riesgo, y assegurarlos del peligro? y que con esta accion pretendia inmortal fama entre los Españoles, y vn gran premio del Governador? Assi se lo asseguraba la accion, y se lo prometian los Soldados, y el Padre Monroy, que hasta entonces tuvo buen concepto de Cheref.*

*Pero el perverso, y dementido Judas entregaba a su Padre, y Maestro a sus enemigos con muestras de amistad; pues el buscarles barco, y el querer ser él Piloto, y tomar por su cuenta el gobernarle, fue para a poco que se avian apartado de la orilla volcar la embarcación (cosa que hazen los Indios con gran facilidad) y arrojar en la playa assi al Padre Monroy, como a los Soldados, que todos cayeron en la mar dandoles el agua a los pechos, perdiendo vnos el sentido, otros los arcabuzes, y mojandoseles la polvora a todos, con que no podian vsar las armas de fuego, aunque quisiessen pelear: motivo, que tuvo Cheref para hazerlos embarcar, pareciendole, que mientras estaban en tierra con los arcabuzes se avian de defender, como antes avian hecho, y assi vsó de tan diabolico ardid, para que arrojandose luego los enemigos al agua (como lo hizieron al punto, que volcó el barco Cheref) a palos, y pedradas acabassen con ellos.*

*En este caso el V. Padre Monroy viendo en el agua a los suyos, y que los enemigos venian sobre ellos de tropel, les dixo: No es tiempo ya, compañeros míos, de pelear, sino de morir, y morir como Christianos, y assi pedid perdon a Dios de vuestras culpas, y pedid perdón a los que os quitan las vidas sin mas causa, que el odio, que tienen a la Religion Christiana, que como buenos Catolicos professais: ofreced a Dios vuestras almas, y los cuerpos al martirio, para que Dios se apiade de vosotros, y os lleve al eterno descanso por premio de vuestros trabajos: viva Jesus, y triunfe de sus enemigos en la muerte de sus valerosos Soldados: ea hijos míos, viva Jesus: hasta aora lo erais del Rey de la tierra, y de oy mas lo sereis del Rey del Cielo. Desta suerte animaba a los suyos en la muerte el Apostolico Padre, mientras los crueles Marianos, ya con palos, ya con machetes, les quitaban las vidas: y aunque las piedras, que les tiraban, y las lanças, que les arrojaban desde la orilla, eran bastantes a quitar en breve a todos la vida, conservó el vltimo de todos el P. Monroy la suya para asistir a sus compañeros en el combate, cubriendose con vna rodelilla, que acercó a coger para reparar en ella los golpes de las lanças, y lograr algun mas tiempo de vida con que poder asistir a sus compañeros; hasta que dandole vno de aquellos Sayones, que andaban en el agua, con vna peña en vn ombro, le derribó la rodelilla del brazo.*

*Entonces el infame Cheref (causa horror el dezirlo!) le atravesó el cuello con vna lança; a quien al verle venir el siervo de Dios házia si, le preguntó, como Christo al Sayon de la bofetada; Por qué me hieres? añadiendo al punto en su lengua: Si Dios maa assi, [sic] que fue dezirlo: DIOS TE LO PAGVE, DIOS TENGA MISERICORDIA DE TI: vltimas razones con que este Predicador Apostolico coronó la fervorosa predicacion de toda su vida, la qual concluyó apedreado de los enemigos de Christo, con las palabras mismas con que el primero de los martires el glorioso S. Estevan rogaba a Christo por los mismos, que a pedradas le quitaban la vida: Domine ne statuas illis hoc peccatum.<sup>1</sup> Y como si además de las pedradas averle atravesado el cuello con vna lança, no fuera bastante empleo de su diabolico furor, con machetes, y alfanges hizieron tantos pedazos su cuerpo, que esparcidos por el agua repartió en varios sitios el mar, sin que restituyesse a la tierra despojos tan estimables; ó ya que avariento los codiciasse para si, ó que provido los retirasse de la playa, donde los enemigos los avian de vltajar, como lo hizieron toda aquella noche con escandalosa algazara con los cuerpos de los demás compañeros.*

1 Act. cap. 7, num. 60.

*Los quales quan poco mereciessen estos barbaros vltrages, nos lo persuade además de la piedad de la causa en que murieron por defender al Padre, y amparar la Christiana Religion, el ajustamiento de vidas, de que en breve haré mención; pues mal puedo escribiendo la vida de el V. Padre dexar de hazer memoria de los que fueron en vida tan fieles, que no le quisieron desamparar hasta morir con el. Fueron siete por todos, cuyos nombres se deben a este libro, aunque no dudo, que en el libro de la vida estarán escritos mejor.*

*El principal de todos era el Teniente Nicolás Rodríguez Caravajal, Asturiano de nacion, que avia tres meses, que avia aportado a estas Islas en la Nao S. Antonio, a quien el General Antonio Nieto dexó por Teniente de Governador. Sirvió al Rey en Puerto-Rico mas de diez años; y passando a Filipinas con plaza de Sargento, le llamó Dios para esta Mission, a que se halló tan movido, que ni los ruegos de su Capitan, ni instancias de sus amigos le pudieron apartar de tan piadoso intento: y como quien consagraba su vida a perderla en esta empresa por Dios, assi procuró traerla muy ajustada siempre; siendo tenido de todos por hombre no solo de valor, pero de grande verdad, y muy ajustada conciencia, hombre de veras Christiano, y que mostró serlo en el valor con que ofreció su vida por Dios.*

*El segundo, que se llamaba Juan de los Reyes, era de nacion Pampango, pero muy españolizado en todo; a que le ayudó mucho el aver andado no pocos años al lado del V. Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, con quien vino a estas Islas, y a poco tiempo le hizieron Alférez, fiandole el Padre Diego Luis empresas muy dificultosas: y en las conversiones de los Indios, de la misma suerte se valia del, como pudiera de qualquiera de la Compañia. Era de mucho exemplo a todos los Soldados por su modestia, y frecuencia de Sacramentos, y de grande alivio, pues hallaban dentro de su tienda todos, lo que avian menester para socorrerse en sus necesidades: caridad, que aprendió del Padre Sanvitores, como otras virtudes.*

*El tercero era Alonso de Aguilar, Criollo de la Puebla de los Angeles en la Nueva España, que avia quatro años, que assistia en esta Mission, acompañado de ordinario en las mas peligrosas correrias a los Padres: los quales gustaban mucho de llevarle consigo, porque era hombre de summo recato, y tan modesto, que apenas levantaba los ojos para hablar con los Indios: recato muy necessario en la peligrosa desnudez, que professan. Estuvo lo mas con el Padre Monroy, a quien varias vezes repartiendole de parte del Superior vestidos, ó camisas, le dezia: Padre esto es escusado, pues yo con lo que tengo puedo passar, y esto vendrá a ser para los Indios, que me han de matar muy presto. Y quien tan presente traia la muerte, bien se dexa entender quan ajustada procuraria traer su vida.*

*El quarto, que se llamaba Joseph Lopez, era Criollo nacido en el Partido de Queretaro en la Nueva España: avia dos años, que se hallaba en estas Islas assistiendo a la Mission: tuvo siempre credito de hombre de valor: fue muy querido de todos, assi por lo apacible de su natural, como por ser muy callado, y enemigo de chismes; antes procuraba componer qualesquiera dissensiones, que se ofreciessen entre los compañeros.*

*El quinto, Antonio Perea, Criollo tambien natural de Cuernabaca, en la Nueva España: avia dos años, que assistia a esta Mission, en donde hizo gran falta, pues además del empleo de Soldado, que exerció con buen nombre, era excelente sangrador, y buen Cirujano, y assistia a los enfermos con gran caridad.*

*El sexto, Antonio de Vera, Criollo de Cholula pueblo de la Nueva España: assistió otros dos años en la Mission, y quando vió, que le embiaban a Oróte acompañar al padre Monroy, hizo con él vna confession general.*

*El vltimo, Santiago de Vrrutia, Criollo de la Ciudad de Mexico, que avia tres meses, que llegando a estas Islas en compañía del Teniente Nicolás Rodríguez, viendo que se quedaba en esta Mission quiso acompañarle, por juzgarla empresa del servicio de Dios. Era alegre sin perjuizio de nadie, y se sintió mucho su muerte por ser mozo de 22 años, y de muy buenas costumbres, y de seguras esperanças.*

*Estos fueron los que padecieron muerte violenta de los barbaros en compañía del Padre Monroy, y que merecieron participar de tan feliz suerte, como morir por causa de la Fè, como nos lo persuaden las demonstraciones con que despues de aver muerto prosiguieron los barbaros profanando la Religion, y cosas Sagradas.*

*Capítulo LXVII. En que se prveba qvan gloriosa aya sido la causa por que el V. Padre murió, por lo que los Indios obraron despues contra lo Sagrado.*

*Nada acredita mas la gloriosa muerte, que a manos de los infieles padeci6 el V. Padre, que la furia con que los agressores se arrojaron a lo Sagrado; pues despues de aver dexado en la mar sepultado entre las aguas el cuerpo del V. Padre, sin que hasta oy aya aparecido nada de su cuerpo, quizas porque el mar le quiso retirar de los vltrages con que escarnecieron los otros cadaveres de sus compañeros, passaron a pegar fuego a la Iglesia de Or6te, consumiendo en 6l las Sagradas Imagenes, como quien queria acabar a sangre, y fuego con la Religion Catolica: indicio claro de que no le quitaron la vida al V. Padre por agravios, que huviessen recibido del, ni por odio, que le tuviessen por persona particular; mas por el odio, que tenian a la Religion Catolica, cuya F6 avia procurado, como verdadero Ministro de Dios, plantar en aquella tierra.*

*Pues aunque para amotinarse tomaron ocasion del casamiento, que hizo el siervo de Dios de aquella niña Christiana con vn Espa6ol; bien se v6 quan fuera de razon iba essa queza: pues qu6 mejor se podia emplear la donzella recién convertida? Si el sentimiento de sus padres fue, porque la querian sacar del Colegio, y venderla a algun Vrritao para lograr intereses por medio de la torpeza; bien se v6 quan gran maldad querian hazer, y lo bien que el V. Padre hizo en estorvar tanto mal, poniendola en estado del Santo Matrimonio: y quando por esse titulo le huvieran quitado la vida, le coronáran con la laureola, que a S. Juan Baptista, que perdi6 la vida por defender la Castidad. Pero en no contentarse con quitar la vida al V. Padre, mas passar a quemar la Iglesia, la casa, y los Colegios de los niños en Or6te; se manifiesta claro, que eran enemigos no solo del siervo de Dios, pero de todo lo que tocaba a Dios; y que el odio, que tenian a lo Sagrado, les hizo vengarle en la vida del P. Monroy.*

*Lo qual se prueba con lo que intentaron hazer en Agfaña al mismo tiempo con los demás Padres: pues aviendo salido el Governador con el aviso, que (como diximos en el cap. 64) le embió el V. Padre del peligro con que estaba en Or6te, y traído para librarle del la mas gente del Presidio; previniendo ellos este lance, se arrojaron al Presidio para quemar la Iglesia de S. Ignacio, matar a los Missioneros, y degollar la poca guarnicion de Soldados, que alli avia quedado. Del qual peligro S. Ignacio los libr6 casi milagrosamente; pues solo con salir los Padres Missioneros animosos al encuentro, los hizieron huir, contentandose S. Ignacio con la sangre derramada de su querido, y verdadero hijo el Padre Sebastian. Lo mismo tenian trazado en Tupungan de quitar la vida a los Padres, y quemar la Iglesia, a los quales favoreci6 Dios por medio del Governador, que viendo, que ya llegaba tarde a Or6te, pues por priessa que se di6 hall6 muerto al Padre Monroy, y a los Indios celebrando su victoria sobre los cadaveres de sus compañeros, pass6 con su gente a Tupungan, y socorri6 a los Padres sacandolos de vn gran peligro, y trayendoselos todos al Presidio, que con su venida tambien assegur6.*

*Toda esta trama fraguada, y dispuesta por muchos días por Aguarin, como dexamos dicho, es otra cosa, que pretender el Infierno arrancar de vna vez la F6 Catolica de todas aquellas Islas? Y aver muerto al V. Padre en esta ocasion, no es prueba clara, que muri6 por causa de la F6? Y que la piedad fervorosa (a no esperar, como se debe, el juicio de la Iglesia, a quien toca calificar el renombre, que se ha de dar a los fieles, que murieron en servicio de Dios, ya de Confessores, ya de Martires) pudiera llamar martir al Padre Monroy, atendiendo a los motivos, que tuvieron, y dexo referidos, para darse tan cruel muerte los enemigos de Christo, y de su Santa Ley. Y quando no se atreva la piedad a tanto, no podr6 negar la razon, que la muerte del V. Padre fue gloriosa en si misma, piadosa en la causa, exemplar en la caridad con que rog6 por los mismos, que le quitaban la vida, como verdadero discipulo de Christo a exemplo de su Maestro: y de averse acabado con su muerte los alborotos, y crecido mucho la Christiandad despues, se manifiesta aver sido el sacrificio, que de su vida ofreci6 a Dios, muy acepto al Señor, que tanta honra, y favorece los trabajos de los suyos pues admiti6 la vida deste su siervo como victima de la paz, que concedi6 a sus compañeros por algunos años: si bien a los matadores los castig6 en esta vida, como veremos en el capítulo siguiente, para satisfacer al desseo, que tendr6 el que leyere esta Historia de saber el paradero, que tuvieron hombres tan ingratos, y crueles, como los que se atrevieron a quitar la vida a hombre tan Angelical.*

### *Capitvlo LXVIII. Del castigo, que dió Dios en esta vida a los homicidas del V. Padre Sebastian de Monroy.*

*Desde el año de setenta y seis, en que los Indios de Oróte quitaron la vida al V. P. Sebastian de Monroy, quatro de los mas principales, y que fueron los que pusieron en él sus sacrilegas manos, quitandole a lanzadas la vida, anduvieron fugitivos ocultandose en los montes, hasta que el año de 1678 en que gobernaba las Marianas D. Juan Antonio de Salas, natural de Madrid, sabiendo, que el principal de los agressores, llamado Cheref, se guarnecia házia el pueblo de Emerico [=Meriço], salió con la gente del Presidio para prenderle: y aviendose encaminado con todo secreto solo con quinze Soldados házia donde estava Cheref, le cogió tan desprevenido, que no tuvo lugar mas que para huir: lo qual viendo el Governador, le disparó vn arcabuzazo con tanta felicidad, que las balas le atravesaron el cuello de parte a parte, sitio correspondiente al que él atravesó con la lança en el Padre Monroy. Con esto cayó muerto el Cheref, y el Governador le hizo cortar la cabeza, y mano sacrilega, y trayendolas al Presidio, las hizo poner en publico, donde estuvieron algunos dias para el escarmiento, pagando el desventurado su delito desde esta vida para continuar su castigo en el Infierno, pues murió continuando su obstinacion, inquietando en aquellos dos años, en que pudo arrepentirse, los pueblos en que halaba acogida, para que no hiziesen pazes con los Espaáoles.*

*Poco despues salió el Governador a Ritidyan, por saber andaban por alli otros dos agressores en la muerte del V. Padre Monroy: y aunque ellos quisieron passarse a vn pueblo, arrojandose en vna barquilla al mar, esparcidos los Soldados por la playa, dieron los fugitivos en sus manos; y aunque los quisieron los Soldados coger, los dos agressores principales huyeron entonces, quedando en la barca vn viejo mal herido de vn flechazo, con que los nuestros le sacaron vn ojo, al qual cogieron: y por saber, que aunque no se avia hallado en la muerte de dicho Padre, pero que se avia mezclado en la quema de la Iglesia de Oróte, le querian matar. Era este viejo Gentil, pero que antes de los alborotos avia hospedado en su casa al V. Padre Monroy, título que alegaba para que no le matassen; y aunque le perdonaron, pero la herida era tal, que le iba quitando la vida: por lo qual los mismos Soldados le persuadieron se hiziesse Christiano, y assi pidió el Bautismo, que llegó a recibir, pagandole el V. Padre desde el Cielo la buena obra, que le avia hecho de hospedarle en la tierra; y creo le saldri a recibir en el Cielo, pues poco despues, que recibió el Bautismo, con gran dolor de sus culpas murió.*

*A los dos sus compañeros matadores del Padre Monroy, aunque huyeron les alcançó el castigo, pues el mismo año de 1679 y en el mes de Setiembre, en que avian quitado tres años antes la vida al V. Padre; los mismos del pueblo de Tuña [=Fuña], a donde se avian acogido, cansados ya de ocultarlos con tanto riesgo suyo, los entregaron a los Españoles, los quales al mas culpado quitaron la vida por justicia en Agfaña; y al otro, que no lo era tanto, dieron libertad por vsar de clemencia, para justificar mas la justicia. Este fin tuvieron los matadores del V. Padre; que Dios si permite el vltirage de sus siervos para coronarlos en el Cielo, castiga el atrevimiento de los que se atreven a ofenderlos, no solo en la otra vida con tormentos eternos, pero aun en esta les da el castigo, para que sirva de escarmiento.*

*Tambien quiso Dios, que Aguarin, autor principal de la sublevacion, como hemos dicho, pagasse en esta vida su pecado, pues el año de 80 en que gobernaba estas Islas D. Joseph de Quiroga, sabiendo que en la Isla de Rota se abrigaban algunos malhechores, salió por el mes de Agosto, y cogiendo a los Isleños de repente, hizo prisionero a Aguarin, y otros tres compañeros suyos, de quien él se avia valido para embiarlos por mensageros a diversas Islas, y efectuar se armassen los vezinos dellas para acabar de vna vez con los Españoles, con los Padres, y con la Fè Católica: los quales como reos de tan graves delitos, fueron traídos al Presidio, y ahorcados, y desquartizados pagaron la pena de su delito; si bien los Padres los dispusieron, para que muriessen Christianamente: y aun de Aguarin refieren memorias de aquellos tiempos, que llevó con fortaleza la sentencia, que se le intimó de ser ahorcado, predicando desde el lugar del suplicio a sus naturales, que escarmentassen en su cabeza, y no se atreviessen en adelante a cometer semejantes delitos contra los Predicadores de la Fè.*

*Quitados estos estorvos, prosiguió la Christiandad con gran fervor en aquellas Islas, siendo innumerables los que cada dia se alistaban debaxo del Estandarte del Evangelio. Los Padres podian libremente discurrir por los pueblos, donde los mismos Indios Christianos les assistian con no menor fidelidad, que*

*podieran los Soldados Españoles. Los pueblos crecian tanto en vezindad, que pareciendo estrechas las Iglesias antiguas, fabricaron otras de nuevo, que fuesen capaces de la multitud, que a porfia concurría a ellas, así a los Oficios Divinos, como al Rosario, y Catechismo: mejoras, que logró la Christiandad despues de la valerosa, y exemplar muerte del V. P. Sebastian de Monroy: cuyas virtudes recopiló en vna carta, que escribió a la Compañía el Padre Gerardo Bofujvens, Superior entonces de las Marianas; que pusiera a la letra, a no averme valido della en lo mas de esta Historia, repartiendo en ella todas las mas singulares noticias, que pudo dar deste siervo de Dios. Pero por si alguno gustare de verla, la hallará en el libro de la vida del V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, que escribió el Padre Francisco Garcia de nuestra Compañía, impresso en Madrid año de 1683 donde desde el fol. 536 la refiere con grande exaccion.*

### *Capitvlo vltimo. De la solemnidad con que se celebró en la Villa del Arahal la gloriosa muerte del V. P. Sebastian de Monroy.*

*Avnque el V. P. perdió la vida a manos de los infieles Domingo 6 de Setiembre del año de 1676 como dexamos dicho en el cap. 66, no llegó la nueva a España hasta el mes de Octubre del año de 1679 porque aviendo hecho averiguacion della el P. Gerardo Bovens [sic], Superior de los de la compañía en las Islas Marianas, y ordenado la carta de su exemplar vida, y gloriosa muerte, de que avisó a las Filipinas, donde se detuvo la noticia algun tiempo, hasta que la Nave de la China, que al tiempo señalado suele partir a la Nueva España, la traxesse a Mexico, y de allí la Flota la pudiesse traer a España, passaron mas de tres años. Pero aviendo llegado a Sevilla la carta del P. Gerardo Bovens en que avisaba del sucesso, se dió luego parte dél al Ilustrissimo señor D. Ambrosio Ignacio de Spinola y Guzman, Arçobispo entonces de Sevilla, y tan afecto al siervo de Dios, como en el discurso desta Historia hemos referido, para que su Ilustrissima como Prelado diesse la forma, que le avia de obsrvar en la Villa del Arahal patria del V. P.; en quanto a la memoria de su muerte.*

*Para lo qual despues de aver escrito a D. Bartolomé Rodriguez de Monroy, padre del siervo de Dios, vna carta en que le daba mil parabienes de la feliz muerte, y glorioso fin de su hijo, le mandaba, que de ningun modo celebrasse exequias funebres, como se vsa con otros difuntos, ni vsasse demonstracion alguna de sentimiento poniendose luto; antes bien assistiesse de gala en la Iglesia, donde avia ordenado se celebrasse vna Missa al Espiritu Santo en accion de gracias por el valor, que avia Dios dado al V. P. para perder la vida por dilatar nuestra Santa Fè, y que huviesse Sermon en que para exemplo del pueblo se predicassen sus grandes virtudes: añadiendo, que así se avia hecho en Madrid para solemnizar la gloriosa muerte del V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, que con semejante muerte avia en las Islas Marianas coronado su exemplar vida; que esto se podía hazer, reservando al juicio de la Santa Madre Iglesia la calificacion de su martirio.*

*Con el orden de tan piadoso Prelado se dispuso la fiesta para el vltimo Domingo del mes de Octubre de dicho año de 79 adornandose la Capilla de la Encarnacion (propria de sus padres) de colgadura carmesi, y con el mismo adorno vn tumulo, que coronado de muchas luzes se levantó en la Capilla. Su padre D. Bartolomé de Monroy assistió en publico sin luto, trage que hizo sacassen aquel dia todos los de su familia. Cantó la Missa (descubierto el Santissimo) D. Fernando Rodriguez de Monroy, hermano del V. P. que aquel mes avia celebrado su primera Missa; y oy Prebendado de la Santa, y Patriachal Iglesia de Sevilla, que saca a luz la Relacion de las grandes virtudes de su santo hermano.*

*Predicó el R. P. F. Joseph de Jesus Maria, Lector de Sagrada Theologia del Orden de S. Diego, sujeto de grande estima en aquellos tiempos por sus muchas letras, y conocida Religion. En el Sermon ponderó (y con razon) la Nobleza de su casa, y en especial el Linage de Monroy, que por descender de los Conquistadores de los Reynos de las Indias, avia infundido espíritus generosos en el V. P. para partir a las Indias a conquistar las almas hasta perder la vida en tan gloriosa empresa; y aunque desto dixo mucho, dixo mucho mas de sus insignes, y admirables virtudes, si bien notorias a todos por estar tan re-*

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1676C2.

*cientes los exemplos, que de ellas dió el tiempo, que vivió en aquella Villa; pero otras bien particulares declaró, por averlas oído varias vezes a sus Confessores, y saber la perfeccion con que en todo procedia.*

*Conclúose la fiesta con el Te Deum laudamus, que se cantó con la solemnidad possible, rematandose en alegres parabienes, que todo lo lucido del lugar dió a su padre, y a los suyos: sirviendo tan glorioso exemplo de consuelo a los virtuosos, y de gran reformation de costumbres a muchos, que procuraron imitar al que avian conocido en el ajustamiento de sus vidas, y a todos fue motivo de alabar a Dios por lo admirable, que es en sus criaturas; pues apenas avia siete años, que avia salido de aquel lugar para dedicarse a Dios en la Religion aquel mozo Angelical, quando avia logrado la dicha de derramar su sangre por dar a conocer a Jesu Christo nuestro Redentor, y lograr en el Cielo la Corona debida a tan ilustre obrar.*

Gozad della varon insigne por toda vna eternidad, y perdonad las faltas de esta obra tan corta para el credito de las grandes virtudes con que ilustrasteis vuestra Patria, Casa, y Linage, y acreditasteis nuestra Religion entre naciones tan barbaras, adquiriendola este credito a costa de los innumerables trabajos, que por promulgar la Fè padecisteis, y por el valor con que disteis la vida por defender la causa de Dios, a quien sea la honra, y gloria de todo por los siglos de los siglos. Amen.



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**Document 1676D2**

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**Biography of Fr. Monroy—Translation**

*Source: See previous chapter, Doc. 1676D1.*

**The life and glorious death of the Venerable Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, religious of the Society of Jesus. He died propagating the faith, speared by the barbarians of the Mariana Islands.**

**Extracts from this book.****List of the contents of this book.<sup>1</sup>**

Chap. 1. The birthplace of the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy.

Chap. 2. The parents of the Ven. Father. Sebastian de Monroy, the nobility of their lineage, and his birth.

Chap. 3. Continuation of the same subject matter, i.e. regarding the other virtues of Doña Ana de Perea, and her exemplary and lucky death.

Chap. 4. When still a child, our Master Sebastian began to profess virtue.

Chap. 5. Of the fervor with which he went to confession and took communion the first time, and of the penance that he practiced when he was 7 years old.

Chap. 6. The progress made by our Master Sebastian in virtue between 9 and 13 years of age.

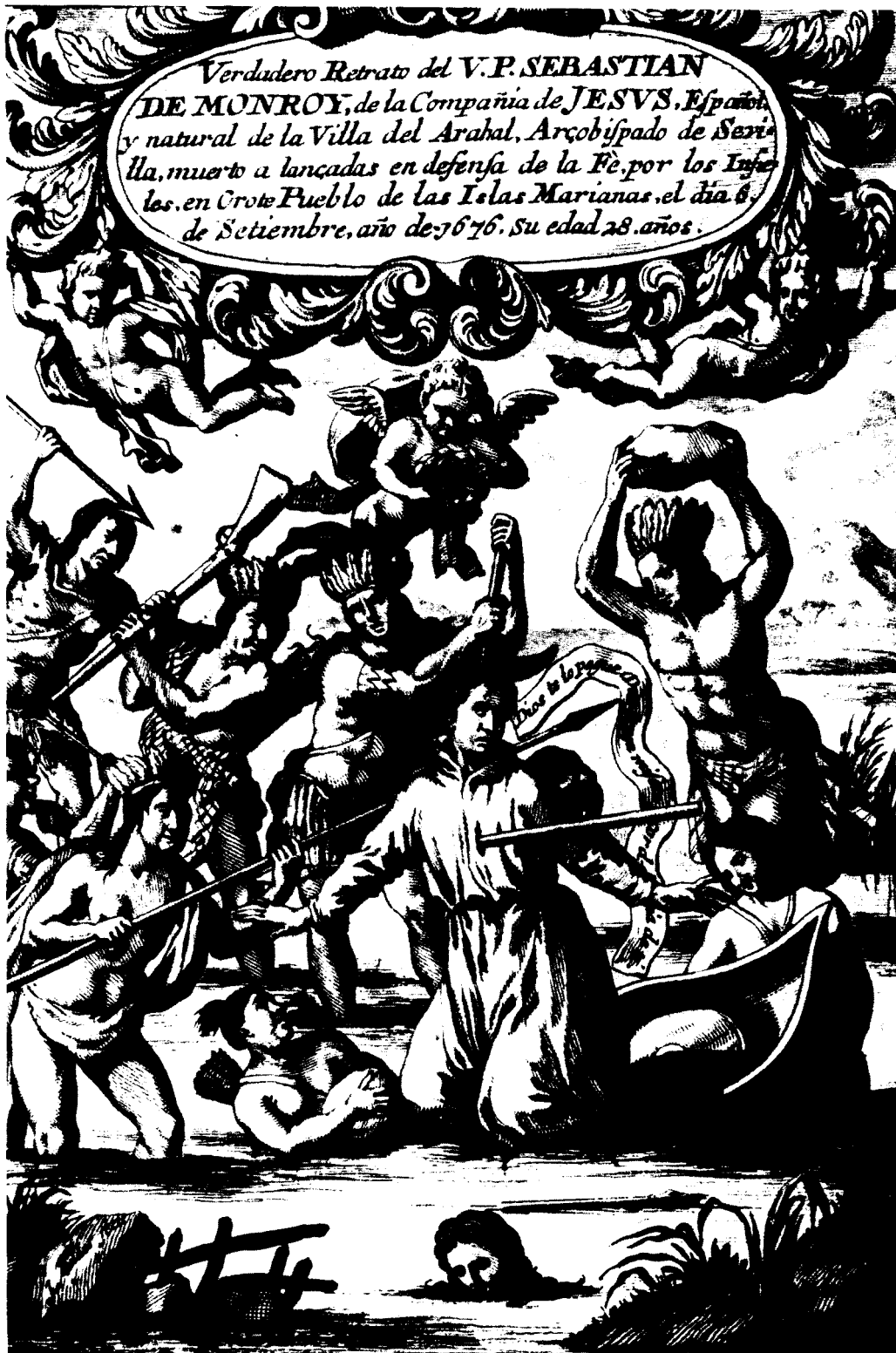
Chap. 7. Doña Ana de Perea informed the confessor of Master Sebastian about the penances that her son was practicing, and what the confessor answered to her.

Chap. 8. How his parents had Don Sebastian study grammar, and how well he learned to match letters with virtue.

Chap. 9. How Don Sebastian tried to make progress in virtue by exhorting his fellow students.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Only the chapters whose heading is printed in bold letters are translated here.



**Martyrdom of Fr. Monroy at Sumay, Guam, 6 September 1676.**

Chap. 10. How Master Sebastian applied himself in the study of the arts, and the great examples of charity toward the poor that he showed at this time.

Chap. 11. About other things that happened to Don Sebastian at the time that he was in the Town of Arahal, until he was sent to live in Mairena.<sup>1</sup>

Chap. 12. Don Juan Ramirez de Cartagena, brother-in-law of Don Sebastian, goes to Mairena as chief magistrate, and convinces his parents to take him along.

Chap. 13. How Don Sebastian was tempted regarding his honesty, and how gloriously he overcame the temptation.

Chap. 14. The virtuous things that Don Sebastian tried to set up in the Town of Mairena.

Chap. 15. How he set up the stations of the Cross in Mairena, and a very special case that our Lord willed to give credit to his devotion.

Chap. 16. The great devotion he had in Christ as a sacrament, and of one extraordinary penance that he did on a Maundy Thursday.

Chap. 17. Some of the charitable works of Don Sebastian toward his neighbors, spiritual as well as material.

Chap. 18. The great penance done by Don Sebastian at this time, and the high degree of contemplation to which God raised him.

Chap. 19. Two Fathers of the Society of Jesus arrive for a Mission in the Town of Arahal, and by their preaching Don Sebastian is moved to leave the world.

Chap. 20. Don Sebastian informs the two missionary Fathers about the wish he had of becoming a Religious, and he places himself in their hands in order to follow their guidance in everything.

Chap. 21. Father Juan Gabriel Guillén answers to Don Sebastian regarding the choice of status, and he proposes to him the Mariana Mission, which he embraces with great fervor.

Chap. 22. Don Sebastian follows the missionary Fathers to Mairena, and assists them in the Mission with great fervor.

Chap. 23. He presents himself to the Most Illustrious Lord Archbishop of Seville to be ordained. Investigations are carried out about his life, and customs. His virtue is recognized officially by this Prelate.

Chap. 24. The more rigorous life that Don Sebastian undertakes in order to prepare himself for holy Orders, and how he was ordained a sub-deacon during Lent.

Chap. 25. Don Sebastian returns to Arahal after being ordained, and he retires to Mairena, where he decides to join the Society.

Chap. 26. Don Sebastian flees from Mairena, and comes to Seville to join the Society.

Chap. 27. Don Sebastian is admitted to the Society. He humbly writes to his father about it.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Both of these places lie southeast of Seville, about 50 and 25 km respectively.

Chap. 28. His father comes to Seville with the intention of persuading Brother Sebastian to remove the cassock of the Society; however, after he heard him, he remained very consoled about the state he had chosen for himself.

Chap. 29. Don Bartolomé de Monroy goes to Mairena that night, but, upon hearing there that his son had joined the Society with the intention of going to the Indies, he returns to Seville the next day to see his son.

Chap. 30. Brother Sebastian begins his Novitiate with great fervor.

Chap. 31. His Lordship Don Ambrosio Ignacio Spinola y Guzman, Archbishop of Seville, enters the Novitiate for some [spiritual] exercises and recognizes Brother Sebastian, whose virtue he had officially recognized earlier.

Chap. 32. The devotion that Brother Sebastian had toward the Blessed Virgin, as a Novice; and how he tried, from the time of his novitiate, not to abandon the devotion that he had undertaken at home with this Lady, once away from home.

Chap. 33. The Superiors decide that Brother Sebastian should be ordained as a deacon, as he had to pass to the Indies.

Chap. 34. Brother Sebastian is ordained as a priest on St. John the Baptist Day [1673]. He says mass in the Novitiate.

Chap. 35. Don Bartolomé de Monroy leaves for Cadiz and, although he proposes strong reasons to his son as to why he should not pass to the Indies, his son convinces him to give him permission to go.

Chap. 36. Two things which Don Bartolomé asked his son to do for his consolation, and how Father Sebastian came to grant both of them to him.

Chap. 37. Don Bartolomé returns to Arahall, and the few things that happened to his son, Father Sebastian, before he sailed.

Chap. 38. How Father Sebastian de Monroy embarked, and the exercises of virtue he made during the voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Chap. 39. The Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy arrives at Veracruz, and departs for Mexico. The virtues that he showed during his stay in that City.

**Chap. 40. Information about the Mariana Islands, their situation, and the character and customs of their natives.**

Chap. 41. How our Holy Faith was introduced among such barbarous people, and the early effects it had on them.

Chap. 42. The Ven. Father Sanvitores obtains permission from the King our Lord, Philip IV, to pass to this Mission, and what happened until arriving and finally making an entrance in these Islands.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The leader of this mission band was Fr. Nicolás de Pueyo (belonging to New Spain). They boarded the ship Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, alias San Miguel y las Animas, under the command of Don Leonardo de Lara. The fleet left Cadiz on 13 July 1673 and arrived at Veracruz on 22 September, after 72 days of navigation. These dates correspond exactly with the timetable followed by Captain Lara two years earlier, when Fathers Bouwens and Coomans were aboard the same ship.

Chap. 43. The Ven. Father Sanvitores enters the Islands of the Ladrones, and how he sanctified those Islands, and planted the Faith in those heathens.

**Chap. 44. The Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy leaves Mexico for Acapulco, where he embarks for the Mariana Islands.**

Chap. 45. The Ven. Father arrives in sight of the Mariana Islands, and is almost drowned upon disembarking.

Chap. 46. The Ven. Father makes his two-year vows in the College of our Father St. Ignatius of Agaña, and he remains there until the local situation improves.

Chap. 47. The Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, tries to pacify the towns in the vicinity of the Garrison, so that the Fathers might be able to run some errands without risk.

Chap. 48. Indications given by the new Governor, not only of his courage, but also of his great piety, and the outcomes by which Heaven rewarded it.

Chap. 49. The Ven. Father Monroy goes out to exercise his zeal in converting souls; and the great hardships that he suffered in the course of this enterprise.

Chap. 50. The Ven. Father returns to Agaña to report on the Mission of Orote, and the Superiors assign him to take care of that district.

Chap. 51. The Ven. Father instructs the Indians in the knowledge of the true God, and the coming of Christ into the world to redeem man.

Chap. 52. The servant of God proceeds to teach our Holy Law to his faithful, and to explain to them the Commandments, and exhorting them to observe them.

Chap. 53. The Ven. Father begins to baptize adults. He exercises himself in teaching Catechism with great fervor, and tries to promote virtue in those recently baptized.

Chap. 54. The Ven. Father founds two Colleges, one for girls and one for boys, at his Residence, modelled on those at Agaña.

Chap. 55. The great zeal and fervor applied by the Ven. Father in teaching the children. The rapid progress made by them within a short time.

**Chap. 56. The Christian affairs are in turmoil following the murders by the Urritaos of one Brother of our Society and of two Spanish soldiers.**

Chap. 57. That new Christian community receives great favors from the Queen of the Angels. They gain fervor in the cult to the true God.

Chap. 58. Report on the virtues observed by our people in the Ven. Father Monroy during his stay in the Mariana Islands.

Chap. 59. The beginning of the revolt of Orote, and the cause of the treachery used by the Indians against the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy.

Chap. 60. An Indian named Aguarin incites the Indians of that district, and persuades them to finish off all the Spanish.

Chap. 61. The rebel Indians try to kill the Spanish on 30 August, the day they were to gather at Tupungan to celebrate the feast of Saint Rose.

**Chap. 62.** The Governor decides that the Ven. Father Monroy is not to go back to his Residence, but the requests of his people, and the regret of the Ven. Father upon leaving them, forces him to consent to his return. There follows the murder of the servant of God by the barbarians.

**Chap. 63.** Father Sebastian de Monroy returns to his Residence of Orote, and the people of Orote return to their old rebellion.

**Chap. 64.** The Indians take the children to another town. The Ven. Father requests that they be returned, but does not succeed; so, he says goodbye to the people of Orote, in order to go to the Garrison with the soldiers.

**Chap. 65.** Cheref returns at noon to Orote without the children, and the Ven. Father with the seven soldiers departs from the place to go to the Garrison, although he does not succeed in embarking.

**Chap. 66.** Cheref reveals his treachery by capsizing the canoe at sea. This was the signal agreed upon by the Indians to jump overboard and kill Father Monroy and his companions, as they did with barbarous cruelty.

**Chap. 67.** The glory of the cause for which the Ven. Father died is proven by the actions taken by the Indians against sacred things.

**Chap. 68.** The punishment that God gave in this life to the killers of the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy.

**Final chapter.** The solemnity with which the glorious death of the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy was celebrated in the Town of Arahal.



## **Chapter 40. Information about the Mariana Islands, their situation, and the character and customs of their natives.**

The Mariana Islands, previously called Ladrones, have not been noticed much by ancient historians because products that attract the cupidity of men are not found there. They never paid much attention in seeking them, or trading with them; rather, they were always considered elusive. They only mentioned that there are so many of them that they form a continuous chain of islands, not far one from the other, from North to South, from Japan all the way to Peru.<sup>1</sup> The Islands concerned by our History are those that one meets 300 leagues before arriving at Manila, when one goes from New Spain to the Philippines. We can say that they were discovered by the zeal of the Missionaries of our Society, and the way was not opened by the cupidity of men. So, they present more bother for Christian zeal than any human advantages, because there are so few of them there that only the desire for suffering can bring in men to live there: proof enough that only the wish to convert souls can take our Missionaries away from

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Both Fr. Aranda (1690) and Fr. LeGobien (1700) seem to have borrowed their description of the Mariana Islands and native customs from Fr. García (1683).

their countries, and not the human profit that is claimed by some malicious and envious men.

The Islands that our Missionaries have discovered until now are 13 in number, but a few are 30, and others of 50, leagues in circumference. Their names are: Guam, Zarpana, Aquiguan, Tinian, Saipian [sic], Anatajan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagon, Agrigan, Asonson, and Maug. The climate is healthy, and benign, although the last ones are colder, but neither the cold nor the heat is excessive. They do not suffer from the earthquakes that the other Islands in the archipelago usually suffer.<sup>1</sup> The land is hilly; its plains are more than usually swampy and there usually grows a plant full of thorns. There is no lack of trees, but none of the species found in Europe; so, they are of no use whatever, except for one tree, which in their language they call Maria, which they use in the construction of their houses. Its name was sufficient for those miserable ones to find refuge/shelter in it.

This land has many rivers of great volume, and their water is sufficiently drinkable; indeed, only in the Island of Guan there are more than 30 rivers. There are no crocodiles in them, and no snakes or venomous animals that are the ordinary plague of the rivers in the Indies. The rivers give enough food to their inhabitants, from fishing, specially the eels that are plentiful, but out of superstition, the natives do not catch them. It is a very curious thing that no animals are to be found in that land, only men; if it was not meant for animals, it was meant for men. There exist a few cats and dogs, but they are believed to have come from a ship (about which we will talk later) that was shipwrecked on those coasts in the year 1638. In the air, the only kind of birds that can be seen is a sort of turtle dove; the islanders do not eat them, but only put them in cages and teach them to talk [sic].<sup>2</sup> Until now no gold or silver mine has been found, and no other precious or useful metal either. There are only turtle shells that the natives used to trade for iron with the passing galleons, and this has been going on here only for a short time; hence, nobody seeks those Islands, since there is nothing that can be of any utility there.

That describes the land. As for the inhabitants, some of the men are the color of mulattoes, although not as dark as those of the Philippines, and taller. They are so full of flesh that they appear bloated. The women are of the same color, and their features are well proportioned; they would not be ugly, if only they did not dye their hair white, and dye their teeth black. They do this to appear better; even among barbarians, it is natural for women to adorn themselves. They would look beautiful, if they did not disfigure nature with oils. Among them, women are more esteemed than men; indeed, they are the ones who usually rule the household, not their husbands. Even in their marriages (which are more like couplings, for their lack perpetuity), if the husband leaves his wife, the husband loses the property, and the children. As for the women, although they leave their husbands, they lose nothing, and they do so frequently, out of jealousy. In such a case, sometimes, when the wife finds herself offended by the husband, she invites the

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1 Ed. note: Not really true, even if the Marianas are compared with the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Other accounts say that the doves were taught to fight...

other women in her town and they all grab their hat and spear, and go to the house of the adulterous man, and if he should have some plantation, they uproot it, and destroy it, then they act as if they wish to spear him, and finally, they throw him out of his house. Other offended wives simply leave their husband, without making any fuss, but this is enough for the wife's relatives to go together to the house of the husband, and to take from him all the property that he owns, leaving him without one spear, or mat to sleep on; they leave only the shell of the house, but at times they destroy that also, and tear it down. If a wife offends her husband, the latter may kill the adulterous man, but the adulterous woman is never punished in any way.

Their clothing is complete nudity in the men; the women usually cover what offends modesty with a few short pieces of cloth. Their food for four months of the year is usually fish, and local products, for instance, coconuts, of which there is an abundant supply, and sugarcane. The rest of the year they eat some roots that look like potatoes, and although they harvest some rice, they keep it for their feasts. Their drink is water, and so, they die of dropsy, because they have neither wine nor intoxicating liquor. Their usual occupation is taking care of their coconut trees, banana trees, and plantations, and to fish at sea aboard some canoes, that they make very light. As they are in this element since childhood, they are very skilled and agile in swimming, as if they were fish. Their language is very similar to Tagalog, and Visayan, and so, those who know these languages learn theirs easily. They have no science and no arts; they are so ignorant of them that they did not know of the existence of fire until the year 1638 when the Spanish, who were shipwrecked, made fire before their eyes, which astonished them.<sup>1</sup>

Where did these men come from to settle these Islands is debatable. Gomara thinks that they came from the Egyptians, as if they were very close to Egypt. Other authors think they came from other parts, with very flimsy evidence. So, I think that the opinion of Father Colin in his *India Sacra* is more factual; he affirms that they came from Japan, which lies at the end of these Islands, because there is found in them the same vanity as in the Japanese; indeed, they think that other nations are barbarian when compared with their own. Furthermore, they make a great distinction between the nobles and the plebeians, and so much so that the latter do not dare go near the houses of the nobles. Present in them is what the Holy Ghost abhors in the poor, that is, arrogance.<sup>2</sup> However, as this comes from a vain presumption, suffice for them to have such a presumption, though they lack the wealth that could make them haughty—all common vices in the Japanese—to show that the ancestors of these Islanders came from Japan.<sup>3</sup> They have no religion, because they only worship the skulls of some of their deceased, in order to ask them what they need; when they do not need to have recourse to them,

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1 Ed. note: I have refuted this myth many times before. From archaeological findings, mostly cooking pots, it is clear that the original inhabitants of the Marianas knew about fire.

2 Ed. note: An apparent reference to a line from the Bible.

3 Ed. note: Needless to say, this theory has no basis in fact.



the skulls are usually found rolling upon the ground.<sup>1</sup> They only heard of religion when our Holy Faith was published; from then on, they knew that God exists, that there is a reward in the afterlife for good deeds, and a punishment for bad deeds. Although they believed in the immortality of the soul, the punishment was only ascribed to those who died accidentally, or violently; those who died quietly were to expect a reward, even though they may have been wicked in their deeds.

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#### **Chapter 44. The Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy leaves Mexico for Acapulco, where he embarks for the Mariana Islands.**

Although the information given about the Mariana Islands in the preceding chapters seems to have interrupted the main story about the deeds of the Ven. Father Sebastian, it was necessary to present it to make the History clear, by compiling all the notices of that Christian community. Father Monroy could not, of course, learn about them fully before he got to Mexico. However, after he did, every day of delay in getting there seemed to him like a century.

At last, the date of 10 March 1674 arrived. On that day, he was ordered to leave with the others to go to the port of Acapulco, making the voyage overland, and taking as a good omen the fact that the Church celebrates on that day the triumph of the Forty Martyrs, whom he beseeched to guide him along the way in order to be able to imitate them in their martyrdom. And it seems that the Saints heard his prayers, since, as they did suffer in the waters of the lake, he did suffer death with his companions when he capsized in the water off a beach, as will be narrated below. He made the voyage as uncomfortable as his mortification dictated, ever ingenious at finding ways how to mistreat himself. When they let him choose a mule, he always seemed to pick one that had the worst gate, and if his companions, out of compassion, wished he would choose another one, he would say that his body had gotten used to that gate, and that he would find another gate awkward. If he came to an inn, he looked for beds only for the others, and when there was one for him, he did not mind, saying that he could sleep anywhere; so, he used to select a bench and wrap himself in his cloak.

In eating, he did not care either; indeed, he distributed plates to everyone but himself, and when he ate something, it was what was left over by the others. As they went along that road, they were plagued by mosquitos, an unavoidable bother in that neighborhood, which forced people to carry some branch in the hand to chase them off, but the mortified Father did not bother with this; in fact, those who had contact with him declare that he was never seen to brush off from his face any of the mosquitos that ventured to bite him. He suffered the sun, that is much bothersome in that climate, with so much patience that the others were sorry to see him so overheated, and bathed in sweat; when for this reason the Superior ordered him to carry a sun-shade, he would always

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1 Ed. note: An exaggeration by Fr. Aranda. The primary-source documents say that they skulls were usually kept in baskets and stored in the attics.

place it on the side opposite to the side where sunlight came from. So, instead of serving him as a protection, the sun-shade served only to bother him. A man seeking so much pain could only be earmarked for martyrdom.

In this way, the Ven. Father arrived at the port of Acapulco. It took him 10 days, because it was the 19th of the same month of March, the feast-day of the glorious St. Joseph, who from then on took him under his protection; indeed, he had been one of his devotees before. The church that was under his care in the Marianas when he died, where he converted so many gentiles, was dedicated to the glorious St. Joseph. He was detained there for a few days. In fact, it was on 25 March, the day of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word in the bosom of Mary that they departed for those lands, made worthy possessions of Mary through preaching; so, they hoped that she would happily lead them to the Mariana Islands. One can see that they were indeed on a happy voyage to those Islands, because even the ship that the Father and his companions had boarded, which was named **Buen Socorro**, seemed to indicate by its very name that a great succor of workers were being delivered by the Queen of Heaven to that new Christian community.

There was no exercise of virtue that the zealous missionary did not practice during that voyage, not just the penances that he made, but in good works toward those aboard the galleon. He normally slept with his clothes on, on the decked floor. He ate so little that his food seemed to be a continuous fast; indeed, what food he was given he distributed among the poor, whom he took care of so much that, if any of them suffered a need, it lasted only as long as it took for the Ven. Father to learn about it; specially with the sick, there was hardly anyone aboard the ship whom he did not relieve in their sickness, by looking for handouts among the healthy, and the refined food that the sick needed. He would prepare their food, he would take it to them; the most affectionate mother could not have looked after her son with more tender care to make him eat than he used with the sick people who lacked appetite.

That was with regards to the health of the body; as far as the health of their souls was concerned, he took an even greater care, because the health of the soul is more important. Upon seeing a sick person with a continuing fever, he would not leave him until he had convinced them to confess. As his agreeableness was great, the majority of those who wished to confess went to him. Many times he spent a whole night, from sunset to sunrise, to hear the confession of one ship's boy. If one adds that during the day he knew nothing but work, it becomes clear that on many nights he hardly had time to find a bit of rest.

His zeal was not inferior regarding charitable works; indeed, the fervor he applied to achieve that God would not be offended burned in him so much that it was sufficient for him to hear some curse, or swear word, to come out of his retreat, and he came out so shocked heading in the direction from which he had heard someone swearing that anyone paying attention to his face would have seen a great sorrow. When he got to the person who had sworn, he would ask him with great humility not to become impatient, not to outrage the name of God, so worthy of being venerated; and if he saw

that the curse, or swear word, was born out of some dispute, he would then try to pacify it.

He never allowed the loose talk, nor the dirty songs that are popular among the scum on board ships; indeed, besides the shame expressed by his face, which was enough to manifest his disapproval, and disgust, he used to tell them blandly: "This is what comes out of the mouth of a Christian? What more could be said by a Moslem raised with the customs of his abominable sect?" This way, and with other advice, he tried to banish indecent words. If anyone was not careful enough to avoid them now and then, he heard the others say: "Watch out! Father Sebastian might hear you." In the other exercises of virtue, such as hearing mass, reciting the rosary, explaining the doctrine, attending the sacraments, the zeal of the servant of God was even greater in this second voyage than the one we mentioned when he embarked in Spain.

#### **Chapter 45. The Ven. Father arrives in sight of the Mariana Islands, and is almost drowned upon disembarking.**

In the manner referred to above, the Ven. Fr. Monroy continued his voyage bound for the Mariana Islands, the enterprise that took him from the world, took him from Spain, his country, and that already cost him three overland voyages and two sea voyages, such long ones, specially this last one, that they had been sailing already for 80 days without sighting the Marianas, when God willed that, on 15 June, the feast-day of the holy martyrs Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia, the same day that the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores had discovered them, a sailor advised that they were then in sight of the Islands in question.

This news was so welcome by Father Monroy that, without being led by the hand, he published the great joy in his soul by intoning in a loud voice the *Te Deum laudamus* in thanksgiving. On the 16th, the galleon came close to the Island of Guan, or San Juan, so that the missionary Fathers in the Marianas might come up in some craft used by those Indians to see those aboard the galleon. So, on that same day, Father Pedro Comano [i.e. Coomans], who was then Superior of those of the Society in the Mariana Mission, boarded a canoe, not only to visit the Fathers of the Society who were on their way to the Philippines, but also to receive those who were to stay in the Marianas, and to collect the clothing that they brought for the Mission.

Father Comano arrived at the galleon, met with the companions, received the precious things, and at once arranged for some of these to be transported in the canoe back to the College of Agaña, reserving the last trip by the launch for himself and the subjects, but, although that was his decision, the requests made by Father Monroy to

board the first boatload were so great that the Father Superior agreed to let him go, in company with Father Pedro de Casanova, who also wished to join him, along with some clothing.<sup>1</sup> A great soldier, who was on the way to the Philippines, named Don Damian de Esplana, wished to accompany them.

Between the galleon to the landing site there were 3 leagues of water.<sup>2</sup> Although this distance was navigable when they left the galleon, one of those curious winds that usually infest that neighborhood suddenly arose; the galleon could not hold her position, and it was a miracle that the canoe did not capsize. So, when those in the canoe arrived at the College, they did not find a means for returning to the galleon. Then, after the galleon had waited for a while, seeing that any further delay would be extremely risky, she pushed off from the coasts, and pursued her voyage to the Philippines, taking along the Superior of the Marianas, plus the clothing, and the food supplies that should have been left in that Island. So, if Father Monroy had not had this great desire to see his beloved Marianas, and if he had not been first to leave the ship, it could be that he would not have made his entry there for a few more years.

**[Letter from Fr. Monroy to the Dominican Nuns in Arahah, dated Guam 1675]**

However, regarding the great risk that he ran of being lost, the discomfort that resulted when the galleon went off with the baggage, no-one can say it better than he did, in a paragraph of one of his letters, written to the very Religious Convent of the Dominican Mothers in Arahah, to whom he reported in a letter that he wrote the next year 1675 about his arrival; he narrates the incident of the galleon's departure in the following manner.—

“It happened that the galleon, that was on the way to the Philippines, was unable to anchor, unless it could go beyond a headland, but the winds made it impossible to carry this out. The Father Superior (Father Pedro Comano who had sailed to visit the galleon) ordered a few of us to board a small craft, which they call a canoe; being so small, it was at great risk, the more so when facing the furious waves at sea, so much so that to board it was like entering the gates of death itself. Two of us companions boarded it, trusting in God our Lord to get us through the experience unscathed, given that we had entrusted ourselves to the waters, for His sake and obedience. As far as I am concerned, I was almost swallowed up by death, because the canoe filled with water along the way on account of the weight of two small jars, in such a way that if the Indians, who are so expert, and if the providence of our Lord had not decided that two other jars, which some people had wished us to take along, be left behind, then we would have

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1 Ed. note: Error in fact: Fr. Casanova had left for the Philippines two years earlier. Fr. Monroy was, in fact, only one of 8 Jesuits who arrived in 1674; the ship's launch was used to carry 5 of them ashore, along with Esplana.

2 Ed. note: Misinterpretation. The letter, which he quotes below, says that the galleon was 3 leagues offshore, only by the time the canoe made it back home.

infallibly perished, because the canoe had already 20 arrobas [i.e. 240 liters] of water in it then.”

“At last we got ashore, although with much hardship, as the galleon was [then] over three leagues off, and we lost hope of seeing our Superior, Fr. Pedro Comano, again, and the other companions with whom we had travelled so many leagues, as many as there are between here and Spain. In fact, that did happen, because, when the canoe could not go back, on account of the great distance, and the rough sea, those in the galleon sailed away, leaving us without a Superior, and everything else, which has caused us a great sorrow, and necessities, not only for lack of food, but also for lack of clothes. As the Lord is my witness, as far as clothing is concerned, we have no shoes, so that many times we are held up by wounds on our feet, caused by our use of certain sandals that the Indians make from the leaves of a tree called **Aga**,<sup>1</sup> tied with some fastenings that they make out of coconut husks—a bothersome type of footwear, because it weighs a lot, and wears off easily; that is why we prefer to walk barefoot, and we suffer the consequences, though happily, for God our Lord, and His divine Majesty gives us strength, and courage to continue working in His most holy service, and to the benefit of souls, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

A very curious event, one that shows how well God was pleased to see His servant suffer; indeed, He overloaded him with penalties from the first entry. Indeed, when the country where he came to live was already so full of hardships by its very nature, that even the greatest help received from Spain could not alleviate, or make tolerable, they were suddenly taken away entirely when he stepped ashore, as he narrates in his letter. What else can it be, if not sown by God with thorns, and sharp rocks, as He did with his Father and Apostle, Xavier, upon the latter’s entry into China, to fulfil the wishes He had given him to suffer, and to prepare him no doubt for the martyrdom, which he had to suffer within two years.

### **Chapter 46. The Ven. Father makes his two-year vows in the College of our Father St. Ignatius of Agaña, and he remains there until the local situation improves.**

With the discomforts that we have seen, the Ven. Father made his entry into the Mariana Islands, without clothes to put on, or food for a livelihood, so that it therefore became necessary to partake the local food, which for someone not used to eating roots, and the flesh of the coconuts, it was enough mortification to eat things that he had never eaten in his life. However, his mortification made him get by with what others, who had

1 Ed. note: As reported by U.S. Navy Lieutenant Safford, who was Lieutenant Governor of Guam circa 1900, former Governor Pablo Perez in 1848 made of list of the local woods. The tree then called **Ahgao** by the natives corresponded to the tree called **molave** in the Philippines. Its scientific name is *Premna integrifolia*. Ref. Safford’s notes in LC Mss. Div., Washington, D.C., page 249. I think that the author got his information about the sandals from Fr. Xaramillo (see further below). Also, the Latin name for “molave” is *Vitex geniculata* (B&R 55:742).

2 Ed. note: To be continued in Chapter 47 below.

been there years already, could hardly tolerate. He was much comforted to see the poverty that was general there; indeed, the bed, the furniture, etc. were all of the same quality as the clothes and the food. He was amazed, and reasonably so, that the Indies, which have enriched so many, could impoverish those servants of God so much; they had found there the treasures of holy Poverty, more assuredly than in Europe. So, instead of being afflicted, he was content, because during his whole life he had wished to suffer from poverty, hunger, and nakedness, in order to imitate his Redeemer as much as possible in fatigues, and hardships.

Upon his arrival at Agaña, he informed his Superiors that he still had the status of a novice, given that he had just complied with his two years of probation during the voyage, on the 12th of that month, that is June 1674; indeed, he had been admitted to the Society in the novitiate of Seville on 12 June 1672. Therefore, the Superior granted him permission to make the vows of the novitiate whenever he wished, but, since the offer to God of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience seemed to him to be a sacrifice that he ought to make with all the fervor of his heart, so, he did not want to make his profession until he had first spent eight days doing the exercises of our glorious Father St. Ignatius, by which he would stir up his fervor in such a way that, not only he would offer himself in spirit, but also in everything, though he might lose his bodily life, in introducing those poor Gentiles to God, and accomplish their salvation.

Thus, he withdrew from contact with his companions, and he spent those eight days alone with God, feeding his spirit with prayers, and his body only with rough dishes, as mentioned above, always loaded with hair shirts, and disciplining himself three times a day. He prepared himself to make his vows on the 24th, St. John the Baptist Day, the anniversary of the first high mass that he celebrated in the novitiate at Seville, offering then to God the sacrifice of His most holy Son, and offering himself in sacrifice the following year. This done, he wished to go out right away through those hills to look for souls for God, and to employ himself in the conversion of those Gentiles, but it became necessary to cool his fervor, not only because he had not gained fluency, which was necessary, in the language of those Islands, but because most of the towns were so much in rebellion that all the missionaries had sought refuge in that College, until God opened their way with the pacification of those towns.

Divine providence opened the way in a manner that was least expected, because when the galleon left for the Philippines in a hurry, as we say, a courageous soldier who was on the way to the Philippines was left behind. He had gone ashore with the first boatload to see that land, at the same time as the Ven. Father. He was unable to go back to the ship, on account of the squall that intervened. This man was Don Damian de Esplana, a Captain of much renown, and one whom those Islands needed then for their government. So, the Fathers, who had the authority to appoint a Governor, asked him to accept the post; indeed, never more than then the Christian community had needed a man of valor to take charge of the arms, to repress the insolence of those towns, and to make the sorties of the missionaries safe. As he could see, the missionaries were then restricted to one town, and almost under siege, with much harm done to the infants

who were dying without baptism, and to the other Christians who lacked the Fathers' teaching, and they were like a flock without their pastor.

Don Damian accepted the post of Governor, and then tried to bring up to scratch that Militia, so short in number that it hardly reached 60 men who, as they were not Spaniards, had no spirit on account of being among thousands of heathens. If God had not favored them, they could not have won over such an immensity of barbarians, as they did many times, but God, who was using them as an instrument to preserve the faith among those Islanders, was giving to their small number the worth of many more, and he instilled fear in the many others, so that they had as much fear as if they had been few in number.

Thus, with this short squadron, the Governor decided to go and punish the town of **Chuchugu** in the Island of San Juan, where the most rebellious had sought refuge. Knowing that they were not in that town, but in another one nearby, he decided to attack them on the night of 13 July, the eve of St. Buenaventura. Dividing the soldiers he had taken along, into two small squadrons, he ordered Lieutenant Don José de Tapia to attack one side with a few soldiers, while he made directly for the place with the rest, and he ordered the soldiers to spare the women and children, and not to harm them in the least, and only attack the men. Although this care was exercised, as it was night-time, it seems that in the fray a woman died, after being struck by some spears; she held a child in her arms, who suffered two wounds. However, as the soldiers found him to be alive, they gave him to Father Alonso Lopez, who was acting as Chaplain of the squadron. He in turn baptized him, and gave him the name of Miguel Maria Ventura. They brought him to the place, cured him, and raised him as someone earmarked by divine Providence to become a great Christian; later on, the child gave signs of being just that, showing a clear liking for piety toward devotional things.

Although this sortie did not result in any advantage other than making the enemies flee, that is, those who had dared to put up some resistance, nevertheless it served to give them great fear for the future. So, when the Governor went out on the 26th of the same month to look for the troublesome ones, who by then had returned to the town of Chuchugu, he managed to burn the place down, and made them flee. Therefore, they gave an opportunity for the Fathers, including Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, to go throughout the places neighboring the College of Agaña, looking through the hills for children to baptize. Their mothers would turn them over easily to our people, because, being abandoned by their husbands, our people prevented the soldiers from doing them any harm; other mothers would be attracted by some small gifts that the missionaries were handing out, and would easily accept to have their children baptized. This was the only fruit that the Gospel ministers could gather, during the period of the war, which is necessary to repress some barbarians who do little, or nothing, willingly; rather, they believe that it is for lack of courage that others try and live at peace with them.

### **Chapter 47. The Governor, Don Damian de Esplana, tries to pacify the towns in the vicinity of the Garrison, so that the Fathers might be able to run some errands without risk.**

As the Indians were frightened a little by the punishment of the above-mentioned town, they stopped bothering the Spanish with new revolts. The Governor made use of this lull to turn the town of San Ignacio into a fortress, that might ensure the security of the soldiers from then on, because the previous one was more like a refuge in peacetime, than for defence in wartime. He surrounded the whole garrison, with a bulwark that ended up in two diamond-shaped corners. In addition, in order to transport materiel, as well as to be able to count on a safe boat to visit the Islands, he built a small ship, with no little fatigue, as it was necessary to reshape the iron in the forge in order to manufacture spikes, and it was the Governor himself who acted as smith, because there could hardly be found another among the soldiers who knew how.

Once these important works were set up, and given that in the sorties made by the Fathers to pick up children to baptize, there were many of them in Agaña, he arranged that two houses, or Colleges, be built inside the garrison, to indoctrinate them: one for boys, dedicated to the Guardian Angel; one for girls, dedicated to St. Rose. The Fathers took charge of them, whereas the Governor looked after the provision of the necessary food. However, as their number was increasing, and the expected galleon might fail, he negotiated with friendly Indians for contributions to this worthy cause; after all, most of them had their own children there, or were relatives. The relative importance of these Colleges in planting the Faith in those Islanders can be judged by the great piety of those being raised there; hardly any of them is known to have failed in the Faith due to God later on, or in the affection toward the Spanish that came from the good treatment afforded them.

The Superiors entrusted these two Colleges to the zeal of the Ven. Father Monroy. As one who was untiring in everything, he could apply himself to their care with such eagerness that, not content with busying himself in teaching them most of the day, whenever some revolt was being feared, he did guard duty, watching over them, and spending most of the night before their doors, in order to be first to oppose himself to whatever danger that might threaten them. However, the result of his employment in indoctrinating the children, and how well taught were those who came out of his hand, we will see further on when we deal with the other two Colleges for boys and girls that he founded at the residence of San José, which was in his charge the whole [sic] time he lived in the Marianas.

The Christians living in places other than Agaña became interested in building similar works for their own towns. So, in **Ritidyán** a capacious church was built and was dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. In **Taragui** a temple was built to St. Michael. In **Tupungan**, a church was also built and dedicated to St. Rose, a devotion of the Governor who confessed to have been specially favored by this glorious Saint. It seemed that the Saints in question became obligated to their churches, because in time of wars they became the first to suffer; or, because, by frequent attendance at those churches, even the



most barbarous Indians become tame, without the shedding of blood, a great peace ensued, and gave rise to the Gospel ministers dividing the neighborhoods among themselves, and to go out of that enclosure of Agaña, where they were living like servants.

All of this (after God) was due to the courage and vigilant zeal of Sergeant Major Don Damian, who filled the post of Governor with so much prudence that in the space of six months he pacified those Islands, that the Gospel had taken possession of. That would have taken place, even if the galleon that passed on the way to the Philippines had not left more succor to the Islands, and to Don Damian a better escort and the number of soldiers that he thought it would leave. The Ven. Father reports this in the letter that he writes to Spain, telling the Religious of St. Dominic in Arahal about his arrival; his esteem for the Governor is so great, and he credits this famous man for his enterprises so well that I will use his own words. Indeed, the Ven. Father says:

“When we arrived at these Islands we found them without a government, and without armed men, but the Lord, who always is propitious when need is greater, succored us with the Commander,<sup>1</sup> a man of so much valor that in less than six months he has subjected and pacified this whole land; the result is that we go about our errands in complete calm without an armed escort; these past years our Brothers were going around surrounded by soldiers who, with their bad example impede the progress of Christianity rather than foster it, because they are men, and simply walking among the nude Indian women gives them an opportunity to commit sin. As for us, in order to free ourselves, we have no other recourse than holy prayer and disciplines, without forgetting mortification for one moment.”<sup>2</sup>

In a few words the Ven. Father talks about the great benefit that Christianity received through the courage and application of the new Governor, as someone who so disliked offences made to God. He estimates that it was a great benefit for the Governor to have pacified the land so well that the missionaries could go out through those hills looking for children without soldiers in their company, not just for the safety of the lives of the Fathers, but without a risk to the souls of the soldiers who, being men walking among naked women, would have been at risk. This is a reason powerful enough to convince those in government to try and put clothes on those naked people, though it be with only a piece of cotton, or serge, specially when the walls of their lobbies are covered with rich tapestries. It is a pity indeed that those who go out looking for foreign souls to whom to teach chaste customs, have the purity of their consciences placed at risk by such indecent sights.

## **Chapter 48. Indications given by the new Governor, not only of his courage, but also of his great piety, and the outcomes by which Heaven rewarded it.**

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1 This was Don Damian.

2 Ed. note: To be continued in Chapter 49 below.

As the whole of the Island of San Juan had been pacified by the end of the year of 1674, the missionary Fathers were now able to go out to reduce to our Holy Faith the Indians who lived in the hills, and to baptize the recently-born children, but the zeal of the Governor made him feel idle if he remained inside the garrison. So, he visited the towns where new churches had been built, like that of St. Michael in **Taragui**, and that of St. Francis Xavier in **Ritidyan**, to thank the Indians for caring and attending those churches, and to the Christian doctrine that the Fathers were teaching. As he was the first person addressed by the Fathers, he stood up, removed his hat and responded to the questions with complete humility.

One day, when the Indians living in the district surrounding the church of St. Francis Xavier had gathered for a great feast, the Governor sat himself down on a tree trunk that was used as a seat, and spoke to the Indians in this manner:

“My dear children. The benefits that you receive from the Fathers in the care that they take in indoctrinating you, sparing no hardship or fatigue, obliges you by the law of thankfulness to esteem them a lot, and to serve them in everything. It is not necessary for me to order you to do so, but I am bound, by the care they take of my soul, to tell you that you should not love the fathers who give you your bodies more than these Fathers who care so much for your souls. You were living with the same blindness that your ancestors had when they lived, and died, whereas they have left their country to come looking for you to enlighten you, and take you out of the darkness in which you lived, and to do you so much good they chose to live among so many discomforts. If you do not feel them, because you were born with them, do not think that there is no better food than your fish, and roots; the Fathers, raised in Spain, know that overthere even animals eat better than men do in these lands. It is only to teach you the way to Heaven that they spend their life so miserably among you.”

“This I say to urge you to respond quickly when they call you to church. When they teach you the doctrine, pay great attention. When they advise you to be good, do it. When they warn you about evil, avoid it. And when they want to punish you for your own good, you have to submit to the punishment; if they order you to be whipped, you have to suffer the blows, because I tell you that, though I am Captain, if perchance I were to do some bad thing, deserving of being whipped, I will submit to the punishment, and let myself be whipped, because that is good for my soul, and is a penance that they, as God’s ministers, and priests of the Almighty, can do in His name, and we must respect them. Indeed, we should consider ourselves lucky if they consent in giving us their hand to kiss.”

Then, getting down from where he was, he went down on his knees before each one of the Fathers in turn, and kissed their hand. This action did raise them greatly in the esteem of those new Christians, since they already held a great respect toward the Sergeant [Major] on account of his great courage, and they were astounded at seeing him so submissive and humble in front of the Fathers. This piety was rewarded by Heaven with very special cases; indeed, when the Governor found that the time had come to punish the killers of Father Esquerra, not just for this crime but also because they were

inciting the pacified Indians, he went out on 30 January [1675], in the company of a few Indians, and Spanish soldiers, atop his horse toward the towns of **Nagan** and **Hinca**, where he arrived on 3 February of said year. He burned the first one down, without resistance, because the Indians had not dared to wait. Although, upon arriving at the second town, he found some resistance, he attacked with spirit and caused the defenders to flee, though at no little risk to himself. Indeed, having decided to pursue them with his horse, he came upon a field of reed-grass which the enemies had set ablaze, and which had a few spears planted in such a way that those fleeing from the fire might get stuck upon them. In fact, this happened: as the Governor disregarded the fire and charged through the flames of the reed-grass field, his horse was wounded in the neck by a spear without the Governor noticing; busy as he was with carrying on the charge, he had not seen the hidden danger that the astute enemies had set.

However, the soldiers noticed it and pulled the spear [tip] from the horse, and they tried to treat it, but as a result of either the wound, or the great amount of work done by the horse on that day, that night it refused to eat, and it gave signs of being very sick. The Governor was very afflicted by this new accident, fearing that if the horse died he would sorely miss it. So, taking with great faith the cassock of Father Esquerria, that he had ransomed the day before, he said: "Saintly Father, you see very well that the reason why the horse is this way is because it had to avenge your blood, and to force these barbarians to be good. You know very well also how necessary its life is, as it is the only one in these Islands. I am applying your cassock to it, make it healthy."

He covered the neck of the horse with the cassock, and then (as the Sergeant [Major] himself testified) it began to eat with much appetite. It woke up the next morning with so much strength that it was able to return to the garrison that day, walking 10 leagues, and within a short time its wound was perfectly cured.

Another no less marvellous thing happened to the Sergeant [Major] in this voyage, and that is, when a soldier received a barb of bone through a foot, although upon arriving back at the garrison they tried to open his foot to extract the barb, it was not possible to find it, and the soldier would certainly have died. The Sergeant [Major] was so sorry about it that he then went to implore the help of his patron saint, St. Rose. He asked a Father of ours to go out then to say a mass in honor of the Saint. He had hardly begun it when the surgeon<sup>1</sup> pressed the foot of the sick man and out came the barb, leaving the soldier out of danger. Shortly afterward he was cured, much to the consolation of everyone else, who were very afflicted, given that every soldier counted, on account of the lack of soldiers in that land.

## **Chapter 49. The Ven. Father Monroy goes out to exercise his zeal in converting souls; and the great hardships that he suffered in the course of this enterprise.**

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1 Ed. note: The surgeon's name was Antonio Perea (see below).

Although the Ven. Father was not idle during the time he spent in Agaña, as he indeed was busy at the order of the Superiors with the care of the two Colleges for boys and for girls, which on account of the devotion of the Governor and zeal of the Fathers were built before the end of the year 1674, that for boys dedicated to the Guardian Angel and that of girls to St. Rose, as we said in Chapter 47, the zeal for souls that had gotten him out of Spain, and taken him to the Indies, crossing the seas and suffering no fewer dangers in the lands of the Marianos, from their lack of constancy, than at sea, urged him on so much that he asked the Superiors to let him go to those boondocks to tame, if he could, the wild beast of heathenism, and make them join the flock of the Lord. They agreed and so had to entrust the care of the Colleges to another, and they gave him permission to go in company with some faithful Indians and make an entry into those boondocks, and to invite those who had spent their whole life as slaves of the devil to become free children of God.

A residence had been planned in the direction of the town of **Orote** because that neighborhood was ideal for establishing a parish, and also to promote Christianity, although our people had made a few sorties in that direction, little had been obtained from the natives, on account of their being the roughest in the whole Island; the land itself was hilly and more suitable as a hide-out for beasts than for men, so devoid of fruits and so rich in hardships. This had been a good reason for those who had gone on mission tours, suffering so many discomforts and, unable to continue in that land much time, they had returned discouraged; that Mission already had the reputation for being a horrible one for Gospel ministers. Our apostolic minister was fired by this enterprise, and he asked the Superiors to be allowed to go there; they, although they felt they were placing him at risk, not only healthwise, as the site was not too favorable, but also concerning his personal safety, on account of the wildness of those barbarians, considered that only his angelic character could tame them enough to convince them to come down from their hills and to settle on the plain, where they would be able to be taught, for the good of their souls.

Once the permission had been granted by the Superiors, and having fortified himself with the exercises of our Father St. Ignatius, without more precious baggage than his Breviary and one spiritual book, plus a few glass beads to give to the Indian women, without any other defence against bad weather than his poor clothes, so poor that he did not even have socks, or shoes. His feet and his legs were bare, at the imitation of the Apostle St. Francis Xavier when he entered Japan. The Ven. Father would go on, stepping on the rough surface of the hills, usually wounding his feet, after contact either with the grasses, which as we said are all born with thorns, or with the rocks, whose edges are so sharp that even the footwear that the Indians sometimes wear is easily torn. Supported by only a staff, that ended in a cross, and without any other food supply than that which could be found in the field, either fruits or roots, burning with the love of God and zealous desires to augment the patrimony of Jesus Christ, he departed for the land of Orote to reduce those hill-dwelling Indians.

The people were surprised to see him go up to the places that they thought were inaccessible to anyone not raised in those rough areas like themselves. The novelty of seeing him penetrate in the direction of their encampments, where they lived like wild beasts inside caves, got some of them at the entrance to the mountain to ask him in their language why he had come; if he was looking for food, he would find it better in the plains, and if he pretended to take them out of there, and to come and submit to the Spanish, he was wasting his time, as they had in fact gone up into those thickets only to get away from them.

To this the Father answered with extreme peacefulness: “Don’t worry, my sons, don’t worry about my coming. I am not looking for food, for you don’t have any. I am not trying to conquer you to make you vassals of the Spanish either. I want you to live like men, and not in the boondocks like wild beasts with so much discomfort, as you are living now. Surely you can see how much better your neighbors live, who have been reduced to live in the plains, cultivating their lands, having access to the fish that the rivers give as food. Come with me, and you will see how quickly you’ll be able to build your houses, since the Indians your neighbors will help you do it, and I too as much as I can. I will tell you then what I come for, that is, to teach you the way to Heaven. Now I tell you that I have come to get you for your own good.” Taking out a few glass beads (which the women esteem very much), the Father would give them to the Indian women, and they, considering the great dominion they hold over their husbands, persuaded them to go with that Father, who seemed to be a good man, and would not give them any harm.

In this fashion, he visited some of those neighborhoods. When the Indians saw that a few were following him, little by little the others were coming down. Within a few days of being in that vicinity, he had convinced more than 50 families to come down to the plain. This done, he negotiated with known Indians to loan them tools with which to cut trees, and to help them build the houses, which can be built quickly, since they are nothing but a frame of posts covered with palm mats. Thus, in a short time a town arose in the district of Orote; it was called **Tuña** [sic].<sup>1</sup> The Father managed to get them together and to tell them that it was important for their salvation to abandon their old superstitions, and to accept baptism, without which it was impossible to go to Heaven, and that, as a pledge of their accepting to become Christians, they were to present their children over to him to be baptized, as soon as he came back from Agaña, where he had to go. God favored him with such a good reception by the Indians, that most of them accepted to have him baptize their children, whose number passed 100, the fruit of that laborious mission [tour]. And because one can recognize in it the great suffering endured by the servant of God during this spiritual conquest in finding a livelihood,

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1 Ed. note: A transcription error for Fuña. Also an unfortunate error in interpretation of the source documents, as Fuña was a large and well-established town, even before the arrival of Europeans. In the other hand, there were many towns already in existence in that district, including Orote itself, the true name of his residence.

and other hardships, I will quote from the already-mentioned letter to the Religious of St. Dominic in Arahah:

“We have suffered many necessities, so much so that many times we have had to beg these Indians for their poor food products, as we had no way to buy it, reason being, as I said, that our provisions had been taken away by the galleon. As these Islanders are people of so little charity, on account of their little knowledge of God and of his Holy Faith, although we Fathers work so hard, it takes them a long time to learn not only the mysteries of our Holy Faith, but also Christian customs, so much so that, when one of our people went to beg for alms, requesting them to give their leftovers, he got an allowance of insults instead.”

Unquote. What the Ven. Father says here shows very well what he had to suffer, being poor, in a place where charity was unknown, and where people did not even know that it was a virtue to help others. Never mind his great humility and special liking for contempt, insults such as these made him expect the affronts and very weighty excuses that the Indians would tell him, when he was led to beg them for alms.

### **Chapter 50. The Ven. Father returns to Agaña to report on the Mission of Orote, and the Superiors assign him to take care of that district.**

After the Ven. Father succeeded in reducing those hill-dwelling Indians to live in a settlement, he went back to the College of San Ignacio of Agaña to report to the Fathers about the fruit of his mission. He mentioned how the Indians were happy at seeing their new town, how happy the neighboring towns were to see that those Indians, whom they feared as valiant, had been assembled, and had struck a partnership with them, how well disposed they were and ready to embrace the Faith, and be baptized; and that they only feared the Spanish, more because of the horror that the others had inculcated in them than of having received the least harm from them. Therefore, they needed Fathers to instruct them more than soldiers to tame them. God was the one who reduced them. So, His Majesty would preserve them obedient to the Fathers, without an escort of soldiers being needed. As far as he was concerned, he was of the opinion that such an escort should not be placed in the towns without a good reason; indeed, usually the customs of the soldiers were not appropriate for the maintenance of honest [i.e. chaste] customs, such as must be introduced with great effort in those recently-converted.

The Fathers rejoiced upon listening to the servant of God, and were surprised at the power of his arm, such as one man alone, and unarmed at that, would have conquered so many as were entrenched in their mountain fastnesses, who could not have been disarmed by all the forces in the garrison. However, although the proposal, to the effect that the ministers who were to take care of them should go unescorted, had some advantages toward the progress of the Gospel, and the reason alleged by the Father was manifest, in fact, the lack of constancy of the Indians was such that, even if no other excuse was given by those who had always lived irrationally than to oblige them to live

rationally, it was good enough an excuse for them to shake off the sweet yoke of the Gospel and finish off its ministers, or to burn them their houses, and churches, or killing them treacherously. This they did not dare to do many times for fear of the soldiers, whom they feared greatly; so, for the Fathers to force the missionaries to go without any defence, was to oblige them very much.

As the Ven. Father himself recognized this argument, he offered himself to go as a volunteer, should obedience think him fit. He added that, if he did recognize that it was necessary to have a few soldiers for security reasons, he himself would ask for them, but that he had penetrated the hills and convinced them to come down to the plain with the help of God, that he trusted that His Majesty would help him to live safely among them, though he lived alone; and that he only asked for a few Indians from those already well indoctrinated to accompany him and to catequize those who were reduced enough to be baptized, and a few children from the Colleges, with whom he thought of founding some College to indoctrinate the children already baptized, as there were a few already who could live away from their parents.

This proposal, which consoled the Superiors very much, was judged quite appropriate, considering the blandness of his character in taming those Indians, who were reputed by everyone to be the wildest, and would serve as an example to ease the reduction of others less rustic, once they saw those of Orote reduced to Christianity. So, the Superiors sent the Ven. Father, telling him to pick the most devout among the Indians, and among the children the most skilled, much to his satisfaction, and with sure hopes of increasing that Christian community. They promised with special affection to commend him to God in their holy sacrifices, and prayers, a succor which he esteemed more than the assistance he could have received from soldiers who would have caused him more worry than relief in that Mission.

He went back there before Lent, at the great satisfaction of the Indians who were awaiting him, and who perhaps if he had not returned so quickly would have, out of their usual lack of constancy, returned to the boondocks. When he saw that most of them were now welcoming him, and that everyone was offering his house as an inn, he took one on loan for himself, and [another for] his companions, while they were building a house (better said, a poor hut) where they could live in the company of the Ven. Father, but as the most important thing was to have a church, he asked everyone to help in its construction, telling them that it was not reasonable for them to have a house to live in, and that God would be without a temple in which to reside. So, a church was briefly built, a capacious one for more than 500 persons, and he dedicated it to the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, an old devotion of his, under whose protection he placed that new Christian community.

Seeing that they were already reduced to live in one town, he negotiated with them to have them elect one man whom they would obey, and to whom they could call to resolve their disputes. In fact, as they always looked for a chief to lead them in war, and they do obey him, even when they have to put their lives in danger, so it is that in peacetime they should have one, to give orders to all of them, and to whom no-one could dis-

obey, since the rest would be exposed to many disorders. He had them choose areas where each family could put in some labor in order to maintain themselves, and avoid idleness, the cause of so many evils. He got it all from them, because, on account of the blandness of his speech, no-one dared to resist him. So, once a political life was established, he went on to prepare them for a Christian life. Most of them were by this time willing to become Christians, but as it was necessary to uproot vices from them in order to plant virtue, to banish the vain superstition in order to establish in their hearts the true Religion, he praised them for the good desires they had of becoming Christians, but he tempered it by saying that he could not admit them to baptism without first informing them of the Law, which they had to profess, and that is why they would have to listen to his talks at the entrance of the church, when he would reveal to them the mysteries of the Holy Law, which he had come to teach them, by which they would find out the misfortune in which they had lived until then, and the great happiness that opened wide now that God had sent them His priests, and ministers, to teach them the true Religion, which in turn would serve them in this life and obtain for them in the afterlife the enjoyment of the company of God in Heaven.

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### **Chapter 56. The Christian affairs are in turmoil following the murders by the Urritaos of one Brother of our Society and of two Spanish soldiers.**

As we have seen, the Christian affairs were getting along fine at the Residence of San José, and they were getting along as well in the other Residences, because, if the zeal of the Ven. Father Monroy was as we have mentioned, that of the other Ministers who were indoctrinating them was not less; indeed, they were all of one mind and therefore the progress of their apostolic work had to be very similar. Rather, I believe that, being one in sight of another, they were urging one another's zeal, like the Seraphs seen by Isaiah next to the throne of God, who were praising Him in turn, and exciting one another in divine love. However, the Devil was envious at seeing a former possession of his and land of abomination being turned into a Paradise of God. He raised a persecution of the whole Christian community by unleashing a few lads of lewd morals, who dared to profane one of the Colleges for girls, and the same with purity and sacred chastity. Since this event occurred during the time of Father Monroy, I must not omit to narrate it briefly.

The case was as follows: a Brother of our Society, named Pedro Diaz, a recent graduate of the Novitiate, who had arrived at these Islands about one year earlier, was in charge of two Colleges for boys and for girls at the Residence of Ritidyan. He had been entrusted with this care, because he was modesty itself and a great champion of chastity. Having learned of the loss of a woman worse than the Samaritan woman—in fact, she would let into her house at the same time as many as a dozen lascivious youths, of those they call Urritaos—needless to say, he did every effort to rid his town of such a serious scandal. Although such a lost woman seemed to be impossible of conversion,



after the good Brother had commended her case to God, and done many penances, he resolved to speak to her and to declare to her that she was at risk of being condemned, unless she left that kind of scandalous, and shameful, life. God, who wished to take pity on the lost woman, and satisfy the fervent prayers of the zealous Brother, gave so much efficacy to his words that the woman, ashamed of her lewd doings already, repented of her bad life, and asked the Brother to take her to a place where the Urritaos could not bother her.

That is why Brother Pedro Diaz admitted her in the College for girls. As soon as the Urritaos learned about this, although they were all sorry about losing their entertainment, three of them, being greater fans of hers, decided one night to attack the College for girls; either they wanted to abduct her, if she refused to come with them, or to rape the others. I believe that, on account of the virtue that the chaste Brother had introduced in that house, they could not have succeeded in carrying out their depraved intentions, but the attempt itself was an enormous crime, and an infamous example for the other retreats. So, the Brother had no sooner heard of the case the next morning, when he went after the delinquents, with no other weapon than his zeal, and no escort other than the Lieutenant of the garrison, **Don Isidro de León**, a native of our Seville, and a man of great courage, who wished to accompany him.

When he met with them, burning with the zeal of the honor of God, he reprehended their boldness and explained to them the enormity of the evil that they had committed against God, that His divine justice would not leave it unpunished, that human justice would also give them the punishment that their crime deserved. At these words, the aggressors who were present, and accompanied by other free youths, as they were also Urritaos, were offended by the reproach, although well deserved by their crime, attacked said Brother, and the Lieutenant, with the machetes they carried, and cut them into pieces. The older Indians who ran up to prevent it could do nothing to stop them; to the contrary, the Urritaos, their fury thus unleashed, went to the house of the Fathers and, finding there a Spanish lad, named **Nicolás de Espinosa**, a native of Mexico, killed him for no other reason than he was a Christian, and with no less atrocity. They went on to sack the church, carrying away everything that was precious in it, even the chalice, which was picked up by one of the aggressors; it seemed to be like a bar of hot iron and so he dropped it, and was left with his sacrilegious hand inflated and splashed with blood. Another Indian picked up the chalice with great veneration, intending to give it back (as he did afterwards) to the Fathers, and he did not feel the heat that the sacrilegious one had felt.

This special miracle was not enough to stop the fury of these determined Indians, since, besides the sack, and destruction, that they had done in the church, they set it on fire and threw the corpse of the good Nicolás de Espinosa upon the flames, thus mixing his ashes with those of the temple, and house of God, as if everything was the effect of a single cause; indeed, the hate they had for the Christian religion made them destroy, not only the physical temple of God, but also the living temples of the Catholic, and true Christians, in whose hearts God resides. They burned down the house of the

Fathers, the Colleges for boys and for girls, in order not to leave in that town any trace of the piety, which the impious ministers of the Devil wanted to banish from their lands, and to restore them to the evil state they had known for so many years.

An honorific mention of Brother Pedro Diaz should be made, not only on account of his illustrious death, but also for his singular virtues, but not being the main subject of this History, I refer the reader to the life of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, written by Father Francisco García, of our Society, where he will find full details of the disillusionment that made him leave the world, the fervor that he had in religion, his zeal for the salvation of souls, and many other virtues worthy of being crowned by such an illustrious death, losing his life like [John] Baptist, in defence of chastity, on 9 December 1675.

So, I will go on to describe the great disturbance this incident created in the Christian community of the Marianas; indeed, there was no Residence, among those that had Colleges for girls, that did not fear another attack. The Christian Indians also feared that these evil-doers, in order to free themselves from punishment, had to stir up other towns of heathens, in order to have them come and burn down the churches. Fear was everywhere; indeed, not even the Governor, with the few Spaniards that he had, was powerful enough to prevent the evil that threatened. To leave them unpunished was to leave them more insolent. So, after the Fathers had commending the matter to God, and made great and fervent series of prayers in their churches, they decided that the Christian towns should put themselves on the defensive, and to renew the friendship they had with other neighboring towns, asking them not to admit the evil-doers in their territory. In this way, they themselves would be forced to seek towns further away in which to hide. Therefore, it was not then convenient for the Governor to do more efforts. The decision was a good one, as the friendly towns saw that he intended to punish only the evil-doers, and those who would not keep the peace; they therefore decided not to provide a refuge to the guilty ones, so as not to offend the Spanish, as they had no doubt how unjustly they had been wronged.

### **Chapter 57. That new Christian community receives great favors from the Queen of the Angels. They gain fervor in the cult to the true God.**

It is possible that the Blessed Virgin Mary felt obliged at the work and effort made by the Christian towns in trying to quench the fire that, as we have seen, had been lit by Hell in Ritidyan. She decided to reward their zeal with innumerable favors, done through one of her statues, under the name of Our Lady of Guadalupe, that was venerated by the faithful in the church of the town of **Ayrán**. There burned before the altar a lamp, made of wood, given that the poverty of those times did not permit the use of a more precious material. The oil from this lamp, when applied to any sick person, became a universal medicine for any ailment. It was sufficient for the Father in charge of that Residence to come in and anoint the sick with the oil; at once, he became healthy.

That is why it is superfluous to mention how frequently this church was visited by those new Christians.

However, as the Father was not always available to attend to the treatment of so many, on account of his precious occupations, most of the time he would tell one of the boys around him: "Go ahead, boy, take this sick one, and anoint him with the oil from the lamp, and tell the Virgin to cure him." The boy would do so, and the Virgin, taking into account the faith they had in a cure, and the sincerity with which the children begged her for health, at once cured them. The patients would return to the Father, to tell him that "Holy Mary" had cured them. This was so ordinary already that it caused no novelty, but it served to comfort the Christian Indians very much, to know that they had such a sure remedy for all their ailments.

No wonder that they began to hope that this Lady would also favor them in their daily castings for fish, either in rivers, or at sea. Thus, carrying their nets (which they left at the door of the church) they would go in and address a prayer to the sacred Image, so that she would favor them in that exercise. The prayer that they usually made was as follows: "Dear Lady and Mother, I am going to fish. Give me some fish." This done, they would go out of the church, and they were so successful in their castings that it seems that the fishes vied with one another to enter their nets, and they returned home loaded with fish. These good results were encouraging them to take advantage of such a powerful favor to ask for other good outcomes, that they wished to have in material things; they were very successful, but I cannot narrate them, for fear of being too prolix.

My excuse is that I must deal with the change of Governor, a post that Don Damian de Esplana left in 1676. He had held it for two years, and filled it with the courage that we saw in its beginnings, but he was tired already of being continuously on his guard, and of seeing that the Indians had already lost their fear of him, as was shown by the daring events of Ritidyan, which we have just mentioned, and that a short time later two lone Indians had dared kill Father Antonio de San Basilio, an individual much esteemed by that Christian community, just because of a very light reproach that he had made to them, and that he did not have enough of the necessary forces at his disposal to punish the guilty. These things led him to leave the post, and go on to the Philippines, aboard the galleon that was expected during the month of June.

This galleon arrived on 10 June of the current year, 1676, and her general in command was Antonio Nieto, the singular benefactor of these Missions. He brought in a succor of five subjects of the Society, i.e. four priests, and one lay brother, who were a useful addition in matters spiritual.<sup>1</sup> The militia was increased by 14 new soldiers, and in addition to that there were two families, which were very important to give an example of the civilized life whose establishment was such a desirable goal for that barbarian population. Don Damian took this opportunity to leave the Marianas, and so

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1 Ed. note: The author has simply copied this wrong information from Fr. García's biography of Fr. Sanvitores. There were only two new Jesuits in 1676: Fathers Xaramillo and Solorzano (see Doc. 1681A).

he renounced the position of Sergeant Major, which he held in these Islands, before the General of the galleon. The latter soon found himself very confused, since he did not find a suitable person to whom to entrust the government. In the end, it seemed to him that a Captain who was in his company on the way to the Philippines and was willing to accept, was very appropriate for the post. His name was Don Francisco Irisarri y Vivar. The General spoke to him and asked him, if he wanted to serve both God and the King, by accepting the post of Governor. Although Don Francisco was at first very reticent to the idea—after all, he had advised Sergeant Nicolás Rodríguez, who came aboard the same galleon with the intention of staying in the Marianas, not to stay and had convinced him of passing to the Philippines. God, who looked with merciful eyes upon that Christian community, changed his heart so much that the answer he gave to General Nieto was “I accept the position.” The General then gave it to him, with the title of Governor of the Marianas, a title that none of the previous commanders had [officially] held before him.

The galleon left for the Philippines, and aboard was Don Damian de Esplana. The new governor made his entry in the Marianas, and with his arrival so much fear made its entry in the Indians that they all send embassies, seeking his friendship, and all the Christians promising to come to mass on holidays, to listen to the explanation of the Catechism, to have their recently-born children baptized, and to send the older ones to learn some of the duties regarding a civilized mode of living, and to give up willingly the boys, and girls, chosen by the Fathers to be raised in the Colleges. He distributed the Fathers, who had newly arrived, throughout the parishes, so that they might learn from the older missionaries. Thus he began his term of office, pushing the cause of God everywhere with great calm, and peace.

Upon seeing such a good turn of events, the Fathers decided to celebrate in August the feast of Corpus Christi with due solemnity; on account of past troubles, it had been delayed until a better opportunity. So, they arranged for all the Residences to give notice that, on the first Sunday of August, all the towns were to flock, along with the boys and girls from the Colleges, wherever they existed, to the House of our Father St. Ignatius in Agaña, where the feast would be celebrated. In order for this feast to be more magnificent, a Colloquy of the Mystery was planned, to be staged by Mariano children in the Spanish language. This play was entrusted to Father Monroy, because he was the one who had worked so hard to teach the children of the Colleges to speak Spanish, and they were the ones who could stage it better. The servant of God took charge of it, and it came out so well that it became the most entertaining part of the feast.

With this advice, the Christian towns flocked to Agaña on the day in question. They came from their places with their standards in a devout procession singing the Christian doctrine. They were welcomed as they came in by the two Colleges for boys and girls of Agaña, and accompanied as far as the church. As soon as they were all inside, mass began, and was preceded with [an explanation of] the Mystery at the great consolation of those in attendance. The procession was organized through the streets, decorated with local tapestries, that is, branches from trees intertwined with palms. Leading

were the standards of the Residences, and then two files, one of boys and one of girls, all the children of the Seminaries; then, according to rank, the leading Indians from the places, and finally the Governor who carried a rich standard, followed by the missionary Fathers singing the hymn *Pange lingua*. In their midst was the celebrant, carrying the monstrance of the Holiest in his hands. The rear of the procession was brought up by the Militia in the best dress that was possible to find in those lands, with the soldiers now and then shooting the firearms in the air, an action that did put the proper fear into the heathens, who had kneeled when the monstrance passed and had beaten their breasts, as if they had been Christians.

The procession was not the end of the feast, because, after all the outsiders had eaten, distributed among the residents of Agaña, in the afternoon the Colloquy was celebrated, with intermissions that consisted of various dances by the Mariano children, for instance, the *Pavana*,<sup>1</sup> the *Canario*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Tocotin* (which is the equivalent to the tournaments in Spain)<sup>3</sup> in which the boys of the College of Agaña, being the oldest and best trained in these activities, came off very well. The report that I have read indicates that those of Orote performed in Spanish; that is why they were the most admired, as their parents were overjoyed at seeing their children speak Spanish so well, and they did not stop thanking Father Monroy for the great work he had done in teaching them.<sup>4</sup> I mention such details, not because they are worthy of being narrated to Europeans, but because they are an example of the great progress made by the members of the Society in reducing to civilized actions a population that 12 years ago [sic]<sup>5</sup> was barbarity itself.

### **Chapter 58. Report on the virtues observed by our people in the Ven. Father Monroy during his stay in the Mariana Islands.**

From the context of this History, the reader will be able to learn the many great virtues of Father Monroy. Indeed, if one looks at his childhood, he will find that he was an angel; a look at his youth will reveal a man full of mortification, and self-effacement; at the time of his entry in the Society, one will see pure disillusionment; the time of his novitiate, an idea of religious perfection. At the time of his departure for the Indies, and the voyages of his peregrination, it seems as if the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, had deposited in him, as Elias had placed in his disciple Elijah, his great zeal and spirit. Still, because it was in the Marianas that he deserved the Crown of his good works, losing his life at the hands of the enemies of the Faith, it is appropriate to mention the steps, as mentioned by his companions, by which he succeeded in gaining such a worthy triumph.

1 Ed. note: Literally, turkey dance. A Spanish dance with a slow step.

2 Ed. note: Literally, canary dance. A Spanish dance with a quick step.

3 Ed. note: If I am not mistaken, this dance is still practiced in parts of Mexico. In one version, some of the dancers play the role of a horse/horseman (picador), and others the roles of bull-fighters, and bulls.

4 Ed. note: Father Monroy had taught Spanish at the college in Agaña, not in Orote.

5 Ed. note: This paragraph was obviously drafted in 1680.

Though the building of his virtues be the highest, he had to go deeper into **humility**. That is why I will present the proofs given by him of such a steady virtue. He was never heard to say anything in praise of himself, but he said many contemptuous things about himself, such as he had not finished his studies, that, in order to do something in the Society, he had applied to pass to those Missions, where there is nothing, but as he knew little, he could not be of much use. He was never seen to argue; rather, in giving his opinion (which he only gave when asked) he would remain quiet without making a fuss, whether what he said was done or not. In fact, he trusted his own opinion so little that in things that necessitated some advice, he took it from the children themselves, whom he consulted. God was pleased about his humility, and, by means of the children, directed him towards more prudent outcomes.

His **poverty** was unseen in any of the missionaries; indeed, in addition to walking barefoot, and with bare legs, stepping on thorns that grow with the grass itself, and tearing his feet on the sharp rocks while going up and down the hills, his poor inn did not have a chair, or table, or even a bed. When he had to take some food, he had no other table than the ground, and he enjoyed it because he appreciated poverty. This is corroborated by Father Antonio Xaramillo, of our Society, who was then a contemporary of his, and later Visitor to those Islands.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before his death, having invited the missionary Fathers from the neighborhood of his Residence, and among them the said Father, the table was the ground, the table-cloth was a few leaves, the plates were the barks of some trees, and the food some very light fare. If this was the showiest of banquets, what must have been his ordinary sustenance? How poor, one can easily guess.

His **penance** was such that, as if it were not enough to put up with bad foods, nudity, sleeping with one's clothes on, the bad weather from storms—which had free rein with him because he never used any defence against them—he went around with his body wrapped in iron-mail shirts; he would disciplined himself every day, and on some days many times; he fasted so continuously that it was easier to count the days when he ate than the days when he fasted; he was kneeling most of the time, because he did not know how to deal with God otherwise. All in all, his penance was so great that he could have given lessons in it to the most austere of hermits.

In step with his penance was his mortification. In fact, he shrugged from nothing that could be bothersome for him. For instance, the plague of mosquitos in Orote is so great that the soldiers who go there think that it is purgatory itself to have to go there, and normally they go around with a branch to chase them off, but the Ven. Father let them infest him, never lifting a hand to chase them off, telling those who were stunned at seeing such a strange torture, that the mosquitos already knew him, and did not harm him; [he said so] not because they were not pestering his body, but because of the great

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Xaramillo arrived at Guam in June 1676, and got to know Fr. Monroy over the next three months. He left the Marianas in 1680, but returned for 7 months in 1683-84. He was back in Spain by 1687, in time to brief Fr. Aranda, the author of this biography.

benefit they were doing to his soul, thus fulfilling his desire for suffering. His other senses did not fare better, because his sense of taste was mortified when he ate raw fish, and coconut that was rotten most of the time, and no matter how clean it was, mortified the nose with its bad smell. He kept his eyes down, to look where he placed his feet, since the nakedness of that population forbid him to look at them, not even in the faces; so, he recognized them only by their speech. His hearing was mortified when he endured the shouts, with which they usually speak, without complaining about the noise that they often bothered him with, and disturbed his sleep.

He showed his **devotion** in his many works: by the time he spent in prayers, in saying mass, in saying grace, in attending mass on his knees; by his great fervor and tenderness while reciting the rosary, and exhorting the faithful to such a salutary devotion. As a matter of fact, whenever he talked, the devotion of his heart would show through. However, his love for God showed even more splendidly in the zeal with which he busied himself in the conversion of souls, as heathenism was the main focus of his fire, and he wished to reduce all heathens to the knowledge of the true God. He was not deterred by any risks to his life, the very great hardships that are linked with such an arduous enterprise; none of these considerations could make him abandon his efforts at trying to save the souls, redeemed by the blood of their Redeptor.

Such were some of the virtues of the servant of God, that his companions were able to notice, in spite of his efforts at hiding them out of humility. Through them, His divine Majesty prepared him for the glorious death, which (as we shall see) awaited him shortly. The war that he waged against Hell was so bothersome to the Devil, the more so when [human] affairs were at peace, he raised a persecution against the Christian community, the outcome of which was the loss of life of this courageous Soldier, as if he had been the one most feared by the Devil. This campaign had so many singular aspects that it will provide material for the following chapters. We conclude this chapter by saying that the extraordinary penances that he was doing at the time, his zest for prayer, the great zeal that made him go out in the daytime and at night through those hills to look for children to baptize, all served to convince his companions, once they learned about his death a few days later, that he had received a revelation about the short time he had left to work, and so, he was in a hurry to earn some merit.

### **Chapter 59. The beginning of the revolt of Orote, and the cause of the treachery used by the Indians against the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy.**

We have seen how happily the Christian community of Orote was proceeding with God's help, assisted by the Ven. Father, when the common enemy, offended at seeing himself despoiled of so many souls, that he had had under his control for so many centuries, raised such a persecution that might have succeeded in finishing off Christianity, not only in that district, but it brought on the edge of ruin also the whole Faith, and Christian religion, that our people had planted with so many labors in those Islands.

The motive was the wedding of a girl, a native of those Islands, who had been raised in the Seminary under the care of Father Monroy. On account of her good upbringing, one of the Spanish soldiers wanted her for a wife. The soldier transmitted the idea to the Ven. Father, and he undertook to carry the proposal to her, and explore her mind. As she thought the proposal was a good one, he asked her if she thought it would be a good idea to report this to her parents; the Ven. Father seemed to think that they would find it good that their daughter would marry a Spaniard. However, the daughter, who knew the attitude of her father very well, as he was a heathen and had taken badly her becoming a Christian in the first place, told him that it would be better to marry in secret first, to get it over with before her parents heard about it, because she knew very well that, before letting her marry, her father would sell her to some of the Urritaos, in order to get some profit out of their lewd bargain. As long as she remained in the Seminary, she would be in the power of her father, and he would immediately force her into the infamous exercise. What she wanted was to get married the Christian way, like other companions of hers had done, and they were living happily in the grace of God. And if it were necessary, she was ready to leave her native land, her relatives, and to live where the Father thought it better.

The Ven. Father did not ignore that to do this wedding against the wishes of the parents of the maiden would invite some trouble, and cause some revolt, but he thought it was better to free the maiden from the danger he expected from her father who, he feared, might forcibly take her out of the Seminary and deliver her to one of the Urritaos, and to make her safe by giving her a Christian husband, and that one, who was also a soldier, and a Spaniard, could defend her from any violent acts that her father, and relatives, could attempt against her. So it was that the matter was kept completely secret and, on the first feast-day when many Christians flocked to the church, he married them in sight of the town with all the Church ceremonies, so that they might appreciate the superiority of the Christian law to their own barbarous rites, and might get the right idea of the Sacrament of Matrimony, that he explained on that occasion, specially its perpetuity, so different from their marriages that last only until either the husband or the wife starts a fight.

He had not finished to celebrate the wedding when the news of it reached the father of the bride. He came at once to the church of San José, where Father Monroy still was, and to whom he complained bitterly about the harm he had done in marrying his daughter to a Spaniard. The Ven. Father, who knew that it was advantageous to the maiden that a Spaniard had chosen her for a wife, and recognizing that the complaint of the father was based on the loss of the interest that he could have gained from selling his daughter to the lewdness of some Urritao, told him very calmly: "Don't worry. Your daughter has lost nothing in marrying a Spaniard. You will not lose anything either, because I promise to give you, out of the dowry that comes with the wedding, more than you would have received from any of the Urritaos."

These words, instead of calming the barbarian father, irritated him so much that, furious, he left the church and went to call together other Indians in the neighboring



towns. All armed with their spears, they came back in the afternoon to Orote to take revenge for the wrong. The Ven. Father came out to calm them down, and the whole town of Orote came out to defend the servant of God. Since they too were armed, the rebels were repressed a little, and the father of the bride contented himself with trying to kill the Spaniard who had married his daughter. So, he made his way carefully towards him, raised a machete to cut his head in half, something he would have done, had not Father Monroy grabbed the Spaniard by one arm and pulled him out of danger, at some risk to himself, since it was a miracle that the irritated Indian did not discharge the blow against the Ven. Father.

Therefore, to put the newlyweds in safety, he sent them to Agaña, where they would be safe under the protection of the Governor. When the latter learned about the case, and recognized that Father Monroy was in danger, he came to Orote with a few soldiers, and they arrested the discourteous Indian. Upon finding out that he had been one of the killers of Father Francisco Esquerro, he sentenced him to the gallows, judging that, if justice was not done to him, he could not repress the revolt that the man had occasioned. Although Father Monroy interceded for him, the Governor was determined that he should hang.

When the Father felt that the man might die a heathen, he tried to persuade him to become a Christian; now that he could not avoid the death of his body, he could at least avoid the eternal death of his soul. To this effect, he managed to get the Governor to agree to postpone the hanging by two days, in order to see if during that time he, as well as other missionary Fathers who had come up, could reduce him. To this purpose, the Father did all he could, but, as the blood of the so apostolic and so angelic man that he had spilled was clamoring to Heaven to apply the punishment befitting such a great crime, God allowed him to die with his obstinacy, refusing to accept the advice of the Ven. Father who, with tears, was begging him to take care of his soul, and not to die a heathen, thus condemning himself forever.

But, as the miserable man was deaf to all the reasons of the Ven. Father, the Governor said that it was a waste of time to wait longer, and that it was dangerous not to punish him then, because his relatives might convoke more people to free him. At the end of the time limit, he had him hanged publicly as a lesson to the rest. There followed the scorn that the Christian children of the Seminary of the Ven. Father cast upon the corpse of the criminal; indeed, after it was taken down from the gallows, they dragged it across the beach to throw it into the sea, pelting it with stones, and shouting together: "Let the dog die, who did not want to become a Christian." That showed the extent that the Faith had taken root so well in those new plants, and how great was the esteem they had for the Law of Jesus Christ that the Ven. Father had taught them.

### **Chapter 60. An Indian named Aguarín incites the Indians of that district, and persuades them to finish off all the Spanish.**

Although the above punishment instilled some fear in the Indians, later on, after they had thought about what had happened, it seemed to them that, when they had ad-

mitted the Spanish to their lands, they had taken on a heavy burden. Although they recognized that it was reasonable that there should be punishments for evil-doers, because in so doing, the good ones gained strength, they did not think that there ought to be a punishment for [sexual] vices to which they were accustomed, as they are born with them, raised with them, and die with them. So, offended at the punishment carried out by the Governor on that delinquent heathen, it seemed to them that they ought to finish once and for all with the Spanish, and get back, as they were saying, their natural freedom.

The leader of this movement was an Indian of Agaña, named Aguarín, a one-eyed man,<sup>1</sup> and a great minister of Satan. He would go out without notice and spread complaints against the Spanish in the towns that are more remote from the Garrison, for instance, in Tarisay, Orote, Sumay, and Agosan. As they were more distant, there was less fear, and the lies could last longer, because these towns did not deal with the Spanish and had no opportunity to recognize the falsehood, and calumny that the trickster Aguarín imposed. So, they gave him so much credence that they had no qualms about agreeing with him, in everything that he might want them to believe.

This man, when he saw how well they agreed to join the revolt against the Spanish, made a speech which, though barbarous, had enough substance to persuade them of his evil intention, telling them:<sup>2</sup>

“In the twelve years [sic]<sup>3</sup> since the excessive kindness of those of Agaña admitted the Spanish to our Islands, you tell me what advantages we have experienced from their contact with our lands? Are we richer now than before they came? No, because we are as naked now as when they came in. Rather, if any of us have acquired some clothes by serving them, that only serves in making us ashamed of the rest of us. Indeed, our nudity makes us ashamed now, but when we were all naked, it did not matter. The fruits of our labor are almost the same now, as always, except that they make us work at their expense, and they use us in their projects, either for free, or for very little payment.”

“This has been the usefulness of their coming here, but the harm done to us continue. Take baptism, for instance, they call it the water of God, but it takes the lives of our children. As for the oil, which they call Holy unction, it shortens the life of our sick people, so that one rarely survives who receives the unction. They make us go every day to their churches to pray, and if we do not learn the prayers, either they scold us, or punish us. They teach our children their own way, so that they would rather disobey their parents than to anything their teachers tell them. A short time ago, these boys dragged [the body of] one of our relatives, because he had not wanted to become a Christian when they killed him; this they did just to please their teachers. These are [supposed to be] the best among the Spaniards, who came to our lands only to teach us the

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the word "tuerto" should not be taken literally, but only to mean "crooked".

2 Ed. note: This speech, taken from Fr. Garcia's book (1683), is imaginary, as it was not recorded by a local Jesuit. Further poetic licence was also taken by Fr. LeGobien (1700), when he attributed it to Chief Hurao.

3 Ed. note: Between 1668 and 1676, there are only 9 years.

way to Heaven, as they claim, as if all our ancestors had not discovered it, and only they know it, as if they were wiser than ourselves, to know what our ancestors did not know. The result of all this is that, as we can see, we are without freedom, unable to practice the pleasures as our ancestors did; they even want us to impose their own laws regarding marriage, that it has to be with only one woman, and no more, that we have to put up with her until she dies. They want us to spend the holidays in church, and not to work in our properties, and to do other very bothersome things that are enough for us to try and get rid of so much grief, and to finish them off, once and for all.”

“However, you must not forget something that is even more harmful, the soldiers they have brought along with them. If they stay in this land, it will not be long before it becomes depopulated of natives, whom they kill with their firearms, against which our spears are useless, and much less our stones that do not reach half the distance of their arquebuses. Firstly, we are overcome by the havoc that their bullets do to us, before we can even sight them, in order to aim our spears, or wound them with stones. It is no use either for us to withdraw to the boondocks to seek freedom from them, as they will search for us, and it is sufficient for us to flee for them to consider us enemies and make war on us. It would not be so bad, if only they were the ones pursuing us, but our own natives are the ones who made such a rough war on us, either because of the fear they have of them, or for the arrogance imparted by their friendship with them, because we do not submit and obey them as they want, and they might find themselves very offended. What about their taking away our sons, and daughters, with the excuse of wanting to raise them well? What can be more insufferable? Adding to this, is the fact that they deprive us of the service of our sons, and our daughters can no longer give us the profit, which is the custom of this country, when the youths want them to live with them, and pay us very well for them. What they do with our sons is use them as servants, and they marry our daughters to the Spanish soldiers, as happened recently in Orote, where the father tried to take vengeance against the Spaniard who had married his daughter; the Governor arrested him, and hanged him. That is a good enough reason for us to rise against them for this injustice.”

“Why don’t we pay attention to how we have to take revenge against the Spanish soldiers, and beat their firearms? I tell you, there are few of them, and there are so many of us that, if all the towns come together, there will be a thousand of us for every one of them. Why should so many fear so few? With just our stones we can bury them. Besides, isn’t it true that these men live at our expense? The food supplies we give them, isn’t it what they eat? If we simply cut the way, so that nobody can sell them the fruits that they need to maintain themselves, are other weapons needed to finish them off? It is clear that hunger itself will wear them down, and finish them off. So, you may stand assured that, if you help me, we will be rid of them soon. What is most important is for us to keep the secret, not just from them, in order to catch them unaware, but also from all the other towns that are friendly with them. Those who are more to be feared are those near the garrison, like Ayran, and Tupungan, as they have churches there. How-

ever, if they are attacked without warning, they will not be able to resist the power of four or six towns.”

With such persuasive words Aguarín convinced the said towns to rise against the Spanish. He promised to inform the rebel Indians of the day chosen to carry out the battle. They delayed for some time, as we will see, until they could do it without danger to themselves.

### **Chapter 61. The rebel Indians try to kill the Spanish on 30 August, the day they were to gather at Tupungan to celebrate the feast of Saint Rose.**

The treachery was kept so secret by the towns of Tarisay, Orote, Fuuña, Sumay, and Agosan that, although they wished to drink Spanish blood any time, they behaved with such dissimulation that on occasions when they could speak of the justice that the Governor had carried out in Orote upon that Indian whom he had hanged, they would speak of the great justice and reason that the Governor had in all his proceedings. For instance, they would say that the action in question made everyone’s life safer; that the unruly had learned that they would pay with their own life when they took someone else’s; that the man in question had been well punished for having killed such a holy man as Father Francisco Esquerro; and that he had deserved to die indeed for trying to kill the Spaniard who had married his daughter, when he should have appreciated the fact that a Spaniard would ask him for her hand, given that the Spaniard could have interceded on his behalf with the Governor, and also Father Monroy, who had carried out the wedding; that he should have thought himself lucky that the Spanish, such a courageous people, should want to become their relatives; that one could easily see that the Fathers took care of their daughters, given that after they had been raised with such good customs, they reached such an honorable status that they could be married to Spaniards; that the Fathers did them more good than their natural parents, given that they taught them to live like men, to cultivate the fields, and to acquire property; that if some towns got into fights with others, they calmed them down, and prevented the eventual death of thousands. Besides all that (they would say) they give clothes to many, and if anyone ask for our fruits, it is to give us in exchange some tobacco, and iron, and other things that we do not have. Well then, why would anyone want to flee from people so good? Instead, why not seek their friendship, specially so when they seek ours?

They would spread such outcry among the Indians friendly to the Spanish, hoping it would get within their hearing, thus not become suspicious of them, and not think of them as enemies, and so would let them come and go in the Christian towns to watch the feasts that took place in the churches, and taking part in the games that were celebrated then, and they would praise them very much, giving to understand that they too would like to take Fathers to indoctrinate them in their own towns. Thus the traitors would hide their malicious design, hoping to find an opportunity to catch the Spanish unaware, and kill them. Although those involved in this plot were so numerous, it

was kept so secret that, during the whole month that it lasted before being carried out, no-one ever divulged the secret, or the bargain they had made with Aguarin.

Aguarin thought it would be a good time to carry out the deed on 30 August, because the church of Tupungan was dedicated to St. Rose, a devotion of the [previous] Governor (as we have said); therefore, all the Fathers of the Residence must necessarily congregate there, and the soldiers of the garrison, to celebrate the feast of the Saint. Aguarin called on those of Tarisay, and of the other rebel towns, to come on that day to the feast, and come well armed with spears, and stones, and some firearms that they had stolen from the Spanish in some battles.<sup>1</sup> And, to prevent that the full force of the soldiers from heading to Tupungan, they arranged that on the previous day fire be set to the church and house owned by the Fathers in Ayran, to make the Governor run off overthere with part of the garrison, thus dividing the soldiers, and to be able to finish off more easily those of Tupungan, and then turn upon the others, who would still be left in Ayran, and in the garrison.

Just as Aguarin had planned, the Indians carried it out; indeed, on the eve of St. Rose Day, before daybreak, they began to burn the church at Ayran, the house of the Fathers, the two Seminaries for boys and girls, with such rapidity that it hardly gave time to a missionary Father (not without some risk) to salvage the statues, and holy oils that were inside the church, and to send a message to the Governor about what happened. When the latter heard about it, he went with some men to Ayran to relieve that Father, and see if he could do something about the rest, but as the church, house and seminaries were but ashes, and that the arsonists were not known, he took along the missionary Father and went to Tupungan, where he thought it would be proper to be in attendance, as there would be many Indians present there, pouring in to participate in the next day's feast, and the fire of Ayran did not augur well for the feast at Tupungan.

This decision seemed to have been inspired by God, because when the Governor arrived at Tupungan, the few soldiers there had already retreated to the house of the Fathers to defend themselves against an imminent attack by many Indians who had congregated there. As soon as the latter saw the Governor, they tried to hide their evil intention, by saying, that they had only come to see the feast, and did not have any other purpose. When asked about the fire at Ayran, they said that they had not the least news about it. The Governor knew about their deceit, but he thought it was not the right time to break [peace] with them, as they were so numerous, and given that they dissembled out of fear; after all, he had repressed them, and his presence might be enough to stop them. He questioned them for awhile, to see if he could detect some treachery, but they answered with so much deceit that the Fathers became convinced that it would be worse if they were antagonized, and pushed to declare themselves enemies. So, he stopped his investigation at that time, cancelled the feast, so that they

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1 Ed. note: The author has assumed the theft of some muskets, but the natives did not yet know how to use them (deserters from the garrison did that later on), and must have had but little powder.

would go away, and he could take time to confer with the Fathers, and the soldiers regarding what action to take.

**Chapter 62. The Governor decides that the Ven. Father Monroy is not to go back to his Residence, but the requests of his people, and the regret of the Ven. Father upon leaving them, forces him to consent to his return. There follows the murder of the servant of God by the barbarians.**

There was a great confusion between the Governor and the Fathers regarding the decision that had to be taken, because to consider as friendly those who faked their inimical intentions was to place oneself clearly in the hands of one's enemies; to guard against them (as anyone suspicious of them should do) was to oblige them to declare themselves as enemies, and run the risk of an attack, which they were not carrying out, thinking that it was not discovered. So, after some discussion of the matter, with opinions freely expressed, the consensus was that the Fathers should return to their residences, with the people each one had accompanied, except for Father Monroy, who was in charge of the Residence of San José in Orote, not only because the Indian mutiny had started there, but also because, ever since the wedding of the Mariana maiden with the Spaniard, the Indians looked at him with jaundiced eyes.

So, Governor Don Francisco [Irisarri y] Vivar went out to speak with them, because most of them, although the feast had been cancelled, had stayed put, refusing to go away. In order to calm them down, he spoke to them in the following manner:

“My sons, you are repaying the missionary Fathers very badly for the work they do for your own good, not only in indoctrinating you, but also in the care they take in raising your children. Indeed, when at the cost of their sweat, and labor, they build churches in which to indoctrinate them, and house in which to raise them, some of you show yourselves to be ungrateful to so many benefits by burning down the churches and even the colleges where your children live. I am not mentioning what you have done in the past. I am talking about the fire that you have set yesterday in the church and seminary at Ayrán. It is still burning today, voicing your ingratitude with the tongue of the flames. Naturally, none of you is the author of this deed, as you are all saying that you are friends. I don't know if you can call a person a friend if he burns the house where you live. That is enough proof of the bad opinion you have of the Fathers, and I had decided to take them with me to the Garrison, and to abandon you completely, but the Fathers will go to their Residences as a sign that I treat you as friends.”

“However, concerning the town of Orote, that Father Sebastian de Monroy has in charge, you people have given me the most to do since I took over this government, not just because you natives overthere rebel more easily, but also because you live near the Toretano Indians, who are those who ordinarily hate peace and do not know how to live in any other way except being up in arms all the time, and because it was in Orote that the last plot was hatched, I will take Father Sebastian with me. As long as you in Orote do not calm them, you will have to do without him, because, besides the Law of

God which obliges me to defend the innocent, the King has placed me here as Governor to make sure the Fathers' lives are safe, but not only are they in danger amid your ordinary violence, but so many have lost it at the hands of your atrocity. I, for one, will lose my life first, and will risk all the soldiers in my company, before I let any one of the Fathers suffer the least risk to his life."

This is what the Governor said, but the answer from the Orote people was, that they would not go without the Father; in fact, this was tantamount to declaring them as enemies, because what better proof His Lordship the Governor could give (they said) that the people of Orote were confederates of the enemy towns, than not wanting to trust them with their Father, and Teacher, who had taught them, and whom they loved so much, on account of his great gentleness, that since he had come into their town, they had not had the least unpleasantness. And although His Lordship the Governor thought they were worse than the people of the other Residences, none of them there were more obedient to the Father in charge of them, than they had been toward Father Monroy. And they had no better witness in that than Father Monroy himself; he could tell him that it was a great insult for them, to have the other towns go home with their Fathers, and they alone go home without their Father, and that is why that could not happen.

Besides, there arose the cry of the boys, and girls, when they learned that the Father was not going with them. Grabbing his cassock, they told him:

"Come, Father, please do not stay. We cannot go without you, because we will have no-one there to take care of us, and to teach us." The girls added: "Our fathers want to use us for bad things, and they will take us out of the College, and deliver us to whom-ever wants to make us bad, and to offend God. Everything good that you have taught us will be lost. Father, do not fear the Toretanos. Indeed, you know very well that many times they have come down into our town with the intention to cause trouble, but when they saw you, they quieted down, because they had heard about the good that you do to everyone, and that you have never done any harm to anyone. But in case they want to offend you in anything, we girls, though we might not have any weapons to defend you, we will beg them with tears, to leave you alone, and not to do you any harm."

The Ven. Father was so touched by the words of those innocent souls that he could hardly repress his tears long enough to answer them:

"Don't worry, my children, I will not stay."

Turning towards the Governor, he spoke to him in this way:

"Captain, Sir. I know very well that you wish to make my life safe by holding me and not allowing me to return to my Residence, but one has to realize how difficult it is for me to abandon these lambs, whom I have reduced to the flock of the Lord with so much labor, specially when the danger is only potential danger, and not known for sure. How can I fail my faithful, I who am in charge of their souls? And souls that are so much at risk? For me to leave them would have the same effect as would have resulted many times before, when I was present there, and they tried to take them out from under my care. I just don't have the courage to leave them. So, give me permission,

Sir, to go back with my people, because I would die a slower death if I abandon these creatures, than if I live with them, though I might place my life at risk once, or many times.”

This the Ven. Father said with so much fervor that, not just the Fathers, but also the Governor, changed their minds. They went off at some distance, as if to consult about the case; they discussed among themselves the means that should be chosen to offer some security to Father Monroy, in case he did go.

And after having consulted with the Fathers, as the people of Orote swore to help the Father in every way, in case the other Indians wanted to make him go back to his Residence, the Governor agreed, and assigned his Lieutenant, Captain [sic] Nicolás Rodríguez, and seven other soldiers, to guard him. They were all men of much valor. They were ordered expressly, not just to defend Father Monroy, but that, at the least sign of trouble on the part of the Indians, they were to withdraw to the Garrison with the Father, disregarding entreaties, and not paying the least attention to fear, that usually makes soldiers behave with temerity on many occasions. That is how Father Monroy returned to Orote with his people. After leaving a competent guard in Tupungan, the Governor withdrew with the rest of the soldiers to his Garrison.

### **Chapter 63. Father Sebastian de Monroy returns to his Residence of Orote, and the people of Orote return to their old rebellion.**

The Ven. Father went back to his Residence of San José, and the Indians went along with a very different plan in mind, because, although they had given their word to the Governor to be faithful to the Father, and to the Spanish, and not to cooperate with the bad intentions of the other enemy towns, the whole thing had been but a show, on account of the fear they had of the Governor, and more of a ruse to draw Father Monroy into their hands—with him they planned to avenge the judgment carried out by the Governor on the killer of Father Esquerra in Orote—than a true reconciliation. So, as they made their way back to their town, they were meditating about their treachery; perhaps they would even have carried it out along the way, except that they feared the soldiers brought as an escort by the Father.

Meanwhile, the good Father had different thoughts in mind. He was completely unaware of the treachery that was being planned against him. He was being led like a lamb in the control of wolves, and he thought that he was in the company of lambs. He went happily, because he would be again in charge of his children, and did not become aware that he was delivering himself to his enemies. So, he would explain to his faithful that he had been shocked when the Governor had wanted to take him along to the Garrison; he did question the children about the doctrine, and in order to alleviate the boredom of the journey, he would narrate devout examples that might encourage the older ones to really adopt a virtuous conduct and, making use of the past incident, told them:

“Children, consider the punishment that those who dared to burn the church and house of Ayran will get. Indeed, certainly the Governor has to investigate, and no matter how secretly they have done it, sooner or later those who have committed such an



evil, like burning the temple of God, will become known. So, to give a lesson to the rest, the Governor is bound to punish them in this life with death; it would be a shame if any of those involved in that fire belong to Orote, but I just cannot believe it, because I don't believe that anyone calling himself a Christian would do such an evil thing; so, the authors must have been some heathens. So, what you should do is to keep away from the heathens and have nothing to do with the enemy towns, so that the crime will not be imputed to you. It is best for you to spend your spare time working on helping the church, which needs assistance more than ever; it is in your advantage to collaborate, because that is the way for you to convince His Lordship the Governor of your good intentions, and make him lose the bad opinion that he has had of you until now."

Such was good advice that the Ven. Father gave to the people of Orote, but, as they might have been the main party in the uprising, and some of them might even have taken part in the arson at Ayran, the advice of the Father was far from sounding good; rather, it would have irritated some more, and they would have thought that, in order to free themselves from the punishment of the Governor, they might as well continue with the rebellion that they had planned, and finish off all the Spanish once and for all. What if they became the most suspect, now that the Governor had posted guards of soldiers in the towns, and specially in Orote, where he had sent his Lieutenant? It became important for them not to arouse suspicion further, and not be declared guilty as a result of the investigations that the Governor had to make. So, they had hardly reached Orote, when they despatched advices in secret to the confederated towns, through Aguarin, so that they would all reserve the 6th of September, which was a Sunday, the day on which all the neighbors came to church to hear mass, and come well prepared with weapons.

This advice was so secret that in the eight days that followed the discovery of the uprising in Tupungan, and the six days that the Ven. Father Monroy spent in Orote in the company of the eight soldiers given to him by the Governor, that he never heard of the treachery that they were plotting. The deceit practiced by the people of Orote was such that they visited the town, dealt with the Spanish, obeyed Father Monroy with even more readiness in everything they were ordered to do than heretofore; so, not the least sign of the rebellion was discovered. Still, come Sunday, he got a premonition of the misfortune, either from a heartfelt sensation that he would lose his human life, or more probably, during prayer, God let him sense the risk that was threatening him and his companions. In any case, he rose very early, called the soldiers to come and hear the mass that was planned for them, telling them that it was convenient to say mass early that day, on account of what might happen.

The soldiers obeyed, they heard mass, and then asked the Father to hear their confession. So it was done, and while the servant of God was saying graces, something in which he used to spend much time, they got their weapons ready for whatever might happen. That day was the first day of a feast to which the Indians of the Residency were to come to the church to hear mass. And, given that on the occasion of hearing it, some

Indians from other nearby towns could also come; that is why, the soldiers thought it prudent to be prepared, with loaded arquebuses, to face any eventuality.

This prevention turned out to have been a good one, as the event did show. Indeed, when the appointed time for the Indians to hear mass arrived, the crowd of them who flocked that day was noteworthy. They came armed with spears, machetes, and other weapons, as if they had come to do battle. They found the soldiers with arquebuses at the ready, and lined up in defensive position between the house and the church. Upon learning that the mass had already been said, they became so confused, fearing that their bad intention was known by the Spanish, that not only they did not dare attack the Spanish, but took the opportunity to dissemble even more, and went inside the church [supposedly] to pray, now that there was no mass. Then, coming out a few at a time, as if they were going back home, most of them just hid themselves in the vicinity of Orote. From there, they sent the parents of the boys and girls of the Seminary to try and get permission from the Father, given that it was a holiday, to let the children come out to amuse themselves at the beach, and visit their acquaintances; the Father was in the habit of giving such permissions on similar days. This he granted, because he did not see any inconvenient in it; as usual, he was faithful to his angelical character, always ready to please, and did not realize that he might have been tricked when he granted this permission, and so, the children left the place to go and have fun on the beach.

**Chapter 64. The Indians take the children to another town. The Ven. Father requests that they be returned, but does not succeed; so, he says goodbye to the people of Orote, in order to go to the Garrison with the soldiers.**

The boys and girls had hardly gone out to have fun on the beach when a band of Indians came out of hiding and, partly by cajoling but mostly by threats, made the children walk to a town that is distant 2 leagues from Orote; there they were delivered, with a specific order that in no way they were to let them go, even if from Orote they sent for them. This was a clear sign that they intended to burn the place down, and did not wish to have any of their loved ones near the place, who might entice them to have pity.

This incident took place so secretly that, if a faithful Indian had not witnessed it, and warned the Ven. Father that they were taking them away, he would not have learned about it during the whole of that day, but as soon as the Ven. Father Monroy learned about the abduction of those he cherished the most, he was visibly afflicted: "Ouch! my dear children (said he) in the hands of the heathens! Now that they have not succeeded in taking the lives of your bodies, as they wish to do with all the Christians, out of hate for the Law of Christ, they would then take your souls away from God, by having you practice their awful vices. Like tender plants, you have hardly taken roots in the Faith, they have to uproot you from the field of the Church, and transplant you in that of heathenism. It was to preserve you in the Faith that I agreed to return with you, at the risk of my life. And now, why would I want to go on living, if I cannot use my life to help

you preserve the Faith?" This the zealous was saying, with such sorrow, and tears, that the soldiers did not know how they could console him.

So, to make sure that he would not worry so much, the Lieutenant Governor Nicolás Rodríguez made the suggestion that he could go with four soldiers to bring them back, that it was important to make contact with the town where the children were being held, because there was not even any news about that. The Lieutenant was making a risky offer; so, it seemed to the Father that it was not easy to recover the children by force, if those involved in their abduction did not wish to let them return. So, he thought that it was better to make use of some Indian intermediary, who would go there to negotiate with the Indians, to have the children return. For this purpose, he thought he had a good man, named Cheref, whom he begged to accept the responsibility of having the children return.

This Cheref was a very deceitful man, one who could fool anyone. Indeed, during the disputes, he was never heard to complain about the Fathers, or the Spanish; rather, many times he had warned them of on-going disturbances, acting as a faithful man. However, he was such a great traitor that, at the same time that he appeared to be on the side of the Spanish, he was the one who did incite the Indians the most to rebel against them. Still, with a peaceful face, and with flattering words, he fooled the Spanish. He had Father Monroy so fooled that, until he was killed by him (as we will narrate), he had always held him in high regard.

And, carried away by the high regard he had for him, he explained to him as he felt, with total trust in being comforted by him:

"Cheref, my friend (the good Father told him), you know very well that I was made very sad by the people of Orote for taking away the children of the Seminaries, when they cannot ignore that it was my affection for them, for having raised them, that made me come back to Orote, only for the purpose of not abandoning them. I knew that I was placing myself in danger, and within the reach of those who hated me, and who had many times tried to kill me, but I was risking it all to preserve these children in the Faith, and to make them progress in the holy, and praiseworthy customs in which they are being raised. But now that they have been abducted, I no longer have a reason to stay in Orote, where I have had nothing but bad relationships with its residents, and I have decided to leave, if the children are not returned. So, Cheref my friend, if you wish to have me stay in Orote, take it upon yourself to have the children return. I do know that, although they have been taken away, they are not very far. So, I hope that you will make an effort to have them brought to me by noon. Do not waste time; rather, go and negotiate for their return. In the meantime, I too will try to negotiate with my prayers, and humble entreaties to God our Lord, for the success of your business."

In answer to these words, the tricky Cheref, continuing his dissembling, told him:

"Don't go, Father. Don't leave us. If that is the only reason to force you to leave, have no doubt that they will come back. I know very well the town where they have been taken to. I have many friends there, and I have no doubt that, as soon as they see me come for them, they will let me have them."

This said, he said good-bye to the Father, and instead of going for the children, he went to a place that is closest to Orote,<sup>1</sup> to despatch from there some Indians, to give notice to the rowdiest of the Indians among those in the hills, called Toretanos, that they should come, because he let them know that the Fathers and the Spanish were thinking about going to Agaña. So, they were to come quickly to carry on with the deed, because otherwise they would necessarily escape. While such a message was being transmitted to the Toretano Indians, he went down to Sumay, and other towns along the coast to warn them to pull all the canoes off the beaches, so that, in case Father Monroy and the Spanish tried to embark for the Garrison, they would find nothing to sail with. This is how this new Judas planned to betray his Father, and Teacher, to his enemies.

While Cheref the traitor was arranging the ruin of the Ven. Father Monroy, and of those few Spanish in his company, it seemed like a good idea to the Ven. Father to send a message to the Governor with the news from Orote, and the risk they were in, so that he would immediately come to rescue them. To this effect, he despatched one soldier, and begged him to take along a boy who, on account of his love for the Father, never left his side; that is how it came about that he never did go to the beach earlier with the others. It seemed like a good idea to send this boy to the Garrison to make him safe, given that in any uprising he would be at risk, or they might kill him, or at least abduct him, as they had done with the others. He wrote a letter to the Governor, reporting the state of affairs, in the following manner:

**[The last letter of Fr. Monroy]**

“My dear Governor, Sir:”

“The state in which we find ourselves forces me to report to Your Grace what is happening, so that, in accordance with your great zeal, and valor, you may arrange to rescue us. Those of Orote, although they saw me return with them, have not calmed down. Rather, today Sunday, they came to mass more numerous than ever, and well armed. Their purpose did not seem very good, and I believe that if it had not occurred to me to say mass early, and they had seen me at the altar saying it, and the soldiers hearing it, they would have charged us, and killed us. In fact, no matter how they tried to deceive us by going inside the church to pray, treachery was written all over their faces. They begged me, as on other occasions, to give permission to the children of the Colleges to go to the beach. I (though with some suspicion) thought that I should not deny permission, so as not to let them know they were being suspected, but they had hardly gone out when they abducted them, and took them to a town, where I am told they are being detained. There is no reason why that boy, who is the only one who has remained with me, should be placed in danger in the invasion that we fear will come within hours. So, to make him safe, I am sending him to the Garrison with the bearer of this letter.

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1 Ed. note: This was most probably the town of Talisay, located between Orote and Sumay.

They have promised to me to bring back the children by noon today, but I doubt it will happen, since they will not even tell me the name of the place where they are being held. I will wait until that deadline, to see if they return. Otherwise, I will try and return to the Garrison with the soldiers, if they consent in letting us leave, because, if the children do not return, it will be a sure sign that they intend to come and kill us.”

“May God favor us, and help us; and may He save Your Grace, as is my wish.”

“Orote, 6 September 1676.”

“Sebastian de Monroy.”

The Ven. Father sent this letter, care of the soldier and the Mariano boy, that morning, in order to let the Governor know what was going on in Orote, because, as Cheref had first gone to call the Toretano Indians to arms, they must have been able at that time to find a canoe in Sumay to go to the Garrison, before Cheref came down to Sumay, and other places along the beach, to warn them to pull their canoes in, so that neither the Father nor the Spanish could find any to board, as in fact happened.

### **Chapter 65. Cheref returns at noon to Orote without the children, and the Ven. Father with the seven soldiers departs from the place to go to the Garrison, although he does not succeed in embarking.**

Once he had despatched the message to the Governor, the Ven. Father was hoping with anxiety for the noon deadline to arrive, to see if Cheref would return with the children, as he had promised to do. When he saw that it was past noon, and there was no sign of Cheref, he decided to comply with the order to return to the Garrison with the soldiers. So, after picking up what appeared necessary to carry along, for instance, the holy oils, the ornaments, and the sacred vases, he left with the soldiers for the town of Sumay with the intention of embarking there. Those of Orote tried to detain him, making believe that they were sorry to see him go, but the Father would answer that, with the children gone, and they not wanting to return them, they had no reason to detain him, since it was proof that they did not appreciate him. So, without paying attention to their entreaties, he went on his way.

However, he had gone but a short distance when Cheref reached them, and told Father Monroy not to go, that the children were coming, though he had been unable to bring them back before noon, as he had promised, but, so as not to break his promise to return before noon, he had come to report what was happening; that what he was begging him to do was to return to Orote, and that perhaps he would find the children there already, in accordance with the word he had given to bring them back. All of this was said to detain the good Father, and his companions, while the Toretano Indians were on their way. The rupture had been contracted out to them, because they were not known to the Father, those of Orote offering support; however, they hesitated in being the first to attack, because they had received so many favors from the servant of God, and thus their hands were tied, and they dared not to stain them with the blood of the man who had always filled the post of Father, and Teacher, among them.

However, as the servant of God recognized the great danger that his companions would run in returning to Orote, from where their departure was nothing short of a miracle, so they thought, he thought it better not to waste time, and pursue his way to Sumay to embark, and withdraw to the Garrison. This decision appeared a good one, in view of the fact that Cheref, who had been following them, stopped doing so, and soon disappeared from sight. The soldiers thought that he had perhaps gone to get some men to detain them, although the Father, who had not lost his good regard for Cheref, tried to make them give up their suspicion. However, seeing that they were very perturbed, as people sensing an imminent death, took advantage of it to make them reconcile themselves, and to prepare themselves to die, in case the Indians attacked them. This foresight was very appropriate, given that the danger of perishing was so obvious.

When they arrived at Sumay, and no matter where they looked along the beach, they found nothing to embark in. They then recognized that the people of that town were also their enemies. However, it appeared to the Lieutenant that the canoes, that were no longer on the beach, were hidden in the houses of the town; he ordered four soldiers to go into the place, and to bring the first canoe they found to the beach, but he warned them that if they found resistance in that, they were to return to the same spot where they would rejoin him, or, if they heard the sound of an arquebus, it would be the signal for them to stop everything, and to come to the spot, where he would be waiting for them, along with Father Monroy and the other soldiers.

The four soldiers in question departed to carry on this order. Upon entering the place, they found it completely silent, because the men had left it, and the women had retreated to their houses. They got to the first encampments and, not finding what they were looking for, they did not dare to go in further, fearful of some ambush, and they were discussing the matter among themselves, whether they should return to the spot where they had left the Lieutenant, when they heard the sound of two arquebuses, and recognized the signal that they were to return and rejoin their companions, and this they did.

However, when they reached the place where Father Monroy and the Lieutenant were, they found that the soldiers held their weapons at the ready facing a multitude of Indians, who were throwing spears at them and advancing towards them for an attack. Everyone having taken his defensive position, they began to fire the firearms, with such good aim that not one bullet was being lost. When the others saw that many of the Indians who had run ahead of the others were falling, they stopped short and, unlike before, stopped throwing spears. All of a sudden, they saw Cheref come out from among them, and, with diabolical dissembling, turn around and address the Indians themselves in a loud voice:

“I don't know why you show yourselves so cruel toward people so good as the Spanish are. They have never done harm to anyone, unless they have been harmed first. And even after they have received harm from many of our people, whenever we have wanted to reconcile ourselves with them, they have admitted us to their friendship, and this they have never broken with us. And if they have had wars with us, they had been much pro-

voked. Besides this, what kind of courage is this, so many wanting to fight with so few? The more so when they are retreating with their people, and leaving us in possession of the field. In one word, [if] you insist on pursuing those who are fleeing, this is not courage; it would only serve to make the others, who are in the Garrison, ridicule us, and make the Governor more angry.”

“Even if these Spaniards had offended us in something, it is sufficient for us to forgive them, and let them go free, in company with Father Monroy, from whom we, all those in Orote, have received so many benefits that no-one can boast of having received as many good works from the Fathers who are in charge of them, as all those of Orote can mention. Go back, that is enough, let them go with him, so that they go freely, because if you do not do it, I will myself take their side and fight against you. And for you to see that I am serious, of course, I dare you.”

And picking two, or three spears that he had under one arm, one after the other he threw them in their direction, a show that made the Indians tarry, and then withdraw a little, as if they were giving up the enterprise.

This done, Cheref went to Father Monroy and told him:

“Do not fear, dear Father. I am at your side, and because I assure you that I will go myself to look for a canoe in which you will be able to sail to Agaña, or wherever you want.”

And, calling on a few Indians, who had come out of Sumay at the sound of the battle, told them to bring the best canoe they had at once, to take the Father, and the Spaniards, and that he would take them himself, for not trusting anyone else with the crossing. The Indians then brought the canoe, and he himself invited Father Monroy, and the soldiers to board it. By that time, they had no choice but to accept, as they were in such a fix that there was no other remedy than to take to the sea, the more so when Cheref had taken their side, and obliged himself to take them, and so, they embarked with him.

### **Chapter 66. Cheref reveals his treachery by capsizing the canoe at sea. This was the signal agreed upon by the Indians to jump overboard and kill Father Monroy and his companions, as they did with barbarous cruelty.**

Who would have imagined that a barbarian could be so tricky? Or that all the shows of friendship that Cheref had used were but a cover under which to hide such an enormous treachery? Who, upon watching him take the poor foreigners surrounded by enemies away from the shore, would not believe, that he was delivering them from a sure death? That he had embarked them to remove them from danger, and make them safe? That such an act would not be simply to gain immortal fame among the Spanish, and a large reward from the Governor? That is how the soldiers interpreted this act, and Father Monroy also, who until then had held Cheref in good regard.

However, the perverse and demented Judas was betraying his Father, and Teacher, to his enemies with a show of friendship; indeed, his having arranged for the boat, and

volunteered to act as pilot, and taken over the job of navigating, was so that he could, as soon as enough distance had been gained from shore, capsize the canoe (something that the Indians can do very easily) and throw onto the beach [sic], not only Father Monroy but the soldiers too. They all fell into the water, that was chest-deep, some losing their senses, others their arquebuses, and everyone's powder became wet; therefore, none of them could use the firearms, even though they wanted to fight. That had been the reason why Cheref had made them embark; it had seemed to him that as long as they remained ashore, they would have defended themselves with the arquebuses, as they had done before. So, he made use of such a diabolical trick, thus enabling the enemies to come into the water (as they did, as soon as Cheref capsized the boat) and finish them off with the blows from sticks and stones.

In this case, the Ven. Father Monroy, when he saw that all his men were in the water, and that the enemies were rushing madly towards them, he told them:

"My friends, it is no longer time to fight, but to die, and to die like Christians. So, beg God to forgive your sins, and ask Him to forgive those who are killing us, with no greater excuse than the hate they have for the Christian religion, that as good Christians you profess. Offer your souls to God, and your bodies to martyrdom, so that God may take pity on you, and take you to the eternal rest as a reward for your labors. Long live Jesus! May the death of His valorous soldiers be a triumph for Him over His enemies. Hey! Long live Jesus! Until now you served the King of the Earth, but as of today you will serve the King of Heaven."

That is how the apostolic Father motivated his people to face death, while the cruel Marianos, either with sticks, or with machetes, were killing them; although the stones, and the spears, that were thrown from the shoreline were enough to have killed them all sooner than later, Father Monroy preserved his to assist his companions in the combat, by covering himself with a small shield, that he had managed to pick up, in order to fend off the blows from the spears, thus gaining some more time in which to assist his companions, until one of those Sayons,<sup>1</sup> who were walking in the water, hit him with a stone on a shoulder, thus causing him to lose his grip on the shield.

Then, the infamous Cheref (it makes one shiver just to say it!) pierced him through the neck with a spear. When the servant of God saw him coming towards him, he asked him, as Christ had said to the Sayon who had slapped him in the face: "Why do you hurt me?" Then at once adding in his language: "**Si Dios maasi,**" which means: "**May God repay you. May God have mercy on you.**" Those were the last words with which this apostolic Preacher crowned the zealous preaching of his whole life. He concluded it, stoned by the enemies of Christ, with the same words that the first of the glorious martyrs, St. Stephen, used to address Christ in favor of the very people who were stoning him: "*Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum.*"<sup>2</sup> And, as if it were not enough

1 Ed. note: A reference to a Roman soldier's armor, and by extension, to the Roman soldiers who were present at the crucifixion of Jesus.

2 Acts, chap. 7, verse 60: "Lord, do not count this sin against them."



to have stoned him, and pierced his neck with a spear, their diabolical fury made them use machetes, and cutlasses, to cut his body into so many pieces that the sea distributed them to various places, and his esteemed remains could not have been given a proper burial ashore, where the enemies would have continued to outrage it anyhow, as they did during the whole of that night with a scandalous uproar upon the bodies of the others, his companions.

They had not deserved such barbarous outrages. Of this we are persuaded by the piety of the cause for which they died, defending the Father, and protecting the Christian religion, in addition to the dedication of their lives, which we are about to mention; indeed, while writing the biography of the Ven. Father, I cannot help but mention those who were so faithful to him in life, as to choose to protect him until they all died together. There were seven of them in all, whose names must appear in this book, although I have no doubt that their names will be written better in the Book of Life.

The chief of them all was **Lieutenant [sic] Nicolás Rodríguez Carvajal**, born in Asturias. It was only three months since he had arrived at these Islands aboard the galleon **San Antonio**. General Antonio Nieto left him for Lieutenant Governor. He had served the King in Puerto Rico for over 10 years, and was on the way to the Philippines as a Sergeant. God called him to this Mission, and he was so moved by it that neither the requests of his Captain, nor the entreaties of his friends were able to separate him from such a pious intention, and, as someone who consecrated his life to lose it in this enterprise for God, so he tried to live it in a very tight manner always. He was not only regarded by all as a man of valor, but of great truth, and with a very tight conscience, a true Christian man, one who showed his true valor by giving his life for God.

The second man, who was named **Juan de los Reyes**, was a Pampango by nationality, but very Hispanicized in everything. He was helped a lot in this, by having spent many years at the side of the Ven. Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, with whom he came to these Islands. Within a short time he was made a Second Lieutenant, and Father Diego Luis entrusted him with very difficult enterprises; in fact, he would use him in the conversion of the Indians as much as he would have used any member of the Society. He was a model to all the soldiers by his modesty, and by frequent use of the sacraments. He was of great relief to them, as they could always find in his store all the necessities for their succor: a charitable character that he learned from Father Sanvitores, like his other virtues.

The third man was **Alonso de Aguilar**, a Creole from Puebla de los Angeles in New Spain. He had spent 4 years helping this Mission, being a regular escort of the Fathers in the most dangerous mission tours. The Fathers would be delighted when he was with them, because he was a man of extreme reserve, and so modest that he hardly raised his eyes to talk with the Indians: a reserve that is very necessary in the midst of the dangerous nudity that they profess. He spent the most time with Father Monroy, to whom many times he would say, when the Father would be giving them clothes, or shirts, handed out by the Superior: "Father, this is unnecessary, because I can live with what I have already. This will do fine for the Indians, who have got to kill me very soon any-

way.” A man who had death always present in mind could only have lived his life quite fittingly.

The fourth one, who was named **José Lopez**, was a Creole from the province of Queretaro in New Spain. He had been two years in these Islands helping the Mission. He always was credited as a man of courage. He was very loved by everyone, not only on account of his peaceful character, but also for being very serious and an enemy of gossip; rather, he tried to fix any quarrel that arose among the companions.

The fifth one, **Antonio Perea**, was another Creole, born in Cuernavaca in New Spain. He had served the Mission for 2 years, and was sorely missed, because he acted not only in the capacity of a soldier, a job he did well, but also he was an excellent phlebotomist, and a good surgeon, and he attended the sick with a great charity.

The sixth one, **Antonio de Vera**, a Creole from Cholula, a town in New Spain, had also served 2 years in the Mission. When he saw that he was being sent to Orote to accompany Father Monroy, he did a general confession with him.

The last one, **Santiago de Urrutia**, a Creole from Mexico City, had come to these Islands in the company of Lieutenant Nicolás Rodríguez only three months before. When he saw that the Lieutenant was staying in this Mission, he wished to accompany him, judging that the enterprise was in the service of God. He was happy-go-lucky, not harming anyone, and his death was felt deeply, because he was a lad of 22 years of age, had very good habits, and would certainly have had some success.

Those were the men who suffered a violent death from the barbarians in the company of Father Monroy, and they deserved to share in such a lucky fate, as to die for the Faith, as we are persuaded they did, judging from the demonstrations that the barbarians continued to do after they died, profanating the Religion, and the sacred objects.

### **Chapter 67. The glory of the cause for which the Ven. Father died is proven by the actions taken by the Indians against sacred things.**

Nothing gives more credit to the glorious death that the Ven. Father suffered at the hands of the heathens than the fury with which his aggressors threw themselves upon what was sacred; indeed, after having left the body of the Ven. Father buried amid the waters of the sea, perhaps because the sea wished to keep it from the outrages that the other corpses of his companions were put through, they went on to set fire to the church of Orote, consuming therein the sacred statues, as if they wished to finish off the Catholic Religion with blood, and fire—a clear sign that they had not killed the Ven. Father on account of some insults they might have received from him, and not because they hated him as an individual; rather, it was by hate toward the Catholic Religion, whose Faith he had tried to plant in that land, like a true Minister of God.

Indeed, although they used the occasion of the wedding that the servant of God had performed between that Christian maiden and a Spaniard to begin a revolt, it can be seen quite clearly that it was but an excuse. In fact, what better employment could have been given to the recently-converted maiden in question? If the opinion of her parents

was simply to take her out of the College, and sell her to some Urritao, in order to get some financial benefit through lewdness, it is obvious that they wanted to do her a great evil, and that the Ven. Father wished to stop such an evil, by putting her in the state of Holy Matrimony. That would have been a good enough reason to crown his life with the laurel of a martyr, if they had killed him on that account, the same as what happened to St. John the Baptist, who lost his life in defending Chastity. However, the fact that they were not content with killing the Ven. Father, but went on to burn the church, the house, and the children's colleges in Orote, shows clearly that they were enemies not only of the servant of God, but of everything that concerned God, and that the hate they had for sacred things is what made them take revenge upon the life of Father Monroy.

This is proven by what they attempted in Agaña at the same time with the rest of the Fathers. Indeed, the Governor had gone upon receiving the message (as we said in Chapter 64) sent by the Ven. Father regarding the dangerous situation in Orote, and he had taken most of the men of the Garrison to relieve him. Warned about this move, they attacked the Garrison in order to burn the church of San Ignacio, kill the missionaries, and massacre the small guard of soldiers who had been left there. St. Ignatius freed them almost miraculously from this danger; indeed, it was sufficient for the missionary Fathers to come out bravely to meet them, to make them flee,<sup>1</sup> and St. Ignatius being satisfied with the blood shed by his dear and true son, Father Sebastian. They had also plotted the murder of the Fathers in Tupungan, the burning of the church, but God favored them by means of the Governor, who came by, on the way to Orote, though too late, since no matter how fast he went, he would find Father Monroy already dead, and the Indians celebrating their victory over the corpses of his companions. He passed through Tupungan with his men and saved the Fathers by taking them out of a great danger, and bringing them all to the Garrison, which he also made safe by his coming.

This whole plot had been hatched and arranged over many days by Aguarín, as we have already said; in other words, isn't this how the Devil pretended to uproot the Catholic Faith from those Islands once and for all? Isn't it also a clear proof that the Ven. Father who died on this occasion died for the Faith? Why could not someone's zealous piety call Father Monroy a martyr (meanwhile is awaited the judgment of the Church, which must determine the renown of the faithful who die in the service of God, be they Confessors, or Martyrs), given the circumstances, already mentioned, surrounding the cruel death he was given by the enemies of Christ, and of His Holy Law. Though one's piety did not dare to pretend so much, no-one can deny that the reason for the death of the Ven. Father was itself glorious, a pious cause, an example of the charity with which he prayed for his very own assassins, as a true disciple of Christ, and at the example of his Teacher. The fact that the revolts stopped with his death, and the Christian community grew so much afterwards, is an obvious result of the sacrifice of his life

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1 Ed. note: The Jesuits had weapons in their hands.

that he offered to God, very acceptable to the Lord, who honors and favors so well the labors of his people; indeed, he accepted the life of this His servant as a victim in exchange for the peace that He granted to his companions for a few years, though He punished the killers in this life, as we will see in the next chapter, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader of this History to know the whereabouts of men so ungrateful, and cruel, as those who dared to kill a man so angelical.

### **Chapter 68. The punishment that God gave in this life to the killers of the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy.**

Since the year 1676, when the Indians of Orote took the life of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, four of the chiefs who had placed their sacrilegious hands on him, killing him with spears, wandered as fugitives, hiding in the boondocks, until the year 1678 when Don Juan Antonio de Salas, a native of Madrid, took over as governor. Having learned that the main aggressor, named Cheref, was hiding in the direction of the town of Emerico [i.e. **Merizo**], he went out with the men of the Garrison to capture him. Having made his way in complete secrecy with only 15 soldiers towards the spot where Cheref was, he seized him so unaware that he had just the time to try and flee. When the Governor saw this, he shot him with an arquebus, so well aimed that the balls passed right through his neck, the part corresponding to the spot where he had pierced Father Monroy with a spear. With this, Cheref fell down dead, and the Governor had his head cut off, and his sacrilegious hand, and they were taken to the Garrison, where they were exhibited in public, where they stayed for a few days as a lesson. The impudent one thus paid for his crime in this life, and continued his punishment in Hell; indeed, he died a rebel, as he had spent the two years, in which he could have repented, stirring up the towns where he was a guest, so that they would not make peace with the Spanish.

A short time later, the Governor went out to **Ritidyan**, as he had learned that two more of the aggressors in the death of the Ven. Father Monroy were around there. Although the men in question fled from one town to another, by jumping in a canoe and setting off, the soldiers had spread themselves out along the beach [at the destination] and they fell into their hands, but, although the soldiers wanted to seize them, the two main aggressors fled right then, leaving behind in the canoe an old man who had been hit by a spear in one eye; so, our men seized him, and upon learning that he had been mixed up with the arson of the church at Orote, they wanted to kill him. This old man was a heathen, but, before the revolts, he had hosted the Ven. Father Monroy in his house, a deed that he was claiming so that they would not kill him. Although they forgave him, his wound was so severe that he was dying. That is why, the soldiers themselves convinced him to become a Christian; so, he asked for baptism, which he managed to receive. Thus, from Heaven the Ven. Father repaid him for the good deed he had done in lodging him in this world; I believe that he came out to welcome him in Heaven, because a short time after he received baptism, he died with a great contrition for his sins.

His companions, the other two killers of Father Monroy, although they fled then, were later punished. In fact, that same year 1679, during the month of September, that is, exactly three years after they had killed the Ven. Father, the people of the town of Tuña [i.e. **Fuña**], where they had sought refuge, got tired of hiding them at such a great risk to themselves, and they delivered them to the Spanish. In turn, the Spanish carried out capital punishment on the more guilty one at Agaña; the other one, who was not so guilty, was set free, to give an example of clemency, and so give more respect for justice. This is how the killers of the Ven. Father met their end. If God allows the outrage of his servants in order to crown them in Heaven, he punishes the daring acts of those who offend them, not only in the afterlife with eternal torments, but even in this life He may give the punishment that might serve as a lesson.

God also wished that Aguarin, the main author of the uprising, as we have said, would pay in this life for his sin; indeed, in the year 1680, when Don José de Quiroga, who was governing these Islands, learned that a few evil-doers were sheltering themselves in the Island of Rota, he went out during the month of August and, catching the islanders unaware, captured Aguarin and three others in his company, whom he had used as messengers to various Islands, and had succeeded in persuading their residents to arm themselves, and to finish off the Spanish once and for all, including the Fathers, and the Catholic Faith. These men, being criminals accused of such serious crimes, were brought to the Garrison, and hanged, then quartered, thus paying for their crime, but not before the Fathers had prepared them to die in a Christian manner. The reports of those times even refer to Aguarin, who bore the sentence with fortitude, when he was told that he would hang, he preached to the natives from the place of execution, telling them to take a lesson from his head, and not to dare in future to commit similar crimes against the Preachers of the Faith.

Once these obstacles were gone, Christianity made great progress in those Islands; as a matter of fact, there were large numbers enlisting themselves under the Standard of the Gospel every day. The Fathers could go freely among the towns, where the Christian Indians themselves helped them with no less fidelity than the Spanish soldiers. So many people were moving to the towns that the old churches seemed too small; they built new, larger, ones to contain the multitude who vied in flocking to them, not only for the divine offices, but for the rosary, and catechism. Such were the advancements that Christianity made after the valorous, and exemplary death of the Ven. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, whose virtues were compiled in a letter that Father Gerardo Bouwens, then Superior of the Marianas, wrote to the Society. I would have reproduced it verbatim, if I had not already made use of most of it throughout the present History, by referring here and there to all of its most singular notices that he gave of this servant of God. However, if anyone should wish to see it, they will find it in the biography of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, that was written by Father Francisco García of our

Society, and printed at Madrid in 1683, where its integral reproduction begins on folio 536.<sup>1</sup>

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### **Final chapter. The solemnity with which the glorious death of the Ven. Father Sebastian de Monroy was celebrated in the Town of Arahah.**

Although the Ven. Fr. lost his life at the hands of the heathens on Sunday 6 September of the year 1676, as we have already said in Chapter 66, the news did not reach Spain until October of the year 1679, because it took time for Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, Superior of those of the Society in the Mariana Islands, to carry out an investigation, and to set it down in a letter describing his exemplary life, and glorious death. This he sent to the Philippines, where it was detained for some time, until the departure of the Manila galleon, which carried it to Mexico, and from there it could be brought to Spain aboard the Fleet; the whole process took three years. However, when the letter from Fr. Gerardo Bouwens advising of the incident reached Seville, it was then reported to the His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Ambrosio Ignacio de Spinola y Guzman, then Archbishop of Seville, a most affectionate servant of God, as we have already mentioned in this History, so that His Most Illustrious Lordship, as Prelate, might decide on the solemnity that ought to be observed in the Town of Arahah, the birth-place of the Ven. Fr., to commemorate his death.

Therefore, after having written to Don Barlolomé Rodriguez de Monroy,<sup>2</sup> father of the servant of God, a letter in which he was given a thousand congratulations for the lucky death, and glorious end of his son, ordering him that in no way the funeral obsequies should be celebrated in the way that is usual for other deceased, and not to show sorrow in the usual manner, such as by mourning, either; rather, he was to attend a formal ceremony in the church, where a mass to the Holy Ghost had been ordered to take place, in thanksgiving for the courage that God had given the Ven. Fr. to lose his life for the propagation of our Holy Faith, and that a sermon would be preached in which his great virtues would be explained for the edification of the people. He added that the same ceremony had taken place in Madrid, to give solemnity to the glorious death of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, who had crowned his exemplary life with a similar death in the Mariana Islands; that such a thing could be done, notwithstanding the judgment of the Holy Mother Church, whose certification was necessary to confirm his martyrdom.

With the order of such a pious Prelate, the feast was arranged for the last Sunday in the month of October of the said year 1679. The chapel of the Incarnation (the private property of his parents) was adorned with crimson drapes, and a catafalque was built in the chapel, similarly adorned, and crowned with many lights. His father, Don Bar-

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1 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1676C2.

2 Ed. note: Obvious error, as his proper names were Monroy de Silva (see Doc. 1676C3).

tolomé de Monroy, attended in public, without mourning clothes, which he ordered all those in his family to remove on that day. The high mass was sung (with the Holy Sacrament in the monstrance in display) by Don Fernando Rodriguez de Monroy, the brother of the Ven. Fr., who that same month had celebrated his first mass, and is now [1690] Prebend of the Holy and Patriarchal Church of Seville, which is now publishing this Account of the great virtues of his saintly brother.

The sermon was preached by the Rev. Fr. Fray José de Jesús María, Teacher of Sacred Theology, of the Order of St. James, an individual of great esteem in those days, on account of his well-known writings, and religious manner. In the sermon he emphasized (and with reason) the nobility of his house, and specially the lineage of the Monroys, descendants of the Conquistadors of the Kingdoms of the Indies, whose generous spirits had infused in the Ven. Fr. the idea of going to the Indies, to the conquest of souls, even losing his life in such a glorious enterprise, and, although he said much about this, he said much more about his famous and wonderful virtues, so well known to everyone, since the examples of them which he had given during the time he lived in that town were still so recent, but he specified the other, very special, examples that he had heard many times from his Confessors, and personally knew of the perfection of all his proceedings.

The feast was concluded with the *Te Deum laudamus*, which was sung with the utmost solemnity, and finished off with happy congratulations that all the personalities of the place gave to his father, and his relatives. The feast served as a glorious example of consolation to the virtuous, and an opportunity for many to reform their habits, and to adjust their lives with what they had learned; it was a motive for everyone to praise God for the wonderful deeds He does through His creatures. Indeed, only seven years had elapsed since that angelic lad had left that place to dedicate himself to God as a Religious, when he achieved the good luck of spilling his blood in order to make Jesus Christ our Redeemer known, and to gain the Crown in Heaven for such an illustrious deed.

“May you enjoy it forever, noble young man, and please forgive the mistakes in this work, too short to give proper credit to the great virtues with which you have so honored your country, house and lineage, and our Religion among nations so barbarous, having acquired this credit at the cost of innumerable labors, that you suffered in propagating the Faith, and for the courage with which you gave your life to defend the cause of God, to whom belong honor, and glory, forever and ever, Amen.”

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## Documents 1676E

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# The Process of Manila in the cause of the beatification of Fr. Sanvitores

### A brief history of the Process, by Fr. Juan Ledesma

*Source: The Cause of Beatification, p. 521.*

On 3 October 1676, as a prelude to the Process, on the feast of St. Francis Borgia, Fr. Miguel de Pareja preached in a solemn function a sermon in thanksgiving for the happy death of Fr. San Vitores out of hate of the Catholic Faith. Two days later, on 5 October, the Process began in the Archdiocese of Manila, the commission having been given by the Provincial to Fr. Pedro Lopez so that, as Procurator, he would obtain all possible information on the life, virtues, and death of Fr. San Vitores.

On 20 November of the same year the information *de non cultu* was made in Manila. After this information, on 15 December, there followed the information on the life, death for the faith and virtues of the Servant of God.

Besides this Process of Manila there was another, called "Rogatorial" which was that of the Diocese of Cebu, on request of its Procurator, Fr. Francisco Lado. It began on 8 August 1676.

### E1. Sacred panegyric to the heroic virtues of the Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores..., delivered by Fr. Miguel de Pareja, Manila 3 October 1676

*Source: Printed book entitled: "Panegyrico sacro a las heroycas virtudes de el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, de la Compañía de Jesús. Acción de gracias, que por su dichosa muerte en odio de la Fé Catholica, rindió a Dios nuestro Señor la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas día de San Francisco de Borja su tercero general. En Manila 3 de octubre de 1676. Dixole el Padre Miguel de Pareja de la Compañía de Jesús, y dedicalo al muy ilustre Señor Don Joseph de Sanvitores de la Portilla y Alonso, cavallero del abito de Alcantara, veintiquatro de la ciudad de Burgos, vizconde de Cabra de Christo, &c." Manila, Santiago Cimatangso, 1677; copy in the Jesuit archives of the Province of Aragon, San Cugat del Valle, E-I-c5-(m); photocopy at MARC.*

[Not reproduced here, as this sermon is of marginal historical interest.]



## **E2. *Beatificationis S. Dei P. Didaci de Sanvitores***

*Source: AGI unknown number (16 pages); photocopy at MARC.*

*Note: Regarding the beatification of the Servant of God, Fr. Diego de Sanvitores—Copy of the authenticated report of his death, first made at Agaña in the year 1673.*

[May be the same text as 1672H1, or H6]

## **E3. Articles presented by the Procurator for the cause of Fr. Sanvitores**

*Sources: N. 2854, Jesuit archives in Chantilly, France (27 pages); also at ARSI ms. number not known; photocopy at MARC (under BV3678.B3M3).*

*Note: See also ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 248-261.*

### **[Extract from the] Process of the life, virtues and death in defence of the Faith of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus.**

Judges: The Venerable Dean and Chapter of the holy metropolitan church of Manila, acting as Governor of the Archdiocese.

Secretary: Br. Domingo de Valencia, Prebendary.

...

25. [Whereas] at the end of a prosperous voyage, he arrived at the said Ladrone Islands on Saturday 16 June 1668, that the first sermon that he preached converted 1,500 gentiles, that each day the number was increasing, that the Devil by means of a Chinese named Choco, who had been shipwrecked there during a storm some years before, suscitated in these islands a great persecution against the Servant of God and the whole Christian population, by publishing that the Fathers killed the children with baptism water, and for that reason they had chased them off their lands, and that with this perverse voice he incited against the Servant of God and the other preachers of the Gospel so much hate in the natives that they did not let them enter their villages; however, the Servant of God being in prayer, sermon and discussion with Choco, God willed to disillusion those souls the conversion of this Choco who had been such an impediment and who let himself be baptized and contradicted what he had published.

26. Whereas until the year 1672 he carried on with his apostolic work, without declining fatigue, hunger nor hardship, founding churches, visiting all the 11 islands, having given them all a name: in general, the name Marianas in honor of the Virgin Mary, and in particular, to every island and to many villages the names of saints or mysteries, baptizing gentiles, confirming those already Christians with his exhortations, walking all the time, continuously on the move, and, on account of his poor eyesight, it being necessary to have someone lead him tied with a cord with certain knots in it by which he understood when to climb or to come down in these [islands].

Año 1677

Información de la Vida,  
 Virtudes, y muerte en defensa  
 de la Fee del Venerable Pa-  
 dre Diego Luis de Sanvito  
 res de la Compañia  
 de Jesús.

Suezes.

Los Señores Venerable Se-  
 ñor, y Cabildo de la S.<sup>ta</sup> Iglesia  
 Metropolitana de Manila.

Gou.<sup>or</sup> en sedey vacante

de su Arzobispado

Legado N.<sup>o</sup>

don

Letra D. N.

Secretario

El Racionero Sr. Sa-  
 mudio de Valencia

27. Whereas other persecutions arose against the Servant of God by means of the witch-doctors of those islands from which originated in some places great risks of loss of life, stoning him in some places and throwing lances in others, and that on one of these occasions the Chinese Choco, before he converted, gave two wounds to the servant of God on the head which it pleased God to heal.

28. Whereas on account of the disturbances caused by the witch-doctors an army of 2,000 Marianos was created in order to eliminate once and for all the Fathers and the Christian religion, and they held them under siege for 40 days from 12 September 1671 until 20 October of the same year, and for the defence of the church only 30 soldiers sent by the Governor of the Philippines; in its defense, by the prayers of the servant of God, supernatural and superhuman events took place, for instance, not to let the fire projectiles thrown by the Indians set fire to the church, and following the inspiration of Heaven and the advice of the Servant of God, the Christians having made a vow to the Prince of the Angels, Saint Michael, on the very day dedicated to him, to invoke him every night with one Our Father and one Hail Mary for the period of one year and, at the end of the war, to offer a high mass through him for the victory they hoped to get through his assistance and to dedicate to him the first army that would be raised in these islands on purpose, the soldiers found themselves all of a sudden filled with new spirit; the following week, on 30 September, a lance with a fire projectile was found nailed to the roofing of the church and it had been consumed with part of the lance itself but without the roof having caught fire nor a single straw or palm rope burned; as the enemy invasion continued, the throwing of these fire lances and stones against the church continued, even after the church fell victim to a firebrand as they had set the neighboring house on fire and the fire was extending to a pile of thatch, with everything considered already lost, the Servant of God exclaimed with true faith: *Saint Michael, rain!* and, the sky being serene, there unexpectedly came such a shower that it extinguished the fire; that on 8 October, God raised a storm in the air that made great damages in the neighborhoods and their houses, destroying those of its principal estates that are made of the *rimai* trees, that are breadfruit trees, and that the church fell also in the storm but without doing any harm to any of the Fathers and Christian soldiers who were inside it; and as the siege continued with continuous assaults, they were throwing many stones and flaming lances against the image of a crucifix, then, on 28 October, encouraged by the Servant of God the 30 Christian soldiers came out of their fortifications and without any dead or wounded, they defeated and conquered the besieging army of 2,000 forcing them to sue for peace.

29. Whereas the war being over, the Servant of God went out to continue his missions and preaching of the Gospel among the Indians and some of them, spurred on by their witch-doctors, turned again against the Catholic religion and holy baptism; when the Servant of God became aware of this, he advised all the Fathers and their companions who were walking divided among the missions, to gather in the church and fort, he being the last one returning as he was farther off, not giving up any opportunity to gain souls for God along the way, and to give new baptisms, he arrived at one village,

2 leagues from the church and fort, went to the house of an Indian named Matapang, who was already baptized and who had been healed of some mortal wounds by his prayer, and saluting him kindly asked him if there were any newborn children to baptize, and the said Indian (already perverted) answered him: *Go ahead, hypocrite, go into my house, and baptize a skull that I have there*, that these skulls which they call *aniti* are used by them for their superstitions, and that the Servant of God did not stop being gracious and friendly despite this answer, he softly exhorted him to bring the children together for him to teach the doctrine but the said Matapang, having insulted the Servant of God with offending words, incited another Indian named Hirao to kill him, but the said Hirao having refused, he was treated of being coward by Matapang, so that to avoid this label, he agreed with Matapang and put to death a Visayan boy who was the companion of the Servant of God, and the said Servant of God raised a crucifix that he had hanging from his neck, in order to help his companion in this crisis and to exhort the aggressors to desist from their apostasy and return to the Faith of Jesus Christ, but the said aggressors, turning against the Servant of God put a lance through his chest, and gave him two wounds with a short sabre, one on the head passing close to the ear and penetrating part of the throat, the other on one arm, from which he fell dead but, before dying he turned toward Matapang and said to him: *May God have mercy on you, Matapang*. That the death of the Servant of God took place on 2 April of the year 1672; that the said aggressors, lost the respect for the image of Christ crucified, and thus with horrible blasphemies they gave it blows and outrages in stepping upon it, and throwing it away, saying aloud very clearly that the motive for which they killed the Servant of God had been their hate for the Catholic faith and religion that he preached. And that they then dragged the body of the Servant of God and that of the boy his companion, and putting them in a canoe, they went out to the high sea where they threw them overboard.

### **Of the virtues of the Servant of God.**

#### **Of the theological virtues.**

30. Whereas, the Servant of God having been born of Catholic and pious parents, was baptized, confirmed, and instructed in the mysteries, sacraments, and truths of the Roman Church, etc...

[The rest is essentially the same presentation as in the printed Process of Toledo, already reproduced as Appendix A to Volume 5.]

## **E4. Investigation of the life, virtues and death of Fr. Sanvitores at the Process of Manila**

*Source: Jesuit archives in Chantilly, France (305 pages); photocopy at MARC.*

[Not reproduced here; see Ledesma's *The Cause of the Beatification*, pp. 524-545 for a partial translation of the many-times repeated story of the martyrdom.]

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## Documents 1676F

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# Letters from King Charles II regarding the Marianas in 1676

## F1. Letter to Father Fray Payo de Rivera, dated Madrid 13 February 1676

*Sources: AGI Fil. 82-5-200; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 15, decree n° 3.*

*Summary note: He tells him that he approves the payment sent for the relief of the Marianas.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey.*

*Muy Reverendo in Christo Padre D. Fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de la Iglesia metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico de mi Consejo mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General (en Interin) de la Nueva España y Presidente de la Audiencia real que en aquella reside.*

*En carta de 18 de Julio del año pasado de 675 dais quenta de que en virtud de las Cédulas en que mande se socorriese en las Islas Marianas inviasteis a ellas con el Galeon **San Telmo** cinco mil pesos en reales de plata para los dos Seminarios tres mill para el de niños y dos mill para el de niñas Marianas en que se instruxen en las cosas de nuestra santa Fe Catholica buena educacion y politica. Y que asi mismo mandasteis pagar a Joseph Vidal de la Compañía de Jesus, Procurador de las dichas Islas, lo que montase la limosna de vino y aceite de este año para los diez sagrarios que parecio haver en ellas, como tambien lo que montase el sueldo de los **20 soldados** que estan en dichas Islas como se pagan a los del Presidio de Sinaloa. Y que asi mismo mandasteis socorrer la imosna adelantada del año de 675 a los **15 misioneros Religiosos** y un lego que havian pasado a dichas Islas, con todo lo demas que referis en vuestra carta.*

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias a parecido aproveros (como os apruebo) lo que en esta haveis ejecutado y daros muchas gracias por el cuydado y providencia con que haveis obrado en la forma de embiar este socorro.*

*De Madrid a 15 de febrero de 1676.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mando del Rey nuestro Señor, D. Antonio de Rosas.*

[Endorsement:] *Respuesta a una carta del Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España aprovandole el socorro que a inviado a las Yslas Marianas.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

[To] the Right Reverend in Christ Father Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, Member of my Council, my Viceroy, interim Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of the royal Audiencia residing there.

In a letter dated 18 July of last year 1675, you reported that, in accordance with the Decrees in which I ordered the Mariana Islands to be assisted, you sent to them by the galleon **San Telmo** 5,000 pesos in silver reales for the two Seminaries, 3,000 for that of the Mariano boys and 2,000 for that of the girls, so that they may be instructed in our holy Catholic Faith, [and given] a good education and civility. And that you have also ordered to be paid to Joseph Vidal of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the said Islands, what the alms for the wine and oil amounted to for this year for the 10 sanctuaries that seemed to exist in the said Islands, and also the amount for the salaries of the **20 soldiers** who are in the said Islands, the same as is done for those of the Sinaloa Garrison. And that you also ordered to send the alms, in advance for the year 1675, to the **15 religious missionaries** and one layman whom had gone to the said Islands, with all the rest that you mention in your letter.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper to approve (and I do approve) what you have carried out in this matter and to give you thanks for the attention and foresight with which you have arranged the procedure for sending this subsidy.

From Madrid, on 15 February 1676.

I the King.

By order of his Majesty, Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain approving the relief he sent to the Mariana Islands.

## **F2. Letter to Governor de León, dated Madrid 30 May 1676**

*Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 167v-168v, pp. 358-360.*

*Note: He acknowledges receipt of a letter (Doc. 1674F).*

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

*El Rey.*

*Respuesta a una carta del Governador de Filipinas sobre la Mision de las Islas Marianas.*

*Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia dellas.*

*En carta de 31 de Mayo del año pasado de 1674 satisfazeis a dos zedulas de 16 de Noviembre del de 1671[.] en la primera se os mando os correspondiesedes con mi Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España sobre dar una embarcaçion a los religiosos Jesuitas de las Marianas, para pasar de unas Islas a otras[.] y en la secunda sobre el cambio de ducientos Indios Pangangos de esas Islas Filipinas con otros tantos de las Marianas. Y en quanto a la embarcaçion deais haveros embiado el Virrey Marques de Mancera 3,000 pesos para su fabrica y que aunque no hubo vastante cantidad se havia hecho, y la embias-teis en quarteles en el Galeon **San Telmo**. Y en lo que mira a cambio de los Pampan-gos, representais los inconvenientes que dello seguirian de que tambien avisareis al Virrey con cuyo motivo pasais à dar quenta del estado estrecho a que se havia reduci-do esta mision con la muerte de Diego Luis de San Vitores con lo demas que acerca de esto referis.*

*Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con lo que escribio el obispo Virrey en carta de 18 de Julio del año passado de 1675 acerca de averos buelto à em-biar la dha embarcaçion por no ser aproposito para el efecto referido, y lo que sobre todo deajo mi fiscal, ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que asistais en todo lo posible al mayor fruto de estas misiones, por lo mucho que deseo se logren, à honrra y gloria de Dios y de nuestra Santa fee catholica de mas de que en ello me hare por bien servido dellos.*

*De Madrid à 30 de Mayo de 1676.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio de Rosas.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

## **Translation.**

The King.

Answer to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines regarding the Mariana Island Mission.

Master-of-camp Don Manuel de Leon, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter dated 31 May of the past year of 1674 you honored two decrees dated 16 November 1671. In the first one, you were ordered to correspond with my Viceroy of New Spain about giving a boat to the Jesuit religious of the Marianas, so that they might pass from one island to another, and the second one was about the exchange of 200 Pampangos Indians of those Philippine Islands with as many from the Marianas. With regard to the boat, you tell us that the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, has sent you 3,000 pesos for its construction and that, although the amount was not enough, it had been made, and you had sent it in quarters aboard the galleon **San Telmo**. Concerning the exchange of Pampangos, you represent the disadvantages that would follow from this, and that you have also advised the Viceroy; for this reason, you go on

to give an account of the dire condition to which this mission has been reduced with the death of Diego Luis de San Vitores with the other points you mention.

My royal Council of the Indies having seen it, along with what the Bishop Viceroy wrote in a letter dated 18 July of the past year of 1675 regarding his having sent back to you the said boat, because it is not suitable for the purpose intended, and considering what my fiscal has said, it has been decided to order you (as I do now) to assist as much as possible the better fruit of these missions, given that I wish very much to see them prosper, for the honor and glory of our holy Catholic Faith, so that I will consider myself well served by anything along that line.

From Madrid, 30 May 1676.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio de Rosas.

Countersigned by the Council.

### F3. Letter to Father Fray Payo de Rivera, dated Madrid 23 December 1676

*Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 15, decree n° 100, pp. 303-304.*

*Note: The young king personally signed this decree, not the Queen Regent. He again thanks the Viceroy for having sent the relief to the Marianas.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Reverendo in Christo Archobispo Padre Fr. Payo de Rivera, Archobispo desta Iglesia Metropolitana de la ciudad de México, de mi Consejo, mi Virrey, Governador y Capitan General de la N<sup>a</sup> España en interín y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de ella.*

*En carta de 10 de Mayo pasado me dais quenta de que en el galeon **S. Antonio de Padua**, que vino de las islas Filipinas, habeis socorrido las Marianas y a los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en ellas, y asi para lo que han necesitado en ese Reyno, como para lo que han menester en aquellas islas, ordenando que a los **cinco religiosos** que por mi quenta fueron en la flota del cargo del General Don Francisco Martinez de Franda a la misión de aquellas Islas se les diese en el puerto de Acapulco casa en que [h]ospedarse mientras que la nao de Filipinas se hacía a la vela, y que por despacho de 12 de Febrero hicisteis librar y pagar al procurador de aquella misión lo que montase el sueldo de los **40 soldados** que estan en aquellas islas asi para el presente año como para los venideros como se hace con los del Presidio de Sinaloa quedando obligados siempre a presentar certificación en las ocasiones que se huvieren de librar del superior de la misión de la asistencia de los 40 soldados y que asimismo mandasteis librar y pagar al dicho procurador de limosna adelantada de este año de 1676 y para los venideros de **17 sacerdotes a 250 pesos y a dos hermanos coadjutores a 175** y también el vino y aceyte para los venideros para los 6 sagrarios que hay, para la celebración del santo sacrificio de la misa con lo demás que refereis en Vuestra carta.*



*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, he mandado se os den muchas gracias por lo que en esto haveis executado y significaros que a sido de mi de sumo agrado, lo que haveis dispuesto en esta materia.*

*De Madrid y a 23 de Diciembre de 1676.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mando del Rey nuestro Sr., D. Antonio de Rosas.*

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N<sup>a</sup> España dandole gracias por los socorros que ha embiado a las Islas Marianas.*

### Translation.

[To] the Right Reverend in Christ, Archbishop Father Fray Payo de Rivera, etc.

In a letter dated 10 May of last year, you reported to me that you had succored the Marianas and the religious of the Society of Jesus who labor there, by means of the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** that came from the Philippine Islands, and also, in view of what is needed in that Kingdom, as what is needed in those Islands, you have ordered that a guest-house be reserved at the port of Acapulco for the **5 religious** who were sent at my expense aboard the fleet commanded by General Don Francisco Martinez de Franda<sup>1</sup> to the Mission in those Islands, while they were waiting for the Philippine galleon to set sail. Also that, by a message dated 12 February [1675] you had the amounts for the pay of the **40 soldiers** who are in those islands released and paid out to the procurator of that mission, for the present year and for the next ones as well, as is done for those of the Sinaloa Garrison, with the condition that the Mission Superior is to remain responsible always to submit a certificate whenever he releases the subsidy to the 40 soldiers, and that you also ordered released and paid to the said procurator the alms in advance for this year 1676 and the next ones to **17 priests at the rate of 250 pesos and to 2 coadjutor brothers at 175**, and also the wine and oil for the next years for the 6 sanctuaries existing there, for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass, with the other things that you mention in your letter.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I have ordered that you be given many thanks for what you have carried out in this, and to let you know that I have been very pleased by what you have ordered in this matter.

From Madrid on 23 December 1676.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain giving him thanks for the subsidies that he sent to the Mariana Islands.

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1 Ed. note: The General of the quicksilver, or Atlantic, fleet of 1675 was indeed Francisco Martinez. The fleet reached Veracruz on 13 September 1675; it left Veracruz on 23 June 1676 (ref. vol. 10 of Henri Ternaux-Compans' Voyages, Paris, 1837-41).

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## Document 1676G

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# Accounting problems of the Mariana Mission, 1674-1679 period

*Source: AHH, Mexico, Misiones en Filipinas, Temporalidades, Leg. 326-2, pp. 1764-68; photocopy at MARC.*

## Claim against the Mariana Mission made in 1679

### Original text in Spanish.

*La Mission de las Islas Marianas de la Provincia de Philipinas ..... en la cuenta de 31 de Julio de 74(?) que esta firmada del Padre Florencia, Procurador de Indias, en que en ella, havia cargado a la dicha Provincia; y al horden de N. R. Padre la descargo para cargarlo en cuenta nueva; y aparte, a la dicha Mission, con advertencia estas partidas que se siguen no se descargaron; mas que solamente unas que aguzzele(?) abonara, como se puede reconocer en la cuenta citada*

<b>[Descripcion]</b>	<b>Hadeaver</b>	<b>Deve</b>
<i>—Deve la dicha Mission 20 p que cargo el oficio de Sevilla (como parece de las quantas particulares de gastos de Madrid, del año de 72 que se hallara al R[eglon] 30 legaxo mutilado(?) cuentas delq fr. demadera(?) detras ladar [sic] y cobrar los</i>		
<b>Mapas que vinieron de Marianas .....</b>		20 p
<i>—Deve la dicha Mission 4 p que en la misma cuenta al fin al R. 30 legaxo citado de quantas de Madrid, le cargo de parte del caxon que vino de Roma, para el Señor Gerfón]mo S. Vitores ....</i>		4 p
<i>—Deve la dicha Mission 4 p que cargo a la dicha Provincia el oficio de Sevilla, como parece al R. 28 legaxo de Madrid en la cuenta particular del año de 71 para la impresion de la relacion de las Marianas .....</i>		-4 p
<i>—Deve la dicha Mission 15 p que cargo el oficio de Sevilla a la dicha Provincia como parece al R. 28 a la buelta del legaxo, cuentas de Madrid en las del año de 71 por la saca de 5 cedulas que saco</i>		

- a favor de Marianas* ..... -15 p
- Deve la dicha Mission 450 p por la parte de 1U200 p (que ademas de lo que se cobro en la Caja Real) se hizo de gasto con los de Padres extranjeros, desde que llegaron a la Veracruz, y se embarcaron en Acapulco de qual se ave a esta Mission lo que toca a tres sugetos que se quedaron en Marianas: PP. Comano, Bouwens, San Basilio* ..... -450 p
- Deve la dicha Mission 1U781 p por la parte de 4U776 p 3 (que importaron reducidos a pesos) dos partidas partidas [sic] una de 2U222 reales de plata por lo qual 19U330 reales de vellon que cargo el oficio de Sevilla a la Provincia por pagados [en] Madrid por los gastos que hizo con los ocho Padres extranjeros (como parece desde el R. 10 al R. 20 legaxo de Madrid) de los quales se quedaron tres en Marianas* ..... 1781 p
- Hadeaver la dicha Mission 492 p que en las quantas de 31 Julio de 674 rebaxo solamente el Padre Florencia a dicha Provincia de Philippinas a quenta de las partidas de arriba de 1U781 p con advertencia que otra que alli rebaja, de 31 Reales de la conduccion de llebar el dinero de madaras [Madras?] asina [a China?] aqui no se deve rrebajar* .....  
 [In margin:] *Esta partida no vale que me rremito a laorig(?) y a la que esta al R. 68 buelta legaxo de Sevilla.*
- Deve la dicha Mission 1U402 p 2 por la parte de .U292 Reales Vellon y 2U822 p plata (cuyas abt(?) partidas reducidas a plata importaron 3U733 p 7) que como parece al R. 53 legajo de Sevilla en la quenta de 671 firmada del Padre Rivadeneira cargo dicho officio a la Provincia por lo que alli gasto (sin otros que abisso se havian hecho despues de cerrada aquella quenta) hasta embarcar los ocho Padres extranjeros de los quales se quedaron en las Marianas los tres ya dichos, y se advierte que estos son distintos de los gastos aqui cargados porque aquellos son de Madrid, hechos por el Padre Villabona en el tiempo de mas de un año que los detubieron a cada sugetto 666 p 6* ..... 1402 p 2
- Deve la dicha Mission 337 p 4 por la parte de 900 p que dichos Padres extranjeros gastaron mas en Acapulco como en Alquilar la camara de Popa de la Nao, en que embarquaron, y otras cosas, como lo abisso en carta de 5 de Junio de 74 el P. Prov. de Philippinas adonde losaio [=los hallo] en quenta el superior de la mission; y consta tambien de carta de Acapulco de 5 de febrero de 672 del Padre Comano que corrio alla el gasto* ..... -337 p 4
- Deve la dicha Mission mil pesos que en carta de 20 de Mayo de 674 abisso el P. Proc[urad]or gen[eral] de Philippinas habia gastado*

<i>mas en el abio de los PP. Gerardo [Bouwens] y Bustillos, que se embarcaron en el año 74 para volver a Marianas; y llegaron a Mexico a 31 de Henero de 675, con advertencia que quando se sepa lo que es mas de los mil pesos que aqui descargan se pedira por parte de la Provincia .....</i>	1000 p
<i>—Deve la dicha mission 964 p 7-1/2 del abio, y matalotage de los Padres Pedro Diaz Carlos (en cuyo lugar vino el P. Besco) y Comano que vinieron en la Nao <b>Santa Rosa</b> y llegaron a Mexico a como consta de carta de 27 de Junio de 76 del Padre Bar[tol]me Vesco, que era Proc. Gen. y me escrivio los cobrere del P. Procurador Joseph Vidal, y se dabierta [sic] que los gastos del abio y embarcacion que hizo el Padre Vesco Vice Prov[incia]l de Marianas quando salio, a tiempo crudo para alcanzar la Nao Santa Rosa, al baradero in Mindoro, a mudar al P. Pedro Diaz que enfermo; y la buelta deste a Manila, no se apuntan aqui; y los pedira a la Provincia quando se sepa los que son, con otros .....</i>	-964 p 7-1/2
<i>—Deve 50 que por el costo de poner esta cantidad, en Manila a donde dicha Mission esta obligada a la paga; y el riesgo siempre es a su quenta .....</i>	-0 50 p
<i>—Deve 254 p que gasto por dicha Mission el H. Duarte, como parece de R[eci]vo de 13 marzo de 74 del P. Procor. Joseph Vidal, y aunque en de marzo de 75 mando el Padre Prov. Francisco Ximenez que dicho P. los admitiesse; y passassen quenta su R<sup>a</sup> no qu[i]jesse .....</i>	-254 p
<i>—Deve mas la dicha mission 12 p que costo el sacar un duplicado de la clausula del Señor Governador Salcedo, que lo rremiti .....</i>	-12 p
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<i>Todas estas partidas son claras y liquidas y constantes: .....</i>	6294 p 5
<i>—Deve mas la mission, como parece de carta de 22 de marzo de 77 a Acapulco, del Padre Barmé. Besco, Vice Prov. de la dicha mission dos Marquetas desera [=de cera?] de numero 3-4, con 16 arrobas y 23 libras de seq.(?) las quales me rremitio la Provincia con la nao <b>Santa Rosa</b>, por medio de su Procurador gen. que lo era el dicho Padre; y despues al passage me escriv[o] que las havia menester, que abissara al P. Provl.</i>	
<i>—Ademas desto deve otras cantidades considerables; u quantiosas que aunque me consta las deve, no sea lo cierto quanto es; salvo yerro de pluma, asse en favor, como en contra de qualquiera de las partes, assi agora como en qualquiera parte digo tiempo (que paresca Capitulo de carta de N. R. P. genl. de 20 de Julio de 76 que diceasse), y lo mismo digo a los gastos que a hecho dicha Provincia por la Mission de las Marianas, porque parece justo que se paguen de las limosnas que la mission recibe.</i>	
<i>Capitulo de carta de N. R. P. gen. de 20 de Julio de 76 para el H. Manuel Duarte: diceasse porque como lo que se pretende aberiguar esta tan lleno de dificultades; y es [me]nester oir a entrambas partes, y examinar las razones que alega...-Ona, y esto no</i>	

*se puede hazer, estando tan distante de Romas, lo mas ... -al, y seguro es, que alla se haga esta dilig[encia] y que separando los puntos que combienen se trate solamente de aquellos en que ay controversia; que para dicitirla se señalen dos Juezes de los nuestros, a satisfacion de las partes interezadas; y otro terzero para en cazo que los dos no conbiniesen, que sen de diferente parecer. Deste modo se dara presto fin i a todas las [diferencias]. Assi se lo escrivio al P. Provl. Añado que yo siempre [he] insistido que aquellos dies mil pesos se den a la mision de las Marianas porque seyan los muchos informes que he tenido. El Sor. D. Diego de Salsedo le dijo al P. San Vitores de pia memoria que eran para dicha Mission; y espero que ya se le abran aplicado. Al mis[mo] P. Provl. escrivio sobre aquel aposento del P. Simon de Cota, y en horden a el colegio de Mexico pague lo que deve a la Provincia de Philippinas y los ... no digo de los gastos que ha hecho dicha Provincia por la mission de las Marianas, porque parece justo que se paguen de las limosnas que la mision recibe.*

*Las tres posesiones de cassas de las Yslas Marianas que se señalan para pagar la cantidad de tres mil pesos de principal con sus reditos desde el dia del embargo echo en 19 de Abril del año pasado de 75, que hazen asta 19 de Abril deste presente año de 79 doze mil pesos justos son, y valen segun la tassacion jurada de Santoval de Medina Vargas, Maestro de Arquitectura Veedor y Ilustre(?) Mor. de esta Ciudad:*

*—La de la calle del Relox vale segun esta y dicha tassacion quatro mil cientos y doze pessos;*

*—La de la calle de los Donzeles vale y la tassa segun todo su valor en cinco mil dos cientos y ocho pessos;*

*—La de la calle de Monserrate la vendio el mismo y la tasso por ocho mil y cien pessos;*

*Con que montan las tres cassas segun su valor y la tassacion diez y siete mil quatro cientos y veinte pessos:*

*Haver*

*4U112 p*

*5U208 p*

*8U100 p*

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*17U420 p*

*Deve el Colegio de Mexico*

*12U000 p*

*De dicha cantidad se rebaja de la primera cassa de la calle de el Relox tres mil pessos que tiene a censo redimible de los Maria;*

*Ya se rebaja mil de censo perpetuo que son 38 p de reditos de la capellania de Pardo sobre dichas casas;*

*Ya rebaja de la cassa de los Donzeles dos mil y cien pesos que tienen de censo a favor de l Berde(?);*

*Ya rebaja de la cassa de Monserrate seis mil pesos que tienen de censo porque aunque el Padre Vidal recibio(?) los dos mil fue con otros dos mil del Sr. Virrey ... va pa-sandolos en dicha casa porque estaban en ello de 5 Ylisingo(?);*

*Monta la rebaja doze mil y cien pessos que quitados de los diez y siete mil quatro cientos y veinte pessos queda netos en dichas cassas cinco mil trecientos y veinte pesos:*

*Haver*

*Deve*

*3U000 p*

*1U000 p*

*2U100 p*

*6U000 p*

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*12U000 p*

*5U320 p Neto*

### Translation.

The Mariana Island Mission of the Province of the Philippines ..... in the account dated 31 July 1674(?) that is signed by Father Florencia, Procurator of the Indies, and which he had debited from the said Province, but at the order of Our Rev. Fr. he credited it only to debit it from a new account, that is, charged to the said Mission, with an explanatory note saying that the entries which follow were not credited, except only for some that he judged(?) should be credited to him, as can be seen in the above-mentioned account

#### [Description]

**Credit    Debit**

—The said Mission owes 20 p charged in the Seville file (as it appears from the special expense accounts from Madrid for the year 72, to be found at Line 30 of the mutilated(?) folder, accounts of Fr. Rivadenera(?) for the transport and covering the <b>Charts that came from the Marianas</b> <sup>1</sup> .....	-20 p
—The said Mission owes 4 p from the same account, Line 30 of the above-mentioned folder of accounts from Madrid; I charge it on account of the crate that came from Rome for Mr. Gerónimo S. Vitores .....	-4 p
—The said Mission owes 4 p that the Seville Memorandum charged to the said Province, as it appears in Line 28 of the Madrid folder in the special account for the year 71 for the printing of the Relation of the Marianas <sup>2</sup> .....	-4 p
—The said Mission owes 15 p charged to the said Province in the Seville file as it appears at Line 28 on the reverse of the folder, Madrid accounts for the year of 71 for getting 5 decrees issued in favor of the Marianas .....	-15 p

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671Q. Was this for binding the maps of the Mariana Islands drawn by Fr. Lopez?

2 Ed. note: The 1668-69 annual report, Doc. 1669A. Note that it could not have been the 1669-70 report, as no galleon visited Guam in 1670.

—The said Mission owes 450 p for part of the 1,200 p (which is in addition to what was collected on the Royal funds) spent on the foreign Fathers, from the time they arrived at Veracruz and embarked at Acapulco, from which is charged to this Mission what pertains to the three subjects who remained in the Marianas: Fathers Coomans, Bouwens, San Basilio ..... -450 p

—The said Mission owes 1,781 p for part of the 4,776 p 3, one of 2,222 silver reals for which the Seville file charged 19,330 copper reals to the Province as having been spent [in] Madrid for the expenses made for the eight foreign Fathers (as it appears from Line 10 to Line 20 of the Madrid folder) out of whom three remained in the Marianas<sup>1</sup> ..... -1781 p

—The said Mission is owed 492 p which in the accounts of 31 July 674 Father Florencia discounted only to the said Province of the Philippines in the case of the above entries of 1,781 p with the explanatory note saying that the other [amount] which he discounts there, of 31 reals for the transport of money from Madras(?) to China(?) should not be discounted here .....

[In margin:]<sup>2</sup> This entry does not count as I was remitted at the orig(?) and at Line 68 verso of the Seville folder.

—The said Mission owes 1,402 p 2 for part of the 292 copper reals and 2,822 silver pesos (whose abt(?) entries reduced to silver amount to 3,733 p 7) which, as it appears on Line 53 of the Seville [file] on the account of 671 signed by Father Rivadeneira, was charged to the Province by the said file for the expenditures made there by the eight foreign Fathers of which the three already mentioned remained at the Marianas (with explanatory notes saying that the expenditures had been made after that account had been closed, and that the expenditures here mentioned are distinct, because they are those made at Madrid by Fr. Villabona during the time period

of over 1 year that each of the individuals was detained 666 p 6 ..... 1402 p 2

—The said Mission owes 337 p 4 for part of the 900 p that the said foreign Fathers overspent in Acapulco, e.g. the rent of a poop cabin aboard the galleon in which they embarked, and other things, as the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines advises in a letter dated 5 June 74, where he found them in the account of the mission superior; it also appears in a letter dated Acapulco 5 February 672 from Fr. Coomans who mentions the said expenditure ..... -337 p 4

—The said Mission owes one thousand pesos which in a letter dated 20 May 674 the Fr. Procurator General of the Philippines advised he had overspent for the [sea] supplies of Fathers Gerardo [Bouwens] and Bustillos, who embarked [at Manila] in the

1 Ed. note: It appears that such were the expenses made on behalf of Bouwens, Coomans and San Basilio while they lived in Spain.

2 Ed. note: A credit note for 492 p 2 has been stricken out.

year 74 to return to the Marianas; and they arrived at Mexico on 31 January 675, with the explanatory note saying that when it is known in what it exceeds the one thousand pesos charged here, it will be claimed on behalf of the Province ..... 1000 p

—The said Mission owes 964 p 7-1/2 in [sea] supplies and food supplies for Fathers Pedro Diaz Carlos (in whose place came Fr. Besco) and Coomans who came aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa** and arrived at Mexico, as confirmed in a letter dated 27 June 76 from Father Bartolomé Vesco who was Procurator General and wrote to me [saying] to charge them to the Fr. Procurator Joseph Vidal, and he warned me that the expenditures for the supplies and embarkation made by Father Vesco [now] Vice-Provincial of the Marianas, when he departed [Manila] late to catch up with the galleon **Santa Rosa** at Varadero in Mindoro, to replace Fr. Pedro Diaz who got sick; and the return of the latter to Manila, are not accounted for here; they will be claimed from the Province when they become known, with the others ..... -964 p 7-1/2

—It owes 50 which is the cost of claiming this amount that the said Mission is obliged to repay to Manila; and the attendant risk always runs at its expense ..... -0 50 p

—It owes 254 p that Br. Duarte spent for the said Mission, at it appears on the receipt dated 13 March 74 from the Fr. Procurator Joseph Vidal, and although in March 75 Fr. Provincial Francisco Ximenez ordered the said Fr. to admit it; and His Reverence did not wish(?) to admit the account ..... -254 p

—The said Mission also owes 12 p which is the cost of getting a duplicate of the clause [of the will] of Governor Salcedo, which was remitted ..... -12 p

All of these entries are clear and liquid and constant: 6294 p 5

—The Mission also owes, as it appears from a letter dated Acapulco 22 March 77, from Father Bartolomé Besco, Vice-Provincial of the said mission,<sup>1</sup> for two boxes of wax(?) number 3-4, with 16 arrobas and 23 pounds of seq.(?), which the Province had remitted to me aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa**, through its Procurator general, who was the said Father; and after the voyage he wrote to me that he had need for them, that we would advise the Fr. Provincial.

—In addition to this, it owes other considerable and high amounts that, although he agrees he owes them, it is not clear how much; unless a calculation error was made, that is what is credited and debited to the parties concerned, for now as for whatever time period (as mentioned in a chapter of the letter from our Rev. Fr. General dated 20 July 76), and I say the same thing with respect to the expenditures made by the said Province for the Mariana Mission, because it appears just that they be paid out of the alms received by the mission.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Besco and the returning Fr. Coomans arrived at Guam in 1677. Fr. Besco was Vice-Provincial from 1677 to 1680.



[Another] chapter of the letter from Our Rev. Fr. Gen. dated 20 July 76 addressed to Br. Duarte: he is asked to say why what he proposes to check is so full of difficulties; and it is necessary to hear from both parties, and examine the reasons alleged by ...(?), and this is impossible, being so far from Rome, the better(?) and safest thing is to do this action there and **that only the controversial points should be separated from the others and dealt with**; that in order to resolve it two Arbitrators should be appointed from among our people, to the satisfaction of the interested parties, and a third one, in case the first two should not be acceptable, being of different opinions. So says the letter to the Fr. Provincial. I add that I have always insisted that those 10,000 pesos be given to the Mariana Mission because I have received so many reports: Mr. Diego de Salcedo told Fr. San Vitores, of pious memory, that they were for the said Mission, and I wish that they would be applied there. The same Fr. Provincial wrote about that from the cell of Fr. Simon de Cota, and ordered the College of Mexico to pay what it owes to the Province of the Philippines and the .... I exclude the expenditures made by the said Province for the Mariana Mission, because it seems just that such be repaid out of the alms received by the mission.

The ownership of the three houses [belonging] to the Mariana Islands<sup>1</sup> that is mentioned in the payment of the amount of 3,000 pesos of principal and its interests from the day of the embargo dated 19 April of the past year 75 until 19 April of the present year of 79, amount to exactly 12,000 pesos, and they are valued according to the valuation sworn to by Santoval de Medina Vargas, Master of Architecture, Inspector and Illustrious(?) resident(?) of this City:

- The house on Clock Street is worth according to the said valuation 4,112 pesos;
- That on Donceles Street is worth and the valuation says its total value is 5,200 pesos;
- That on Monserrate Street was sold by him at its valuation for 8,100 pesos;

Credit	Debit College of Mexico
4,112 p	12,000 p
5,208 p	
8,100 p	
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17,420 p	

From the said amount is discounted from the first house on Clock Street 3,000 pesos of redeemable taxes in favor of the Marys;<sup>2</sup>

And discounting the permanent income of 1,000 pesos, that is the 38 p of interest from the Pardo chaplaincy on the said houses;

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1 Ed. note: They had probably been deeded to the Mission by ex-Governor Salcedo.

2 Ed. note: My guess is that (1) ex-Governor Salcedo had given these 3 houses to the Mariana Mission, and had himself estimated their value at 10,000 pesos, and (2) that the rental income from the first house had been given, on a temporary basis, to some charity, perhaps the poor Marys.

And discounting from the house on Donzeles Street the 2,110 pesos of income in favor of 1 Berde(?);

And discounting from the house on Monserrate Street the 6,000 pesos of taxes because, although Fr. Vidal received 2,000 it was with another 2,000 from the Viceroy... it is ascribed to the said house because the 5 Ylisingo(?) were in it;

The total amount discounted is 12,100 pesos which, subtracted from the 17,420 pesos, yields a net sum of 5,320 pesos for the said houses:

<b>Credit</b>	<b>Debit</b>
	3,000 p
	1,000 p
	2,100 p
	6,000 p
	-----
	12,100 p
5,320 p net. <sup>1</sup>	

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1 Ed. note: One possible conclusion from the above figures is that the Mariana Mission still owed a balance of  $6,294 - 5,320 = 974$  pesos to the Mexican Province. However, there remained two houses to be sold, and the amounts credited to the Mission... Hence, the Mission was probably right in continuing to claim 10,000 pesos from the estate of ex-Governor Salcedo, and not have charges made against its annual subsidy. See also Doc. 1679B, C & D.

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## Documents 1676H

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# Letters from Fr. Pantoja, dated Madrid 1676

## H1. Letter seen by the Council on 7 March 1676, and on 20 April 1676

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-5-202, and -203.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Alonso Pantoja Procurador General de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus.*

*Señor*

*Alonso Pantoja de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias: Dice que el ViRey de Mexico tiene mandado al General, que va en la Nao, que se despacha a Philipinas tome puerto en la Isla, de S. Juan; que es la Principal de las Islas Marianas; donde residen algunos de los Misioneros, que se ocupan en la Nueva reduccion de aquella gentilidad, para que al passar deje alli los Misioneros que lleba, y todo lo demas, de vestuario, sustento, y otras cossas, nesesarias para los soldados, y Padres Mis[i]jonarios. Este orden tan justo, y piadosso, impide se execute en la Nao, que va a Philipinas, y en la que viene de ellas, el Governador de Philipinas; mandando al General que ni a ida, ni buelta toque en alguna de las Islas Marianas: antes bien que se aparte de ellas uno, o dos, Grados: con que a sucedido propararse algunos Misioneros que de Mexico yban a las Islas Marianas asta Philipinas; y al contrario viniendo de Philipinas con algunos sujetos, y cossas necesarias para dha Mision de las Marianas se passo la Nao, sin tocar a las Islas, guardando la orden que traya el General del Governador de Philipinas.—*

*Supplica a V. Mgd. mande despachar su Real Cedula al Governador de Philipinas para que en conformidad de lo que tiene dispuesto el viRey de Mexico de que la Nao que hace viage a Philipinas toque en las Islas Marianas, ordene, lo mismo al **General**, que al venir a Mexico, toque la Nao en las Islas, para que deje alli lo que de Philipinas se imbiare a los Misioneros, y demas avitadores de dhas Islas y no sera cossa*

*nueva pues antes que las avitasen, Españoles llegaban allí las Naos de Philipinas a socorrerse de lo que venian faltas en que recevira merced de la Real mano de V. Mgd.*

**Conssexo.** *Dize que el Virrey de Mexico tiene mandado al General de la Nao que ba a Philipinas, tome puerto en las Islas Marianas para dejar los Missioneros que llevare a ellas y los generos que a los que estan en ellas se les imbiaren. Y porque el Governador de Philipinas, se la da en contrario para que no arrive a ningun puerto: Suplica se depache zedula a este governador para que de la mesma orden a los Generales de dhas Naos que el Virey dispusso.*

*En la carta que tocante a esto escrivio ultimamente el Arçobispo Virrey, dio quenta de haver dado este orden, al General de la Nao que volbia à Philipinas, con pena de 2,000 ducados y pagar los daños, que de lo contrario se siguiesen a la Real hazienda, lo qual esta aprobado à dho Virrey, con las demas cossas que açerca de esta mission havia dispuesto.*

[Decision of the Council:]

**Consejo à 7 de Marzo de 1676.**

*Pongase con este memorial la zedula que se dio aprovando al Virrey lo que en esta razon y demas cosas conzernientes à esta mision havia dispuesto y vealo todo el Señor Fiscal.*

*Traese la Carta que sobre esto escrivio el Virrey.*

*El Fiscal diçe que por el fomento que se debe dar a estas misiones y utilidad de ellas pareçe no hay inconveniente alguno en que el Consejo se sirva de ordenar al Governador de Manila que de ninguna manera embaraçe que el almirante que trae las naos a Mexico pase por las Marianas en la forma que se pide quando llebare cosa alguna que dejar en ellas tocante a las misiones. Madrid y Marzo 26 de 76.*

**Consejo.** *Alonso Pantoja, Procurador General de la Compañia de Jhs, refiere en un memorial que el Virrey de N<sup>a</sup> España tiene mandado al General de la Nao que va a Filipinas, tome Puerto en las Islas Marianas para dejar los Misioneros que llevare a ellas, y los generos que a los que estan en ellas se les imbiare. Y porque el Governador de Filipinas se la da en contrario para que no arive a ningun Puerto: Suplica se mande despachar çedula a este Governador para que dé la misma orden a los Generales de las dhas Naos, que el Virrey dispuso.*

*En carta que el Arçobispo Virrey escrivio en 18 de Julio del año passado de 1675 aviso (entre otras cosas) haver dado este orden al General de la Nao que volbia a Filipinas, con pena de 2,000 ducados, y de pagar los daños que de lo contrario se siguiesen a la Real Hazienda. Lo qual esta aprobado al Virrey con las demas cosas que açerca de esta mision havia dispuesto.*

*El Consejo acordo lo viese el Señor Fiscal con los papeles de la materia, y con vista de ellos, diçe en su respuesta, que por el fomento que se deve dar a estas misiones y utilidad de ellas, Pareçe no ay inconviente alguno, en que el Consejo se sirva de ordenar al Governador de Filipinas que de ninguna manera embaraçe que el Almirante que trae las Naos a Mexico, pase por las Marianas en la forma que se pide, quando llevare cosa alguna que dejar en ellas tocante a las Misiones.*

[Decision of the Council:]

***Consejo à 20 de Abril de 1676.***

*Despachese zedula para que el Governador de Philipinas de à los Generales de las Naos de aquellas Islas las ordenes nezesarias en conformidad de las que el Virrey de la Nueva Esp<sup>a</sup> les tiene dados para que tomen Puerto en las Islas Marianas, y que degen en ellas los Misioneros y generos que a los que estan alla se les embian diciendole se á aprobado lo que en esta razon ha mandado executar el Virrey; y al mismo Virrey se le buelba á aprobar encargandole lo haga llevar a su devida execucion.*

**Translation.**

Alonso Pantoja, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus.

Sire:

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:—

Declares that the Viceroy of Mexico has ordered the General, who goes aboard the galleon, that is despatched to the Philippines, to make port at the Island of San Juan, which is the main island of the Mariana Islands, where reside some of the Missionaries who are busy with the New reduction of those heathens, so that upon passing there he leave the Missionaries who are on board, and all the rest, such as clothing, food supplies, and other necessities for the soldiers, and missionary Fathers. The Governor of the Philippines is preventing this rightful order from being carried out aboard the galleon that plies the Philippine route, by ordering the General not to touch at the Mariana Islands, on either leg of the round-trip voyage; rather, he is to avoid them by one, or two, degrees [of latitude], and the result has been that some Missionaries on their way from Mexico to the Mariana Islands have bypassed them and ended up in the Philippines. In fact, in one galleon coming from the Philippines there were some individuals, and necessities bound to the said Mariana Mission; the galleon overshot, without touching at the Islands, in accordance with the order that the General had from the Governor of the Philippines.—

Beseeches Your Majesty to please order the despatch of your Royal Decree to the Governor of the Philippines, to the effect that, in accordance with the arrangement made by the Viceroy of Mexico, that the galleon that makes the voyage to the Philippines is to touch at the Mariana Islands, he is to order the same to the **General, that upon coming to Mexico, the galleon is to touch at the Islands, to unload there whatever might be sent from the Philippines to the Missionaries,**<sup>1</sup> and other inhabitants of said Islands. This will not be a new thing, given that, before Spaniards inhabited them, the Philippine galleons came there to get the refreshments they needed.

1 Ed. note: Words underlined in the original. Manila galleons were bad sailers, and never stopped willingly at the Marianas on the Manila-Acapulco leg; on the other hand, it was easy for them to stop on the return leg.

Will receive this favor from the Royal hand of Your Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

**The Council.**

Says that the Viceroy of Mexico has ordered the General of the galleon that goes to the Philippines to make port in the Mariana Islands to leave the Missionaries who are bound there and the goods that might be sent to those who live there. And because the Governor of the Philippines gives contrary orders, for her not to stop at any port:

Begs that a decree be despatched to this Governor, for him to give the same order that the Viceroy issued to the Generals of said galleons.

In the letter regarding this matter that the Archbishop Viceroy recently wrote, he reports having given such an order to the General of the galleon who was returning to the Philippines, under penalty of 2,000 ducats plus damages, to accrue to the Royal Treasury under the control of said Viceroy, if he did otherwise, and regarding other decisions he had made about this Mission.

[Decision of the Council:]

**The Council, on 7 March 1676.**

To this memorial, you are to attach the decree that was sent to the Viceroy about this matter and other things that he had arranged concerning this Mission, and let the Fiscal see it all.

Bring forward the Letter that the Viceroy wrote about this.

The Fiscal says that, on account of the encouragement that must be given to these missions, and their usefulness, it appears that there is no inconvenience whatever in the Council deciding to order the Governor of Manila that in no way whatever is he to prevent the admiral who brings the galleons to Mexico from passing by the Marianas in the manner stated, when he carries any thing destined for them regarding the missions.

Madrid, 26 March 1676.

**The Council.**

Alonso Pantoja, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus, refers in a memorial to the Viceroy of New Spain having ordered the General of the galleon that goes to the Philippines to make port in the Mariana Islands to leave the Missionaries bound there, and the goods that might be sent to those living there. And because the Governor of the Philippines has ordered otherwise, not to stop at any port: he begs to please issue a decree to this Governor for him to give the order to the Generals of said galleons, as that issued by the Viceroy.

In a letter that the Archbishop Viceroy wrote on 18 July of the past year 1675, he advises (among other things) that he has given this order to the General of the galleon that was returning to the Philippines, under penalty of 2,000 ducats, and otherwise to pay the damages that might result to the Royal Treasury. The Viceroy was told that this disposition was approved, along with the other things that he had decided concerning this Mission.

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1 Ed. note: The letter itself is not filed with this covering letter. It was probably retained by the Duchess of Aveiro, who acted as an intermediary.

The Council agreed to have the Fiscal see the papers concerning this matter, and having seen them, he says in his answer that, on account of the encouragement that is due to these missions and their usefulness, it appears that there is no inconvenience whatever, in having the Council order the Governor of the Philippines, not to prevent in any way the Admiral who brings the galleons to Mexico from passing by the Marianas in the manner described, when he carries any thing that must be left there, concerning the Missions.

[Decision of the Council:]

**The Council, 20 April 1676.**

Have a decree despatched, to the effect that the Governor of the Philippines is to give necessary orders to the Generals of the galleons from those Islands, in accordance with those that the Viceroy of New Spain gave them, for them to make port in the Mariana Islands, and to leave there the Missionaries and the goods that are sent to those living there, telling him that what the Viceroy had ordered concerning this matter has been approved; and the Viceroy himself is to be told again that his decision has been approved, and that he should make sure it is carried out.

## H2. Letter seen by the Council on 13 March 1676

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-5-201.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Alonso Pantoja de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias: Dice que los Generales que van de Nueva España a Philipinas, y los que vienen de Philipinas a Nueva España suelen dejar en las Islas Marianas algunas personas, que no solo no ayudan al fin que se pretende de la conversion de aquella gentilidad, sino que antes la perturban, y son mas de impedimento que de utilidad, y se siguen muchos, inconvenientes que entren en aquellas Islas, personas que no sean de exemplar vida para cuyo remedio:—*

*A V. Mgd supplica se despache Real Cedula mandando que sin su licencia expresa o del viRey de Mexico o Governador de Philipinas no pueda entrar persona alguna en aquellas Islas Marianas que sera muy del servicio de Nuestro Señor, y vien de aquellos nuevos Christianos, inponiendoles graves penas a los Generales que lo contrario hicieren.*

*Consexo. Representa que los Generales de las Naos de Filipinas quando van, y buelven de la N<sup>a</sup> Esp<sup>a</sup> suelen dejar en las Islas Marianas algunas personas que embaracan la combersion de aquellos naturales, para cuyo remedio supplica se despache cedula para que ninguna persona pueda entrar en aquellas Islas sin liçencia de S. Mgd., del Virrey, u del Governador de Filipinas imponiendo graves penas a los Generales de las Naos que contravinieren a ello:*

[Decision of the Council:]

**Consejo 13 de Marco 1676.**

*Remitasse al Arcoobispo Virrey de la Nueva España el que ponga particular remedio que conviene, para que se escussen los embaracos que se siguen de lo que representa el Procurador general de la Compañía, deseandole que consiga al mayor servicio de nuestro Señor, y bien de aquellos naturales.*

### **Translation.**

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Declares that the Generals who go from New Spain to the Philippines, and those who come from the Philippines to New Spain, are in the habit of leaving a few persons who not only do not help with the purpose that is sought, i.e. the conversion of that heathen population, but they perturb it instead, and they are more of a hindrance than a utility, and there follow many disadvantages when persons who do not live an exemplary life come into those Islands, for whose remedy:—

He begs Your Majesty to have a Royal Decree issued, to the effect that no-one can enter those Mariana Islands without an express license from either the Viceroy of Mexico or the Governor of the Philippines, for such a decree will be very much to the service of Our Lord, and to the good of those new Christians, and imposing heavy fines on the Generals who might do otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

**The Council.** Represents that the Generals of the Philippine galleons, when they sail, and return from New Spain, usually leave in the Mariana Islands a few persons who hinder the conversion of those natives, for whose remedy he begs that a decree be issued so that no-one may enter those Islands without permission from Your Majesty, from the Viceroy, or from the Governor of the Philippines, and imposing heavy fines on the Generals of the galleons who might contravene it.

[Decision of the Council:]

**The Council, 13 March 1676.**

Let it be sent to the Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain, that he may apply the particular remedy that he sees fit, to prevent the kind of hindrance that follows the incidents referred to by the Procurator General of the Society, wishing that he might find one, to the greater service of Our Lord, and good of those natives.

## **H3. Letter regarding the boat for the Mariana Island Mission, seen by the Council on 14 July 1676**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 82-5-207.*

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

*Señor*

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1 Ed. note: The actual letter by Fr. Pantoja is not filed with this covering letter.



*Alonso de Pantoja de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs Procurador General por las Provincias de Indias: Dize que los Misioneros que estan entendiendo, y travajando en la conbersion de la dilatada Gentilidad de las Islas Marianas, se allan enbarazados, é inpedidos en continuar la propagazion de la Ley de Jesuchristo en aquellas Islas pro no poder pasar de una Isla à otra por estar el Mar de por medio y solo pueden discurir por tierra firme à pie como lo hazen por Montes y Tierras asperas lo qual no pueden hazer por la Mar por allarse sin medio para hazerlo:*

*Suplica a V. Mgd. se sirva mandar se les haga en Acapulco una enbarcazion capaz y suficiente que pueda resistir las olas de la Mar para que con ella puedan passar de una Isla à otra para la propagazion de la fee, y comunicazion de dhas Islas, y reduzir las todas a la obediencia de la Iglesia y de V. Mgd. de quien espera rezivir esta merced.*

[Decision by the Council:]

**Consejo a 14 de Julio de 1676.**

*Remitese al Sr. Arcobispo Virrey para que no haviendo la envarcaçion que se pide disponga se haga en la forma que pareçiere mas conveniente, por ser para acudir a obra tan del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y que por su parte asista con particular cuydado a los religiosos misioneros de las Islas Marianas para que puedan lograr mejor su santo celo.*

### **Translation.**

Sire:

Alonso de Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General for the Provinces of the Indies:

Declares that the Missionaries who are involved in, and working at the conversion of the large heathen population of the Mariana Islands, are hindered, and prevented from continuing the propagation of the Law of Jesus Christ in those Islands, by not being able to pass from one Island to another, because the sea lies in between them, and they can only go overland on foot, as they do, through hills and rough areas, something which they cannot do by sea, as they have no means of doing so.

Begs Your Majesty to please order that a boat be built for them in Acapulco, one large enough for sea voyages to propagate the Faith among the Islands, to maintain contact with those Islands, and to reduce them all to the obedience of the Church and of Your Majesty, from whom he hopes to receive this favor.<sup>1</sup>

[Decision of the Council:]

**The Council, 14 July 1676.**

Send it to the Lord Archbishop Viceroy, so that, failing the boat being requested, he is to arrange for one to be built in the manner that seems most appropriate, given that it is for good works much to the service of God our Lord, and that on his part he is to take particular care of the religious missionaries of the Mariana Islands, the better for them to achieve their holy zeal.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The actual letter is not found on file.



**The Duchess of Aveiro.**—*María de Guadalupe de Lencastre was born in Azeitão, Portugal, on 11 January 1630. She became Duchess of Maqueda, Duchess of Arcos, and Duchess of Aveiro, through a series of circumstances. She inherited the title of Maqueda from her mother. She was 35 years old when she married a Spaniard, Manuel Ponce de León, Duke of Arcos. Together they had three children. In 1673, Maria inherited the title of Duchess of Aveiro from her paternal uncle, but the condition was that she return to Portugal and swear allegiance to the King of Portugal. She did this in 1679, in spite of objections from her Spanish husband, and this strife led to their legal separation. The Duke died in 1693, but the Duchess lived until 9 February 1715. She was buried inside the monastery of Guadalupe in Extremadura, Spain.*

*The Duchess was a great supporter of Catholic missions all over the Indies, at a time when the Spanish Patronato, or official patronage, had become grossly overextended. The Duchess maintained personal and regular correspondence with many individual missionaries. Her archives were preserved intact until 1923, when they were put on sale by Maggs Brothers of London, and dispersed among many collectors and institutions. Unfortunately, Maggs Bros. did not keep a record of the many new locations of her papers. That is why this series of books had to rely on the summary descriptions that appeared in the sales catalogs. (Portrait attributed to Cerreño Miranda).*

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## Document 1676I

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# Letter from Fr. Bustillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated aboard the San Antonio de Padua, 14 May 1676

*Source: Ms. sold by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, N° 112); in the collection of Prof. C. R. Boxer. The full Spanish text was published in Philippine Studies 26 (1978): 35-43.*

*Note: Fr. Bustillo wrote this letter aboard the galleon taking him back to Guam, where he first served from 1668 to 1671, but not as a priest.*

### Jesus Mary

Most Excellent Lady:

I do not know what more glorious occupations those of us who come to these countries and seek the salvation of the Mariana souls could be involved in, other than what Your Excellency is doing in those parts, being our Apostle, Protectress, Procurator of the Marianas, and Mother of all the Mariana people, multiplying efforts to see to it that they get their eternal salvation. What the five fervent Missionaries that Y.E., and the Duke, our Lord and Master, sent at your own expenses to these parts,<sup>1</sup> have told us is so much that I cannot find the words to express to Y.E. our perpetual obligation, and the warm feeling that it has caused us to hear about the Apostolic and Mariana work Y.E. is doing in that court, by cooperating and influencing efficiently through all channels the salvation of so many souls and, on the other hand, by obtaining the relief of the many labors such as those suffered by the Missionaries involved in the reduction to our Holy Faith of so many untamed barbarians. By having them share in, Y.E. will necessarily merit the same fate as the Missionaries themselves before the Divine Majesty, and even more, since, if we lacked the efficient and exquisite endeavors that Y.E. accomplishes there in order to bring the preaching of the Holy Gospel to these Islands and the reduction to our Holy Faith of their inhabitants, we would not have the means to effect their salvation.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In 1676, Fr. Xaramillo and Fr. Solorzano arrived at Guam, with the returning Fr. Bustillo. The other 3 missionaries either stayed behind in New Spain or went on to the Philippines.

We could very well apply to our Mariana Mission what the scriptures say: Their father is dead, that is, their Apostolic Founder, and it is as if he were not dead, since their mother lives, in the person of Y.E. whose fervent and Apostolic spirit is very similar to that of our founder, the venerable Father San Vitores. Y.E. is our most diligent Mother, who looks after these her Mariano children so well. The Lord and our Most Holy Mother of these new peoples thank Y.E. for so much charity that we will never be able to satisfy so many delicacies, unless we perpetually pray the same Lord and Mary, the Most Holy Lady of Guadalupe, to give Y.E., to the Duke my Lord, and to their Angelic little Lordships, all that in this life is required to be taken to the most happy end, and eternal happiness, where all those chosen by Our Lord Jesus Christ end up. Y.E. may beg for this in her holy and fervent prayers: *ut mittat operarios quam plurimos in hanc messem suam, quæ quidem multa; operarii autem pauci.*<sup>1</sup>

We are now on the way to it [i.e. the mission field] aboard the galleon called **San Antonio de Padua**, where I write this letter, since I did not get the chance to do it in Mexico on account of being very busy writing down the unusual and prodigious details that I observed of the admirable and holy life of our New Apostle and venerable Father Diego Luis San Vitores during the three years and four months that I had the honor to accompany him in his Mariana travels; I have sent over 20 folios full, and Y.E. may find out when they are published.<sup>2</sup>

If indeed it is true that Fr. José Vidal, as our Procurator General for the Marianas, has written from Mexico to Y.E. on behalf of all of us, making up for our lack of action, to beg Y.E. with regard to the pretension of General Don Juan de Zelaeta, then if it should come about (something about which I do not doubt, given that Y.E. has a hand in it) it is the only means of implanting in the Marianas what Y.E. desires so much, which is our Holy Faith.<sup>3</sup>

The fervent workers of the new Mariana vineyard, whom Y.E. now sends, met me in Mexico, where I had come from the Philippine Islands in order to be ordained as a priest, since the few Bishops in those islands have died. Among the missionaries for the Marianas, in my company, one is Father Antonio Xaramillo, who had been my

- 1 Ed. note: A quote from the Gospel, in Latin, meaning: That he may send as many workers as possible to his harvest; many were invited, but few workers came (Matthew 9:37-38; Luke 10:2).
- 2 Ed. note: This biography of Fr. Sanvitores by Fr. Bustillo may have been reproduced anonymously (see Doc. 1672H) or, specially if left in the hands of the Fr. Procurator Vidal, have become part of the papers of the Process of Mexico which was then in progress.
- 3 Ed. note: Prof. Boxer, and B&R under Zalaeta, mention that he was born in Seville of Basque ancestry and had a full military career in the Philippines as of 1654. He was the General of the Manila galleon **San José** in 1668, but he stayed at Acapulco as Fort Commander, then was transferred to Puebla in 1676. Contrary to his own, and the Jesuits', expectations, he was not given the appointment of Governor of the Marianas (Saravia got it instead). He was to return once more to the Philippines in 1684 with Governor Cruzeláegui. He took part in the management audit of the previous governor, was accused of taking bribes, arrested and sent to Spain. He died at Madrid in 1691.

colleague in the novitiate of Madrid and seminary in Villarejo; he, who knows the fervent and zealous spirit of Y.E., also wrote about the pretension of the said General Zelaeta, and he thinks that it will be a done deal as soon as it reaches the Most Excellent hands of Your Excellency.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot but mention a few words to Y.E., although short in courtesy, about the consolation and joy that both Fr. Xaramillo and I had, when we saw each other by chance in Mexico; it is true that we were stunned for a good while just looking at each other, not being able to speak of the warm feeling and consolation given to us by the Lord and His Most Holy Mother in placing us together again after so many years in their Mariana Mission field. Blessed they be forever for rewarding us in such a way, and to assist us in our major tasks and persecutions that are to be endured among these barbarian people in order to introduce our Holy Faith. Blessed they be also for giving us, the sons of the Society of Jesus, what we came to seek in full measure, in this Mariana vineyard entrusted to us. This vineyard has been fertilized by the blood of their select martyrs, among whom the last one has been the Angelic and fervent Fr. Francisco Ezquerro, a native of Manila, on 2 February 1674; years earlier this Blessed young man had signed with the blood of his veins the perpetual vow to be a slave of Our Lady the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and to shed, if the occasion presented itself, his own blood for the Faith of her Most Holy Son. That is what he accomplished on the very feast-day of the Purification of Mary, by dying on account of the hate against the Most Holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction which he was in the act of administering, so that his blessed soul was purified, as we piously and humanly believe, by such a glorious death, as Y.E. will learn from the account of his martyrdom.

I cannot finish writing this letter without giving again thanks a thousand and one times to Y.E. for the merciful disposition with which you favor us, and provide for the reduction and conversion of so many souls; however, Most Excellent Lady, what thanks may I give you with my great shortcomings, with regard to the great charity, liberality and generosity of Y.E., whom everyone praises, as St. John Chrysostome says, in words that will take the place of mine: *Nulla est pars creaturæ, et supernæ, et infernæ, quæ non emittat vocem quâvis tuba clariorem prædicantem nominis tui magnificentiam.*<sup>2</sup>

Most Excellent Lady, with so much justification we can say that Y.E. is our Mother and the Mother of Mercy, and piety! How fitting it is for Y.E. to be named after the Most Holy Mary of Guadalupe, who has shown herself so merciful to us in her Mariana Islands, especially in the one directly bearing her sacred Name, that is, the Island of Buenavista Mariana [i.e. Tinian], because that is where this sovereign lady has deigned to appear twice as its natives narrate, in the form of her venerated Image of Guadalupe in Mexico, as can be verified in some papers written by the venerable Father San Vi-

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- 1 Ed. note: This letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess in the early part of 1676 is probably lost, but we now know of its tenor and relative importance.
  - 2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "There are no creatures anywhere, either above or below [i.e. either in Heaven or Hell], who do not clamor in exhalation of your magnificent name."

tores, and in the biography of our Mariana Protomartyr, the Venerable Father Luis de Medina.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot restrain myself either from writing to Y.E. about the joy and the consolation that I received with the coming of Father Xaramillo, and his companions, at a time when we were most neglected and in need of such workers, and I, about to go back alone to the Marianas from Mexico, and now to see me so well accompanied. There is no conversation about the Marianas in which is not mentioned the name of Y.E. and that of the Duke my Lord, and to begin with, Father Xaramillo does not stop referring to your charity and spiritual consolation, the favors and attentions he received in that Most Excellent and Holy House, and about the desire and holy emulation of Y.E., and that of the Duke my Lord, in helping us to convert as many of these souls as possible. The consolation that we all receive from such memories, I cannot tell either, except by quoting the Apostle St. Paul: *Qui consolatur humiles (id est Marianos) consolatus est nos in adventu Filii (id est Patris Xaramillo) non solum autem in adventu eius; sed etiam in consolatione, quâ consolatus est in vobis, referens nobis vestrum desiderium, vestram æmulationem (pro Marianis) ita ut magis gauderem.*<sup>2</sup>

I put a stop, Most Excellent lady, to my tediousness, and impertinences which Y.E. should excuse, because I am not accustomed to speak to Y.E. with the style that I should use but do not know how and yet, I cannot avoid trying to console myself by talking for a long time with someone to whom we owe so much. May Y.E. forgive so many impertinences for the love of Mary the Most Holy Lady of Guadalupe, as well as so many effronteries, platitudes and so many errors and mistakes that this letter contains, as I myself can recognize but find myself unable to remedy, and that is my greatest misery, not to know myself enough to be able to amend myself completely. May the Lord remedy everything, and I pray Y.E. to please commend me to Him truly because I am well in need of it, and I ask Y.E. on behalf of all the Mariano people to please help us with your holy and fervent prayers, and in the masses that Y.E. may hear and when you may take communion so that in this way you may help us to fight the invisible enemies, *magna sunt arma, preces,*<sup>3</sup> as St. John Chrysostome says, and so that, as long as God gives us life, He may also give us the light to learn, and execute, His Most Holy and Divine will.

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1 Ed. note: Remember that he had been killed in Saipan in 1670.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "He who consoles the humble (i.e. the Mariana people) consoles us by the coming of the Son (i.e. Father Xaramillo); however, not only by his coming, but also by the consolation which he gives you, bring us your desire and your example (in favoring the Marianas) in order to bring great rejoicing" (2 Cor. 7:7).

3 Ed. note: "Prayers are great weapons."

All of this I most eagerly and effectively beg Y.E. as best as I can, saying with our sweetest Apostle St. Francis Xavier: *Te ego, Mater animæ meæ, summeque mihi veneranda, positis humi genibus, tanquam si præsentem intuerer, suppliciter oro, ut Deum pro me, et pro omnibus Marianis, in sanctis tuis precibus, ac sacrificijs a te auditis, et communionibus receptis, obsecrare digneris, ut dum vita suppeditar santissimæ voluntatis suæ mihi, et socijs Marianis det et plane agnoscendæ, et omnino exequendæ facultatem &c.*<sup>1</sup>

May His Divine Majesty keep the Most Excellent person of Y.E., in the company of the Duke my Lord and of those little Angelic lords, as is my wish and that of all of us your Mariano children.

Aboard the galleon **San Antonio de Padua**, on 14 May 1676.

[P.S.] We are near the Marianas and, because when I arrive there I can hardly have the time to disembark as the galleon quickly proceeds to the Philippines, I foresaw it and this letter is the result.

Most Excellent Lady,

I kiss the hands of Your Excellency.

Your useless servant and the least Chaplain of your Mariano people,

+ Lorenzo Bustillo +<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Ed. note: In summary this long quote can be translated as: "Mother of my soul, and my very reverend one, refuge of mankind, I beg you to allow me in your presence, to intercede with God for me, and for all the Marianos, in your holy prayers, and the masses you hear, and the communions you receive, so that my Mariana colleagues and myself be given life long enough to fully recognize, and carry out his will, etc."
  - 2 Prof. Boxer's note: This letter is written in a singularly neat and clear hand, the signature being Bustillo, not Bustillos, which is the form given by most later writers. Ed. comment: The -s at the end of Bustillos may have come from this cross symbol, used in all his signatures. Anyhow, Fr. García, in his biography of Fr. Sanvitores, was responsible for the spread of this small error.

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**Document 1676J**

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**Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. General  
Oliva, dated Guam 4 June 1676**

*Source: ARSI Phil. 20, fol. 278-315.*

**Announcing the death of Fr. San Basilio.**

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[May be reproduced in the supplementary volume]

**[Enclosure:] List of the mission personnel: alive, dead, and martyred,  
dated 18 June 1676.**



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## Documents 1676K

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# Father Gayoso's drift voyage from Guam to the Philippines in May 1676

## K1. Summary of the Narrative of the drift voyage from Agaña to Casiguran

*Source: AGI Ultramar 562, Jesuit doc. n° 5, i.e. folios 37-39; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 2, pp. 66-71.*

### Original text in Spanish.

#### ***Relacion de la Derrota del Padre Francisco Gayoso y veinte y dos compañeros seculares de las Islas Marianas, á las de Filipinas.***

*A primeros de Mayo de 1676 embió el Señor á su Mision Mariana otro trabajo de no pequeño sentimiento. A tres de dho mes y año mandó el Capitan Damian de Esplana que en Agaña donde está el presidio de los Españoles, se embarcasen en el barco **Santa Rosa** veinte soldados para que de allí fuesen al Pueblo de Umatag, distante de Agaña seis leguas para esperar en el la Nao que venia de Mexico á Filipinas. Embarcose con ellos, aunque al parecer acaso sin duda por particular providencia de Nuestro Señor el Padre Francisco Gayoso con otros veinte y dos compañeros seculares; siendo ya entre todos veinte y tres personas. El viage por mar no era mas que de cuatro ó cinco horas; y asi no se llevaba aguja de marear; ni se embarcó gota de agua; cosas que despues hizieron increíble falta á los navegantes.*

*Salieron pues de Agaña con buen tiempo y á medio camino casi de repente se levantó un furioso viento por encima de la isla, que ayudado de arrebataidissimas corrientes en contra iba por instantes desatra[n]cando y alejando la embarcacion de la tierra con tanta eficacia que por haberse hecho por todo aquel dia cuantas diligencias fueron posibles para coger la tierra cuando llegó la noche se halló mucho mas apartada de ella y sin esperanza ya de poderla tomar. Entrada la noche, unos con actos de contriccion, otros confesando sus culpas se disponian para la ultima hora que al juicio de todos no podía tardar.*

*Amaneció el dia siguiente y ya no se descubria tierra alguna con que perdidas de todo punto las esperanzas de coger tierra en Marianas se trato con los pilotos de lo que se debia hacer y despues de varios pareceres se resolvió que se pusiese la proa á Filipinas. Con ser esta empresa la mas acertada estaba llena de dificultades y peligros: el barco era pequeño, y sin cubierta, y por no habersele dado carena un*

*año habia y haber estado mucho tiempo al sol tenia reseguídas, y abiertas las costuras haciendo mucha agua por ellas.*

*Las Islas Filipinas, distaban de alli trescientas leguas, el golfo que se habia de pasar es de los mares mas borrascosos que se conocen y tal que es el mayor peligro que en todo el viage tienen los galeones que van de Filipinas á Mexico, asi por la extraordinaria furia, y oposicion de los vientos, como por los repetidos escarceos y encontradas corrientes de las aguas: aguja de marear no la habia, agua no se habia embarcado una gota, y todos los demas vastimentos que en Agaña embarcó el Capitan para sustento de los soldados que embiaban á Umatag se habian hechado al agua para aliviar al Barco de la carga; solamente habian quedado en el un poco de arroz y maiz, que tostado ó crudo fué el unico sustento del viage, y cantidad de sandias que fueron las que suplieron y sirvieron de agua. Por aqui se hechara de ber qualquiera que hubiere navegado, cuan llena de dificultades y peligros estaba esta navegacion y quanto se necesitaba de especial ayuda de Nuestro Señor para acabarla feliz muerte implorose con las veras que la necesidad pedía, interponiendo los méritos é intercesion de varios Santos, que se eligieron para singulares patronos de este viage, y para obligar mas á Dios todos los navegantes movidos del fervoroso celo del Padre Francisco Gayo.☉, se iban confesando, y hizieron voto de confesar y comulgar tambien en accion de gracias luego que se hallasen en tierra.*

*Seguiose pues con toda resolucion el viage para Manila, y claramente se hechó de ver lo que faborecia el cielo, por que algunas noches se vió andar adelante de la proa una particular luz que la servia á la embarcacion de guia cuando mas necesitaba de ella: le tercera noche de la navegacion se padeció una bien peligrosa tormenta, en que todos tubieron por cierta su muerte; mas por la misericordia de Dios, llegaron hasta el dia siguiente en que se sosegó la tempestad y bolvió el mismo viento largo y favorable para Filipinas, prosiguió con igual teson hasta el décimo en que entró una calma que duró cinco dias, si bien los dos últimos hubo algo de viento aunque muy escaso: quince dias habia que se navegaba sin encontrar tierra alguna por lo cual sospechaban muchos que se habia ya propasado de Filipinas, y el Piloto estaba ya determinado de navegar hacia el Norte en busca del Japon ó la China pero el Señor á quien continuamente se encomendaban todos lo dispuso mejor por que despues de la calma comenzo á soplar el viento del norte que aunque todos lo tenian por contrario mostró el efecto ser por el viage en que se hallaban el mas favorable de todos tres dias duro, y en ellos se vieron en mayores peligros que nunca por los escarceos, y encuentros de arrebataidissimas corrientes que repetidas veces encontraban. Allandose una vez muy apretados hizieron voto de si Dios les dexaba llegar á tierra llevar sobre sus hombros el arbol y vela de la embarcacion, y presentarla á San Francisco Xavier rescatandola despues por el justo precio para emplearlo en misas para las animas del Purgatorio.*

*Fué Nuestro Señor servido de sacarlos libres de estos peligros, y al tercer dia que ventaba [d]el norte descubrieron tierra, y acercandose mas á ella (como despues averi-guaron) vinieron á dar un dia de camino de la punta remate de la Isla de Manila que mira al Norte, de suerte que si hubiera proseguido como al principio el viento leste, se hubieran pasado sin tocar en las Islas Filipinas. Navegaron despues hacia el sur y el dia siguiente veinte y dos de Mayo y diez y nueve de navegacion saltaron con sumo gozo en tierra, que aunque era de Manila no lo supieron hasta de alli á algunos dias.*

*En estos diez y nueve [dias] todo su sustento fué el maiz, y arroz crudo, y á beces tostado, y en lugar de agua una pequeña cortada de sandia por la mañana, y otra por la tarde, por lo cual y por los malos dias y noches que pasaron, venian todos casi sin fuerzas, y bien necesitados de largo descanso para cobrarlas. Pero aquella misma tarde que saltaron en tierra comenzaron á ensobervercese los vientos, y*

crecer su furia de suerte que el día siguiente fué en baxio<sup>1</sup> desecho, y una de las mayores tempestades que se han visto; y tal que pensaron naufragar en la tierra los que habian escapado de la mar, por que el puesto en que se hallaban era tierra baja, y llana, y saliendo el mar de si la havia inundado toda; por la parte interior que se levantaba un monte era tal la espesura de arboles[,] maleza y espinas, que la hacian impenetrable, todo lo cual[,] junto con el agua que despedian las nubes, furia de encontrados vientos, y aun temblores de tierra que hubo á este mismo tiempo representaban tan al vivo un día de juicio que muchos de los que se hallaban allí confiesan fue donde concibieron mas temor de la Justicia divina. Mas por su infinita misericordia el Señor guardó en la tierra, á los que ya habia librado del mar. Pasó aquella tempestad, y por haverse en ella **hecho pedazos el barco**, y no poder proseguir en el el viage que se hubo de acabar por tierra, en donde á mas de las indecibles incomodidades del camino estubieron todos en manifiestos riesgos de la vida por que aun que estaban ya en la Isla de Manila, aquella parte de ella en que se hallaban esta havitada de Indios levantados, y huidos á los montes, en donde viven como bárbaros sin sujecion alguna á los Españoles, y es raro el hombre blanco que cayendo en sus manos queda sin vida. Y de hecho entendieron que estos barbaros, ó por codicia de lo que les parecia si habian de ganar, ó llevados de su acostumbrada fiereza trataban de quitarles la vida, pero el Señor que parece habia tomado á su cargo el defenderla, les sacó libres de este como de los demas peligros.

Antes de emprender este camino quemaron los pedazos de la embarcacion para sacar la clavazon que tenia, y con ello comprar de comer de los Indios que estiman y necesitan mucho de este yerro [sic], y á mas de esto fue necesario que algunos diesen parte de sus mismos vestidos, y áun la misma vela del Barco despues de haber cumplido con ella el voto hecho á San Francisco Xavier se repartió á los soldados para el mismo efecto. No pudo estar ocioso en estos días el fervoroso espiritu del Padre Francisco Gayoso, pues á mas de lo que continuamente trabajaba para consuelo y bien espiritual de los soldados, siendoles forzoso detenerse ocho días en cierto paraje llevado de su ardiente celo, y sin miedo á peligro alguno se entró á hacer una mision por aquellos montes que aunque habitados de barbaros se suele hallar en ellos huidos no poco Cristianos, bien que tan faltos de doctrina que apenas lo parecen. Y no fué en vano su trabajo pues bautizó algunos chiquillos que con otros que en los días antecedentes habia bautizado llegaron á veinte y nueve, bolviendo el Padre á sus compañeros con trabajos, pues ya por los rios ya por las lluvias repetidas, ya por los ardores del sol, y otras muchas incomodidades que solamente los que la pasaron y los que han caminado por estas tierras pueden hacer concepto de lo que padecieron.

Finalmente post varius casus, post tot discrimina verum á 24 de Junio día de S. Juan Bautista, llegaron al Pueblo de Casiguran que administran religiosos descalzos de S. Agustin y el que entonces era allí Prior los hospedó, agasajó, y regaló á todos con extraordinaria caridad. Detubolos allí algunos días, para que descansasen y recobrasen las fuerzas quebrantadas con tan penoso viage, y en este lugar cumplieron el voto que habian hecho de confesar y comulgar. Habiolos despues de todo lo necesario para Manila, en donde con su llegada causaron á todos singular alegria, y dieron por una parte copiosa materia de engrandecer las misericordias, y especiales providencias del Señor, y por otra la suma lástima y compasion de aquella pobre y afligida Mision Mariana, á quien asi el barco como la gente que perdió en el ha de hacer increíble, y aun ahora es mayor su desconsuelo, por que todavia no sabe que aportaron á Filipinas.

*Dios Nuestro Señor se sirva de resarcir el daño que con este suceso padece.*

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1 Ed. note: Should be "baguio", which means typhoon.

## Translation.

### **Narrative of the voyage of Father Francisco Gayoso and 22 lay companions from the Mariana Islands to the Philippine Islands.**

At the beginning of May 1676 the Lord sent another hardship of no little sorrow to His Mariana Mission. On the third of the said month and year, Captain Damian de España who resides in Agaña where the garrison of the Spaniards is located ordered 20 soldiers to embark in the boat **Santa Rosa** to go from there to the town of Umatag, distant 6 leagues from Agaña, to await there the galleon that was coming from Mexico to the Philippines. Father Francisco Gayoso embarked with them, that is, 22 lay companions, although it seems that it was no doubt arranged by special providence of Our Lord; that made a total of 23 persons. The voyage by sea was not to last for more than 4 or 5 hours; so, they had not taken any compass along, nor a single drop of water, things which the travellers were to sorely miss later on.

Well then, they left Agaña with good weather but almost half way a furious wind arose suddenly from on top of the island. It was aided by fast-moving contrary currents that little by little were snatching and pushing the boat away from the shore with such an efficiency that, in spite of all the possible efforts made during that whole day, when night-time came it found itself much more separated from it and now without hope of making it. After nightfall, some prepared themselves with acts of contrition, others confessing their sins, for their last hour that in their judgment could not be far away.

When daylight broke the next morning, no land was in sight. Therefore, without any hope of making it back to some land in the Marianas, there was discussion with the pilots about what to do. After various opinions were given, it was decided to turn the bow toward the Philippines. Although this enterprise was the safest, it was nevertheless full of difficulties and dangers: the boat was small, with no deck, and because it had not been careened for one year and been left a long time in the sun, its seams were dried up and open, and much water leaked in.

The Philippine Islands were 300 leagues from there, the intervening sea is one of the roughest seas known and such that it is the major danger faced by the galleons that go from the Philippines to Mexico, not only on account of the extraordinary fury and contrariness of the winds, but also the continuous choppiness and opposition of the currents. There was no compass available. Not a single drop of water had been loaded, and all the other food supplies that the Captain had put aboard for the sustenance of the soldiers being sent to Umatag had been thrown overboard in order to lighten the boat of its load. There remained only a little rice, and corn, which toasted or raw, became the only food during the voyage, with a quantity of watermelons that became what supplied and replaced water. Anyone who has sailed can therefore see for himself how full of difficulties and dangers this navigation was, and how much the special help of Our Lord was necessary to complete it. The happy death that seemed imminent was truly begged for, through the intercession of the merits of various saints, who were selected for their particular sponsorship of this voyage, and in order to oblige God even more, all the travellers, moved by the fervent zeal of Father Francisco Gayoso, were

confessing themselves, and they made a vow to confess themselves and take communion also by way of thanksgiving once they found themselves ashore.

The voyage was then pursued resolutely to Manila, and it was plain to see that heaven was favoring it, because some nights a special light was seen to travel ahead of the bow of the vessel, as if to guide it, when the need for this was foremost. On the third night of the voyage, a very dangerous storm was suffered, in which all assumed their death was certain, but by God's providence they made it to the next day when the storm abated and the same durable wind returned, favorably blowing toward the Philippines. The wind lasted with the same tenacity until the 10th, when a calm broke that lasted five days, although the last two there was some very light wind. Fifteen days had passed in this passage, without sighting any land, and some began to suspect that we had already passed the Philippines; the Pilot was already determined to sail northward in search of Japan or China, but the Lord, to whom all commended themselves continuously, arranged it better, because after the calm a northerly wind began to blow; although everyone thought that this wind was contrary, the effect was such that it was found to be most favorable. This wind lasted three days, during which the people saw themselves in greater dangers than ever on account of the clash of very unruly currents that they met with repeatedly. They found themselves in such a fix once, that they made a vow that, if God let them arrive ashore, they would carry upon their shoulders the mast and sail of the boat and present it to St. Francis Xavier, and to recover them later on at a just price, the money to be used for masses sung for the souls in Purgatory.

Our Lord was pleased to set them free from these dangers; on the third day after the northerly wind had begun they sighted land, and upon coming nearer (as they learned later) they came within one day's sail of the tip of the Island of Manila [i.e. Luzon] that faces north, in such a manner that, had they proceeded with the earlier easterly wind, they would have passed beyond the Philippine Islands without touching them. They then sailed southward and the next day, May 22nd, after sailing 19 days, they stepped ashore with immense pleasure. Although they were on the Island of Manila, they did not learn about it until a few days later.

During these 19 days, their only food was some corn and rice eaten raw, and at times cooked, and instead of water a little piece of watermelon in the morning, and another in the afternoon. Hence, on account of the bad days and nights spent this way, they all arrived almost without any strength; they were in need of a long rest in order to recover their strength. However, the same afternoon that they stepped ashore, the winds began to get rough, their fury rising to the point that the next day it developed into a full typhoon, one of the greatest storms ever seen, to such an extent that they thought that they, who had escaped death at sea, might come to drown while ashore, because the site where they found themselves was low-land, and flat. The sea rose over this land and flooded everything. Toward the interior, there was a hill, heavily wooded, with thickets and thorns, so that it was impenetrable. All of these things, plus the water that fell from the clouds, the fury of clashing winds, and even some earthquakes that were felt at this time combined to make the living think about the day of judgment; thus, many of those

who were there confessed, for they conceived more fear of divine Justice. However, thanks to His infinite mercy, the Lord preserved ashore those he had freed from the sea. That storm passed, and since **the boat had been broken to pieces**, the voyage which could not be continued with it, was completed overland. During this trip, besides the unspeakable discomforts of the road, they were all in manifest dangers of losing their life, because, although they were already on the Island of Manila, that part of it where they were was inhabited by rebellious Indians, who had fled to the bush, where they lived like barbarians without any subjection to the Spanish, and it was a rare white man who would survive after falling into their hands. Indeed, they came to understand that these barbarians, either out of greed for whatever could be gained, or led by their usual savageness, tried to take their life, but the Lord who seems to be taking care of defending them, freed them from this as he had done with the other dangers.

Before they undertook this journey, they burned the pieces of the boat in order to get the iron in it, and with this iron be able to buy something to eat from the Indians who esteem and need this iron very much. In addition to that, it became necessary for some to give part of their own clothes, and even the boat sail itself; after they had complied with it the vow made to St. Francis Xavier, they had divided it among the soldiers for that purpose. The fervent spirit of Father Francisco Gayoso could not remain idle during these days; indeed, in addition to working continuously for the consolation and spiritual well-being of the soldiers, as they were forced to delay their journey by eight days, led by his burning zeal and without fear of any danger, he undertook a mission tour through those hills where, though inhabited by barbarians, there are usually some Christian escapees living among them, though they hardly seem to have been catechized. His work was not in vain, since he baptized some little children; counting those he had baptized on the preceding days, the number of baptized reached 29. The Father rejoined his companions with some difficulties, as the rivers had swollen because of the repeated rains, the sun was burning hot, and because of many other discomforts that only those who have passed through them while travelling through these lands can appreciate what they suffered.

Finally *post varius casus, post tot discrimina verum*<sup>1</sup> on 24 June, St. John the Baptist Day, they arrived at the town of Casiguran which is administered by the discaled religious of St. Augustine. The man who was prior then lodged them, entertained them and pleased them with an extraordinary charity. He held them there for a few days, so that they might rest and recover their strength, broken by such a hard journey. In this place they complied with the vow they had made to confess and take communion. Afterward, he gave them everything necessary to go to Manila. When they arrived there, they caused particular joy in everyone, and their story gave ample material to ponder on the mercies and special providence of the Lord and, on the other hand, the sad state, and some pity for that poor and afflicted Mariana Mission; the loss of the boat as well as

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "after various incidents, after so many truly-critical moments."

the people aboard it must have been incredible. Even now, its disconsolateness must be worse, because it is not yet known there that they made it to the Philippines.

May God our Lord be pleased to repay the harm suffered by this event.

## **K2. Full narrative of his voyage, dated Manila 12 November 1676**

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 133-140v.*

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

*Relacion de la de la [sic] derrota del Padre Francisco Gayoso de la Compañia de JESUS desde las Yslas Marianas a las Philipinas este año de 1676 sacada de una carta que escrivio el mismo Padre Al Padre Xavier Riquelme Provincial de la Compañia de JESUS en las Islas Philipinas.—*

*Es la Ysla de Guahan la principal de las Marianas, ay en esta Isla un pueblo llamado Agatña, en el qual los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus, tienen casa, y Iglesia, cabecera de otras Residencias que se an fundado en la misma Ysla. En este pueblo, y junto a la Casa de los PP. esta el Presidio que consta de 50 soldados con su Capitan. El qual a 3 de Mayo deste año de 76 mando a 20 soldados los mas de ellos españoles, y algunos Philipinos que se embarcasen en el Barco llamado **Santa Rosa**, para ir a Umatac pueblo de la misma Ysla distante del de Agatña como seis, o siete leguas. Avia pocos días que el Capitan avia en el dicho pueblo de Umatac levantado un castillo de madera, segun la posibilidad de la tierra, y edificado juntamente una Yglesia; porque aquel sitio es el mas acomodado de la Ysla, para que en el pare a hacer agua el navio que todos los años viene de la nueva España. Hizose alli el castillo con proporcionada capacidad, assi para rezevir en el el socorro que le viniese a la Mission en el navio, como para que los soldados viviesen allí algunos tiempos del año, desde donde pudiesen salir fácilmente a hacer las correrías necesarias por aquella parte de la Ysla, quando se ofreciese executar algun castigo en los Indios rebeldes, o fuese menester avivarlos en ir a oír Missa, y hacer las otras obras que se requieren para ser buenos christianos. La Yglesia que se avia edificado, aun no estava totalmente perficionada y era necesario acabarla de adornar lo mejor que se pudiese, para quando llegase el navio que suele ser por Junio desde los primeros días hasta la mitad del mes.—*

### § 1

*Esto supuesto ordenó el Capitan Damian de Esplana a 20 soldados que se embarcasen en el Barco **Santa Rosa**, para que fuesen al dicho pueblo de Umatac, quedandose el en Agatña aquel dia para ir el siguiente por tierra con lo restante de la gente. Y quiso Nuestro Señor que yo tambien me embarcase aquella vez para ir con la gente por mar, con un compañero que yo tenia propio seglar, y otro muchacho natural de la Ysla, siendo assi que la oportunidad de ir por tierra me tirava por otro lado. Pero permitiendolo la obediencia, y queriendolo Dios me embarque, para que yo tambien tuviese que padecer sustos, y para consolar por medio de la Santa Confession a los soldados en los peligros que Dios ya veia que los avian de afligir.—*

*Acabó de embarcarse la gente, y carga que avia de ir, comenzo el [fol. 133v] Barco a salir por la varra con tantas dificultades quantas nunca parece avia avido. Y aun reparó el Piloto, y otra gente, que siendo assi que el Barco tenia sobradissima agua para salir sin tropiezo alguno; no obstante iba la quilla*

*dando tan fieros golpes sobre las piedras, que de cada uno, parece que se avia de hacer muchos pedazos, y efectivamente no deja de maltratarse mucho en aquella salida. Conque a los primeros passos parece que nos dava Dios prenuncios de lo que avia de suceder, poniendo con paternal providencia dificultades desde el principio, para que no se prosiguiese aquel viage, del qual se avia de seguir a la Mission un trabajo entonces no pequeño. Yzaron la vela arriba, prometiendose todos buen viage, y feliz puerto aquel mismo dia en el pueblo adonde ivamos a parar por el viento leste fresco, largo, y a proposito que entonces soplava. —*

*Pero no nos sucedió como esperavamos, y queriamos, sino como Dios fue servido. Porque es a saber que en medio del camino entre Agaña, y Umatac ay una punta de Ysla, que llaman la de Orote, la qual sale al mar mucho, respecto de Agaña, que es de donde saliamos, y de Umatac adonde ivamos, los cuales pueblos y sus entradas a ellos estan muy metidas, y ensenadas hacia tierra. A esto se llega que las corrientes en aquella punta son vehementissimas para desatracar de tierra qualquiera embarcacion. Apenas pues llegamos prosperamente a aquella punta con el feliz viento que he dicho, quando de repente el viento se passa a soplar desde el medio de la tierra, saliendo por aquella misma punta con tan impetuosa turbonada que el que antes era viento en popa hasta llegar a la punta, luego que alli llegamos dio, e impelia hacia el mar afuera a la embarcacion, por el costado, que ademas de lo mucho que estavamos el mar afuera por la necesidad en que la punta nos ponía sobreviniendo de repente aquel viento nos desatracó mucho mas de la tierra. Y por ser la Ysla muy corta, en desatracandose una vez una embarcacion, es muy dificultoso, y imposible bolverla a tomar. Y a la verdad no sabemos de cierto si aquel viento leste realmente se mudo en otro: o si aquel mismo viento que hasta llegar a la punta era a popa por ayudarle a eso la ensenada de donde saliamos, y por ser baja la tierra que aviamos pasado luego que llegamos a la punta que es tierra alta, reboco por la otra ensenada, y tierra baja, que ibamos a tomar. Lo cierto es que luego que se vio el peligro tan grande, que avia de desgaritarnos, se comenzo a poner el remedio y conato posible para salvar las vidas volviendo a tierra: Porque todos tuvimos la muerte por cierta, si nos acababamos de desgaritar por no saber a donde ir, sin abujon [sic = agujón] que aunque avia en Agaña en la garita del mismo Piloto, no lo embarco por no parecer necesario para un viage de tres, o quatro horas arrimados a tierra. Y tambien nos amenazava el ultimo trance, el ser un Barco como aquel, y sin cubierta, con que visto el peligro se hicieron las diligencias posibles para no perder la vida. Y una dellas fue el bolver la proa (lo qual se hizo con mucho trabajo) hacia Agaña de donde aviamos salido para bolvernos allá, porque el viento de ninguna manera nos dejava tomar la tierra de Umatac, como dije, o por averse trocado [fol. 134] y escaseado que llaman los Marineros, ó por soplar por la misma ensenada hacia donde ivamos. Y es cosa singular, y que desde luego nos dio a temer los Juicios de Dios, porque navegando hacia Agaña, bolvió el viento por la proa tan derechamente que entendimos que alguna especial obra, o permission de Dios andava por alli, pues a qualquiera parte que poniamos la proa para la Ysla de Guahan era el viento contrario. —*

*Viendo que estos remedios no valian, se hecho al arbol abajo, tomaron se los remos: Bogavase hacia tierra, las corrientes en contra eran grandissimas. El escarceo, y olas encontradas del mar, mucho maiores, y terribles de lo que convenia para vencerlas a remo. Los remeros, y toda la gente que iba en el Barco mareada, aun aquellos tambien que por aver navegado otras veces, y aver trabajado en el mar, parece que avian de estar mas fuertes, y constantes en el trabajo. Cosa en que tambien reconocimos los juicios de Dios. El Barco aunque absolutamente era capaz de la carga que llevaba, pero en aquella ocasion estava mucho mas cargado de lo que era justo. Havia tambien mucha agua, por no aversele dado carena un año*



avia, y por aver estado muchos días antes expuesto al sol, con que estaban resequidas las costuras, y abiertas. Yva llegando la noche. Sucedió que se cayese al agua una chinina, y viendo que en un instante se avia alegado mucho de nosotros, hallamos con evidencia que las corrientes nos ivan a toda prissa desatracando mas, y mas de la tierra, Yva creciendo en nosotros la desconfianza de bolverla a tomar.—

Viendo estas cosas, comense a exhortar a la gente a hacer fervorosos actos de contricion, para que estuviesen dispuestos para absolverlos a todos juntos, quando el mar nos quisiese tragar a todos. Comenzé juntamente a oirlos de penitencia para maior seguridad de sus conciencias, en quanto aquella apretura nos permitia; porque tambien era preciso hacer siempre las diligencias que se podia para conservar la vida temporal, ya sacando el agua que hacia el Barco, ya haciendo otras cosas que al Piloto le parecia convenir, el qual mas que ninguno de quantos ivamos alli, temio el peligro por tener mas experiencias que otros, y nos aviso de el. Venia con nosotros un muchacho natural de la tierra, y por no constar ciertamente de su bautismo, dandole brevemente inteligencia de la doctrina christiana que el ya sabia, le bautize *sub conditione* aquel mismo dia, de la Invencion de la Santa Cruz. Y aunque no esperavamos que qualquier nombre que le pusieremos lo gozaria mucho, no obstante por ser el dia que era, tuve devocion de llamarle Manuel de la Cruz.

Proseguia la noche tristemente. Amanecio el dia siguiente y ya no parecia ni el mas alto monte de la Ysla. El viento perseverava largo, y feliz hacia Manila, que parece nos traia orden expreso de Dios con que nos intimava ir a alla. No obstante los que hacian officio de Piloto Francisco Ruiz, y Nicolas de Tolentino, entraron en consulta, para ver lo que se avia de hacer en aquel caso. Francisco Ruiz traspassado [fol. 134v] su corazon de pena, aun no tanto por los peligros en que nos hallavamos, como por la falta que avia de hacer a la Mission el Barco, y la gente que iba en el, decia que le parecia conveniente ir a buscar una Ysla que yace al medio dia distante de la de Guahan como 100 leguas. Porque decia el que en hallando aquella tierra, parariamos alli, esperando buen viento para bolver a Guahan.—

Nicolas de Tolentino respondio, que esa era peligrosa resolucion. Lo uno, por que parece ser aquella tierra muy corta, y que como era posible que la hallasen unos hombres que jamas avian sido Pilotos, en todo rigor, y aunque lo huvieran sido, y fueran doctos, y expertos que era muy dificultosos dar con ella, pues la falta de abujon [sic] era considerable, y ellos al presente no lo tenian, ni otro instrumento alguno del Arte. Lo otro, porque aunque se hallase aquella tierra, quien confiaria que sus barbaros habitantes, nunca tratados de los christianos; primero nos abian de rezevir de paz, que con los instrumentos de la muerte? Y assi que su parecer era que se pusiese la proa hacia Manila, pues el viento era feliz para alla, y esta carrera era mas usada para ellos. Y que aunque no hiviese abujon, ni carta, ni otro instrumento podiamos esperar con Dios topar con tierra, porque la Ysla de Manila es grande. Y aun caso que esta no la hallasen, avia otras tierras assi hacia el norte, como al sur desta Ysla, que son Japon, China, Mindanao y otras con que podian topar.—

Parecio bien a Francisco Ruiz el sentir de Nicolas de Tolentino. Determinaron que se hiciera assi. Oimos todos el parecer, y resolucion de los Pilotos; entendimos ser aquella la voluntad de Dios. Y considerando las trecientas leguas de mar por lo menos a que nos exponia aquel Barquillo sin cubierta, todos tenian, o esperavan, que era ya llegada su hora, especialmente viendo con sus ojos las inchadas olas, que andavan excitadas por el mar del viento del dia antecedente.—

Tomada esta resolucion, y consejo, hizo el Piloto que a toda prissa se fuese alijando el Barco. Echaronse al agua dos gallineros grandes llenos de gallinas, que eran del Capitan y por su orden se avian embarcado, para hacer el algunos regalos en el navio a las personas mas principales y el mismo trabajo

*padecio un animal de cerda del mismo. No se reservó ni una gallina para comer, porque los que esperan por instantes la muerte, no estan en disposicion de regalar el cuerpo; Echaronse tambien a pique algunos fardos de maiz, y arroz. Y por no advertir con la turbacion lo que hacian, se hizo lo mismo con toda la cal que iba alli que era bastante cantidad, y con dos tinajas de Azeite, siendo assi que estas dos cosas eran necesarissimas para dar galagala por dentro al Barco en muchas partes que avia menester por entrar el agua por ellas en abundancia. Pero aun sin esto nos salvo Dios del mar. Echaronse a pique otras cosillas, que a aquella pobre Mission no dejavan de hacer falta. Solo nos quedamos con [fol. 135] mucha cantidad de sandias que tambien por orden del Capitan (pero mejor dire por disposicion de Dios, assi como el maiz, y arroz) se avian embarcado.—*

*Digo por disposicion de Dios, porque este mismo Barco se avia visto en evidente peligro de desgariarse tambien otras veces, como aora totalmente. Y tan de veras fue el peligro la una vez, y tan grande el viento contrario, que quebró la verga, siendo assi que era mucho mejor de la que traximos en este ultimo viage. Y si en estos casos se huviera desgariado, huviera perecido sin remedio toda la gente. Porque una vez que fue, yendo a la Ysla de Rota, distantes de la de Guahan como 12 leguas solamente, se embarco el bastimento necesario para este corto viage. La otra vez, ni una gota de agua, ni cosa equivalliese, ni de otro sustento, poco, ni mucho. (excepto su racion de morisqueta de aquel dia, que algunos de los soldados llevan consigo) por ser aquel viage de un pueblo a otro en la misma Ysla. En aquellas ocasiones, no permitio la bondad, y misericordia de Dios, que es fiel, como habla el Apostol, que tuviese efecto el enojo de los elementos, porque no fuesen tentados sus criaturas racionales, mas de los que podian sufrir. Pero en aquesta ocasion lo permitio. Porque aunque no se embarco ni una gota de agua, por no ser el viage que llevavamos nosotros, mas que de quatro, o cinco horas: quiso su divina Magestad que se embarcasen aquellas sandias, los quales, prodigiosamente suplieron por espacio de 19 dias la falta del agua. Aora tambien se embarco maiz, y arroz, para que la gente comiese en Umatac, hasta que llegase el navio, segun los hombres, pero segun Dios fue p<sup>a</sup> que comiesemos por el mar hasta llegar a tierra.—*

*Echa la diligencia de alijar el Barco, se le clavo en el bordo una falca de tablas, de que tambien damos gracias a Dios, pues entonces nos las dio con clavos, y instrumentos era necesarissima la falta al Barco. Y sino fuera por ella, creese humanamente hablando, y huvieramos perecido por la continuacion de hinchadas olas que por todo el camino acometian a aquella pobre embarcacion, pero aquellas tablas no les davan lugar a que totalmente entrasen, y nos anegasen.—*

## § 2.

*Dispuestas estas cosas, nos dimos el dia siguiente a la vela con toda resolucion para Manila. Ya se avian hecho las diligencias que el arte dictava, y la posibilidad permitia, para conservar las vidas, segun lo manda Dios. Restava que recurriesemos al cielo a pedir auxilios. Quien primero se nos ofrecio para nuestro amparo, fue Santa Rosa, porque el Barco estava dedicado a su nombre, y navego siempre debajo de su patrocinio. Eligimos pues por Patrona a esta Santa en aquel viage y caso raro, encomendandonos a ella todos los dias.—*

*Y en el segundo de nuestra navegacion, quiso darnos otro Patron el cielo. Este fue el glorioso S. Nicolas de Tolentino. Fue la ocasion que uno de los que venian en el Barco, traia consigo en su arca una estatua deste Santo. Sacola, y al punto los soldados la cogieron, y amarraron al arbol, y le solian decir de quando en quando por el camino, no sin devocion aunque con chisma. **Ea Santo bendito que ay, a-[fol. 135v] -veis de ir amarrado, y no os hemos de solter, hasta que nos lleveis a salvamento.***

*La noche deste día vieron, y repararon algunas personas una particular luz (segun ellos decían) que andando delante de la proa, parece que la iva guiando. Los que oían decir que otros avian visto aquella luz, replicavan en orden a persuadir que aquella luz, no tendria misterio, ni seria cosa especial por esto, y aquella razon unos decían que seria una cosa, otros, que seria otra. Los que la avian visto, se inclinavan a persuadirse, que el cielo nos queria consolar con aquella luz. En conclusion a nadie le peso de que tal resplandor se huviese visto, antes bien todos concivieron nuevo gozo. Navegose felizmente el segundo día, como el primero. Llego la noche de aquel día, y dos personas bolvieron a ver la dicha luz a prima noche.—*

*Pero de alli a poco se encapoto el cielo tan horriblemente y con tinieblas tan espesas, que no solo no se veía una estrella en todo el, sino que parecía casi, que con un manto negro nos avian cubierto a todos. A esto se siguió un viento que comenzando a darnos que temer, perseverando el, y creciendo, perficiono el temor en nuestras entrañas, y aumentando su furia con un grande aguacero, llego a tanto que con aver arriado la vela, hasta lo sumo que se podía arriar, sin quitarla totalmente nos parecía que hacia correr al Barco por el mar, como suele una exalacion por el viento. Y con esto llegamos todos a tragar el votado de la muerte, con la persuasion, casi de que infaliblemente seria Davanos Dios gracia en medio de tantos tristezas, y sobresaltos para encomendarnos como podíamos a su divina Magestad con la Letania de Nuestra Señora, e invocacion de todos los Santos del Cielo, para que nos librasen de aquella. Finalmente despues de grande rato de tormenta se sirvió N° Señor, de que sosegase, y no perciesemos. Y para esto ayudo humanamente mucho el que no se arriase toda la vela, sino que quedase algo della expuesta al viento, porque con esto dando el viento en aquel poco de vela, hacia que se escapase el Barco de las grandes olas que por la popa le venían persiguiendo. No supimos de cierto (en fin como quien no tenía abuja de marear ni veía ni una estrella) hacia donde navegamos aquel gran rato, pero parece ser que fue de Sur, a Norte. Amaneció el día, aunque parece que no amanecía por perseverar mucho de las espesas nuves de la noche antes. Dimos muchas gracias a N° Señor, por averse servido de conducirnos hasta aquella ora con vida. Ya era medio día, quando aun no sabíamos hacia donde ivamos, por no aver podido averiguar por donde salía el sol, por los muchos nuves que se encubrian, no con pequeña afliccion de la gente (que el oriente, y occidente servían de Norte a los que no tenían abuja de marear) pero yendo poco a poco, desmarañandose el emisferio pudimos ver el Sol, aunque no acabava de descubrirse. Con esto certificamos el curso de nuestro viage, y se encamino la proa, hacia el poniente.—*

*Visto el sol que tanto deseavamos aquel día, y encaminada la proa por su rumbo, haciendo reflexa sobre la noche pasada, y día presente, sentimos la voz, que nos avía dado aquel día triste, y perdido hasta entonces, y enton-[fol. 136] -dimos la ciencia que nos indicava la noche antecedente casi desesperada. Y doctos con estos magisterios, nos apercebimos mas para los siguientes días, y noches. Y creimos ser necesario proponernos otro patron en tantas contingencias, y peligros. Y quien podía ser este, sino el que tantos padecio por tan dilatados mares, y en las Yndias el Apostol dellas S. Francisco Xavier, a quien sabemos que obedecen en el nombre de Dios el mar, los vientos, y las tempestades? A ellos pues especiales Patronos, nos encomendavamos cada día. Y ademas desto hizimos voto de confessar, y comulgar en tierra, si llegavamos a salvamento a honra de Dios, y de ellos. Desde este tercero día hasta el dezimo de nuestra navegacion proseguimos felizmente con la perseverancia del buen viento, aunque no faltavan sus turbonadillas de quando en quando, que no dejavan de causar su poco de cuidado, especialmente en las noches.—*

*En este tiempo proseguí, oyendo de confesion a la gente por lo que podía suceder; y aunque no sucediera nada, (que eso solo Dios lo sabia) lo cierto era, que en aquella ocasion obligava el precepto de la Confesion, por ser la navegacion larga para vaso tan pequeño, y peligrosa en muchas maneras. Lo qual concedera el que no tuviese pecho de diamante para despreciar tales peligros. Y assi no solo por absolverlos de los pecados, en que acaso avrian incurrido, sino tambien porque no incurriesemos en otro nuevo de omission, les venia persuadiendo con todas veras que se confessasen. Y vanlo haciendo con toda devocion. Y parece que nos quiso Dios dar a entender quan grata le era esta disposicion de animo, y tal execucion en obra tan necesaria. Porque una tarde por la parte del septentrion estavan las nuves con tal ceño, que a todos nos davan mucho que temer, si Dios no lo remediava. A esto se llevo que el viento Leste, se passo a Norte. Y considerando estas cosas el Piloto, no dejava de afligirse mas que lo ordenario. Porque la experiencia le enseñava que el viento Norte es vehementissimo, y muy tempestuoso si comienza. Llegose a confessar con egregia disposicion. Confessose, y en acabando advertimos que el viento se avia buuelto a Leste, y aquellos nuvarrones se ivan deshaciendo a toda priessa. —*

*Passados estos 10 días, y aun, antes de llegar a ellos, empezaron muchos a temer, si acaso aviamos ya passado la Ysla de Manila. Porque decian que trecientas leguas en diez dias, con tan prospero, y veloz viento, bien se podían aver andado. A esto se juntava el que realmente a toda la gente le ivan faltando las fuerzas, y creciendo los desfallecimientos. Porque el sustento era un poco de maiz, y arroz tostado y de eso se comia poco, porque no nos faltase en una navegacion, que no sabiamos que sin tendria, ni en que tierras ariamos [sic = iriamos?] a parar, sino hallavamos la Ysla de Manila. Unos huebos que tambien se embarcaron, al quarto día se comenzaron a podrir, y marear, de suerte que a muchos mas les provocaban a vomitos que les servian del sustento, por ser ellos tambien de mucho tiempo antes. El agua no era mas que dos tajadas de sandías a cada persona, una por la mañana, y otra por la tarde. Aunque gracias a Dios reconocimos la gran virtud de la fruta, en apagar la sed. Pues unos apenas la tenian (excepto un pobre enfermo que no deje [fol. 136v] de padecerla buena) otros ni poco, ni mucho, y aun otros (y yo soy uno de ellos) cobraron tanta aversion al agua que si acaso en tiempo de algun aguacero, que fueron dos o tres veces, las que se pusieron a ello, cogian alguna poquita, ni aun beberla querian. Siendo assi que por no aver experimentado la virtud de las sandías (sino es que algun especial concurso de nuestro Señor anduviese por alli) temiamos al principio que avia de llegar a ser tan terrible nuestra sed, que aviamos de perder la vida. Y el que especial, y prodigiosamente concurriese Dios, parece que el mismo nos lo quiso dar a entender. Porque aun despues de aver saltado a tierra se pasaron los dos, los tres, y los quatro días, sin acordarse muchas personas a beber agua, cosa ciertamente admirable. Y al paso que espermentamos la mucha eficacia de las sandías en quitar la sed, a ese mismo sentiamos la poca fuerza del arroz, y maiz assi tostado para servir de alimento, y assi algunos mas lo querian comer crudo. A esta debilidad de bastimentos se añadía el continuo exercicio de día, y de noche en que se sucedian los soldados unos a otros sin permission, achicando, y echando fuera del Barco la mucha agua que entrava. Y parece que quiso Dios N° Señor, que tambien al principio de la navegacion se hechase al mar la cal, y azeite, sin quedar nada desto, para que no dandosele a la embarcacion tan abierta galagala, los pobres con su trabajo cooperasen a la grande merced que nos avia de hacer. —*

*Passado este tiempo se siguieron cinco días de calma, aunque no se dejava de andar algo los dos días ultimos de los cinco en el qual tiempo se padecieron no pequeños ardores del sol en una pequeña embarcacion como aquella en la qual el maior resguardo tenia aquel que alcanzava a esconderse del sol con un poco de la sombra de la vela. —*

*Continuamente hacíamos oracion a Dios, para que se sirviese su Magestad de prosperar nuestro viage para su santo servicio, y gloria. Y nos acordamos de Santa Potenciana Patrona de las Yslas Filipinas, cuiu festividad estava cerca. Y temiendo que nuestros nuevos pecados no fuesen causa de aquella calma y de que no hallasemos la Ysla de Manila, nos acogimos al amparo desta gran Santa para que proponiendo ella fue meritos delante de los ojos de Dios hiciese que su justicia no mirase nuestros muchos defectos. Y con esto seríamos dignos por la misma Santa de entrar en la tierra, por cuiu bien ella mira. Oyonos el cielo, y al fin de los cinco días de calma, vino un vientecillo Norte, que juntamente (sin duda que las misericordias de Dios nos assistieron con especialidades en este viage sobre todos nuestros meritos) que juntamente digo, nos saco de la calma, y fue la causa para que hallasemos esta Ysla de Manila. Porque ya el Piloto andava con grandes determinaciones de guiar la proa mas hacia el Norte en busca del Japon, o la China, temiendo no huviesemos ya pasado de la Ysla de Manila. Pero aquel viento Norte no dejo poner en efecto su determinacion con la circunstancia que despues diremos. Con harto sentimiento suio de que soplase tal viento, ya porque lo rezelava tempestuoso, ya porque no le dejaba navegar por donde el pensava, que convenia. Pero no fal- [fol. 137] -to en el Barco quien considerando las mercedes que hasta alli nos avia hecho Dios, y esperando que las proseguiria, le dijo, que quiza convenia aquel viento, pues Dios lo embiava, que confiasemos en Dios. Porque aunque nadie sabia de quantos ivamos alli el fin que avia de tener la navegacion, ni quando ni como Dios nos avia de llevar a tierra; es evidente que siendo ciertos los auxilios de Dios especiales hasta alli, no era buen modo de agradecerlos, ni de prevenirnos para otros el descontentarnos de lo que el entonces nos embiava, pues podia ser que aquello conviniere.—*

*Finalmente en este suceso de cosas nos acordamos del Principe de la militia celestial S. Miguel, con que le suplicamos tambien fuese nuestro abogado, y protector en tantos cuydados como teníamos. Encomendavamos pues todos los días dos veces, una por la mañana, y otra por la tarde a estos nuestros Patronos de nuestra navegacion: Que fueron Santa Rosa, S. Nicolas de Tolentino, S. Francisco Xavier, Santa Potenciana, y S. Miguel; a las Santas, rezavamos una Salve a cada una: un Pater noster, y una Ave Maria a S. Nicolas, y otro tanto a S. Xavier, y un Credo a S. Miguel, todos nosotros de comunidad. Por la mañana rezavamos la Letania de Nuestra Señora, en lugar de la Missa que aviamos de oir si estuviéramos en tierra con las oraciones *Gratiam tuam defende quæsumus Domine*, y la comemoracion de S. P[ed]ro y S. Pablo *Deus cuius dextera*, y la que la Comp<sup>a</sup> usa a N.P.S. Ignacio, y S. Francisco Xavier *Deus qui glorificantes te glorificas y pro navigantibus Deus qui transtulisti*. Y despues desto, nos encomendavamos a nuestros especiales devotos como he dicho. A la tarde demas desto, rezavamos tambien el Rossario a la Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora la qual siempre, y en todo lugar y en toda adversidad, y en toda prosperidad en lo espiritual, y en lo temporal fue, y es, y sera nuestra Principal Patrona, y abogada para con el hijo de Dios, y suyo. Ni nos olvidavamos de hacer el acto de contricion todos los días dos veces. Y siempre observamos en encomendarnos a nuestros especiales devotos el orden mismo con que se nos ivan ofreciendo. Y aunque yo algunas veces me resolví interiormente a imitar en invocarlos el orden que usa la Yglesia en las Letanias maiores: de suerte que fuese primero S. Miguel, y despues los otros Santos Confesores, y ultimamente las Santas, no obstante no acabava de invocarles quando nos juntavamos a ello como yo lo avia pensado. Y una vez que me resolví del todo, me turbe de tal suerte, o senti tan contraria mocion, que en lugar de decir primero Rezemos un credo [a] S. Miguel, dije, Recemos una Salve a honra de Santa Rosa. Con que desde entonces no tiene mas intentos de immutar el orden, sino guardar el mismo con que se nos avian ofrecido los Santos para ser nuestros Patronos.—*

*Saconos dije aquel viento de la calma en que estavamos. Pero al otro dia nos metio en un escarceo tan grande, que entre unas encontradas olas tan sobervias que por uno, y por otro costado, y por la popa, parece que querian desminuzar la embarcacion, o tragarsela. Con que se bolvieron a renovar en nosotros las zozobras, sobresaltos, y cuidados que en las otras ocasiones padecimos, y arriba quedan referidos. Este escarceo, y olas encontradas parece ser se causavan de unas vehementissimos corrientes, que ademas de las olas que concitaban, no dejavan al Barco ir abante, y con dificultad grande en mucho tiempo andava tan poquito de camino. Entre tanto [fol. 137v] me solia yo ocupar en decir la Litania de Nuestra Señora en voz alta, de suerte que me oyosen todos, y assi todos nos encomendamos a Dios. En fin quiso Su Magestad que acabasemos a pasar aquel temeroso paso en que gastamos toda la mañana. —*

*Pero bolvimos a la tarde a dar en otro tanto con el mismo modo, y peligros. con que temiendo que acaso andariamos entonces en algun parage, donde la misma tierra compondria varias vocanas, y encajonades por donde el mar rebentava, y se encontravan las olas unas con otras. Y entendiendo el grandissimo peligro en que andariamos, que creo fue maior de quantos aviamos padecido. Y sospechando que acaso avria andando adelante otros passos como aquellos, o peores. Acercandose la noche, en que se hacen mas temerosos, porque son mas peligrosos los mismos peligros. Y acordandonos que iriamos perdidos, y que acaso andariamos entonces por caminos nunca sondados de los mortales. Creciendo con todas estas consideraciones nuestras penas. Para mover a Dios N. Señor a que tuviese misericordia de nosotros, y nos librese tambien de aquella, si era servido, y que no permitiese que hallesemos mas adelante mas passos como aquellos, hizimos voto de que si llegavamos a salvamento aviamos de llevar todos sobre los ombros el arbol y vela, y ofrecerselo a S. Francisco Xavier, a honra, y gloria de su divino Magestad, y del Santo. Y añademos (confiando yo mucho en la benignidad de qualquier Superior de la Compañia, y de sus Subditos, y Hermanos mios, que en qualquiera parte del mundo hallase que nos sacarian del empeño, y darian por bien hecha la oferta) añadimos, digo, que aquella vela, y arbol presentados a S. Francisco Xavier los avian de rescatar los Padres de la Comp<sup>a</sup> por Missas para las Animas de Purgatorio, a honra del Santo en el numero que al Superior pareciese, y fuese servido. Hizose assi el voto, porque ademas de implicar el auxilio de S. Xavier, quisimos tambien encomendarnos a las almas de Purgatorio. Y no solo esto, sino que tambien tuvimos mira a los meritos de los Padres que Dios sabia, que avian de decir las Missas. Y armadas desta suerte nos defendimos de tantas contrariedades como nos perseguian, y no encontramos otro paso como aquellos. Salimos sin lesion de aquel, pero la grandeza de las olas no se desminuiva aunque andavamos ya adelante con facilidad. Ya cosa de media noche se vio venir una que parecia un monte que llegando a la popa, parandose alli (como deste el mismo Piloto que reparo en ello) la sobrepuso mas que la estatua de un hombre alto. Y quando se entendia que nos avia de tragar sin remedio se deshizo sobre si misma con tan singular modo que nos dio ocasion para dar muchas gracias a la bondad divina pues nos librava de aquellos lances por S. Francisco Xavier, por las Animas, y por la Missas que aviamos ofrecido decir por otros Sacerdotes. —*

*Proseguia el viento Norte, favoreciendonos en realidad de verdad, aunque temian algunos no ser bueno. Eran ya los quince[.] diez i seis y 17 dias de nuestra navegacion, y ivan desconfiando los corazones de hallar tierra, por lo menos de la Ysla de Manila. Porque de 17 dias solamente los tres se podia decir que hubo de verdadera calma; pero todos los demas hubo buen viento y [fol. 138] siempre en popa. Y en todo este tiempo de prosperidad no aver alcanzado aver tierra por un lado, o por otro, indicio dava, de que quedava esta Ysla por la popa pues con buen viento, decian ser viage de ocho dias. Y la verdad es, que despues de tantas cosas contrarias como se nos oponian a nuestros ojos, y fomentavan nuestros te-*

*mores el maior consuelo que teniamos todos, era acordarnos, que solamente por voluntad, y disposicion de Dios andavamos metidos en tantos trabajos con los temores de encontrar con el mas terrible de todos que es la muerte, la qual ademas de los peligros que traen consigo los elementos nos podia acontecer andando perdidos por aquellos inmensos mares, que era lo que estos dias ultimos mas nos afligia, hasta que se consumiese el poco sustento que traimos.—*

### § 3.

*Pero llegó el decimo octavo día octava de la Asuncion, y 21 de Mayo en que vimos tierra, y dimos gracias a Dios; llegamos a ella, y venimos a dar distantes de Cagayan segun supimos despues no mas que un día de camino al modo que navegan estos Indios bogando, y vimos claramente que sino embia Dios aquel viento Norte en aquella sazon, que creemos que fue por los meritos de Santa Potenciana, sin remedio nos pasavamos de largo; y nos coge la tempestad del día siguiente. Porque ademas de irnos llevando a tierra el viento, fue siempre impeliendo la embarcacion hacia el medio día, que era lo que convenia sumamente, y juntamente estorvo al Piloto, que pusiese en execucion el intento que entonces llevaba de emproar mas hacia el Norte en busca de otras tierras. Yvamonos acercando, vimos humo. Quisimos allí saltar a tierra. Pero advirtiendo el Piloto que la entrada para la embarcacion, no era muy buena, y el puerto nada defensivo de ella, si acaso sobrevenia algun gran viento, determinamos passar adelante hacia el Sur. Y el día siguiente viernes hallando puerto bastante saltamos a tierra.—*

*Aquella misma tarde comenzaron a embravecerse los vientos, y el mar. Y fue creciendo su furia tanto que al otro día vino a ser una tempestad de las mayores que an visto los hombres. Destruio las sembradas, arruinó las casas, arrancó los arboles, y siendo assi que la parte donde estavamos estava resguardada lo suficiente, y mas que quantos puertos aviamos hallado hasta allí, no paro el enojo de los elementos, hasta hacer pedazos el Barco, sin poderlo remediar. Despues de aver trabajado mucho en ponerlo en cobro el Piloto y soldados hasta ponerse en peligro de ahogarse ellos mismos. Todos los Demonios (aunque uno solo bastase) parece que avian conspirado en pretender trastornar el mundo en especial aquella noche que se siguió del Sabado. Libronos Dios de la muerte en fin. Y no fue en valde el que el ultimo de nuestros Patronos fuese S. Miguel como que en el ultimo de nuestros peligros, que era el maior de todos, avia de reprimir al poder del Infierno, para que no nos dañase, y para que no prorruptiese antes que nosotros estuviésemos en tierra. La qual temblava aquella noche frequentemente. Y el estruendo de aquellas espesas arboledas, y del mar era tan horrendo, que pensavamos si acaso estava sobre nosotros el día del [fol. 138v] juicio universal. Llebose el mar mucha ropa de los pobres soldados que aquel día avian tendido entre los matorrales, para que se enjugase. Las estancias nuestras que fijamos en saltando a tierra, nos obligo a que las retirasemos dentro del monte, y aun hasta allí subian algunas olas. Y si por ventura Dios permitiera que pasasen adelante estas espantosas demostraciones, no teniamos por donde escapar del mar. Porque el monte por allí es impenetrable por su mucha espesura, y llano, y entonces ya casi igual con el mar, y estava lleno de Espinas que traspasavan los pies, pues todos estavan descalzos. Y aunque no fuese del todo impenetrable era imposible escaparnos por el con facilidad, como seria menester para que no nos arrebatasen las olas que por instantes ivan creciendo, aun despues de aver mudado los ranchos hasta donde no se podia mas. Si quisieramos huir por la parte del Norte, veniamos a dar en manos de los Barbaros que viven por allí, y adonde queriamos entrar con el Barco luego que vimos humo. Y destes Barbaros nos avian informado ya, y despues lo supimos de cierto que son muy crueles, y traidores, y que quiza, porque no nos vieramos en algun trabajo con ellos, no avia permitido N. Señor que desembarcasemos allí. Por la parte del Sur avia un rio que entonces no se podia passar por las mu-*

*chas aguas que llevaba, assi del mar que avia entrado en el, como de las nuves que se resolvieron en abundantes lluvias. Pero si me alargo mas en este punto pensaran algunos que son ponderaciones, o hiperboles. Mas para que se lo persuadan, assi como va escrito solo dire que todos quantos estavamos alli en toda nuestra navegacion, y peligros no tuvimos tanto temor de la Justicia de Dios como aquella noche.—*

*Amanecio el Domingo de Pentecostes que era el dia siguiente, y dandonos ya lugar la tempestad algo aplacada, para que passamos por la plaia entre el mar, y el monte; determinamos irnos a unas casas de Indios en unas sementerias que estavan distantes medio quarto de legua. Hallamos una, a quien la tempestad avia perdonado, echando las demas por tierra. En aquel puesto, quiso Dios que descansasemos algo despues de los trabajos de tantos dias. Acordamonos alli del voto que aviamos hecho de presentar a S. Francisco Xavier el arbol, y vela llevandonos en nuestros ombros si llegavamos a tierra. Compusose un altarcito en aquella casa, en el qual estava la Ymagen del Santo. Y fuimos todos adonde avia parado el Barco, y desde alto cargamos en ombros nuestro voto. Viniendo rezando, y repitiendo por el camino la Letania de N. Señora, y la oracion del Apostol, *Deus qui Indiarum gentes*, y en llegando a la presencia de su Imagen me vesti una alba (que no avia sobrepelliz) y una estola, y con luces encendidas cantamos en voz alta la Letania del misma, y oracion.—*

*Apenas saltamos en tierra, quando comenzo Dios a socorrernos con abundancia de sustento. Si bien que aquellos Barbaros mas venian a nosotros por la avaricia de quantas, y ropa que aviamos comenzado a darles, que por hacernos charidad alguna. Viendo pues la tirania de los Barbaros con unos pobres naufragantes, y quan deseosos andavan de ropa. Di a los solda-[fol. 139]-dos la vela del Barco, que era algo grande, y doblada de manta de Yloco[s], para que repartiesen entre si, y tuviesen con que recom pensar, y pagar el sustento que les traian los Indios. Y aunque quando ofrecimos el arbol y vela al Señor y las Missas que para restaurarla avian de dezir los Padres de la Compañia por las animas, entendiamos que avia de ser esto assi en circunstancia que la vela, y arbol les fuese de emolumento para el uso del mismo Barco (con el qual siempre nos imaginavamos entrar por el embocadero de Manila) no obstante confiando yo de la piedad de los PP. que siempre me sacarian del empeño en decir las Missas por las Animas, aunque no llegase a su poder la vela, y Arbol. Quise mirar, y me parecio que lo devia hacer assi entonces por la necesidad suma, y presente en que se hallava la gente para socorrerla.—*

*Y no solo esto, sino que desde luego viendo la ropa que el mar se les avia llevado, y que muchos andavan casi totalmente desnudos, porque ademas de lo que el mar avia robado, los mas de ellos estavan sumamente pobres, por los vestidos que ya avian dado a los Indios por comida, determine que se abriesen unas arcas en que avia alguna ropa de los soldados que quedavan en el Presidio de Guahan, y hize que se les repartiese lo necesario para cubrirse. Que aun en traher [sic] esta ropa, aunque de otros, y algunas quentecillas conocimos la providencia del Señor con nosotros, pues estas cosas entre estos Barbaros son como oro, y plata, entre otras gentes. Y no se yo como lo pasaramos entre esta tan avarienta, y poco piadosa, sino fuera por aquellas al[h]ajillas. Allegose a esto, que como aun apenas sabiamos de cierto en que tierra estavamos, dimos credito a una hablilla que comenzo a andar, de que todos estos Barbaros se ivan convocando para juntarse, y matarnos a todos por llevarse de una vez lo que traimos. Y assi se les dava, y se les dio mucho mas de lo que era justo, por cada cosita que traian, no tanto por pagarles como por contentarlos, y para que nos experimentasen [a]grados, y liberales, y se ob[y]viase desta suerte el odio que nos podian concevir. Con que in breve tiempo se bolvio a desnudar la gente para comer. Pero todo lo venian a pagar las arcas de ropa de los que quedavan en Marianas. Porque la necesidad, o por mejor*



*dezir necesidades, nos hacian entonces dueños con toda seguridad de conciencia de lo ageno, como yo se lo solía decir a los soldados, para que se desengañasen.—*

*Entre esta gente estavamos, y nuestro Barco rompido, de manera que ni aun aderezarlo nos era posible, como dijeron el mismo Maestro que se hizo, que venia con nosotros, que es Nicolas de Tolentino, y el otro Marinero Francisco Ruiz, y todos los de entendimiento en la materia lo veian ser assi. Esto supuesto, y entendiendo que por tierra no se podía salir de alli, para que estos Barbaros nos llevasen con sus embarcacioncillas a otra parte, se quemó el Barco, (pues ya no era posible el servirnos del) en orden a que con la clavazon pagasemos a estos Barbaros que tanto estiman el hierro, y con esto los obligariamos a que mas priesa nos sacasen de sus tierras. Despues de mucha diligencias, y al cabo de muchos dias (que cada uno para nosotros[fol. 139v] parecia un año) se determinaron a llevarnos a otra parte. Y aviendo ya embarcado los trastillos, y estando toda la gente para comenzar su camino por tierra hasta donde se podía. Buelve a prevalecer con toda fuerza el rumor de que los Barbaros se avian ya acabado de juntar para destruirnos en el camino, y que por eso nos avian ido deteniendo alli tantos dias, para que en el interin se pudiesen ellos ir convocando: Para apoyar esto avia tantos visos de razones que de todos nosotros, unos le temian, y tenian por provable, y otros se lo persuadian por cierto, y destos fueron los mas. Pero gracias a Dios que quiso que entonces no sucediera tal cosa. Y con ocasion de lo que se decia, se dispusieron a morir los soldados, confessandose egregiamente muy de espacio como para morir casi todos, excepto dos, o tres. Y en lugar de la muerte del cuerpo, gozaron de la vida del alma.—*

*Llevaron nos los Indios hasta la mitad del camino que se avia concertado. Y nos metieron en un parage de tan ardientes calores que nos abrasavamos. Y aunque quisiesemos escondernos del Sol, no podiamos; lo uno porque las chozas eran de unas pocas ojas de palma, y lo otro porque estavamos alli en una corta capacidad ayglados; por una parte el mar, y por otro un rio caudaloso, en donde o por la codicia grande de los Indios que cada día ivan desnudando a la gente, o por milagro de Dios tuvimos que comer ocho dias que estuvimos alli, porque todo que sustento venia era embarcado, y nosotros alli metidos. Pero la providencia de Dios Nuestro Señor sabe usar de las inclinaciones poco rectas de los hombres, para llevar a efecto lo justo de sus misericordias.—*

*En llegando alli, considerando el sitio del lugar, y con dos cosas que nos dejaron tuvimos otra vez tragada la muerte. Y algunos de los que no tenian antes mas que rezelos, ya esperavan ciertamente su ultima hora a manos de los Barbaros. La una cosa, dijeron estos, fue que ellos no tenian embarcaciones bastantes para sacarnos de alli. La otra nos la dijo un compañero nuestro que entendia algo de la lengua de ellos, y fue, que pidiendoles de comer a los Indios algunos de los nuestros, oyo decir a un Indio hablando con otro **Para que quieren estos aora de comer, pues an de morir luego?** Todas estas cosas que resonavan en nuestros oidos, causavan un eco en nuestro interior, con que se formava en nosotros la respuesta de la muerte. Pero andando el tiempo viendo que nada destas cosas tenia el efecto que indicava, no nos podiamos olvidar de aquello que esta escrito de Dios: **Qui fingis laborem in præcepto**, pues hacia Su Magestad que con amenazas, segun parece ser sin subsistencia no dejasemos de padecer trabajos.—*

*Mas no dejare de decir que luego que saltando en tierra tuvimos por lo que se decia sospechas de la inquietud de los Indios, escogimos otro Santo para nuestra defensa contra los Barbaros. Este fue el Patron Santiago, y de tal Patron se originaria sin duda el que despues de confessados quando dije, los soldados ivan tan briosos para pelear, y aun para dar la vida por la fe, si fuera menester que el animo que al presente tenían reprehendia con razon los temores que les avian sobresaltado de hallar la muerte en*

*los peligros del mar. Y no faltó allí entonces, quien verdaderamente se holgase, y desease morir por salir desta vida, y ver a J. Xpo. Entre tantas cosas como se tenían también por tierra, no dejávos de observar[fol. 140] todos de comunidad el tenor de devociones que usávos en el mar, añadiendo un Credo a Santiago, y mudando la collecta **pro navigantibus** en esta **Hostium nostrorum &c.**—*

*Y aunque tuvimos siempre los rezelos que he dicho destas gentes, assi Indios, como Negritos, no obstante no dejávos de socorrerlos en lo espiritual lo que podíamos, y entendíamos estar obligados. Porque la misma tarde que saltamos en tierra, bautize tres chiquillos, y uno dellos emfermito. Movime a hacer esto, respeto de los dos niños sanos, porque halle que algunos de la gente adulta que luego que saltamos en tierra acudieron con curiosidad a mirarnos, y remirarnos, se sabían persignar. Halle también que pronunciaban bien el nombre de Jesu Christo, que no aciertan fácilmente los Barbaros que nunca lo an oído. Con que aunque yo no sabía su lengua no les podía examinar mas. Vimos no obstante que aquella gente en sus habitaciones, por los montes, y armados de flechas como venían davan a entender ser Barbaros, que tenían algo de christianos. Y assi avia esperanzas de que si aquellos niños llegasen a adultos podrían saber lo bastante de doctrina Christiana para salvarse con el bautismo, y sus buenas obras. Los días siguientes fui bautizando también a otros niños, porque sus Padres mismos mostraban voluntad de ello. Y desde aquel parage en que dije arriba que estuvimos ocho días, sali uno dellos en una embarcacioncilla con quatro compañeros, sin arma alguna de fuego a hacer una Mission por el monte adentro, en la qual bautize nueve criaturitas en espacio de legua y media, o dos leguas que anduvimos. Determineme a hacer esto por varias razones que yo tenía, que sin exceder los limites de la prudencia me movian a ello, pero nunca bautize a Negrito ninguno, porque oi dezir que no lo hacían los Missioneros que solían andar por allí. Y pareciendome que esta practica no disconvenia de la opinion de muchos autores graves, que dicen que no se deven bautizar los niños de aquellos que libremente professan la Religion que se les antoja, no tiene repugnancia en no bautizar ninguno dellos. Pero el numero todo de los Parvulos que bautize en estas tieras llevo a veintinueve. Y ivamos ya poco a poco teniendo noticias de la tierra en que estávos. Que aunque a la verdad desde los principios nos dieron algunas los Indios, pero como les cogimos en algunos embustes, y los rezelos que teníamos no carecían de fundamento nunca nos fiávos de ellos. Mas despues de algunos días supimos clara, y ciertamente todas las cosas destas gentes, y tierras. Porque quiso Dios que salieramos de aquel paraje donde estávos ayslados que llaman de **Bilacan**, a otra tierra que llaman de **Palanan**, en la qual casualmente avia un Pampango, hombre de entendimiento perito en la lengua española buen christiano, y que hacia estimacion de los Religiosos, y españoles que avia venido a cobrar los tributos entre aquellas gentes por el encomendero de **Casigura de Valer**. Este pues Pampango nos embio dos banquillas con dos de nuestros compañeros que avíamos embiado a buscar modo de aviarnos, y con otras dos **Bilacan**, llegamos a **Palanan**, en donde este hombre honrado compadecido de nuestros trabajos, nos informo de todo y ayudo en lo que pudo, hasta ponernos en **Casigura de Valer**.—*

*[folio 140v] Ya el Reverendo Padre Prior Recoleta Augustino que reside en este pueblo avia tenido noticias aunque poco avia de la embarcacion, y gente que avia aportado a aquellas costas. Y su mucha charidad, y atencion le impelieron a embiar luego al punto despacho para que llegásemos a **Casigura**, el qual encontramos en el camino. Entramos en **Casigura**. Y experimentando todos nosotros, i yo en especial la piadosa compasion, y liberales respectos de aquel Religioso Augustino. Entendíamos despues de tantas aflicciones, peligros, y trabajos que aquel Pampango nos avia en **Palanan** abierto las puertas del cielo, pero que avíamos entrado en el, quando nos vimos en el convento, y compañía de aquel Religio-*

*so Padre Dia de la Natividad de S. Juan Bautista fue, en que gozamos desta gloria, y nos pudimos considerar restituidos a la vida que el mar, las tempestades, y los hombres, la falta de agua, y estupendos temores, trabajos, y necesidades nos avian procurado robar desde el dia de la Invencion de la Santa Cruz a 3 de Mayo, hasta 24 de Junio, en que celebra nuestra madre la Yglesia la venida al mundo del Precursor de Xpo. Y assi podemos decir con alguna verdad, y sin afectacion de discurso, que a 3 de Mayo hallamos tambien nosotros la Cruz, pero que a 24 de Junio encontramos con la vida. Gracias a la bondad de Dios por tantos beneficios rezevidos.*

*Pasaronse dos dias despues de aver entrado en aquel hospedage, y llego el Sabado; el qual dia escogimos para cumplir con el otro voto que aviamos hecho en nuestra navegacion de confessar, y comulgar juntamente si llegavamos a salvamiento a honra y gloria de Dios, y de nuestros Santos Patrones. Este voto hicimos el tercero, o quarto dia de nuestros peligros con advertencia que el cumplimiento de el, no avia de passar de los quince dias despues que huviesemos llegado a tierra. Pero esta circunstancia se añadio presuponiendo que nuestra primera entrada seria en Manila, o otro lugar a proposito para cumplir con la Confession, y comunion juntamente. Mas como el hombre pone, y Dios dispone, no aviendonos sucedido conforme todos nuestros pensamientos imaginaban cumplimos con nuestra obligacion quando nos fue posible en el templo del gran Padre de la Yglesia S. Augustín; aunque en rigor podiamos decir que ya los soldados avian cumplido con el voto de la Confession, y con la circunstancia del tiempo, pues como dije arriba se confessaron, esperando la muerte que el rumor les amenazava con la Conjuracion de los barbaros, y esto fue al quarto, o sexto dia despues de aver llegado a tierra.—*

*Hasta aqui corrimos por quenta de Dios solamente y asi se an escrito las cosas que aqui van para honra, y gloria de su divina Magestad. De aqui en adelante corrimos por quenta de los hombres, y assi no ay cosa especial de que se aya de dar informe por escrito.—*

*N.Sr. guarde V.R. en cuyos SS. Sacrificios y oraciones humildemente me encomiendo.*

*Manila, y Noviembre 17 de 1676.*

*Siervo de V.R.*

*Francisco Gayosso.*

## **Translation.**

**Narrative of the voyage of Father Francisco Gayoso of the Society of JESUS from the Mariana Islands to the Philippines this year 1676, taken from a letter that he himself wrote to Father Xavier Riquelme, Provincial of the Sociery of JESUS in the Philippine Islands.—**

In the Island of Guahan, the main one in the Marianas, there is in that Island a town named Agaña, where the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have a house, and a church, the capital of the other Residences that have been founded in the same Island. In this town, and next to the house of the Fathers is the Garrison, which consists of 50 soldiers with their Captain. This man, on 3 May of this year 1676, ordered 20 soldiers, most of them Spanish, and a few Filipinos to embark in the boat named **Santa Rosa**, to go to Umatac, a town in the same Island distant about 6, or 7 leagues from Agaña. Just a

few days earlier, the Captain had built a wooden fort in the said town of Umatac,<sup>1</sup> in accordance with the local possibilities, and built a church next to it, because that site is the most appropriate in the Island for the ship that comes every year from New Spain to stop and take on water. The fort that was made there is capacious enough, not only to store the relief that comes to the Mission aboard the ship, but also to accommodate the soldiers who will live there for some periods each year, from where they will be able to go out easily to make any sorties that may be necessary in that part of the Island, whenever some punishment of rebel Indians is to be carried out, or it may be necessary to encourage them to go and hear mass, and to do the other works that might be needed to make them good Christians. The church that has been built, although it was not entirely completed and needed some more work and was to be adorned as best as possible, by the time the ship usually arrives, that is, anywhere between the first days and the middle of June.—

### §1

Having said this by way of a background, Captain Damian de Esplana ordered 20 soldiers to embark aboard the boat **Santa Rosa** to go to the said town of Umatac, and he himself stayed behind in Agatña that day, intending to go overland the next day with the rest of the men. And our Lord willed that I also embarked on that occasion to go with the men by sea, with a lay companion who was attached to me, and another who was a local boy born in the Island, although I had hesitated for a while, as I also had the opportunity of going overland. However, obedience allowed me to do what God willed, and I too had to share some scary times, and was able to console the soldiers, by means of holy confession, during the dangers that God saw were about to afflict them.—

The men finished embarking and loading the load that was to go, and the boat began to move toward the pass in the reef with so many more difficulties than it ever had before. Even if the Pilot, and other people, noticed that it was a fact that the boat was making way too much water to go out without expecting trouble ahead, nevertheless, the keel was hitting so fiercely upon the rocks that, every single time, it appeared that it would break to pieces; still, it must certainly have been damaged very badly during that departure. Therefore, it seemed that, right at the beginning, God was warning us of what was about to happen, by giving us providential difficulties right from the beginning, so that the voyage in question be postponed, since the imminent troubles would not be small ones for the Mission. The sail was raised, and everyone was hoping for a good voyage, and a lucky arrival in port on that same day, at the town of our destination, because the wind that was blowing then was easterly, brisk, and favorable.—

However, things happened not as we had hoped, and wanted, but as God was pleased. In fact, one should know that there is a headland between Agatña and Umatac, which they call the Orote Peninsula; it goes out far into the sea, with respect to

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1 Ed. note: This first fort built at Umatac was located where the modern church is, or very close to this site (see Doc. 1679J). It, and the first church, were flimsy and temporary structures.

Agatña, which is where we came out from, and to Umatac where we were going, said towns and the entrances to them being situated much inland, within inlets. To this must be added the fact that the currents at that point are so very strong that they can carry any craft far from shore. So, we had hardly made it to that point with the favorable wind that I have mentioned, when all of a sudden the wind changed to blowing from the highland, coming out of that very point with such a squally condition that the wind, that had been blowing astern as far as the point, changed, when we arrived off the point, and propelled the craft offshore. Since it hit us broadside, in addition to our being already of necessity quite clear of the point, that sudden wind pushed us off toward the high sea even more. Also, since the Island is quite short, once a craft has sheered off, it is very difficult, even impossible to make the land again. The truth is that we do not know for sure, whether that easterly wind really changed to another direction, or if that same wind, that blew as far as the point, was blowing astern simply because the bay of our departure helped to make it so, and the intervening land is low-lying, but once we reached the point, which is high land, it came off from the other bay, and low lands, where we were going. What is certain is that, when the great danger of our drifting off was realized, the situation was remedied and all efforts made to save our souls by returning ashore, because all of us thought it would be a certain death, if we did not stop this drifting, since we did not know where to go, and did not even have a compass; in fact, the Pilot kept one in the guardhouse at Agaña, but this time he did not take it along, thinking it unnecessary for a voyage of 3 or 4 hours, close to the shoreline. Lastly, we were threatened by the dangerous condition of the boat itself, and one without a deck. So, given the danger, all possible efforts were made to save our lives. One of those efforts was to turn the bow (which was done only at the cost of much labor) toward Agatña, our departure point, in order to return there, because the wind would in no way let us take the land of Umatac, as I said, or because it had switched and died off, as the sailors say, or it blew from the bay to which we were bound. Then something strange happened, that, of course, made us fear the hand of God, because, while sailing back toward Agatña, the wind changed back to blowing dead ahead, so that we recognized it as some special work, or permission in which God was involved; indeed, no matter toward which point on the Island of Guahan we aimed the bow, the wind was contrary.—

Seeing that such remedies did not work, the mast was lowered, and the oars taken; we were rowing toward the land, but the contrary currents were very strong. The chopiness and the contrary waves of the sea were much stronger, and terrible when compared with the size of waves that can be overcome by rowing. The rowers, and every other man on board the boat, were seasick, even those who had sailed many times before, and having worked at sea, were thought to be stronger, and used to this situation—something in which we also recognized the hand of God. As far as the boat was concerned, although it was theoretically able to carry the load on board, on that occasion it was in fact overloaded, because it leaked very much, on account of not having been careened for one year, and having been exposed to the sun for many days before;

so, the seams were dried up, and open. Night was falling. It happened that a small shirt fell into the water and, upon seeing that in one instant it was far from us, we found clear evidence that the currents were rapidly taking us farther, and farther from the land. Little by little, we lost hope of making it back.—

Seeing these things, I began to exhort the men to make zealous acts of contrition, so that they would be prepared to be absolved altogether, if the sea ever swallowed us all. At the same time, I began to hear their confession, to make their consciences more secure, whenever the fix we were in allowed it, because it was also necessary to continue with our efforts to preserve the physical life, either by bailing out the water leaking into the boat, or by doing something else that the Pilot thought appropriate. He, more than anyone of us on board, feared the danger, as he had more experience than the others, and he pointed it out to us. There was with us a locally-born native boy; as he could not say for sure whether he was baptized or not, after testing him with some brief questions regarding the Christian doctrine, which he already knew, I baptized him *sub conditione* that same day, the feast of the Finding of the Cross [i.e. 3 May 1676]. And, although we did not think that any name that might be given to him would please him very much, nevertheless, being the day it was, I chose out of devotion to name him Manuel de la Cruz.

The night was advancing sadly. By morning of the next day, not one, not even the highest, point of the Island could be seen. The wind was still blowing persistingly, and favorably, in the direction of Manila, so much so that it seemed to carry an express message from God, ordering us to go there. Nevertheless, those who acted as Pilots, Francisco Ruiz, and Nicolas de Tolentino, began consulting between themselves, to see what should be done in that case. Francisco Ruiz, his heart grieving, not so much for the dangers in which we found ourselves, but for the absence that the Mission would feel for the boat, and the men aboard it; he was saying that he thought it appropriate to go in search of an Island that lies south distant about 100 leagues from that of Guam,<sup>1</sup> because he was saying that upon finding that land, we would stop there, and wait for the wind to become favorable to return to Guahan.—

Nicolas de Tolentino answered that this would be a dangerous decision. For one thing, because it seemed that that land was very small, and how could it be possible for some men who had never been pilots to find it, strictly speaking, and even if they had been pilots, and were expert, it would be very difficult to run into it, as the lack of a compass would make this a considerable feat, and they did not even have that, nor any other nautical instrument. On the other hand, because, even though that land were found, who could trust its barbarous inhabitants, who had never dealt with Christians? Would they make us welcome with peace, or with the instruments of death? So, his opinion was that the bow should be turned toward Manila, since the wind was favorable to go there, and this run was more known to them. Then, although there was no com-

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1 Ed. note: Pacific sailors then had a correct notion that Spanish ships had previously discovered Ulithi and/or Yap.

pass, nor chart, nor any instrument, we could hope with God's help to make the land, because the Island of Manila [i.e. Luzon] is a big one. And, even if they did not find it, there were other lands, not only north, but also south of this Island, that is, Japan, China, Mindanao, and others that one would run into.—

The arguments of Nicolas de Tolentino appeared sound to Francisco Ruiz. They decided to do it that way. We were all told of the opinion, and decision of the Pilots; we accepted it as the will of God. And, considering that we would be exposed to a minimum sea distance of 300 leagues in such a deck-less small ship, everyone of us thought, or hoped, that his life had come to an end, specially given that one could see with his own eyes the swollen waves that ran with agitation through seas raised by the wind of the previous day.—

Once this decision had been taken, and consultation held, the Pilot ordered that the boat be immediately lightened. They threw overboard two large coops full of chickens, that belonged to the Captain, and that had been loaded by his order, to be used as gifts to the more important people aboard the ship. The same fate befell a pig belonging to him. Not even one chicken was spared for food, because when death stares one in the face, there is no time to think about feeding one's body. They also pitched overboard a few bundles of corn, and rice. In their frenzy, they did not pay much attention to what they were doing, and also threw overboard all the lime, and there was a fair quantity of it, and also two jars full of oil; they did not realize that these two things were very necessary to make some pitch to caulk the boat from the inside, as required, since the water was coming in abundantly in many places. However, even without this, God saved us from the sea. They threw overboard other small things that would have been missed in that poor Mission. We were left only with a large quantity of watermelons that had also been loaded by order of the Captain (or, better said, through God's providence), as well as some corn, and rice.—

I say, through God's providence, because this same boat had run the obvious risk of drifting off more than once before, as it was now hopelessly drifting. Once it was truly in danger, and so great was the contrary wind that the yard broke, and it had been a much better one than the one we had in this last voyage. And if it had drifted off on those occasions, everyone on board would have perished without remedy. Once that it was going to the Island of Rota, distant from that of Guahan only about 12 leagues, the food taken was only that necessary for that short voyage. At another time, they had not even one drop of water, and nothing equivalent, not much of anything else to eat (except their ration of boiled rice for that day, that some of the soldiers had taken with them), given that the voyage was only from one town to another in the same Island. On those occasions, God's kindness, and His mercy, which is faithful, as the Apostle says, did not allow the anger of the elements to win, to make sure that His rational creatures would not suffer beyond the limit of their endurance. However, on this occasion, He allowed it to happen, because, although not one drop of water had been taken in, on account of our own voyage being for four, perhaps five, hours at the most, His divine Majesty willed that those watermelons be loaded; they miraculously made up for the

lack of water for the space of 19 days. Now then, the corn and rice had also been for the men to eat in Umatac, while waiting for the arrival of the ship, according to men, but, according to God, they were meant to provide us with food at sea, until we reached land.—

Once the boat had been lightened, a wash board was nailed up the side, and we are grateful to God for that also, since they came with enough nails, and tools, of which there was a great shortage on board the boat. If it had not been for this wash board, it is believed that, humanly speaking, we would have perished, given the continuous swollen waves that lasted for the whole voyage and attacked that poor craft, but those boards did not let them completely come in, and swamp us.—

## §2.

Once these things had been arranged, the next day we set sail determinedly for Manila. By then we had done all that nautical science dictated, and our means allowed, to stay alive, as God wants us to. There remained to turn to Heaven to beg for relief. The first name that suggested itself to us for our protection was that of Saint Rose, because the boat bore her name, and it had always sailed under her protection. Therefore, we chose her as a patron saint for that voyage and, something uncommon, we entrusted ourselves to her every day.—

On the second day of our navigation, Heaven wished to give us another patron saint. This was the glorious St. Nicholas of Tolentino. The opportunity was given by one of the men on board, who happened to have a statue of this saint inside his chest. He took it out, and at once the soldiers grabbed it and fastened it to the mast, and from time to time along the way they used to say, not without devotion, but with tongue in cheek: “Hey! you blessed one, you have to remain tied up, and we will not set you free until you make us safe and sound.”

That night, some persons saw, and noticed a particular light (according to what they were saying) that was preceding the bow; it seemed to be guiding it. Those who heard the others tell them about that light, would answer and try to persuade the others that such a light was not mysterious, and therefore was nothing special, and that is why some would say one thing, and the others another. Those who had seen it were more likely to think that Heaven wished to console us with that light. In conclusion, no-one was sorry that such a splendor had been sighted; rather, all derived new joy [for life] from it. On the second day, our navigation was as favorable as that of the first day. Early on that night, two persons once again saw the said light.—

But shortly thereafter, the sky became overcast, so horribly and with clouds so thick that, not only one could not see a single star, but it seemed as if someone had covered us all with a black cloak. This was followed by a wind that made us begin to fear when it did not abate, and it made us feel more frightened in our guts when it became stronger; when its fury was combined with a heavy downpour, it reached such a condition that, although the sail had been lowered, as much as it could be lowered, yet without completely furling it, it seemed to us that it made the boat run through the water, as if it were a puff of smoke in the wind. This made all of us swallow the wish of dying, almost



convinced, as we were, that God was infallibly doing us a favor, in the midst of so many sadnesses, and shocks, so that we would commend ourselves, as best we could, to His divine Majesty with the Litany of our Lady, and the invoking of all the Saints in Heaven, to deliver us from it. At last, after the long period that the storm lasted, our Lord was pleased to have it calm down, and let us live. To this effect, humanwise, it was very useful for the sail not to have been completely furled, and that a bit of it had remained exposed to the wind, because the wind used it and allowed the boat to escape the great waves that were chasing it from behind. We did not learn for sure (after all, we had no compass, and not one star was visible) in which direction we were sailing for such a long stretch, but it seemed as if it were going due north. Morning came, but it did not seem like it, because much of the cloud cover of the previous night persisted. We gave many thanks to our Lord, for having kept us alive until then. By noon, we still did not know which way we were heading, as we had not been able to tell in what direction the sun had risen, on account of the heavy cloud cover—not without some affliction for the men (as the east-west direction replaces the north direction for those who have no compass), but little by little, the atmosphere was disentangling itself and we were able to see the sun, although it could not be seen clearly. So, we were able to certify the course of our voyage, and we were heading westward.—

Having seen the sun that we sought on that day, and pointed the bow in the right direction, we had time to reflect on the previous night, and on the present day; we felt a voice, telling us that we had been given such a sad night, and been lost until then, and we gained some knowledge out of this almost-desperate night. Now that such hard masters had taught us something, we perceived the following days, and nights, more clearly. We believed that it was necessary for us to come up with another patron saint under these circumstances, and dangers. And who could he be, except the one who suffered so many dangers through such vast waters, and in the Indies, that is, their Apostle, St. Francis Xavier, to whom we know that the sea, the winds, and the storms obey, in the name of God? Therefore, we commended ourselves every day to those special patron saints. In addition to this, we made a vow to go to confession and communion ashore, if we arrived safely, to honor God, and them. From this third day until the 10th of our navigation, we proceeded happily as the wind continued to be favorable, although there was no lack of small squalls now and then, that caused us some anxiety, specially at night.—

At this time I continued to hear the confessions of the men, in the face of any eventuality; and even if nothing were to happen (this only God knew about), it was certain that on that occasion the precept of Confession applied, because the voyage was a long one, and a dangerous one in many respects, aboard such a small vessel. Anyone would grant this, except someone with a heart as hard as a diamond who might disregard such dangers. So, not only to absolve them of their sins, that they might have incurred, but also, to prevent any new sin of omission, I was persuading them to confess very earnestly. And they were doing so with complete devotion. And it seems that God wanted us to understand how pleasing such a preparation of the soul was for Him, and such

proceedings. Indeed, one afternoon toward the north were seen clouds with such a threatening look that they gave all of us much to fear, unless God remedied it. Suddenly the easterly wind became a northerly. When the Pilot was considering these things, he would become afflicted more than usual, because his experience had taught him that a northerly is very strong, and very stormy when it sets in. He came up to confess with eminent disposition. He confessed, and afterwards advised us that the wind had changed back to being an easterly, and those storm clouds were rapidly coming undone.—

After 10 days had passed, and even before that time, many began to fear that perhaps we had passed beyond the Island of Manila, because they were saying that 300 leagues in 10 days, with such a favorable and swift wind, could very well be covered. The other thing was that we were all becoming really weak, and fainting spells occurred more often, because our food was only a little toasted corn, and rice, and little of it was eaten, to make sure that it would not fail during the voyage, and we did not know how long that would be, and in what land we would end up, if we did not make the Island of Manila. A few eggs had also been taken aboard, but they began to rot as of the fourth day, and because of seasickness, they provoked vomiting more than they were useful as food, as they had been old eggs to begin with. Our water only came from two slices of watermelons per person, one in the morning, and one in the afternoon. Thank God, we recognized the great virtue of this fruit in cutting down our thirst. Indeed, some were hardly thirsty (except for one poor sick person who did not stop suffering from thirst), others neither a little nor a lot, and even others (and I was one of them) gained such an aversion for water that, when perchance some shower came, and this happened two or three times, and a little water was collected after some efforts, they did not want to drink any. The truth is, that if we had not experienced the virtue of the watermelons (unless some special input from our Lord was involved), we had feared at the beginning that we would eventually become unable to control our thirst, and thus were doomed to die. It seemed that God Himself wanted us to understand that He was involved in some special, and miraculous, manner, because, even after we had finally stepped ashore, some people forgot to drink for two, three, and even four days at a time—something certainly amazing. Whereas we had experienced the great efficacy of watermelons in removing thirst, we also felt the little strength that we got from the toasted rice, and corn, as a food; so, more people preferred eating it raw. To this weakness of the food supply was added the continuous exercise by day, and by night, as the soldiers were taking turns, without interruption, in bailing the large amount of water that came into the boat. And it appeared that God our Lord had also willed that the lime, and oil, had been thrown overboard at the beginning of the voyage, and nothing was left that could be used to plug the loose caulking on the craft, in order for the poor men to cooperate in their work, to prepare them for the great favor that He would do us.—

Once this period was over, there followed five days of calm weather, although on the last two of these five days we made some progress, during which time we suffered not a little from the burning rays of the sun; after all, there was no place to hide in such a

small vessel, the only spot that could be used to get some protection from the sun was in the shade of the sail.—

We were constantly praying to God, so that His Majesty would be pleased to favor our voyage, for His greater service, and glory. We remembered that St. Potenciana was the patron saint of the Philippine Islands, and her feast was near.<sup>1</sup> And, fearing that our new sins might be a cause of that calm weather, and that we might not make the Island of Manila, we turned to, and sought the protection of, this great saint, to have her use her merits before the eyes of God, so that His justice would not look at our many defects. This way, we would become worthy of stepping on the land that was under the protection of this saint. Heaven must have heard us, because at the end of the five days of calm weather, there came a light wind from the north, and it was enough (no doubt that God's mercy assisted us with special favors during this voyage, beyond what we deserved); it was enough, I say, to get us out of the calm situation, and was the reason to make us sight this Island of Manila. In fact, the Pilot had already made up his mind to turn the bow more toward the north in search of Japan, or China, fearing that he had already passed the Island of Manila. However, that northerly wind did not let him do what he had decided to do, with the circumstance that we will mention later. As he was very sorry that a northerly was blowing, either because it might bring in a storm, or because it did not let him sail in the direction he had chosen, and thought appropriate. However, there was no lack of people on board who, considering the favors that God had given us up to that time, and hoping that they would continue, told him that perhaps that wind was proper, since God was sending it, and that we should trust in God. True, they said, although no-one knew how many of us would make it until the end of the voyage, nor when, nor how, God would take us ashore, it was obvious that, given that God's assistance had been special up to that point, it was not a good way to thank Him, or to attract more favors, to show some discontent of what He was then sending us, since it could very well be what was appropriate.—

Finally, in the midst of this series of events, we remembered the Prince of the heavenly militia, St. Michael; therefore, we begged him also to become our advocate, and protector, in the many worries we had. We then were commending ourselves twice every day, once in the morning, and once in the afternoon, to these, the Patrons of our voyage: they were St. Rose, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, St. Francis Xavier, St. Potenciana, and St. Michael. To the female saints, we addressed one Salve each; one Our Father and one Hail Mary to St. Nicholas; and the same to St. Xavier; and one Creed to St. Michael, all of us together. In the morning, we recited the Litany of Our Lady, instead of the mass that we would have attended, if we had been ashore, with the prayers *Gratiam tuam defende quæsumus Domine*, and to commemorate St. Peter and St. Paul with *Deus cuius dextera*, and that which is used by the Society to our Father St. Ignatius,

1 Ed. note: That date was 13 May; her feast day is celebrated on 19 May. Soon after the founding of Manila, the virgin St. Potenciana was chosen as patroness of Manila; she was believed to have special powers against hurricanes (ref. B&R 12:184 and La Concepción, Historia de Philipinas, 3:386-387).

and St. Francis Xavier: *Deus qui glorificantes te glorificas*, and *pro navigantibus Deus qui transtulisti* respectively. And after this, we commended ourselves to our special devotions, as I have already said. In addition, in the afternoon, we also recited the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as she has always been, and will ever remain our main Patroness, and advocate, everywhere and in all adversities, and with complete prosperity in everything spiritual, and physical, with the son of God, and hers. We did not forget either to say the Act of contrition every day twice. And always we made sure to commend ourselves to our special devotions, in the same order that they had come to us. And, even though many times I had decided in my mind to invoke them in the order that they appear in the major Litanies used by the Church, that is, with St. Michael coming first, followed by the other saintly Confessors, and finally the female saints, nevertheless, we never ended up by invoking them as I had thought of doing it, when we prayed together. Once, I decided to do it right, and became so confused, or felt such a contrary motion, that when I tried to say "Let us recite a Creed to St. Michael", I ended up by saying "Let us recite a Salve in honor of St. Rose". Therefore, from then on, I gave up trying to change the order with which the Saints had suggested themselves to us to become our Patrons.—

As I said, that wind got us out of the calm weather we were in. But the next day we found ourselves in the midst of a choppy sea, with contrary waves so mighty that attacked us on one side, then on another, and finally at the poop, in such a manner that it seemed as if they wanted to shrink the boat, or swamp it. Therefore, we began once again to experience that sinking feeling in the pit of our stomach, and the worries that we had felt earlier, as mentioned above. This choppiness and contrary waves appeared to be caused by some very strong currents which, in addition with the waves shaking the boat, did not let it go forward, and it made some very slow progress with a great difficulty. In the meantime, I busied myself with reciting the Litany of Our Lady in a loud voice, so that everyone could hear it, and so that we could all commend ourselves to God. Finally, His Majesty willed that we came through that fearful period, in which we spent the whole morning.—

However, in the afternoon we went through another, similarly dangerous period, that made us fear that perhaps we were then sailing in some neighborhood, where the vicinity of some land would compound the problem, causing various gusts, and some currents from narrows that made the sea explode and the opposite waves crash into one another. With the understanding that we would then be in very great danger, and this I believe was even worse than what we had already suffered. We even suspected that perhaps we were to sail through more periods like these, or even worse ones. With the night approaching, we became more frightened, because the same dangers then appear to be more dangerous. We remembered that we would surely become lost, as perhaps we were then sailing through an area never before sailed by humans. Our suffering increased with every one of these considerations. In order to move God our Lord to have pity on us, and also to free us from that, if He pleased, and not to let us go through more bad periods such as these in future, we made a vow that, if we should arrive safe

and sound, we would all carry upon our shoulders the mast and sail, and offer them to St. Francis Xavier, to the honor, and glory of His divine Majesty, and of the Saint in question. And we added (I relying very much on the kindness of any Superior of the Society, and of his subjects, and Brothers of mine, that in any part of the world they might be, they would remove us from the pledge, and would consider the offer well done), we added, I say, that the sail and mast in question, thus presented to St. Francis Xavier, would be ransomed by the Fathers of the Society with masses for the souls in Purgatory, in honor of the Saint, as many masses as the Superior would think proper, as he wished. The vow was thus made, because, in addition to implicating the help of St. Xavier, we wanted also to commend ourselves to the souls in Purgatory. That was not all; we were also counting on the merits of the Fathers, known to God, who would be saying those masses. Thus armed, we defended ourselves from the many bothers persecuting us, and we did not find another period as those. We came out of the last one alright, but the magnitude of the waves was not decreasing, although we were then making easy progress forward. At about midnight, there was seen a huge wave, as high as a mountain, coming toward the poop, but upon arriving there (as the Pilot himself who observed it has stated) it was higher than the height of a tall man. When we expected to be swamped without remedy, the wave collapsed upon itself in such a singular manner that it gave us an idea to thank divine kindness for it, since we had been delivered from those fixes by St. Francis Xavier, by the Souls, and by the masses that we had offered, to be said by other priests.—

The wind continued to blow from the north, and in actual fact it was favoring us, although some of us feared that it was no good. Those had been the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of our voyage, and in our heart we were losing hope of ever finding land, at least that of the Island of Manila, because, out of 17 days, one could say that we had had only 3 days of true calm weather; however, all the other days, we had a good wind and always blowing astern. Given all this period of favorable time, and not having reached land yet, neither on one side nor on the other, meant that this Island could only be behind us, since, with a good wind, they said that the voyage only took 8 days. The truth is that, after so many contrary things such as we were facing and that served to increase our fears, the most comforting idea that we all shared was, to remember, that it was only through the will, and decision of God that we were sailing through such bad times with fears of meeting with the most terrible of all, that is death. In addition to that, we had the dangers that the weather always brings along; it could be that we were lost amid those huge seas; this is what afflicted us the most during these last few days, and we feared that the little food left would run out.—

## §3.

However, the 18th day, the week following Ascension Day, arrived, and on 21 May we sighted land, and gave thanks to God. When we came close to it, and, as we learned afterwards, we came within one day's sailing of Cagayan, at the rate these Indians sail,<sup>1</sup> and we clearly saw that, if God had not sent us that northerly wind when He did, which we believe happened through the merits of St. Potenciana, we would have overshot without remedy, and the storm would have hit us the next day. Because, in addition to the wind pushing us toward the land, it was always propelling the vessel southward, which was the most appropriate direction, which prevented the Pilot at the time from aiming the bow northward in search of other lands. As we were getting closer, we saw smoke. We wished to step ashore there, but the Pilot noticed that the entrance was not very good for the vessel, and the port not well sheltered, in case some great wind arose. We decided to keep on going southward. The next day, Friday, we found a port and stepped ashore.—<sup>2</sup>

That same afternoon, the winds, and the sea, began to gather strength. Their fury increased so much that the next day came one of the greatest storms that man has ever seen. It destroyed the plantations, ruined the houses, uprooted the trees, and, though we were at a place sufficiently sheltered to be safe normally, and better than any port we had found until there, the anger of the elements was such that **it wrecked the boat**, without us being able to do anything, even after the Pilot and the soldiers tried their best to put it in safety, at the risk of being drowned. It seemed as if all the devils (though one of them would have been enough) had conspired to turn the world upside down, specially that night, that followed Saturday. In the end, God saved us from death. And it was not in vain that the last of our Patrons was St. Michael, as in the last of our dangers, which was the worst of all, he repressed the power of Hell, so that it would not harm us, and so that the boat would not break up until we were ashore. The earth itself shook frequently that night. And the booming noises made by those thick groves, and the sea, were so horrendous that we thought that perhaps our Judgment Day had arrived. The sea carried off much of the clothes that the poor soldiers had laid out between some thickets to dry. As for our effects, that we had fixed upon stepping ashore, we were obliged to move them further inland, and even there some of the waves reached them. And if perchance God had allowed these terrifying demonstrations to go further, we had nowhere to go to escape from the sea; indeed, the bush overthere is impenetrable on account of its great thickness, and flat, that is, almost level with the sea, and it was full of thorns that pierced our feet, given that we were all barefoot. Even if it had not been completely impenetrable, it was impossible for us to escape through it easily, without the waves catching up with us; they were at times running quite high, even after we had moved our encampment as far in as we could. If we had chosen to head north,

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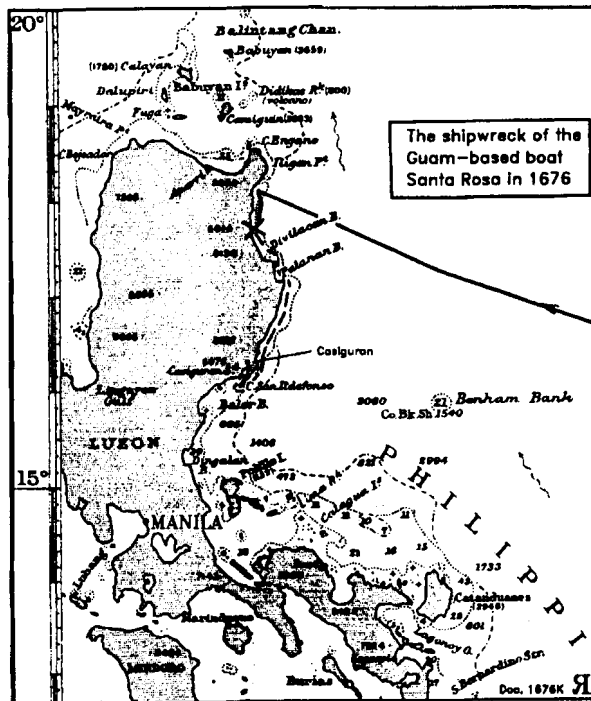
1 Ed. note: From what follows, it seems that they sighted land near Valley Cove, east of Twin Peaks, in what is today still part of the Cagayan Province.

2 Ed. note: A look at a perpetual calendar confirms that the date 21 May 1676 was indeed a Friday.

we would have fallen into the hands of the barbarians who live overthere, and where we wanted to go in with the boat, after we saw smoke. Regarding these barbarians, we had already been informed about them, and we learned later that indeed they were very cruel, and treacherous, and that perhaps our Lord had not let us disembark there, in order to preserve us from getting into some trouble with them. Toward the south, there was a river, which could not be crossed then on account of the high water that it carried, not only from the sea that had driven up it, but also from the clouds that dropped abundant rain water.<sup>1</sup> However, if I go on describing this point any more, some readers will think that I am imagining, or exaggerating things. So, to persuade them that they were as I write them, I will only say that all of those who took part in the voyage, and shared its dangers, we never had so much fear of the Justice of God as we did that night.—

Daybreak came—the next day was Pentecost Sunday—and the storm abated enough for us to go along the beach, between the sea and the bush. We decided to go to some Indian houses that were among some plantations distant a quarter of a league. We found that one had been spared by the storm, and the others had been brought down. God willed that we could rest for a few days in that place, after so many days of hardships. There we remembered the vow that we had made to present to St. Francis Xavier the mast and sail, to be borne on our shoulders, if we made it ashore. A small altar was built in that house, and the image of the Saint placed upon it. And we all went where the boat had been located, and we loaded our votive items upon our shoulders. We made our way back, praying, and repeating the Litany of Our Lady, and the prayer of the Apostle, *Deus qui Indiarum gentes*, and upon arriving in the presence of his image, I put on an alb (as there was no surplice) and a stole, and with lit candles, we sang aloud the same Litany, and prayer. —

We had hardly stepped ashore when God began to provide relief to us with an abundance of food. Those Barbarians also came to us, more on account of their greed for glass beads, and the clothing that we had begun to give them, than to do us any charity. When I saw the tyranny of these Barbarians toward us poor shipwrecked people, and



1 Ed. note: My guess is that river is located within a small bay that lies just south of the present-day boundary between the Cagayan and Isabella provinces.

how desirous they were of clothing, I gave the sail of the boat to the soldiers, which was a rather large one, and made thicker with an extra layer of Ilocos cloth, for them to distribute it among themselves, so that they would have something to compensate, and pay for the food that the Indians were bringing. This we did, although we had offered both the mast and the sail to the Lord, and the masses that were to ransom them that the Fathers of the Society had to say for the Souls, we understood that it would happen thus, in the circumstance that the sail and mast could still be useful to the same boat (we had imagined ourselves sailing with it into the Embocadero of Manila). Nevertheless, I trusted in the piety of the Fathers, who would still relieve me of my pledge by saying the masses for the Souls, although the sail and mast did not come into their hands. After thinking about it, it seemed to me it had to be done that way then, on account of the extreme necessity that the men were in.—

And that is not all, but, of course, considering the clothes that the sea had despoiled them of, and that many were walking around almost naked, because, in addition to what the sea had robbed already, most of them were extremely poor, on account of the clothes they had given to the Indians in exchange for food, I decided that a few chests containing some clothes belonging to the soldiers of the Garrison of Guahan be opened, and had them take what they needed to cover themselves. In the fact that we had been carrying this clothing, although it belonged to others, and some glass beads, we recognized the providence of the Lord with us; indeed, these things are like gold, and silver, among these peoples. I just don't know how we would have made it among this so avaricious, and little generous, population, if it had not been for those little things. I can also assert that, as we hardly knew for certain which land we were in, we gave credence to a small rumor that began to run, to the effect that all these Barbarians were about to come together, and kill all, in order to take everything we had, once and for all. So it is that they were given things, much more that was just, in exchange for every small thing they brought in, not so much to pay them but to make them happy, and to make them think that we were gracious, and liberal, and that way to obviate the hate that they could conceive of us. Therefore, within a short time, the men were undressing themselves in order to eat. But, the chests of clothing belonging to those who had remained in the Marianas were a constant source of supply, because necessity, rather necessities, made us then the owners of other people's property, with a completely clear conscience, as I used to tell the soldiers, so that they would not be scandalized.—

We were among this population, with our boat broken, so that it was not possible to repair it, as was declared by its Master carpenter himself, who came with us, that is, Nicolas de Tolentino, and by the other, a seaman, Francisco Ruiz; everyone else who understood some thing about the matter, agreed with them. This having been settled, we understood that we could not leave the place overland; in order for these Barbarians to take us aboard their canoes somewhere else, the boat was burned (after all, it was no longer of any use to us) in order to recover the nails, to pay these Barbarians who esteem iron so much. This way, we would be able to oblige them to take us out of their lands so much faster. After many efforts, and at the end of many days (each of which



seemed like one year to us), they decided to take us to another place. After our few belongings had already been loaded, and all the men being about to set out overland as far as was possible to go on foot, the rumor, to the effect that the Barbarians had finished their councils to destroy us along the way, returned with force and became the prevalent opinion; that is why, it was said, that they had detained us there for so many days, so that in the meantime they would be given enough time to hold their councils. To support this view, so many reasons were put forward that some of us feared that it might be true, or probable, and others were convinced that it was a sure thing; the majority was convinced of the latter. However, thank God that He willed that such a thing did not happen. On the occasion of what was being said, the soldiers prepared themselves to die, by confessing themselves eminently and very slowly, as if to die most of them, except two, or three. And, instead of the death of the body, they enjoyed the life of the soul.—

The Indians took us only half way to the place they had promised, and they left us in a neighborhood that was so hot that we were burning. And although we tried to seek shelter from the sun, we could not. For one thing, the huts were a few simple palm huts, and for another, because we were there somewhat disabled and isolated; indeed, the sea was on one side of us and a deep river on the other. There, either on account of the great covetousness of the Indians, who every day were making the men more naked, or by a miracle from God, we got food enough to eat during the 8 days that we spent there, because all our food supplies were on board, and there we were, in a tight spot. But the providence of God our Lord knows how to make use of the not too straight inclinations of man, to put into effect His just mercies.—

Upon arriving there, considering the site of the place, and with two things that they left us, once more we thought death was near, and some of those who had only suspicions before, now were sure that their last hour had arrived. The first thing they told us was that they did not have enough vessels to take us out of there. The other thing was told by one of our companions, who understood a little of the local language, and it was that, when some of our men were asking the Indians for something to eat, he heard one Indian say to another: **“Why do they want to eat now, since they must die later?”** All of these things which were resounding in our ears caused an echo in our mind, thus little by little we got the idea that death was near. But, with the passage of time, seeing that none of these things was coming true, we could not forget that phrase that was written about God: **“Qui fingit laborem in præcepto,”**<sup>1</sup> given that His Majesty was making sure that we would not be without hardships, though they were only threats, without substantiation.—

I had forgotten to mention that, when we stepped ashore and first had our suspicions of the disquiet of the Indians, we chose another Saint for our defence against the Barbarians. This was the Patron Santiago [i.e. St. James]. From the choice of such a patron saint no doubt originated what happened after the soldiers had confessed, as I

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase probably meaning: “[He] who imposed toil as a precept.”

have narrated; they went around so elated and ready to fight then, even to give their life for the faith, if it were necessary, that the spirit that was now prevalent was only carried over in their minds from the fears of dying that had so shaken them amid dangers at sea. And, at that time and place, there were a few who would have truly and gladly died, to get out of this life, and see Jesus Christ. Throughout so many fearful events, such as these ashore, we did not stop to observe all together the contents of the devotions that we had used at sea, plus a Creed for St. James, except that the collect *pro navigantibus* was replaced by the collect *Hostium nostrorum, etc.*—

As I said, although we always were on our guard with these people, be they Indians, or Negritos, nevertheless we did not forget to succor them in spiritual matters as much as possible, and we understood this to be part of our obligations. For instance, that same afternoon that we stepped ashore, I baptized three small children, one of them being sickly. I was moved to do this for the two healthy children also, because I found that some of the adults who had come to look at us out of curiosity after we stepped ashore, and to look us over again and again, knew how to make the sign of the cross. I also found that they were pronouncing the name *Jesu Christo* very well, a name that Barbarians, who have never heard it, do not know how to pronounce well. Well then, as I did not know their language, I could not have tested them more than that. Although that population seemed Barbarian, by their housing, by their bush-like existence, and their being armed with arrows, nevertheless they had some knowledge of Christianity. So, there was hope that, if those children reached adulthood, they could learn enough of the Christian doctrine to be saved with baptism, and their good works. During the days that followed, I also baptized other children, because their parents themselves showed that they wanted it. From that place, where I said that we spent 8 days, I went out with one of them aboard a small canoe, with four unarmed companions, to make a mission tour inland. During this trip I baptized 9 small creatures in the space of a league and a half, or two leagues, that we covered.<sup>1</sup> I decided to do this for various reasons that I had, and that moved me, without exceeding the limits of prudence. However, I never baptized any Negrito at all, because I heard it say that the Missionaries who used to go around overthere never did so. And it seems to me that such a practice is not discordant with the opinion of many serious authors, who say that one must not baptize the children of those who freely profess the Religion that they take a fancy to; there is no repugnance in not baptizing any of those. However, the total number of children whom I baptized in these lands reached 29. Little by little, we were getting news of the land where we were. Although it is true that from the beginning the Indians gave us some news, because we caught them doing some tricks and our suspicions of them were not entirely without foundation, we never trusted them. However, after a few days, we gained a clear and correct knowledge of everything about these peoples, and lands. Because God willed that we came out of that neighborhood where we had been iso-

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1 Ed. note: It would be possible to determine the name of this relatively-important river, as the author below gives the name of the bay in question; it was Divilacan Bay.

lated, which they call **Bilican**, and went to another land they call **Palanan**, where by chance we found a Pampango, a man with an expert knowledge of the Spanish language and a good Christian; he had an esteem for the Religious, and the Spanish. He had come there to collect the tributes among those peoples on behalf of the land-grant owner in **Casigura de Valer**. This Pampango, then, sent us two small *bancas* with two of our companions whom we had sent to look for food supplies. With these, and another two from Bilacan, we arrived at Palanan, where this honorable man, sympathetic to our hardships, informed us about everything and helped us as much as he could, until delivering us to Casigura de Valer.—

Already the Reverend Father Prior, an Augustinian Recollect residing in that town, had heard, though little, about the vessel, and men, that had arrived on those coasts. His great charity, and care, had then impelled him to send at once a despatch to tell us to make our way to Casigura; we met with this despatch along the way. We came into Casigura, and all of us experienced, specially myself, the pious compassion and liberal respects of that Augustinian Religious. Later on, we came to think that, after having gone through so many afflictions, dangers, and hardships, that Pampango whom we met in Palanan had opened for us the doors of Heaven, but that we entered it only when we saw ourselves inside the convent, and in the company of that Religious, Father Dia de la Natividad de San Juan Bautista.<sup>1</sup> That is when we enjoyed this glory, and we could consider that we had indeed been given back the life that we had been virtually robbed of by the sea, the storms, and men, the lack of water, and horrendous fears, hardships, and necessities, beginning on the feast of the Finding of the Cross, 3 May, until 24 June, the day that our Mother the Church celebrates the coming into the world of the Precursor of Christ. So, we could say with some truth, and without exaggeration in our speech, that on 3 May all of us had also found our cross, but that on 24 June we regained our life. Thanks to God's kindness for the many favors received.

After two days had passed, following our arrival at that lodging, Saturday arrived. We chose that day to comply with the other vow we had made during our voyage to confess and take communion jointly, if we arrived safe and sound, to the honor and glory of God, and of our Patron Saints. This vow we had made on the third, or fourth day of our dangers, with the condition that we were to do so within 15 days of stepping ashore. But this provision had been added, supposing that our first entrance would be in Manila, or at some other place suitable to comply with a confession and a communion jointly. However, man disposes and God disposes. Things did not happen as we had imagined them to be, and we complied with our obligation when it became possible, in the temple of the Great Father of the Church, St. Augustine; although, rigorously speaking, one could say that the soldiers had already complied with the vow of confession, and within the time limit, given, as I have said, that they confessed, when they

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1 Ed. note: Augustinians, including Recollects, gave up their Spanish name upon entering the Order, and adopted the name of one or more patron saints.

were expecting to die, as a result of the rumor that the barbarians had plotted their murder, and this had occurred on the fourth, or sixth day after we landed.—

Up to this point, our lives had been in the care of God alone; so, I have written the above events for the honor and glory of His divine Majesty. From here onward, we lived in the care of men; so, there is nothing special about it that must be reported in writing.—

May Our Lord save Y.R., in whose holy sacrifices and prayers I humbly commend myself.

Manila, 17 November 1676.

Y.R.'s servant,

Francisco Gayoso.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The Recollects maintained one priest at Casiguran from the 1630s until the 1690s, when the parish was turned over to the Franciscans, for lack of Augustinians in the Philippines. At the time of Fr. Gayoso's visit, the village of Palanan was probably visited irregularly by the so-called Prior of Casiguran. As for Fr. Gayoso himself, he remained in the Philippines and was soon re-assigned to the China Mission, where he went in 1678. The pilot, Francisco Ruiz returned to the Marianas aboard the next galleon, arrived back there in 1678, and was tasked by Governor Vargas to salvage the cannon from two shipwrecks. He was about to leave again in 1679 when he was diverted to help the mission boat that was in danger, and so, remained for one more year.

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## Document 1676L

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# Confidential report for 1674-76, by Fr. Gayoso

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 201-206.*

*Cautionary note: It seems fair to assume that the arrival of Captain Esplana at Manila in June 1676, and the stories he spread about his own exploits and the Jesuits in the Marianas, are at the origin of this report, which the Jesuit Provincial asked Fr. Gayoso to put in writing. One of the missionaries directly implicated in a scandal, Fr. Alonso Lopez, had left the Marianas a year earlier, and had already given his own self-serving version of the 1674-75 events.*

## Letter to Fr. Riquelme, dated Manila 13 September 1676

### Original text in Spanish.

***Carta del Padre Francisco Gayoso para el Padre Provincial del [sic] Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus de Philipinas en que le da quenta de lo sucedido en la Mision de las Yslas Marianas desde el año de 74 hasta el de 76.—***

*Mi Padre Provincial Xavier Riquelme.*

*Pax Christi &ca.*

[Note in margin:] *Año en que fue Superior el Padre S. Basilio.*

*Aviendo de dar quenta a V.R<sup>a</sup> de lo sucedido en la Mision de las Yslas Marianas desde junio de 74 hasta Mayo de 76 y del estado en que quedo; para mayor distincion dire primero lo tocante al año en que fue superior el Padre Antonio S. Basilio, y despues lo que pertenece al año siguiente, en que fue superior el Padre Gerardo Bovens: de las hazañas que el Capitan Damian de Esplana hizo alli en este tiempo, no me parece necessario hazer aqui larga mencion pues harto sonadas son ya por el mundo, pues se escrivieron mas hiperbolica, que historialmente con que muchos abran pensado que fueron cosas grandes, siendo asi que no llegan con mucho a lo que la fama comenzo a divulgar de ellas. Pero tales quales ellas fueron, es fuerza confesar, que aquel primer año ayudaron al Santo Evangelio, porque quando alli llego el Capitan todos los Padres estaban retirados en el presidio sin atreverse a salir de proposito, por la Ysla a haçer*

*Mision, y en aquella sazón solamente avia una yglesia en toda la ysla, porque por razon de estar alzada casi toda ella, no era posible hazer mas: Pero andando el tiempo, despues de aver el Capitan hecho algunos castigos en los Indios, se sugetaron algo, con que se podia salir a hazer Mision.—*

[Note in margin:] *Eligese por Superior al Padre S. Basilio.*

*Como se propuso aquel año en el navio que llevo a Ladrones el Padre Pedro Comano que a la sazón [sic] era superior, los religiosos que allí quedaron hizieron junta y eligieron al Padre S. Basilio para Vice Rector sin alboroto, ni ruydo alguno. Y de allí a dos o tres dias de esta eleccion, salio el Padre Alonso Lopez con una carta de no se que superior nuestro, segun la qual al Padre Alonso le tocaba ser superior. Y este Padre sospechando lo que en la carta se contenia, dice que no la quizo abrir hasta que se ubiese elegido por superior al Padre S. Basilio. El Padre San Basilio nos leyo la dicha carta a todos, y nos dio determino dos o tres dias, p<sup>a</sup> que en la junta que despues se havia de haçer, digesemos, lo que nos parecia en tal caso. Volvieronse a juntar los religiosos, y todos convinieron, en que el Padre Antonio S. Basilio se quedase en su Vice Re[c]torado por varias razones que ocurrían, ya que el Padre Alonso no queria ser superior, y cedia de su derecho.*

[Note in margin:] *De los Religiosos consigo mismos.*

*En tiempo del Padre S. Basilio, se portaron los Padres Religiosamente en sus personas, padecieron muchos trabajos, no buscaron el regalo, porque no lo hallarian dando buen exemplo de Santas costumbres, a todo el mundo. No tubo nadie en que tropezar considerando el proceder de ellos respecto de si mismos.— Al principio comia el Cabo en el refitorio [sic] con los Padres y en agasa- [fol. 201v] -jarlo desde el principio desta suerte, no creo que se erro. Pero en darle, como se le dio, el primer asiento, a mi parecer, se erro: Y no se si otros de los nuestros repararian en esto de lo exorbitante de esta honrra; pasaron los Padres de allí a pocos dias a otro extremo, que fue en andar cada dia, y cada hora con el en controvercias, diciendo los Padres que ellos avian de gobernar las armas, por ciertas razones, que a mi nunca me constaron, con evidencia. El Capitan decia que el era el que los avia de gobernar, y los Padres meterse solamente en lo que tocaba a la doctrina christiana. De estas altercaciones, que eran frequentes boca a boca con el mismo Capitan se originaron varios desasosiegos en lo interior de los Padres, y al Capitan se le dio ocasion muchas veces para que hablase palabras que podia aver excusado. Creo que el portarse desta suerte el Padre S. Basilio con el cabo, nacia del dictamen de su conciencia, pareciendole que lo devia hazer asi: Otro Padre se esmero mucho mas en adelantarse en estos puntos. Pienso ta[m]bien que segun su conciencia obraria bien delante de Dios. Pero, *salve meliori*: de su natural desasosegado, y bullicioso nacia mucho. Y pienso que hubiera sido de mas edificacion p<sup>a</sup> los que se hallaron presentes el que no hubiera tomado con tanto empeño esta materia. En estos desabrimientos andavan metidos los animos, quando sucedio que el Capitan castigo a un [i]n]dizuelo, porque se havia sospechado que avia pecado con una muchacha de las que asistian al rezo. El Padre Sebastian Monrroy, que entonces cuydava de los muchachos, oyo que el Capitan estava azotando a uno. Salio con mucha prisa su R<sup>a</sup> que a el*

*le tocaba castigar a los muchachos, y no el Capitan. El Capitan respondio que a el le tocaba. Y como los animos estaban exasperados de antes ubo menester poco el Padre S. Basilio para salir aber [= a ver] que era aquello con impulsos de oponerse al Capitan. Hablo su R<sup>a</sup> al Capitan con eficacia, pero con modestia. Salieron los demas religiosos (yo acaso me halle alli presente desde al principio a todo) y uno, o algunos de ellos comenzaron a dar voces: Viva la Yglesia, viva la Yglesia. Que a estas voces correspondiesen el Capitan y los soldados (que ya algunos estaban alli) con estas: Viva el Rey, no me acuerdo, yo me inclinava a decir que no avian dicho tal cosa el Capitan ni los soldados; pero como [h]e oydo decir, que si, que dieron estas voces, no me determino a afirmarlo, ni a negarlo. Lo cierto es, que viendo el Capitan el particular estilo que entonces usaba el Padre S. Basilio se turbo, o por lo menos yo lo considere como tal. El juycio que yo hize entonces fue que algunos de los nuestros se adelantaron demasiado en comenzar a dar aquellas voces Viva la Yglesia, y por parecerme importunidad, confieso que lo atribuyo a liviandad. Fueron creciendo los alborotos, y el ruydo, y viendo estas cosas un Padre fue a la yglesia, y saco el SSmo. Sacramento fuera de ella, y no solo esto, sino que con la mano expuso al viento una forma consagrada. Entendi entonces que esta accion seria tolerable, si la controversia fuera sobre algun articulo de Fe. Habló el Padre con la forma consagrada en la mano lo que creo que fue mas para abono suyo, que para gloria de Dios. Porque este Padre antes cuydava de los muchachos, y porque con esta ocasion tenia con el Capitan cada instante ruydos, le emandaron (aunque puede ser que el lo pidiese al superior) que se recogiese, y dejase la superintendencia de los muchachos. Cosa que el sintio mucho, y entendiendo que esta era una grande honrra p<sup>a</sup> y porque era quien mas sentia que el Capitan quisiese salir con la suya de gobernar las armas, con esta ocasion, y con la Santa forma en la mano quiso defender su justo proceder antecedente, repre- [fol. 202]-hendiendo con el SSmo Sacramento patente al Capitan no hablando con el, sino hablando de el, y dejandose tiernamente al SSmo. Sacramento del mal proceder del Capitan[.] en este tiempo, y circunstancias todos estavamos hincados de rodillas y el Capitan ta[m]bien, y los soldados callando todos. Y pues no hizo en esta ocasion un disparate el Capitan me admire. Pero aunque arrojado en la condicion, y temerario en las palabras contra los hombres en otras ocasiones, entonces tubo suma reverencia al SSmo. Sato. con todos los soldados, pues las palabras que el Padre decia, le davan grande ocasion para prorumpir en un disparate, y no lo hizo por el Señor que estaba presente. Finalmente descomulgo al Capitan el dicho Padre y a todos sus sequaces.*

*Si mal no me acuerdo, yo oy decir al Padre S. Basilio que el no pensaba que avian de sacar, sino un Santo Christo, pero este Padre dice que le mando que sacase el SSmo. Sato. Lo sierto es que el Padre S. Basilio no le contradijo en nada al dicho Padre. Solamente el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso quiso estorvar que la forma consagrada se sacase de la custodia, o vaso, de plata y asi con su mano detenia el brazo del Padre que hacia todas estas cosas, p<sup>a</sup> que no la sacase, o para que la bolviese a poner dentro. Moveriase a hazer esta accion el Padre Thomas quizas porque el era quien tenia cuidado de la yglesia si excedio en meterse en esto el P. Thomas, supuesto que el Padre Superior estava*

*delante, y no le mandava tal cosa, juzguenlo otros. Mas el Padre S. Basilio no contradijo tampoco al Padre Thomas. Finalmente sacaron los Padres un papel que decia que era zedula real en que se les encomendava a los PP. el gobierno de las armas (que este era el punto mas vivo, y dio mas ocasion para este alboroto, y para prorumpir en tantas cosas, que los azotes del muchacho.)*

*Bolvieron el SSmo. a la yglesia y aquel papel lo pusieron (accion que fue tambien del Padre que mas se avia metido en todo) arrimado al pie de la custodia; como para atestiguar la verdad. Todo esto me parecio que se podia excusar. Si aquel papel tenia autoridad, o no lo tenia, si era Zedula Real o no la era, nunca lo pude saber. Lo cierto es, que el Padre S. Basilio por todo el tiempo de su gobierno anduvo errado en no mostrar a todos los PP. a quien solia pedir su parecer en las consultas, los Papeles, y Zedulas, y cartas, asi de nuestros Superiores, como de los Superiores Seglares que tratan de cosas desta Mision. Alguno, o algunos con quien yo solia tratar familiarmente dezian que hacia bien en no mostrar tales papeles, yo siempre dije que hacia mal, porque o no pedirnos nuestro parecer, o si nos lo pedia nos avia de mostrar las cartas de los superiores en los puntos tocantes a la Mision, para que conforme a los ordenes de los superiores, los consultados dixesen su parecer. Andando el tiempo sucedio que tuviese yo noticia de una carta que de Manila avia embiado el Padre Pimentel a los PP. de las Marianas, en que las [sic] decia que dejasen gobernar al Cabo, y que ellos se metiesen en lo que era propio de Ministros del Evangelio. Solia yo entre otras razones oponerles a los Padres esta carta y respondian que el Padre Pimentel no era Provincial quando la escrivio: Replicaba yo, pues a lo menos ya que no se reziva esa carta como de Superior, rezivase como de un hombre grave y de experiencia entre los nuestros, que nos da un buen consejo, porque el andar cada hora con el Capitan sobre quien avia de gobernar las armas era dar ocasion al Capitan p<sup>a</sup> que ofendiese muchas veces a Dios con rabias y colera, y palabras desatentisimas, y los Padres se la tomaban para vivir inquietos. Y lo cierto es que hasta que se acabaron estas contiendas, no permitio Dios que se asentase la ysla con [fol. 202v] alguna paz, como despues sucedio. Porque como avia de querer Dios que nosotros pusiesemos en paz a los Indios para con nosotros, si nosotros unos contra otros estabamos metidos en una infernal guerra? El Padre Gerardo Vovens [sic] en el mostrar a los Padres que consultava los papeles que tocaban a cosas de la Mision se porto en su tiempo con mas discrecion y mas doctamente.—*

*Recogido el Smo. en su lugar el Capitan se salio con su excomunion fuera de la cerca con los soldados. Aqui hablo en altas voces todo lo que se le vino a la boca contra dos [de] los Padres en especial contra el Padre que saco el SSmo. Llegado el otro dia junto el Padre S. Basilio a todos los Padres para ver si se avia de continuar la excomunion, y si se avia de fixar en las valuas. El Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, dijo que el no entendia esos puntos, y asi que no se metia en aquello de excomunion. Lo mismo respondió el Padre Sebastian de Monrroy. El Padre que saco el SSmo. dexo este punto a la eleccion del Superior. Pero bien se dava a entender su opinion, pues tan furiosamente avia hablado la noche antes. Los demas PP. que son el Padre Jacinto Montenegro, y el Padre Juan de Ahumada dixeron que si, que se prosiguiese la excomunion, y que se fixase en*



*las puertas de la Yglesia, y que era un tal, y un qual el Capitan. Yo solo contradije positivamente con las razones que se me ofrecieron tal resolucion. Finalmente los absolviéron, pienso que al dia siguiente. Pero yo nunca dije al Capitan que avia ydo en su favor en este punto. Pero pasando adelante el niño [mismo?], y estando ya las cosas mas serenas, se lo dijo un Padre que aunque por rodeos, el lo entendio bien, quien era el que le abia defendido. Pero podia entender su mersed, que no por el sino por las razones que yo hallava, con las quales asintia mi conciencia, hable lo que hable. Y siendo Dios servido que prosiguiese el año con prosperidad, yendo yo una vez en mision con el Padre S. Basilio, me dijo que el Capitan era quien, bien considerado, avia de gobernar las armas, sino que un Padre con especial conato pretendia otra cosa. Esto me lo dijo a mi solo, sin otros Padres. Dijo otras cosas yo no lo se. Entre todos aquellos desabrimientos referidos, y al tiempo de tan vivas oposiciones como avia entre el Capitan y los Padres, el Padre Thomas se señaló en mostrar buena voluntad al Capitan y procuro esmerarse en llevarle la condicion con su trato que aunque no docto pero muy proposito para tales hombres como suelen ser los de la guerra, y asi en el Padre Thomas hallava algun descanso el continuo desasosiego que el Capitan tenia con el Padre S. Basilio, y por portarse el Padre Thomas con el cabo apasiblemente, padecio mucho de algunos de los nuestros su R<sup>a</sup>. Yo confieso que me incline mas a imitar la mancedumbre del Padre Thomas con el Capitan que la furia zeloz de otros Padres, porque con recibir al Señor y en conclusion nadie le avia de arrancar de que el governase las armas. Absolutamente mi sentir es que el Padre Thomas se portó mejor respecto del Capitan que todos los otros Padres.—*

[Note in margin:] *Con los soldados.*

*Prosiguiendo el año, y gobernando el Capitan absolutamente las armas, los Padres se portaron con prudencia con los soldados, exhortandolos frequentemente asi en platicas publicas como particulares, a la frecuencia de los S. Sa[crament]os. Dioseles lo que pudo de ropas.— &c<sup>a</sup>*

[Note in margin:] *Ministerios.*

*Ya que Dios fuese servido de poner en orden la ysla por medio del Capitan salieron los Padres a edificar quatro o cinco Yglesias en diversos meses de aquel año. Venian a oyr Misa los Indios los Domingos. Juntarianse entre chicos, y grandes hasta ciento, y cin- [fol. 203] -quenta, 200, y a veces llegarían a 300. Cantaban la doctrina christiana un poco de tiempo antes de la Misa[;] despues de ella, se les hacia una platiquilla sobre las cosas que enseña la Fe. Estos Indios que concurrían eran de varios pueblecillos de alrededor del Pueblo donde estava la yglesia. Pero comunmente Indios, y Indias chicos y grandes venían de mala gana a la Misa, y sin rastro de amor, ni temor de Dios, y mas por temor del Capitan que por amor de sus almas. Aunque puede ser que entre estos Indios no faltase algunos que para yr a Misa sintiesen los auxilios actuales de Dios, con que suavemente los convidaria a la luz zelestial. Salieron una vez (entre otros) a Mision por orden de la obediencia un sacerdote, y un H<sup>o</sup> yban por los pueblos y en cada pueblo se detenían dos, o tres, o quatro dias. El H<sup>o</sup> juntaba los chiquillos de aquel pueblo y les enseñava de memoria las oraciones de la doctrina. El sacerdote se ocupaba en*

*la enseñanza de los grandes, y viejos, y en conversaciones particulares les referia los misterios de nuestra Santa Fe, y como ay infierno, y gloria, y como peco Adan, y como vino Christo N. S. &a. Esta Mision fue de mucho provecho, porque yendo sin escolta los dos religiosos acompañados solamente de dos muchachos de la tierra, sin los temores, ni escandalos que les pondria la escolta de soldados a los Indios, oyan no de mala gana la palabra de Dios, y esta Mision fue para los barbaros un testimonio de que ya se abian acabado las guerras, y el enojo de los Padres y del Capitan contra ellos. Y creo que este estilo es de los mejores, que aora se puedé observar en aquella ysla segun el estado imperfecto, en que esta. Y si se huviera continuado de esta manera, quiza no se uviera alborotado la ysla. Y el querer aora meter en clausura de colegios a los indicuelos, es querer inquietar toda la Mission. Porque assi muchachos, como muchachas abominan de tal recogimiento, y para averlos de juntar se an de alborotar los pueblos. Y asi en el estado, en que oy estan las cosas creo que es mas del servicio de Dios, el que los religiosos vayan a los pueblos, pues es fácil, que no que los pueblos vayan a la casa de los religiosos, pues es muy dificultoso, que andando el tiempo, y yendo nos de espacio Dios diria despues lo que se havia de hazer.—*

[Note in margin:] *Colegios de muchachos, y muchachas.*

*Al principio del año teniendo noticia el Capitan que la Reyna avia mandado que se hisiese dos Colegios, uno para muchachos, y otro para muchachas, procuro que se hisiese el Colegio de los muchachos, y se hizo sin resistencia de los Padres (estos colegios tan nombrados, en lo material son unas casas cuyas paredes son de ojas de palma, o de unos palos unidos unos a otros simplemente, largas de veinte, o de treinta pasos, y anchas de ocho, o diez, y algunos menos) y tambien hizo colegio para las muchachas, pero con resistencia de los Padres pero el importuno tanto que ultimamente se hizo. Y en aquel mismo año se experimentaron algunos inconvenientes con el tal colegio de muchachas. Porque algunos de los soldados entraban en el de noche cada y quando que querian, como despues se supo. El remedio, que para esto puso el superior, fue rediculo [sic], y fue que durmiesen dos de los nuestros religiosos dentro de la misma casa de las muchachas, pero se [h]a de advertir que las muchachas dormian dentro de un atajadizo que estaba hecho dentro de la misma casa, con su techo de palos atados con cordel, y su puerta de tabla con su llave, la qual llave tenia un Padre en su poder de noche. Pero no obstante que los Padres dormian alli, se supo despues que algunos de los soldados entraban a las muchachas de noche. Esta casa estava junto a la de los Religiosos, y cerca de los ranchos donde vivian los soldados) de día las muchachas yban a ver al Capitan y de noche los soldados [fol. 203v] venian a ver a las muchachas. Digo que las muchachas iban a ber al Capitan porque subian a la casa del capitan cada quando que querian, y aun comian a su mesa. Si el Capitan ofendia a Dios no lo se. Al fin del año por instancias que se hizieron los Padres las hecho de casa.—*

*Con los muchachos no hizieron en tiempo del Padre S. Basilio imprudencia alguna los Padres. Aunque en Ritian [sic], que es el pueblo a donde comenzaron las desdichas el año siguiente del Padre Vovens, en la Casa del Padre se criaron algunos muchachos, los quales no servian en aquella Casa sino de meter ruydo, y de ellos unos salieron bue-*

*nos para ladroncillos, y otros p<sup>a</sup> homicidas Sacrilegos. Aunque es verdad que el Padre que estubo alli, y los crio los procurara defender, y honrrar quanto pudiere. El fin del Padre en tenerlos alli bueno era; pero no es facil criar a muchos de estos muchachos, como un ministro quisiera. Al fin de este año se hizo una Mision por toda la ysla en que se bautizarian quarenta, o cinquenta niños y solamente para este efecto se hizo aquella Mision.—*

[Note in margin:] *Viene a Manila el Padre Alonso Lopez.*

*Ya avia algunos meses que el Padre Alonso Lopez avia hecho firmisimo proposito de venirse a Manila y dejar las Marianas, porque decia que ya Marianas no eran Marianas (aludia con esto al desorden, que este Padre decia que avia en que el Capitan quisiese gobernar las armas, y rebentaba de pena de que el Capitan saliese con lo que queria). Y antojandosele al Capitan que seria gran cosa que fuese un Padre de aquellos por procurador de las Marianas a España asi para el adelantamiento de la Mision, como para conseguir el facilmente la recompensa de sus hazañas[.] propuso su pensamiento con tanta importunidad, y tan repetidas veces al Padre S. Basilio que tal y qual, que convenia al servicio del Rey, y otras treintas cosas, que el Padre S. Basilio se bio obligado a conde[s]cender con el, por no disgustarle, y avia algunos meses que avian cesado los primeros desabrimientos, y como lo restante del año despues de aquellos pleytos le avia Dios dado dicha al Capitan para poner alguna paz en la ysla, pensando, y con fundamento, y prudencia que era muy necessario conservar aquel hombre en las yslas, y esperando que los años siguientes los avia de perficionar, y acabar de sujetar [sic] al yugo del Evangelio los Indios de todas ellas, despues de haver repetidas veces pedido a todos los Padres su parecer acerca de si se embiaria a España por Procurador de las Marianas al Padre Alonso Lopez, y pues su R<sup>a</sup> estaba con total resolucion de venirse a Manila, no lo perdía la Mision ya por embiarlo a España y Roma y que en Manila avia grandes dificultades para que pasase, y que quizas no le dejarían pasar a España, y que se avian de reir de nuestro asunto. Propuestos y reparados estos y otros puntos por una y otra parte todos los Padres respondieron que la Mision no perdía nada en embiarle por Procurador que antes podia ser que con esto se adelantase, y que juntamente se le dava gusto al Capitan &c. con que en conclusion, ya veia VR<sup>a</sup> que el Padre Alonso venia armado con su Procuradoria. Que el Padre S. Basilio no escribiese carta al Provincial de Filipinas en que sugetase esta accion al orden de su R<sup>a</sup> me espanto mucho; pero creo que esto procedio de sanisimo y nisimo[co](?) [co]razon, porque el Capitan no se acababa de sosegar temiendo que los Padres en cartas diferentes referian asi a nuestros Superiores, como a los Seglares las sin razones que aquel año mis- [fol. 204] -mo tubo el Capitan[.] por sosegarle el Padre S. Basilio le aseguro muchas veces que con toda verdad no se escrivia ninguna cosa mala de el, y que con toda llanesa, verdad, y ingenuidad se portaban con el, y que con todas veras procuraban sus adelantamientos con que por cumplir su palabra al Capitan no escribiria al Provincial por no comenzar su R<sup>a</sup> a poner dificultades en lo que el Capitan tanto deseava que se efectuase. Y asi el no sugetar la accion al Padre Provincial no nacio de desobediencia, pues siempre reconocio el Padre S. Basilio por superior al Provincial de Filipinas, ni nacio de ig-*

*norancia pues hartas dificultades veia su R<sup>a</sup> y todos los Padres en la tal Procuracion, y siempre lo tuvimos por lo mas cierto que no avia de pasar a España. Mas el pensamiento del Capitan era que el embiaba [sic] inmediatamente a España al Padre Alonso, por su embajador, y para que refiriese en la Corte de Madrid las grandes hazañas que el abia hecho en las Marianas, y que como era posible que en Philipinas se atrevieran a impedir el Paso al Padre Procurador de las Marianas, que yba al Rey de parte del Capitan Esplana? Este era el rumbo del Capitan y los Padres se hizieron locos con el en lo exterior, pero no en lo interior.— etc<sup>a</sup>*

[Note in margin:] *Año del Padre Bovens.—De los religiosos.*

*En el año en que fue Superior el Padre Gerardo Bovens se portaron los Religiosos en sus personas tambien como en el año del Padre S. Basilio con buen exemplo para todo el mundo con muchos trabajos que no faltan alli, con mucha paciencia en muchas cosas de diversos generos que le han de sufrir. Pero en algunas festividades, y necesidades se gastava un poco de chocolate, y solian tener en sus residencias alguna Cageta, o un poco de otra conserva, lo qual todo se hacia por orden del superior. Y de ninguna manera ubo en esto el exceso que algunos han ymaginado, o han mentido.—*

[Note in margin:] *De el Cabo.*

*Con el Cabo se portaron muy al contrario de como al principio del Padre S. Basilio no se le resistio a faccion alguna, ni el Padre Vovens se quiso meter en gobernar los soldados, y en todo esto se porto su R<sup>a</sup> guiado del parecer de todos los Padres que conviniéron en esto. Lo que solia hazer el padre Vovens era proponerle que seria bien hazer esto, o aquello. Pero el cabo cumplio mal con sus obligaciones este año pues hizo menos de lo que devia. En varias ocasiones tubo palabras desatentas con los Padres pero se le respondió, porque era menester. Quiso sacar violentamente un retraydo de la yglesia y le resistio con animo el Padre Vovens. En una ocasion llevo un Padre a advertirle que se portase en su persona con mas recato, y mas temor de Dios, y el llevando mal la advertencia del religioso, quiso tizar con lo mismo a los Padres entonces aquel religioso le respondió que era un desvocado, y se lo dejo solo. En otra ocasion dijo a otro religioso que los Padres estaban alli engañando al Rey, y el religioso le respondió que el venia a buscar oro y perlas, pero los Padres la salvacion de las almas.—*

[Note in margin:] *De los soldados.*

*Con los soldados se portaron los Padres con el buen exemplo de obras, y con las buenas exhortaciones de palabra que siempre [h]an acostumbrado procurando introducir siempre en sus corazones mucho temor de Dios, y deseo de servirle.— Este año hecho el Padre Vovens dos excomuniones, una para que no saliesen de noche y de alli cinco o seis meses otra, para que no metiesen mugeres en sus garitas. Luego al punto que se hecho la primera, sucedio este año la primera desdicha en la ysla, que fué la muerte del [fol. 204v] H<sup>o</sup> Pedro Diaz, y la quema de la yglesia y disipacion de los ornamentos sagrados. Y luego al punto que se echo la ultima excomunion, sucedio la ultima desdicha a la ysla, en este mismo año, que fue la perdida del barco, quedando alla ellos con el espanto, sobresalto y temores de que ya nos abiamos ahogado. Y en las platicas y sermones pienso que algunos Padres han excedido los limites de la prudencia. Para echar*

*la primera excomunion consulto el Padre Rector a los Padres que entonces se hallaban mas cercanos, yo entonces estaba mas lejos en mi yglesia y asi no supe nada de ella hasta que se avia echado. En la consulta para la segunda me halle yo, y pedido mi parecer respondí que se removieren las cosas hasta que viniese el navio pues faltaria poco. Pero prevaleciendo el consejo de otros dos que estaban allí, juntandose esto la gana que devia de tener de echarla el Padre Vovens se determino a hazerlo asi. Yo viendo que a esto se determinava su R<sup>a</sup> le pedi que la estendiese hasta mi yglesia pues allí avian de vivir los soldados, y yo avia de vivir, y andar en presencia de ellos, y seria indecente que yo sufriese los pecados junto a mi yglesia y en mi pueblo supuesto que en la otra parte donde avian de vivir los soldados, se estorvan de esa suerte, o se pretendian estorvar con la excomunion. En bien miserable estado considero aora, y antes a estado aquella Mission. Pues no pueden estar los Padres con seguridad en sus yglesias sin escolta de soldados. Y el estar el Padre con escolta de soldados, es estar con quien destruye lo que el Padre edifica, y con quien disipa lo que el Padre une para la propagacion del Santo Evangelio. Y esto ademas de muchas desvergue[n]zas que sufre y muchos ruydos domesticos, que nunca falta.—*

[Note in margin:] *Muchachos, y muchachas.*

*Respecto de los muchachos, y en orden a su crianza de ellos se han hecho imprudencias gr[an]des este año. Porque algunos de los religiosos salieron varias veces de noche a buscar muchachos por otros pueblos distintos de el mismo que el Padre havitaba. Y creo que esto lo sabia el Padre Vovens, pero tenia tantos deseos de amontonar muchachos que pasaba por esto, y aun segun lo dijo el mismo Padre Vovens un H<sup>o</sup> que una noche saliese a buscar muchachos. Pero el Padre Rector lo nego diciendo que el no avia mandado tal. No obstante yo juzgo que aquellos religio[so]s no se atrevieran a salir de noche a buscar muchachos sino que entendieran que el Superior gustava de ello. Delante de mi en otra ocasion otro religioso sacerdote le echava diciendo al Padre Vovens que sino se salia de noche a buscar muchachos, y sacarles de sus casas quando estaban durmiendo, era imposible traer los a las nuestras, porque de dia, en viendo los muchachos a algun religioso, era lo mismo casi que ber al Diablo con que huyan cielo y tierra, pero a todo esto repare yo que el Padre Bovens solamente respondió con mucha tibieza, **non est necesse, non est necesse**, que no era necesario salir de noche, quando entendí yo que como un leon avia de bramar no solo contra tal execucion sino contra tales palabras. Todos los Padres excepto uno, tenian casa de muchachas, o unidas continuamente con la misma casa del Padre o allí a la puerta. Horror me dava ver algunos religiosos metidos entre las muchachas, por ocasion de la suma, o contigua venciencia de entrambas casas. Lo que aquí se puede llorar es la poca prudencia del Superior [fol. 205] que tal permitia, o ordenava a los subditos que con demasadamente ciega obediencia no beian que corra peligro de ser infamada nuestra honrrada madre la Comp<sup>a</sup>. Mas con esta imprudencia en lo exterior, me consta a mi claramente que resplandecia exterior, y interiormente la pureza de los religiosos. Pero quando dije arriva que el Capitan quiso tizar a los Padres con lo mismo que un Padre le gue(?) arreprehender, creo que el Capitan aludio a estas imprudencias, sobre las quales podia*

*qualquiera fundar sospechas. Y si se hisiera con paz, y sin alborotar a los pueblos esto de recoger a los muchachos, y muchachas, seria mas tolerable, pero era sumo el desabrimiento, y alborotos que se originavan en todos los Indios, y Indias, chicos, y grandes con tal proceder de los Padres. Digo que el Capitan Esplana tiene razon en estos puntos que si los Padres no huvieran apretado tan rigurosa (o cruelmente como en una ocasion lo dije yo a un H<sup>o</sup> delante del Padre Rector) quiza no se huviera atrasado tanto la Mision este año. Avia religiosos que competian en quien hacia mas trabajar a sus muchachos. Pero este asumpto de estos religiosos se fundava en una maxima indiscreta del Padre Bovens, que continu[a]mente rumiaba consigo, y pronunciaba a otros y era que aora desde los principios convenia apretar mucho, para que quedando despues los muchachos en un medio, fuesen perfectos christianos. Y no mirava su R<sup>a</sup> la suma flogera que avia caydo sobre el Capitan en orden a ayudar a los religiosos, con que en conclusion este año [h]a padecido tantos atrasamientos la mision, porque los Padres han echo mas de lo que han devido, y el Capitan menos de lo que ha devido. Verdad es que luego que sucedio la primera desdicha con la muerte del H<sup>o</sup> Pedro[,] quema de la yglesia & Abrio un poco los ojos del Padre Rector y advirtio a los que salian de noche a buscar muchachos, que no saliessen de alli adelante, y hallandome yo presente a esta advertencia añadió su R<sup>a</sup> que un pueblo se avia quejado del Proceder de los Padres en ir de noche a sus casas a sacar los muchachos. Los quales no perseveravan en la Casa del Padre sino quando querian, pero porque era sumo el miedo que tenian solian algunos perseverar, pero andavan trifs]tecillos y creo que muchas veces padecian muchas hambres. En fin todo era violento y lo violento no dura, sino es que aya otra fuerza que lo haga perseverar, y en las Marianas noy [sic = no hay] fuerza sino en el Cabo, y en los soldados, si ellos cumplen con sus obligaciones, y sino, ayudan a que se destruya todo, en lugar de edificar. Ya digo a V.R<sup>a</sup> lo que respondió un Indio a un Padre que le reprehendia de deshonesto, el qual Padre tenia, y tendra aora pegada la casa de las muchachas a la suya, lo que el Indio respondió al Padre es que el mismo Padre se aprovechava de ellas. Dicho fue esto que lo supieron todos los soldados, y que a todos nosotros nos peso harto, pero en especial mostró mas sentimiento al mismo Padre que a la verdad es un Santo varon muy zeloso de la salvacion de los Indios, muy obediente a su superior y de sanissima intencion en todo lo que obra, este es el Padre Sebastian de Monroy, y al Padre Rector le atraveso el corazon este dicho, que aunque desta suerte governava las cosas, no se puede dudar sino que en todo procedia su R<sup>a</sup> con buena intencion, y con deseo de asentarlos mas presto que se pudiese aquella christiandad. Pero el mayor fruto que en estos dos años se puede aver cogido en aquella yslla es si acaso a muerto algun chiquillo bautizado antes de llegar de tener uso de razon, y de estos son algunos.—*

[fol. 205v] [Note in margin:] *Vase a Rota.*

*Este año fueron dos, o tres veces el Padre Vovens, y el Padre S. Basilio a la yslla de Rota distante de la de Guahan como doce lueguas [sic], aver si por ventura avia algun muribundo a quien socorrer con los sacramentos, o algun chiquillo que bautizar, pero*

*luego se volvieron a Guahan. Sino es estas ydas a Rota, todos estos dos años se ha estado la Mision metida en la ysla de Guahan.*

[Note in margin:] *Ysla de Guahan, y sus moradores.*

*Esta tiene de circuito treinta leguas. Sus moradores hombres y mugeres, chicos y grandes no pasavan de siete mil, y si llegan a ocho mil, sera mucho. Estan divididos en pueblecillos de treinta[,] quarenta casas, y de estos son los menos, los mas son de quatro, seis, diez casas, de quinçe o veinte, unos en la playa, y otros, dentro del monte.*

[Note in margin:] *Yglesias.*

*Las yglesias que quedavan fundadas son la principal donde esta el Santisimo que nunca a estado sino en una parte, ni era decente por ningun modo tenerlo en las otras yglesias, las quales son tres, y en cada una su sacerdote, la yglesia del Padre S. Basilio, no se si la conservavan como ta[m]bien la yglesia en que yo estava, porque asi la del Padre S. Basilio, como la mia eran las mas remotas del presidio[,] una por la parte del norte, y otra por la parte del sur, pero por aver junto a mi yglesia en distancia de tres quartos de legua, echo el Capitan un castillejo, y una yglesia puede ser que aquel parage no lo desampararen, y lo comun es que los navios que vienen de Acapulco lleguen por aquella parte de Ysla.*

[Note in margin:] *Indios, y ministerios con ellos.*

*Los Indios, y Indias chicos y grandes acuden los Domingos a Misa a la yglesia mas cercana de los quatro que ay. Dos leguas sera la Mayor distancia desde donde suelen venir los Indios hasta donde esta la yglesia. Juntaronse entre chicos y grandes, hasta ciento, ciento y cinquenta, ducientos, trecientos. Antes que salga la Misa, como dije arriba cantan chicos y grandes las oraciones de la doctrina, explicales el Padre algo de aquello que van cantando, oyen su Misa, prosiguiendo todos cantando sus oraciones, acabada la Misa les haze el Padre una platiquilla de las cosas de la Fe, y buenas costumbres. Suelen estar atentos a la platica del Padre y las oraciones las cantan no sin devocion a las veces, y qual, o quel Indio adulto parece que da esperanzas de su salvacion. Abranse bautizado de los adultos en estos dos años seis, o ocho, y otros que por muribundos se bautizan a aquella hord[en] pero con tan poca inteligencia de lo que es el Sacramento, o con tan poca cap[a]cidad para entenderlo, con tan poco temor de Dios y con descuido tan grande de sus conciencias que ay muy pocas espera[n]zas de que se salve alguno. Y no es consulto bautizar a los Indios adultos, sanos, por su mucha inconstancia, en lo bueno, y poco freno para lo malo. Los Padres que estan en las yglesias salen de quando en quando por sus pueblos circunvecinos a ver si ay niños que bautizar, muribundos adultos que sacramentar. Los pueblecillos circunvecinos a cada yglesia seran seis, o ocho, doce, o veinte, de los quales vienen a oyr Misa los Domingos, y este de muy mala gana, y mas por temor de los hombres, que por amor de Dios, aunque estando en Misa puede ser que la misericordia de Dios los toque con algunos auxilios para que conozcan su bien. Las yglesias son de veinte, o treinta pasos de largo, y de ocho, o diez de ancho las paredes, o entretegidas de ojas de palma o de unos palos mal unidos unos con otros, el techo de un genero de zacate que ay, [fol. 206] o de ojas de palma; no pueden hasta aora ser alli mayores ni mas buenos los edificios.—*

[Note in margin:] *Muertes.*

*Por lo que toca a las muertes que en estos dos años se [h]an echo en aquella ysla, digo que seran veinte poco mas o menos las que en diferentes ocasiones, y salidas ha hecho el Capitan en los Indios. La primera salida que hizo fue a un pueblozuelo distante cosa de una legua del presidio, eran los Indios de este pueblo de los mas reveldes de la ysla, y que dicen, que los años antes avian inquietado mucho a la Mision. Salio pues una noche el Capitan recién llegado, y cogiendolos dormidos mato algunos, y en otras ocasiones los demas. Mato a un Indio que dicen que avia muerto a un soldado de los nuestro antes. Pero ex[c]epto este que acaso topo con el sin saver quien era, esto es sin saber que era delinque[n]te, no mato, ni castigo a ninguno de tantos matadores que fisicamente concurrieron a las muertes del Padre Ezquerria y del Padre S. Vitores, del H<sup>o</sup> Pedro Diaz, y del Padre S. Basilio, y de otros muchos soldados que fueron muertos a manos de los barbaros en aquella ysla.—*

*Luego que hubo noticia del pecado nefando hizo el Capitan algunas averiguaciones para castigarlo, y averiguado quien era el delincente, consulto a los Padres si era digno de muerte, y que no tocaba al inquisicion, sino en algunas provincias en que se viaba que la iniquicion [sic] reconociese de tal delito. Y asi le dio garrote al Sargento, segun se averiguo que el avia incurrido en aquel pecado.*

*Despues se les antojo a algunos picarones de los soldados que estaban alli matar al Capitan porque los tenia enfadados. Dicen que intentaron en varias ocasiones hazerlo. Ultimamente uno de ellos escrivio un papel en que se contenia algo del asunto. Llego este papel a las manos del Capitan, dio tormento a muchos de los soldados. Ellos confesavan, a diestro y a siniestro. Ultimamente dio el Capitan garrote a dos soldados españoles. El uno en realidad de verdad lo merecia. El otro no lo merecia, como yo supe, y otros Padres procuramos interceder por el con el Capitan. Pero bien creo yo que el Capitan dio garrote con buena conciencia y con fundamentos al que a la verdad no era culpado, de alli algunos dias dio garrote a otro indio porque se decia que avia sacado una muchacha del rezo, y no se porque otras picardias. Bien podia el Capitan aberse abstenido de hazer esta muerte. Pero aplicando el al particular algunas palabras, en que generalmente solian dar a entender los Padres que era menester castigar a los Indios, y hacer, y acontecer, se determino a hazer esta muerte, creo que mas por dar gusto a los Padres (en lo que se engaño pues no les dio mucho gusto) que por que el tubiese gana de hazerlo.—*

*De alli a no muchos dias sucedio la muerte del H<sup>o</sup> Pedro Diaz de esta suerte. Tenia el H<sup>o</sup> en el pueblo donde estava una casa donde vivian, y dormian las muchachas cerca de la Casa donde vivia el H<sup>o</sup>. Oyo a deshora de la noche ruydo en la casa de las muchachas. Salio a ver lo que era. Hallo que eran unos Indios solteros. Reprehendioles asperamente. A la mañana ubo a las manos uno de ellos, y con el Parecer del Padre Juan de Ahumada que a la zazon se hallava alli, comenzo, el H<sup>o</sup> Pedro a ir llevando por el pueblo adelante al tal Indio dandole a entender a el, y a otros de los Indios que lo llevaba a donde estava el Capitan para que lo matase en castigo de su pecado asicomo pocos dias avia a otro le avia dado ga- [fol. 206v] -rrrote. El intento del Padre Juan y del H<sup>o</sup>*



*Pedro no era llevarlo efectivamente al Capitan sino es hazer que con aquella amenaza se humillasen, y hisiesen proposito de no bolver mas a la casa de las muchachas. Y para que se les quedase mas entrañado el miedo del Capitan, y entendiesen que los sabrian llevar allá si no se enmendavan. Yba el H<sup>o</sup> Pedro andando delante con su preso por el pueblo adelante en comp<sup>a</sup> del alferes que entonces se hallava alli. Los Indios del pueblo, y los demas solteros pensaron que yba de veras y como avia pocos dias que el Capitan avia muerto a otro Indio casi por lo mismo, no dudaron que el remedio para que el Capitan no matase a su compañero Indio, era el que ellos matasen alli al H<sup>o</sup> Pedro Diaz y alferes; y a machetazos los dejaron alli muertos, quedando el preso libre. Quemaron los Indios la yglesia, ultrajaron los Santos ornamentos, y cruces. Mataron tambien a otro soldado que estava metido en casa sin saber lo que pasaba por el pueblo. Al Padre Juan no lo mataron, quiza porque juzgaron que no tenia brios para llevar presos. Solia decirme el Padre Juan que una cosa le atormentaba mas en aquel conflict[o], y era el que en entonces vera claramente que no moria Martir si es que lo mataban. Salio el Capitan con los soldados a castigar este pueblo, quemo las casas, ni pudo matar a ningun delincente. Salio otra vez en busca de los matadores, y en vez de topar con ellos, topo con otros dos en la parte donde presumia que eran nuestros enemigos. Al uno lo mataron de repente; al otro despues de averlo bautizado. Dizen que estos dos Indios eran vezinos, o estavan emparentados con gente de un pueblezito a donde de alli a pocos dias fue el Padre S. Basilio a comprar unas nicas, rayses, que se comen en aquella tierra. Yba su R<sup>a</sup> con quatro indizuelos de los de su pueblo. Comenzo el Padre a tener, sugun [sic] los mismos Indios han [dij]cho, demandas y respuestas con los vendedores de la nica sobre si era poca, o mucha, mala o buena[.] Abajose su R<sup>a</sup> a contarla, y entonces le dieron un fuerte palo en la cabeza, y en conclusion alli lo dejaron muerto.— Despues de esto en otra parte de la ysla mataron a otro soldado, o compañero nuestro seglar los Indios. Y ultimamente en otra parte de ysla de alli a pocos dias salieron otros Indios, y alañearon a otros dos soldados de los quales uno murio; Yba con estos soldados entonces el Padre Bovens, tubimos por especial providencia de Dios que no le matasen tambien, pero ni aun una lanzada le tiraron. Dios es admirable en todo lo que permite.*

*Su divina Magestad Guarde a V.R<sup>o</sup> en cuyas oraciones y sacrificios humildamente me encomiendo.*

*Manila y Septiembre 13 de 1676 años.*

*Siervo de V.R.*

*Francisco Gayosso.*

**Translation.**

**Letter from Father Francisco Gayoso to Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines in which he reports what happened in the Mariana Island Mission from the year 1674 to that of 1676.—**

Dear Father Provincial Xavier Riquelme.

Peace of Christ, etc.

**The year when Father San Basilio was Superior.**

Having to report to Y.R. what happened in the Mariana Island Mission from June 1674 until May 1676, and the state in which it remained, for greater clarity I will first give an account of the year when Father Antonio San Basilio was Superior, and then what belongs to the following year when Father Gerardo Bovens was Superior. Regarding the exploits of Captain Damian de Esplana overthere at this time, it does not seem to me necessary to mention them here at great length, given that they have already been much talked-about throughout the world, given that they were written more hyperbolically than historically, with the result that many would have thought them to have been great things. The truth is that they never reached the height that their fame began to divulge about them. However, whatever they were, one is obliged to confess that, during that first year, they helped the Holy Gospel, because when the Captain arrived there, all the Fathers had retreated to the garrison, and they did not dare go out purposely on mission tours through the Island. At that time, there was only one church in the whole Island, because almost all of it was in rebellion, and it was not possible to do more than that. However, in the course of time, after the Captain had carried out some punishments upon the Indians, they submitted themselves somewhat; thus, it became possible to go out on missions.—

**Father San Basilio is elected Superior.**

That year, Father Pedro Comano, who happened to be Superior at the time, was carried off in the ship that arrived at the Ladrones. The Religious remaining there held a council and elected Father San Basilio as Vice Rector, without any fuss, or objection. And some two or three days after this election, Father Alonso Lopez came out with a letter from I don't know which one of our superiors, according to which Father Alonso was supposed to be Superior. This Father said that, suspecting the contents of the letter, he did not want to open it until Father San Basilio had been elected Superior. Father San Basilio read the said letter to us all, and he gave us two or three days to think about it, before a new council was held, when we would be asked if we had anything to say in the case. The Religious gathered once more, and all agreed that Father Antonio San Basilio should remain Vice Rector for various reasons that were mentioned, inasmuch as Father Alonso did not want to become superior, and yielded his right.

**Regarding the internal affairs of the Religious.**

During the term of Father San Basilio, the Fathers behaved religiously in their persons, they suffered many labors, they did not look for comfort, because it was not possible to find it and still give a good example of saintly customs to everyone else.

There was no-one to trip over, concerning their proceedings among themselves.—At the beginning, the Commander was eating in the refectory with the Fathers and I do not think it was a mistake to have treated him so well from the beginning. However, in my opinion, it was a mistake to give him the first seat, as he was given. I don't know if anyone else among our people would also look upon this honor as an extravagant one. Within a few days, the Fathers passed to the other extreme, that was, to get into arguments with him at every hour of every day. The Fathers were saying that the management of arms was theirs, for certain reasons that they never made clear to me, with proofs. The Captain was saying that he was the one who had to be in command, and the Fathers were to mind only what concerned the Christian doctrine. Out of these wrangles, that were frequent and face to face with the Captain himself, various disquiets took roots in the minds of the Fathers, and they gave many opportunities for the Captain to say things that should never have been said. I believe that this type of behavior of Father San Basilio with the commander came from the dictate of his conscience: he sincerely thought that he had to act thus. Another Father<sup>1</sup> did his best to outshine him on this score. I also think that, according to his conscience, he would have done right before God, but, *salve meliori*, he was born with a disquieting and brawling character.<sup>2</sup> And I think that it would have been more edifying for those who happened to be present, if he had not taken up this matter so earnestly. The minds were taken up with these unpleasantnesses, when it happened that the Captain punished a small Indian, because he was being suspected of having sinned with one of the girls attending prayers. Father Sebastian Monroy, who was then taking care of the boys, heard that the Captain was whipping one of them. His Reverence went out very quickly, because he thought that the punishment of the children was his business, not the Captain's. The Captain answered that it was his business. And, given that the minds were exasperated from before, it was enough for Father San Basilio to go out to see what was going on, with the intention of opposing himself to the Captain. His Reverence spoke to the Captain, efficiently, but with modesty. The rest of the Religious came out (I perchance had been present there from the beginning of it all) and one, or a few of them began to shout: "Long live the Church, long live the Church!" To such shouts the Captain and the soldiers (because a few of them were already there) answered with: "Long live the King!" I do not remember [exactly], but I would be inclined to say that neither the Captain nor the soldiers said any such thing; however, I cannot decide to affirm it, or to deny it. What is certain is that the Captain, seeing the special style of address that Father San Basilio used then, became disturbed; or, at least, I considered it to be so. The judgment that I then made was that some of our people ventured too far, by beginning to shout those words: Long live the Church! as they seemed to me to be a provocation, and I confess that I attribute it to lack of seriousness. The uproar, and the noise, went on increas-

1 Ed. note: I think he refers to Fr. Lopez.

2 Ed. note: The Latin expression means "unless I am mistaken". Fr. San Basilio was born in Sicily and was as hot-blooded as any Andalusian Spaniard. This flaw was to lead to his demise.

ing and, seeing these things, a Father went to the church, and took out the Most Holy Sacrament outside, and not only this, but with one hand up in the air, he exposed to the wind a consecrated host.<sup>1</sup> My understanding at the time was that such an action would have been tolerable, if the controversy had been about some article of Faith. The Father spoke with the consecrated host in his hand, which he did, I think, the better to make his own point than for the glory of God. Because this Father had been in charge of the children before, and because at that time he was always having words with the Captain, they relieved him (although it is possible that he himself asked the Superior) to be relieved, and to give up the supervision of the children—something that he was very sorry about, understanding that it was a great honor [that he had lost]. That is why he was the one who had more [face] to lose if the Captain did end up winning the argument about the government of arms, upon this occasion, and with the sacred host in the hand, he tried to defend his previous proceedings as just, reprehending the Captain indirectly, by addressing the Most Holy Sacrament, asking why someone was not talking to him, but talking about him, and complaining bitterly to the Most Holy Sacrament about the bad proceedings of the Captain. During this time, and circumstances, we were all on our knees, the Captain and the soldiers as well, all quiet. Indeed, I was amazed that the Captain did not explode at that time. Really, although he was normally haughty, and reckless in words against people on other occasions, he then held his peace with complete reverence to the Most Holy Sacrament, along with all the soldiers. In fact, the words used by the Father were giving him a great opportunity to launch into a tirade, but he did not do it, on account of the Lord being present. Finally, said Father excommunicated the Captain and all his followers.

Unless my memory fails me, I heard Father San Basilio tell him that he did not think that the Most Holy Sacrament should be taken out, but a Holy Crucifix instead, but this Father says that he had been ordered to take out the Most Holy Sacrament. What is certain is that Father San Basilio did not contradict said Father in anything. Only Father Thomas Cardeñoso tried to prevent that the sacred host be taken out of the silver monstrance, or vessel; so, with his hand, he held on to the arm of the Father who was doing all these things, to prevent him from taking it out, or to have him place it back in. Father Thomas was moved to do this, perhaps because he was the one in charge of the church. It is possible that Fr. Thomas committed an excess in becoming involved. Well, Father Superior was standing there, and did not order him to do that; let someone else be the judge. Moreover, Father San Basilio did not contradict Father Thomas either. Finally, the Fathers took out a paper that they said was a royal decree,<sup>2</sup> in which the Fathers were entrusted with the government of arms (this was the most lively point, that was a greater cause of this uproar than the whipping of the boy that triggered the disorder).

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1 Ed. note: From later comments, and other reports, we know that this priest was Fr. Lopez.

2 Ed. note: There was never a royal decree issued on that subject, but only an order signed by the Viceroy of Mexico, saying that the Superior of the Mission could appoint the commander for the garrison of 40 soldiers (see Doc. 1679B).

The Most Holy Sacrament was returned to the church and that paper was placed in a leaning position against the foot of the monstrance (by the same Father who was involved directly in this affair); this was done as if to attest to the truth of what it said. My feeling was that the whole thing was inexcusable. Whether that paper had authority or not, if it was a Royal Decree or not, I was never able to find out. One thing is certain, and that is, that Father San Basilio, during his whole term of office, was wrong in not showing to all the Fathers, whom he used to ask for their opinion during consultations, the Papers, and Decrees, and letters, not only from our Superiors, but also from the civil authorities that concerned the affairs of this Mission. One, or some with whom I used to deal with on a friendly basis, would say that he was right in not showing such papers. I always said that he was wrong, because either he did not ask for our opinion, or he did, and had to show us the letters of the superiors in matters regarding the Mission, for us to give our opinion, when consulted, in accordance with the order of the superiors. Eventually, it happened that I heard about a letter that Father Pimentel<sup>1</sup> had written from Manila to the Fathers of the Marianas, in which he said that they should let the Commander govern, and they should mind what was the proper business of Gospel ministers. To make opposition to the Fathers, I used to refer to this letter, and they would answer me that Father Pimentel was not Provincial when he wrote it. I would respond: OK, but at least, if you do not admit that letter as coming from a Superior, admit it as coming from a serious man, of experience among our people, who gives us a good advice, because to be at odds every hour with the Captain, concerning who was in charge of military affairs, was to give an opportunity to the Captain to offend God many times, with ravings and ire, and disobliging remarks, and the Fathers were setting themselves up for a rough ride. The truth is that, until these disputes ended, God did not let the Island become peaceful, as it did afterward. Because, how could God want us to force the Indians to make peace with us, when we ourselves were involved in an infernal war among ourselves? Father Gerardo Bouwens is the one who behaved with more discretion and more expertly, during his term of office, in showing the papers to the Fathers during consultations.—

Once the Most Holy was back in his place, the Captain with his excommunication went out of the enclosure with the soldiers. Here he spoke in a loud voice, shouting everything that came into his mind against the Fathers, specially the Father who took out the Most Holy. The next day, Father San Basilio gathered all the Fathers to determine if the excommunication should continue, and if the appraisements should be posted. Father Thomas Cardeñoso said that he did not understand those points, and so, he was not meddling in that business of excommunication. Father Sebastian de Monroy said the same thing. The Father who took out the Most Holy [i.e. Lopez] said that it was for the Superior to decide, but his opinion was clear enough, since he had so furiously spoken the previous evening. The other Fathers, who were Father Jacinto Montenegro, and Father Juan de Ahumada, said yes, that the excommunication should

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1 Ed. note: He was first Provincial, on an interim basis, for a year in 1670.

not be lifted, and that it be posted on the doors of the church, and that the Captain was a so-and-so... I was the only one who positively contradicted it, and gave some reasons that came to me to support such a decision. Finally, they absolved them; I think that it was the next day. However, I never told the Captain that I had taken his side in the matter. However, once things had already become serene, the man himself happened to pass by, and a Father told him, though he was beating around the bush, that he knew very well who was the one who had defended him. However, His Grace could have been meaning, not in his favor, but for the reasons that I gave, when I followed my conscience, I said what I said. God was pleased to have the rest of the year go by with prosperity. I myself accompanied Father San Basilio once in a mission tour, during which he told me that the Captain was the best person, all things considered, who had to be in charge of military affairs, but that one Father who had an axe to grind pretended otherwise. This he said to me alone, when there were no other Father present. He might have said different things to others, I don't know. While all of this unpleasant business was going on, at the time of such lively oppositions as there were between the Captain and the Fathers, Father Thomas stood out in showing good will toward the Captain and he tried to do his best to accommodate him when dealing with him, although not expertly but in a manner more usual and appropriate when dealing with military men like him. So, in Father Thomas, the Captain found some relief from the continuous disquiet that he had with Father San Basilio; as Father Thomas behaved with the commander peacefully, His Reverence suffered much abuse from some of our people. I myself confess that I was more inclined to imitate the gentleness of Father Thomas with the Captain than the jealous fury of other Fathers, for instance, when it came to the reception of the Lord.<sup>1</sup> In conclusion, no-one had the right to take from him the military government. Absolutely, my feeling is that Father Thomas behaved better than all the other Fathers with regards to the Captain.—

**With the soldiers.**

As the year went by, with the Captain being fully in charge of the arms, the Fathers behaved prudently with the soldiers, by exhorting them frequently, not only in public sermons, but also in private ones, to attend the Holy Sacraments. They were given as much clothing as possible.—etc.

**The Ministries.**

As soon as God was pleased to restore order to the Island by means of the Captain, the Fathers went out to build four or five churches in various months of that year. The Indians came to hear mass on Sundays. If one counts the children, as well as the adults, their number reached 150, 200, and at times 300. They sang the Christian doctrine for a while before mass. After mass, they were given a small sermon about the things taught by the Faith. These Indians who flocked in came from various villages in the vicinity of the Town where the church was. However, most of the Indians, men and women, young and old, came unwillingly to mass, and without any sign of love, or fear of God,

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1 Ed. note: He seems to say that some of the priests still refused to give him communion.

and more out of fear of the Captain than out of love for their souls. Although it is possible that among these Indians there were some who, to go to mass, felt actual impulses from God, with which He would have called them to the heavenly light. By order from obedience a priest and a brother went out one time (among others) on a mission to visit the towns. In each town they would spend two, or three, or four days. The Brother assembled the little ones of that town and taught them to memorize the prayers of the doctrine. The priest was busy teaching the adults, and the old people, and in special conversations he explained the mysteries of our Holy Faith, and how there was a hell, and glory, and how Adam sinned, and how Christ our Lord came, etc. This mission was very prosperous, because, as the two Religious had come without an escort and accompanied only by two local boys, without the fears nor the scandals that an escort of soldiers would have caused in the Indians, they heard the word of God not unwillingly, and this mission was for the barbarians a proof that the wars, and the anger of the Fathers and of the Captain against them, were over. I believe that this manner of doing things is one of the best that can be observed now in that Island, given the imperfect state it is in. And if things would have continued the same way, perhaps the Island would not have rebelled. To try now to gather the young Indians in confinement within colleges would be to put the whole Mission in trouble, because boys as well as girls detest such a concentration, and the towns will revolt if they are forcibly assembled. So, in the actual state of affairs, I believe that it is more to the service of God that the Religious go to the towns, since it is easy; the towns should not go to the house of the Religious, since it is very difficult. With time, if we proceed slowly, God will tell afterward what should be done.—

#### **Colleges for boys, and for girls.**

At the beginning of the year, when the Captain got notice that the Queen had ordered two Colleges to be built, one for boys, and another for girls, he tried to build the College for boys, and it was done without resistance from the Fathers (these so-called colleges, physically-speaking, are but houses whose walls are made of palm leaves, or of some sticks simply fastened together, from 20 to 30 paces in length, and from 8 to 10 paces in width). He also built a college for girls, but with resistance on the part of the Fathers, but he importuned so much that in the end it was built. During that same year, some disadvantages were experienced in that college for girls, because some of the soldiers were going in at night, whenever they wanted, as was learned later on. The remedy, chosen by the Superior for this, was ridiculous, and it was that two of our religious would sleep inside the same house as the girls, but one must caution that the girls slept inside a partition which was built inside the house itself, with its own roof made up of sticks fastened with cords, and its door was made of wood with its own key; this key was held by a Father at night. Notwithstanding the fact that the Fathers slept there, it was learned later that some of the soldiers were going in to visit the girls at night. This house was next door to the house of the Religious, and near the barracks where the soldiers lived. In the daytime, the girls would go and see the Captain, and at night the soldiers would come to see the girls. I say that the girls would go and see the

Captain, because they would go up to the house of the Captain whenever they wanted, and they even ate at his table. If the Captain offended God, I don't know. At the end of the year, on account of requests that were made, the Fathers threw them out of the house.—

With the boys, the Fathers did not commit any imprudence whatever during the term of Father San Basilio. Although in Ritian [=Ritidian], which is the town under Father Bouwens where the misfortunes of the following year began, in the house of the Father were raised some boys, who were only good for making noise in that house, and some of them ended up as good-for-nothing petty thieves, and others as sacrilegious killers, although it is true that the Father who was there, and raised them will try and defend them, and honor them as much as he can. The purpose of the Father in keeping them there was a good one, but it is not easy to raise many of these boys, as a minister might want. At the end of this year a mission was made through the whole Island, in which were baptized 40, or 50 children; that mission was made for that purpose only.—

**Father Alonso Lopez comes to Manila.**

A few months had passed already since Father Alonso Lopez had made a very firm proposal to come to Manila and leave the Marianas, because, he said, that the Marianas were no longer the Marianas (with this he alluded to the disorder that this Father was saying existed in that the Captain wanted to have military control, and he was enraged that the Captain would come out on top). And he suggested to the Captain that it would be a great thing if one of those Fathers would go to Spain as procurator of the Marianas, for the advancement of the Mission as well as to obtain for him easily the reward for his exploits. He proposed his thoughts with such persistence and so many times to Father San Basilio that such and such would be convenient to the service of the King, and 30 other things, that Father San Basilio saw himself obliged to condescend to him, so as not to displease him. Also, during the rest of the year, after those disputes, God had given luck to the Captain in bringing some peace to the Island; so, he thought, with some foundation, and prudence that it was very necessary to preserve that man in the Islands, and hoped that he had to improve upon it in following years, and finish to subjugate to the yoke of the Gospel the Indians of all the Islands. After having asked all the Fathers many times for their opinion regarding whether or not to send Father Alonso Lopez to Spain as Procurator of the Marianas, since His Reverence was so resolved to come to Manila, the Mission was losing nothing more by sending him to Spain and Rome, and given that in Manila there was great difficulties to let him go through, and that perhaps they would not let him go on to Spain, and they might laugh at our attempt. Such proposals and counter-proposals, and other points, were put forward and discussed by all the Fathers; their conclusion was that the Mission would lose nothing by sending him as Procurator, and that it might be that it would indeed be advanced by this, and in so doing, the Captain would be pleased, etc. Therefore, in conclusion, Your Reverence saw that Father Alonso came armed with his Power-of-attorney. I am very amazed that Father San Basilio did not write a letter to the Provincial of the Philippines, referring this action to the discretion of Your Rev-



erence. However, I believe that it was the result of a very sound and ...(?) reason, because the Captain did not settle down, fearing that the Fathers, in letters to our Superiors as well as to civilian authorities, would refer to the wrong that the Captain had done that year. To calm him down, Father San Basilio assured him many times that it was really true that nothing bad was being written against him, and that the Fathers were behaving with complete openness, truth, and ingenuity with him, and that were truly endeavoring to procure his promotions. Therefore, it might have been to comply with his word to the Captain that he did not write to the Provincial; thus, His Reverence would not be the one to begin to create difficulties against what the Captain wished so earnestly. So, his not referring his action to the Father Provincial did not originate from disobedience, given that Father San Basilio always recognized the Provincial of the Philippines as his Superior; it did not originate from ignorance either, since His Reverence saw many difficulties with the power-of-attorney, and all the Fathers too. In fact, we always thought that it was certain that he should not go on to Spain, but the Captain had this big idea that he was sending Father Alonso immediately to Spain, as his ambassador, so that he would mention at the Court in Madrid the great exploits that he had done in the Marianas and, as it was possible that in the Philippines they might dare prevent the Father Procurator of the Marianas from passing through, that he was going to see the King on behalf of Captain Esplana! This was the Captain's drift, and the Fathers went crazy with him, externally, but not internally.—etc.

**The year of Father Bouwens.—Regarding the Religious.**

During the year that Father Gerardo Bouwens was Superior, the Religious behaved in their persons as well as during that of Father San Basilio, with a good example given to everyone with many hardships that are not lacking there, with much patience in many things of various kinds that they must suffer. However, on some holidays, and necessities, a little chocolate was spent, and they used to keep in their residences some little box, or a little of some other preserves, which was all done by order of the superior. And in no way was there in this the excess that some have imagined, or have lied about.—

**Regarding the Commander.**

With the Commander, they behaved in a manner very different from the beginning of Father San Basilio. No objection was made to any battle whatever. Neither did Father Bouwens wish to meddle in the government of the soldiers, and in all of this His Reverence behaved under the guidance of the consensus of all the Fathers who agreed in this. What Father Bouwens used to do was to make a proposal to him, that it would be good to do this, or that. But the Commander complied badly with his obligations this year; indeed, he did less that he should have. On various occasions, he made disobliging remarks against the Fathers, but he was responded to, because it was necessary. He tried to forcibly pull out a refugee from the church, but Father Bouwens resisted him with spirit. On one occasion, a Father came to warn him that he should behave in his person with more reserve, and more fear of God, but he, taking badly the warning of the Religious, tried to tarnish the Fathers with similar accusations. Then, that

Religious answered by telling him that he was foul-mouthed, and he was left alone. On another occasion, he told another Religious that the Fathers were cheating the King by being there; the Religious told him that he had come to look for gold and pearls, but the Fathers came for the salvation of souls.—

**Regarding the soldiers.**

Toward the soldiers, the Fathers behaved with the good example of good works, and with good verbal exhortations, as they have always tried to do, trying to inculcate always in their hearts much fear of God, and the desire to serve Him.—This year, Father Bouwens proclaimed two excommunications, one so that they would not go out at night, and some five or six months later, another, so that they would not allow women inside their sentry boxes. Then, right after the first excommunication was proclaimed, there occurred this year the first misfortune in the Island, that was the death of Brother Pedro Diaz, and the burning of the church and dissipation of the sacred ornaments. And then, right after the second excommunication was announced, there occurred the last misfortune in the Island, in this same year, that was the loss of the boat [Santa Rosa], they remaining there with the terror, shock, and fears that we must have died by drowning. And in the speeches and sermons, I think that some Fathers have exceeded the limits of prudence. To proclaim the first excommunication, the Father Rector consulted the Fathers who were then close to him; I was then farther away in my church, and so, I did not learn anything about it until it had already been proclaimed. In the consultation for the second one, I was present, and, when asked for my opinion, said that things should be dismissed until the arrival of the ship, since it was due shortly. However, the council of two others who were also there, jointly with the desire felt by Father Bouwens to proclaim it, he decided to do it that way. When I saw that His Reverence was determined to this, I asked him to extend it to cover my church, since the soldiers had to live there, and I had to live there too, and be in their presence, and it would be indecent that I might suffer the sins next to my church and in my town, considering that somewhere else where the soldiers had to live, they were repressed in that way, or some pretended to repress them with the excommunication.<sup>1</sup> I consider that the Mission in question is in a pitiful state right now, and it was before as well. Indeed, the Fathers cannot be in security in their churches without an escort of soldiers. And, for the Father to be with an escort of soldiers, it is to be with people who destroys what he builds, and with people who dissipates what the Father unites for the propagation of the Holy Gospel. And this, in addition to the many impudences that he must suffer from, and the many domestic rumors, that never fail to arise.—

**The boys, and girls.**

With respect to the boys, as far as their upbringing is concerned, great imprudences have been committed this year. For instance, some of the Religious went out at vari-

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1 Ed. note: It appears from this sentence, and one further below, that Fr. Gayoso was then ministering in Merizo. That is where he was returning, by way of Umatac, when his boat drifted to the Philippines.

ous times at night to look for boys through other towns, different than the one the Father was assigned to. And I believe that Father Bouwens knew about it; a Brother even told Father Bouwens that he himself had sent him one night to look for boys, but the Father Rector denied it, saying that he never ordered him to do that. Nevertheless, my opinion is that those Religious would not have dared to go out at night to look for boys, had they not understood that the Superior liked them to do that. I was present when, on another occasion, another Religious, a priest, spelled it out to Father Bouwens, telling him that if one did not go out at night to look for boys, and take them out of their houses when they were asleep, it was impossible to get them under our wings, because by day, when the boys see some Religious, it is as if they see the Devil, and then they flee from heaven and hell. However, to all of this, I myself noticed that Father Bouwens responded only by saying in a lukewarm manner: *non est necesse, non est necesse*,<sup>1</sup> meaning that it was not necessary to go out at night. My own understanding of the situation is that he should have roared like a lion, not only against such a procedure, but also against such talk. All the Fathers, except one, had houses for girls, either linked continuously with his own [i.e. under the same roof], or right next door. I was horrified to see some Religious involved with the girls, on account of the extreme, or close, vicinity of both houses. What is deplorable here is the lack of prudence of the Superior who allowed such a thing, or ordered his subjects who, blinded by obedience, did not see that our honored Mother the Society was running the danger of being defamed. That said, although this imprudence was external, I am clearly convinced that the Religious maintained their internal purity. But when I mentioned earlier that the Captain tried to defame the Fathers by saying the same that a Father reprehended him with, I believe that the Captain alluded to these imprudences, upon which anyone could have founded some suspicions. And if this business of recruiting boys, and girls, were done peacefully, and without troubling the towns, it would be more tolerable, but the despondency and disturbances that were caused in all the Indian men and women, young and old, with such a proceeding by the Fathers were excessive. I declare that Captain Esplana is right about these points, that if the Fathers had not harassed them so rigorously (or cruelly, as I myself told a Brother once in front of the Father Rector), perhaps the Mission would not have backtracked so much this year.<sup>2</sup> There were Religious who competed in who made his boys work the most. However, this matter of these Religious was founded on an indiscreet principle of Father Bouwens, who continuously ruminated with himself, and spoke out to others, and it was that “now from the beginning it is proper to push hard, so that the boys will later reach a happy medium, and become perfect Christians.” His Reverence did not pay attention to the extreme slackness that had befallen the Captain, with respect to helping the Religious. To conclude, that is why the mission has suffered so many delays this year, because the

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “This is not necessary, there is no need [to do this].”

2 Ed. note: The worse was yet to come. News about the sad events of 1676 had not yet reached Manila when these words were written.

Fathers have done more than they should have, and the Captain less than he should have. The truth is that, as soon as the first misfortune occurred with the death of Brother Pedro, the burning of the church, etc. it opened the eyes of the Father Rector a little and he warned those who were going out at night to look for boys, not to go out anymore. I was there when His Reverence issued his warning, and added that one town had complained of the proceeding of the Fathers in going out at night to their houses to take out boys. They, in turn, were not persevering in the House of the Father, except when they wanted to, but, because the fear that some had made them persevere, they were going about with sad faces, and I believe that they frequently suffered from hunger. In the end, everything was violence, and what is done by force does not last, unless there be another force to make it go on. In the Marianas, there is no [such] force, except in the Commander, and in the soldiers, and if they comply with their duties; otherwise, they only help to destroy everything, instead of building. I have already told Y.R. what an Indian told a Father who was scolding him about his dishonesty—said Father had, and would still have the girls' house attached to his own. What the Indian answered to the Father is that he himself was taking advantage of the girls. This saying became known to all the soldiers, and became a heavy burden to all of us, but specially to the Father in question who showed much sorrow, as he is truly a Saintly man, very zealous for the salvation of the Indians, very obedient to his superior and of very pure intention in everything that he does—that is, Father Sebastian de Monroy—and this saying pierced the heart of the Father Rector, because, although he administered the affairs that way, one cannot doubt that His Reverence was acting in everything with good intention, and with the wish to establish that Christian community as fast as possible. However, the best fruit that one could have gathered in that Island during these past two years is, if perchance some small child has died baptized before reaching the age of reason, and there were a few of those.—

#### **Trip to Rota.**

This year Father Bouwens and Father San Basilio went two or three times to the Island of Rota, distant 12 leagues from that of Guahan, to see if perchance there were some dying person to succor with the sacraments, or some small child to baptize, but afterward they returned to Guahan. With the exception of these visits to Rota, the Mission was restricted these past two years to the Island of Guahan.

#### **Island of Guahan, and its inhabitants.**

This Island is 30 leagues in circumference. **Its inhabitants, including men and women, young and old, do not exceed 7,000**, and if they reach 8,000, that would be too much.<sup>1</sup> They are divided among villages of 30, 40 houses, and those are the largest; most are hamlets containing 4, 6, 10, 15, or 20 houses each, some along the beach, and others, in the bush.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Literal translation. In other words, "if anyone thinks that there may be as many as 8,000, he is mistaken."

### **The churches.**

The churches that have been founded are: the main one, where the Most Holy is kept—it has never been kept anywhere else but at this one place, as it was in no way decent enough to keep it in the other churches—which are three in number, each one with its priest. As far as the church of Father San Basilio is concerned, I don't know if they preserved it [open], and the same applies to the church where I was, because Father San Basilio's church as well as mine were the most remote from the Garrison, one in the north, and the other in the south, but, since the Captain had built a **small fort** and a church at a distance of 3/4 league from my church,<sup>1</sup> it may be that my church will not be abandoned, and also because ordinarily the ships from Acapulco arrived at that part of the Island.

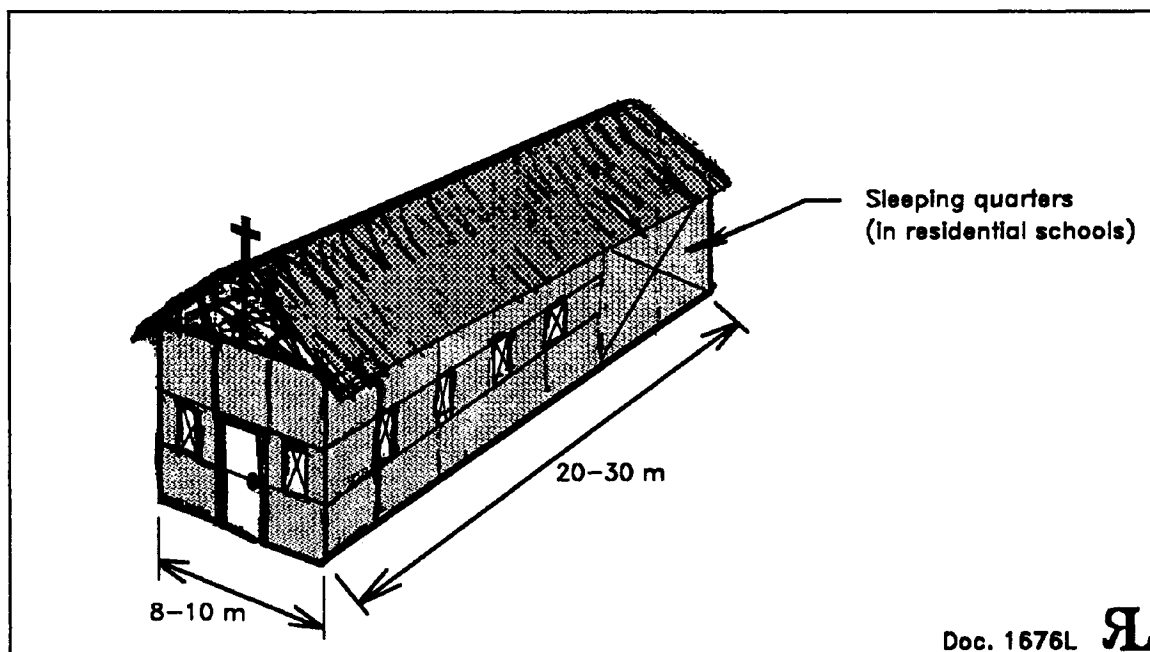
### **The Indians, and the ministries among them.**

On Sundays, Indian men and women, young and old, flock to the nearest church among the four that exist. The maximum distance that the Indians used to come from to where the church is located would be 2 leagues. Counting young and old, the numbers thus assembled would reach 100, 150, 200, and 300.<sup>2</sup> Before mass begins, as I said before, young and old sing the prayers of the doctrine; the Father explains to them some thing that they have just sung. They hear mass, during which they all sing its prayers. After mass, the Father gives them a small sermon regarding the things of the Faith, and good customs. They usually pay attention to the sermon of the Father, and they sing the prayers not without devotion; sometimes, there is even an odd adult giving signs of his salvation. During these past two years, there would have been 6, or 8 adults baptized, excluding others who were baptized when dying. However, the latter had so little knowledge of what the sacrament represents, or so little understanding of it, so little fear of God; with such a great negligence of their consciences, there is little hope of their salvation. And it is not adviseable to baptize adult Indians, healthy ones, on account of their great inconstancy, in being good, and their little curb in doing evil. The Fathers who are assigned to the churches go out now and then to their neighboring towns to see if there are children to baptize, and dying adults to whom to administer the sacraments. The villages in the neighborhood of each church would be 6, 8, 12, or 20 in number, from where the people come to hear mass on Sundays, and this they do very unwillingly, and more so out of fear of men, than for the love of God, although it may be that, once they are at mass, God's mercy might touch them with some help, to make

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1 Ed. note: These wooden structures were built at Umatac, 3/4 league from Merizo where Fr. Gayoso, and previously Fr. Ezquerro, had their first church in that district.

2 Ed. note: These numbers would be for the four different churches, with 300 the number for Agaña. The whole eastern half of the Island of Guam was not served in 1676. In any case, only between 10% and 15% of the population was then attending church on Sundays—not an impressive result.



**Design of churches, schools, houses, etc. in Guam, ca. 1676.** *As described by Father Gayoso in 1676, the first buildings erected by the Spanish soldiers and missionary helpers were simple rectangular sheds. The same basic design was used for churches, schools, and barracks. In Agaña and Umatac, one such building had solid walls and served as a warehouse. Only Agaña had a palisade surrounding the colony, complete with watchtowers at two corners. The size of the buildings must have depended on the length of the lumber available for supporting beams. One pace is approximately one meter.*

them recognize their own good. The churches are from 20 to 30 paces in length, and from 8 to 10 paces in width. Their walls are made of either palm leaves, or of some sticks badly fastened together. The roof is made of a kind of local *zacate*,<sup>1</sup> or of palm leaves; so far, the buildings there cannot be built larger or better.—

#### **The deaths.**

Regarding the number of people killed these past two years in that Island, I declare that they would have been about 20, more or less, and they were killed on different occasions, during sorties made by the Captain against the Indians.<sup>2</sup> The first sortie that he made was to a small town distant about one league from the garrison.<sup>3</sup> The Indians of this town were the most rebellious ones in the Island, and, they say, that they had bothered the Mission very much during previous years. Soon after his arrival, the Cap-

1 Ed. note: A word of Mexican origin meaning “thatch, hay, fodder”; perhaps a reference to what is called “nipa”, or “cogon” in the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: So much for the so-called massacres first reported by English Protestants, such as Captain Burney, to defame the Catholic Spaniards.

3 Ed. note: It was called Chuchugu.

tain went out one night, and catching them asleep, killed a few, and on other occasions, the rest. He killed one Indian said to have killed a soldier of ours beforehand. But, except this one, whom he perhaps ran into without knowing who he was, i.e. without realizing that he was a delinquent, he did not kill, nor punished, any of the so many killers who physically took part in the deaths of Father Ezquerro and of Father San Vitores, of Brother Pedro Diaz, and of Father San Basilio, and of the many more soldiers who were killed at the hands of the barbarians in that Island.—

As soon as the Captain heard of the infamous sin, he made some investigations to punish it, and having found out who the delinquent was, he consulted the Fathers to decide if he deserved to die; [he claimed that] the matter did not seem to belong to the Inquisition, although in some provinces such a crime falls within the purview of the Inquisition. So, the Sergeant [Major] gave him the choking collar, after it was ascertained that he had taken part in that sin.

Afterward, some roguish soldiers who were there plotted to kill the Captain, because he was angry with them. They say that they attempted to kill him on various occasions. Finally, one of them wrote a paper in which was contained something about this affair. This paper reached the hands of the Captain. He tortured many soldiers, and they were confessing right and left. Finally, the Captain gave the choking collar to two Spanish soldiers. One truly deserved it, but the other did not deserve it, as I and other Fathers learned, and we tried to intercede with the Captain on his behalf. However, I do believe that the Captain gave the choking collar in good conscience and with foundations to the one who was in truth not guilty. A few days later, he gave the choking collar to another one, an Indian, because it was said that he had gone out with a college girl, and I don't know for what other mischiefs. The Captain should indeed have abstained from carrying out this sentence. However, he claimed to have received some advice, from the advice usually heard from some of the Fathers, to the effect that it was necessary to punish the Indians; whether true or not, he decided to go through with this death sentence, I believe, more because he felt like doing it, than to give pleasure to the Fathers (in which he was mistaken, because it did not give them much pleasure).—

A few days after that came the death of Brother Pedro Diaz, as follows. The Brother had in the town where he resided [i.e. Ritidian] a house in which the girls lived, and slept, near the house where the Brother lived. Unexpectedly, during the night he heard a noise in the girls' house. He went out to see what it was. He found out that they were some Indian bachelors. He scolded them harshly. In the morning, he collared one of them, and with the opinion of Father Juan de Ahumada, who happened to be there at the time, Br. Pedro began leading the Indian in question through the town, giving to understand to him, and to other Indians, that he was taking him to the Captain, so that he would kill him in punishment for his sin, the same as he had done a few days before with another, to whom he had given the choking collar. The intention of Father Juan and Br. Pedro in issuing such a threat was not to effectively take him to the Captain, but to humiliate him, and lead him to promise not to go back to the girls' house, and in order to impress upon them a deeper fear of the Captain, and make them understand

that they would indeed be taken there, if they did not amend themselves. Brother Pedro was leading his prisoner through the town, in company of the second lieutenant who happened to be there. The Indians of the town, and the other bachelors thought that he was really going to do it, and, as it was but a few days ago that the Captain had put to death another Indian for much the same thing, they had no doubt that the remedy, to prevent the Captain from killing their Indian companion, was for them to kill Br. Pedro Diaz and the lieutenant right then; and, using machetes, they left them dead on the spot, setting the prisoner free. The Indians burned the church, outraged the Holy ornaments, and crosses. They also killed another soldier who was busy inside the house, not knowing what was happening in the town. They did not kill Father Juan, perhaps because they judged that he did not have the courage to take prisoners. Father Juan used to tell me that there was one thing that tormented him more than others in that conflict, and it was that he could see clearly that he would not have died a Martyr, if they had killed him. The Captain went out with the soldiers to punish this town; he burned the houses, but did not kill any delinquent. He went out once more in search of the killers, and instead of running into them, he ran into two others in the area where he presumed that the people were our enemies. They were killed, one suddenly, the other after he was baptized. They say that these two Indians were neighbors, or were relatives, of some people living in a village [i.e. Upi] where Father San Basilio went a few days later to buy a few *nica*, roots that are eaten in that land. His Reverence had four little Indians from his own town as companions. The Father began, according to what his Indian companions said, to make demands and argue with the vendors of the *nica*, discussing about their quantity, or quality. His Reverence bent down to count them, and then they gave him a heavy blow on the head with a stick, and in conclusion they left him dead on the spot.— After this, in another part of the Island, the Indians killed another soldier, or lay companion of ours. And finally, in another part of the Island, a few days later, other Indians went out, and speared two other soldiers, one of whom died. These soldiers were escorting Father Bouwens at the time. We think it was by a special providence of God that they did not kill him too; in fact, they did not even aim one spear at him. God is wonderful in everything that He does.

May His divine Majesty save Y.R., in whose prayers and sacrifices I humbly commend myself.

Manila, 13 September 1676.

Y.R.'s servant,

Francisco Gayoso.



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## Document 1677A

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# Father Espinar became procurator general in 1677

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-220.*

*Note: His appointment papers were given back to him and are not in the file. As for the memorial he presented, it must be located in another file.*

## Synopsis of a letter from Fr. Espinar to the Council, undated, but written before 6 April 1677

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor*

*Pedro de Espinar de la Compania de Jhs, y su Procurador General por la Provincias de las Islas Filipinas y Marianas:*

*Diçe que por el Poder y patente que presenta, consta fue electo en la congregazion Provincial que la Provincia de Filipinas çelebro en dies y nuebe de Abril de mil y seisçientos y setenta y çinco por Procurador general della para venir a esta Corte y la de Roma, y tratar los negoçios que se ofreçieren a su Provincia pedir y llevar sugetos para las Misiones, que tiene a su cargo en las Islas Filipinas, Marianas, Siao, y otras partes como lo tiene representado a V.Mgd. en memorial aparte a que se rremete:*

*Suplica a V.Mgd. le aya por presentado para lo dicho y los demas negoçios que se ofreçiern a su Provincia y que se le buelban originales los papeles que presenta para su resguardo que en ello rezevira merçed.*

[Unsigned, undated]

**Consejo.**

*Presenta el Poder y Patente, de su Provincia con que ha venido a esta Corte, y pasar a Roma, por Procurador General: y Suplico se le aya por Presentado para los negocios que se ofreçiere, y que se le buelvan, los papeles originales que presenta.*

*—Traenseles que zita. Por donde Pareze lo que refiere:*

**Consejo 6 de Abrill de 1677.**

*Vealo el Fiscal.*

*El Fiscal lo a visto respecto de que en el poder se refieren los negocios a que viene este religioso.*

*Madrid y abril 7 de 77.*

**Consejo 26 de Abril de 1677.**

*Use de la lizencia que le esta concedida, y buelbansele los papeles que à presentado.*

[Note signed by Fr. Espinar:]

*Reçivi los papeles, que presente con un memorial.*

*Madrid y Abril 27 de 1677.*

*Pedro de Espinar.*

### **Translation.**

Sir:

Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General for the Provinces of the Philippine and Mariana Islands:

Declares that by the Power-of-attorney and patent which he presents, it appears that in the council meeting held by the Province of the Philippines on 19 April 1675 he was elected its Procurator General and sent to this Court and that of Rome, to deal with the business affairs that may turn up concerning his Province, to ask for and take subjects for the Missions that fall within its purview in the Philippines, Marianas, Siao, and other parts, as he has already represented to Your Majesty in the enclosed memorial.

Begs Y.M. to accept him in the said post and for the other affairs affecting his Province, and that the original copies be returned to him, for safe-keeping. For which he would be much obliged.

[Unsigned, undated]

**Council.**

Herewith the Power-of-attorney and Patent from his Province, with which he has come to this Court, and to go on to Rome, as Procurator General: We beg that it may be accepted as such for the business affairs that may turn up, and that the original papers presented be returned to him.

—Have them brought forward. Explain what this matter is about.

**Council, 6 April 1677.**

Have the Fiscal look at it.

[Answer:] The Fiscal has seen it, the part in the power-of-attorney referring to the business this religious has come for.

Madrid, 7 April 1677.

**Council, 26 April 1677.**

Make use of the permit that is granted to him. The papers which he presented should be returned to him.

[Note signed by Fr. Espinar:]

I acknowledge receipt of the papers that I presented, with a memorial.

Madrid, 27 April 1677.

Pedro de Espinar.

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## Document 1677B

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# Letter from Fr. Espinar to Fr. Pantoja, dated 20 March 1677

*Source: RAH 9/2677.*

## Original text in Spanish

*Copia de carta del Padre Pedro Espinar para el Padre Alonso de Pantoja sobre las cossas de las Marianas.—*

*Mi P. Alonso de Pantoja.*

*E visto los puntos que a V.R.<sup>a</sup> remito el Padre Joseph Vidal sobre las Marianas[,] zedulas que V.R.<sup>a</sup> a conseguido a su favor y otras que estan ya conseguidas[,] de todo dare mi parecer para que V.R.<sup>a</sup> ymformado obre lo mas combeniente y juzgare conseguible pedir es façil conseguir dificultoso y mas quando se piden gastos Reales, y no se a halado aun en las Marianas minas ni efectos correspondientes dellos.—*

*Al punto 1<sup>o</sup> del Padre Joseph Vidal sobre que se saque confirmazion de los mandamientos del Señor Arzobispo Virrey en que mando dar a los 40 soldados remitidos a las Marianas el sueldo que se de a los de Sinaloa con el mismo cargo de proveer ellos de Armas y municiones y que este le cobre el Procurador de la Comp.<sup>a</sup> de la Mision Mariana para que con los generos que embia a los Padres ministros los provea a ellos de lo necessario[,] digo que conviene se saque la confirmazion en orden a los sueldos pero que corra por nuestra mano la cobranza de ellos y embri [=envio] de los generos a los soldados no conviene. Esta materia es muy espuesta a censuras[,] disgustos, pesadumbres sin orden de Nuestro Padre General, o, del Provincial de esta mision y no lo pidiera V.R.<sup>a</sup> ara lo que fuere servido.—*

*Al 2<sup>o</sup> sobre que de los soldados que ay en dichas Islas nombre el superior de la Comp.<sup>a</sup> Cavo y demas officios dando aviso al Virrey para que lo confirmo[,] digo que no conviene ni yo lo pidiera, ni hiziera sin licencia de Nuestro Padre General, o del Provincial[,] esto es contra la comunicazion ymediata de las Marianas con las Filipinas que se pretende, y es tan necesidad que sin ella nos quede conservar aquella mission[,] asta oy no esta determinado por el Rey a que Gobierno temporal a de pertenecer si al Vir-*

*rey de Nueva España, o al Governador de Filipinas[.] asta que esto se asiento son ociosas estas petiziones[.] lo que combiene es que el Governador de Filipinas corra con ella y estos nombramientos y el zituado para los soldados y ministros se de en Mexico a los Procuradores, que unos y otros tuvieron porque si del todo se escluye al Governador de Filipinas como pareze sea hecho asta oy e yntenta açer nada se ara a favor de la mission, en las naos de Filipinas y por los oficiales que señala el Governador se an de executar las cossas y no se executaran por mas zedulas que vayan si el no se aplica y es dueño de la accion. En las Indias se obedezzen todas las zedulas pero no se executan como V.R<sup>a</sup> save sino las que quieren los que Governan que tienen respuesta a mano para todo y el remedio muy lexos.—*

*Al 3<sup>o</sup> sobre que se ordene a los generales de Filipinas no dejen en las Marianas clergos ni Religiosos de otras Religiones por los ynconvenientes que puede aver[.] digo que asi combiene pero que os pidamos nosotros no porque si lo pedimos sin mas razon que esta, tendran luego gana de quedarse os Religiosos; y si lo embarazamos diran lo que dijeron y diçen del Japon y China al presente. No ay riesgo de que se queden y si alguno se quedare yo aseguro procure luego passase a Filipinas[.] en las Marianas no ai otra cossa temporal que atrayga ay [=alli] si muchos trabajos que desvien.*

*Al 4<sup>o</sup> sobre que los misioneros que fueron de España para Marianas de nuebo se les de en Mexico la limosna como a los demas que an ydo[.] digo combiene assi y esta ordenado al Virrey de la Nueva España en zedula de 10 de Octubre de 71 los socorra de lo que ubieren menester como se açe con los misioneros de Sinaloa.—*

*Esto me pareze y digo a los puntos que embia el Padre Joseph Vidal y a las zedulas que V.R<sup>a</sup> fue servido mostrarme[.] digo que 1<sup>a</sup> de Aranjuez y Abril 30 de 1676 sobre que el Governador de Filipinas ordene a los generales tomen Puerto a las Marianas y dejen en ellas los misioneros y generos que se les embian. Esta vien pedida, pero si asta aora no ay Puerto descubierto en las Marianas como le tomaran las naos? Y si el Governador de Filipinas avise como juzgo lo açe tiene ynconbeniente el tomarle en parte fixa por el rriesgo que corren de ser apresadas de enemigos europeos que ay por aquellas partes, como se executara esta çedula? Lo que se avia de aver pedido era lo que se pidio preveniendo este lance[.] en Mexico se discurre y obra yndependente de Filipinas, y como faltan las noticias experimentales no se acierta con las petiziones[.] an lo querido desviar todo de la dependencia del Governador de Filipinas[.] es imposible, y el como se alla yndependente obra como tal. V.R<sup>a</sup> obrara como le pareziere.—*

*A la 2<sup>a</sup> del mismo puesto dia y año en que se aprueba lo dispuesto por el Virrey de Nueva España de que el general tome Puerto en las Marianas deje a los misioneros y generos y agase lleve a devida execuzion[.] digo lo mismo. El Virrey mandara al general de Filipinas execute lo dispuesto como lo hiço poniendole penas el año de 75 y 76 pero no se rrepara que la Jurisdizion del Virrey llega asta Acapulco no mas y que en saliendo del Puerto entra la del Governador de Filipinas con este sirven los generales de aquella carrera y a este abedeçeran y si a este no ban sino el Virrey las zedulas para lo dicho y todo lo demas fuera del zituado no van vien.*

*A la 3<sup>a</sup> de Madrid y Julio 30 de 1676 sobre que el Virrey de la Nueva España execute la fabrica de la embarcacion pedida para los misioneros de la[s] Marianas caso que no este ya fabricada y rremitida por los Padres de la Comp<sup>a</sup> que se encargaron de ella y rrezivieron para açerla tres mil pesos[,] digo que sin licencia de nuestro Padre General, o del Provincial yo no me ubiera encargado desta fabrica y mas aviendo precedido lo que V.R<sup>a</sup> save, en Acapulco y siendo cossa de que el Governador de Filipinas puede formar queja y sentimiento. En Mexico no se rrepara en esto porque no lidian con el[.] en Filipinas se atiende mucho porque es el todo. Una embarcacion no puede servir para diez, o doçe Padres en distintos puestos ni para açerla tubieran dificultad los Padres de Filipinas. Una y muchas ya iran de valde y echas en quarteles las dieran si ubieran navio en que llevarlas a las Marianas. Este es el todo[.] el que todos los años ba de Filipinas a la Nueva España no las puede cargar porque en baluman [sic] mucho y quitan mucho lugar a la ropa y como el buque esta rrepartido a los vezinos que no tienen mas vinculos que el trato, qualquiera pedaço que se les ocupe lo sienten mucho y como por lo general miran mas a sus combeniencias temporales que a las espirituales de las Marianas no se les puede meter en camino. Y quizas la Ciudad representa con otro Titulo al Consejo cossas pocos faborables a este intento. Yo e visto aqui los memoriales presentados al Consejo en su nombre y tengo fundamento para lo que digo. —*

*A la 4<sup>o</sup> de Madrid y março de 1677 sobre que el Virrey de la Nueva España ponga remedio en que no quede en las yslas Marianas personas que embaraçen el servicio de Dios[,] digo que no era necessario ni es de fruto y puede ser que dañe, por que si se cumple al pie de la letra como el viage es largo y se mueren muchos es contingente se mueran los que fueren señalados para quedarse, y que el general no quiera, o, no pueda dejar otros[.] no es tan apetesible la quedada como se juzga, y si el General deja otros por los muertos y arbitra para que es la zedula, los generales no tienen combeniencia ninguna en dejar estas, o, aquellas personas en las Marianas en no dejarlas puede ser la tengan. Con ellos se negociara siempre lo que quisiere en este punto si llegan a dar fondo a las Marianas que es el que tiene mas dificultad. —*

*Otros muchas zedulas ay sacadas a favor de las Marianas[,] de treinta y tres tengo noticias y resumen[,] en todas ellas no allo lo que se neçesita para el asiento y fixessa que se desea, lo necessario es lo siguiente, que sino se consigue es fundar y aver fundado en el Aire:*

*— 1<sup>o</sup> Navio o Fragata que vaia inmediatamente de Filipinas a las Marianas[,] su porte de 100 Toneladas, o, algo menos como diçen los Pilotos de quien les traigo los pareceres que vera V.R<sup>a</sup> para imformarse mejor[,] tendra de costo para su fabrica y abio la primera vez 18,000 pesos por lo menos[,] las demas vezes poco menos porque las maderas de Filipinas o porque las cortan sin tiempo, o porque no son de dura en la agua[,] se mudan cada año en los costados[,] cubiertas y obras muertas, el Rei suele tener navio deste porte y puede acerlos en Cavite distante de Manila tres leguas donde esta la maestranza y fabrica de navios con mucha comodidad y si el governador se aplica a ella con çelo con a[h]orro porque de los navios grandes que se fabrican sobran maderas pequeñas que pueden servir para este navio. V.R<sup>a</sup> save las cossas de las Yn-*

dias y que los que gobiernan por lo general no se aplican [a] aorrar al Rey sino a gastarle y en lo que no ynteresan ponen dificultades.—

— 2º que se pongan cavo que Governe los 40 soldados concedidos y tenga sueldo competente çitnado y pagado en Mexico como se paga el de los soldados, Autoridad de Justicia, en las yslas Marianas y subordinazion al Governador de Filipinas y sobre todo que sea Christiano[,] çeloso y temeroso de Dios.—

— 3º Que con efecto se rremitan de Manila los 200 Pampango mandado de remitir en la cedula de 16 de Noviembre de 71 y a falta de ellos Pangasinanes, Cagaianes[,] Caragas y Visaias que destas naciones es mui facil y poner dificultad en ello no querer acerlo pero advierto que esto es imposible se execute sino va Navio derecho a las Marianas desde Manila porque el que viene a la Nueva España para todos los años no los(?) de cinco mil leguas y camino derecho no distan las Marianas de la isla de Manila sino trezi-entas leguas.—

Otras cossas son necessarias pero aviendo navio se ajustaran y compondran en Filippi- nas y la Provincia no se negara a gasto ni diligencia que puede açer pero sin el es ym- posible que pueda conservarse con los Aumentos y Temporales y espirituales que desea, lo uno porque no puede embiar Visitador el Provincial ni ministro antiguo que entab- len la Christiandad y policia como se deve los que ay oy son ydos de Europa sin mas esperiencia que la que V.Rª save llevan de aca, lo otro porque no se les pueden remitir cossas de las yslas ni indios nuestros de diferentes ofizios para entablar policia ni sol- icitar vaian cassados para que con el exemplo y comunicacion se domestiquen los Ma- rianos, y dejen **la barbaridad yndeçente de andar totalmente desnudos.**—

Ya veo el duro asumpto pedir oy, mucho mas conseguir del Rey el gasto estraordi- nario deste navio porque el estado de las cosas esta como todos savemos pero dejar de açer todas las diligencias para conseguirlo por esta atencion no combiene. Yo bengo mui encargado de mi Provincia de açer esta diligencia y de no tener efecto que rre- presente a nuestro Padre General con claridad y desengaño su sentir en orden a la con- servacion de esta mision los medios que se me ofrezan para que ya que no se consiga navio costeadado por el Rei se alcance baia costeadado por algun particular[,] son dos.—

El 1º que su Magestad conçeda a uno, o muchos vezinos de Manila licencia para açer viaje a la çiudad de Canton del reino de la China, o a la de Macan, con cargo de que aga otro a las yslas Marianas, y lleve los ministros y Yndios y cossas necessarias sin paga ninguna embarcando ellos su matalotage.

El 2º que su Magestad conçeda la dicha lizençia a los vezinos que en navio propio quicieren açer viaje a la Nueva España con el cargo dicho de tocar inmediatamente a yda y buelta en la ysla de Guan donde esta la principal Mission de los Padres llevando las cossas necessarias para ellos y los soldados en la forma que diçe el Parafo ante- cedente.

Este siguiente medio tendra su dificultad y grande en Manila porque lo a de con- tradecir la Zedula por sus intereçes particulares y aunque tiene permissio del Rey para embiar todos los años dos naos a la Nueva España y no embia de ordinario mas que una con todo porque la reparticion del Buque es de sus vezinos a de contradecir el que

*en qualquiera no tengan todos parte pero no por esto se a de dejar de intentar V.R<sup>o</sup> como es quien tiene tantas noticias de esta corte y estado de las matherias se servira decirme lo que juzga, y obrar lo mas combeniente.*

*Guarde Nuestro Señor a V.R<sup>a</sup> março 20 de 1677 años.*

## Translation

### Copy of a letter from Father Pedro Espinar to Father Alonso de Pantoja regarding the affairs of the Marianas.—

My dear Fr. Alonso de Pantoja.

I have seen the points that Father José Vidal had remitted to Y.R. regarding the Marianas, the decrees that Y.R. has obtained on their behalf, and others that have already been obtained. I will give my opinion about everything, so that Y.R., once informed, may act more appropriately, and I will judge what is obtainable. To ask is easy, but to obtain is difficult, specially when one asks for Royal funds, and no-one has yet found any mines or things similar to them in the Marianas.—

Point n<sup>o</sup> 1 of Father José Vidal, regarding the obtention of a confirmation of the orders from His Lordship the Archbishop Viceroy, in which he ordered that the 40 soldiers sent to the Marianas be given the salary of those of Sinaloa, with the same order to provide them with weapons and ammunition, and that this be collected by the Procurator of the Society for the Mariana Mission, so that he may provide them with the necessities, at the same time as the goods he sends to the Father ministers: I declare that it is proper to obtain the confirmation of the order about the salaries, but that it is not proper that the collection and despatch of the goods to the soldiers should go through our hands. This matter is very much exposed to censures, annoyances, troubles, without an order from our Father General, or, from the Provincial of that Mission, and I would not ask for it [but] Y.R. may do as you please.—

Point n<sup>o</sup> 2, regarding the soldiers who are in said Islands, to name the Superior of the Society as Commander and other positions, giving advice to the Viceroy for him to confirm it: I declare that it is not proper, and I would not ask for it either, and would not do so without permission from our Father General, or from the Provincial. This goes against the close communication between the Marianas and the Philippines which is being sought, and it is such a necessity that we should not try to preserve that mission without it. **So far, the King has not determined to which temporal Government they should belong, whether to the Viceroy of New Spain, or to the Governor of the Philippines.** Until this is established, such petitions are a waste of time. What is appropriate is for the Governor of the Philippines to be responsible for them, as well as these appointments, and that the subsidy for the salaries received by the soldiers, and by the ministers, be paid out in Mexico to the Procurators, because if the Governor of the Philippines is excluded completely, as it seems has been done, or attempted, until now, nothing will be done on behalf of the mission aboard the Philippine galleons, as long as things have to be carried out by officers whom the Governor selects, and they

will not be carried out, no matter how many decrees are issued, unless he cares and is the decision maker. In the Indies, all the decrees are obeyed but they are not carried out, as Y.R. knows, unless those who govern want to. They are the ones who have an answer for anything at hand, but the remedy is very far away.—

Point n° 3, asking that the generals of the Philippine [galleons] be ordered not to leave in the Marianas priests or Religious of other Orders, on account of the disadvantages that might arise: I declare that such a thing is appropriate, but not that we ask for it, because if we ask for it, with no other reason than this one, the Religious will then make up their minds to stay; and if we try to prevent it, they will say what they said, and say, about Japan and China at present. There is no risk of their staying, and if anyone should stay, I assure you that he will soon go on to the Philippines. In the Marianas, there is nothing physical to attract them there, rather many hardships to ward them off.

Point n° 4, regarding the missionaries who went from Spain to the Marianas, that they be given again in Mexico the alm, as was done for those who have gone: I declare this to be appropriate, and it has been ordered to the Viceroy of New Spain, in a decree dated 10 October 1671, which says that he is to succor them with the necessities, as is done with the missionaries of Sinaloa.—

This is my opinion and declaration about the points sent by Father José Vidal and about the decrees that Y.R. was pleased to show me. I declare that the first one, dated Aranjuez 30 April 1676, regarding the Governor of the Philippines ordering the generals to make a stopover in the Marianas and to leave them the missionaries and goods sent to them. It is well requested, but if until now there is no port discovered in the Marianas, how will the galleons stop there? And if the Governor of the Philippines advises, as I judge that he does, that it is not advantageous to stop at a fixed place, on account of the risk they run of being captured by European enemies who are in those parts, how will this decree be obeyed? What should have been requested, was what was asked, but foreseeing this juncture. In Mexico they act independently of the Philippines, and as they lack experimental notices, the solution does not come from petitions. They have tried to deviate everything from the dependency of the Governor of the Philippines, which is impossible. And as he is independent, he acts accordingly. Y.R. will act as you see fit.—

To the second decree, of same place and date, in which is approved what the Viceroy of New Spain has decided, to the effect that the general make a stopover in the Marianas, leave the missionaries and the goods, and to see to it that it be carried out: I declare the same. The Viceroy will order the general of the Philippines to carry out his decision, applying penalties as he did in 1675 and 1676, but the vice is that the Jurisdiction of the Viceroy goes no further than Acapulco, and not beyond, and that, upon leaving the port, begins that of the Governor of the Philippines. The generals of that run serve at the latter's discretion, and to him they will obey, and if the decrees do not go to him but to the Viceroy, for this point and all the others outside of the subsidy, well, nothing will come of them.



To the third, dated Madrid 30 July 1676, about having the Viceroy of New Spain carry out the building of the boat requested by the missionaries of the Marianas, in case it is not yet built and delivered by the Fathers of the Society who took charge of it, and received 3,000 pesos to do it: I declare that without permission from our Father General, or from the Provincial, I would not have accepted the responsibility of this boat building, and certainly not after what happened in Acapulco (as Y.R. knows), and because it is something that the Governor of the Philippines can complain and be resentful about. In Mexico nothing will be done, so as not to pick a fight with him. In the Philippines, they pay much attention, because he is everything. One boat cannot be used by 10, or 12 Fathers in distinct places, and to build it the Fathers of the Philippines would not be free of difficulties. One such boat, and many more actually, could be made in pieces, if only there were a ship to carry them to the Marianas. That is all. The ship that goes from the Philippines to New Spain every year cannot load them, because their volume would take the place of much cloth, and as the ship [space] is distributed among the residents [of Manila] who have no other links than the trade, any small space whatever that is taken from them, they resent it very much, and as they generally look more to their own material advantages than to the spiritual advantages of the Marianas, they cannot be crossed. The City might use this matter as an additional Title under which to complain to the Council [of the Indies] and say things little favorable to this project. I have seen here memorials presented to the Council on their behalf and I have a basis for what I say.—

To the fourth, dated Madrid in March 1677, about having the Viceroy of New Spain put a remedy, so that persons who might disturb the service of God not be left in the Marianas: I declare that it was not necessary, and not useful, and may even do harm, because, if it is obeyed literally, as the voyage is a long one and many die along the way, it is contingent that some of those earmarked to stay might die, and that the general would not want, or, cannot leave others [in their places]. Residence there is not so inviting as some would have us believe. And if the General leaves others to replace the dead ones, and interprets the decree as he wishes, the generals do not have a particular advantage in leaving these, or those persons in the Marianas, but in not leaving them, they may have. One should always negotiate with them on this point, if they manage to anchor at the Marianas, which is the more difficult point [of contention].—

Many more decrees have been issued on behalf of the Marianas. I have knowledge and a summary of 33 of them.<sup>1</sup> In none of them I found what is necessary for the establishment and steadiness that is desired. What is necessary is what follows; if it is not obtained, it is to found, and to have founded, something on thin air:

—Firstly, a ship or frigate that would go directly from the Philippines to the Marianas, of a capacity of 100 tons, or, somewhat less, as stated by the Pilots whose opinions I brought for Y.R. to see and be better informed about. Its construction and outfitting would cost 18,000 pesos the first time; the other times a little less, because the boards

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1673F.

of the Philippines, either because they cut the trees too late, or because they do not last in the water. So, every year they change the sides, decks and upper works. The King usually has a ship of this capacity and it can be built in Cavite distant 3 leagues from Manila, where there is an arsenal and a ship-building yard, with ample room, and if the Governor applies himself to it with zeal, with savings, because some small lumber remains from the large ships that are built there, that could be used for this ship. Y.R. knows about business in the Indies and that those who govern generally do not apply themselves in saving the King some money, but in spending it, and they do make difficulties in things they have no personal interest in.—

—Secondly, that a commander be placed there to govern the 40 soldiers posted there, and that he should have a corresponding salary, to be paid in Mexico like that of the soldiers, authority to apply justice in the Mariana Islands and be subordinated to the Governor of the Philippines, and above all be a zealous and God-fearing Christian.

—Thirdly, that the 200 Pampangos ordered to be remitted from Manila, in the decree dated 16 November 1671, be effectively remitted, and failing them, Pangasinans, Cagayans, Caragas and Visayans, since it is very easy to get [people from] these nations. To put difficulties in it is the same as to refuse to do it, but I caution that this is impossible to do without a ship that goes directly to the Marianas from Manila, because the one that comes to New Spain every year travels(?) 5,000 leagues, whereas the direct distance between the Island of Manila and the Marianas is only 300 leagues.—

Other things are necessary, but with our own ship, they would be arranged in the Philippines and the Province would not spare either expense or effort that it can do, but without it [i.e. the ship], it is impossible that it [i.e. the mission] be preserved with the progress, temporal and spiritual, that is desirable. For one thing, because the Provincial cannot send a Visitor or an old minister to establish the Christian community and a proper administration; those who are there now have come from Europe, without any other experience than the European one that Y.R. knows about. For another thing, because they cannot be sent things from the [Philippine] Islands, or any of our Indians of various trades to establish a civilization; we cannot solicit the despatch of married people either, who could by their example and contact, tame the Marianos, and stop **the indecent barbarity of their walking around completely naked.**—

I now see how tough it is today to ask the King, and much tougher to obtain from him, the extraordinary expenses for this ship, because the state of affairs is as we all know it is, but to stop doing all the efforts to obtain it for this reason is inappropriate. I have been tasked by my Province to make this effort, and should it not be effective, I am to make a report to our Father General, with some clear and unemotional recommendations to him about the means of preserving this mission, in case the cost of the ship can no longer be supported by the King, it might be supported by some individual; there are two options:—

1° that His Majesty may grant one, or more residents of Manila a license to make the voyage to the city of Canton in the Kingdom of China, or to that of Macau, with the obligation of making one other voyage to the Mariana Islands, and take the min-

isters, Indians, and necessities without any payment whatever, and they loading their own sea supplies.

2° that His Majesty may grant the said license to the residents who wish to make the voyage to New Spain in their own ship, with the obligation of touching immediately on the way out, and on the way back, at the Island of Guan where the main mission of the Fathers is located, taking along the necessities for them and the soldiers in the manner that is said in the preceding paragraph.

This second means will have its difficulty, a great one, in Manila, because they are bound to contradict the Decree on account of their own special interests, and although they now have permission from the King to send two galleons every year to New Spain, they usually send only one with everything, because the allocation [of space] aboard ship is done by the residents who must necessarily oppose anything in which they do not all share, but this is no reason to give up trying. Y.R., as someone who receives so many news from this court and state of affairs, will please tell me what you think most appropriate, and act likewise.

May our Lord save Y.R.

20 March 1677.

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## Document 1677C

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# Supplies shipped to the Marianas aboard the Santa Rosa in 1677

*Source: ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 231-234v.*

**General listing of the goods that Fr. Joseph Vidal, Procurator of the Mariana Island Mission, sends to the said Mission this year of 1677 aboard the galleon Santa Rosa, now anchored in the port of Acapulco.**

42 pieces [i.e. bundles] of “elephant” cloth of 40 yards, 12 white and 30 dyed<sup>1</sup>  
30 pieces of “ysin,” dyed  
30 blankets from Ilocos, 20 dyed and 10 white  
56 pieces of “ynson,” white  
167 yards of “ynson,” white  
228 pieces of “Medriñaques” [hemp cloth], white, blue, and colored  
14 pieces of Cambaya [cotton] cloths  
15 pieces of Sayasaya<sup>2</sup> of various colors  
6 “cates” of twisted silk of various colors<sup>3</sup>  
4 “cates” of loose silk of various colors  
4,800 buttons of silk of various colors  
12 gross of buttons of silver thread  
4 gross of buttons of gold thread  
560 yards of silk “siston” of various colors  
800 yards of silk ribbons of various colors  
10 packs of ribbons, of hued cotton

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1 Ed. note: The term “elephant” must refer to the trademark or brand of this common cotton cloth from China (ref. B&R 44:267).

2 Ed. note: A kind of Chinese silk (B&R 44:267).

3 Ed. note: The basic weight of the Chinese was the “cates”, equivalent to about 24 Spanish ounces (1 lb = 16 oz.).

15 packs of ribbons, of white cotton  
 40 packs of ribbon "agasetas", of various colors  
 4 packs of 4 gross of "agasetas" of small cordon [or braid]  
 1 pack of 1 gross of "agasetas" of dressed sheep-skin  
 12 packs of woven thread from China, weighing 20 pounds  
 4 packs of white thread from China, weighing 7 pounds  
 5 pounds of woven thread, of the agave [i.e. century plant]  
 62 bundles of woven nankeen cloth, 780 yards in length  
 344 yards of woven muslin, in 26 pieces  
 387 skeins of white and woven cotton  
 134 pairs of shoes of all sizes  
 43 bundles of "taseciras"  
 14 bundles of "lompote", 16 yards each<sup>1</sup>  
 5 bundles of rough blankets  
 38 packs of commercial thread from China and Spain  
 6 pounds of silk strings for harps and guitars  
 1 each of "Manteles"<sup>2</sup>  
 1 hammock of various colors, woven in Oton [Panay]  
 1 each of "sarassa" [rather sasayaya]  
 1 "viso" of velvet  
 1 kerchief embroidered with the symbols of the Passion, over 2 yards in length  
 1 crucifix from Michoacan [Mexico], 1 yard long  
 2 frontals made of "samppasso" with fancy embroidery, one with silver thread  
 2 chasubles with its fasteners, of same  
 2 dais with gold fringes  
 1 glass case of gold-plated silver to keep the Most Holy Sacrament<sup>3</sup>  
 1 silver monstrance  
 1 silver incense burner with its incense container and spoon  
 1 lamp with its small silver vase  
 3 gross of filigree buttons for the Captain and officers  
 10 crosses with their pedestals, painted gold  
 12 stock statues of various saints with various figures for the Nativity scenes  
 329 hats of various types in their boxes  
 361 blankets of various types and sizes  
 183 (under-)petticoats, ready-made and ready-to-sew  
 8 pieces of "samppasso" stuff for the uniforms of the Captain and officers  
 67 yards of lace of black silk  
 284 yards of assorted white lace

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1 Ed. note: Lampote, or lompote, was a cotton fabric similar to canvas (B&R 30:64-65).

2 Ed. note: Another type of cotton fabric (B&R 27:177).

3 Ed. note: To hold the host that is placed in the monstrance.

80 pairs of silk stockings, first and second category  
 88 pairs of woolen stockings, of various colors  
 31 yards of “palomita de pelo” [skein of raw silk? wool thread?], fluffy(?), in one bundle  
 45 yards in one bundle of white “amascote” [sic = damask?]  
 564 yards of “estameña” [=serge] in 17 bundles  
 208 yards of colored “jergeta” [=frieze]  
 14 “guesguemiles”  
 236 bundles of glass beads of various colors  
 12 parchments  
 29 muskets  
 470 salted pig’s feet  
 250 “arrobas” [i.e. 2,812 Kg] of jerk beef  
 12 arrobas [135 Kg] of salted [beef] tongues  
 90 arrobas [1,012 Kg] of bacon  
 2 barrels of olives  
 2 “cargas” of [refined] flour, to make hosts<sup>1</sup>  
 2 cargas [13 bu.] of wheat [i.e. coarse flour]  
 1 carga [6.3 bu.] of barley  
 120 glass cups<sup>2</sup>  
 50 glass flasks  
 50 drinking glasses  
 4 looms to weave cotton, with all their accessories  
 12 carding pulleys<sup>3</sup>  
 2 “redinas” with their shoe lasts and instrument  
 3 arrobas of glue in 36 bunches  
 6 checkerboards with their checkers  
 8 doz. [play] balls  
 24 doz. big tops and other tops for the children who are raised in the Colleges  
 5 doz. trowels  
 4 “tranchetes”<sup>4</sup>  
 8 shears for tailors and shoemakers  
 4 “xiflas” [sic]

1 Ed. note: 1 carga = 4 fanegas = 4 x 1.58 (Spanish/US) bushels. Therefore, 2 cargas = 13 bushels.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish word used here is “ventosa”, but they could have used the word “jícara”, as these cups were used to drink hot chocolate from Mexico.

3 Ed. note: For teasing, or raising a nap on cloth.

4 Ed. note: Broad curved knives, choppers, or cleavers, for the butchery trade.

24 “atesnas” [sic]<sup>1</sup>  
 10 bundles of shoemaker’s thread  
 3 sets of large bars<sup>2</sup>  
 2 irons to make hosts  
 14 images of the Apostles<sup>3</sup>  
 50 cloth caps of “picote”<sup>4</sup>  
 50 pairs of castanets  
 36 bundles of fake pearls  
 6 [dressed] sheepskins  
 3 clarions or hornpipes  
 1 sackbut<sup>5</sup>  
 4 powder-flasks  
 26 large and small augers  
 2 hand saws  
 1 “taraja” [sic = drill?]  
 2 rolls of brass [wire]  
 6 pounds of tin  
 13 [wood] planes [for carpentry work]  
 1 thongs [for blacksmithing work]  
 8 hammers  
 13 pounds of white lead [for tinsmithing work]  
 1 bag of copper  
 65 pounds of steel  
 3 rolls of brass foil, or tinsel  
 30 pairs of luster<sup>6</sup>  
 13,000 sewing needles  
 20 papers of pins<sup>7</sup>  
 12 brass candlesticks  
 2 swords with their guards and scabbards  
 1 “gurbia” [sic]<sup>8</sup>  
 3 chisels for lathe work and one stand(?) for same

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps some black dye for shoe leather.

2 Ed. note: Probably iron crow-bars.

3 Ed. note: This was 1 set or “apostolado”, i.e. printed images of the 12 Apostles, plus Christ and the Virgin.

4 Ed. note: Picote is either coarse stuff made of goat’s hair, or a glossy silk stuff.

5 Ed. note: A medieval wind instrument, forerunner of the trombone.

6 Ed. note: Glossy dress fabric of cotton and wool.

7 Ed. note: Each paper may have held a dozen pins.

8 Ed. note: Perhaps this was something useful for embroidery. “Gurbión” is twisted silk.

14 trowels, or shovels  
 6 knives for sharpening pens [i.e. quills]  
 96 doz. table knives, which is money to buy goods<sup>1</sup>  
 1 pair of barber's scissors  
 2 grinding stones with their cranking handles  
 2 anvils for forming, or shaping  
 8 arrobas [90 Kg] of gun-powder  
 8 arrobas [90 Kg] of granel [i.e. bird-shirts or pellets]  
 9 frames to hold saints, with their coronations and dust covers, used as "Retablos"<sup>2</sup>  
 9 [oil] canvas of Saints, with their frames  
 4 medium-size locks  
 2 cibaries<sup>3</sup>  
 36 pounds of silver foil<sup>4</sup>  
 12 pounds of gold foil  
 1 pair of iron stirrups  
 4 bridle bits  
 8 copper kettles  
 8 copper boiling pots in diminishing sizes  
 4 skimmers  
 5 copper ladles  
 17 copper "vergojones" [sic]<sup>5</sup>  
 4 copper siphons<sup>6</sup>  
 1 copper beater  
 159 doz. [i.e. 1,908] jingle bells  
 104 doz. [i.e. 1,248] rosaries<sup>7</sup>  
 4 syringes  
 6 brass basins  
 5 lamps with their brass candlesticks  
 8 copper cauldrons from Japan

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1 Ed. note: In other words, the Jesuit missionaries used such cutlery to barter for local food, etc.

2 Ed. note: These are niche-like ornate frames, usually painted gold, to hold small statues above or near altars.

3 Ed. note: The box that sits on top of the altar and contains the ciborium with the consecrated hosts. The 4 locks just mentioned were for them.

4 Ed. note: These were hammered onto statues, frames, etc. to make them gilded.

5 Ed. note: Perhaps tubes for making stills.

6 Ed. note: My educated guess. A "cantimplora" was usually a vase to cool water (e.g. an unglazed ceramic pot leaking a little and cooling the contents through evaporation), but it could have been a tap, or spigot, that could be fixed to a barrel.

7 Ed. note: Rosaries could also have been made locally, using tree seeds and/or small shells, since the Spanish had the thread, wire, and tools to make them.



35 pounds of copper [wire] of various thicknesses  
 6 doz. steel and brass thimbles  
 5 bundles of quills  
 2 reams of paper from Spain  
 18 reams of paper from China  
 19 carbines, or fowling-pieces  
 22 doz. of cloth caps for the children in the colleges  
 4 missals  
 2 breviaries  
 4 lead host holders with their hosts  
 2 pounds of saffron  
 12 “tompates” with various spices and herbs<sup>1</sup>  
 12 bundles of “picote”<sup>2</sup>  
 2 bundles of colored baize<sup>3</sup>  
 18 yards of black baize  
 3 bundles of fine cloth<sup>4</sup>  
 50 flints, fashioned<sup>5</sup>  
 10 cases of [medical?] instruments from Spain  
 2 “palometas”<sup>6</sup>  
 15 capes from Albornoz  
 3 molds to make [lead] balls  
 30 cargas [i.e. 190 bushels] of soup beans, lentils, kidney beans, chick-peas  
 1 handle press with its blade [i.e. bookbinder’s knife]  
 25 bull jackets, fine ones and regular ones  
 1 bag of ocher  
 1 small sack of saltpeter  
 20 “bolos”<sup>7</sup>  
 2 pairs of “bolas”<sup>8</sup>  
 25 small lamps of white ceramic from China  
 7 ceramic gorgets [i.e. neck armor plate]  
 7 hat brushes  
 26 paper [pouches] of ink from China

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- 1 Ed. note: “Tompates” were perhaps small jars with cork stoppers.  
 2 Ed. note: See above. Either coarse stuff from goat’s hair, or glossy silk stuff.  
 3 Ed. note: “Bayeta” in Spanish: a coarse wool cloth of the type used to cover pool tables, etc.  
 4 Ed. note: The word “pañó” usually refers to tightly-woven cotton stuff, to make kerchiefs, sails, etc.  
 5 Ed. note: See below for 12 steels on which to strike these flints.  
 6 Ed. note: Could this have been pots to make popcorn?  
 7 Ed. note: They were long knives from the Philippines, not as heavy as the machetes listed below.  
 8 Ed. note: Probably the Gaucho-type lasso tipped with balls, to entangle running animals, or men.

100 ceramic tumblers from China  
 100 ceramic plates from China  
 246 turtle shells<sup>1</sup>  
 108 volumes of books, large- and average-size, from various spiritual, historical and moral authors, and books which our people read  
 12 steels [on which to strike flints to make fire]  
 453 iron machetes, with their rings for use as tools<sup>2</sup>  
 87 carpenter's axes of all sizes  
 41 chisels  
 12 iron picks to fashion stone  
 18 hoes  
 2 iron bars to quarry stone  
 27 carpenter's hatchets  
 12 large bolts with their lock-sets and keys  
 12 locks with their keys and latches  
 6 pairs of plow [or plough] shares with their "lipios"<sup>3</sup>  
 19 "catanas" or long "campilans" [i.e. swords]  
 24 large knives or small swords with their hilts and guards  
 40 iron grenades, already assembled and ready-to-use<sup>4</sup>  
 66 steel "carajeyes" [sic] of various sizes  
 12 arrobas [135 Kg] of lead  
 4 small iron bars, called crow-bars  
 3 arrobas [34 Kg] of incense  
 2 arrobas [22 Kg] of "camangian"<sup>5</sup>  
 2 arrobas [22 Kg] of pepper  
 43 arrobas [484 Kg] of cheese  
 8 quintals [800 lbs] of sugar  
 9 quintals [900 lbs] of tobacco  
 90 arrobas [1,012 Kg] of biscuit  
 4 quintals [400 lbs] of nails of all kinds  
 4 rough cakes of wax that weigh 8 quintals [800 lbs]  
 8 crates of soap  
 4 large boxes of hosts containing over 2,000 hosts already cut  
 50 cutlasses from La Puebla [de los Angeles, Mexico]

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- 1 Ed. note: These shells were used as money in the Marianas.
  - 2 Ed. note: Scabbards for them were not really necessary; the worker's belt could be passed through the ring at the end of the handle.
  - 3 Ed. note: Or "lipias", whatever that means, perhaps the moldboard, or ear, of the plow.
  - 4 Ed. note: If ready-to-use, these small bombs would have already been filled with gun-powder and had a fuse attached.
  - 5 Ed. note: Perhaps a drug or spice. Not in B&R index.

28 tanned skins of shoe leather  
 36 [skins of] Morocco leather  
 1 crate of medicines  
 2 cedar chests to store vestments  
 13 pounds of Greek fish<sup>1</sup>  
 1 sack of “aluzema” [sic] and another of rosemary  
 3 doz. fishhooks and one pound of wire to make more  
 5 arrobas [56 Kg] of strips of [dry] quince  
 2 sharpening stones  
 1 case of lancets with tweezers, scissors, etc.  
 1 case of razor blades for shaving  
 3 gross [i.e. 432] earrings  
 25 iron “comales” [sic]  
 56 yards of braid and gold lace [edging] for decorating frontals  
 70 shirts and as many white pants with braid [or lace edging] for the soldiers  
 70 boxes of sweets for the sick  
 4 bundles of serge that have been used up in making bags and sacks  
 2,000 pesos in [pieces of 8] reals to distribute among the soldiers  
 —A quantity of puppets, toy mice, kites, and firecrackers for our people in the seminary  
 —Various jars with wine for masses  
 6 crates with oil  
 2 jugs full with heads of tobacco

This list was sent to the Port of Acapulco, countersigned by Manuel de Lanziñana, the Executive Secretary of His Excellency [the Viceroy], which was presented to His Excellency, to show him how the money given by His Majesty is being spent on behalf of the Mariana Island Mission.—

All the goods in this list were seen by the Gentlemen members of the Audiencia and Royal officials.

Mexico City, 24 February 1678.

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+ Joseph Vidal +

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1 Ed. note: This colloquial expression, I think, meant some rosin, from Greece, used as pitch.

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## Documents 1677D

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# Jesuit annual report for 1676-1677, by Fr. Bouwens

*Sources: 2 versions, a long one and a short one, in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 219-230; only a copy of the last 2 pages of the long version exist in RAH 9/2677.*

## D1. Short version.

### Original in Spanish.

#### ***Resumen de los sucesos de las Islas Marianas desde el mes de Junio de 1676 hasta el mes de Mayo de 1677.***

*Miercoles 2 de Junio de 1676 llegó a esta Isla de S. Juan el Galeon de S. Antonio, y aunque por causa de los vientos se propasó la mayor parte del socorro que nos venia, como ha sucedido otros años, mas fue de notable consuelo, que pudiesen saltar en tierra quatro Sacerdotes, y un Hermano, todos de la Compañia que venian a ayudar a estas pobres almas: quedose tambien el Capitan D. Francisco de Ilizarraga [sic] por Governador de los soldados de este campo, a causa de embarcarse el que lo era para pasar a Manila: obró dicho Cavallero con el zelo, vigilancia, y cuidado, que se verá en esta Relacion. Avióse trasladado por las forzosas ocupaciones la celebridad del Corpus, que se hizo la primera Dominica de Agosto, con tanto regozijo, y ostentacion, que podia en qualquier Ciudad populosa parecer, aumentando con la ternura que nos causavan los niños de los Colegios que ivan en la procesion, cantando la Doctrina, y la tarde de aquel mismo dia la regozijaron los mismos, representando con particular gracia un coloquio en el Idioma Castellano, con varias danzas, que admiraban a los suyos, viendo a los que poco antes eran unos troncos informes tan diestros, ya moldados a las costumbres de los Xptianos.—*

*Acabada la fiesta, se repartieron los misioneros por sus Residencias, para proseguir el cultivo desta Viña; y el nuevo Governador dispuso castigar algunos pueblos de los levantados, y reducirlos a la fe santa, que havian rezevido, para que con el castigo se atimorizasen, juntamente algunos Indios reboltosos, que andavan poco contentos, procurando su antigua libertad: Comenzó su castigo por un pueblo del monte, llamado **Tarisay**, adonde se arrojó con notables peligros, y trabajos por la aspereza de los caminos; mas despues del aver quemado todo el pueblo, y muerto a cinco hombres, dejando muchos heridos, que los demas huyeron por los montes, se retiro victorioso, sin aver rezevido, por la misericordia de Dios daño alguno; traxo consigo tres niños que rezivieron luego al santo Bautismo, y el uno, que era de*

dos años, boló luego al cielo, hallando en la perdicion de sus Padres, los medios de su predestinacion; los otros dos se crian en esta Residencia de Agaña con todo cuydado.—

Casaronse algunos soldados con algunas niñas de los colegios de las mas bien Doctrinadas, entre las quales se señaló mucho una de la Residencia de S. Joseph de **Orotí**, que con toda resolucion pidio al Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, ministro de dicho pueblo, la casase, contra la voluntad de sus Padres, que querian aprovecharse della para sus torpes ganancias, y alquileres, y respondiendo a todas las dificultades que el Padre le ponía, se ofrecio a salir de aquel pueblo, y irse a vivir a la residencia de Agaña donde esta el Presidio, selibrase [sic] el matrimonio y aquel mismo dia, pretendió atrevido el Padre de la muchacha (que lo era solamente adoptivo) quitar la vida a traicion al marido, y lo huviera executado, sino fuera por el Padre que vio irles, cargando sobre el Alfange del Indio, y le avisó al Gobernador del, para que re-[227v] -mediase los daños que amenazaban, pues el perverso Indio alborotava a los suyos, y juntava para levantarse. Con este aviso se partio el Xptiano Gobernador Capitan D. Francisco de Iizarraga [sic] al dicho pueblo prendio al Indio reboltoso, y a otros sus aliados, y dio a entender a todos que los que no tenían culpa, no tenían que temer, y assi que se sosegasen, bolvio con los presos, y justificada la causa se sentfencio al Padre de la desposada a muerte, donde por libres a los demas, por no hallarse en ellos culpa bastante, hizieron con ellos Religiosos su officio, procurando reducirle, mas fue tal su pertinacia, que no quiso ser bautizado, y assi viendo que no tenía remedio, y que se travajava en vano, se executó el suplicio a vista de todos para el escarmiento.

No es digno de pasar en silencio la accion que los niños motu proprio hizieron con el cuerpo de aquel malaventurado, porque a vista de todos los Indios lo arrastraron, pisandole, y haciendole unos con palos, y otros con piedras, diciendo en altas voces Muera el perro, muera, que no a querido ser Xptiano, de donde se podra colegir, quan bien empleados son los trabajos que en la crianza destes niños se padecen.

No cesava el Demonio de incitar a sus confidentes, para que procurasen extinguir de el todo esta Xptiandad, y assi movio los animos de nuestros enemigos, especialmente los que eran complices en las muertes del V.P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Antonio de S. Basilio, y Pedro Dias, a que se juntaron los del pueblo de S. Joseph de Orotí, sentidos del casamiento arriba dicho, haciendo Adalid<sup>1</sup> de todos estos un Indio deste pueblo de S. Ignacio de Agaña llamado **Aguarin**, que en otras ocasiones avia sido reboltoso, y inquieto, aunque havia dos años que se portava con nosotros como amigo; este pues les persuadio tomase venganza de los agravios que decia les avian hecho, en que acudiesen a Missa, y en estorvarles sus vicios; con que atraidos a su voluntad los mas pueblos de la Isla, trataron con sumo secreto la conjuracion, y para executarla, escogieron el dia 29 de Agosto, Vispera de Santa Rosa, a quien estaba dedicada la Iglesia del pueblo de **Tapungan** [sic = Tupungan], pareciendoles buena ocasion: y para que estubiesemos divididos, y el dia de la fiesta nos hallasemos desamparados. La noche antecedente fueron al pueblo de **Airaan**, y pusieron fuego a la Iglesia, que en buen tiempo se hizo zeniza, juntamente con la vivienda del Padre, y los Colegios de niños, librando Dios Nuestro Señor al Padre que con algunos dellos se avia quedado en el pueblo, a quien no mataron, creyendo avia ido a la fiesta, el qual con sumo riesgo de quemarse, saco las sagradas Imagenes de Christo, y su Madre Santissima los Santos olios, y sagrados ornamentos, mostraron su fidelidad los Indios del dicho pueblo en acudir al socorro del Padre, luego que oyeron tocar la campana, y con alguno aviso luego de lo sucedido al Gobernador que al punto se

1 Ed. note: The word Adalid is not a Chamorro word, but a Spanish word meaning war chief, the same as Caudillo.

*embarco, no sabiendo la traicion que tenian trazada. Fue la demas gente al pueblo de Tupungan, adonde avian concurrido los pueblos conjurados, trayendo todos los Indios sus armas de lanzas, hondas, y alfanges, estaban muchos emboscados aguardando la seña de los demas, que sin averles dado ocasion comenzaron a descomedirse, y aunque pudieron muy bien executar su intento, les acobardo N. Sr. con que yendose dilatando algo, quando pareze estaban ya para romper, llevo de repente el Governador con la demas gente, que rezelando prudentemente lo que podia suceder, luego que llegó al Pueblo de Airaan, viendo estaban sosegados los Indios, y que no avian [228] sido ellos los incendiarios se bolvio a embarcar trayendose consigo al Padre y luego a la sazón dicha a Tupungan, con que temerosos los Indios disimularon su traicion.*

*Viendo tan alborotadas las cosas, parecio acertado, que el P. Sebastian de Monrroy no bolviese a su Residencia, pues tan inquietos andavan aquellos Indios mas ellos supieron tambien llevar adelante su fingimiento, diziendo que no estarian contentos, sino llevaban a su Padre y que no se avian de ir sin el, que movido, de sus instancias, se juzgó conveniente bolviese con ellos dicho Padre y para asegurarle, llevó consigo ocho hombres con armas de fuego, y orden expreso de retirarse en sintiendo alguna turbacion entre los Indios, y dejando asegurada con otros soldados la Residencia de Tupungan, nos retiramos los demas a la de Agaña.*

*Ocho días disimularon los Indios de Oroti su traicion, y concertados para el Domingo 6 de Septiembre, acudieron con intentos de quitar la vida al Padre estando diziendo Missa, pero por noticias que el Padre tuvo de sus intentos, celebró antes que amaneciese, y prevenidos los soldados con disimulo, aguardaron a los Indios que acudieron en grande numero, convocados muchos pueblos que [=que] aviendo podido declararse, se emboscaron muchos entre los arboles, y otros incitando a los niños Colegiales que pidiesen licencia al Padre para irse a divertir a la playa, luego que los vieron en ella salieron los emboscados, y se los llevaron a otro pueblo, de que avisado el Padre les dijo con sentimiento, que el se queria ir a Agaña, puesto que le avian quitado los niños. Procuró un principal llamado Cheref, de quien el Padre se fiava, que se sosegase, diziendole que el haria bolviesen los niños; y que no se fuese, mas como se conocio su animo, que solo era de entretener al Padre para que anocheciese, y executasen mexor su intento, se puso el Padre en camino, y aviendo llegado al pueblo de Sumay donde el Indio Cheref era principal, procuró embarcarse, aunque no hubo quien quisiese darle embarcacion, y a poco rato, comenzaron los Indios a descubrirse, y arrojar lanzas, y piedras, peleavan los nuestros desde la playa con todo aliento, y con una embarcacion pequeña despachó el Padre a un soldado, con un niño que le avia seguido, para que avisase al Governador y temiendo ellos que el socorro vendria, usaron de una diabolica estratagemá, para que se valieron del fingido amigo Cheref, que salio de donde estaban los suyos, mostrandose enojado, y afeandoles lo que hazian, se fue al Padre y le ofrecio su embarcacion y que el llevaria, y sacaria del peligro, lo qual aceptó el Padre y soldados viendo que ya se acercava la noche, y se les acabava la polvora, mas apenas avian apartadose un poco de la playa, quando el fingido amigo Cheref volco la embarcacion (que le hazen con gran facilidad) y cayeron todos al agua, al caer cogio el Indio un arcabuz de los soldados, y con el mochon del, empezó a dar a los caidos, acudieron luego todos los enemigos, y con lanzas, y piedras los acabaron, fue el ultimo el Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, que con notable aliento, y fervor avia ayudado a los suyos, y exortandoles a morir gloriosamente por Christo, fué atravesado por la garganta con una lanza, pidiendo a Dios misericordia para el que le quitava la vida, de cuyas heroicas virtudes va aparte una relacion para exem- [228v] -plo de los que se dedican a las misiones, y consuelo de los que en ellas trabajan; no paro aqui la furia de los enemigos, sino que bolvien-*

do al Pueblo de S. Joseph de Oroti, quemaron la Yglesia y Colegios, para dar testimonio de su diabolica saña, que todo era contra la fe santa de Christo que el Padre predicava.

Con el aviso, que el Padre avia embiado se partio luego el Governador con su gente y aunque se dio toda la prisa possible, no pudo llegar hasta media noche, detubose por el peligro de las emboscadas hasta la mañana, en que saliendo en tierra, halló dos cuerpos enterrados, los quales se trajeron al pueblo de Tupungan para darles mejor sepultura, no pudieron hallar el de el Padre Monrroy, aunque lo procuraron con todo cuidado, viendo tan alborotados a los Indios, dispuso el Governador, que los Padres de Tupungan se retirasen a este pueblo de Agaña, hasta que se asentasen mexor las cosas.—

Mientras el Governador avia ido a la faccion dicha, fue necesario, por la falta de gente, que aquella noche estuvisemos los Religiosos en zentinelas haciendo guardias, y rondas, por estar los Indios alborotados, y deseoso siempre de hallar ocasion de acabarnos, y assi juzgando por buena la ausencia del Governador, vinieron el dia siguiente a la una con capa de amistad, cargados de algunos presentes, a ver si podian lograrla, mas conocido el intento, y traicion, viendo el peligro de que se perdiese todo faltando la retirada a la gente, y el puesto principal donde se a fortificado, anteponiendo la salud de tantas almas al bien particular que cada uno de nosotros podia intesar [sic] a la muerte tomamos los Religiosos las armas, saliendo al encuentro a los disimulados enemigos, medio que fue bastante para hacerles retirar, sin que fuese necesario disparar un arma de fuego, augmentandoseles el temor con la buelta de el Governador, que llegó aun antes que dejase las armas de la mano.

No se contento con esto el Demonio, sino que apoderado de el corazon del Indio **Aguarin** de quien ya hizimos mencion, le movio a que fuese por todos los pueblos de la Ysla de S. Ana, convocando gente para acabar de el todo con esta Xpiandad, en que gasto todo el mes de Septiembre, y la mitad de Octubre, aqui descubrieron algunos pueblos, y otros Indios particulares la fidelidad, no queriendo seguirle, especialmente el, muchas vezes nombrado Antonio de **Aichi** [sic] que con sus buenas palabras, y avisos, mantuvo en paz su pueblo, poniendose a muchos peligros de la vida, tanto, que reconociendo nosotros su peligro, y el de los de su pueblo, le persuadimos se retirasen a otro pueblo de amigos, desde donde nos socorrira con algunas cosas para nuestro sustento. Pusieronnos apretado cerco, y salieron los soldados diversas vezes a pelear con los enemigos, en que murieron muchos dellos, sin que de nuestra parte sucediese desgracia alguna, y porque la Yglesia, y casa era pagiza expuesta a los incendios fue necesario desembarazar el campo, y reducirnos a mucha estrechura porque sabiamos estaba juntandose la gente en grande numero, para darnos el asalto por todas partes.—

Llegó el dia 15 de Octubre, en que se descubrió un grande exercito de los enemigos que llegó al campo de la pelea, aunque no tan cerca que pudiese rezivir daño de nuestras armas, y assi salió el Governador con algunos soldados a darles la embestida, con lo qual se pusieron en huida hasta el dia siguiente que bolvieron, y no pareziendo hombre [229] alguno de los nuestros en el campo, no oyendo ruydo alguno, aunque lo procuraban descubrir con las piedras que nos atrojaron, temiendo alguna estratagema, no se atrevieron a acercarse, que era lo que pretendiamos con el silencio, para que se lograsen los tiros de nuestras armas, cogiendoles sin el abrigo de los arboles, y montes, y con esto se retiraron friamente, mas para despique de su furia nos destruyeron una sementera de maiz, que era todo nuestro socorro, y esperanza en lo humano, cortando tambien otra sementera de tabaco, que en esta tierra es de mucha utilidad, no se cansavan de darnos de noche algunos asaltos, y llegó a tanto el atrevimiento de algunos que pudieron matar cinco soldados que estaban en una garita, adonde llegaron los enemigos sin ser sentidos, aviendo vencido dos palos de la estacada, y arrojaron sus lanzas contra dichos soldados, aunque no permitio N.

*Señor reziviesen daño: esto sirvió para que se pusiere mas cuidado en las centinelas, que algunas vezes por el mucho trabajo que davan rendidos al sueño.*

*Después de seis días bolvieron los enemigos con mas gente convocada por el dicho **Aguarin**; mas reziviendolas con las armas, cayeron muertos dos dellos, con que se bolvieron a visitar. El siguiente día salio el Governador con algunos soldados, y dexando dispuesta una emboscada, se llegó a un pueblo enemigo, viendo ellos eran pocos los nuestros, acometieron mas de quarenta, y fingiendo los nuestros retirada, les siguieron adelantandose especialmente dos de ellos, que encontrando con la emboscada se lograron los tiros en entrambos, cayendo luego muertos, trajose la caveza de el uno dellos, y se puso en un palo, para que todos la viesan, con que quedaron algo escarmentados, y se retiraron por algunos días, dando nos lugar a que acudiesemos a cultivar un poco de maiz, por no padecer de hambre, y assi nos vimos obligados los mismos Religiosos a cavar la tierra, por no tener sino una poca de **Nica**, or camote, a que se agregavan algunas verdolagas, en que sucedio una cosa rara pues tomando todos los días muchas para tanta gente, y siendo bien corto el sitio donde se davan, el día siguiente avia ya para bolver a coger mas, durando esto por seis meses sin que aya avido en este tiempo enfermedad de peligro, solamente murio un soldado llamado **Diego de Ayala**.—*

*Con las treguas que teniamos nos determinamos para tener alguna seguridad del fuego a hazer una **Yglesia de piedra y lodo**, trabajando en ella los mismos religiosos, aunque la piedad del Governador **D. Francisco** no dio lugar a que se ocupasen en esto, y assi la tomó a su cargo, trabajando en ella la Infanteria con todo empeño, sin dejar ocupar a otras muchas prevenciones necesarias para nuestra defensa.*

*A 15 de Octubre libro N. Señor a uno de los Padres de manos de un Indio que estava preso, a quien estava el Padre disponiendo para morir como Xptiano por estar ya sentenciado a muerte por sus delitos, dio buenas muestras al principio, de que se arrepentia dellos, mas estando el Padre componiendo una camilla, para que el descansase, se le arrojó encima, hechando mano a la garganta para ahogarle, y esforzandose el Padre dio algunas voces, con que acudieron a socorrerle el Governador, y soldados, dejando muerto al Indio luego, cuya caveza se puso en publico para el escarmiento.*

*[229v] El día de la Expectacion de Nuestra Señora bolvieron los Indios de refresco, acrecentado el numero de las otras vezes, pareciendoles infalible la victoria, que afianzaban en sus fuerzas, y saliendo a rezivirles el Governador con veinte hombres los puso a todos en huida, hiriendo a algunos, de los cuales murieron tres a pocos días, y como tenían su retirada cerca en las espesuras de los montes, no podian ser seguidos: otras vezes bolvieron a repetir sus diligencias, mas fue N. Señor servido que jamas hiziesen daño alguno a nuestros soldados que ivan armados de la paternal confianza de Nuestro Señor, y se disponian siempre con la frecuencia de sacramentos, plenarias, y rogativas a Nuestro Señor, esmerandose en todo con particular cuidado, y zelo el Governador **D. Francisco de Ilizarraga** [sic].*

*Premió su Magestad nuestra confianza, porque habiendo hecho grande esfuerzo los enemigos vinieron a los siete de Henero, acometiendo por mar, y tierra con particular resolucion de tal suerte, que si Dios no tuviera tan particular cuidado desta su nueva Yglesia, nos acabaran por el excesivo numero de los Indios, mas siendo nuestro caudillo el que siempre lo ha sido **S. Miguel Archangel**, no solo no rezivimos daño alguno, sino que con sus mismas lanzas quedaron muchos heridos de los contrarios, lograndose algunas estratagemas de los nuestros, empuzandose con los mismos sucesos de que ellos se solian valer para dañarnos, quedando muertos luego dos, y aunque este día se retiraron luego temerosos de no quedar todos entre las puas [=púas], impossibilitados a salirse previnieron de mas gente, y alguna defen-*



sa de rodela, y bolvieron a los 24 de Henero y adelantandose algunos veinte, o treinta en unas embarcaciones, se arrojaron a quitar una vanderilla que aviamos puesto en el mar, con fin de cogerlos a tiro, y aviendo llegado a ella comenzó nuestra gente a disparar sus armas, hiriendo a muchos dellos, y levantando todos los soldados a una voz, decian Victoria, Victoria, Victor S. Miguel voces que fueron bastantes a poner en huida todos los enemigos de tal suerte que parecia ser el eco solo del Santo Archangel quien les acobardava con tal temor, que no bolvieron mas, dandonos lugar a que se acabase la Yglesia de piedra comenzada, en donde se celebraron los officios de la Semana Santa con sumo consuelo de todos, haziendo confesiones generales de toda su vida todos los soldados, disponiendose tambien a rezevir los santos sacramentos los niños mas capaces, a quien hizo notable asonancia el ver hacer el acto de contricion, y oir cantar las saetillas que se acostumbran en semejante funccion, hizieronse muchas penitencias publicas el Viernes Santo con tal fervor que fue necesario moderarlas por no causar algun daño a la salud; atendiose despues a fabricar **casas de tapias, y piedras** para la vivienda de los soldados, con que estan asegurados del fuego que tanto temiamos; todo lo qual a causado no poco temor a los Indios.

Despues de tantas tormentas, se siguió la deseada paz, estando en este campo los soldados con sumo consuelo, de que se dieron las gracias a Nuestro Señor, y a Nuestro Patron S. Miguel con su Missa cantada, aviendose dedicado la nueva Yglesia al dulcissimo nombre de Maria, pone admiracion la contancia de algunos en venerando [230] el nombre de Dios, pues uno, que en otra ocasion dijo que el era Dios se a mostrado muy fino, padeciendo muchos peligros: pero quien se a esmerado mas son los niños, ayudandonos a trabajar, y a pelear contra los suyos, y haciendonos compañía en la adversidad, que no es poca fineza, sin dejarse vencer de los ruegos, ni amenazas de sus Padres, y parientes, padeciendo juntamente con nosotros los trabajos referidos, y no a faltado entre ellos quien viendo el exemplo de los Padres, se ponga de noche de rodilla a hacer su examen de conciencia, y tomar una recia diciplina, dos de ellos especialmente se esmeraron en la fineza, el uno, porque aviendo ido de principio de las guerras, con ocasion forzosa a otro pueblo, encontro en el a todos sus parientes, y amigos que le hizieron toda bateria, persuadiendole no bolviese mas para el, afeandoles sus intentos, tomo su machete, y caraza, y se puso en camino para venirse a nuestra Casa, y en uno de los pueblos por donde pasó, le quisieron matar, porque se mostrava tan fino amante de los Padres de que le libró Nuestro Señor, llegando el chiquillo con sumo consuelo a nuestra presencia, quando menos lo aguardavamos, contando la victoria que de los suyos avia alcanzado. No fue menor la fineza de otro, a cuya presencia en estas guerras mataron los soldados a su Padre en una refriega, y ajusticiaron a un hermano suyo, y aunque al principio de la prision hizo su officio la naturaleza, mostrando algun sentimiento, despues informado de los delitos de su hermano, no le peso del castigo, esmerandose en adelante en ser buen Xptiano, y peleando con mas fineza por nosotros contra los suyos; causa tambien no pequeño consuelo ver, quanto an aprovechado las niñas que se an casado con los soldados, tan amoldadas a las leyes de Dios, y costumbres Xptianas, como si siempre se huviesen casado en ellas, acudiendo todos los dias a Missa, y despues a las cosas de su casa con grande recato, honestidad, y aplicacion a lo labor. Gracias a Dios Nuestro Señor por todo, que aunque permite esta su nueva Yglesia afligida, nos consuela con el fruto, que a ojos vistas cogemos, dandonos firme esperanza de su adelantamiento, para que nos encomendamos en las Oraciones de todos.

Mayo 30 de 1677.

## Translation.

### Summary of the events of the Mariana Islands from the month of June 1676 until the month of May 1677.

On Wednesday 2nd of June 1676, there arrived at this Island of San Juan the galleon **San Antonio**, and although on account of the winds most of the succor that was coming could not be unloaded, as happened in other years, but it was a noteworthy consolation that 4 priests and 1 Brother, all of the Society, who were coming to help these poor souls, were able to jump ashore. There remained also Captain Don Francisco de Ilizarraga [sic]<sup>1</sup> as Governor of the soldiers of this camp, reason being that the man who was Governor went on to Manila. The said gentleman labored with the zeal, vigilance, and care that will be seen in this Narrative. Our obligatory occupations had made us transfer the celebration of Corpus Christi to the first Sunday in August; it was done with as much delight and show as could have been done in any populous city, augmented by the emotions caused in us by the children of the Colleges who took part in the procession, singing the doctrine. The afternoon of that same day was brightened by the same children who, with special grace, staged a Colloquy in the Spanish language, with various dances; their own people watched with admiration those who a short time before had been like shapeless tree trunks, now so skilled and molded to the customs of the Christians.—

Once the feast was over, the missionaries dispersed to their Residences, to pursue the cultivation of this Vineyard; and the new Governor arranged to punish some rebellious towns, and to reduce them to the holy faith, that they had received, so that the punishment would frighten them, as well as some rebellious Indians who were going around unhappy, trying to find their former freedom. He began his punishment with an inland town called **Tarisay**, where he had to face noteworthy dangers, and hardships on account of the roughness of the roads, but after he burned the whole town, and killed five men, leaving many other wounded, the rest fled through the bush. He retreated victorious, without having received any harm, thanks to God's mercy. He brought back three children who then received holy baptism. One, who was two years old, later flew to Heaven, having found the means of his predestination as a result of losing his parents. The other two are being raised in this Residence of Agaña with due care.—

Some soldiers were married to some College girls from among those who were the most educated in the doctrine. One of the girls who outshone the others was from the Residence of San José of **Oroti**. With complete determination, she asked Father Sebastian de Monroy, the minister of said town, to marry her, against the will of her parents, who wanted to take advantage of her to make ill-gotten profits, and rental income. She had an answer for all the difficulties that the Father was suggesting, even offering to leave that town and go and live at the residence of Agaña. The wedding was celebrated and on that same day, the father of the girl (who was only her adoptive father) tried

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1 Ed. note: His real name was Irisarri. It is therefore clear that this summary was not written in the Marianas.

impudently to kill her husband by treachery, and he would have carried it out, had not the Father, who saw them go, blocked the path of the Indian's machete. He then warned the Governor about it, so that he could remedy the harms that threatened; indeed, the perverse Indian was stirring up his people, and recruiting them for an uprising. With this warning, the Christian Governor, Captain Don Francisco Ilizarraga [sic] went out to the said town and captured the rebellious Indian, and others his allies, and gave to understand to all those who were not implicated that they had nothing to fear, and so, they should calm down. He returned with the prisoners, and after their case was heard, the father of the newly-married girl was sentenced to death, and the others were released, as they were not guilty enough. The Fathers did their duty with them. They tried to reduce him, but he was so obstinate that he did not want to be baptized. So, seeing that there was no remedy, and that the effort was in vain, the sentence was carried out in sight of everyone, to teach them a lesson.

It is worth mentioning what the children did, by their own decision, to the body of that unfortunate man, because in sight of all the Indians they dragged it, stepped upon it, some hitting it with sticks, and others with stones, shouting loudly: "Let the dog die. Let him die who did not want to become a Christian." By which can be judged how well spent are the efforts being made in upbringing these children.

The Devil did not stop inciting his confidants to put a complete stop to the expansion of this Christian community. So, he moved the spirits of our enemies, specially those who were the accomplices in the deaths of the Ven. Fathers Diego Luis de San Vitores, Antonio de San Basilio, and Pedro Diaz, who were joined by the people of the town of San José of Oroti, resentful for the above-mentioned wedding. An Indian from this town of San Ignacio de Agaña was made Champion of all those Indians.<sup>1</sup> He had been rebellious, and unruly, on other occasions, although he had behaved with us as a friend during the past two years. Indeed, this man persuaded them to take revenge for the harms that he said had been done them, by making them attend mass, and putting a stop to their vices. Hence, most of the towns of the Island were attracted to his will and they plotted in extreme secrecy; they chose to carry it out on the 29th of August, the eve of St. Rose Day, to which saint was dedicated the church of the town of **Tapungan** [sic = Tupungan], which seems like a good occasion to them, as we would then be divided, and on the feast-day would find ourselves without protection. On the preceding night, they went to the town of **Airaan** and set fire to the church, that quickly turned to ashes, along with the Father's quarters, and the Colleges of the children, God our Lord delivering the Father who with a few of them had remained in the town. They did not kill him, thinking he had gone to the feast. He, running an extreme risk of burning himself, took out the sacred statues of Christ, and of His Most Holy Mother, the holy oils, and sacred ornaments. The Indians of said town showed their fidelity by

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1 Ed. note: The word used in the original for "champion" is the Spanish word Adalid. The equivalent expression used by the local people was probably "Chamorrin momo," meaning war chief.

flocking to his help as soon as they heard the church bell ring, and carrying the news of what had happened to the Governor who immediately embarked, not knowing of the treachery that they had planned. The rest of the men went to the town of Tupungan, where the people from the towns involved in the conspiracy had gathered, all the Indians carrying their weapons, that is, spears, slings, and machetes. Many were in ambush, awaiting a signal from the others who began to behave in a discourteous manner, without a reason having been given them to do that. And although they could very well have carried out their intention, Our Lord made them cowards, so that some delay intervened. When it seemed that they were ready to attack, the Governor suddenly arrived with his men. He had smartly sized up the situation, as soon as he arrived at the town of Airaan and saw that the Indians there were calm and they had not been the arsonists; he embarked once more, taking along the Father, and then arrived at the right time at Tupungan. So, the Indians, frightened, dissembled their treachery.

Seeing that things were so troubled, it seemed proper that Fr. Sebastian de Monroy should not return to his Residence; indeed, those Indians were going around with such disquiet but most of them knew how to put up a good face, saying that they would not be happy, unless they took along their Father, and that they would not go without him. This they did so well that, moved by their entreaties, it was thought proper for the said Father to return. And to make him safe, he took along 8 men with firearms, with an express order that they should withdraw, upon sensing any disturbance among the Indians. And, after leaving other soldiers to secure the Residence of Tupungan, the rest of us retired to that of Agatña.

The Indians of **Oroti** hid their treachery for 8 days. As they had agreed, they flocked in on Sunday 6 September, intending to kill the Father while he was saying mass, but the Father heard about their intentions, and he celebrated mass before daybreak. Being warned, the soldiers, acting nonchalantly, waited for the Indians to show up. They flocked in large numbers, as many towns had accepted the invitation to join the conspirators, and many took positions in ambush among the trees, and others incited the College children to ask the Father for permission to go and have fun on the beach. Then, when they saw the children there, they came out of ambush and took the children to another town. When the Father was advised of it, he told them with regret that he wanted to go back to Agatña, given that they had taken away the children. A chief named **Cheref**, whom the Father trusted, told him to calm down, and that he would make the children return, that he should not go away, but it was learned that this was but an attempt at convincing the Father to stay overnight, the better for him to carry out his intention. The Father hit the road, and having arrived at the town of **Sumay**, where Cheref the Indian was the chief, he tried to embark, although there was no-one to give him a craft. Within a short time, the Indians began to show themselves and to throw spears and stones. Our men fought from the beach with complete courage, and

the Father despatched a small craft with one soldier, and a small child who had followed him, to the Governor to advise him of what had happened.<sup>1</sup> As the Indians feared that the succor might arrive at any time, they made use of a diabolical stratagem, for which they used the services of the fake friend, Cheref, who came out from where his people were, acted out as if he were angry [with them] and scolding them for what they were doing. Then he went toward the Father and offered his craft<sup>2</sup> saying that he would take them himself, and get them out of danger. The Father and soldiers accepted his offer, seeing that night was already approaching and that the powder was in short supply, but they had hardly pushed off from the beach when the fake friend, Cheref, capsized the craft (something they do very easily) and they all fell into the water. During the capsizing the Indian grabbed an arquebus from the soldiers and began to hit the fallen ones with its butt end. All the enemies flocked in then, and with spears, and stones, they finished them off. The last one to die was Father Sebastian de Monroy, who had with noteworthy spirit and zeal helped his men, and exhorted them to die gloriously for Christ. He was transpierced with a spear through the throat, asking God to have mercy for the one who was killing him. A copy of the account of the heroic virtues of his life is attached, to be used as an example for those who dedicate themselves to the missions, and for the consolation of those who work in them. The fury of the enemies did not stop there; in fact, they returned to the town of San José of Oroti and burned the church and the colleges, to give a further proof of their diabolical cruelty, all of which was directed against the holy faith of Christ that the Father preached.

Upon receiving the advice that the Father had sent him, the Governor left then with his men and although he made all haste, he could not arrive there until the middle of the night. He waited until the morning, to avoid the danger of ambushes, before stepping ashore. He found two bodies that had been buried, and these were taken to the town of Tupungan for a proper burial. They were unable to find the body of Father Monroy, although they tried to find it out where it was. Seeing that the Indians were so up in arms, the Governor decided that the Fathers in Tupungan should withdraw to this town of Agaña, until the affairs became more settled.—

While the Governor was away in the said sortie, it became necessary, for lack of men, for the Religious to act as sentinels that night, standing watch and making rounds, because the rebellious Indians were always waiting for an opportunity to finish us off. So, judging that the absence of the Governor was a good one, they came the next day under the guise of friendship, loaded with some presents, to see if they could take advantage, but their treacherous intention was known. Considering the danger of losing everything, if the men could not retreat to the main place that had been fortified, and placing the good of so many souls ahead of the individual good of every one of us in overcoming death, we the Religious took up arms, and we went out to meet the sly

1 Ed. note: These two had been sent earlier, from Orote, and had found a canoe in Sumay, before the Sumay residents hid the rest of the canoes.

2 Ed. note: Another slight inaccuracy here; the canoe was provided, at his request, by someone living in Sumay. Cheref had come to Sumay by walking, as Fr. Monroy had done.

enemies. This was enough to make them retreat, and it was not necessary to fire a single shot. Their fear increased when the Governor returned; he returned even before we had time to put down our weapons.

The Devil was not contented yet. He took possession of the heart of the Indian **Aguarin**, of whom we have already made mention. He led him to decide to visit all the towns of the Island of Santa Ana,<sup>1</sup> calling the people to come and finish off this Christian community. He spent the whole month of September doing this, and half of October as well. Here some towns and other individual Indians revealed their fidelity, by not wanting to follow him; one of these was the often-times mentioned Antonio de **Aichi** [sic]<sup>2</sup> who, with his good words and advice, maintained his town in peace,<sup>3</sup> and in so doing placing his own life in danger, so much so that when we recognized the danger he was in, we convinced him to seek the protection of another friendly town,<sup>4</sup> from where he would supply us with a few things for our sustenance. We fixed the enclosure, and the soldiers made various sorties to fight with the enemies, during which many of them died, but on our side not one casualty occurred. And because the church and house were roofed with thatch, and exposed to fires, it was necessary to clear the field, and to reduce ourselves to much tighter quarters, because we knew that a large number of people were getting together, to attack us on all sides.—

The 15th of October arrived. On that day we discovered that a large army of enemies had arrived on the battlefield, though not so close as to be within range of our weapons. So, the Governor went out with a few soldiers to give them an assault, but they fled and did not return until the next day. Not one of our men could be seen in the camp, not one sound either, even though they tried to elicit a response by throwing their stones; fearing some kind of stratagem, they did not dare come near—which is what we were trying to accomplish with the silence, so that we could hit them with our firearms, when they were away from the trees, and bushes. Therefore, they withdrew coldly, but to unleash their fury they destroyed one of our corn plantations, which was our only material succor and hope. They also cut another plantation of tobacco, which in this country is of much utility. They did not tire of giving us some assaults at night, and the boldness of some went as far as to try and kill five soldiers who were in a watch tower, where the enemies introduced themselves without being detected, after they had pulled out two posts from the stockade; they threw their spears against said soldiers, although our Lord did not allow them to be harmed. This served as a lesson to the sentinels, that

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1 Ed. note: Inaccuracy, or transcription error for San Juan. From the names of the towns in question, we know that he visited the southwestern part of Guam.

2 Ed. note: Again, this is a transcription error, made by someone who did not know Ayhi, or Ayihi, personally.

3 Ed. note: Ayihi was chief of the town of Siñahana, but was then living at Asan.

4 Ed. note: This town was Ayran, on the NW coast. It is specifically mentioned in the longer report below.

they should be more careful; many times, on account of fatigue, they had succumbed to sleep.

Five days later, the enemies returned with more men whom the said **Aguarin** had called in, but they were received with the firearms. Two of them fell dead; that is why they resumed their visit. The next day, the Governor went out with a few soldiers to set up an ambush; he went as far as a nearby town.<sup>1</sup> When the people there saw that our men were few, more than 40 of them attacked. Our men feigned a retreat, and they were followed, specially by two of them who advanced ahead of the others. When these two came up abreast of the site of the ambush, both were shot and then fell dead. The head of one of them was brought in and was placed on a post, to be seen by all. Therefore, they were left somewhat subdued by this lesson, and they withdrew for a few days. This lull in fighting gave us some time to cultivate a little corn, so as not to suffer from hunger. So, we Religious saw ourselves obliged to dig the earth, since we did not even have a little *nica*, or potato; to this, we added a few vegetables. An extraordinary thing happened; indeed, every day many vegetables were taken for so many men and, though the plot was very small, the next day there always seemed to be some more to pick, and this lasted for six months. During this period, there was no serious illness in the camp; only one soldier, named **Diego de Ayala**, died.—

With the truces that we had, we decided to build a **church with stone and mud** [bricks], to get some protection from fire. The Religious themselves lent a hand, although the piety of the Governor, Don Francisco, did not let them work at it full time. So, he took charge of it, and assigned the infantry to proceed with the construction full time, but without neglecting the many other necessary tasks associated with our defence.

On October 15th, our Lord saved the life of one of the Fathers from the hands of an Indian who was a prisoner. The Father had been preparing him to die as a Christian, as he had already been sentenced to die for his crimes. At first, he gave good signs of repenting for his crimes, but, when the Father was fixing a couch for him to rest on, he jumped him, grabbing him by the neck to strangle him. The Father fought back and gave a few shouts that made the Governor and some soldiers run in; they then killed the Indian, whose head was exhibited as an object lesson.

On the feast of the Presentation of Our Lady<sup>2</sup> the Indians returned again, with a greater number than on previous occasions. Given their strength, they seemed certain of victory, but the Governor took 20 men and went out to meet them. He made them flee, wounding a few, three of whom died within a few days. Given that they had their retreat nearby in thick bush, they could not be followed. On other occasions, they repeated their efforts, but our Lord allowed that none of our soldiers was ever injured. The soldiers went well armed with trust in His fatherly protection; they kept on attend-

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1 Ed. note: This was Apurguan, I think.

2 Ed. note: The corresponding date was 21 November 1676.

ing the sacraments, full confessions, and series of prayers to our Lord. Governor Don Francisco de Ilizarraga [sic] outshone in everything with special care, and zeal.

His Majesty rewarded our trust, because when, on January 7th [1677], the enemies attacked by sea and land, with a great effort and determination, had God not taken a special care of this His new Church, they would have finished us off, as the number of the Indians was excessively great, but since our war leader was none other than St. Michael the Archangel, not only we did not receive any harm, but many of the enemies were wounded with their own spears.<sup>1</sup> Some stratagems by our men got some success; they made use of the same tricks that the Indians used to harm us.<sup>2</sup> Two of them were left for dead, and although they withdrew on that day, for fear that they would all remain caught among the barbs, and were rendered unable to come out, they arranged for more men, and for some shields for defence, and they returned on January 24th. About 20 or 30 of them came forward in a few canoes, threw themselves after a small flag that we had placed in the sea, for the purpose of catching them within firing range. When they got to it, our men began to shoot their weapons, wounding many of them. All the soldiers then got up and shouted together: "Victory! Victory! St. Michael the victor!" shouts that were enough to make all the enemies flee. It seemed as if it were the echo of the Saint Archangel himself who was making them lose courage with such a fear that they they returned no more. This gave us time to finish the stone church that we had begun. The offices of Holy Week were celebrated inside this church with an extreme consolation of everyone. All the soldiers made general confessions of their whole life, and the ablest among the children prepared themselves to receive the holy sacraments as well. It was a noteworthy relief to watch them make the act of contrition, and hear them sing the morality plays that are usual during such functions. Many were those who did public penance on Good Friday, with such a fervor that it became necessary to moderate them, so as not to cause some harm to health. Later on, they were occupied at building **houses of adobe, and stone** to be used as soldiers' barracks; this way, they will be safe from the fire that we fear so much. All of this has caused no little fear in the Indians.

After so many storms, the desired peace ensued, and the soldiers of this camp were greatly relieved and gave thanks to our Lord and to our patron St. Michael with a high mass. As the new church having been dedicated to the Most Sweet Name of Mary, the constancy of some in venerating the name of God is admirable; indeed, one man who on another occasion had said that he was God<sup>3</sup> has shown himself to be very zealous, suffering many dangers. However, those who outshone all others were the children; they helped us in our work, and in fighting against their own people, thus joining us in our adversities, which is no small favor, and not letting themselves overcome by the entreaties or threats of their parents, and relatives, suffering jointly with us the above-

1 Ed. note: The soldiers would throw back those spears.

2 Ed. note: That is, by digging some man traps, covered over, and lined at the bottom with barbs, or simply burying the barbs in the sand to wound the bare feet of the passersby.

3 Ed. note: This Indian was a converted "macana," or native sorcerer.



mentioned hardships, and there were even some who followed the example of the Fathers, by getting up at night and on their knees examining their consciences, and taking a stiff discipline; two of them in particular stood out by their dedication. The first one, because, at the beginning of the wars, he had been forced by circumstances to go to another town; there he met all his relatives and friends, who gave him such a battering, to convince him not to return, but he blamed them for their attitudes and, picking up his machete, and shield, started on his way to return to our house. In one of the villages through which he passed, they wanted to kill him, because he was showing himself to be so fond of the Fathers, but our Lord freed him and the small boy arrived with extreme consolation in our presence, at a most unexpected moment, and narrated the victory that he had won over his own people. The friendly zeal of the other boy was not smaller, because during these wars the soldiers killed his father in his presence in one of the battles, and they passed a sentence on one brother of his, and although at the beginning of the imprisonment, nature took its course and he felt some sorrow, after he was informed of the crimes of his brother, he was no longer afflicted by the punishment; in fact, from then on he stood out in being a good Christian and in fighting for us against his own people with still more zeal. It is no smaller consolation to watch the girls who have married soldiers; they are so molded by the laws of God, and Christian customs, as if they had always been married in them, by attending mass every day, and later the business of their home with great care, honesty, and dedication to work. Thanks be to God our Lord for everything. Although He allows His new Church to be afflicted, He consoles it with the fruit that we gather in full view, giving us the firm hope of its progress, for which we commend ourselves to the prayers of everyone.

30 May 1677.

## D2. Long version.

### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement in Latin:] *Philippinarum gesta in Insulis Marianis ab anno 1675 ad annum 1676. Felices mortes pro Christo V. Fratris Petri Diaz Scholaris et P. Antonij a Sancto Basilio [sic] et duorum Sæculorum Isidori de Leon et Nicolai de Espinosa.*

### **Relacion de lo sucedido en la Mission de Islas Marianas desde 10 de Junio de 1676 hasta mayo de 1677.**

*Miercoles 10 de Junio del año pasado de 1676, dio vista la Nao S. Antonio de Padua a esta Isla de S. Juan con el mayor socorro, que ha llegado a estas Islas; aunque por nuestros pecados, no se pudo lograr todo, como sucedera siempre, si la Nao no da fondo en el Puerto de S. Antonio, o en el de Umatag, en donde, con seguridad de una y otra parte, se ha logrado otras veces el remedio, y socorro desta Mission. Dexonos la dicha Nao cinco Religiosos de la Compañia, los quatro sacerdotes, y un Hº que fueron de mucho consuelo para los que en esta Mission estabamos, y para los mismos que de nuevo llegaban de no menor, por aver llegado al termino de su vocacion, y santos desseos. Dexo tambien catorce soldados, y dos familias, que son de mucha utilidad para esta christiandad para esta Xptiandad [sic], en especial la*

una; por los buenos exemplos, que da a los Indios en la crianza de tres hijos, y por las habilidades y buenas prendas, que con cariñosa voluntad, y zelo christiano, emplean en utilidad, y bien comun de todos.

En esta sazón nos hallabamos con no pequeño desconsuelo, y perplexidad con la falta de cabo militar para este presidio; porque el Capitan D. Damian de Esplana, aviendo lo governado dos años; estaba ya en la Nao con su abio, resuelto de pasar a Philipinas: y no hallando persona para este cargo, era forzoso buscarla en el mismo Presidio, lo qual estaba expuesto a muchos inconvenientes; por no aver en el alguna, a quien se le pudiese fiar tan gran cuydado, y obligacion. Pero Dios N. S. quien con tan singular providencia mira por esta pequeña christiandad, y Iglesia Mariana (aunque algunas parece que se descuyda; porque quiere que se plante a costa de muchos trabajos, fatigas, y riesgo de sangre de muchos martyres) la tubo tambien aora de probeernos de Cabo militar quando ya nos considerabamos sin el, para que reconociesemos este beneficio mas de Dios, pues fue tambien suya la eleccion del Capitan D. Francisco de Irisarri y Bibar, quien nada menos pensaba, que quedarse en las Marianas; y aun avia persuadido lo contrario a un sargento de su compañía llamado Nicolas Rodriguez, de quien despues se hara mencion.

Hallose movido para quedarse en estas Islas dicho Capitan D. Francisco con particular impulso de Dios por medio de una sencilla propuesta, que mas quiza por chanza, que por seguridad del suceso le hizo el General de la Nao Antonio Nieto: el qual como vio que la aceptaba, se alegró mucho por el singular amor, que tiene a la Mission Mariana: y quiso adelantarle, agradeciendole, en quanto podia, el servicio tan grande, que en esto hacia a Dios y al Rey, dando le titulo de Governador destas Islas. Ya estaba la Nao para tender todas las velas en mucha distancia de tierra, quando esto se resolvió, y luego al punto se embarco con el Padre Superior desta Mission, que con otro comp<sup>o</sup> se hallaba en la Nao hasta la ultima hora de su partida para desembarcar toda quanto se pudiera de socorro: cuya falta (aunque despues se padeció mucho) no se hizo entonces tan sensible por el buen cambio, y suceso del nuevo Governador que recibimos, como enviado de Dios.

Pasose en la Nao todo el socorro de bizcocho, y casi toda la carne entasajos, la Botica, plomo para balas, y otras menudencias. Y todo esto nos ha hecho tanta falta, como se podrá colegir del discurso desta Relacion. Y porque el no dar fondo la Nao trae consigo daños tan considerable a esta Mission, sera bien, que se sepan las causas, que hubo de no darle, para que no culpen los que no las saben, a tan gran benefactor de la misma Mission, como es el General Antonio Nieto. La 1<sup>a</sup> causa de no dar fondo la Nao S. Ant<sup>o</sup> en esta Isla fue el amanecer por la parte del Norte, dando vista a los Pueblos enemigos desta Isla, los quales, aunque llegaron a la Nao, y fueron recibidos con el agasajo acostumbrado, y se encargaron de dar abiso en Agaña luego al instante, no lo hicieron por temor del castigo; pues algunos de aquellos Indios avian concurrido a la muerte del Venerable Padre Ant<sup>o</sup> de S. Basilio, y assi la noticia de la Nao llegó a nosotros el día siguiente, y tambien el General de la Nao de aver tenido en sus manos los enemigos de la Fe con dolor de averlos despachado sin la paga y agasajo que merecian sus delitos; y assi nos atrasaron estos Indios en el tiempo del desembarque, por no tener el abiso [fol 219v] ni la ayuda, que necesitabamos en las embarcaciones de sus pueblos. La 2<sup>a</sup> porque el Capitan D. Damian de Esplana, persuadido, que la Nao avia de llegar por la vanda del Sur al Puerto de Umatag, avia embiado el refresco, que tenia prevenido para recibirla, sus cajas, y ropa al Puerto, y viendola despues por la vanda del Norte, ocupó todos los Indios amigos con sus embarcaciones para que de una vez truxesen a la Nao todo lo que avia embiado al Puerto, y teniendo vientos contrarios las embarcaciones a la buelta, llegaron tarde para el desembarque. La 3<sup>o</sup> y principal: por la desgracia, y golpe tan grande, que tubimos por justos juy-

*cios de Dios, perdiendose un mes antes de llegar la Nao, un barco muy bueno, que a costa de mucho trabajo se avia hecho en esta Isla, y era los pies y manos desta Mission: Caminaba al Puerto de Umatag con sandias, arroz, melones, y gallinas para la Nao, y llebaba veinte soldados, un muchacho Mariano, y un Padre sacerdote, que se llamaba Francisco Gayoso, y levantandose una tempestad, que duro tres dias, arrebató el barco, y no pareció mas, sin saber (y es lo mas cierto) si se lo trago la mar, o si la fuerza de las corrientes, le llebo a Philipinas: en este barco, y la lancha del Navio, en medio día se dexaba de una vez todo el socorro. La 4 porque la Nao S. Antonio en la venida a Nueva España, avia perdido dos ancoras en el desembocadero de las Islas Philipinas y no le avian quedado sino otras dos una grande y otra pequeña, las quales venian dispuestas para dar fondo; pero como no tenían Puerto por el rumbo que traian, aviendo, como avia no poco viento, era arriesgarlas, y ponerse a pique de quedarse sin ellas en lo restante de su viage, porque despues de quatro dias de calma muerta, que avia tenido la Nao, amaneció con tierra Marianas, y viento, creciendo este mas y no dando lugar a los buenos deseos del Señor General Ant<sup>o</sup> Nieto, que deseaba tanto como nosotros dexar todo el socorro, y hizo barloventear la Nao dos dias con este intento, hasta que se desatraco de las Islas con varias bueltas, y con la fuerza del viento. Por todas estas razones no dio fondo la Nao S. Ant<sup>o</sup> aunque si hubiera llegado al Puerto, no se hubiera perdido nada. Pero no falta tambien escusa para esto de parte del General Antonio Nieto, pues el aver tomado el lado del Norte, fue por hacernos mayor bien, y dexarnos sin trabajo, en casa todo el socorro, arrimandose la Nao al pueblo de Agaña, y dando aqui fondo, como lo avia hecho otra vez, quando, viniendo por Almirante, dexo en estas Islas al Venerable Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores pero no dieron lugar a la execucion de su designio los vientos.*

*Comenzose a entablar el año con felicidad de nuestra parte, repartiendo por las Residencias los nuevos Misioneros, y acudiendo a los acostumbrados ministerios de Bautismos, casamientos, y predicacion de la palabra de Dios, y enseñanza de la doctrina Xptiana; assi a los nuevos como a los antiguos christianos, y de parte del Governador obligando a los Indios distantes, y rehacios a acudir los Domingos a missa y a su doctrina, y a que diesen tambien sus hijos, y hijas para que fuesen enseñados, no solo en las cosas de la Fe; sino tambien en otras buenas habilidades, y oficios, para poder formar en estas Islas republica christiana y politica, y quitar poco a poco de sus naturales tanta barbaria. Con estas diligencias acudieron muchos niños de nuevo llenando se dellos los Colegios, y dandonos todas estas cosas muy grandes esperanzas de no menor adelantamiento desta Xptiandad.*

*Con los embarazos forzosos que trae consigo la venida de la Nao, se transfirió la solemnidad del Corpus Xpti al día de S. Juan, y por aver concurrido nuevos embarazos en este día una, y otra fiesta se dexó para la primera Dominica de Agosto, en la qual se zelebraron con todo el aparato possible, y que permite la corta esfera y pobreza Mariana: mas no obstante eso; se podía poner por exemplar en otras tierras mas cultas, y politicas: porque se hicieron muchos altares muy bien adornados, y arcos triunfales, por donde avia de pasar el Señor esmerandose en uno y otro la milicia con la emulacion de qual avia de ser el mas lucido y ventajoso. Concurrieron todos los Padres Misioneros a la fiesta con sus pueblos, y collegios de niños, y niñas, quienes al llegar a esta Residencia en buena distancia, formaban una muy buena procession, llebando delante sus estandartes, y cantando en lengua Española las oraciones y doctrina Xptiana: a esta comunidad salia a recibirla que formaban los niños y niñas de Agaña, y haciendose de las dos un cuerpo, proseguian todos con la doctrina Xptiana hacia la Iglesia, no sin lagrimas de los que de nuevo los miraban; por ver las alabanzas de Dios en las bocas de tantos inocentes, que poco antes, como [220] incultos troncos la ignoraban.*

*Desta suerte se juntaron las demas Residencias; y el día siguiente, despues del sermon, y missa sol- emne se formo la procession general: delante iban los estandartes de las Residencias, y luego se seguian por un lado todos los niños, y por el otro todas las niñas, con el mayor adorno, y aseo, que cada una de las Residencias podia, y todos cantaban la doctrina christiana. A los niños seguian los Indios Principales de los Pueblos, que acudieron a la fiesta bien vestidos, y con velas encendidas en las manos: El Governador en medio de la Procession cerca de la Custodia llebaba un rico guion, o estandarte: y la Comunidad Religiosa con algunos musicos iban cantando el **Pange lingua**. Detras de la custodia que llebaba el preste en sus manos, venia la milicia con mucho lucimiento en forma de guerra, disparando a trechos, y bueltas muchas cargas: por ultimo y por todo el campo avia innumerables Indios, que estaban admirados de ver tal aparato, y se arrodillaban al verse a la presencia del Señor. Al llegar a cada uno de los altares, se colocaba en el la Custodia, y se cantaba un Villancico [sic], arrodillados entretanto todos, y despues de incensar, y decir la oracion, se proseguia adelante hasta concluir con todo dexando al Señor dentro de su casa. A la tarde se celebrou la misma fiesta con un Coloquio, que representaron algunos niños, mezclandose a tiempos varios generos de bayles, como de Pavana, Canario, y tocotin [sic] (que equivale a los torneos de España) y lo vaylaron despues del Coloquio diez, o doce niños con mucho primor, y destreza, y no fue menor la que tenian en la representacion en lengua Española, con un gracioso, que era de talento superior para las tablas. Todo lo qual denota la capacidad, y abilidad destos naturales para formar en ellos una muy florida christiandad y republica; especialmente en los que aora se ban criando; porque los grandes arrastrados de la pesada cadena de sus vicios de de sus barbaras y antiguas costumbres, no son tan aptos para recibir las politicas y christianas.*

*Acabada la fiesta, y bueltos todos a sus pueblos, y Residencias para establezer, y adelantar esta christiandad, era necessario reprimir algunos pueblos, y castigar las insolencias de otros, como tambien los homicidas de los Padres y Compañeros, que instigados del Demonio no cessaban de hacernos guerra, persuadiendo a unos ser malas costumbres las nuestras; porque se oponen a las suyas, y combidando a otros para hacernos todo el mal possible, para que por lo menos de enfadados y aburridos de no conseguir con tanta facilidad el fin de nuestros deseos, desamparemos estas Islas, y ellos sean totalmente dueños, sin embarazo de estrangeros, de su antigua libertad, y costumbres barbaras, pagando al Demonio, que con tan estraña tirania se ha apoderado destas almas, su antiguo feudo de trabajos, pobreza, y total desnudez acompañada de muchos y enormes pecados, y vicios en esta desdichada, y miserable vida, y despues con la total posesion de sus almas en las penas eternas del Infierno.*

*Tomo por su cuenta este empeño el zeloso; y christiano Cavallero D. Francisco de Irrisari y Bibar Governador del Presidio, comenzando por un pueblo del monte llamado **Tarisay**, cuyos moradores por hallarse en paraje por su naturaleza fuerte, y nueve leguas distante desta Residencia pareciendoles estar muy seguros, blasonaban de su valor, motejando las armas Españolas, y notando a los Españoles de cobardes. Para castigar pues los delitos, e insolencias destos barbaros, salio un día a boca de noche, y caminando toda ella por los montes tropezando y cayendo a cada paso, y por ultimo passando un arroyo en que llegando el agua al pecho, por no saber el vado peligraron algunos de los soldados, y se hubieran ahogado, sino les socorriera un Indio de la tierra, que llebaban por guia: llegaron finalmente al amanecer al pueblo de **Tarisay**, y tocando al arma le dieron un Santiago, en que quedaron cinco de los enemigos muertos, y muchos escaparon por los montes mortalmente heridos. Despues pusieron fuego a la casa de los **Urritaos** (que assi llaman a los solteros y gente de armas entre estos barbaros) o por mejor decir pusieron fuego a la casa de la torpeza, que suele aver en cada pueblo para dar rienda los mozos a sus bes-*

*tiales apetitos en la compra, o torpe alquiler, que hacen de las doncellas por dos o tres arcos de hierro, y otras tantas conchas de tortuga, que dan a sus Padres, y estos las entregan liberalmente a los mozos emancipandolas, y despidiendolas de su casa, recibiendo tan miserable paga de la corrupcion y torpeza de sus hijas con tanta satisfaccion y gusto como lo suele tener un honrrado Xptiano Padre en el estado decente y proporcionado a la calidad de sus nobles y honrrados hijos.*

[220v] *Volviose nuestra gente mas gustosa cargada con algunos despojos de petates, lanzas, y otras alajuelas de semejante precio; aunque ninguna le ponía tanto aliento como la sangre de los enemigos, que avia quedado en las armas Españoles para hacer alarde manifesto de su valor. Pero entre estos pobres despojos se hallaron tres preciosas margaritas de tres almas, que llegando a esta Residencia, recibieron el sagrado Bautismo, y luego volo la una, que seria de dos años, al Cielo: hallando en la perdicion de sus Padres los medios certissimos, e infalibles de la Divina Predestinacion. La otra aun mas pequeña se cria con todo cuydado, y no con menor diligencia la mayor, que es un niño de 8 a nueve años que queda en el Collegio desta Residencia para que ilustrado con la enseñanza y Santa doctrina, sepa reconocer, y agradecer el beneficio tan grande, que le ha hecho su Criador y Señor.*

*Despues desto se hicieron algunos casamientos, assi de Españoles como de Indios Philipinos deste Presidio con algunas niñas Marianas de las mas bien criadas, y doctrinadas de los Colegios entre las quales se señalo mucho una de la Residencia del Pueblo de Oroti [sic] que con el exemplo de otra compañera suya casada en el mismo pueblo con otro Español compañero del Padre Misionero de aquel partido; se resolvió tambien casarse por la Iglesia con odio formal de las malas costumbres de los suyos. Y considerando que si sus Padres y parientes supiesen esta resolucion suya, la avian de impedir totalmente, o por lo menos atrasar sus designios; comunico en secreto con el Padre Misionero su determinacion, desatandole, y dando solucion plena a las dificultades que le ponía el Padre hasta decirle, que si fuera menester dexaria sus Padres y su pueblo, y se vendria a vivir a Agaña para evitar los peligros, y riesgos, que de su casamiento se podian originar. Viendo el Padre tanta resolucion, y tambien fundada, y hallando aun mas de lo que se prometió en la natural inconstancia de los Indios, la confirmo en sus buenos intentos, y dió muchas gracias a Dios de ver tan bien logrados sus trabajos en tan poco tiempo. Dispuso luego con toda solemnidad la administracion del Santo Sacramento del matrimonio en un día festivo para que los Indios a la vista de los sagrados ritos, y ceremonias de la Santa Iglesia, reconozcan la barbaridad de sus ritos, y nulidad de sus matrimonios que mejor se pueden llamar amancebamientos, por no aver en ellos perpetuidad, y serles libre el apartarse, y buscar otra muger, o marido, en teniendo qualquier desabrimiento, y en esto se señalan mas las mugeres, que demas de la flaqueza, que trae consigo en todas partes este sexo de querer parecer bien, y ser estimadas de todos; son en esta tierra las que gobiernan la casa sujetandose los hombres a sus melindres, y necessidades, y aun padeciendo de ordinario de sus manos muy buenos golpes: y por ultimo repudiado el primero se ban con toda la hacienda a otro nuevo consorte: tanta es la rusticidad, y barbaridad destes Indios.*

*Aviendose ce[le]brado este matrimonio y estando todos en la Iglesia, vino su Padre desta niña (quien lo era solamente adoptivo, lo qual es muy ordinario en esta Islas) con Diabolico furor a vengar, si pudiera, el agravio que decia le avia hecho el Padre Misionero en casar a su hija con **guirrago** (que assi llaman a los Españoles, o extrangeros) y llegando a donde estaba el Padre le afeo mucho su hecho diciendo que le avia quitado su vida y hacienda; mas el Padre que ya sabia adonde miraba aquella sin razon, por no llamarle razonamiento, que es a la depravada costumbre que ya dixé, del torpe alquiler de sus hijas, sustentando sus miserables cuerpos con la perdicion eterna de sus almas, y fundando en ella sus*

mayores fincas y posesiones; le procuraba sosegar diciendole que no perderia nada, y que el le satisfaria, dandole mas de lo que podia esperar y tener en logro torpe, y alquiler Diabolico de su hija.

No se quieto el barbaro con las palabras del Padre; antes procuro quitarle la vida, y a sus compañeros, y en especial al que se avia casado con su hija. Para lo qual junto alli luego muchos Indios de los pueblos comarcanos con sus lanzas, y machetes, dando voces descompuestas, y quejas barbaras, y arriandose con disimulo a los nuestros iba ya a descargar a traycion un fuerte machetazo sobre el desposado, de que se libro por abiso del Padre el qual viendo el peligro en que todos estaban despacho a los dos casados con sus mugeres a esta Residencia para ponerlos en salvo y dar abiso del alboroto referido para que se pusiese remedio en el atrevimiento y desacato de aquellos Indios. Llegaron pues los casados a esta Residencia, y aviendo informado de todo al Governador se partio luego para **Orote** [sic], y en esta salida se desaparecio un soldado el qual, como se supo despues, aviendose quedado en el camino, no lexos desta Residencia, le encontro solo un Indio, y llebandole en amistad hacia su pueblo, en teniendole descuidado, le dio tan fuerte [221] palo en la cabeza que le derribo en el suelo sin sentido, y luego le acabo de matar con sus propias armas.

Luego que llego a **Orote** el Governador sosego el alboroto, y truxo presos a dos los mas culpados, y uno dellos fue el Padre de la desposada, a quien, despues de bien justificada su causa, mando ahorcar, dando al otro por libre por hallarse no ser tan culpado. Para el suplicio mando tambien juntar los pueblos circumvecinos, dandoles a entender los delitos del ajusticiado, como tambien fue uno de los que concurrieron al Martyrio del Venerable Padre Francisco Esquerra, y quam bien [sic] merecido tenia el castigo, la rectitud, y buen corazon de los Españoles, que no pretendian otra cosa sino premiar los buenos, y castigar los malhechores, y hacer bien a todos los moradores destas Islas, ya con la predicacion del Santo Evangelio, y Fe Catholica, ya con lo que ellos mas estiman, que son sus conchas, hachas, bolos, y arcos de hierro, llenandoles de la hacienda que no tenían antes que llegasen a sus tierras los **guirragos**, y como en señal de que era todo verdad, daba luego por libre al compañero del ajusticiado por no ser comprendido en los delitos, que antes se le acumulaban.

Encargaronse algunos sacerdotes de los mas diestros en la lengua de disponerle para morir como christiano; pero fue tal su pertinacia que no quiso ser bautizado, aviendose tomado todos los medios posibles para reducirlo: con que viendo aquella obstinacion, y que se trabajaba en vano, se executo el suplicio a vista de todos, haviendo pressa de su alma, no sin dolor nuestro, el Demonio, a quien en vida avia aborrecido. Pero no es digno de pasar en silencio la accion, en que de su propio motu prorrumplieron los niños Marianos a vista de todos los Indios, que avian concurrido al espectáculo, y fue que irritados contra el obstinado, por no aver querido recibir el Santo Bautismo y morir christiano, arremetieron todos a el despues de muerto, y unos con piedras, y otros con palos le herian, y pisaban, y le llevaban por la playa arrastrando, y diciendo en alta voz **muera el perro, muera que no ha querido ser christiano** con tanto fervor, y zelo como pudieran hacerlo si fueran Europeos, y sin moverles a compassion el ser de los suyos, en cuya defensa se esmeran estos naturales, ni a miedo el hallarse a vista de tantos Indios grandes, que sentian mas de lo justo la muerte de su principal, o **magarrahi**. De donde se colige, quam bien empleados son los sudores, trabajos, y afanes que se padecen en la crianza de los niños, y quan seguras, y firmes esperanzas nos dan de su firmeza en la Fe recebida, en adelante.

Veia el Demonio la bateria y guerra, que se le hacia, y que a este paso en breve tiempo se pacificava toda la Isla, y quedaria establecida en ella la christiandad con la ganancia y logro de muchas almas para el Cielo, y trato de alborotarlo todo, llamando a guerra, y sangrienta campaña todas las huestes Infer-

nales para vencer de una vez, acabando los Ministros Evangelicos, y gente del Presidio; o quedar vencido de nosotros, sin poder sacudir destas pobres almas, a quienes posee tiranicamente por muchos siglos, el suave y ligero yugo de Nuestra Santa Fe. Para este intento se valio de sus mas leales Ministros, que lo son nuestros enemigos, traydores, y homicidas, que nunca han hecho partido, ni dado entrada en sus almas a la luz del Santo Evangelio gozandose en la ceguedad de sus tinieblas, y estorbando con las nuevas espesas de barbaros consejos, y errores los rayos del sol de justicia, que a muchos destes naturales, elados antes en la escarcha de su gentilidad, han ilustrado, y fomentado en el calor de la caridad y de la Fe.

Hallaron ocasion los Indios enemigos de Nuestro bien los sucesos para asegurar sus vidas, que ya daban por perdidas, huyendo siempre, desterrados, y atormentados como otro Cain, de sus propias consciencias. Estos eran los Pueblos de *Ritiyan*, donde mataron al Venerable Padre Ant<sup>o</sup> S. Basilio, y al H<sup>o</sup> Pedro Diaz, el de *Tumhon*, donde mataron a Nuestro Venerable Padre y Apostolico obrero de la Iglesia Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores, y los de *Orote* y *Tarisay* por los casos referidos, a quienes se llegaron tambien algunos de *Assan*, pueblo en que avian muerto poco antes a un soldado con la traycion, que he dicho: y aunque estuvo en cubierto, les parecia, y con razon, que no passaria mucho tiempo, sin llegar la verdad a nuestros oydos, y asi no se tenian por seguros, y se hicieron del vando de los enemigos. Llegose a ellos tambien un principal deste Pueblo de *Agadña*, llamado *Aguarin*, tuerto y gran ministro de *Satanas*, que aunque estos dos años antecedentes se avia portado con nosotros como amigo, y recebido muchos beneficios, assi de los Padres como del Cabo militar, con todo eso encubrio su mal animo, que ya quatro años antes avia prorrumpido en igual alboroto al que aora dixi, moviendo guerras contra nosotros, y combidando para ellas, no solo los moradores desta Isla; sino tambien de la de *Rota*, para acabar con todos nosotros. Este Indio posseido del Demonio se hizo cabo y caudillo de todos los demas, que he referido; no porque ellos tengan sucession, ni gobierno politico, ni militar reconociendo alguno por cabo, a quien los demas ayan de estar sujetos; sino porque fue el principal autor, y primer moble de todos los alborotos y desgracias deste año.

Para esto comenzo con los suyos a quejarse de nosotros y de los Españoles sembrando entre los Indios pa-[221v] - cificos, y fieles una Diabolica cizaña. Primero procuro atraer assi los pueblos mas distantes, y que a su parecer estaban ofendidos, como eran los de *Tarisay*, y *Orote*, los de *Sumay*, *Fuuña*, y *Agofan*, que eran parientes de los castigados, alegando muchas razones para que todos los naturales se uniessen, y acabassen de una vez con todos los Españoles, o *Guirragos*. “Que haceis hermanos? (les decia) como vivis con tanto descuydo en tiempo tan calamitoso? No veis que los *Guirragos* nos matan nuestra gente? Presto moriremos todos a sus manos. Ya mataron a vuestros parientes en *Tarisay*, y *Orote*: alli os quitaron vuestras mugeres para casarlas con los soldados: ya se deshacen las casas de nuestros *Urritaos*, y no tenemos dellos la paga, que por nuestras hijas suelen darnos: nuestros mismos hijos nos aborrecen: y en *Agadña* apedrearon, y arrastraron a nuestro hermano en nuestra presencia: Vuestras hijas hechas a las costumbres de los Españoles huyen de nosotros, ocupados en coser, hilar, texer, y otras cosas, que nunca hemos sabido en esta tierra, y a todos nosotros nos obligan a que bamos a sus fiestas a la Iglesia, y dexar nuestro recreo de estar pescando, y labrando nuestras redes, y embarcaciones. Donde esta pues hermanos mios vuestra antigua libertad, la fuerza de vuestras piedras y jondas, y la valencia de vuestras lanzas? Exemplo teneis que seguir en nosotros, que ya hicimos tantas muertes y con vuestra ayuda, y socorro adelantaremos nuestras empresas, y acabaremos con estos estrangeros enemigos de nuestra libertad, y descanso.”

*Con estas semejantes razones persuadió Aguarin y los suyos a estos pueblos, y despues a otros que eran de muy buenos naturales. Y no es de admirar en la inconstancia natural destos Indios junta con el poco tiempo de Xptiandad, que padezcan estas borrascas y les hagan zozobrar, quando estos mismos y peor efectos se experimentan cada dia en otras Xptiandades mas antiguas, y cultivadas. Pero lo peor del caso no fue la conjuracion dicha sino el secreto, con que se urdia y la Diabolica traycion, que se trama- ba, que era dexarnos proseguir, sin dar muestras de sentimiento sino paliarlo, y encubrirlo con su acos- tumbrado disimulo para que no sabiendo nosotros sus designios nos cogieran repart...*

[Perhaps as many as 30 lines were somehow erased during a inter-computer copying process, and are missing at this point.]

*...clamo de los que estaban a vista de los Nuestros. Todos venian con lanzas, y machetes, y estaban alborotados con animo de poner en execucion sus malos deseos; aunque los Padres no sabian nada desto, y mucho menos los pocos militares que se hallaban con ellos. Hasta que aviendo hecho algunas demos- traciones de mal animo, que despues atribu- [222] -yeron a miedo, con el abiso que llego del incendio de Ayran, entraron en sospechas de alguna traycion muy grande, y poniendose los soldados en arma, se recogieron adentro y con ellos los Religiosos, que no cessaban de predicar a los Indios, e inquirir la causa de aquel desasosiego: Y aunque los Barbaros pudieron matarlos a todos antes de tomar las armas nue- stros soldados, estubieron por permission de Dios tan cobardes, que no pasaron de las voces al rompi- miento.*

*Llego pues el Governador a Ayran con mucho dolor de ver el estrago del fuego; aunque se consolo mucho hallando al Padre con vida, y al parecer sin el peligro que temia: por lo qual se embarco luego para Tupungan, no sin rezelo de algun alboroto grande; porque el fuego de Ayran daba ocasion y fun- damento prudente para presumirlo todo, por no hacer estos naturales agravio semejante de poner fuego; sino quando se declaran por enemigos entre si los pueblos, y con esta señal se provocan a las guerras; mas como no sabiamos de donde avia provenido el daño, padeciamos sus efectos, mientras las diligen- cias, noticias, y discursos descubrian los enemigos con acierto. Este le tubo el Governador en su apres- urada buelta de Ayran para Tupungan, a donde llego a tan linda sazon, y tiempo quanto mayor era el susto, y aprieto, en que se hallaba nuestra gente a vista de tantos barbaros, aguardando por momentos verse obligados a usar de las armas para defender las vidas, que tenian en conocido riesgo. Mas los In- dios se sosegaron con la llegada del Governador y comenzaron a disimular su traycion, respondiendo a todo que ellos tenian mucho miedo del Capitan. En esta concurrencia de circunstancias nos hallabamos tan perplexos, que no sabiamos por donde echar; porque las que se han referido de emboscada, y com- bite para pelear con los nuestros, no se sabian entonces, ni avia mas fundamento contra estos Indios, que las voces alteradas, que dieron, y el abiso de lo sucedido en Ayran, y representando despues tanto abati- miento no nos daban lugar a declararlos por enemigos, aunque se tenia gran rezelo de sus acostumbra- dos trayciones, y disimulo. Por lo qual se avia resuelto, que no bolbiese a su Residencia de Orote el Padre Misionero hasta que se quietasen del todo estos alborotos.*

*Pero con esta resolucion adelantaron los Indios su fingimiento, diciendo que si el Padre no iba con ellos en señal de que los teniamos por enemigos, y que esto les causaba grande miedo, que no se irian sin el Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, que era su doctrinero en aquel partido. Movidos pues de las instancias de los Indios por no dar de nuestra parte ocasion de mayor desasosiego, pareciendo se aseguraba todo, y se quietaba con la buelta de dicho Padre le despachamos, acabada la fiesta con ocho soldados de so- corro para su resguardo, y entre ellos el Teniente de Governador [Sargento] Nicolas Rodriguez, con*



*orden expreso de retirarse con el Padre a la Residencia de Agaña, en sintiendo alguna turbacion entre los Indios, o descubriendo señales de traycion, sin atender a ningunos ruegos ni dar oydos a la excusa ordinaria del miedo. Dexose tambien en la Residencia de Tupungan bastante presidio para su defensa y de los Padres Misioneros y los demas nos retiramos con el Governador a Agaña, adonde se trataba con mucha deliberacion del remedio de lo sucedido.*

*Dissimularon por ocho dias los barbaros su traycion para lograrla mejor, quitandoles a todos los que estaban en Oroti las vidas: para lo qual señalaron, y determinaron dia los pueblos coligados con sumo secreto, y fue el Domingo 6 de Septiembre aviendo de executar en la Iglesia la maldad execrable, y horrible abominacion de alancear al Padre en el sacrificio santo y tambien a los soldados, que le assistian. Pero como estaban ya los nuestros abisados con lo sucedido, no les parecio mal prevenir qualquier traycion: y assi con orden que para esto tubo el Padre Misionero del Superior dixo aquel dia missa muy temprano, y los soldados se pusieron en arma para el tiempo acostumbrado de la Doctrina y missa de los Indios. Vinieron todos a su hora muchos mas de los que pertenecian a la Residencia con lanzas en las manos, y machetes, aunque no se atrebieron a declararse entonces, por aver hallado a los nuestros tan prevenidos, y armados: entraron en la Iglesia a rezar, y despues, aviendose ido muchos dellos, o emboscados cerca de la casa, algunos de los que tenian hijos en los Collegios, les induxeron a pedir licencia, para ir como solian a divertirse un poco a la playa: dio la licencia el Padre y salieron los niños y niñas a divertirse: y en llegando a la playa, salieron los Indios de la emboscada, y los llebaron a otro pueblo. Llego luego el abiso al Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, el qual hizo demonstracion de grande sentimiento para con los Indios, que alli estaban, diciendoles, que ya se iba a Agaña con su gente para no bolber mas a Oroti, sino le bolbian los niños, y que el Capitan haria en ellos un gran castigo.*

*Un Principal llamado Cheref, que era el unico de quien el Padre se fiaba, procuraba entretenerle, diciendole que el haria bolber los niños y lo hubiera hecho facilmente el Indio por aver mostrado buen natural y afecto, y poder mucho con su gente, aunque maleado ya con las persuasiones de nuestros enemigos, su designio era dar lugar a que llegasen los Indios del monte, que [222v] llaman **tarotanos**, y se incorporasen con los de la playa, y toda la multitud declarase la batalla con los pocos nuestros. Comenzo a caminar el Padre con su gente para Agaña, obedeciendo al orden, que assi el Padre como el Teniente de Governador tenian de retirarse, y Cheref les seguia rogandoles que no se fuesen. Llegaron al Pueblo de **Sumay**, donde Cheref era Principal, y trato el Padre de embarcarse; pero ni hallaba embarcacion, ni quien la governase; porque todos los Indios del Pueblo estaban unidos con los de la faccion, y a poco rato se descubrio una gran multitud de Indios, que seguian a los nuestros a bandadas con grandes voces, y barbara griteria como acostumbran en sus guerras, entendiendo que no se les podia ir de las manos tan buena presa.*

*Viendo pues el Padre el riesgo y peligro en que se hallaba, exorto a los suyos a pelear valerosamente contra los enemigos de la fe por la misma Fe, y por las vidas, disponiendoles tambien con la prisa, que pedia el caso con la absolucion de sus culpas para tener, si Dios lo permitiese una buena muerte. Y al punto despacho con un niño Mariano (que era el unico que le avia seguido) a un soldado en una embarcacion pequena, a dar abiso de lo que pasaba, a Agaña, para que le embiasen presto socorro. Apenas avia bogado un poco el soldado, quando vio a los Nuestros en la playa, que con buen orden comenzaban a disparar sus armas, y que se trababa la batalla con los Indios, a quienes siete soldados ayudados de la buena disposicion, y animo, que con su presencia y palabras les infundia el Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, resistieron por mucho rato con grandissimo valor, siendo casi innumerables los enemigos. Los*

quales, aunque tan superiores en numero, se consideraban inferiores en las armas, y con algunos malheridos, sin aver logrado sus lanzas, y asi maquinaron una Diabolica estratagemas por medio del fingido amigo del Padre llamado Cheref, el qual aviendo salido de hacia los suyos afeandoles lo que avian hecho, haciendose de nuestra parte, y tirandoles lanzas, llevo adonde estaba el Padre ofreciendole embarcacion para Agadña, y que el mismo la llebaria. Mas el intento suyo era bolcar la embarcacion hallandose en buena distancia de la playa dentro de la mar para que no pudiendo valerse de las armas nuestra gente, acudiesen de golpe los enemigos y los acabasen a lanzadas dentro del agua.

Como el Padre Sebastian de Monrroy tenia buen concepto de Cheref, y venia con tanta dissimulo, y apariencia de piedad (que es admirable el de estos Indios, y al mas abisado engañaran; sino concibe en ellos aun mayor maldad de la que fraguan en sus corazones) considerando que el socorro de Agadña avia de llegar a media noche, y que eran las quatro de la tarde, y el peligro, en que se hallaban muy grande, y mucho mayor en llegando la noche, en que podian ser por todos lados acometidos de la multitud, sin poder, a lo menos, durar mucho la resistencia de nuestra parte por salir de tantos riesgos, se persuadio, y todos se persuadieron, que era mejor admitir el agasajo de Cheref, que exponerse todos a perder la vida. Tan agenos estaban de la traycion, que juzgaban era fineza la deste Indio digna de singular agradecimiento.

Embarcaronse con el Padre que ya se daban por muy seguros de sus enemigos, viendose en el mar, y apenas se avian descuydado, quando bolco Cheref la embarcacion (lo qual hacen con facilidad estos Indios) cayeron los nuestros en el agua, que les llegaba a los pechos, y garganta mojandoseles la polvora y las armas. Los enemigos, que estaban a la vista aguardando el suceso, acudieron con gran tropel, y griteria, sin estorbarles el agua, por ser todos grandes nadadores, ni impedirles las vestiduras; porque no las admite el amor, que tienen a su total desnudez, siendo estas dos cosas las que mayor guerra hacian a los nuestros, a quienes unos con palos, otros con piedras, los mas con lanzas, y el traydor de Cheref con el mocho de un arcabuz, que ya avia perdido un soldado, comenzaron, como hambrientos lobos, a quitarles las vidas; aunque no sin daño de los suyos, a quienes, ya que no podia ofender nuestras armas de fuego, con los machetes, y campilanes, dieron los nuestros bizarras cuchilladas; pero como los enemigos eran tantos, y tan pocos, y tan combatidos los nuestros, aun de los mismos elementos, que apenas podian hacer dentro del agua; por ultimo vencieron los muchos, y los mataron a todos aquella misma tarde.

El ultimo que murio fue el Apostolico Missionero y fervoroso Padre Sebastian de Monrroy, que assi en tierra como en la mar causo terror, y admiracion a los Indios con su valor, pues con una caraza, o rodela en la mano solamente reparo delante de los nuestros, a quienes servia de escudo, y exortaba a morir por Jesu Xpto, innumerables lanzas, que llobian sobre ellos, hasta que le dieron una pedrada tan fuerte en el brazo de la caraza, que se la derribo de la mano, despues una lanzada en el cuello, y preguntando le al matador porque le quitaba la vida, sin aguardar la respuesta le dio las gracias, diciendole: **Si Dios maasi** que en la lengua destes Indios es lo mismo que **Dios te lo pague, o Dios te de el Cielo, o Dios tenga misericordia** [223] **de tí**, y luego le acabaron la vida a machetazos, y lanzadas. Varon verdaderamente zeloso de la gloria de Dios, y Apostolico de insigne humildad, y caridad, y de otras muchas Religiosas virtudes, que referirlas aqui seria alargar mucho esta historia, y asi se dexan para especial Relacion, en que se veran tambien los elogios, que se merecieron sus dichosos compañeros.

Ganada la victoria, se bolbieron a **Oroti**, y quemaron la Iglesia, collegios, y casa, profanando el temple de Dios, e Imagenes Sagradas, que sino las hubieran hecho pedazos por ultrajarlas, sera por tener en ellas ganancia, vendiendolas despues en las Naos, que pasan a Philipinas de buelta de Nueva Espa-

ña. Con el abiso del Padre Monrroy, quedamos todos persuadidos a lo que de hecho avia sucedido quando lo tubivos, de que avrian muerto a manos de Indios los nuestros, sino se resistian en la playa. Salio al punto el Governador con su gente, dexando solamente aqui los impedidos: y llegando a media noche a los terminos de **Sumay**, oyan la griteria de los Indios, que tenian cogido los montes y la playa, celebrando su victoria sobre las sepulturas de los muertos; y assi no salto en tierra hasta ser de dia por el riesgo de las emboscadas. Este fue el mayor peligro, que tubimos de perderlo todo, que era a lo que los enemigos tiraban: porque aviendo salido al socorro casi toda la gente de Agadña, como esta Residencia quedaba desamparada los Indios de la banda de Catan, que es la mitad de la Isla, que mira al oriente, y no se avian declarado antes por enemigos, sino dado muestras de gran miedo, desamparando los pueblos con color de que los hariamos complices en los alborotos antecedentes; siendo asi, que era la primera causa dellos, por ser Aguarin Principal de Agadña, a quien seguian los otros pueblos de Catan. Estos pues nos acometieron a media noche con fuego para quemarnos las casas, y quitarnos en medio del incendio las vidas. Pero no lo consiguieron por el mucho cuydado, y vigilancia con que estabamos aquella noche haciendo centinela los mismos Religiosos, y esperando qualquier novedad y traycion de sus malos intentos. Fueron descubiertos por el fuego, que traian de una zentinela, y estando ya cerca de las casas, se les dispararon algunas armas, con que se retiraron a priesa, viendo que no se les lograba la traza.

En amaneciendo, salto en tierra el Governador en la playa de Sumay, y luego se retiraron al monte los Indios, dexando el campo libre a los nuestros. En el hallaron dos cuerpos enterrados, que se descubrieron por si acaso alguno dellos era del fervoroso Padre Monrroy; pero este no parecio, de que hemos quedado con grande sentimiento; aunque el uno dellos era el del Teniente de Governador y se trujo a la Iglesia de **Tupungan** para darle en ella sepultura. Vista pues con tan grande desgracia la mala voluntad y traicion de los Indios, que con tanto dissimulo por muchos dias tubieron solapada, y que sus intentos eran de acabar con todo, en llegando a la Iglesia de Tupungan, dispuso el Governador que los Padres se retirasen a Agadña, dexando aquella Residencia por tiempo; porque corria el mismo riesgo, que las que estaban ya desbaratadas. Los que estabamos en Agadña con la tardanza de los nuestros, se nos aumentaban las sospechas de mayores desgracias; aunque siempre con buenos animos, sin reparar en la vida propia, que es lo que menos se estimaba en defensa de la Fe, y de las armas Catholicas; quando de repente nos hallamos acometidos a la una del dia de gran multitud de Indios de Catan, que con capa de amistad; aunque mas bien aforrados de lanzas, y machetes; nos traian un poco de pescado, para que si lo admitiesemos se entrasen en la estacada, y garitas de los soldados, y degollasen con los Padres a todos los que encontraran. Tanta era la insolencia destos barbaros.

Mas fue valerosamente rechazada; porque irritados los Religiosos de tan repetidas asechanzas del Demonio, cuya era toda la ganancia en las empressas de los miserables barbaros; porque no se perdiere de una vez la Fe, y el credito de las Catholicas armas, antepusieron como lo dicta la caridad perfecta, la salud y bien espiritual de innumerables almas, que [de]penden de la conservacion de sus vidas, a la utilidad y bien particular, que podian tener en perderlas en esta ocasion por Xpto, con titulo y renombre de Martyres, y arrebataron las armas saliendo con tal resolucion al encuentro a los enemigos que sin disparar un tiro ganaron la victoria haciendoles retirar a buen paso, y diciendo que no pensaban que los Padres tenian tan grande **namnam** (que assi llaman a la resolucion valerosa, o valentia, en que se señalan los mas animosos en sus batallas). Pero estas son las misericordias de Dios, que quier<sup>o</sup> [sic] por aora afligida la pobre Iglesia Mariana; aunque no acabada. Y assi luego, aun antes de dexar las armas, vimos

*venir al Gobernador con su gente, y los Padres de Tupungan, que todos avian padecido aquella noche grandes riesgos de la vida; aunque no como los que se han referido de Agaña.*

[223v] *No se contento el Demonio con avernos quitado ya tres Residencias tan floridas, y bien doctrinadas con las muertes del Padre Monroy, y sus Compañeros sino que pretendió darnos la a todos y arrancar de raiz la Xp̄td. para adquirir de nuevo la posesion destas desdichadas almas. Y así apoderado de Aguarin su grande amigo, le movio a llebar adelante estos intentos convocando de nuevo a todos los enemigos, y pervertiendo a los que no lo eran, para que junta toda la Isla nos hiciessen cruel guerra para esto dio muchas bueltas por los pueblos de Ruchan, y de Catan, o de poniente, y oriente, y los del monte, declarando pro enemigos suyos, y de la patria a los Pueblos, que no querian coligarse para hacernos guerra, y haciendoles muchas hostilidades, y buscandoles para quitarles la vida; porque le parecia, que no podiamos escapar esta vez de sus manos con la ayuda de los suyos, a quienes ofrecia liberalmente nuestros despojos, asegurandoles la victoria sin sangre. Porque (decia este instrumento de Satanas) aunque no llegemos a las manos los podemos acabar por hambre, no permitiendo, que de nuestra parte les entre socorro de Dago, ni de Nica, que son el sustento de nuestra tierra. Pero no me contento con matarles de hambre por no darles termino de vida tan largo; sino que hemos de darles uno y otro asalto, sin cesar de noche, ni de día, hasta vencerlos, y acabarlos, que siendo tan pocos, y nosotros tantos, no es dificultoso. Ya sabeis como se les perdió su barco con el la gente de mas valor, y que los que se han quedado son mui pocos, y visoños, a que se llega la victoria que poco ha hemos tenido. Y persuadios que si esta vez no acabamos con los Guirragos, o Españoles, seran dueños de nosotros, y de nuestras tierras, sin que podais remediarlo, y entonces llorareis, sin fruto, no aver seguido mis consejos, que solo miran a vuestro bien, y a quitaros el yugo tan pesado, que esta mala gente ha traydo de costumbres tan contrarias a aquellas, que nuestros Padres y abuelos nos enseñaron.*

*Todo el mes de Septiembre y la mitad de octubre gasto Aguarin en estas prevenciones, y convocacion para las guerras, en que se descubrio la fineza de muchos pueblos que no le quisieron seguir; aunque pagada a los pueblos llamados con una concha de tortuga a cada uno, como ellos acostumbra, y se estuvieron firmes en nuestra amistad. Pero quien sobresalio en esta fineza fue el que siempre ha usado muchas con nosotros desde que entramos en estas Islas, que es Antonio Ayihi el qual demas de conservar en paz su pueblo, estorvo varias veces la entrada a los enemigos, negandoles con las armas el paso por sus tierras para pelear con los nuestros, padeciendo en esto manifiestos riesgos de la vida, no solo de nuestros enemigos, que lo miraban como a extraño; sino tambien de la gente de su pueblo; por el riesgo, en que los ponía a todos por defendernos. Hasta que reconociendo nosotros mismos su peligro, le pedimos encarecidamente se saliese de su pueblo por que le avian de matar por nuestra causa, y que dixese a los demas que no negassen el paso a los enemigos; pero que no concurriessen con ellos, si querian conservar nuestra amistad y no hacerse reos, y cómplices; porque despues serian tambien participes igualmente del castigo, que avian de tener los enemigos. Todos correspondieron bien siguiendo al Ayihi, que se retiro a Ayran, pueblo donde con iguales riesgos, conservaron nuestra amistad, sus moradores, con mucho sentimiento de la inquietud de Aguarin, y los suyos, a quienes anunciaban que por ultimo avian de pagar doblado, sin hacer daño a los nuestros; como se avia experimentado en otras guerras.*

*No por esto dexo Ayihi de favorecernos; porque nos abisaba de los intentos de los enemigos, y nos socorria con el sustento que podía por sí, y por algunos amigos del monte, a quienes persuadio no dexassen de socorrernos. Escogio Dios a este buen Indio desde el principio de la Mission para instrumento de nuestro bien, y para que por su medio conociésemos y alabásemos a la Divina Providencia y el cuy-*

*dado que Dios tiene de nosotros quando mas desamparados estamos de todo remedio humano. Y assi por los abisos que nos dio nos fortalecimos en el espacio intermedio de la guerra derribando algunas casas, y la Iglesia, que ocupaban la mitad del campo, con peligro de alguna desgracia, si los Indios dieran algun asalto, y vencieran la estacada, o cerca de maderas de palma, y es toda la defensa deste Presidio: y fue menester renovarla en esta ocassion por estar ya los palos podridos con las aguas y temporales. Pusimos tambien la Iglesia en el Colegio de los niños, que es de no menor capacidad que la antigua, y quedo el campo escueto de suerte que las casas, y garitas que quedaron alrededor del molar, o estacada se miraban, y defendian unas a otras, sin poder padecer considerable daño de los enemigos. Con esta diligencia, que causo no pequeño miedo a los Indios quedaron frustrados sus primeros intentos de dar asalto de noche con quinientos hombres; y aguardabamos [224] a Aguarin para presentar batalla, y reprimir el orgullo de los barbaros.*

*Los quales se descubrieron con su exercito a los 15 de Octubre, y a la tarde llegaron al puesto de la pelea; aunque no tan cerca que pudiesen recibir daño de nuestras armas, y comenzaron a disparar con sus hondas muchas piedras con tan barbara griteria como si hicieran algo de provecho. Viendo pues el Governador Don Francisco de Irrissari, que no se llegaban mas le parecio salir con una buena esquadra al encuentro, assi para que viessen, que no temiamos la multitud como para acreditar nuestras armas haciendo les desamparar el puesto que avian ocupado. Eran los barbaros en esta ocassion mas de mil y quinientos, y assi que salio el Governador con dieziocho arcabuzeros, que comenzaron a repartir la munición, se pusieron en huida los mas dellos, haciendo cara solamente los mas interesados, cuyos pueblos (para que no hallasen en esta ocassion aloxamiento los enemigos en la ausencia que avian hecho sus moradores para juntar exercito) avia talado, y quemado nuestra milicia con admirable providencia; porque veian obligados a tener sus ranchos muy distantes, y evitamos en parte las continuas assechanzas, y acometidas, que nos hacían por las noches obligando nos a no pagar a la naturaleza el necessario tributo del sueño, no sin quiebra en la salud de los pocos que mal comidos, y con continuas vigiliencias avian de perecer rendidos al cansancio, y continuo peso de trabajos. Pero yendo en seguimiento los nuestros hubieron de huir todos y desamparar el puesto con credito de nuestras armas. El dia siguiente vinieron, y se tubo por mejor aguardarlos dentro de la estacada, para que saliendo del monte el enemigo, y acercandose a nosotros fuesen bien descubiertos y se lograsen los tiros que el dia antes con las espesuras de arboles no tubieron alguna estratagema o emboscada, en que perdiesen la mitad de su exercito, y se retiraron friamente aviendo disparado cantidad de piedras, sin efecto, ni daño de nuestra parte.*

*Aunque no fue poco el que nos hicieron a la noche en una sementera de maiz, que era todo nuestro socorro, y esperanza en lo humano. Cortaron tambien otra sementera de tabaco, que en esta tierra es de mucha utilidad, y el mejor genero para comprar de los Indios el arroz, gallinas, y otros bastimentos[,] rayces para el campo, y passo tan adelante la ossadia de algunos, que pudieron matar a cinco de los nuestros dentro de la estacada, a donde llegaron, sin ser sentidos, y derribando dos palos llegaron a una garrita, y dispararon sus lanzas; aunque no permitio Dios que se les lograsen: pero nos sirvio mucho este caso para que se pusiese remedio en el descuydo de las centinelas, que por dormirse muchas veces daban lugar y aliento a los enemigos para que alguna vez lograsen sus trayciones, o por mejor decir ardidés de guerra, pues aunque estos Indios son barbaros, tienen bastante capacidad y discurso para perfccionarse imitando a los españoles, y executando sus estratagemas.*

*Con todo eso no le parecio a Aguarin que era bastante su exercito para sujetar nuestra fuerza, y convocando mas gente, bolbieron de allí a seis dias por la parte del poniente y dentro del monte, des[de]*

*donde llobian piedras sobre nosotros; pero saliendo a recibirlos algunos de los nuestros, dieron dos arcabuzazos a dos Indios, con que se bolbieron todos mas que de priesa. Otro día salio el Governador a buscarlos por el lado de Catan, o de oriente, y aviendo dispuesto una emboscadilla, se arrimo a un pueblo enemigo para que provocados salieran a los pocos, y fingiendo retirada le siguieron mas de 40, de los quales dos atrevidos se adelantaron un poco, y llegando al sitio de la emboscada, les dispararon con buen orden una carga, y quedaron en tierra, los demas huyeron luego a los montes, sin poder darles alcance por ser ya noche: truxose la cabeza del uno, y se puso en un palo para que fuese pregon del castigo, que merecen sus insolencias. Quedaron algo escarmentados los Indios con los muertes de los suyos, y suspendieron la guerra por algunos días, dexando de venir de noche; aunque no de hacernos mal impidiendo la entrada de los Indios amigos, que nos traian algunos socorrillos de comida, en que resplandecia con singularidad la Providencia Divina, pues siendo este el medio mas eficaz para acabarnos, faltado el socorro de Bizcocho que se propaso en la Nao; dispuso en medio de tanta hostilidad, que no faltase quien nos socorriera; pero el socorro es tan limitado, que se padece muy grande necesidad. Y asi nos vemos obligados los Ministros Evangelicos a cultivar la tierra con las coas, y azadones rompiendo a un mismo tiempo las rayces de la tierra, y las manos desacostumbradas a estos exercicios, consolandonos mucho en la imitacion de los Varones Illustres y Apostolicos de nuestra Sagrada Religion la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, que en Etiopia y otras Misiones se alimentaban en semejantes persecuciones con el sudor y tra-*  
[224v] *-bajo de sus manos.*

*No fue poco el que tubimos en sembrar un poquito de maiz, sin tener entretanto mas que nica, y verdolagas, que es la comida de todos los que aqui estamos, y las comemos con hacimiento [sic] de gracias por ver que en tan corto espacio de tierra se han multiplicado de suerte que cogiendo cada día para todos no se han apurado. De donde se puede ver lo que se padece, pues el sustento es tan lebe, y tan crecidos los trabajos y vigiliyas, que no dudo ser mas que humana diligencia el conservar la vida. La Nica es una comida de menos sustento que los camotes de Nueva España y a modo de las batatas de Castilla, sin el sabor y dulzura de aquellas, pues junta con la fertilidad de las verdolagas, y flores de calabazas, ya se ve si es para mantener por muchos días este sustento, sin enfermar, o morir los mas, y gracias a Dios en 6 meses que se han pasado desta suerte, no ha avido enfermedad, o achaque de peligro, solamente a fines de octubre se nos murio de pasmo un mozo de los que vinieron este año llamado Diego de Ayala, cuyo entierro fue el día que tubimos este buen sucesso de la emboscada, con que se templo algo el sentimiento que nos avia causado su muerte, que aunque no fuera de tanta utilidad, como era, en esta occassion nos hizo mucha falta, por la que tenemos tan estrema de gente.*

*Con estas treguas, que nos dieron los enemigos, movio Dios a algunos de los Padres para poner en execucion una obra de mucha utilidad, la qual se avia de aver hecho desde el principio para fortificarnos, y no llegar a los lances, que en este, y otros años pasados se han ofrecido, y fue comenzar una **Iglesia de piedra y lodo** para que a vista della se moviera la milicia a hacer alguna **fortaleza tambien de piedra**, que hasta aora no la ay, y con ella pocos hombres eran bastantes para defensa deste presidio, saliendo entonces los demas seguras las espaldas, y retirada a la conquista. Pero la piedad y Christiano zelo del Governador no permitio que los Padres se ocupasen en esto ni dio lugar a que acarreasen piedra, aplicando la infanteria a la obra de la Iglesia, la qual ba ya en tan buen punto, que quando esta se escribe se ba ya acabando, siendo assi que es a ultimos de Marzo; porque es necessario anticipar el despacho para quando llegue la Nao, que pasa tan de carrera de ordinario que aun no nos dexa el socorro. Acabada la Iglesia se comenzara a hacer una **fortaleza de piedra y lodo**, y una cerca para asegurar de*

*una vez esta Mission. Y cierto que parece han sido los trabajos y alteraciones deste año para mayor firmeza y estabilidad desta Xptd. porque aviendose penetrado ya los animos destes naturales se ha venido al conocimiento claro y pleno de los medios necessarios para su reduccion. Pero este conocimiento (si he de decir verdad) siempre lo ha avido, aunque ha estorbado el obrar la falta de gente, y tan repetidos golpes y trabajos como ha llebado esta Mission desde su principio. Previnolo todo el Venerable y Apostolico Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores en las zedulas, que alcanzo de su Magd., para embarcacion y para doscientos Pampangos, con que se hubieran conquistado ya estas Islas y adelantado la Mission en el descubrimiento de nuevas y mas ricas tierras. O quiera la Divina Magd. darnos el remedio de tantas necessidades, pues es esta una empresa de tanta consecuencia, que no se puede dudar ser las Marianas la puerta del Japon por la parte del Norte, y por la del Sur de la Austral, en donde, ya se echa de ver, si se puede dilatar Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica sujetando a su debido obsequio y culto muchos imperios, y coronas, que por falta de predicadores y Maestros, rinden adoracion y barbaro culto al principe de las tinieblas, lo qual no se puede escribir, ni leer, sin derramar muchas lagrimas de dolor. Dios lo mire todo con ojos de piedad y misericordia.*

*A 15 de Noviembre dia del Patrocinio de Nuestra Señora libro Dios, por intercession de tal Madre de las manos de un Indio a un Padre Sacerdote, a quien hubiera ahogado, sino viviera tan a cargo de tan soberano Patrocinio de Maria Santissima. Fue pues el caso que aviendo salido el Governador con su gente, por cierto abiso, que tubo, de una entrada, que hacian los enemigos, hizo a dos prisioneros, los quales sentenciados a muerte se disponian para el suplicio. Llego pues el Padre con mucho agasajo y cariño el Padre a la garita, en que estaba el uno, y aviendo le prevenido, y exortado para una buena muerte, daba buenas señales de estar arrepentido, y bien dispuesto; pero todo era fingido para asegurar al Padre, y quitarle la vida, ya que no podia escaparse, ni hacer otro daño en los nuestros, y no tardo mucho en executar su delito posseido del Demonio porque estando el Padre derrodillas componiendole una camilla para que descansase, se arrojó sobre el y le echo mano a la garganta, y a los ojos para sacarselos, y ahogarle. Tubo el Padre lugar de dar algunos gritos a los quales acudie-[225]-ron el Governador y otro Padre con algunos soldados que se hallaron muy cerca, y le sacaron del peligro muy lastimado, y arañado, y al barbaro le quitaron la vida a machetazos, y se puso la cabeza en publico a vista de los enemigos, los quales se prevenian de bastimentos para nuevas guerras; porque no cessaban de perseguirnos y molestarnos.*

*Dia de la Expectacion de Nuestra Señora nos presentaron la batalla por la parte de Ruchan, o el Poniente, y saliendo al encuentro los nuestros hirieron a cinco de los [words missing] piadisissimo y zeloso de la gloria de Dios, y nombre Xptiano siendo el primero en esta frecuencia de sacramentos en el oír los sermones, y platicas, y procurando por varios medios que ninguno faltase en las cosas del servicio de Dios, assegurando les las victorias, y triumpho total de los enemigos, y estabilidad pacifica desta Mission, no faltando de nuestra parte a la primera obligacion de la conciencia, y reconocimiento a Dios, de quien en tanto desamparo, y falta de remedio, y recurso humano aviamos de esperar seguros la proteccion. Hicieron se varias promessas, octavarios, y suplicas a Dios, a la Santissima Virgen, a Nuestro Patron, y Principe de la milicia celestial, y militante Iglesia, a S. Josseph, a San Francisco Xavier, con cuyo presidio nos hallamos muy alentados, y seguros esperando maiores victorias de mayores acometimientos de stos barbaros.*

*No fueron vanas nuestras esperanzas con tan buenas prevenciones como las referidas, que se renovaron con mayor devocion en siete de Enero [1677] dia, en que por la parte de Ruchan vinieron los en-*

*emigos; aunque se volvieron sin llegar a la batalla. Trabose esta quatro dias despues, juntandose dos exercitos por una y otra parte, y por mar y tierra. Por la mar traian mas de cien embarcaciones, y por tierra ocupaban las playas, daban buelta por las espesuras del monte para que si los nuestros saliesen como solian del Presidio a los de la playa, acometiesen los que se ocultaban en la espesura, y se arrojasen dentro de la estacada matando los que hallasen en su defensa, que no podrian resistir a tantos, y no ay duda que si ellos tubiesen la resolucion y animo para executar lo que trazaban y les dictaba el Demonio, nos hubieran vencido y acabado. Pero Dios N.S. por medio de nuestro defensor, y principal cabo y caudillo S. Miguel, ponía tal horror en sus corazones al verse cerca de nuestras armas, que se cortaban y detenían, sin poder llebar adelante la resolucion primera en que consistia la total victoria y nuestra ruyna.*

*Ayudonos tambien mucho la diligencia y cuydado del Governador, que aprovechandose de las armas de los enemigos en varias ocasiones mando armar unos balates o ballestas sobrefalso, y sembrar de puyas de hueso todo aquel circuito de nuestro campo por donde podian abanzar los enemigos, y se lograron admirablemente empuyandose muchos y disparandose las ballestas en otros, que como eran de hueso de sus lanzas, qualquiera herida por pequeña que sea, si dexa hueso dentro es mortal, por el veneno que tiene el hueso humano, que aviendo sido fabricado para dar le vida al hombre, hallaron en el estos barbaros las mas nocivas armas para causarse así y a otros con mucha brevedad una rabiosa muerte.*

*Vinieron esta vez con mas aliento, que otras acercandose por la mar y por la playa en crecido [numero], y aviendo resistido por mucho rato a las cargas, que una escuadra de los nuestros les daba nos pusieron en [225v] algun aprieto; porque los tiros no se lograban en el agua, assi por la defensa de las embarcaciones, como porque se metian al disparar con tanta ligereza debajo del agua, que no les podiamos ofender, y levantando el grito se acercaban mucho para cortar a los nuestros, que con valor, y constancia mantubieron su puesto, sin bolber las espaldas al enemigo. Dio gran socorro a nuestra gente una piezuela de campaña cargada de valas de mosquete, con la qual se hizo gran daño en las embarcaciones, y con el acierto de algunos buenos tiros, hubo muchos heridos de las balas, muertos dos, y con las heridas de las puyas, se hallaron muy atrasados, y confusos, bolbiendo las espaldas a toda prisa; porque sino temian quedarse gran numero dellos en aquella playa. Y no acabaron con esto de desengañarse, y persuadirse que eran invencibles de su multitud nuestras armas [quando peleando ellos]<sup>1</sup> y assi bolbieron a 24 de Enero los dos exercitos con mayor numero y gente nueva entre ellos afamada de valiente, haciendo el ultimo esfuerzo para vencernos, armados de Carasas contra las valas, persuadiendose que llebando este reparo se escaparian de las heridas y muertes, que en las otras ocasiones avian experimentado.*

*De nuestra parte se renovaron las puyas del monte, y se pusieron muchas de nuevo en el agua, y en medio destas una banderilla alta dentro del tiro de los arcabuzes para que viniendo los mas alentados a arrancarla y llebarse la gloria vana de aver quitado el babao de los christianos (que assi a nuestras vanderas) se les disparase una carga zerrada, en que quedasen algunos heridos y muertos, dióse tambien orden para no salir del molar repartiendose nuestra infanteria en sus puestos y cargando la mayor parte al lado de la vanderilla para poder pelear en la ocasion por todos lados, y lograr la estratagema, que estaba armada. Todos los nuestros se dispusieron con especial devocion este dia para la batalla confessando y comulgando, y assistiendo a una missa solemne, que con muchas luces se canto al Archangel S.*

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1 Ed. note: These three words have been crossed out.



*Miguel, y todo el día estuvieron en su altar encendidas como también a la Virgen Santísima y a Nuestro Grande Apostol San Francisco Xavier, y así que tocaron al arma se ocuparon los puestos en la forma dicha, y comenzó a acercarse la turba innumerable de enemigos, adelantándose unos veinte, o treinta en embarcaciones para quitar la vanderilla: arrojaronse al agua, y estando en el sitio señalado, y uno de los arrancandola, disparó nuestra infantería su carga zerrada hiriendo de muerte a muchos dellos, que por ser tan gigantes y de tantas carnes; no caen luego; sino se les da en la cabeza, o corazón: al mismo tiempo se levanto entre los nuestros, viendo rebolcar los enemigos en el agua una gritaría muy uniforme diciendo: **Victoria, Victoria, Victor S. Miguel, S. Miguel Victoria** y fue tanto el pavor que la gritaría de los nuestros con el efecto de las balas, y puyas del monte, y del agua, puso en los corazones de los barbaros, que todos bolbieron al instante las espaldas, como si hubiera salido a ellos algun exercito de Angeles. Pero con menos, y con tan pocos como eran los nuestros basta, siendo tan asistidos de espíritus soberanos, a cuyo Principe S. Miguel debemos esta victoria tan señalada, que ha sido la última prueba de lo que pueden las armas Catholicas quando pelean por tan justa causa en defensa de la Fe Catholica por acreditarla y estenderla en nuevos mundos sin otro interes que el de ganar muchas almas para Dios, que son las esmeraldas que esmaltan la corona de Nuestro Gran Monarcha Carlos Segundo Rey de las Españas, que el mismo día ciento y doce años antes tomo en sus antecesores posesion pacífica destas Islas, y se celebró en ellas el Sacrificio Santo de la Míssa en señal y feleiz pronostico del beneficio que un siglo despues avia de hacer Dios a sus naturales conquistados por medio de las armas Españoles para introducir a pesar de todo el Infierno el conocimiento de Dios y luz de Nuestra Santa Fe en sus almas.*

*A estas tan continuadas guerras se siguió la paz tan deseada; aunque esta no fue legitima por no haver intercedido ni de una, ni de otra parte capitulaciones; sino solamente cessacion de guerras, sin admitir ni comunicar a los enemigos, disimulando con otros culpados, y mostrando de nuestra parte animo pacífico; aunque guardando entero el derecho de la justicia para proceder con las fuerzas que esperamos al debido castigo. Acaba pues la guerra se puso todo el cuidado en fortalecernos para lo qual se prosiguió con todo empeño la fabrica de la Iglesia, que se acabó, y perficionó en la Semana Santa celebrandose en ella los misterios de la Sagrada Passion, y resurreccion con todo el aparato que la pobreza Mariana permite. Pero quanto miedo aya causado esta obra a los enemigos, no se puede bien explicar: baste decir que por varios medios buscaron la paz, y antigua amistad; pero no fueron admitidos. Confirmaronse mas en su temor quando acabada esta fabrica, cuya azotea puede servir de castillo, vieron que se hacian casas de los mismos mate- [226] -riales, tapias, y azoteas para estar seguros del fuego, e independientes de los mismos barbaros: la qual dependencia nos ha tenido siempre como oprimidos, y sin libertad; mas ha cobrado ya tanta nuestra gente, y tan firmes esperanzas de una tan florida Xptd. que no ay ninguno que no procure echar en esta tierra perpetuas rayces, unos casandose, y otros pretendiendo el casamiento, y todos fabricando casas, en que actualmente nos exercitamos aguardando el socorro competente para la conquista.*

*Para celebrar mejor los officios de la Semana Santa y cumplir con la Santa Iglesia, se hizo Mission desde el viernes 9 de Abril hasta el Jueves Santo inclusive 15 del mismo mes, y el fruto de los sermones y platicas, fue a medida del zelo y fervor de los obreros evangelicos: todos hicieron confession general de toda su vida con gran devocion, y no solo los soldados, sino tambien los niños Marianos capaces de los Santos Sacramentos, a estos les hicieron grande asonancia los funciones de la[s] Misiones, y en especial el asalto, o salida, que se hace con el Santo Xpto cantando aquellas sentencias, o saetillas de desengaño, que ablandan los mas duros, y empedernidos corazones, y el acto de contricion, con que rematan a tre-*

chos, y quedaron con grande estimacion de todo. Tambien hubo penitencias publicas el viernes Santo con tanto fervor, que hubo de moderarlas de Governador porque no se valdassen algunos, que llebados de la devocion no reparaban en lo que pedia resaltar della contra la salud y vida tan amada: con esto se siguieron unas pascuas mui alegres, y gustosas, que parece ha echado Dios la bendicion al campo de Agadña, pues en el reyna la paz xptiana y hermandad para todo, que es de suma edificacion y consuelo. La D[omi]nica in albis se zelebro la fiesta de la dedicacion de la Iglesia, y juntamente la votiva de Nuestro Patron San Miguel en hacimiento [sic] de gracias por los buenos sucesos de la guerra, fuera del sermón y missa solemne con procession general, y danza de niños Marianos. Dedicose la Iglesia a la Santissima Virgen Maria en honrra de su Santissimo Nombre y de toda su sagrada familia Mariana, como determino al principio el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de S. Vitores, y assi estamos mui contentos por vernos ya con Iglesia de estabilidad sin el riesgo y continuo peligro que antes avia de fuego, y muy puesto, siendo Dios servido se acabaran de perficionar todas las casas en la misma forma deshaciendose de la pajada y materiales antiguos de que usan los naturales.

Gracias a Dios que assi ha permitido todas estas cosas dexando llegar el agua de la tribulacion a la garganta para llenarnos despues de abundante consolacion, que no la podemos tener mayor en esta vida, que en el buen logro destas almas Marianas, que sin duda se ban disponiendo in dies para recibir la Fe de Dios, dando nos claros argumentos, y firmissimas esperanzas de lo mucho que ha de florecer en estas Islas la Ley Santa de Xpto comunicandose por medio dellas a otras muchas naciones, y a la verdad en ningun tiempo ha estado mas aproposito esta gente para recibir la doctrina del Santo Evangelio que en el que nos hallamos; porque ya tienen bastante conocimiento de nuestro desinteres en estas Islas, que no buscamos sino el bien de sus almas. Tienen veneracion al nombre de Dios, y de los Santos y respetan en su corazon lo que la depravada voluntad no abraza; porque la arrastra la envejecida costumbre de los vicios, y es manifiesta prueba desta verdad lo que en estas guerras hemos experimentado, pues en ellas no se ha oydo palabra de blasfemia, siendo assi que en las guerras pasadas, eran estas las lanzas que mas hirieron a los pechos zelosos del nombre de Dios y xptianos; antes uno destes, que en otras guerras avia blasfemado, diciendo que era Dios, ha sido uno de nuestros finos amigos y ha padecido por esta causa muchos palos, y riesgos de la vida, escapandose en una ocaasion de las manos de Aguarin, y de los suyos que le querian ahogar, y viniendo despues a nuestra casa, referia con admiracion nuestra lo que le avia sucedido, y ponderando que le avia librado Dios de nuestros enemigos, por lo qual en agradecimiento deste beneficio pidio que le confessasen con repetidas instancias.

Pone admiracion la constancia con que muchos de los niños, que avia en este colegio de Agadña se quedaron con nosotros, ayudandonos a trabajar, y a pelear contra los suyos los mas grandes dellos, supliendo cada uno por un soldado, y haciendonos compañia en la adversidad, como si fueran antiguos xptianos no pudiendo apartarlos de nosotros lo ruegos, ni amenazas de sus padres, ni el desahogo, descanso, hartura [sic], y libertad que avian de tener en sus casas, padeciendo voluntariamente y por igual los trabajos, que hemos referido, y frequentado los Santos Sacramentos con mucha devocion, y no han faltado algunos dellos, que a exemplo de los Religiosos se ponen de noche de rodillas a hacer examen de su conciencia, y a veces tomar una recia diciplina con edificacion grande de los que los vieron, y no menor de los que oyen estas cosas: en dos particularmente ha resplandecido mas esta fineza, y constancia, en el uno, que al principio de la guerra con ocaasion forzosa fue a otro pueblo, a donde encontro toda su casa amigos y parientes: con quales le dieron tal bateria de ruegos, y amenazas para que no bolbiese a nosotros, que podian vencer a otros de mas años de edad y profession xptiana; pero el atropello con todo, y

*se aparte dellos afeandoles su pretension, y malos intentos, y caminando por tierra con su machete, y rodela en otro pueblo le quisieron matar porque se mostraba tan fino y amante de los xptianos. Finalmente llego a nuestra casa quando ya pensabamos se avia rendido y quedado entre los suyos, y nos refirio con mucho consuelo nuestro el triunfo que con la ayuda de Dios avia alcanzado en tan dificultosas batallas, en que suelen peligrar, y aun ser venidos otros mas antiguos xptianos.*

*No ha sido menor en el otro a quien en estas guerras han destruido su parentela los nuestros matando a su Padre en una refriega, ajusticiando a un hermano suyo en este presidio de Agaña en su presencia; y aunque al principio de su prision hizo su oficio la naturaleza, mostrando agun sentimiento, despues informado de los delitos de su hermano no le peso del castigo, que le daban, ni mostro señal de sentimiento viendo le avian cortado la cabeza, consolandose asimismo con decir, que los malos tienen en esta vida, y en la otra la paga, que merecen sus culpas, y lo mismo decia quando en otros de sus parientes veia semejantes castigos; antes se mostro mas buen xptiano desde entonces confesando y comulgando mas a menudo, y siendo de los primeros para pelear con los enemigos cara a cara. Pues [226v] que dire de seis casadas con españoles, y Philipinos que viven entre nosotros tan contante, y con tanta aficion a las costumbres christianas, que parece averse criado toda su vida en ellas. La puntualidad, con que todos los dias ban a missa, y despues acuden a las obligaciones de su familia, empleando se en coser labar ropa, y otras cosas de su casa, pasando los mismos trabajos, necesidades, y sobresaltos, que los demas deste presidio, sin quejarse, ni intentar la fuga a los suyos, que le hubiera sido mui facil obrando en ellas para esta constancia la gracia del estado santo del matrimonio, que es de mas crecida alabanza por el mal exemplo de las demas mugeres marianas, que se descasan con la misma facilidad, que hallan con quien casarse de nuevo, sin tener otro motivo para faltar a la estabilidad del verdadero matrimonio que el de su libre alvedrio tanto mas necesitado, y reducido a passion bestial, o brutal apetito quanto mas desenfrenado y ageno de toda razon se dexa llebar de la sensualidad, soberbia, y otros vicios, en que se han criado desde mui pequeños; aunque en este desorden ay ia alguna moderacion en los Marianos [i.e. the men].*

*Tambien la constancia que muchos pueblos han mostrado en estas guerras, y persecucion que ha sido mayor que las pasadas, y el ultimo esfuerzo desta nacion, y ley santa de Xpto ha dado a entender en que se halla la misma nacion para establecer en ella mui florida xptd. porque si ay muchos que de buena voluntad admiten nuestra Santa Fe, y costumbres xptianas, los que hasta aora las han repugnado, viendo que no pueden sacudir las, ni conseguir su antigua libertad acompañaran a los buenos por miedo del castigo obligandoles a entrar en el rebaño de la Iglesia. Por donde se ve claramente, en que se halla esta mission tan oportuno para ser una cosa grande y de las mas ilustres de toda la Iglesia por el paso y camino que nos abre a otros muchos Reynos y naciones para plantar en ellos la semilla del Santo Evangelio.*

*Quien pues a vista de la veridica, y sencilla relacion destes sucesos no se compadecera mucho de los que aqui estamos y mucho mas de tantas almas como se pierden en estas Islas; que nos admitieron pacificamente pero necesitan de la conquista de las armas? La fe que antes recibieron (si por falta de socorro de gente, y embarcacion, que esperamos perecemos, o las desamparamos) les servira a estos desdichados de maior infierno, que parece se ha conjurado contra estos pobres. Clama el Japon y su necesidad espiritual pide el remedio destas Islas. Clama la Austral incognita, que en su nombre publica las tinieblas de su ignorancia, y ceguedad con esperanças de luces muy claras que su medio dia en la medicina y colorio de Nuestra Santa Fe, y pide el remedio destas Islas: claman ellas mismas por las voces de tantos niños, e inocentes xptianos que desean su mayor bien, y se hallan atajados, e impedidos: clama la sangre de tan-*

*tos tan gloriosos y Apostolicos Varones, que por darles vida sacrificaron su vida [or: las suias] a las lanças y a los cuchillos de sus naturales, y si les fuera posible me dieran por tinta su sangre para pedirles su remedio: clamamos todos los Padres Misioneros, y Españoles, que en ellas nos hallamos tan afligidos, no por temor ó miedo de perder la vida, que ya esta consagrada al servicio de Dios, y bien destas almas, y si mil vidas tubiera cada uno todas las sacrificara con no menores alientos, sino por ver, que es tan facil el remedio, y no lo aplique quien puede; aunque esperamos tenerlo muy eficaz en las Naos siguientes.*

*No puede nadie ignorar con estas y con las noticias passadas que Dios quiere establecer en estas yslas una muy florida Xp̄td. comenzandose su conquista como las otras obras grandes de Dios, con persecuciones, contradicciones y dificultades que las hacian impenetrables, e inaccesibles: vencio las todas Dios por medio de su zelosissimo Siervo y Apostolico Varon Ve. Pe. Diego Luis de S. Vitores planto en ellas el mismo con sus dichosos compañeros la fe Catholica, y regula el y los suyos con su sangre arrancando por otra parte la zizaña de la ruda, e inculta gentilidad que por estar tan arraizadda y en posesion de la tierra ha procurado ahogar, aunque no ha podido la semilla del Cielo, moviendo guerras, y conjuraciones para ponernos en el ultimo discrimen y peligro de la vida; pero aun entonces nos mantiene Dios con tan particulares providencias, como las que he dicho, sin ponderarlas por dejar obrar en los corazones la verdad, sin retoricos adornos, quantas han podido acabarnos estos Barbaros, y no lo han hecho en circunstancias, en que no se puede negar averles faltado el concurso superior de Dios, que quiere darnos a entender es obra toda suya la Mission Mariana y no se sigue de aqui que por ser obras tan suya avia de suceder todo bien; antes prueba que lo es el continuo trabajo, peligro y riesgo, en que parece esta de acabarse, quando [se] asegura mas, y establece como es patente a todos en el exemplar de la primitiva Iglesia. Por lo qual nos hallamos oy con bien mas fundadas esperanzas de la estabilidad perfecta desta Mission. Y mas quando estriban en innumerables sacrificios y oraciones de tantos siervos de Dios que assi en Europa como en la America, y Asia piden continuamente a Dios favorezca y mire con ojos de misericordia estas pobres almas Marianas. Estas oraciones y sacrificios que son el mas eficaz socorro para que el humano tenga efecto, pedimos con lagrimas de sangre nacidas del corazon a todos para que compadecidos desta Mission alcancen de Nuestro Señor luz divina y conocimiento de la verdad a nuestros Marianos, firmeza, y constancia en la fe, a los que se han convertido, copiosa y abundante gracia y espiritu Apostolica a los Ministros del Santo Evangelio que nos empleamos en este santo exercicio: zelo Catholico a nuestros soldados, y gracia para agradar a Dios, y dar buen exemplo a los nuevos Christianos: feliz suceso a las Naos de Philipinas para que nos dexen enteramente nuestro socorro dando fondo en esta Isla, que no ay duda que con estas ayudas y socorros espirituales y temporales se lograra el fin deseado de todos, que es la mayor gloria de Dios, y salvacion de innumerables almas que le alaben por toda la eternidad. Amen Amen Amen Amen.*

*Guahan y Mayo 30 de 75 [sic].*

*De V<sup>a</sup> Pd. muy Rda.*

*Su hijo aunque indigno, y Siervo inutil,*

*Gerardo Bouwens<sup>1</sup>*

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1 Ed. note: Only the last three lines are signed in Fr. Bouwens' handwriting.

## Synopsis.

*Note: This story was related many times before. Only variances, or new elements to the story, are summarized below.*

[The endorsement in Latin reads: “Events of the Philippines in the Mariana Islands from the year 1675 to the year 1676”, although the heading in Spanish mentions that the report is for the year 1676-77 instead.]

[Besides 5 new missionaries, the 1676 galleon brought in two families of colonists (probably from the Philippines); one family had three children. It did not have time to unload all of the sea biscuits, and most of the dried beef meant for the Mission, as well as the pharmaceutical supplies, the lead to make musket balls, and other small supplies. General Nieto, a friend of the Mission, was not to blame; 4 good excuses are given by the missionaries.]

[During the procession celebrating Corpus Christi, the native school children sang the prayers and catechism, in Spanish. When the Jesuits sang the Latin hymn *Pange lingua*, they were accompanied by some musicians (unfortunately, no details are given).]

[The rebel town of Tarisay was located at a place that was naturally strong, and easy to defend. They were attacked after its youths, or Urritaos, had repeatedly treated the Spanish of being cowards. These youths could buy the services of a prostitute for their brothel by giving two or three iron hoops, and as many turtle shells to her parents, who in turn felt proud of their daughter being so honored... In the traditional marriages, the women would ordinarily beat their husbands who in turn would submit to their whims. Since the women could change partners, it was not at all unusual for a child to be raised by an adoptive father. The “principal” or prominent men of the Island were in fact called *magarrahi* by the natives; they were the chiefs of villages and towns, or at least heads of large families. The Jesuits recognized that the natives were inclined to take the defence of one of their own, no matter what, and they stated that when the children of the Christian school mistreated the corpse of a local *magarahi* from Orote (who had tried to kill a Spaniard who had married his adoptive daughter), they give the impression that the natives who were still heathens must have been deeply affected. In fact, Chief Aguarin was an eyewitness, and probably for this reason, he became a self-appointed war chief and leader of the 1676-77 War. In any case, Aguarin was then Chief of Agaña and regarded as superior by the chiefs on the Catan side, i.e. on the whole coast northeast of Agaña. When Captain Irisarri went to Orote to capture the above-mentioned criminal, one soldier became a deserter along the way, but he was lured to Asan and killed there, for his weapons. There were family ties between some of the people living in the following towns on the western coast of Guam: Fuuña, Agosan, Sumay, Tarisay, and Orote.]

[The first band of natives to attack the camp of Agaña, in the absence of the Governor, came from the Catan side. The sight of armed Jesuits was enough to make them

flee; they had never thought that the Fathers had enough guts to do this. We learn that the old Chamorro word for “guts,” or courage, was *namnam*.<sup>1</sup> It had definitely been part of Aguarin’s strategy to starve out the colony; he had threatened anyone who supplied the foreigners with the local root crops: *dago*, and *nica*. He constantly reminded his countrymen that the best Spanish soldiers had drifted off with Fr. Gayoso aboard the boat **Santa Rosa** a few months earlier. Aguarin was paying one turtle shell to each village/town that joined him in the revolt. Many towns refused and remained loyal to the Spanish, for instance, Siñahana, Ayran, and Haputo, all towns under the influence of a rival chief, Ayihi (who remained loyal until his death in 1701). Captain Irisarri followed Ayihi’s advice when he reinforced the camp, during the lull in the fighting, by taking down some houses and the church (with thatch roofs) that occupied the center of the camp. At the same time, the soldiers renewed the posts of the stockade; they were made of coconut palm and were already rotten. The native huts of the residents of Agaña outside the stockade were also cleared.]

“We also placed the church in the College of children, which is of no smaller capacity than the old one, and the camp thus remained unencumbered so that the houses, and the watch towers that remained around the dike, or stockade,<sup>2</sup> faced one another, and could defend one another, without the enemies being able to do considerable damage. With this prevention, which caused no little fear in the Indians, their first attempts at attacking us at night with 500 men were frustrated; and we awaited Aguarin to give us battle, and to repress the pride of the barbarians.”

[Over 1,500 natives were involved in the attack of 15 October 1676, when the Governor went out and met them with 18 arquebusiers. It was nighttime when the natives destroyed the corn and tobacco plantations, that were outside the stockade. Part of the Spanish strategy was not to use superior tactics, if they could help it, so as not to give ideas to the native rebels, who were judged quite able to imitate them.]

[The Jesuits initiated a vegetable garden inside the camp. They joined in themselves in using two types of hoes, to prepare the earth, pulling roots, etc. Corn was also planted there, but the names of the green vegetables in question are not given, except for squashes, whose flowers were used in salads (Filipino style). The only foreigner who died in the war, Diego de Ayala, died of shock, probably lockjaw or tetanus (“pasma” in Spanish). What was described in D1 above as a new barracks of “stone and mud”, is here called a fortress of “stone and mud.” The new church was in the finishing stages in March 1677.]

[The author ascribes the slow state of the conquest or reduction to the fact that the plan of Fr. Sanvitores was never implemented, specially regarding the mission boat,

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1 Ed. note: This is a strange meaning, in view of the fact that the basic meaning of “namnam” in Tagalog is simply “flavor, taste.”

2 Ed. note: The Spanish word “molar” seems equivalent to the Latin word “vallum” and is here translated as dike. The context makes it clear that it means a ditch dug parallel to the wall of the stockade.

and the 200 Pampangos. All the Marianas would have been conquered by then, and the islands to the south explored. It's a crying shame, he says.]

[The attack of 21 November 1676 took place on the Ruchan, or west side of the stockade. On 7 January, an attack almost came from that side as well. The next attack was massive, and included over 100 canoes. There was enough space, and bush, between the stockade and the beach to hide an army in ambush.]

“The effort and care of the Governor helped us very much also, as he took advantage of the weapons of the enemies on various occasions. He ordered the setting up of some arbaletes or crossbows with trip mechanism, and the sowing of bone barbs over the whole circuit of our camp where the enemies could make advances, and they worked wonderfully, as many stepped on the barbs and others were hit by the barbs shot by the crossbows, so that any wound whatever, no matter how small, if any piece of bone was left inside, was fatal, on account of the poison contained in the human bone, which has been created to give life to man, but these barbarians found it to be the most harmful weapon that causes a rabid death within a short time to themselves and to others.”<sup>1</sup>

“They came this time with more spirit than on previous occasions, coming near by sea and along the beach in increasing numbers, and having resisted for a long time the charges that a squad of our men gave them, they gave us a problem, because the shots did not meet their marks in the water, not only on account of the canoes being used as shields, but because upon firing they would hide so quickly under the water that they could not be harmed. Then they would shout for an advance and go very close to our men to cut them down, but they, with courage and constancy, maintained their position, and did not turn their back on the enemy. Our men were much advantaged by a light field-piece, loaded with musket balls. It was used to do big damage to the canoes, and as a result of a few accurate shots there were many wounded by the balls, two dead. That plus the wounds from the barbs, they suffered an important setback, and confused, they turned their backs very quickly, because they feared that a large number would remain [dead] on that beach. Yet this did not make them abandon their beliefs and the opinion that their multitude made them invincible in the face of our weapons. So, the two armies returned on January 24th with even larger numbers and new men, some of whom prided themselves on being brave. They made their last effort to conquer us, armed with body armors against the balls, and convinced that in wearing this protection they would escape the wounds and deaths that they had experienced on other occasions.”

“On our part, the barbs on the bush side were renewed, and new ones were placed in the water, and in the middle of the latter a small flag was planted on a tall pole, within range of the arquebuses, so that when those who would get ahead of the others in order to come and grab it, and thus derive the vain glory of having removed the *babao* of the Christians (the name they called our flags) they would be shot with dense fire,

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1 Ed. note: The soldiers must have been wearing shoes as protection against their own primitive form of land mines.

and a few would be wounded and killed. An order was also given not to go beyond the dike. Our infantry was distributed among their positions, most of which were on the side facing the small flag but could be deployed on all sides, if required, and achieve success in the stratagem that was being set up....”

“The innumerable crowd of enemies began advancing, and about 20, or 30 men in canoes came forward to grab the small flag; they threw themselves in the water, and they were at the site in question, and one of them pulling it down, when our infantry fired their well-focused fire, mortally wounding many of them, although because they are such giants and so fat, they do not readily fall there and then, unless they are hit in the head, or in the heart. At this time, there arose a single cry from our men when they saw the enemies knocked down in the water: “Victory! Victory! St. Michael, victor. St. Michael Victory!” This cry by our men caused so much panic in the hearts of the barbarians that it had the effect of the balls, and barbs in the bush and water, and made them turn their backs instantly, as if some army of angels had come out after them.”

[Peace followed, but without any peace negotiation or treaty. The church building was finished in time for Holy Week. When the natives asked for peace, they were rebuffed. The flat roof of the church could be used as a castle. The adobe houses also had flat roofs. All were fire-proof. Many soldiers got married and built their own houses. The new church was dedicated to the Most Holy Name of Mary on the Sunday following Easter.<sup>1</sup> Little by little, the older houses made of native materials were being rebuilt with adobe bricks, etc. The priests foresaw that the time was finally ripe for an effective religious conquest of the natives, for the following reasons: 1) the natives had finally learned that the foreigners had not come for any other reason than to teach Christianity; 2) they held the name of God and that of the saints in reverence, in their hearts at least, if not in their heads; 3) proof of this had been that no-one had used blasphemy as a weapon in this war, as they had done in previous wars; 4) some towns had remained faithful to the Christians during the war; 5) the other towns were now ready to imitate the good towns, in order to avoid punishment.]

[The *macana* who had blasphemed before, even saying that he was God, had been converted and was one of the best friends of the priests, suffering many indignities from his countrymen for it, including beatings with sticks, and even escaping death by drowning at the hands of Aguarin’s men; he then went to the camp to tell his story to the priests. At that time, i.e. spring of 1677, there were six (6) native women living inside the garrison as wives of Spanish and Filipino men. The report ends with a long sermon on the needs of the Mission, its usefulness in future explorations and spiritual conquests of the islands lying to the north as far as, and including, Japan, and those lying to the south, and a request for prayers of all kinds. This long report was addressed to the General of the Jesuits and signed by Fr. Bouwens, on 30 May 1677.]

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1 Ed. note; Therefore, the exact date of this event was Sunday 25 April 1677.



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## Document 1677E

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# Letter from Fr. Coomans to Fr. de Pape, dated Marianas (June) 1677

*Source: AGR 2, fol. 175-176v. Note: Folios 175v & 176r are blank. The year of this letter is ascertained from the text. It was written aboard the galleon Santa Rosa that had just brought the author back to Guam.*

### Original text in Latin

*Reverende in Chro. Pater*

*P. E.*

*Accepi amantissimas Ræ Væ datas Bruxellis 1<sup>a</sup> Aprilis 1676 solito citius in Acapulci portu ad quem ap[p]uleram salvus et incolumis post emensum iter toto orbe difficilimum ab insulis Filipinis in Novam Hispaniam seu Mexicanum regnum in quo posueram septem omnino menses et viginti dies perpessus in latitudine boreali quadraginta circiter graduum ingentia frigora nec absimilia nostratibus et maris tempestates sane asperas. Inde Mexicam evocatus ab illius Regni Prorege et Archiepiscopo quem Missionis nostræ Marianæ statum coram edocui. Nec tamen, quamvis propior tum Ræ Væ nancissi potui tempus respondendi Ræ Væ tam variis die nocteque negotiis distinebar, quæ propter temporis angustias optatissimam occasionem e manibus eripere.*

*Jam in insulas Marianas antiquam Spartam vela iterum facimus quæ quidem hactenus ventis faventibus propelluntur quem ibi rerum statum reperturi incerti. Præsens vero quantum litteris et experientia consequi potui hic est. In Hispania res nostræ prospero omnino cursu feruntur quibus momentum adferent Procuratores qui ab insulis Filipinis jam uti confidimus in Hispaniam appulerunt, a quibus Ræ Væ saltem hac vice meæ reddentur. Mexici negotia Missionis nostræ tam bono loco sunt posite ut vix quidquam addi posse videatur. Hoc anno 1677 plus quam viginti quatuor Millia Pataconum ut vocant, in subsidium Missionis nostræ ex ærario regio deprompta partim ad firmandum Præsidium Militare quod inter hos barbaros est omnino necessarium, partim ad contegendam Indorum nuditatem, et sustentanda seminaria in quibus tenerior ætas in Catholica fide instructur, partim etiam ad Patrum alimenta et necessitates sublevandas. Proficiscimur itaque splendidi instructi subsidio in quo nihil admodum deesse*

*videtur sive rem vestuariam spectes, sive artium omnium instrumenta. Religiosos e nostra Socte. et Operarios numeramus quatuordecim, omnes si me et P. Gerardum excipias natione hispanos quamquam qui mecum proficiscitur P. Bartholomeus Besco, missionis Superior futurus, italus est e Sabandia. Res Catholica per insulas hactenus cognitae longe lateque diffunditur et in dies stabilitur. Et speramus anno proximo remittenda ad nos necessaria ad fabricandum Navigium quo australes insulae detegantur. Sunt haec nostris, et circuitu majores et infinita gentilium multitudine refertae. Faxit Deus ut res haec tanti momenti felicem exitum sortiatur. Atque haec sunt quae summam mihi occurrerunt.*

*Adjunxi his relationes aliquas de rebus me absente in nostra missione gestis. Solum exopto ut ad vos deferantur, et desinam aliquando esse infelix: nam grave mihi accidit Amantissimis Patribus vices laborum non rependere quas tanto jure et merito exspectant. Salutem Amantissimam adscribo DDis Parentibus et D° Petro quibus pro memoria gratias habeo. Salutem item amantissimam Rdo P[at]ri Rectori R. P. Jo[ann]i Bap. Van Hollandt si forte officio suo jam est functus. P. Carolo de Seclyn, Patri Lede caeterisque omnibus quorum precibus me ex animo commendo. Tu vero, mi Pater Liberte, praeceteris vive nostri memor et Messem nostram Deo commenda. Ego pacti memor quotidie Ram Vam Deo commendo, faciamque dum vivam. Vale, mi Pater.*

[176v, Address:] *Reverendo in Chro Patri Pri Liberto de Pape Soctis Jesu sacerdoti.  
Ex insulis Marianis.  
Bruxellis.*

## Translation

Reverend Father in Christ,  
Peace be with you.

I received a very fond letter from Y.R. dated Brussels 1 April 1676, faster than usual, when I was in the port of Acapulco at which I had arrived safe and sound after completing the most difficult voyage in the whole world, from the Philippine Islands to New Spain, or the Kingdom of Mexico, during which I spent a total of 7 months and 20 days<sup>1</sup> patiently enduring the northern latitude of about 40 degrees, enormously cold, and with rough sea storms, of course. Then, I was called to Mexico by the Viceroy of its Kingdom and its Archbishop, whom I informed openly about the condition of our Mariana Mission. Nevertheless, as much as I would have liked to, I was not able to find the time to respond to Y.R., as I was busy with so many diverse affairs day and night, which, on account of the shortage of time, pulled the best opportunity from my hands.

We are now sailing towards the Mariana Islands, my old Sparta, in any case pushed by favorable winds so far. The conditions there have been reported as uncertain. Here is what I was able to gather recently from letters and experience. In Spain our affairs

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1 Ed. note: Apparently, the eastern voyage of 1676, aboard the galleon Santa Rosa.

follow a completely prosperous course, whose management is being looked after by Procurators who have sailed from the Philippines and, we hope, would have reached Spain already, who are supposed at least to forward my letters to Y.R.<sup>1</sup> The affairs of our Mission in Mexico are all placed in good hands, so much so that hardly anyone saw anything that can be added to them. This year 1677 there were more than 24,000 pesos, as they are called,<sup>2</sup> in the subsidy of our Mission taken from the royal treasury, partly to reinforce the military Garrison which is extremely important among those barbarians, partly to cover up the nudity of the Indians and to maintain the seminaries in which are instructed those of tender age in the Catholic faith, partly also to provide the Fathers with food and necessities. Therefore, we are going to begin with a splendid education subsidy, in which nothing at all is seen to be wanting, either regarding the matter of clothing, or regarding tools for all trades. The religious of our Society and the [mission] workers total 14, all of them Spaniards, if Fr. Gerardus and I are excepted, although the one who is travelling with me, Fr. Bartolomé Besco, the future Mission Superior, is an Italian from Sabandia.<sup>3</sup> The Catholic business through the islands known so far is to be spread far and wide, and to be stabilized in days. And we hope that next year will be delivered to us the necessary materiel to build a ship with which the austral islands are to be discovered. They are ours, and greater in circumference, and full of an infinite multitude of people. May God allow a thing of such importance to have a happy outcome. Briefly, the above are the things that have occurred to me.

**I enclosed the reports<sup>4</sup>** about some of the things that happened in my absence from our Mission. I only wish that they will reach you, and I will not be happy until they do, for something serious happened to me, [as] there is a lack of reciprocity in my efforts to satisfy the beloved Fathers who so justly deserve to receive them.<sup>5</sup> I send greetings to your most beloved parents and Mr. Peter [de Pape]; I say thanks to them for old time sake. Greeting also to the beloved Rev. Fr. Rector, Rev. Fr. John Baptist Van Hollandt<sup>6</sup> if perchance he is still in his post. I heartily commend myself to the prayers of Fr. Charles de Seclyn,<sup>7</sup> Fr. Lede and all the others. You too, my Father Libertus, whom

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1 Ed. note: Less literally, to maintain our reciprocity agreement, to exchange letters.

2 Ed. note: The neo-Latin word used for pesos is "pataconum".

3 Ed. note: This note is the basic source of information to mark the arrival of Fr. Besco in 1677, and his term as superior from 1677 until 1680.

4 Ed. note: At least one of these was the 1676-77 report by Fr. Bouwens, two copies of which are now kept in ARSI, Rome (see Doc. 1677D).

5 Ed. note: Fr. Coomans suspected that not all his letters were forwarded from Spain to Belgium.

6 Ed. note: John Baptist van Hollandt, born in Prague, died at Brussels on 15 December 1691 when he was octagenarian, after 64 years in the Society of Jesus. He had been confessor of General Piccolomini, whom he accompanied throughout Italy, Spain and Belgium. Then he was spiritual adviser to Leopold-William, Governor-General of the Low Countries, whom he followed to Austria. Back in Belgium, he became Rector of the Colleges of Roermond, Ghent, and Brussels (ref. Poncelet, *Nécrologie ... Flandro-Belge*, p. 118).

7 Ed. note: Charles De Seclyn was born at Ghent where he also died in May 1714 (Poncelet, *op. cit.*, p. 139).

I remember vividly ahead of the others, please commend our harvest to God. Good health to you, my dear Father.

[Address:] To the Reverend Father in Christ, Father Libertus de Pape, priest of the Society of Jesus.

From the Mariana Islands.

To Brussels.

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## Document 1677F

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# Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Marianas 8 June 1677

*Sources: Present location unknown; this 7-page ms. memorandum was offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1840, p. 120), where it was described as follows.*

### Memorandum taken from two documents referring to the Marianas and Philippines, which the Duchess of Aveiro handed to the Duke...

Under cover of a letter dated 25 November this year 1679, the Duchess of Aveiro handed to the Duke<sup>1</sup> a copy of a letter dated from the Marianas on 8 June 1677, and addressed to this lady by Antonio Xaramillo of the Society of Jesus, a missionary in those Islands, who gives an account of his arrival there [in 1676] and the sufferings endured by them. He also complains against the Governor of the Philippines for ordering that the ships should not touch at the Marianas...

A paper was also handed to his Grace, with information from the Philippines in which an impartial individual discourse in 52 chapters upon the natural wealth and conditions of the land; and the outrages and abuses committed by the Governors, Mayors, and the rest... and even the Spaniards are treated as slaves; the authorities intercept the merchandise from China and other foreign parts, and withhold from the soldiers the pay which is due to them...

[Other notes refer to Filipino Indians being sold as slaves and servants to the Chinese residents of the Philippines, to the practice of gambling aboard the galleons, lawsuits brought by the Indians which have not always received a fair hearing, etc.]

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1 Ed. note: The Duke in question was undoubtedly Don Juan Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, Duke of Medinaceli, who had become President of the Council of the Indies in 1679, when this letter reached Madrid.

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## Documents 1677G

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# The Council of the Indies agrees to finance more missionaries

## G1. Certification by the House of Trade, dated Seville 8 February 1677

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-6-213.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Contador Manuel Fernandez Pardo oficial maior de la Contaduria Princiſal de la Cassa de la Contratacion de las Indias, que por indisposicion del Señor Juan Tello de Guzman y Medina Marques de Paradas Contador maior Juez ofiſial perpetuo por su Magd. de la Real Audiencia de la dha Cassa Probinçial de la Santa Hermandad de esta çiudad y su tierra, Despacho lo tocante a Contaduria:*

*Certifico que por los Libros de ella, Pareçe que su Magd. por su real Çedula fecha en Madrid a diez y ocho de febrero del año passado de seisçientos y sesensa y quatro refrendada del Señor Secretario Don Pedro de Medrano fue serbido de conçeder Liçencia al Padre Luis Pimentel de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador general de la Probinçia de Filipinas para que pudiese llevar a ella treintra y quatro religiosos, y quatro Hermanos Coadjutores a expensas de su Real Hazienda, por quenta de los quales, pareçe se han despachado treinta y seis, los veinte y tres, a cargo del Padre Basilio Fernandez en la flota de nueba españa que el año passado de seisçientos y sesenta y çinco fue a la dha probinçia General Don Joseph Zenteno: onçe en la Armada de Barlobento que el año de seisçientos y sesenta y siete llebo a su cargo el General Don Augustin de Yostegui, y los dos restantes que son el dho Padre Luis Pimentel, y Miguel de Irigoien en la flota que el año de seisçientos y sesenta y ocho fue a cargo del general Don Enrique Enriquez de Guzman; conforme lo qual solo faltan por aviarse de esta Mision Dos Hermanos Coadjutores.*

*Y assimismo Çertifico que por los dhos libros Pareçe que su Magd. por real Çedula de veinte y çinco de Junio del año passado de seis çientos y setenta y nueve refrendada del Señor Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quiros concedio liçencia al Padre Andres de Lede-*

*sma de la dha Compañia Procurador General de las dhas Islas Filipinas para que pudiese llebar a ellas otros treinta y quatro religiosos y quatro Hermanos Coadjutores a expensas de la misma Real Hazienda, y por quenta de ellos, Pareçe haverse despachado treinta y dos, los treçe incluso en ellos el dho Padre Andres de Ledesma, y un Hermano Coadjutor en la flota que el año de seisçientos y setenta fue a la Probinçia de nueva españa a cargo del general Don Joseph Zenteno: ocho extranxeros en conformidad de la facultad conçedida a esta religion, en la del general Don Enrrique Enrriquez que salio el [año] de seisçientos y setenta y uno a la sha Provinçia y por superior de ellos el Padre Alonso Extrapleude [sic]: y los onze restantes en la flota que el año de seisçientos y setenta y tres se despacho a la dha Probinçia a cargo del General Don Pedro Corbete, y por superior de ellos hasta la çiudad de Mexico el Padre Nicolas de Pueio que pasaba en aquella ocaçion con otra Mision à aquella çiudad, respecto de lo qual faltan por aviar à las Islas Filipinas, por razon de esta segunda Mision seis relixiosos saserdotes, y de la primera, dos Hermanos Coadjutores, que por ambas haçen numero de ocho suxetos; y a todos los relixiosos que han despachado se les a librado en las Indias lo que hubieron de haver por razon de su flete, aviamento, viatico, y entretenimiento.*

*Y para que asi Conste, donde combenga, lo Çertifico de Pedimiento del Padre Francisco de Florençia Procurador general de la[s] Probinçias de las Indias y en virtud de auto de los Señores Presidentes y Jueçes ofiziales por su Magd. de la Real Audiencia de esta Cassa Proveido en quatro de este mes ante Juan de Garai Secretario de Camara de ella.*

*Sevilla ocho de febrero de mil y seisçientos y setenta y siete años.*

*Manuel F. Pardo.*

### **Translation.**

I, Accountant Manuel Fernandez Pardo, senior official of the Main Accounting Department of the House of Trade of the Indies, in the absence for health reason of Mister Juan Tello de Guzman y Medina, Marquis of Paradas, and Senior Accountant, Official Judge with a permanent appointment by His Majesty of the Royal Audiencia of said Provincial House of the Holy Brotherhood of this city and its district, despatch what concerns the Accounting Department:

I certify that, according to its Books, it appears that His Majesty, by virtue of his royal Decree dated Madrid 18 February of the past year of 1664, countersigned by the Secretary, Don Pedro de Medrano, was pleased to grant a License to Father Luis Pimentel of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Province of the Philippines, for him to take there 34 religious, and 4 Coadjutor Brothers at the expense of his Royal Treasury. On their account, it appears that 36 were despatched, 23 of them in charge of Father Basilio Fernandez aboard the New Spain fleet that went to said Province in the past year of 1665 under General Don José Centeño; 11 went aboard the Windward fleet that General Don Augustin de Yostegui had under his command in the part year 1667, and the other 2, who were said Father(s) Luis Pimentel and Miguel Irigoyen went

aboard the fleet that General Don Enrique Enriquez had under his command in the year 1668; therefore, according to this, there remains only 2 Coadjutor Brothers to outfit from this mission band.

Likewise, I certify that, according to said books, it appears that His Majesty, by royal Decree dated 25 June of the past year 1669, countersigned by Don Gabriel Bernardo de Quiros, granted a license to Father Andrés de Ledesma of said Society, Procurator General of said Philippine Islands, for him to take there another 34 Religious and 4 Coadjutor Brothers at the expense of the same Royal Treasury. On their account, it appears that 32 were despatched, 13 of them, including said Father Andrés de Ledesma, and 1 Coadjutor Brother were aboard the fleet that in the year 1670 went to the Province of New Spain under General Don José Centeño; 8 foreigners, in accordance with the permission granted to this Order, went with General Don Enrique Enriquez who left in 1671 to said Province, and as its superior was Father Alonso Extrapleude [i.e. Alphonse Strapleaux]; and the 11 remaining ones went aboard the fleet that was despatched to said Province in the year 1673 under the command of General Don Pedro Corbete, and as their superior as far as Mexico City was Father Nicolas de Pueyo, who happened to make the crossing on that occasion with another Mission to that city. Therefore, with respect to this second Mission band to the Philippines, there remain 6 Religious, priests, to be outfitted, and from the first, 2 Coadjutor Brothers, which makes a total of 8 subjects for both. To all the Religious who have been despatched, amounts have been freed for them in the Indies to cover their fare, clothing, travel expenses, and maintenance.

And in faith whereof, to whom it may concern, I certify same, at the request of Father Francisco de Florencia, Procurator General of the Provinces of the Indies, and by virtue of a writ by the Gentlemen President and Official Judges on behalf of His Majesty of the Royal Audiencia of this House. Made on 4th of this month, before me, Juan de Garay, House Secretary.

Seville, 8 February 1677.

Manuel F. Pardo.

## **G2. Note dated Madrid 26 June 1677, in answer to a request by Fr. Espinar**

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-6-228.*

*Para el abiamiento de los treinta y seis Religiosos y quatro Coadjutores que les corresponde (que por decretos de el Consejo de diez y nuebe de Mayo y catorce de este presente mes y año) se conceden a Pedro de Espinar de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jesus y su Procurador general de la Provincia de las Islas Philipinas y Marianas, para llevar a ellas, es necessario un quento. Doscientas y treinta y nuebe mill sietecientos y quarenta y quatro mrs. [maravedis] en que van inclusos los diez ducados que se dan a cada religioso sazerdote de los que van por la Nueva España, esto, sin el gasto que han de hazer desde los Conventos de donde salieren hasta llegar a Sevilla, que se les ha de contar a razon de siete*



*Reales por cada religioso cada dia de que ha de constar de Zertificacion de los Superiores de los dhos Conventos y a razon de ocho leguas por dia y mas dos Reales en cada uno de la que se detubieren en Sevilla aguardando embarcazion.*

*Madrid a veinte y seis de Juno de mill y seiscientos y setenta y siete años.*

### **Translation.**

The amount of 1,239,744 maravedis is necessary to charge the outfitting corresponding to 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors, in accordance with the decrees of the Council, dated 19 May and 14th of the present month and year, granted to Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator General of the Province of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, to take them there; it includes the 10 ducats that are given to each religious priest going through New Spain, and this is excluding the travel expenses made by them between their convents of origin and Seville, and this must be figured out at the rate of 7 reals per religious per day, for which a certification is necessary from the Superiors of said convents, and at the rate of 8 leagues per day, plus 2 reals for each day spent in Seville awaiting departure.

Madrid, 26 June 1677.

## **G3. Royal decree dated 20 July 1677**

*Sources: AGI formerly 67-6-3; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 17, fol. 199-200.*

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

[Endorsement:] *R. C. para que el Padre Pedro de Espinar Procurador de Filipinas y Marianas lleve à aquellas Yslas 36 Religiosos de su orden.*

*El Rey*

*Mi Presidente, Jueces Oficiales de la Casa de la Contratacion de la Ciudad de Sevilla:*

*Por otra mi Cedula de la fecha de esta, he dado licencia à Pedro de Espinar de la Compañia de Jhs Procurador general de su provincia de las Yslas Philipinas para que pueda bolver a ellas y llevar [treinta y seis Religiosos y quatro Coadjutores] concedidos para la dicha su provincia y la Mision de las Yslas Marianas. Y porque mi voluntad en que sean probeydos de lo necesario al viaxe los dichos treinta y seis Religiosos y quatro Coadjutores, os mando que de qualquier hazienda mia que ay o huviere en poder de vos el mi thesorero ó se mandare reservar para pasages de religiosos a las Yndias, les proveais de lo que fuere menester para su Viaxe y matalotage desde esa Ciudad hasta llegar a la de la Vera Cruz conforme a la disposicion del tiempo de su partida y a cada uno de los dichos Religiosos les dareis un bestuario, conforme al que acostumbran traer y un colchon, una frazada, y una almo[h]ada, para la mar, y pagareis lo que costare llevar sus libros y betuarios desde sus Collegios y casas a esa Ciudad y la lleva de todo ello desde ay a la de San Lucar ó Cadiz, en lo qual destrubuyreis de la dicha mi Hacienda, hasta en cantidad de un quento duzientos y treinta y nueve mil setecientos y quarenta*

*y quatro mrs. [=maravedis] de Vellon, en que ban ynclusos los diez ducados que se dan de mas a cada religioso de los que ban por la Nueva España, que conforme a la relacion que han ajustado mis Contadores de quantas que residen en mi Consejo de las Yndias, se supone montara el gasto que se ha de causar en lo sobre dicho, esto sin el que han de hazer desde el dia que salieren de sus Collegios hasta llegar a esa Ciudad, a razon de a siete Reales al dia por cada Religioso contando a ocho leguas por dia de que haveis de hacer la quenta por las Certificaciones de los Superiores de los Collegios de donde cada uno saliere y sin los dos R[eales] que haveis de proveer al dia a cada uno de los dichos Religiosos para su sustentacion desde que ay llegaren hasta que se embarquen, que con Carta de Pago del dicho Pedro de Espinar ó de quien su Padre ubiere y esta mi cedula, mando os sea recibido y pasado en quenta a Vos el dicho mi thesorero lo que en ello se gastare y dareis orden como bayan bien acomodados en los Navios en que huvieren de yr haciendoles dar una camara entre quatro o seis de ellos y con los Maestros ó Dueños de los navios hareis que se concierte lo que por el pasage y flete de los treinta y seis religiosos y quatro coadjutores y de su Matalotage y de los libros y bestuarios que llevaren se les hubiere de pagar y el concierto que se hiciere probeereis que se ponga a las espaldas de un traslado signado de esta mi cedula que por ella mando a mis oficiales Reales de la dicha ciudad de la Veracruz que de qualesquier mrs. y Hazienda que fuere a su cargo paguen a los Maestros ó Dueños de los navios lo que huviesen de haver por esta raçon y que para su descargo tomen traslado de esta mi Cedula y el concierto hecho con los Maestros y su carta de pago, con los cuales recaudos sin otro alguno mando les sea recibido y pasado en quenta lo que asi dieren y pagaren.*

*Y asimismo los mando que de alli a la ciudad de Mexico provean a estos religiosos de lo necesario para su sustento y de cabalgaduras en que bayan y lleben sus libros y bestuarios y que si en la dicha ciudad y puerto de San Juan de Ulua enfermase alguno de ellos los hagan curar conforme a la orden que sobre esto esta dada que con traslado signado de esta mi cedula y carta de pago y testimonio de lo que se gastare mando se les reciva y pase en quenta lo que esto montare. Y mis oficiales Reales de la ciudad de Mexico que el tiempo que alli estuvieren los provean de lo que hubieren menester para su sustentacion y mantenimiento y de cabalgaduras en que bayan y lleven sus libros y bestuarios desde aquella ciudad al puerto de Acapulco, y asimismo del matalotage y sustentacion de que tuvieren necesidad para desde la ciudad de Mexico hasta el puerto donde se hubieren de desembarcar en las Yslas Marianas y Philipinas, y si alli enfermaren los dichos religiosos los hagan curar en la forma referida tomando para el descargo de lo que en ello gastaren testimonio signado de escrivano publico y carta de pago del dicho Pedro de Espinar, u de quien su poder ubiere; y que demas de lo susodicho hagan acomodar a estos religiosos en los navios que del puerto de Acapulco fueren a las dichas yslas y que se yguale el flete que por la lleva de ellos y de sus libros y bestuarios se ubiere de pagar desde el dicho puerto hasta aquellas Yslas y que pongan el concierto a las espaldas de un traslado signado de esta mi cedula por virtud de la qual mando a los oficiales Reales de ellas que luego como lleguen alli estos Religiosos paguen a los Maestros ó Dueños de los navios en que fueren lo que se montare el concier-*

*to, que con esta mi cedula o su traslado signado de escrivano publico y carta de pago de los tales Maestros ó Dueños de los Navios y de quien por ellos lo hubiere de haver mando se les reciva y pase en quenta lo que esto ymportare y los unos y los otros tendreis cuydado de que no aya desorden en lo que en esto se gastare, sino toda moderacion y buena quenta, y de esta mi Cedula tomaran la raçon mis Contadores de quantas que residen en mi Consejo Real de las Yndias.*

*Fecha en Madrid a veinte de Jullio de mil y seiscientos y setenta y siete años.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*D. Antonio de Roças.*

### **Translation.**

[Endorsement:] Royal decree for Father Pedro de Espinar, Procurator of the Philippines and Marianas to take 36 Religious of his Order to those Islands.

The King.

My President, Official Judges of the House of Trade in the City of Seville:

By another my Decree of this date, I have given a license to Pedro de Espinar of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of its Province of the Philippine Islands, for him to return there and take along [36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors] granted to his province and to the Mariana Island Mission. And because it is my will that the said 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors be supplied with the necessities for the voyage, I order you to take from whatever moneys you my treasurer may have in your power, or should reserve, for the passages of the religious to the Indies, you are to provide them with what may be necessary for their voyage and sea supplies from that City until that of Veracruz, in accordance with the arrangement of the time of their departure, and to each of the said Religious you are to give one set of clothes, in accordance with the usual procedure, plus one mattress, one blanket, and one pillow, for the sea voyage, and you are to pay what it might cost to transport their books and clothing from their Colleges and houses to that City and the transport of everything from there to either Sanlúcar or Cadiz, in which you may spend from the said my Treasury, up to the sum of 1,239,744 maravedis in bullion, including the 10 ducats that are given to each religious going through New Spain, which, according to the budget that my Accountants who reside in my Council of the Indies have come up with, was calculated as the expenses that will result from the above, and this is excluding the expenses that they may make in going from their Colleges to that City, at the rate of 7 reals per day per Religious, counting 8 leagues per day, for which tally will be required the Certificates from the Superiors of the Colleges of origin of each one of them, but not counting the 2 reals per day that you have to give each one of said Religious for their food, from the time they get there to their departure date. Upon presentation of the Letter of Payment carried by said Pedro de Espinar or by any other Father of his, plus this my decree, I order you to admit same and for you my treasurer to record the eventual expenditures, and you are to give orders that they be well accomodated aboard the ships that will go, by making sure that a cabin

is allocated to every 4-6 of them, and with the ship Masters or owners you are to come to an agreement on fees to be paid for the passage and fare of the 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors and for their sea supplies, their books and clothes that they might take. You are to make sure that the terms of the agreement are copied on the back of a certified copy of this my decree, by which I order my royal officials in the said city of Veracruz, out of any maravedis and moneys that might be in their power, to pay the ship Masters or owners the amounts in question, and, to substantiate their debits they should make a copy of this my decree and the agreement made with the Masters and their letter of payment, and no other provision being necessary, I order that they be accepted and what they say and was paid be recorded in the accounts.

Likewise, I order that these religious be provided with necessities for their sustenance for their voyage from there to the city of Mexico, with mounts on which to carry their books and clothing, and that if some of them should fall sick in said city and port of San Juan de Ulua, they are to be cured in accordance with the order to this effect, and, as long as a certified copy of this my decree and the letter of payment is provided, I order that the statement of accounts be accepted and recorded. And also my Royal officials in the city of Mexico, for the time that they will be there, are to provide them with the necessities for their sustenance and maintenance and with mounts to go and carry their books and clothing from that city to the port of Acapulco, and as well the sea supplies and sustenance they might need from the city of Mexico as far as the port of their disembarkation in the Mariana and Philippine Islands, and, should the said religious fall sick, they are to be cured as mentioned above, as long as the expenditure involved is substantiated with a statement of accounts certified by a notary public and the letter of payment of said Father Pedro de Espinar, or whomever may hold his power-of-attorney; and that, in addition to the above, these religious are to be accommodated aboard the ships going from the port of Acapulco to go to said Islands, and that the fees for the transport of their persons and their books and clothing from said port as far as those Islands be negotiated, and the agreement recorded on the back of a certified copy of this my decree, by virtue of which I order the Royal officials overthere, as soon as these Religious arrive, to pay the ship Masters or owners the agreed amounts, and that this my decree or a copy thereof certified by a notary public, and the letter of payment of such ship Masters or owners or their representatives, be accepted and the amounts involved duly recorded. All Royal officials everywhere are to take care to prevent any disorder in the expenditures, making sure everything is in moderation and good account. My accountants residing in my Royal Council of the Indies are to record this my decree.

Made in Madrid, on 20 July 1677.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio de Rosas.

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## Documents 1677H

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# Royal decree of 1 July 1677, with Fr. Pantoja's petition, attached

## H1. Royal decree sent to the Governor of the Philippines regarding the boat, etc. for the Mariana Island Mission

*Sources: AGI Fil. 11-1-6; copy in AGI Fil. 12-1-55, pp. 29-36. This may correspond to old numbers 11-4-56 and/or 67-6-11 cited in B&R 53: 310.*

*Notes: Perhaps was originally to be found in AGI Fil. 82-2, attached to the covering letter from the Council of the Indies to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 28 June 1677. A copy of the decree, 2-page ms., was sold by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 to a Mrs. Carroll-Paul for 5 pounds sterling (Cat. N° 442, n° 1831, p. 115). An interesting item found in the answer is the documentary proof of the existence of a dilapidated wooden block-house at Umatac in 1678.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey*

*Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Capitan general de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.*

*En mi Concejo Real de las Indias se a presentado **un papel**, ponderando el fruto espiritual y temporal que se consiguiera de fomentar la mission comenzada por el Siervo de Dios, Diego Luis de San Vitores [sic], de la Compañía de Jesus, en las Islas Marianas, donde padecio martirio, ayudandola con los medios y en la forma que en el se propone, suplicandome, que en el interin que se aplican, fuere servido de mandaros que en casso de no haverse efectuado la compra del vaxel que mande hacer para poder passar los misioneros de unas islas, a otras, deis horden a los Cavos de las naos, que desde essas Islas hiciesen viaje a la Nueva España para que toquen de buelta en las Marianas, tomando puerto si le hubiere y dejando la gente y bastimentos necesarios, mudando la que no se hallare por conveniente.*

*Y haviendose visto en el dicho mi Concejo, he tenido por bien de embiaros copia de el papel citado (que es el incluso) para que enterado de su contenido, procureis y dispongais todo aquello que fuere posible conseguir para esforzar el fomento de la mission*

*de las Marianas, de suerte que por falta de el, no descaezca, por el gran fruto que se espera, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal y en el interin que se compra, o haze el vagel que tengo dispuesto, os encargo y mando, deis la orden necessaria a todos los cavos de las naos que de essas yslas hicieren viage a la Nueva España para que toquen de buelta en las Marianas tomando puerto si le hubiere, y dexando la gente y bastimentos que se le entregaren, mudando la que no se hallare por conveniente y aproposito para el fin de la propagacion de la fee y de lo que en ello hicieredes y fuere resultando me dareis quenta en todas ocasiones.*

*Fecha en Madrid a primero de Jullio de mill seiscientos y setenta y siete años.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mando del Rey nuestro Señor.*

*Don Antonio de Rossas.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

[To] my Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia there.

A paper has been presented to my Council of the Indies setting forth the spiritual and temporal benefits which will accrue from the development of the Mission founded by the servant of God, Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Society of Jesus, in the Mariana Islands, where he suffered martyrdom, helping with the means and in the form which the petition proposes—in which I am requested to order that, in the event of your not having effected the **purchase of the vessel** which I had ordered to be built for the conveyance of the missionaries from one island to another, I should be pleased to order that you instruct the commanders of the ships sailing from those Islands to New Spain, to call at the Mariana Islands on their return voyage, and putting ashore the men and the necessary food supplies, replacing those who might not be considered suitable.

And, having deliberated with my Council of the Indies, I am now pleased to forward to you a copy of the said paper (which is enclosed herewith) so that you may, after reading the contents, comply with all the demands contained therein, and do all that is possible for the furtherance of the Mariana Mission, so that it will not fall behind for lack of efforts, given the great fruit that is expected, not only in things spiritual but material. In the meantime, I do order you to issue the necessary instructions to the commanders of the ships, that should make the voyage from those Islands to New Spain, to touch at the Marianas on the return leg, making port, if there is one, and leaving the men and their supplies, replacing the men considered unsuitable for the purpose of the propagation of the faith, and I do order you to keep me informed of all that may occur in any event.

Made at Madrid, 1 July 1677.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio de Rosas.<sup>1</sup>

## H2. Original enclosure (attributed to Fr. Pantoja, S.J.)

*Sources: As above; also in AGI Fil. 82-2-40. Note: I attribute the authorship to Fr. Pantoja, because of Doc. 1677B.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Fundó la Mission de Marianas con ayuda de los Españoles el Venerable Padre San Vitores para gran gloria de Dios y bien de sus criaturas y haviendola regada con su sangre y la de sus compañeros Religiosos y seglares, seria digno de gran dolor y lastima que se perdiessse en el estado que esta, por falta de aplicacion a ella, y que se malograssse no solo lo trabajado, mas tambien las esperanzas de convertir tantas Islas, a que estas a bien camino llegando hasta el Japon y para evitarlo es menester saver que:*

*—Depende totalmente esta mission de que aya vaxel que haga comunicables las Marianas con Manila [de] donde distan trecientas leguas, para llevar la gente, bastimentos, operarios y lo demas necessario, pues de otra suerte es ymposible conservarse, en una total separacion del mundo;*

*—Hasta oy se an socorrido por las Naos de Philipinas que buelven de Nueva España pero como estas son de otro porte no proporcionado, tienen otro fin, y de ordinario los viaxes aviesos estan expuestas à arrivos, propassos, perdidas, y otros accidentes fortuitos, imprevenibles en el mar, rara vez se consigue (aun quando los Governadores son favorables) toquen aquel puerto quedando en el desamparo que se dexa ver aquella Christiandad sin comunicacion alguna por años;*

*—El vaxel de que necesitan las Marianas deve ser como de cien toneladas el qual se fabrique en puerto conpetente de Philipinas y saliendo de alli quando fuere tiempo oportuno, lleve a esta Mission lo necessario, reconosca los rumbos, la monson, el viage [i.e. derrota]; y finalmente, si en medio hay otras Islas por donde con vaxeles menores despues puedan navegarse de unas con otras hasta de Philipinas y se haga fácil aquella comunicacion, diligencia que no se ha hecho ni puede conseguirse por medio de los vaxeles que navegan a la Nueva España, respecto de ser muy grandes, imposible el que se detengan en descubrir Islas, ni rumbos, que impossibilitara su navegacion y los expusiera a evidente naufragio y riezgo;*

*—Este medio que es el unico y precisso, hallandose ynpracticable oy por las necesidades presentes de la Hazienda Real para fabricar, y aviar un vaxel semejante tiene modo de conseguirse, y es si el Governador de Philipinas (el todo en semejantes dependencias) se aplicase con el çelo del servicio de Dios y de el rey que deve à esta matheria;*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The original document was also countersigned by four members of the Royal Council of the Indies.

—Por que pueda dar licencia a uno o muchos vezinos de Manila para que fabriquen este vaxel en Cavite ó en una de las Islas donde estubieren mas comodidad y que fabricado puedan hacer viaxe a Canton ó qualquier otro puerto de los imperios de China, y reynos sircumvezinos que fuere su conveniencia con calidad y condicion que hayan de hazer otro viaje cada año á Marianas y llevar a los ministros, y passageros de gracia y lo demas necessario;

—Para la fabrica del vaxel los puede ofreçer ministros y oficiales por su paga ordinaria y para alentar a estos premiarlos con aquellas encomiendas que se dan en Indias a los benemeritos, [ó] plazas de mar en las naos que navegan a la Nueva España;

—Quando este medio no surta efecto se puede permitir a los vezinos que comprehenden vaxel de los que ban a Manila de estrangeros à comercio;

—Y si su Magd. es servido de fabricarlo a su costa se pueden entregar al Governador los **tres mill pessos** que su Magd. a concedido para este efecto y el de los maderos y mas pertrechos que sobran en Cavite de las Naos grandes que hacen para la Nueva España disponer su fabrica pues los oficiales de Philipinas los paga el Rey [que] naveguen o no naveguen, travajen o descansen;

—De este baxel se puede seguir al Rey la conveniencia de que saque la Artilleria de Bronçe que esta en dhas Marianas desde el año de mill seiscientos y treinta y ocho que se perdio alli la Nao **Concepción**;

—Hecho el vaxel podra el Governador ymbiar con efecto los dos cientos Pampangos mandados remitir por cedula de su Magd. en dies y seis de Noviembre de mill seiscientos y setenta y uno y en su defecto, Pangasinanes, Cangayanes, y Visayas, pues de estas naciones es facil y en Manila sobran bagamundos de ellas, procurando sean oficiales de diferentes oficios que los enseñen a los Isleños, pero si falta el baxel que se propone es imposible se execute esto, assi por que los que navegan a la Nueva España no puedan llevarlos como porque el gasto y rodeo seria exsesivo;

—Que dho Governador provea de Justicia, y Cavo a los soldados, gente, y naturales de dhas Marianas, dandoles orden hagan un **fuertecillo** a la parte que jurgaren mas conveniente para su defensa y seguridad disponiendolo de modo que no falte el numero de quarenta soldados concedido, y que se remuden, y premien segun sus meritos para hazer mas llevadero aquel destierro e incomodidad al pressente sin ningunas conveniencias humanas;

—Pidese a su Magestad que dicho Governador, en casso de no efectuarse el vaxel, y en el interin que se fabrica de orden presisa a todos los que hicieren viaxe a la Nueva España toquen de buelta en las Marianas, tomen quanto si le hubiere y dejen la gente y bastimentos necesarios, mudando la que no se hallare conveniente y a proposito para el fin de la propagazion de la Fee como esta mandado por diferentes cedulas, en especial por la de treinta de abril de mill seiscientos y setenta y seis despachada a dho Governador preveniendo de un año para otro el paraxe por donde passaran las Naos para que alli las aguarden, y se cautele assi el reparo que se puede hacer en que bayan siempre a una parte fixa para que no la sepan los enemigos y vayan a esperarla aunque esto no tiene fundamento pues saven ya tambien como nosotros el passo de el embocadero



*de San Bernardino, por donde entran, y salen y el cavo del Espiritu Santo donde ban a reconocer siempre que vienen de Nueva España a Manila y no tienen orden en contrario.*

*Concuerta con el que queda en la Secretaria de Nueva España que esta a mi cargo donde se saco, para remitir a Philipinas con despacho de S. Mgd de oy dia de la fecha, Madrid a primero de Jullio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y siete.*

*Don Antonio de Rossas.*

### **Translation.**

The Mariana Mission was founded with the help of the Spanish by the Venerable Father San Vitores for the great glory of God and the good of His creatures, and it was irrigated with his blood and that of his religious and lay companions. It would be a great sorrow and pity if it were lost, given its present condition and the lack of application, and if the work already done were to come to an untimely end, along with the hopes of converting so many islands—that lie along a good route to reach Japan—and in order to avoid it, it is necessary to know that:

—This mission depends entirely on a vessel to link the Marianas with Manila, from which they are separated by 300 leagues, in order to take the men, supplies, workers and other necessities, because otherwise it is impossible to preserve them, as they are completely isolated from the rest of the world;

—Until now they have been relieved by the Philippine galleons that return from New Spain, but, as these are of another unsuitable tonnage, they have another purpose; and the advice ships are exposed to returns in distress, overshootings, losses, and other fortuitous accidents, unforeseen at sea, and they rarely can make port (even when the Governors are favorable), resulting in that Christian community being left abandoned, without any communication, for years;

—The vessel required by the Marianas must be of about 100 tons; it can be built in a suitable port in the Philippines and, leaving those Islands in a timely season, it can take the necessities to this Mission, reconnoiter the courses, the monsoon, the route; and finally, if there exist other islands in-between, later on smaller vessels could sail by them on the way to the Philippines, in order to make that communication easy—a project that has not been, and cannot be, accomplished with the vessels that sail to New Spain, because they are very big ones, and it is impossible for them to take time to explore islands, or courses, which would make their navigation impossible and expose them to obvious dangers of shipwreck;

—This means, which is the only one and a necessary one, should it be impracticable to build and outfit a similar vessel in view of the present state of the Royal Treasury, can still be obtained, if the Governor of the Philippines (who is everything in such dependencies) applies himself with zeal to the service of God and the King that is due in such cases;

—Because he may give a license to one or more of the residents of Manila to build this vessel in Cavite or in one of the Islands where it may be more convenient, and that

once it is built, they may make a voyage to Canton or any other port in the empires of China, and to suitable kingdoms in the vicinity, with the condition that they also make a voyage to the Marianas, taking along the ministers and passengers for free, and the other necessities;

—For the building of the vessel, he can propose to ministers and officials to spend their [own] ordinary wages, and to encourage them to do so, he can reward the deserving ones with those land-grants that are given out in the Indies, [or] positions at sea aboard the galleons that sail to New Spain;

—Should this means not take effect, he can allow the residents to purchase a vessel from those foreign vessels that visit Manila to trade;

—And if Your Majesty be pleased to build it at your expense, the **3,000 pesos** that Your Majesty granted for this purpose can be handed over to the Governor, as well as the logs and equipment that are left over in Cavite from the construction of the large galleons for New Spain, to build it; after all, the officers in the Philippines are paid by the King, whether they sail or not, work or rest;

—This vessel could be later used by the King for the purpose of salvaging the bronze cannon that have been in said Marianas since the year 1638 when the galleon **Concepción** was lost there;

—Once the vessel is built, the Governor will be able to effectively send the 200 Pangangos who were ordered sent, by decree of Your Majesty dated 16 November 1671<sup>1</sup> and, failing them, Pangasinans, Cagayans, and Visayans, since it is easy to find people of these nationalities in Manila—where there is an excessive number of vagabonds of these nationalities—but making sure that they are skilled tradesmen who can teach the Islanders; however, without the vessel in question, it is impossible to carry this out, because those who sail to New Spain cannot take them, and also because of the cost and detour involved would be excessive;

—That the said Governor supply a Justice, and Commander for the soldiers, people and natives of said Marianas, giving them an order to build a **small fort** at a most suitable place for their defence and security, arranging it in such a way that the establishment of 40 soldiers be respected, and that they be replaced, and promoted according to their merits, to make more palatable that exile and discomfort that are at present without human amenities;

—Your Majesty is requested that, in case said Governor does not build the vessel, and in the meantime that it is being built, he is to give an express order to all those making the voyage to New Spain to touch at the Marianas on the way back, to take an account of them, if any, and to leave the men and necessary supplies, replacing those who have not been found suitable for the purpose of propagating the Faith, as was ordered in various decrees, specially that of 30 April 1676 sent to said Governor, in which provision is made for the planning one year in advance of the neighborhood where the galleons would pass by, so that they can be awaited there, and thus prevent them from

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1671K4.

always going to a fixed place that might come to the knowledge of enemies who might go and wait for them there, although this is without a rational basis, because they already know as well as we do that the galleons go out and come in through the Strait of San Bernardino, and via the Cape of Espiritu Santo which they use as a landfall whenever they come from New Spain to Manila and have no orders to the contrary.

This is an exact copy of the decree that remains in the Secretariat of New Spain that is in my care, where this copy was made, to be sent to the Philippines with the royal despatch of this date.

Madrid, 1 July 1677.

Don Antonio de Rosas.

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## Document 1677I

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# Letter from Governor Vargas to the Duchess of Aveiro, dated Cadiz 14 July 1677

*Source: RAH 9/2677.*

### Original text in Spanish

*Excellentissima Señora Duquesa de Arcos de Aveiro y Maqueda mi Señora,  
Excellentissima Señora.*

*Señora, habiendo llegado a este Puerto a ocaçion que allo los vajeles de el viaje de Nueva España en dispoçion de haçerse a la vela de suerte que apenas me le dan para el embarco de mi persona y familia he rezivido la de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> con el despacho de su Magestad y carta que la acompañava de el Señor Conde de Medellin tocante a mandarme el fomento de las misiones de las Marianas que el çelo grande de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de el mayor bien de las almas ha tomado por su quenta y no obstante los aogos que ocasiona el corto tiempo que da la zeleridad de la partida cumplo mi rendida atençion con el devido obsequio de ponerme a los pies de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> partiçipando llevo conmigo estas ordenes y no otra cossa encuydado que executar las soliçitando en llegando a Philipinas en quanto me fuere posible la fortuna de que tengan en todos felixisimos suçesos los Catholicos intentos de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> assi por el mayor serviçio de las dos Magestades Divina y Humana quanto por el de V.Ex<sup>a</sup>, en que espero he de obrar tan a su satisfaçion que mereçiendo su agrado a de conoçer V.Ex<sup>a</sup> cumplo en todo lo que es servida fiarme con las obligaciones de criado que soy de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> de la mejor ley.*

*Guarde Dios la Excellentissima persona de V.Ex<sup>a</sup>, los años que deseo y e menester.  
Cadiz 14 de Julio de 1677 años.*

*Excellentissima Señora.*

*Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado.*

## Translation

[To] Her Excellency, the Duchess of Arcos de Aveiro y Maqueda, my Lady.  
Most Excellent Lady:

Madam, having found at my arrival at this port that the vessels for the voyage to New Spain are about to set sail, giving me hardly enough time for the embarkation of myself and family, I received the letter of Your Excellency with the despatch of His Majesty, accompanied by a letter from the Count of Medellin<sup>1</sup> who entrusts me with the development of the missions in the Marianas that the zeal of Y.E. has taken upon yourself for the greater good of the souls, and notwithstanding the stringency caused by the speed of the departure, I comply with my humble desire and with due honor place myself at the feet of Y.E., letting you know that I carry these orders with me and have no other care than to carry them out, and, upon arriving at the Philippines, I will endeavor as much as possible to make sure that all the Catholic intentions of Y.E. get the success they deserve, not only for the greater service of both their Majesties, the Divine and the Human but also that of Y.E., in which I hope to labor at your satisfaction, so as to deserve your gratitude. Y.E. should know that I [will] comply in everything that you will be pleased to entrust me with, with the obligations of the servant that I am of Y.E. in due form.

May God save the Most Excellent person of Y.E. for the years that I wish and is proper.

Cadiz, 14 July 1677.

Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed note: Don Pedro de Portocarrero y Aragón, Count of Medellin, was President of the Council of the Indies, from 1671 to 1679.

2 Ed. note: The fleet of 1677, under the command of Admiral Gabriel Cruz Alegre, arrived at Veracruz on 19 September. Governor Vargas served in the Philippines from 1678 to 1684.

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## Document 1677J

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# Excerpt from a letter from Fr. Solorzano, undated

*Sources: A Latin ms. in Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., Lauinger Library, Schwartz Collection, part of Bundle 1, Folder 1; translated by Fr. William C. Repetti and published in the Catholic Historical Review, vol. 32 (1947): 430-434, under the title: "Conditions in Guam in 1678." However, it was probably written in 1677, as it contains only news for the year 1676-77.*

### Original text in Latin.

*Excerptum ex Litteris P. Emmanuelis Solorsano S.J. super ritibus Marianorum, moribus; et nostrorum etiam Missionariorum laboribus, et periculis.*

*Postquam veni in hanc Insulam et principalem Residentiam nostræ missionis in Marianis Agadña dictam 20 Juny, 1676 triduo posteriori cum uno socio ad inchoandum opus hujus vineæ Domini, et contuli Baptismum uni puellulæ, quam de nomine vocavi Mariam.*

*Modus noster itinerandi est ire pedites cum scipione in manu, qui in supremitate crucem habeat, sine sacco et pera, ordinarie ad genua usque nudipedes iter facimus (:ad hoc enim compellunt nos multi interfluentes rivi:) nn sine multis ac gravibus pedum offensionibus ac vulneribus ex dumis et spinis, ac ingenti calore per avenas.*

*Insula S. Joannis, quantum eprestus, terra est valde fertilis et amœna, quæ producat facile fruges, semina, et plantas Philippinarum et Novæ Hispaniæ, quæ in illa seminata sunt. Est temperamenti optimi, et apprime salubaris, quale non sum expertus in vita mea, 8 mensibus anni durat ver, reliqui 4 se monstrant calores, nimirum Jun:Jul:Aug:Sept: quamvis propter frequentes tunc pluvias attemperentur ut plurimum, et quamvis sudetur multum, non sit tamen cum fatigatione et anpietate, quæ etiam sine sudore sentitur ex calore in Hispania.*

*Alimenta, fructusque communes harum terrarum sunt: oriza, et variæ radices, quæ vocantur **Dago, Nica, Suni**. Fructuum multa genera: platani, et arbores quædem grandes instar nucum, et majores **Rimay** vocant, cujus fructus ab ipsa arbore nomen accepit, durantque 6 mensibus cum abundantia, incipiendo ab Aprili: servit etiam pro pane, et specia quadam biscocci, si siccetur ad solem, ut habeatur etiam, quando finitur, recens. Sunt etiam hic gallinæ, quæ olim evolarunt ex navibus in has Insulas. Dantur cucurbitæ, portulacæ, baselica, Jasmin, lilia sylvestria, sed grati odoris. A 4 aut 5 annis inducta animalia, ut*

*porci, vaccæ pauculæ, canes, et catti. Nullum in his Insulis venenatum animal, nec lupus, vulpes, caniculi, lepores: aves admodum raræ, et hæ marinæ, victitantes quibusdam piscilulis, quædem etiam terrestres, sed omnino inutiles, quamvis non noxiæ; solum dantur vespertiones alequi, magnitudine gallinam ægrantes, quos Indi comedunt, immiscendo superstitiones quaspiam; dantur quoque pepones, et melopepones, ferretque terra omnes fructus calidioris climatis, qui haberi possent in copia, si abundaret populo, et non impedirent persecutiones, quas hactenus passi. Coccus, est fructus palmarum, totius anni in magna abundantia: sit Indi bonum oleum, et etiam fieri potest vinum, quamvis hactenus necdum practicum, ne incolis introducatur ebrietas, quam ignorant. Utilitates et usus Cocci longu foret referre.*

*Incolæ utriusque sexus robustissimi et alti, neque vidi gentem corpulentiore ista, quæ incutiat horrorem recenter advenientibus; magnarum sunt virium, bene proportionati, in bultu plerique Hispanis similes, licet color passus propter nuditatem, cælique injurias, temporis, solis, maris, cocci, et olei, quo totum inunguat corpus, quamvis nascantur candidi. Qui nobiscum magis agunt, verecundantur aliquomodo incedendo nudi, verum cupiditas omnibus Indis insula facit illos appetere vestes, licet eas vix duabus horis in se ferre valeant; magis tamen politi ferunt caligas quasdam leviculas, et raro thoraculum, et hoc pauci.*

*Non loquor, de pueris, puellisque Collegiorum nostrorum, qui educantur instar Hispanorum. Hos tamen non obstante, laboramus, ut vestiti incedant Christiani, et Principales, veniantque ad doctrinam Christianam cum maxima decentia possibili.*

*Virium sunt maximarum: unusquisque accipit sub Brachium nostrum unum et transfert per fluvium facili negotio; radunt capillum usque ad cutem, excepto vertice, in quo quidem crinem abscindunt, minus tamen, quam in Andalusia, et hoc virorum est ornamentum, licet in sudelibus introducere conemur contrarium, persuadendo, ut ferant capillum, prout Andalusiani.*

*Mulieres crescere sinunt capillum, qui communiter est rusus; ipse etiam omnino nudæ incedunt, etsi major verecundia, quam secum fert sepus, illis indiderit tegere partes verecundas, quod pauperiores faciunt viridi folio, ditiores concha testudinis. Multum laboramus, ut fideles isti ex textis quibusdam vestiantur, se huc usque parum effectum. Ornatus earum maximus, facere stellam ex Jasmin, frontique imponere, jam etiam habent nolas, et infantilitates alias, et nugas, quibus se recreent.*

*Urritaos, sive cælibes est gens maxime indomita, et quæ resistat plurimum, donec tota subegatur per arma; horum insigne fasciæ, quas ferunt ex arborum cortice valde subtiles, circumligatas capiti, et alias in laurarum suarum cuspidibus. Hi Urritaos valde perniciosum habent vitium, quod est, emere puellas pro suis turpitudinibus, in singulis pagis domus una est, vel si pagus frequentior, duæ Urritaorum. Veniunt porro Urritai, qui degunt in his communibus suis domibus, ad Patrem alicujus puellæ, et dant illi par circularum ferreorum pro vase, quos emunt pro navibus, par concharum testudinis, unum, vel alterum ense, et illico Pater tradit filiam Cætus veluti si illam collocasset in optimo statu, et illi eam secum ducunt ad communem domum, et post aliquod tempus manet nupta cum uno ex illis, facientque sibi domum, ut separati vivant. Multæ Urritaorum domus a nostris sunt dirutæ, et in locum horum Collegiorum Luciferi, alia fundamus puerorum, puellarumque in quibus magna cum cautela educantur, doctrina, politia, et bonis artibus pro Christiana Republica necessarijs.*

*Post aliquot a meo adventu dies, assignarunt mihi unam Residentiam pagi Ayran, et 11 Julij conscendi navim, ut venirem ad locum mei ministerij (:hoc eodem die anno præterito Gadibus solvimus ad veniendum in istam missionam:).*

*Longum foret referre navicularum pericula, quibus utuntur incolæ, sufficiat dicere, quod mensium duorum spatio ter in periculo submersionis fuerim, cum jamjam periret ratis, quænos vehebat. Cum modicum crescit ventus, ut insurgant fluctus, opus est trahere antliam, nam aqua desuperat, intrat in naviculam, et etiam quieto mari manibus aquam tangimus. Nulla et in illis provisio, nec contra solis aestus, nec contra aquas; unde accidit, ut tempestas aquæ nos madefaciat a vertice ad plantam pedie, et rugo funderat sol, qui nos ustulet, ficetque vestes in corpore: coactus ego sum semel hanc viam transire in pileo solum in capite nam pileum ventus abripuerat.*

*Turbationes anni istius, ac tumultus primuspium sumpserunt in mea Residentia Ayran, ubi videbitur in Relatione, ubi per Dei gratiam evasi flammæ, quibus vix non vivus crematus sum, et lanceas postea inimicorum, qui ignem supposuerant: et si scivissent me esse in Residentia, misissent me ad videndum Christum; solus fui cum uno sæculari, qui durante incendio, putabat me mortuum, quod quidem arbitrati sunt etiam Indi, qui accurrerant, quando me non statim viderant, dixeruntque extinctum esse Patrem; sed ego celeriter me contuli ad extrahendas e templo Imaines, quod ardere jamjam cœperat, sed magna diligentia servatæ sunt, uti quoque pueri puellæque Marianæ duorum Collegiorum.*

*Hic fuit insultum primum, quo sese inimicos declararunt Indi, et rugo abierunt ad cæteros. Permisit Deus, ut bona hanc occasione martyrij, quam ego perdidit, quia dispositione illa carui, quam Deus in illo requirit, quem sibi [sic] ad dignitate assumptur, est martyrij, quam vita sua Apostolica et heroicis virtutibus promeruerat Filium meæ Provinciæ V.P. Sebastianum de Monroy. Parum abfuit, quin cum illo perjisset etiam P. Joannes de Ahumada, qui ex eodem cum P. Sebastiano Novitiatu Hispalensi prodijt, e est vir magnæ virtutis, inculpatæque vitæ. Erat P. Ahumada socius P. Sebastiani, se paucis diebus, antequa hoc accidisset inportunum ex singulari Providentia a superiore vocatum fuit, ne nobis periret etiam istud subjectum. Pericula, in quibus hoc anno fuimus, edocebit ipsa Relatio, et ideo his referre haud necessarium; id solum duo, in vita mea non fodisse me plus, quam foderim exiquo hoc, quo hic sum, tempore, ad seminandum, colligendum frumenti quidpiam Indici Maiz: ingens quippe games, magna alimentorum penuria, ab hostibus obsidebamur undique et undique conclusi, compulsique intra 150 passus in longum, ex latu in septum unum ex palis, quod magis victimarum, sacrificiorumque locus videri poterat, quam armorum præsidium. Hoc defendebant 40 homines, quos omnes dedisum ego pro strenuis decem: aliqui quippe illorum claudi, alij alijs effecti plagis, et omnes simul sine anima ad conspectu innumerabilium lancearum et barbarorum. Et ideireo ne totum pessumiret, defendereturque Dei causa, Regis, ac vita nostra, quæ summe necessaria, ne inimici nostri perdant æternam, opus erat, ut e nos Religiosi sumeremus arma, alios animando hoc pacto, resistendoque inimicis; quod si factum non fuisset, totum jam esset perditum: nam 4 vel 5 Religiosi, etiam sine displosione armorum in fugam egimque ingentem barbarorum turmam, qui putabant, et bene, non esse nobiscum milites, et ideo tentarunt nos exurere, vitamque tollere, ignari, Patres non pettractare arma: seduli viderunt nos cum tanta resolutione ad eos expiendos procedere, in gugam sese dederunt, relinquendo nobis victoriam sine vulnere et sanguine.*

*Sex mensibus duravit hoc Deus flagellum, et tandem compatiendo nobis, et tam multis animabus, placatam se exhibuit ejus Justitia, et abundanter in nos effudit misericordias suas, dando nobis spiritum ac vires ad fabricandum primum opus ex luto et lapide, quod fuit in istis Insulis, unam valde bona et fortem Ecclesiam, quæ valeret etiam pro Castro; ad cujus imitationem exstruuntur omnes domus: et ubi expectata navis advenerit cum auxilio, ædificabitur fortalium, et tractus muri, ut formatum habeatur præsidium, quorum hactenus nihil fuit.*



*Labores, calamitatesque anni istius, de cœlo nobis delapsa fuere beneficia, ut stabiliretur semel hæc Christianitas, et spero in Deo, si nos non fefellerit precursus duarum istarum navium hujus anni atque sequentis, subjicientur ex toto istæ Insulæ, eritque hæc florentissima Missio inter Societatis Missiones, nulla magis Apostolica est usque hodie, et deinceps erit. Verum quamvis felicius succedant res Missionariorum nostrorum, experientur nihilominus labores plurimos, manifesta vitæ pericula, naufragia, solis æstu, aquas, fumem, defatigationem maximam, et plurima alia, de quibus taceo; ideo requirit hæc missio valde prudentes homines ac virtuosos, nisi aliqui etiam, qualis ego, veniant ad detergendas penatorum suorum sordes ac maculas, et in his omnibus sine auxesi loquor, Deus novit.*

*Venim ego magis sum mea forte contentus, quam unqua alias, nec mutarem meas Marianas nisi cum cœlo: nam, ut dicitur, aurum est, quod aurum valet, et non habeat pretium, quod Religiosum aliquis se videat in tam justa causa et sancta quærendæ majoris Dei gloriæ, animarumque salutis? Quod videat se inter tot barbaros in medio periculorum, et inter duas Marianas mari se committere in scabello (:prout naviculas hujales vocitant:) cujus fabrica, cum sit de solutis tabulis, non conjungunt illas aliquibus clavis, sed debilitus ligaminibus ac funibus, ut bene madefiant, licet tantillus non sit ventus, vel adurantur a sole in Malacca etiam ipsa ossa.*

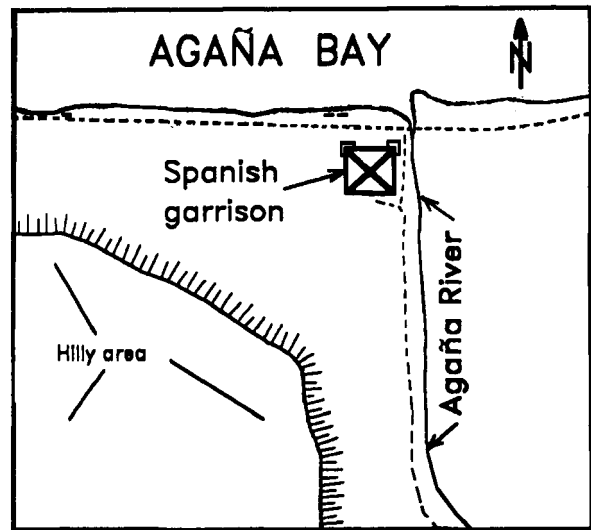
...

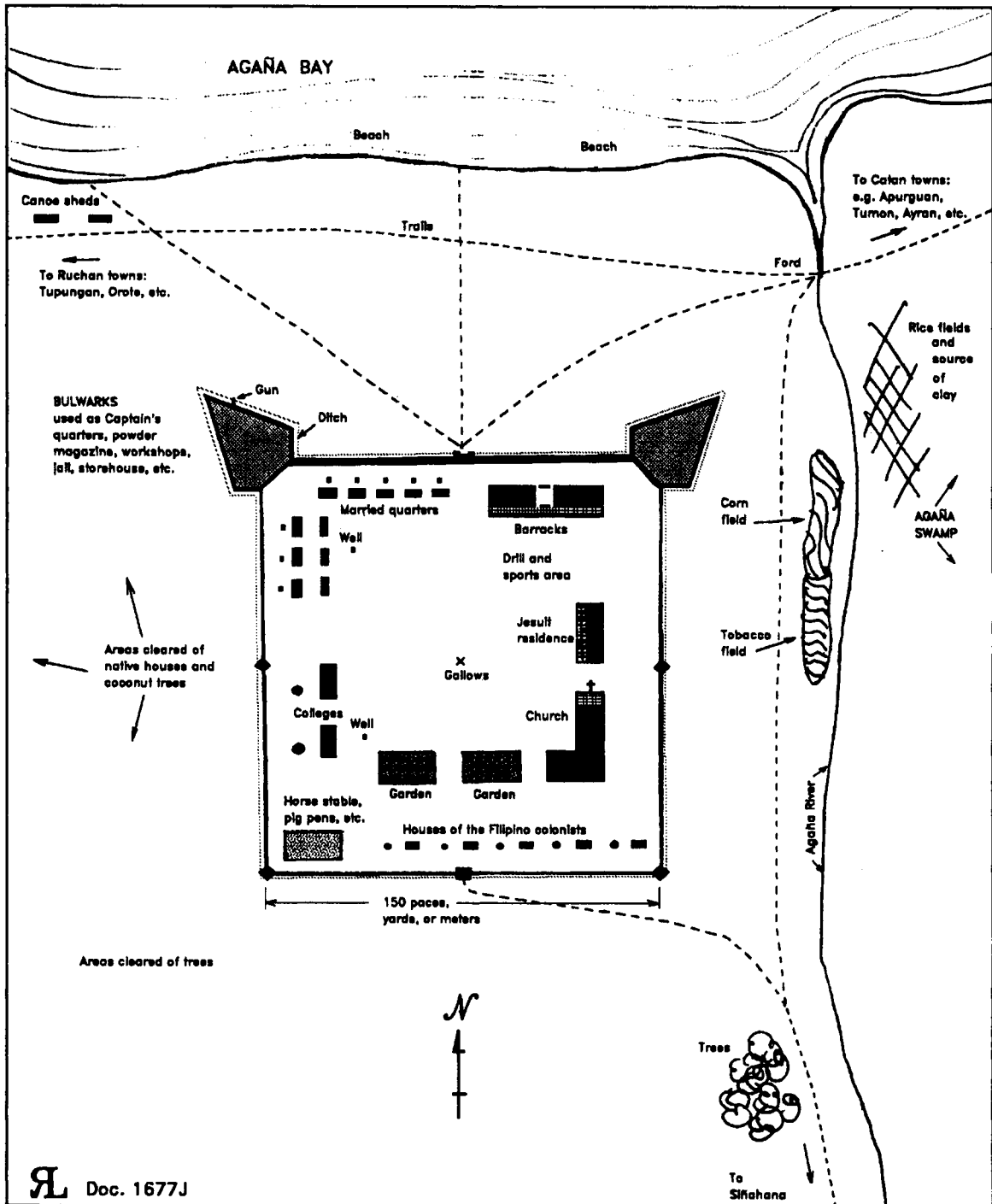
### **Excerpt from a letter by Fr. Manuel de Solorsano, S.J. regarding the rites and customs of the Marianos, and also the labors and dangers of our Missionaries.**

I came to this island and the principal residence of our Mission in the Marianas, that is to Agaña on 2 June 1676, and three days later, with one companion, I commenced to work in this vineyard of the Lord, and I conferred baptism on a little girl whom I named Mary.

Our mode of travel is to go on foot with stick in hand, which has a cross on top, without bag or wallet; ordinarily we make the journey barelegged to the knees (many streams compel us to do this), not without many and serious injuries to the feet from brambles and thorns and the burning heat of the sand.

The island of San Juan, as much as is known, is very fertile and pleasing and easily produces crops, fruits and plants of the Philippines and New Spain which are sown in it. Its climate is temperate and very healthful, such as I have not experienced in my life. Spring lasts during eight months of the year; during the four [other months] heat prevails, namely, June, July, August and September, although on account of frequent rains





Doc. 1677J

**Imaginary reconstruction of the Agaña garrison in 1677.** *All buildings had been, or were being, rebuilt of fire-proof materials, with flat roof terraces on the important buildings, and clay tiles on the others. The corn and tobacco plantations outside the stockade had been destroyed by native rebels in 1676 and were replaced by corn and vegetable gardens inside.*

it is then greatly tempered, and even though one perspires greatly, it is not accompanied by the fatigue and strain which one feels in Spain even without perspiration.

The produce and ordinary fruits of this land are corn and various roots, which are called *Sago*,<sup>1</sup> *Nica*, *Suni*. Many kinds of fruit: bananas and certain large trees, like nut trees, which they call *Limay*,<sup>2</sup> the fruit of which takes its name from the tree itself and lasts with abundance for six months, beginning in April. It serves also for bread and a kind of biscuit, if dried in the sun. There are also chickens which flew ashore in these islands from boats.<sup>3</sup> There are gourds, purslane, basil, jasmine and wild lilies, but of pleasing odor.<sup>4</sup>

Four or five years ago animals were brought in: pigs, small cattle, dogs, and cats. There is no wild animal in these islands, no wolves, foxes, small dogs, or rabbits; birds are very scarce, some are sea birds which feed on small fish, some are land birds but utterly useless, although not harmful.<sup>5</sup> There are some bats the size of chickens, which the Indians eat, combining some superstition; also some squashes and melons, and the land could bear in abundance all the fruits of a very warm climate if the population were numerous and not hindered by persecutions which they have suffered hitherto. The coconut, the fruit of the palm, is in abundance during the whole year; from it is obtained a good oil, and a wine can also be secured, but up to the present drunkenness has not made its appearance among the inhabitants and they are ignorant of it. The uses and advantages of the coconut are too many to enumerate.

The inhabitants of both sexes are very robust and white, nor have I seen a more corpulent race, which arouses horror in those recently arrived. They have great strength, are well-proportioned, and many are similar to Spaniards in their features, although swarthy in color because of nudity and the effects of the air, climate, sun, sea, dye and the oil with which they cover the whole body, although they are born white. Those who have more dealing with us feel somewhat ashamed at walking about naked. Cupidity is inborn in all Indians and they seek clothes, although they can endure them for scarcely two hours; however, the more cultured wear a kind of light shoes, and rarely a little breast plate and this only by a few. I do not speak about our schools for boys and girls who are trained like Spaniards. We labor that they may progress as Christians and influential persons and attend the Christian doctrine with all possible decency.

They have very great strength and each one of them picks one of ours under each arm and easily carries them across a stream. They cut their hair to the scalp, except the top which they leave in the form of a lock, smaller, however, than those in Andalusia;<sup>6</sup>

1 Ed. note: This word should have been transcribed "dago."

2 Ed. note: Also pronounced Rimay, the breadfruit tree.

3 Ed. note: Galleons, or ships, is what is obviously meant by boats here.

4 Ed. note: Not garlic, but ginger perhaps.

5 Ed. note: Here we have the very first document mentioning the presence of flightless rails named "koko" in Chamorro, scientific name "*Rallus owstoni*."

6 Ed. note: This knot was most likely in the nape, rather than the crown, of the head.

but we try to introduce the contrary custom among the faithful, persuading them to wear the hair like Andalusians.<sup>1</sup>

The women allow their hair, which is usually red, to grow; they also go about wholly nude, although the greater sense of shame which is inherent in their sex, prompts them to cover the private parts, which the poorer classes do with green leaves and the upper classes with a turtle shell. We endeavor to have the converts clothe themselves with some kind of cloth, but up to the present little has been accomplished. Their principal ornament is to make a star of jasmine and place it on the forehead, and they even have bells and other childish things and trifles with which to decorate themselves.

The *Urritaos* or unmarried men, are the most unrestrained and offer the most resistance until totally subdued by arms. The distinguished among them wear bands made of very fine tree bark around their heads, and others on the points of their garlands. These *Urritaos* have very pernicious vices, namely, to buy girls for their infamous practices. In each village there is one house, in more populous villages two, of *Urritaos*. Those who live in these communal houses come to the father of some girl and give him a pair of iron barrel hoops, which they buy from some ship in exchange for turtle shells, or one or two swords, whereupon the father joyfully turns over his daughter as if he were placing her in the best of positions, and they take her with them to the communal house and after some time she remains married to one of them and they build themselves a house that they may live apart. Many of the houses of the *Urritaos* have been destroyed by us and in place of them we have established orphanages for boys and girls in which they are trained with great care in religion, deportment and other accomplishments needed in a Christian community.

Some days after my arrival I was assigned to a Residence called **Ayran** and on July 11th I embarked to go to the place of my ministry (one year to the day we had embarked at Cádiz to come to this Mission).<sup>2</sup>

It would be too long to narrate all the perils of boat travel among these people; suffice to say that three times in the space of two months I have been in danger of drowning when the boat which bore us perished.<sup>3</sup> When the wind rises a little and stirs up waves, it is necessary to carry a bailer, for the water piles up and comes into the boat and even in calm [weather] we [can] touch the water with our hands. There is no protection in the boats from the heat of the sun or the rains; whence it happens that a storm may wet us from head to foot but the sun quickly comes out and heats and dries the clothes on our bodies; once I was compelled to travel this way with only a skull cap on my head, because the wind had blown away my hat.

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- 1 Ed. note: If this knot of hair was ever located on the crown of the head of males, it started to be worn on the nape, or neck, at this time.
  - 2 Ed. note: Ayran, or Ayraan, was located up the northwest coast of Guam. There was an overland trail leading to that village, but the fastest mode was by canoe; also, there being no beasts of burden, this was the practical way for him to move his baggage.
  - 3 Ed. note: By the word "perished" is meant "capsized," or "swamped."

The disturbances of this year had their beginning in my Residence, Ayran, as will be seen in the Relation, where, by the favor of God, I escaped fire by a slight margin, and afterwards the spears of the natives who started the fire. If they had known me to be in the Residence they would have sent me to the vision of Christ; I was alone with one secular who, during the fire, thought me dead and the natives who had gathered believed this. They did not see me and they said that the Father had been wiped out, but I ran quickly to remove the pictures from the church, which had already begun to burn, and they were saved by diligent effort, as also were the Mariana boys and girls of the schools.

This was the first assault by which the Indians showed themselves to be enemies, and soon they were joined by others. God permitted that this good occasion of martyrdom, which I missed because I lacked the disposition which God requires in him whom He chooses for that dignity, should be that of the martyrdom which the son of my province, Venerable Father Sebastián de Monroy, merited for himself by his apostolic life and heroic virtues.<sup>1</sup> Fr. Juan de Ahumada, who came from the same novitiate as Father Sebastián and is a man of great virtue and blameless life, barely escaped perishing at the same time. Father Ahumada was the companion of Father Sebastián, but, by a singular providence of God, a few days before this misfortune happened, he was called from the Residence by the superior, lest that subject be lost to us.

The dangers in which we were immersed this year will be told in the Relation itself and here I will merely relate what is necessary.<sup>2</sup> I will say that during my life I have not dug more than I have during the short time I have been here, in order to sow and reap a little Indian corn; forsooth, a great famine, a great dearth of supplies, besieged by enemies on all sides, hemmed in everywhere, confined in **a space of 150 paces in length and width within the stockade of logs**, which seemed more like a place of victims and sacrifice rather than an armed camp. It was defended by 40 men, all of whom I would exchange for 10 strong men; some of them were lame, some afflicted with other defects, and all lacking courage at the sight of the innumerable spears and barbarians.<sup>3</sup> And therefore, lest all should utterly perish, and the cause of God and the King might be defended, as also our lives, which were extremely necessary lest our enemies lose the eternal, it was necessary for us religious to take up arms and in this way encourage the others, resisting the enemy; and if this did not succeed all would be lost. And four or five religious, even without firing a shot, put to flight an immense horde of barbarians who thought, and correctly, that there were no soldiers among us, and so they tried to

1 Ed. note: Both Fr. Monroy and Fr. Solorzano were born in Andalusia.

2 Ed. note: He is referring to the 1676-77 report. As for the annual report for 1677-1678, it has been lost, although its contents may have been used by the Procurator, Fr. Vidal, (if it reached Mexico) for the composite report he wrote to mark the 10-year anniversary of the Mission (see Doc. 1678A). Fr. García in his book says that "all the letters and documents that were despatched from the Marianas in 1678 never reached Spain, because of the loss of the ship that carried them." (ref. Guam Recorder, April 1939, p. 12). If so, he is referring to a shipwreck in the Atlantic, because there was none in the Pacific.

3 Ed. note: Who would not show fear when the odds were so bad? The lame Spaniards and the Filipino boy soldiers were to save the colony more than once.

burn us and take our lives, not knowing that the Fathers did not know how to handle firearms. But when they saw us show so much determination they betook themselves to flight, leaving us victorious without wound or blood.

This affliction of God lasted six months, and finally taking pity on us, His justice seemed placated for so many souls and He abundantly poured forth his mercy, giving us courage and strength to build up the first church which would serve as a stronghold. All houses are constructed after its pattern and after the expected ship arrives with help the fortress will be erected, together with a stretch of wall, so that the garrison will have shape, of which nothing of the kind hitherto existed.

The labors and calamities, poured down upon us from Heaven, were benefits so that once this Christianity is established, as I hope in God if the help of these two boats [i.e. ships] does not fail us this year and the next, this whole island will be subdued and this will be the most flourishing mission among the missions of the Society; none is more apostolic up to the present, none will be in the future. Although the works of our missionaries may be attended with success, many difficulties will be experienced, obvious dangers to life at almost every step, shipwrecks, heat of sun, rain, hunger, the greatest fatigue, and many others of every kind; and so this mission needs very prudent and virtuous men, unless some, such as I, come to wipe out their sins and faults, and in all things God knows that I speak the truth.

But I am more content with my lot than I have ever been with others, nor would I exchange my Marianas except for Heaven; for, as is said, that is golden which is worth gold and has no price, because a religious may see himself in such a just and holy cause seeking the glory of God and the salvation of souls, because he may see himself among so many barbarians, in the midst of dangers, and between two Mariana Islands one commits himself to a shell, as the little boats are called, of which the structure is of separate boards, not joined by any nails, but held together by weak ligaments and cords, so that the occupants are very wet although there may not be a breath of air, or are burned to the very bone.

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## Document 1678A

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# Composite report for the 1668-77 period, by Fr. José Vidal

*Sources: Archives of the Capuchin Fathers in Burlada, Navarre, Spain, entitled: "Razon y noticia del estado en que está oy la misión de las Islas Marianas y el que tenía dicha misión cuando pasó a ella el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, S.J., año de 1668," dated Mexico, 1679; photocopy at MARC.*

## What happened to the annual report for 1677-78?

Fr. Vidal's composite report is said to include the events of 1677-78, the latest annual report that could have reached Mexico by 1679. This report never reached Spain, because of a shipwreck, says Fr. García in his biography of Fr. Sanvitores. If so, the shipwreck in question must have occurred in the Atlantic, because no galleon was shipwrecked in the Pacific in 1678 or 1679. So, it is possible that this composite report issued by Fr. Vidal in Mexico contains some information about the year 1677-78 that does not appear elsewhere.

There is another possibility, that is, Fr. García was mistaken about the shipwreck; indeed, the 1677-78 report could have been aboard another ship, and reached Spain, that is, the hands of the Duchess of Aveiro, because, in 1679, a report from the Marianas was sent by the Duchess of Aveiro to a Fr. Anthony Thomas, then in Spain. He wrote back to her from Coimbra, Portugal, on Christmas 1679, acknowledging receipt of the report.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the report in the hands of the Duchess could have been that of the previous year, 1676-77.

[Parts of Fr. Vidal's report may be reproduced later in the supplementary volume.]

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<sup>1</sup> Ref. page 50 of the Maeda Collection, edited by the Sonkei Kaku Library, published by Yushodo in 1975, as follows: "Relatio de Insulis Marianas, quam etiam Galliz et Belgio communicabo: cupide enim ejusmodi nova a me inde expetunt nostri." This 4-page ms. letter was sold by Maggs Bros. of London in 1924 (Cat. N° 455, n° 1289, p. 72). By the way, Fr. Thomas was able to get passage aboard a Portuguese ship and became a missionary to China instead of going to the Marianas, which had been his first choice.

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## Documents 1678B

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# Letters written to the Duchess of Aveiro in 1678

## B1. Letter from Fr. Vidal, dated Mexico 18 February 1678

*Source: Present location unknown; 1-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. of London in 1923 (Cat. N° 442, n° 1839, p. 120).*

### **Extract, mentioning the personal effects of Blessed Fr. Sanvitores**

Through the Father Procurator, J[uan] de Monrroy, I wrote to you, and forwarded the few personal valuables<sup>1</sup> of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, and although the Fr. Procurator advises me that he has handed them to you, I have not been honored by a letter of acknowledgement from you, which makes me think it may have miscarried.

Although we have received no letters from you, we have had much news from other sources, of the gifts with which you have favored the Mariana Mission; and of the benefits granted by the Council, through your intercession.

Etc.

## B2. Letter from Fr. Salgado, dated Seville 7 June 1678

*Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. (Cat. N° 442, n° 1836, p. 118); cited in S&D V: 355.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: One of these articles is said to have been the blood-stained machete used in his assassination. There is no further information regarding the disposal of these articles. Perhaps they were given to his father.



## **News of the missionaries about to sail for the Philippines and the Marianas.**

The reference to the Hermit [i.e. José Quiroga] pleases me very much, and consequently, so does your decision. The Father Procurator of Salamanca highly praises him to me, and says he is noble; I trust in God that his departure will be made possible.<sup>1</sup>

There are now 12 people here from the Province of Castile, and perhaps one more will follow on. From this Province [of Seville] we have 3 of whom one is the Coadjutor. Up to now, neither the Italians nor the Germans have arrived. Of the three we await from Aragon, one will be here shortly.

Many letters from New Spain, relating to the Marianas, were awaiting me before I reached this city, and I will state the news briefly, because Fr. Espinar has already written to you at length on this subject, which is that the Indians have killed two more Fathers, whose martyrdoms you will read about in the report which is being forwarded to you.

The laymen of the Philippines are opposed to that Mission on certain pretexts, but most of the inconvenience will cease on the establishment of sailings from the Philippines to the Marianas, which can be facilitated now that we have ascertained that they can travel from Siam<sup>2</sup> (where there are other Missionary Fathers) by coasting along the southern islands [of the Philippines] as far as the Marianas.

## **B3. Letter from Fr. de Monrroy, dated Seville 14 June 1678**

*Source: Present location unknown; 2-page ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. (Cat. N° 442, n° 1837, p. 119.*

### **Fr. Vidal no longer Procurator**

I must begin by redeeming the promise I gave you, which was to repeat any news which I might receive of your Mariana Mission, and I forward a report which was sent to me from New Spain by Fr. Joseph Vidal, who has undoubtedly been very ill. Indeed he did not write to me in his own hand, but as that [hand] of God is not limited, and His power increases in works which are destined to save souls—of which many may be saved in the Mariana Islands—since His Divine Majesty has ordered that things shall come to pass in a gradual, normal manner... I cannot refrain from mentioning here what I omitted to mention when I was at that Court [Madrid], that is, that Fr. Joseph Vidal is being dismissed from the Procuratorship of the Marianas, and is being forbidden any power to intervene in the matter of relief for the mission.

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1 This refers to Don Joseph Quiroga's appointment to the military command of the garrison at the Marianas. Ed. comment: The Procurator of Salamanca was Fr. Thirso Gonzalez.

2 Ed. note: This is a misprint for Siau, a Jesuit mission in Celebes.

I have known Fr. Vidal since he was a little boy, always angelic and anxious to serve our Lord, and as he knows that the best way in which a Religious can please God is to obey, he does so with the perfection which will be recognized to the full some day.

Although I perceive a means by which Fr. Vidal should not withdraw from the service of God, I do not dare to propose it to you (in whose hands it rests) for higher reasons, which Fr. Francisco García will explain, should you care to ask... What I write to you is communicable, because it is communicated for the glory of God, and I do not object to its being known that the news came through me... but they must know that I write to you that chapter which concerns Fr. Joseph Vidal...<sup>1</sup>

Things would go well if, as our Brother Juan Ximenez used to say, the King reigned in his Kingdom, God in the Universe, and Reason in the Home...

## Other letters extant:

### 1. Letter from Fr. Salgado, dated Seville 14 June 1678

*Source: Present location unknown; ms. offered for sale by Maggs Bros. (Cat. N° 442, n° 1834?, p. 117); cited in S&D V: 355.*

### 2. Letter from Fr. Salgado, dated Seville 29 June 1678

*Source: Present location unknown; 4-page ms. cited in S&D vol. 21, p. 45.*

*Note: It is about his imminent departure with companions for the Philippine and Mariana Missions.*

### 3. Letter from Fr. García, dated Manila [sic?] 20 December 1678

*Source: Present location unknown; 5-page ms. cited in S&D vol. 21, p. 44.*

Notes: Postscript dated 20 June 1679. S&D are wrong in saying that this letter was sent from Manila, as Fr. García was still in Madrid in June 1678 (see above). He asks for help for the Mariana Mission and that of Palawan, and refers to their inhabitants.

[Such letters may be reproduced in the supplementary volume, if found.]

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Fr. Vidal was being dismissed from his post, because he had made a mess of the accounts, specially that of the Mariana Mission.

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## Document 1678C

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# Fr. Nicolás de Prado tried to join the Mariana Mission in 1678

*Source: AHH, Mexico: Misiones de Filipinas, Temporalidades, Leg. 326-2, pp. 1673-1674; photocopy at MARC.*

*Summary note: Fr. del Prado begs permission from his Provincial Fr. Thomas Altamirano to go to Mexico City and pass to the Marianas, since he has already received permission from his Father General.*

## Letter from Fr. Prado to Fr. Prov. Altamirano, dated Santa Teresa, 21 May 1678

My dear Father Provincial Thomas Altamirano,<sup>1</sup>  
Excellency,

I have already written two letters to Your Reverence, begging you with all effectiveness and efficiency that Your Reverence, in accordance with the pleasure of our Father General, to give me permission to supply myself for Mexico as soon as possible in order for me to get there soon enough to be able **to go on to the Marianas** aboard the ship that may come from the Philippines this coming year and would return during the month of March of 1679. I have already written to Y.R. about this in more details before and thus do not wish to emphasize it now. I trust in God that, when this letter gets to Y.R., not only will Y.R. have seen the previous letter, but also that he will have already sent me the permission that I wish, and I again beg Y.R.

What I hope to get from your goodness and well-known virtue and zeal, given that our Father [General] tells me in his letter that he has indeed advised Y.R. that the Father Assistant of Spain writes to me that they have already earmarked me in Rome, and that I am part of the group of missionaries for the Mariana Mission, and supposing that I will go, he wished me a happy voyage to those islands.

As far as this, my dear [present] mission is concerned, it has already three established settlements and three more that are being prepared. The former are Santa Inés de Chiripa, Santa Teresa de los Guazapary, and Guadalupe de Borochois; the other three

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Altamirano was Provincial of New Spain from 1677 to 1680.

are Valleumbrosa, Santa Ana, and Loreto, all inhabited by the Barohia people, as Y.R. has shown on a draft map that he remitted to the Father Visitor and that he had sent to Y.R. In them [i.e. the settlements] have been baptized 1940 gentiles and some 75 apostates confessed and reduced. The settled towns have the doctrine taught continuously morning and afternoon, as well as Governors, Mayors and Inspectors. The town of Santa Ana has already got a town mayor, and the other two have their inspectors...

Santa Teresa, 21 May 1678

Nicolas de Prado

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## Documents 1678D

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# Letters from the King regarding galleons having to stop at Guam

## D1. Letter to the Viceroy, dated Madrid 17 June 1678

*Sources: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 240v-241; AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 16, exp. 56, p. 1769.*

*Summary note: He thanks the Viceroy, Archbishop Payo de Rivera, for having ordered the General of the 1676 galleons to stop at Guam to leave the supplies which he carried for the Mission.<sup>1</sup>*

## Letter to Archbishop Payo de Rivera

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Rey,*

*Muy Reverendo in Christo Padre Don Fr. Payo de Rivera Arçobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de México, de mi Consejo, mi Virrey, Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella en interín.*

*Haviendo entendido que en la ocasión del tornaviage de la nao de Filipinas de las de mill seiscientos y setenta y seis ordenasteis a Antonio Nieto que yva por General de ella, que pasase por la Isla de Guan, aora San Juan, y dejase en ella los religiosos misioneros, con todo lo demás que llevaba para las Marianas, me he parecido daros gracias por ello por lo mucho que deseo el fomento de aquella misión, y espero que en lo que se le ofreciere para la continuación de ella, obrareis con el mismo celo y atención que siempre lo haveis hecho, y las mismas ordenes dareis en lo venidero.*

*De Madrid a diez y siete de Junio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mando del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: General Nieto was in command of the Galleon **San Antonio (de Padua)** .

[Endorsement:] *Al Arçobispado Virrey, dándole gracias por la orden que dió al General de la nao de Philipinas del año del 76 para que llegase a la isla de S. Juan y dejase lo que llevaba para la misión de las Marianas.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

[To] the Most Reverend in Christ Don Fray Payo de Ribera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of Mexico, member of my Council, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of my Audiencia there, on an interim basis.

Having heard that, upon the occasion of the return voyage of the Philippine galleon in 1676, you ordered Antonio Nieto who was going as her General, to pass by the Island of Guan, now San Juan, and to leave the religious missionaries there, with everything else that was carried for that mission, and I hope that in whatever opportunity that may arise in the future, you will act with the same zeal and attention as you have always done, and issue the same orders this coming year.

From Madrid on 17 June 1678.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord,  
Joseph de Veitia Linage.

[Endorsement:] To the Archbishop Viceroy, giving him thanks for the order given to the General of the Philippine galleon of the year 76, for stopping at the island of San Juan and leave what he carried for the Mariana Mission.

## **D2. Letter to General Antonio Nieto, dated Madrid 17 June 1678**

*Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fo. 241v, p. 506.*

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

*El Rey.*

*Al General Antonio Nieto dandole gracias por el animo que manifesto de querer llegar a la Isla de Guan con la nao de Filipinas que llevaba a su cargo para dejar lo que llevaba a la mision de las Marianas.*

*General Antonio Nieto que lo fuisteis de la nao de las Islas Filipinas que volvio a ellas de la N<sup>a</sup> España el año de mill y seiscientos y setenta y seis: en mi correspondencia de las Indias se a tenido noticia del animo que manifesteis en este viage de llegar a la Isla de Guan (que aora se nombra de San Juan) a dejar los religiosos misioneros de la Compania de Jhs y lo demas que llevavades para las Marianas, y que lo executasteis con effecto y por que en ello obrasteis con la atencion que deviades tener me ha parecido muy conforme al deseo que tengo de que a aquella mision se le asista con lo que necesitare para que se logren los buenos efectos que al servicio de Dios y mio se esperan de ella.*

*De Madrid a diez y siete de Junio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.  
Yo el Rey.  
Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Joseph de Veitia Linage.  
Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

To General Antonio Nieto, giving him thanks for the spirit he showed in wanting to stop at the Island of Guan with the Philippine galleon that was under his command and leave there what was on board for the Mariana Mission.

General Antonio Nieto, of late General of the galleon of the Philippine Islands that returned there from New Spain in the year 1676:

In my correspondence from the Indies, notice has been given of the spirit that you have shown in this voyage to stop at the Island of Guan (which is now called San Juan) to leave the religious missionaries of the Society of Jesus and the rest that you were taking for the Marianas, and that you have effectively carried it out, and because in this you have worked with due care; this seems to me to be very much in accordance with the desire that I have that that mission be assisted with what it might need, in order to achieve the good effects that are expected of it, in the service of God and mine.

From Madrid, 17 June 1678.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don José de Veitia Linage.

Countersigned by the Council.

## **D3. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 18 June 1678**

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

*El Rey*

*Al Governador de Filipinas sobre la orden que a de dar a los Generales de las naos de aquellas Islas para que no degen de pasar por la de Guan en las Marianas.*

*Maestro de Campo D. Juan de Vargas Cavallero de la orden de Santiago mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas ó de la persona ó personas a cuio cargo fuere su gobierno.*

*En mi Consejo de las Indias se a tenido noticia de que governando esas Islas Don Manuel de Leon vuestro antecesor dio orden a Antonio Nieto que vino por General de la nao de esas Islas y volvio a ellas el de mill y seiscientos y setenta y seis para que a la buelta no diese fondo en la Isla de Guan (aora nombrado San Juan) sino que pasase por la altura de quinze grados entre la Isla de Buena Vista y Zarpana grande distante quarenta leguas de la de Guan. Y por que de ello pudieren resultar graves daños y at-*

*rasos a la mision de las Marianas, he tenido por conveniente mandaros (como lo hago) que de ninguna manera deis semejante orden en el tiempo de su gobierno ni los que os subcedieren en el a la referida que dio vuestro antecesor sino que antes la deis al General que fuere de las naos de esas Islas para que por ningun caso degen de pasar por la de San Juan que asi es mi voluntad y del recivo a este despacho me dareis cuenta.*

*Fha en Madrid a diez y ocho de Junio de mill y seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,*

*Don Joseph de Veytia Linage.*

*Señalada del Consejo.*

### **Translation.**

The King.

To the Governor of the Philippines regarding the order that he must give to the Generals of the galleons of those Islands for them not to omit the stopover at the Island of Guan in the Marianas.

Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas, Gentleman member of the Order of St. James, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, President of my Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge their government may be:

In my Council of the Indies, notice has been received to the effect that, during the term of office of Don Manuel de León, your predecessor, as Governor of those Islands, he gave an order to Antonio Nieto, who came as General of the galleon of those Islands and returned to them in 1676, for him **not** to stop on the return voyage at the Island of Guan (now called San Juan), but to sail by at the latitude of 15 degrees, between the Island of Buena Vista [=Tinian] and Big Zarpana [=Saipan], distant 40 leagues from that of Guan. And, because serious harm and lags might affect the Mariana Mission, I have decided that it was proper to order you (as I do now) never to give similar order in your term of office, as that given by your predecessor, and neither shall those who might follow you in the said post; rather, you are to order the General of the galleons of those Islands not to omit a stopover at the Island of San Juan, as such is my will and you are to acknowledge the receipt of this order.

Made at Madrid, on 18 June 1678.

I, the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don José de Veitia Linage.

Countersigned by the Council.



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## Document 1678E

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# Pedro Cubero's voyage around the world, via the Northern Marianas

*Source: Pedro Cubero Sebastián's Breve relación (Madrid, 1680), etc. (see Bibliography, under 1678).*

### **Introductory note.**

The author of this narrative of a voyage around the world was born in Fresno in Aragon in about 1645. He made his classical studies at the University of Zaragoza and was ordained a priest afterward. He then began to travel, first to Rome by way of France. He was apparently given a commission by the Sacred Congregation of the Faith to visit missions in Asia.

Between 1670 and 1679, he travelled mostly by land through various countries of Europe and Asia, preaching as he went. His itinerary went by Venice, Vienna, Warsaw, Moscow, Constantinople, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Goa, Malacca, Manila, Acapulco and Mexico. He was the first person to circumnavigate the world from west to east, and write about it. He himself said that before him those who had gone around the world had done so by sea, whereas he had gone around the world mostly on land. Furthermore, what made this long voyage special is that it was not financed by the King of Spain, or any other civil authorities, but by the Church and himself through donations.

There was no land route across the Pacific, of course, and Cubero spent almost a year in Manila waiting for a galleon to take him to Acapulco.

## **The pilgrimage around the world of Don Pedro Cubero Sebastián**

...  
While waiting for the fastidious and long navigation that exists from Manila to the celebrated port of Acapulco, although my intention was to write with brevity, I could not stop myself from keeping with my writing, since some persons of authority have asked me to do so and I cannot deny it to them, and also since it is such a strange and



**Pedro Cubero Sebastián, priest, round-the-world traveller.** *This priest was the first priest to go around the world from west to east, mostly overland. (From the 2nd edition of his book printed at Naples in 1683).*

extended migration. In fact, the navigation can last up to one year; we took 8 months. I will narrate what happened.

#### **Chapter 40. The author narrates extensively the long and painful navigation that exists between the Philippine Islands and the port of Acapulco, with all its peculiarities.**

Having said goodbye to all the Venerable Fathers, the Dean and the Chapter of the holy Metropolitan Church of Manila, and to the other priests, to his Lordship the Governor, who was Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mancilla,<sup>1</sup> to the Fathers Provincial of the four religious orders that are in the Philippines; that of St. Francis is Father Fray Diego de Santa María, that of St. Dominic is Father Fray Balthasar de Santa Cruz, that of St. Augustin is Father Fray Dionisio Suarez, that of the Society of Jesus is Father [Javier] Riquelme. I also said goodbye to all the gentlemen and citizens of that court, from whom I had received a special welcome, which I cannot deny was an affable one, and a benevolent one reserved for pilgrims.

I embarked aboard the flagship of the Philippines, the **San Antonio de Padua**. The Captain General of this galleon was Don Felipe Montemayor y Prado, son of the Governor.<sup>2</sup> The Sergeant-Major was Juan Ventura, a Catalan. The captain and master of the ship was Balthasar de Lerma, who was my cabin companion. The pilot was a Vizcayan named Juan Ramos. The boatswain was Francisco Rodriguez (he died in the middle of the voyage). There were many others who held positions aboard the said galleon.

#### **June [1678].**

We left Cavite on St. John the Baptist Day, June 24th, at 5 a.m., and, after coming out of the narrow channel at Mariveles, we had a prosperous voyage to the port of Ticao, where we waited for the monsoon winds.

#### **July.**

On 15 July, we came out of the San Bernardino Strait and on that day we left it behind as the galleon covered from 16 to 18 leagues.<sup>3</sup> On the 17th, the same monsoon wind lasted but, as the sky was covered, the sun's elevation could not be observed; however, the galleon was heading E 1/4 NE and made 35 leagues. On 18 July, the sun was taken and we found ourselves in the latitude of 13°35'; the galleon covered 22 leagues along the same heading. Between the 18th and the 19th, always following the same course, the ship covered 18 leagues. On this day the sun was not taken, as it was not shining. Between the 19th and 20th, the ship covered 18 leagues and the sun was observed; we found ourselves in 13°54'. Along the same course, between the 20th and 21st,

1 Ed. note: He served as interim Governor from September 1677 to September 1678.

2 Ed. note: He may have been the son of the interim Governor; if so, he wore the name of his paternal grand-mother, Mansilla y Prado.

3 Ed. note: So the book reads, but I think there is a typographical error that changes the meaning. It should read: "on the 16th the galleon covered 18 leagues".

the ship covered 12 leagues to the NE; on this day the sun was not observed, because it was not shining. On the 22nd of the said month, we observed the sun and found ourselves in the latitude of 14°45'; the galleon covered 22 leagues, and the bow was kept on an ENE heading. Between the 22nd and 23rd of the month the ship covered 28 leagues to NE 1/4 E, and on this day there was no sun. Between the 23rd and 24th, the ship covered 25 leagues, with the bow pointing to the same heading. Between the 24th and 25th, the ship covered 32 leagues along the same heading; we did not observe the sun either, as it was not shining. Between the 25th and 26th, the ship covered 30 leagues on the same heading, and at 11 at night a ball [i.e. fireball] passed over our galleon; it was like a flash of lightning so big that, in our opinion, looked like a jar, with such brightness that it lit the whole deck, it being night-time.<sup>1</sup> The people aboard the galleon began to feel terror and the Pilot ordered the sails to be furled. At 12 at night, bad weather came from the SE, and we were forced to take down the topmasts, and we went running to the NE 1/4 N with [only] the foresail. The wind became so furious that it forced us, on account of the huge swings of the galleon, to pull down the main-yard. The storm lasted about 48 hours, during which we begged the Lord's pity, and had only one foresail. The distance covered with the foresail would have been only 26 leagues.

Finally the wind abated, and the next day's run, between the 28th and 29th, was 22 leagues; the main-sail was used. On the 29th of the said month, we observed the sun and found ourselves in the latitude of 18°33'. Between the 29th and 30th, the ship covered 15 leagues to the NE 1/4 E, and that day there was no sun.

**We sighted the Marianas on the feast day of St. Ignatius de Loyola.**

On this day [30 July 1678], Saturday, at 2 p.m., we sighted the islands of the Ladrões. It was the eve of the feast day of the great Patriarch St. Ignatius de Loyola, at a latitude of 19° where the Island we saw to the north of us was round, a sort of volcano. That on the south side was aligned north-south, and it was cut [i.e. steep] on its northern part. On the last day of the month we passed between the two islands, with little wind from the ESE, on a NE heading. On this day we observed the sun, and we found ourselves in a latitude of 19°11'.<sup>2</sup>

**August.**

From the said Islands we pursued [the second leg of] our voyage, which began on the first day of August. Until the 6th of the said month, we did not lose sight of the Islands as we were becalmed. On this day, we lost sight of them, heading NE. Along the day's run between this day and the 7th of the said month, the ship covered 17 leagues...<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Ed. note: This is clearly the manifestation of ball lightning, or St. Elmo's fire, a phenomenon caused by a build-up of static electricity.
  - 2 Ed. note: It is clear that they passed between Asunción and Agrihan Islands. The pilot's navigation skills seem to be quite good.
  - 3 Ed. note: Since the galleon did not turn back, I omit the rest of the narrative. The same galleon returned to Manila via Guam in 1679.

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## Documents 1678F

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# Fr. Salgado was superior of a mission band

## F1. Letter from Fr. Salgado to the Council of the Indies, undated (but submitted before 24 May 1678)

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-253*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Señor*

*Francisco Salgado de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Jhs, y su Procurador por la Provincia de Philipinas:*

*Dice que V.Mgd. fue servido concederle llevase à dicha Prov<sup>a</sup> quarenta Religiosos, y destos los quatro Hermanos Coadjutores. Y porque el tiempo de embarcarse ya insta, se an conducido à Sevilla los mas dellos, y se espera en breve llegarran los demas segun las cartas que de sus Provinciales se an recebido.*

*Los que estan juntos son los siguientes:*

*—Pe. Ant<sup>o</sup> Llanes, natural de Cordova, de veinte y siete años de edad.*

*—Pe. Thomas Vallexo, natural de Tudela de Navarra, de veinte y siete años de edad.*

*—Pe. Juan Bautista Copart, de edad de treinta y cinco años, Flamenco.*

*—Pe. Basilio Roulx, de treinta y cinco años de edad, Flamenco.*

*—H<sup>o</sup> Balthasar de Bois, de veinte y quatro años de edad, Flamenco.*

*—H<sup>o</sup> Joseph Pasqual de Villalba estudiante, natural de la comunidad de Calatayud, de veinte y quatro años de edad.*

*—H<sup>o</sup> Francisco Alonso estudiante Filosofo, natural de Cuba, de veinte y tres años de edad.*

*—H<sup>o</sup> Diego de Oña, natural de Peñaflor, estudiante Filosofo, de veinte y tres años de edad.*

*—H<sup>o</sup> Domingo Rodriguez estudiante, natural de Linares, de edad de veinte y cinco años.*

- Hº Ignacio Irazabal estudiante, natural de Vergara, de edad de veinte y cinco años.*
- Hº Juan de Revilla estudiante, natural de Santander, de veinte años de edad.*
- Hº Francisco Diaz estudiante, natural de San Cildes, de edad de veinte y dos años.*
- Hº Ignacio Gutierrez estudiante, natural de Zurita, de veinte y dos años de edad.*
- Pe. Alonso de Arroyo, natural de Uriel, de veinte y seis años de edad.*
- Hº Francisco Xavier de Orellana estudiante Theologo, natural de Casas de Reyna, de veinte y quatro años de edad.*
- Hº Estevan de Izpura estudiante Filosofo, natural de Pamplona, de edad de veinte y cinco años.*
- Hº Francisco Lovo estudiante Filosofo, natural de Segovia, de edad de veinte y tres años.*
- Hº Juan de Ara[n]jeta, natural de San Sebastian, de edad de treinta años.*
- Hº Juan Valero, natural de Aluendea, de veinte y quatro años de edad.*
- Hº Miguel del Pozo, estudiante Filosofo, natural de Arnedillo, de veinte y tres años de edad.*

*A V.Mgd. pide y suplica mande despachar su real zedula para que el Juez Official Real de la Casa de la Contratacion, que esta en Cadiz al despacho de galeones, y flota apruebe los sugetos, que con licencia de V.Mgd. pasan para el gomento, y conversion de la copiosa gentilidad assi de las Philipinas, como de las Marianas nuevamente pobladas.*

*Es merced que espera recibir de la liberal mano de V.Mgd.*

[Decision of the Council:]

*Consejo a 24 mayo 1678.*

*Como lo pide.*

## **Translation.**

Sire:

Francisco Salgado of the Society of Jesus, and its Procurator for the Province of the Philippines:

Says that Your Majesty was pleased to grant him a license to take to said Province 40 Religious, including 4 Coadjutor Brothers. And because the time to embark is imminent, most of them have been sent ahead to Seville, and it is hoped that the rest will soon get there, according to the letters that have been received from their Provincials.

Those who have been collected are the following:

- Fr. Antonio Llanes, born in Cordova, of 27 years of age.
- Fr. Thomas Vallejo, born in Tudela in Navarre, 27 years old.**
- Fr. Juan Bautista Copart, 35 years old, Fleming.
- Fr. Basilio [Le] Roulx, 35 years old, Fleming**

—Br. Balthazar Du Bois, 24 years old, Fleming.<sup>1</sup>

—Br. José Pascual de Villalba, student, born in the community of Calatayud, 24 years old.

—Br. Francisco Alonso, philosophy student, born in Cuba, 23 years old.

—Br. Diego de Oña, born in Peñaflor, philosophy student, 23 years old.

—Br. Domingo Rodriguez, student, born in Linares, 25 years old.

—Br. Ignacio Irazabal, student, born in Vergara, 25 years old.

—Br. Juan de Revilla, student, born in Santander, 20 years old.

—Br. Francisco Diaz, student, born in San Cildes, 22 years old.

—Br. Ignacio Gutierrez, student, born in Zurita, 22 years old.

—Fr. Alonso de Arroyo, born in Uriel, 26 years old.

—Br. Francisco Xavier de Orellana, theology student, born in Casas de Reyna, 24 years old.

—Br. Estevan de Izpura, philosophy student, born in Pamplona, 25 years old.

—Br. Francisco Lobo, philosophy student, born in Segovia, 23 years old.

—Br. Juan de Araneta, born in San Sebastian, 30 years old.

—Br. Juan Valero, born in Aluendea, 24 years old.

—Br. Miguel del Pozo, philosophy student, born in Arnedillo, 23 years old.

To Your Majesty, he begs and beseeches you to please order the despatch of your royal decree, so that the Royal official Judge of the House of Trade, who works in Cadiz in the galleon and fleet office, to approve the subjects who are on their way, with Your Majesty's permission to the development and conversion of the copious number of heathens, not only in the Philippines, but also in the newly-settled Marianas.

It is a favor that he hopes to receive from the liberal hand of Your Majesty.

[Decision of the Council:]

The Council, 24 May 1678.

Concurs.

## F2. Letter from Fr. Espinar to Fr. Salgado, dated Seville 24 May 1678

*Source: RAH ms. new number Fil. 9/2668, doc. n° 63 (old number Fil. Legajo 2, doc. n° 12).*

*Note: Fr. Espinar was the new Procurator General for the Philippines and Marianas. He went to Rome, and appointed Fr. Salgado as his deputy, for the purpose of organizing this mission band. This letter must have arrived at Madrid too late to be of much benefit, as Fr. Salgado had already submitted his request, F1 above.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Both Fr. LeRoulx and Br. Dubois were French-speaking Walloons from the Gallo-Belgian Province, not Flemish-speaking Flemings.

## Letter from Fr. Pedro de Espinar regarding the mission band led by Fr. Salgado

[To] Fr. Francisco Salgado.  
Peace of Christ, etc.

I have read and answered the letter from Your Reverence dated 17th of this month, and I am glad to hear that you feel better as a result of the purge, and I hope that you are as well as I wish you to be. As for me, I am in good health, although it was not so good during the voyage and it was the cause of my delay. It was not until Saturday the 8th that I arrived at this city and College where I found Fr. Vallejo,<sup>1</sup> Brother Valero and 3 novices.

I am aware of what Y.R. says about Domingo; for this [purpose], there is the whole time of the stay here, [and] that of the voyage to Mexico. I say the same thing about the would-be missionary from San Lucar about which [matter] Y.R., as well as Fr. Luis de Aveçeta and others here, have spoken to me.

What Y.R. tells me, about writing to Fr. Pedro Geronimo and his letter to me regarding the whole 12 and 3 more he is sending me in order for them to be received in Mexico, they are from the mountains and farmlands. Since they have passed through his hands they come to me with the necessary approval.

Congratulations to Y.R. for having told Fr. Raymundo Bru to personally thank Fr. Provincial of Aragon for the 3 subjects he gives; I will do the same, with some flourish in due time, and to the other Provincials as well. Fr. Bru had been charged to provide everything necessary for me here, and once again he was charged to do it, and I know that he will eventually do it.

Y.R. should get the approval and despatch as soon as possible for the subjects who are to be presented to the Council [of the Indies] for approval, because without it, they cannot make it this far. On the enclosed form, those with a dash in margin are tentative in their names, birthplace, age, and studies, because I do not yet have certain details about them.<sup>2</sup> Those without a dash are confirmed. To some of them, I write novice because the Council may not approve them [otherwise] and to remove this [deficiency] would take years. Y.R. is to present the form as is and if some of them have already been presented, present them again to make up for the missing ones, up to a total of 40 and, once this diligence has been made and this approval received, leave the rest for [us] here. Y.R. is to present yourself as shown, because you already have a permit to pass to the Philippines and by being included among the 40 granted to me, you will receive the financial aid given by the King; otherwise no. That is why Fr. Pantoja did not warn Y.R. about anything, because he knew that I already had the necessary despatches for it, and the warning given by Fr. Monrroy does not apply, even though everything is fixed by not making use of the special license, but this is understood in the case that the

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1 Ed. note: Fr. Tomás Vallejo was one of the missionaries from that band who stayed at the Marianas in 1679.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, this information may not be correct in every detail.



license that Y.R. asked for would have the matter of the ordinary financial aid added to it, otherwise there will be harm if the license is not given. Therefore, it is imperative for Y.R. to present the form as is, in order to get it [i.e. the license]. And if they don't give it, I will replace it [i.e. the list] with another. So, with that done, there will be 41 in all who are to pass with permits and financial aid from the King.

What Fr. Florencia wrote to Y.R. about the ship and clothing, etc., he also told me here. I am about to go there and will try to adjust the Mission as best as possible. I hope that they will go with as much comfort as possible. Since time is short, and there is a shortage of good, comfortable ships, the **Nazareno** is the best.

Fr. Monrroy is right in ordaining Brother Palavicino with all the orders.<sup>1</sup> I am of the same opinion; so, here in Seville, or in Cádiz I will try and have those of the right age, and [have completed the ] second year of theology [ordained]; to ordain those with fewer studies does not seem either necessary or proper, for now, because the [responsibility for saying] prayers and masses during the many years of study is a very heavy load.

...

I have nothing further to tell to Y.R. May the Lord keep Y.R. for many years to come, as is my wish.

Seville, 24 May 1678.

[P.S.] The galleons are being detained until June 10th and I will be happy if our people have embarked by then. The French Navy has gone with 14 warships, 6 fire ships, and 2 supply ships, and taken Tobago [Island]; it threatens Curaçao.

[Endorsement:] Domingo, do not delay this despatch by a few days.

Your Reverence's humblest servant,

Pedro de Espinar, S.J.

### **Nominal roll of the subjects to be presented to the Council, in order to ask for the letter of approval, for the Mission that goes to the Philippines and Marianas.**

- + 1.—Father Francisco Salgado, priest, professor from the Province of Castile who goes as Superior of the Mission.
- + 2. **Fr. Thomas Vallejo, priest, a native of Tudela in Navarre, 26 years old.**
- + 3.—Brother Juan Revilla, a native of Santander, 21 years old, philosophy student.
- + 4. Brother Ignacio Gutierrez, a native of Çurita, 23 years old, philosophy student.
- + 5. Brother Francisco Díez, a native of Santocildez, Diocese of Burgos, 20 years old, philosophy student.
- + 6. Fr. Antonio Llanes, priest, a native of Córdoba, 26 years old.
- + 7. Brother Fernando de Quesada, a native of Antequera, philosophy student, 21 years old.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Meaning to the priesthood with all formal steps, sub-deacon, deacon, etc.

- + 8. Brother Francisco de Orellana, a native of Llerena, 22 years old, philosophy student.
- + 9. Fr. Alonso de Arroyo, a native of Toledo, 30 years old.
- +10. Brother Santiago de Yspurra, a native of San Sebastián, a philosophy student of 22 years of age.
- +11. Brother Francisco Alonso, a native of Valladolid, a philosophy student of 23 years of age.
- 12.—Fr. Martín Ruiz, priest, a native of Logroño, 28 years old.
- 13.—Fr. Francisco Xavier, a native of Pamplona, 32 years old.
- 14.—Fr. Francisco Ignacio, priest, a native of Oviedo, 29 years old.
- 15.—Brother Jacinto Martínez, a native of Burgos, theology student of 26 years of age.
- +16.—Brother Miguel del Pozo, a native of Bilbao, philosophy student, 24 years old.
17. Fr. Martín Pueyo, a native of Zaragoza, 31 years old.
- 18.—Brother Juan de Cantería, a native of Valencia, philosophy student, 20 years old.
- 19.—Brother Juan de Herrera, a native of Zaragoza, theology student, 24 years old.
- 20.—Fr. Luis Ortiz, a native of Seville, 24 years old.
- 21.—Brother Francisco Medrano, a native of Córdoba, theology student, 22 years old.
22. Brother Francisco de Prado, a native of Toledo, theology student, 21 years old.
23. Fr. Luis Pérez, a native of Madrid, 26 years old.
- +24. Brother Andrés Rodríguez, coadjutor, a native of Toledo, 30 years old.
- +25. Brother Juan Valero, coadjutor, a native of Cuenca, 21 years old.
- +26. Brother Martín de Montemayor, coadjutor, a native of Osuna, 30 years old.
- 27.—Fr. Geronimo Fuçio [Tuccio?], a native of Palermo, priest, 30 years old.
- 28.—Fr. Antonio Escot, a native of Milan, 30 years old.
- 29.—Fr. **Carlos Xavier**, a native of Milan, 30 years old.<sup>1</sup>
- 30.—Fr. Juan Luis de S. Basilio, a native of Palermo, 29 years old.
- 31.—Fr. Juan Escut, a native of Antwerp, 32 years old.
- 32.—Fr. Juan Comans [sic], a native of Antwerp, 32 years old.
- 33.—Fr. Gerardo de Loyola, a native of Namur in Flanders, 31 years old.
34. Fr. **Luis Turcot** [sic], a native of Baral in the State of Milan, 26 years old.<sup>2</sup>
- 35.—Fr. Cornelio Vander [sic], a native of Brussels, 35 years old.
- 36.—Brother Luis Bander [sic], a native of Antwerp, 24 years old, theology student.
- 37.—Brother Luis Conde, a native of Milan, theology student, 25 years old.
- 38.—Fr. Luis Gamer, a native of Milan, 31 years old.

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1 Ed. note: This alias was officially assigned the next year to Fr. Agustín Strobach, the Czech missionary who served in the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: This alias was officially assigned the next year to Fr. Juan Tilpe, the Austrian missionary who served in the Marianas.

39.—Fr. Juan María [sic], a native of Catania in Sicily, 30 years old.

40.—Fr. Angel Xavier, a native of the said Catania, 30 years old.

**All the subjects who are marked by a cross in the margin are those we know about for certain. Those without a cross are those we have assumed in order to draft the petition and in order not to waste time.** If, before making the petition, the names that we are missing until now become known at Madrid, some of the assumed names are to be erased and thus replaced. Apart from this change, the petition is to be done as usual. The petition is to be done on behalf of Fr. Procurator Pedro de Espinar since the concession and the releases were granted to him, or it is to be done on behalf of Fr. Pantoja as Procurator General of the Indies.

[Endorsement:]

To Father Francisco Salgado of the Society of Jesus and its Procurator for the Province of the Philippines. If absent, to Fr. Alonso Pantoja of the same Society and its Procurator General of the Indies, in Madrid.<sup>1</sup>

### F3. Physical inspection of the missionaries

*Source: AGI ex-48-2-7/10; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 16, folios 44 et seq.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

1678.—*El Padre Francisco Salgado de la Compañía de Jesus con 40 Religiosos a las Islas Filipinas y las Marianas a espensas de la Real Hazienda.*—

1678.—*Mission a Filipinas y las Islas Marianas en el navio nombrado el **Buen Jesus**,] Maestre Don Joseph Castaño Arredondo[,] uno de los de la flota de Nueva España.*

...

***Semanero el Señor Don Andres Rubio de Sotomaior.***

*Parezieron ante mi el Padre Francisco Salgado de la Compañía de Jhs. segundo Procurador y quarenta Religiosos de la misma orden que con licencia de Su Magestad y a espensas de su Real Hazienda lleva a las islas Filipinas y Marianas los quales son de los nombres, patrias, hedades y señas siguientes:*

1. *El P. Francisco Salgado, que ba por Superior desta mision, natural de Biana en el Reino de Galicia de hedad de quarenta y nueve años, blanco, entrecano, nariz larga, señal de herida en la Corona, un diente menos en la parte de arriva.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The document that follows in the archives is about a detailed account of expenses incurred by the Mission along the way. Some names have been changed, because some new subjects appeared. A Brother Villalobos needed to buy socks, Father Irazabal needed spectacles, Brother Miguel Rusel needed some pencils. A foreign brother (unnamed) needed underwear, etc. Much money was paid to muleteers in Mexico. Streit & Dindinger, on p. 46, mentions the existence of a 1-page letter sent by Fr. Salgado in Seville, to Fr. García in Madrid, on 24 June 1678, but I have not seen this letter in the files.

...

3. *El P. Thomas Vallejo, natural de Tudela de Navarra, de veinte y siete años, blanco, pequeño de cuerpo, señal de herida en la frente, un diente menos de la parte alta.*

...

5. *El P. Basilio Roulx, de treinta y cinco años, natural de Bruzelas, cavello castaño claro, hoioso de viruelas, fulto de algunos dientes de la parte alta.*

...

7. *El Hermano Balthasar du Bois, natural de Bruselas, de hedad de veinte y quatro años, roxo claro, pelo mui rubio, alto de cuerpo.*

...

*Que son por todos quarenta y un religiosos en que estan inchlussos el dicho P. Francisco Salgado, que ba por Superior desta Mision y los catorce estrangeros por el tercio de los quarenta concedidos, todos los quales se reseñan con mi Asistencia en el Collegio de San Hermenegildo de esta Ciudad en veinte y uno de Junio de mil y seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.*

*Andres Rubio.*

### Translation.

1678.—Father Francisco Salgado of the Society of Jesus with 40 Religious of the Philippine and Mariana Islands at the expense of the Royal Treasury.—

1678.—Mission band to the Philippines and the Mariana Islands aboard the ship named **Buen Jesus**, Master Don José Castaño Arredondo, one of those of the fleet of New Spain.

...

#### **Duty officer for the week, Don Andrés Rubio de Sotomayor.**

There appeared before me Father Francisco Salgado of the Society of Jesus, acting Procurator, and 40 Religious of the same order who, with His Majesty's permission and at the expense of his Royal Treasury, are on their way to the Philippine and Mariana Islands, and whose names, birthplaces, ages, and distinguishing marks are as follows:

1. Fr. Francisco Salgado, who goes as Superior of this mission band, born in Viana in the Kingdom of Galicia, 49 years of age, white [complexion], some gray hair, long nose, scar from a wound on the crown, one upper tooth missing.

...

3. Fr. Thomas Vallejo, born in Tudela de Navarra, 26 years old, white [complexion], small in body, scar from a wound on the forehead, one upper tooth missing.

...

4. Fr. Basilio [Le] Roulx, 35 years old, born in Brussels [sic], light brown hair, marked with smallpock, missing some upper teeth.

...

7. Brother Balthasar du Bois, born in Brussels [sic], 24 years old, light ruddy [complexion], very red hair, tall in body.

...  
Including said Fr. Francisco Salgado, who goes as Superior of this Mission band, that makes a total of 41 religious, 14 of whom are foreigners, thus filling the quota of 1/3 foreigners as granted, all of whom have been inspected in my presence at the College of San Hermenegildo of this City on 21 June 1678.

Andrés Rubio.

...  
[On file, among many other papers, there is a certificate stating that Fr. Vallejo had left the College of Salamanca on 10 May 1678; another says that he arrived at the College of San Hermenegildo in Seville on 20 May.]

## **F4. Certification by the royal officials at Veracruz, dated 15 November 1678**

*Source: AGI Fil. 82-2-254.*

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

*Los Juezes Offiziales de la Real Hazienda desta Nueva Çiudad de la Veracruz y Puerto de San Juan de Ulua por su Magestad.*

*Certificamos que en obedeçimiento de Real Çedula su fecha en Madrid a veinte y uno de Mayo deste presentte año de mil seisçientos y settenta y ocho Refrendada de Don Joseph de Beitia Linage inserta en ella Otra de veintte de Julio de Mil seisçientos y settenta y siette (en que su Magd. es servido de mandar al Presidente y Juezes Offiziales de la Real Audiencia y Cassa de la Contrataçion de las Indias de la Çiudad de Sevilla y a los Juezes offiziales de la Real Hazienda de esta Ciudad, y la de Mexico, abien de todo lo neseçario a treintta y seis Religiosos y quatro Coadjutores de la Compañia de Jesus que por otra Real Cedula de la fecha de la Referida incerta, havia concedido lizençia al Padre Pedro de Espinar de dha Compañia de Jesus procurador general de su provincia de las Islas Filipinas para que pudiese volver a ellas y llevarlos consigo para dha provinçia y la Mission de las Islas Marianas) y en virtud de despacho de los dhos Presidente y Juezes offiziales de la dha Real Audiencia y Cassa de la Contrataçion de Sevilla fecho en veintte y siette de Junio deste dho año en cumplimiento de lo Mandado por dhas Reales Çedulas, y comformidad de carta escrita de orden del Real Conseejo de Indias en veintte y quatro de el dho mes de Mayo deste año por el dho Don Joseph de Beytia Linage (en que pareze se aprovo el Padre Francisco Salgado de dha Compañia de Jesus segundo procurador general de dha Provinzia y que a el y a los dhos Religiosos y Coadjutores se les diese el despacho neseçario y que se acostumbra para poder passar a las dhas Islas Filipinas en comformidad de los despachos que de su Magestad tenia el dho Padre Pedro de Espinar como mas larga y expresamente se contiene en dhas Reales Çedulas y despacho Çitado) Dimos y pagamos de la Real Hazienda y caja de nuestro cargo al dho Padre Francisco Salgado, assi todo lo que por su Relacion Jurada: que nos presentto, consto haver gastado en esta Çiudad en desem-*

*barcar veinte y quatro Religiosos y los dhos quatro Coadjutores con su Ropa, libros y bestuarios que de los treintta y seis Religiosos y quatro coadjutores Referidos trujo a su cargo de los Reynos de Castilla en el Navio Nombrado **Jesus Nazareno** Maestre Don Joseph Castaño Arredondo uno de los de la presentte flotta del cargo del general Don Diego de Cordova Lazo de la Vega cavallero del orden de Alcanttara que surjo en este puerto a quinze de Octubre de este presentte año.*

*—En los acarretos de dha Ropa, libros y bestuarios y lavar la Ropa blanca y frezadas que trujeron suçias del viage.*

*—En la Cura y Regalo de los que estubieron emfermos y en el sustentto de todos a Razon de quatro tomines cada uno al dia desde el Referido quinze de Octubre que se desembarcaron hasta veintte y dos del excluzve que salieron desta Çiudad para la de Mexico como lo que importto el sustentto dellos para dies dias que se les Regulo para el camino hasta llegar a dha Çiudad de Mexico conttados desde el dho veinte y dos de octubre hasta treintta y uno de la Razon de seis tomines para cada uno al dia segun lo Referido Consta y pareze de los Auttos y diligencias fechas en Razon de los gastos causados en el Avio de Mulas para dhos Religiosos, conduzion de su Ropa, libros y Bestuarios y en la paga de su flette y pasaje que originales en testimonio de dha çedula y el despacho çitado de los dhos Pressidente y Juezes offiziales de la Real Audiencia y Cassa de la Contrataçion de Sevilla adjuntto a el quedan al presentte en el officio de Registros y Real Hazienda desta dha Ciudad.*

*En zertificaçion de lo qual y para que conste de pedimento del dho Padre Francisco Salgado Damos la presentte en la Nueva Çiudad de la Veracruz en quinze de Noviembre de mil seisçientos y settenta y ocho años.*

*Joseph de Murueta Otalora.*

*Athanasio Fernandez de Buendia.*

### **Translation.**

The Official Judges of the Royal Treasury of this New City of Veracruz and Port of San Juan de Ulua on His Majesty's service:

We certify that in accordance with the Royal Decree dated Madrid 21 May of the present year of 1678, countersigned by Don José de Veitia Linage, enclosing another dated 20 July 1677<sup>1</sup> (in which His Majesty is pleased to order the President and Official Judges of the Royal Treasury and House of Trade of the Indies of the City of Seville and the Official Judges of the Royal Treasury of this City, and that of Mexico, to outfit with everything necessary 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors of the Society of Jesus who, by another Royal Decree of same date as the enclosed one, had granted a license to Father Pedro de Espinar of said Society of Jesus, Procurator General of his province in the Philippine Islands allowing him to return there and take along for said province and the Mariana Island Mission) and by virtue of a despatch of said President and Official Judges of said Royal Audiencia and House of Trade of Seville, dated 27

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1677G3.

June of this year, in compliance with the orders contained in said Royal Decrees, and in compliance with a letter written by order of the Royal Council of the Indies on 24 of said month of May of this year by said Don José de Beitia Linage (in which it appears that Father Francisco Salgado of said Society of Jesus was approved as acting procurator general of said Province and that he and said Religious and Coadjutors be given the necessary despatch that is customary to enable a passage to said Philippine Islands, in accordance with the despatches that said Father Pedro de Espinar had from His Majesty, as expressly contained in full in the above-mentioned Royal Decrees and despatch):

We give out and pay from the Royal Treasury and funds in our care to said Father Francisco Salgado, everything that appears on his sworn statement of accounts, that he presented to us, as having spent in this City in connection with the disembarkation of 24 Religious and the above-mentioned 4 Coadjutors, with the clothing, books and vestments for the above-mentioned 36 Religious and 4 Coadjutors that the captain of the ship named **Jesus Nazareno**, Don José Castaño Arredondo, brought from the Kingdoms of Spain in his care; it is one of the ships of the present fleet under command of General Don Diego de Cordova Lazo de la Vega, gentleman of the Order of Alcántara, that anchored in this port on 15 October of the present year.

—In the cartage of said clothing, books and vestments and laundry of the white linen and blankets that they brought in dirty from the voyage.

—In the curing and special food for those who were sick and in the sustenance of all of them at the rate of 4 tomins each per day, from the above-said October 22nd when they disembarked until and excluding the 22nd, when they left this City for that of Mexico, but including an amount for their sustenance for 10 days that they were authorized for travel to said Mexico City, as of the 22nd of October until 31st, at the rate of 6 tomins each per day, in accordance with the above: it appears that the writs and procedures made in relation with the expenses caused by the provision of Mules for said Religious, transport of their clothes, books and vestments and in the payment of their fare and passage, in witness whereof the original copies of said decree and the above-said despatch by the said President and official judges of the Royal Audiencia and House of Trade in Seville that was attached to it, are on file in the office of the Records and Royal Treasury of this City.

In witness whereof, and to serve as official orders for said Father Francisco Salgado, we give the present in the New City of Veracruz on 15 November 1678.

José de Murueta Otalora.

Athanasio Fernandez de Buendia.

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## Document 1678G

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# Letter from an unknown Jesuit to Fr. García, dated Seville 30 August 1678

*Source: RAH 9/2677. Note: The author could have been Fr. Espinar.*

## Copy of a letter addressed to Fr. Francisco García

### Original text in Spanish.

***Sobre oposicion de los Dominicos contra la Mision Marianas.***

*Pax Christi etc<sup>a</sup>*

*Remito a V.R. ese papel original para que se sirva de pasar por el los ojos y comunicar a mi Señora la Duquesa lo que fuere servido del quien le escrivio fue el Padre Luis Pimentel que ha sido Provincial de Philipinas dos vezes y estando en España por Procurador de aquella Provincia el año de 68 quando se empeso la Mission Mariana dio otro si mal no me acuerdo al Señor D. Geronimo de S. Vitores y al Consejo de lo que le pareçia combeniente para ello. Por el conoçera V.R. lo que pasan y opinan algunos. Estos algunos son seculares fomentados de Padres Dominicos y Franciscanos que no se porque se nos oponen a esta Mission pero lo mismo se puede deçir de las del Japon, China, y otras partes.] ochenta años y mas ha que el Consejo por çedula que e visto y procurare buscar y copiada remitir a V.R<sup>a</sup> tiene dispuesto que en las Philipinas esten çeparadas y no mezcladas en Provincias las Religiones para la mejor y mas quieta administracion de los Yndios[.] esto no obstante me escriven de Philipinas mueben dichos Padres a la Ciudad de Manila, y Audiencia a que escrivan contra aquella Mission. La resulta desto alla se sabra mejor. Añadanme que un Religioso Dominico que esta en Europa por medio de la Congregacion de Propaganda negoçia introducirse en ella. Esta negoçiation si la ai, no se ajusta con aquellos medios de contradecirla ni para las delicadezas del Consejo sobre el Patronato Real en los Dominios de España me pareçe cosa a proposito.*

*Pero como ellos consigan el darnos en que merezen qualquiera cosa es a proposito. A las dos cortes de Pequín y Nanquin en China, a enviada la Congregaçion de Propaganda por Obispo un Religioso Dominico y en las Bullas que pasaron por el Consejo*



*se dice va electo a Peticion de los Obispos Françeçes que estavan en Siam y no se si estan ia en aquel Reino porque sus vivesas y otros intentos quisas an obligado al Rey a mostrarles menos cariño de lo que ellos penzaban y an dicho y publicado en Europa[.] tal Obispo Dominico le conoci muy bien en Philipinas y en ellas viven oy algunos que le conocieron llebando el quita sol Opaio que llaman alla a un Religioso Dominico; es natural de China, y sus Padres de la infima pleve. Sus meritos seran tan grandes que igual en a la dignidad pero al punto de los Chinos y Portugueçes no igualaran y me persuado sera Obispo de Anillo, y que no vera las Cortes de Pequín y Nanchin, a donde le ponen sus sillas porque los Portugueses y mandarines de China tendran sus racones para ello de que resultaran pleitos y ruidos yguales a los que ha avido con los Obispos Françeçes enviados por la misma Congregacion de Propaganda. Poca union entre los Ministros de aquel Imperio y ningun aumento a la causa de la fee y Religion. Sus razones tendran los Padres de Santo Domingo y San Francisco para lo que hacen, pero la Comp<sup>a</sup> dara las suias siempre que sea nesesario. Yo aora no hago mas, que referir a V.R. lo que pasa y me escriven, para que lo tenga entendido y participe a mi Señora la Duquesa lo que le pareçiere combeniente.*

*A quien guarde N. Señor como puede y deseo.  
Sevilla y Agosto 30 de 1678.*

### **Translation.**

#### **Regarding the opposition of the Dominicans to the Mariana Mission.**

Peace of Christ, etc.

I remit to Y.R. that original paper so that you may give it a glance and communicate to my Lady the Duchess what you wish. The person who wrote it was Father Luis Pimentel, who has been Provincial of the Philippines twice and was in Spain as Procurator of that Province in the year 1668 when the Mariana Mission was undertaken. If I am not mistaken, he also wrote another paper to Don Gerónimo de San Vitores and to the Council regarding his views about it. Through it Y.R. will learn of what some people do and think. These certain persons are laymen, spurred on by the Dominican and Franciscan Fathers who, I don't know why, are opposed to this Mission of ours, but the same thing can be said of the affairs in Japan, China, and other places. Over 80 years ago, the Council, through a decree that I have seen and will try to get a copy of for Y.R., has it organized that in the Philippines the Religious be divided into Provinces for the better and calmer administration of the Indians. Notwithstanding this decree, I have received news from the Philippines saying that said Fathers are stirring things up against that Mission in the City [hall] of Manila, and in the Audiencia. The result of this will be better known overthere. They write to me that a Dominican Religious, who is in Europe, is negotiating with the Congregation of the Propaganda [of the Faith] for their introduction there. This negotiation, if true, cannot be reconciled with those means of contradicting it, nor with the delicate arrangements taken by the Council regarding the Royal Patronage in the Dominions of Spain [but] is an appropriate subject for discussion.

However, it would not appropriate for them to discuss obtaining it as something they say we owe them. At the two courts of Peking and Nanking in China, the Congregation of the Propaganda has sent as Bishop a Dominican Religious and in the [Papal] Bulls that have been seen in the Council, it is said that he was selected at the request of the French Bishops who were in Siam, and I don't know if they would have reached that Kingdom by now, because their ardor and other intentions perhaps forced the King to show them less affection than they had expected and had said and published in Europe. I knew this Dominican Bishop very well in the Philippines,<sup>1</sup> and overthere there are still a few who knew him. He used to go around with the sun-shade, Opaio, as they call a Dominican Religious overthere.<sup>2</sup> He is a native of China, and his parents are from the lowest social class. His merits would be in line with the dignity, but in the eyes of the Chinese and Portuguese they will not be so, and I am persuaded that he will become a Bishop in name only, and that he will not see the Courts of Peking, and Nanking, which they are assigning to him as sees, because the Portuguese and the mandarins of China will have their own reasons for that, and the result will be suits and rumors equal to those that took place with the French Bishops sent by the same Congregation of the Propaganda: little agreement among the [religious] Ministers of that Empire and no increase in the cause of the Faith and Religion. The Dominican and Franciscan Fathers would have their reasons for what they are doing, but the Society [of Jesus] will give its own reasons whenever necessary. I myself will do no more than let Y.R. know what is going on and what they write to me, so that you may be informed and so inform my Lady the Duchess of what you consider appropriate.

May our Lord keep Y.R. as He can and I wish.

Seville, 30 August 1678.

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1 Ed. note: This man was undoubtedly Bishop Palu.

2 Ed. note: The Tagalog word for umbrella and sun-shade is "payong," a word of Chinese origin.

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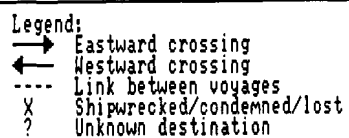
YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1673	5	San Antonio (de Padua)	J. Durán de Montfort	Spanish	*Bouwens, *Coomans, García, Díaz. B&R 42:133. Brought first horse to Guam.
1674		Buen Socorro	?	Spanish	*Lopez, Payo, Concepción, García. Left Damian Esplana at Guam.
1675		San Telmo	T. de Endaya	Spanish	García, Montero, Díaz, Concepción. B&R 42:140, 146. Second horse to Guam.
1676		San Antonio (de Padua)	A. Nieto	Spanish	*Bustillo, Montero, García, Le Gobien. B&R 41: 200.
1676		Santa Rosa (boat)	F. Ruiz & N. de Tolentino	Spanish	*Gayoso. ARSI Phil. 13:133-140v. Drift voyage from Guam. Wrecked Luzon.
1677		Santa Rosa (galleon)	F. de Tejada	Spanish	*Tejada, Díaz. B&R 42:155, 161-4. Doc. 1679H.
1678		San Antonio (de Padua)	F. de Mansilla y Prado	Spanish	*Cubero, Díaz. B&R 42:169. Eastward passage.
1678		Santa Rosa	A. Nieto	Spanish	Díaz.
1678	6	San Telmo	T. de Endaya	Spanish	*Sorondo (map),*Vargas, *Besco, *Coomans Vargas aboard. B&R 42:163, 170, 175-6.
1679	6	San Antonio (de Padua)	F. de Mansilla y Prado	Spanish	*Lazcano, *Xaramillo, *Besco. B&R 41:200; 42:169; 43:30. Doc. 1687P.
1680	6	Santa Rosa	A. Nieto	Spanish	*Solorzano, *Salgado,*Xaramillo,Montero. Brought Quiroga & Fil. soldiers to Guam.
1681	6	San Antonio (de Padua)	T. de Endaya	Spanish	*Borja, Díaz. B&R 42:190, 194-5, 199-206.
1681	6	San Telmo	F. Enriquez de Losada	Spanish	*Borja, *Solorzano, Rodriguez. Brought Capt. Saravia to Guam.
1682		San Antonio (de Padua)	T. de Endaya	Spanish	*Saravia, *Solorzano, *Gregorio. RAH 9/3593.
1683	8	San Francisco Xavier	D. Esplana & P. Gomez	Spanish	Solorzano, et al. Sloop from Manila, wrecked Guam. Brought Esplana & Quiroga.
1684		(unnamed sloop)	?	Spanish	Anon. From Manila; relief to Marianas.
1684	a 6	Santa Rosa	J. de Zelaeta	Spanish	*Curuzeláegui (aboard), Solorzano, Díaz. B&R 39:175; 42:213, 224-6, 282; 43:69.
1684	b 6	San Telmo	F. M. de Fabra	Spanish	Solorzano, Esplana, Díaz, S. F. de Asis. B&R 41:204; 42:224-9. AGI Fil. 12-1-5.
1685	3	Nicholas	J. Eaton	English	*Cowley, *Bouwens. Pirate ship.
1685	6	Santo Niño (Jesús de Cebú)	A. Nieto	Spanish	*Bustillo,*Cerezo,Curuzeláegui,Xaramillo Quiroga to Manila. B&R 42:214, 237-8.
1686		N. S. de Aranzazu y San Ignacio	José de Toledo	Spanish	Curuzeláegui. Frigate from Manila, turned back.
1686	a 5	Cygnets + 1 bark	Swan, Teat	English	*Dampier, *Kuklein, *Bouwens, *Bustillo. Pirate ships. B&R 38:241-267; 39:51-2.
1686	b 6	Santa Rosa	Fco. Gonzalez Zorilla	Spanish	*Gonzalez. Discovery of Carolina [Yap]. AGI Ultr.561. B&R 39:131-4,143-4;42:235-4

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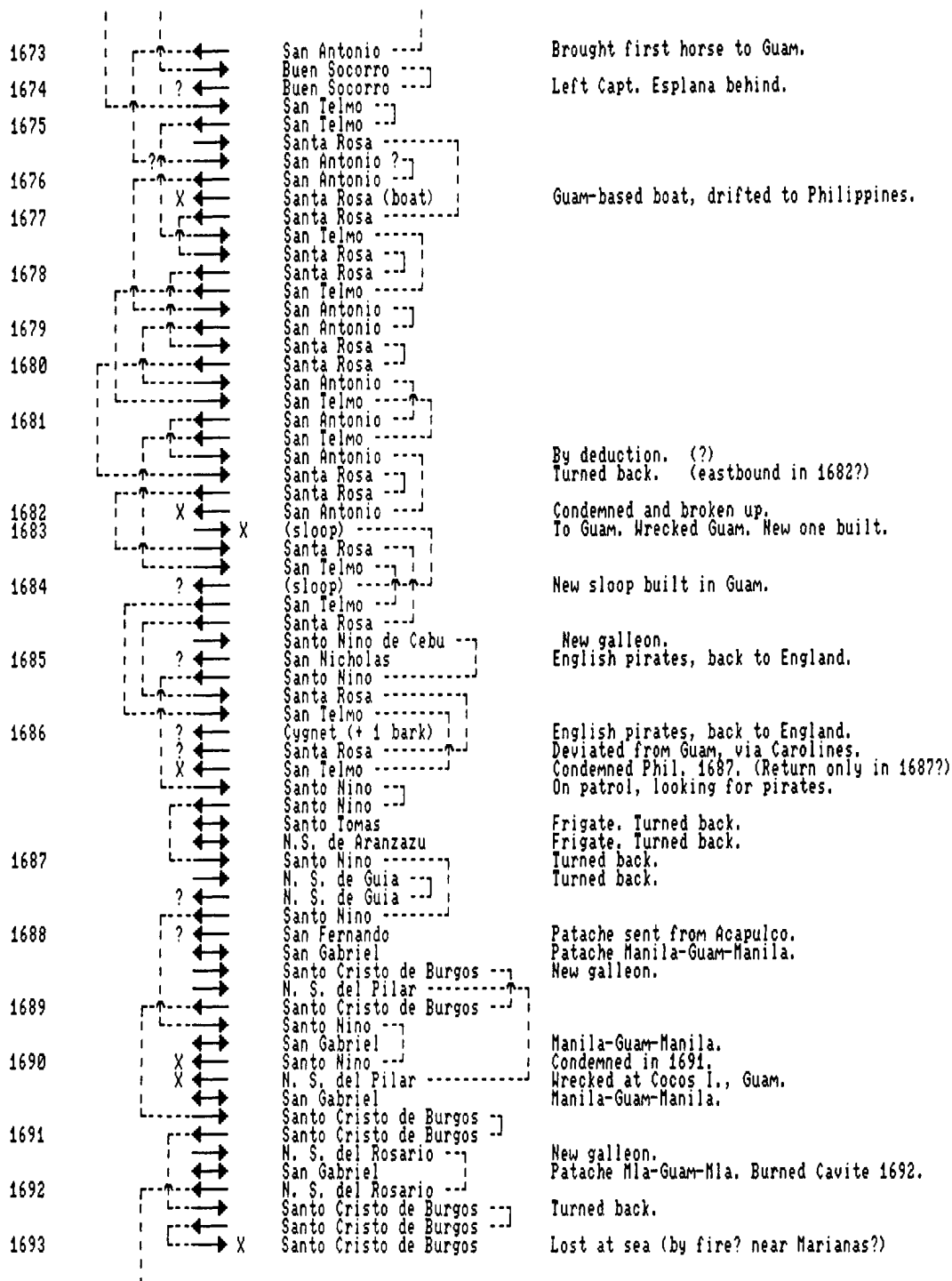
YEAR & MTH OF VISIT		NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1686	c 6	Santa Rosa's launch	?	Spanish	Curuzeláegui.	Drifted from Marianas to Cagayan.
1686	d 6	Santo Niño	Endaya & Urquiza	Spanish	Ahumada. Discovery of San Barnabas [Yap]	when on patrol. B&R 39:131;41:48;42:260.
1687		San Gabriel	Major Juan de Toledo	Spanish	Curuzeláegui, Xaramillo, Le Gobien.	Frigate from Manila, turned back.
1688		San Fernando (patache)	A. de Astina	Spanish	Viceroy, Curuzeláegui, Campos V., Díaz.	From Acapulco. B&R 42:270-3,285,303-4.
1688	8	San Gabriel	J. de Medrano & Lazcano	Spanish	*Bustillo, Curuzeláegui, Xaramillo.	Frigate from Manila.
1689		2-4 Chamorro canoes	N. Rodriguez & A. Soón	Spanish	*Bouwens (1689B1), *Bustillo (1690G).	2 unsuccessful searches for Caroline I.
1689	5	San Gabriel	F. Lazcano	Spanish	*Morales, et al.	From Manila. Brought Esplana back.
1689	6	Santo Cristo de Burgos	G. Arnedo y Escudero	Spanish	*Baraona, *Van Hamme, Díaz.	B&R 42: 260, 272.
1690	3	4 Charmorro canoes	Alonso Soón	Spanish	*Bustillo, Le Gobien. ARSI Fil. 14 f.77.	Unsuccessful search for Caroline Island.
1690	9	San Gabriel	Juan Quintero	Spanish	*Bustillo, Cruzat, Concepción, Mansilla.	From Manila.
1690	a 06	Santo Niño	Juan de Garaycoechea	Spanish	*Bustillo, Sanchez. Gov. Cruzat aboard.	B&R 39:300; 40:24,31; 42:278-92; 47:75.
1690	b 06	N. S. del Pilar (de Zaragoza)	?	"	" " " Owned by Tomás de Endaya.	Pilar wrecked at Cocos I., Guam.
1691		Santo Cristo de Burgos	B. Iñiguez del Bayo	Spanish	Cruzat, Díaz.	B&R 42:303, 307-9. AGI Ultramar Leg 561.
1692		N. S. del Rosario (#1)	José Madrazo	Spanish	Cruzat, Díaz.	B&R 42:289. One of 2 ships by that name.
1693		Santo Cristo de Burgos	B. Iñiguez del Bayo	Spanish	Díaz, Uriarte, Concepción.	Eastward. Lost at sea. B&R 42:304, 307-9.
1694	a	San José (patache)	A. de Arriola	Spanish	LeRoulx, Díaz, Salazar, Bargas.	Westward. Condemned Manila. Doc. 1696G.
1694	b	(patache)	A. de Arriola	Spanish	Díaz, Bargas.	Eastward. Discovered Marcus Island.
1695	a	(patache)	?	Spanish	Cruzat.	Westward. Returning to Mla. Doc. 1696H.
1695	b	San José y Bendición de Dios	?	Spanish	Cruzat.	Small patache, sold Manila. Doc. 1696G.
1696		Concepción (patache)	J. Rodriguez	Spanish	Clain, Cantova. Discovered Faraulep.	Shipwrecked Santa Rosa Reef. B&R 41:48.
1696		N. S. del Rosario (#1)	?	Spanish	Gemelli-Careri.	
1696	9	San José (galleon)	M. Martínez	Spanish	*Gemelli-Careri, Dahlgren.	Eastward passage. New galleon. B&R47:75.
1697		San José (galleon)	?	Spanish	*Bishop Camacho.	B&R 42:25. Doc. 1696H & 1697G.

VOLUME 6 APPENDIX C  
FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1673-1699

by Rodrigue Levesque



(continued from Vol. 4)

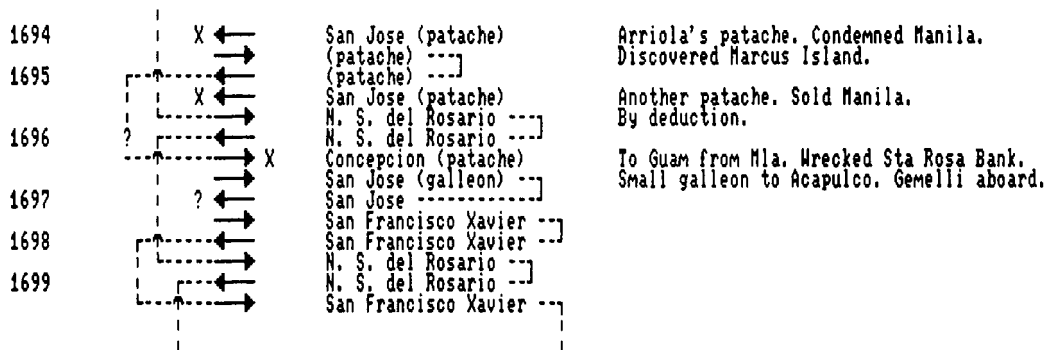


VOLUME 6 APPENDIX C

FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1673-1699

by Rodrigue Levesque

Legend:	
→	Eastward crossing
←	Westward crossing
----	Link between voyages
X	Shipwrecked/condemned/lost
?	Unknown destination



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